

# Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World



54

## Single Contributions

Sessions 4–5

Martin Bentz  
Michael Heinzelmann (Eds.)



**Proceedings of the  
19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Classical Archaeology**

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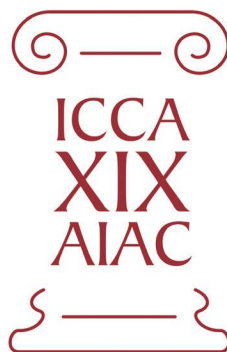
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**Edited by**

**Martin Bentz and Michael Heinzelmann**

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**Propylaeu**

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# SESSION 5

**Distribution: trade and exchange,  
monetarization, credit, networks, transport,  
infrastructure (e.g. ports)**



**Trade and Cultural Contact in the Iron Age  
and Archaic Mediterranean**

**Panel 5.21**





# **Cultural Processes and Circulation of Prestige Goods in Pre-Roman Apulia. The Influences of the Orientalizing Period and the Relations with Greeks and Etruscans**

**Andrea Celestino Montanaro**

## **Daunia**

The latest studies about the customs of the Italic aristocracies in Apulia have added relevant data concerning the Orientalizing period and the phenomenon of birth of the aristocracies between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. If we focus our attention on Daunian territory, it is very indicative the link that connects these aristocracies to those of the Tyrrhenian area, active since the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC. Testimonies of such relationships are the prestige goods coming from Etruria and Campania, especially personal ornaments and bronze vases, flaunted in the funerary assemblages of extraordinary burials, some of which they add, to the preciousness of the material, the sophistication of the workmanship and the rare and exotic character.<sup>1</sup>

The Orientalizing and the “birth of the princes” reach Apulia with a certain delay (mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC in Daunia), in less sumptuous and exuberant forms, and linger until the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the early Iron Age (8<sup>th</sup> century BC), the Daunian society appears to be characterized by signs of strong articulations, with families who hold prestigious roles in the communities (see graves of Monte Saraceno, Salapia and Arpi).<sup>2</sup> Among these burials, a funerary assemblage from Salapia stands out (tomb 231, mid-8<sup>th</sup> century BC), which includes offensive weapons (cups of spear and javelin) and defensive ones, as two bronze shields. One shows an embossed decoration composed of points and pairs of water birds, the other has an embossed ornamentation with concentric circles that find strong comparisons with similar specimens from Tarquinia, Veio and Picenum. The deceased’s dress was embellished with bronze fibulae, glass beads of a necklace, and a bronze long pin. The assemblage includes also a bronze basin, containing the fibulae, iron spits, and a bronze chisel.<sup>3</sup>

With the great development of the proto-urban centers, and when the region shows its economic vitality, under the guidance of the emerging classes, Daunia reaches its moment of maximum splendor between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The aristocracies strengthen their position with families that hold prestigious roles, with rich funerary assemblages attesting elaborate ceremonies.<sup>4</sup> The main characteristics of these burials show an isolated position compared to the other tombs, with exceptionally large dimensions, with a precise intention to reserve a monumental preparation, the composition of the funerary assemblage, which exhibits the distinctive signs of particular functions and dignity, and in the presence of prestigious objects, often imported (pottery and bronze vases), to demonstrate the particular economic and political power enjoyed by

the deceased and his family within the community. These princely tombs are attested especially in the necropolis of Lavello, Canosa, Cupola (Sipontum) and Minervino Murge, between the mid-7<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Among these, we must consider the assemblage of tomb 1/75 from Canosa (mid-7<sup>th</sup> century), especially for its funerary ritual, rarely attested in Daunia, and for its artifacts that strongly recall the Etruscan area. In fact, a great bronze basin, containing cremated human remains and covered by a basin with pearled rim, had been placed at the center of the burial, according to a heroic ritual known in Cumae and Pontecagnano burials.<sup>5</sup>

In the same necropolis, the funerary assemblage of tomb 1/89, dated to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, takes on outstanding features. The importance of the deposition stands out for the special care given to the structure, monumental and isolated compared to the other burials, such as the cutting depths of the pit, the construction with blocks in the upper rows that mark the perimeter of the pit, and a mound cover with probable *sema*. Inside the burial, there is a distinction of the depositional plan between the space-loculus, reserved for the deceased and the personal objects, underlined by a ring of flat plates, and the space for the assemblage (see Pontecagnano's burials). The tomb has yielded a very rich assemblage, whose signs of prestige can be read in the intentional and emphasized iteration of pottery and metal shapes, arranged around the burial. Eighty vases of Daunian Subgeometric I (700–550 BC), forming the complex for the symposium, stand out with the prevalence of foot-krater class. The metal products, such as a great lebes, a basin with a brim-shaped edge and twelve basins with pearled rim, are classifiable in a Tyrrhenian cultural horizon (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> But are above all the *agalmata* that define the woman's position of excellence; in fact, a controlled system, in terms of exchange, allows the reception of luxury products with an intrinsic value. The silver *phiale* is one of the most representative objects that highlight the key role played by the female character, according to eastern models. It is a low bowl type with full handles and a plate type attachment, probably produced in a southern Etruscan atelier that imitates Phoenician and northern Syrian artifacts. The late chronology compared to the framework of chronological distribution in the Tyrrhenian region and its presence in a peripheral area can be explained as a "gift" by an Etruscan prince.<sup>7</sup> Also the biconical gold beads, which were included the necklace of the deceased, alternating with a series of amber beads, are most likely artifacts coming from the ateliers of the Tyrrhenian coast. Among the personal adornments stand out a group of bronze fibulae, a knitted belt with welded rings, which remind of the Enotrian world, silver beads and fibulae, amber necklaces. Iron spits and andirons refer to an active participation of woman in the cutting and distribution of meats and especially to its dynamic presence in the practice of banquet like the high-ranking Etruscan women (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup>

Really outstanding is the funerary assemblage found at Cupola-Beccarini near Sipontum, belonging to a princess and dated to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC. It shows, on the level of ideology and symbol, the Daunian élites completely integrated in that process of competition and exaltation between dominant groups through the objects that define



Fig. 1: Manfredonia, Museo Archeologico della Daunia. Group of bronze vases imported from Etruria and Campania from Tomb 1/89 of Canosa-Toppicelli, last decades of 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.



Fig. 2: Manfredonia, Museo Archeologico della Daunia. Tomb 1/89 from Canosa-Toppicelli: 1) Silver Phiale of Etruscan production; 2) Gold biconical beads from a necklace; 3) Amber necklaces with different beads; 4) knitted belt with welded rings.



the hegemony. The artifacts in precious metal, found on the body of the deceased, compose a very rich parure for a particularly sumptuous dress and they refer to the refined metallurgical experience of the Tyrrhenian coast. The extreme rarity of the gold specimens (four biconical beads as in tomb of Canosa) argues in favor of the importance of the gold metal as acquisition of further signs of prestige and social differentiation. From Campania come also the two globular silver pendants, particularly widespread in the Tyrrhenian area and very similar to others found in the Orientalizing tombs of Pontecagnano and Cumae.<sup>9</sup> The several amber beads (at least 120), placed on the chest of the deceased, compose a sumptuous more wires-necklace, with mixed elements, alternating in shorter wire with gold beads, as in Canosa's assemblage, that finds strong comparisons with those excavated in the rich burials of Enotrian ladies (fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> This is an association (gold and amber) that seems to evoke clearly Homeric reminiscences. See, for example, the "Abduction of Eumaeus", in which a magnificent gold and amber necklace, brought by Phoenician merchants, distracts the queen and her maids and allows the slave of Sidon to put in place the wicked plan (*Odyssey* XV, 459–464).<sup>11</sup>

What catches our attention is the silver specimen in a cylinder shape, hollow, interpreted as a scepter decoration (fig. 4). The presence of this symbolic object, full of meanings, establishes the highest rank of the deceased as a holder of political power, and reveals the remarkable economic capacities to acquire the most refined prestige goods. But its morphological features also refer to a female instrument par excellence, like the distaff. It is well known how this object is related to spinning and wool's working, main activities of the aristocratic woman within the *oikos*. Similar artifacts are in precious material like amber (Braidà),<sup>12</sup> molten glass (Cales and Campovalano),<sup>13</sup> bronze and ivory (Etruria),<sup>14</sup> They are significant objects of the prestige reserved for the activities of the female world, which presuppose the recognition of woman as a royal bride, destined to fundamental roles. Therefore, it is possible to imagine that Cupola's scepter has played a symbolic function by configuring itself as an expression of a double polarity of intent: the will to indicate the excellence of the deceased and to highlight the role and activity carried out by the princess within her own community.<sup>15</sup>

The princess can be traced back to the *oikos* space, by attributing her also the silver basket with embossed work. The plate, with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic decoration of Orientalizing style (theories of gradient felines, concentric circles, and a female winged figure), was found at the head of the deceased, as well as the distaff (fig. 4). This is a ceremonial gift, probably produced in an atelier of southern Etruria (Cerveteri), as well as other plates with the same decoration from the Tyrrhenian area (Vulci, Vetulonia, Cales, Cumae), used as diadems<sup>16</sup> or adornments destined to embellish the sumptuous ceremonial garments worn for the funerary ritual.<sup>17</sup> To the fundamental woman's hoarding function, guardian of the family patrimony, leads the precious metal vases of Etruscan production that expresses, in its exuberance, the social value of the *oikos*. They are ten basins, seven with pearled rim, three with taut rim and bottom decorated with embossed omphalos and concentric circles, and one characterized by a wide-brimmed

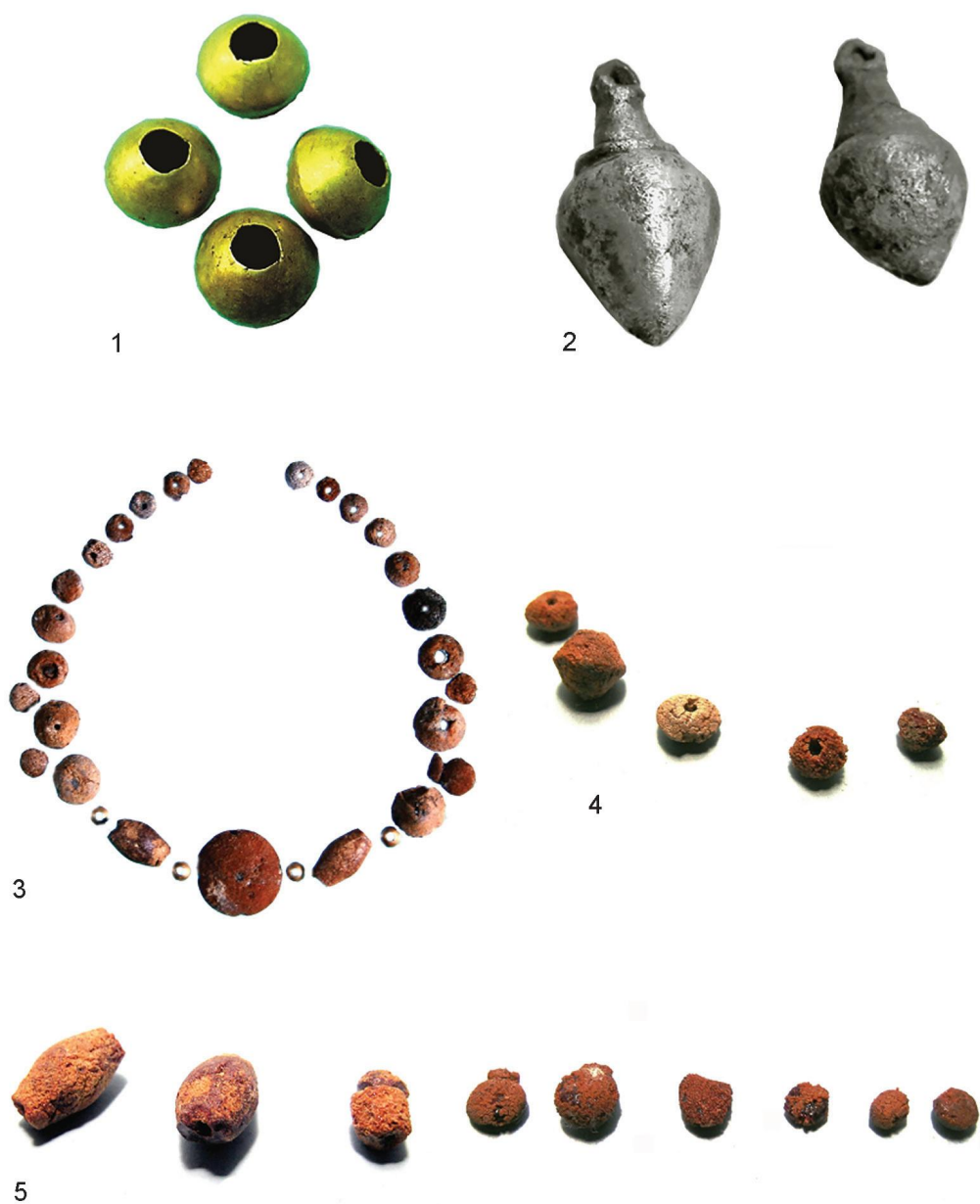


Fig. 3: Manfredonia, Museo Archeologico della Daunia. Funerary assemblage from Cupola-Beccarini, second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: 1) Gold biconical beads from a necklace; 2) Silver pendants in a globular shape; 3) Reconstruction of an amber necklace with different beads; 4–5) Amber beads of different shapes from a necklace.



Fig. 4: Manfredonia, Museo Archeologico della Daunia. Funerary assemblage from Cupola-Beccarini: 1) Silver scepter/distaff; 2) Silver plate with embossed decoration of Etruscan production; 3) Some bronze basins with pearled rim of Etruscan production; 4) Some bronze basins with taut rim and bottom decorated with embossed omphalos and concentric circles.

horizontal rim decorated with braid, which are widely diffused throughout the areas of Etruscan influence (fig. 4). Very interesting is the treatment reserved to a basin with pearly rim, to which iron feet of a tripod have been applied, highlighting even more its function as an element for food cooking.

The exaltation of the woman's high rank goes also through the sacrifice and the offer of noble animals like the horse: in fact, placed under the mound, there was an equine head, next to which a bell-shaped goblet was placed. This is not an unusual practice in Daunia, especially in female tombs, attested also at Canosa, Minervino Murge and Biccari. The meaning of this ritual is similar and equally emblematic of the deposition of the war-chariots inside the female tombs of the Etruscan area, where the use of the horse is connected to social life of the ruling class and to an aristocracy that to impose itself served of military power. The richness of the *oikos* is founded on a plot of owned goods, and the horses represented part of the wealth of the family clan. They constitute a reference to the importance for Daunian elites of practices as *hippodamia* and *hippotrofia* that conceal very ancient origins and have deep heroic values that recall the mythical ancestor of Daunian people, that of Diomedes known since the Homeric tradition as a tamer of horses par excellence. Therefore, it is possible that the princess of Cupola, in addition to highlighting her social and economic preeminence within the family and her community, wants to emphasize with the sacrifice of horse her descent from the mythical ancestor, according to a will of affirmation of her identity as *genos*.<sup>18</sup>

Other rare testimonies of exotic objects were offered by the Daunian sites, also interpretable as gifts, which attest a Mediterranean mobility of wide-ranging that involves Daunia during Orientalizing (fig. 5). The Egyptian vase in quartzitic stone from Cupola (and not from Coppa Nevigata) is really unique. The libation vase, probably dedicated as an *ex voto* in a sanctuary located in the area, where the Daunian stelae come from, preserves only the upper part, with a hieroglyphic inscription below the rim. It recalls a high dignitary at the court of the Pharaoh Psammetico II (595–589 BC), a certain Bokorinef "head of the Greeks' army". Other testimonies of eastern artifacts are known in Daunia, such as the *faience* pendants of Egyptian type depicting the images of the sacred family of Memphis (Ptah-Pateikos, his wife Sekhmet and Bes) spread from the Phoenician trade, perhaps received through Pitecusa and the Etruscan centers of Campania. These are real amulets, with a powerful magic-apotropaic function, which probably had to form the central pendants of complex amber necklaces well attested also in nearby Basilicata.<sup>19</sup> The same Pitecusa is also responsible for the diffusion of other objects, such as the ivory, *faience* and glass-paste scarabs found in the burials of Monte Saraceno, Canosa, Cupola and Ortona.<sup>20</sup> Particular attention must be paid to the funerary assemblage of tomb 46/b from Monte Saraceno, which has yielded an ivory scaraboid, but above all three specimens of turtle shells, with clear symbolic and ritual value as an emblem of the chthonic world, well attested in some burials of Populonia and Tarquinia.<sup>21</sup>





Fig. 5: 1) Manfredonia, Museo Archeologico della Daunia. Egyptian vase in quartzitic stone with a hieroglyphic inscription (595–589 BC) from Cupola; 2) Bari, Museo Archeologico della Città Metropolitana. *Faience* pendants of Egyptian type (7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) depicting the images of the sacred family of Memphis, Sekhmet, Bes and Ptah-Pateikos.

### Peucetia and Taranto

The Orientalizing period is less represented in Peucetia, with sporadic testimonies related to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, and appears with greater delay (late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC) than Daunia. Peucetia is affected, above all, by influences from Greece and Greek colonies (Taranto and Metapontum), although there are several testimonies from Etruscan area, represented especially by the bronze basins with pearled rim. However, for this period, we must consider an interesting male burial from Altamura that has yielded a high-level funerary assemblage, consisting of few but significant objects, dated to the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Among these artifacts a Corinthian helmet stands out, belonging to the most ancient type, but the most outstanding element is represented by a bronze ribbed bowl, linked to regal figures in the eastern world (fig. 6). The object, for its decoration depicting a network of embossed clews, can be considered as a *unicum* in Italian documentation. In fact, for its morphological and decorative features, it finds immediate comparisons with a bowl from Assur and some specimens of Assyrian (Nippur, Nimrud) or Assyrian-Iranian (four specimens from Luristan) and Iranian production (the bronze ribbed bowl at the Museum of Utrecht), dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. For these reasons, the Altamura's bowl falls fully within the Middle East production and, almost certainly, was imported through Syro-Phoenician vectors thanks to a "ceremonial" exchange of gifts composed of prestige goods. Therefore, a "gift for king", if we remember it was a precious artifact used by the Assyrian sovereigns.<sup>22</sup>

During the 7<sup>th</sup> and especially in the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the great prosperity of some centers of central Apulia, linked to the exuberant agricultural resources, causes a massive import of refined jewels in precious metal, which is flanked by local production. This phenomenon can be observed in Noicattaro and, later, in the other centers such as Ruvo and Rutigliano, where the huge demand for luxury items must have led, in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, to the transfer of some workshops of specialized artisans both from Etruria and Magna Graecia to Peucetia. Very interesting are some gold jewels from Noicattaro, probably belonging to a single funerary assemblage (fig. 7). The first is a trapezoidal pendant with Greek-eastern style decoration (mid 6<sup>th</sup> century BC), adorned with braids and rosettes, depicting an embossed running leveret. Also the pair of disk type ornaments for clothes, with embossed and granulation decoration, constitute precious evidence: on them are depicted a pairs of snakes separated by two swastikas. The schematized form of the snake's snout finds comparisons with ornaments from Tekke (Crete) and Ithaca and can be considered the most ancient Greek imports in southern Italy, dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC and ascribed to the Orientalizing production. To these artifacts two gold necklaces must be added, probably of Greek-eastern production and dated to the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The first is composed of a single central pendant in the shape of little globular amphora with vertical cylindrical element, suspended by a thin cord twisted wire. The second necklace includes three circles of different diameter wire hooked at the ends and held together by a ring



Fig. 6: Altamura, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. bronze ribbed bowl with decoration depicting a complex network of embossed clews of Assyrian-Iranian production, last decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.





Fig. 7: Bari, Museo Archeologico della Città Metropolitana. Gold jewellery from Noicattaro.

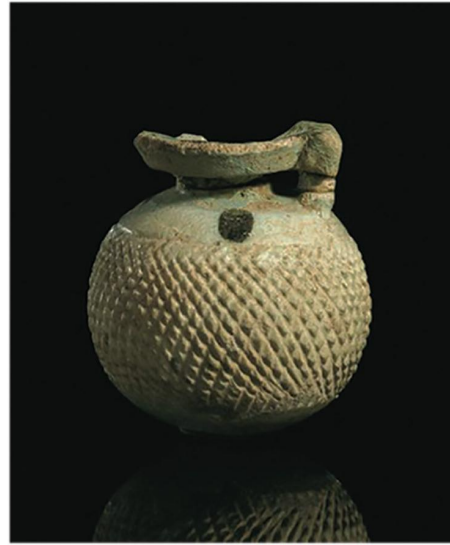
which is hung a small hook with two biconical beads. The field of production must be sought in the Tyrrhenian side of the Peninsula, especially in Campania (Pontecagnano and Cumae) and Calabria (Torre Galli) where these objects are quite common during the Orientalizing period.<sup>23</sup>

The 7<sup>th</sup> century BC is a crucial phase for Monte Sannace (one of the most important site of Peucetia), because it starts contacts with the Greek-colonial centers, the main area of reference for imports (especially Corinthian and Ionian pottery and vases produced in Magna Graecia). On the acropolis, more complex buildings with a rectangular plan, built with stone walls and a thatched roof, begin to appear. From a hut-house consisting of a quadrangular covered room, in front of which opened a large open courtyard, bordered by a colonnade of wooden poles, came an extraordinary group of vases of Greek tradition, which compose a ceramic set, intended for the ritual practice of wine consumption. It is, above all, brown-painted fine pottery, with sub-Geometric and linear decoration (also figured), dated to the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (jugs, craters, jars and cups with fillet decoration), which find strong analogies with the vases produced in the main centers of Siritide (Incoronata, Metapontum, Siris).<sup>24</sup> In the same area, two great tombs with two external *sema* were found inside a sacred building, belonging to high-ranking people: a Mesocorinthian krater by the Memnon Painter, depicting the duel between Achilles and Memnon, and a large two-color geometric jar stand out among the objects of the assemblages (fig. 8). These were also composed of Corinthian, Ionian and colonial painted vases, local geometric pottery, a bronze basin and iron spears that place the tombs in the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. The two large vases were used both with a complex functional value, during the funeral ceremony, and evocative, at the end.<sup>25</sup>

The Tarentine society, far from adhering to Laconian traditions, even in the funerary sphere, seems to prefer other behavioral models that envisage ostentation of luxury and wealth, with a dizzying and quick increase of the funerary assemblages. Next to the Corinthian pottery, there are some valuable objects referable to handicraft productions of different origins, such as eastern vases and configured balsamaries, like Samian and Rhodian artifacts, attesting the strong relationships with eastern Greece. Similar strong commercial and cultural contacts are recognizable towards the eastern world, especially with requests for Egyptian or Egyptianizing products, such as *faïence*, steatite or imitations of talcoid stone scarabs and scaraboids, perhaps imported from the Greek center of Naukratis in Egypt. To these we can add *alabastra* in Egyptian alabaster, *faïence* plastic balsamaries, and perfumes containers (*faïence aryballoi*) of Egyptian style of Rhodian origin, or the Egyptian *faïence* statuettes depicting a double *aulòs* player, which finds comparisons with other specimens from Naukratis, that attest the composite character of the goods and commercial carriers, together with the complexity of the needs of the local market, and how the aristocratic class of Taranto is fully involved in the Orientalizing culture (fig. 8).<sup>26</sup>



1



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Fig. 8: 1) Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Mesocorinthian krater by the Memnon Painter depicting the duel between Achilles and Memnon, first decades of 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC; 2–4) Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Orientalia from Taranto, 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: faience aryballos of Rhodian production; faience plastic balsamary of Egyptian style; necklace composed of scarabs talcoid stone of Egyptian production.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For the relationships between Daunia and Thyrrhenian area: De Juliis 1996, 529–560; Bottini 1999, 89–95; Nava 1999, 45–69; De Juliis 2001, 260–267; D’Ercole 2002; D’Ercole 2008, 95–102; Mazzei 2010, 108–113, 158–190, 229–230; Montanaro 2010a, 98–105; Montanaro 2011, 7–48; Bottini 2016, 9–50; Montanaro 2016, 514–520.

<sup>2</sup> Tomb 67 of Monte Saraceno (Nava 1991, 214–215; Mazzei 2010, 28–29, 70–71) has yielded an ivory scaraboid and a gold falera similar to those found at Alianello and S. Maria di Anglona (Bianco 1996a, 37–44; Bianco 1996b, 45–48; Bianco 1998, 238–239; Guzzo 1998, 83–87). For Arpi: Mazzei 1995, 41–42; Mazzei 2010, 26–27, 34–37; Montanaro 2011, 11–12; Corrente 2015, 37–38, 40–62.

<sup>3</sup> Tomb 231 from Salapia: Lippolis – Giammatteo 2008, 94–96, 160–161; Montanaro 2009, 1–27; Mazzei 2010, 46–49; Montanaro 2011, 9–11; Corrente 2016a, 73–76; Diomede 2016a, 78–82; Montanaro 2018, 643–644.

<sup>4</sup> The birth of princes in Daunia: Bottini 1982; De Juliis 1992, 56–62; Mazzei 2010, 108–113; Montanaro 2011, 7–48. For Basilicata and Melfese district: Bottini 1982; d’Agostino 1998a, 25–57; Gras 1998, 58–81; Bottini 1999, 89–95; Bottini, Setari 2003; Montanaro 2018, 635–638.

<sup>5</sup> Tomb 1/75: Corrente 1992a, 70–71; Lo Porto 1992, 76–78; D’Ercole 2002, 134–136; Montanaro 2011, 14, 20–23; Montanaro 2018, 645–646.

<sup>6</sup> For the funerary space of tomb 1/89: Corrente 1992a, 63–70; Corrente 1992b, 87–92; D’Ercole 2002, 92–94; Mazzei – Corrente 2005, 303–306; Montanaro 2010a, 99–101; Montanaro 2011, 23–26; Corrente 2016d, 140.

<sup>7</sup> Corrente 1992a, 66–67; Corrente 1992b, 96–98; Corrente – Scialpi 2013, 52–53.

<sup>8</sup> For the assemblage of tomb 1/89: Corrente 1992a, 63–71; Corrente 1992b, 87–100; Mazzei 2010, 113–120; Montanaro 2010a, 72–77, 102–107; Montanaro 2011, 23–32; Corrente, Scialpi 2013, 52–59; Bruscella 2016a, 153–180; Corrente 2016d, 139–141; Montanaro 2016, 514–516.

<sup>9</sup> For similar pendants from Campania: Guzzo 1993, 223–225; Cuzzo 2003, 108–112.

<sup>10</sup> The metal artifacts: Nava 1999, 55–59; D’Ercole 2008, 97–100; Mazzei 2010, 110–115; Montanaro 2010a, 102–107; Montanaro 2011, 14–39; Corrente 2016d, 137–138; Diomede 2016c, 143–153; Montanaro 2016, 516–521.

<sup>11</sup> Association between amber and gold: Nava 2007, 23–25; D’Ercole 2008, 96–97; Montanaro 2010a, 102–105; Montanaro 2012a, 9–10; Montanaro 2016, 517–518.

<sup>12</sup> Amber distaff from Braida: Bottini – Setari 2003, 40–41; Bottini 2007, 236–237; Setari 2012, 92–93.

<sup>13</sup> Molten glass distaffs: Cales (Passaro – Ciaccia 2000, 20–25); Campovalano (d’Ercole 2001, 81–83; Bocalini 2003, 153–160; Chiaramonte Trerè 2003, 142–144; Chiaramonte Trerè – d’Ercole 2003, 66–71; Buoi 2010, 203–222).

<sup>14</sup> For distaff in Italic world: Bartoloni 2007, 18–23; Locatelli – Malnati 2007, 55–70.

<sup>15</sup> For the silver scepter/distaff: Nava 1999, 54–56; Montanaro 2010a, 74–75, 104–105; Montanaro 2011, 34–36; Diomede 2016c, 145; Montanaro 2016, 518–519.

<sup>16</sup> For diadems: Martelli 1995, 9–26; Bartoloni 2000, 276–278; Martelli 2008, 130–132; Rallo 2008, 145–147; Mazzei 2010, 109–111; Montanaro 2010a, 75–78.



<sup>17</sup> For the silver plate: Guzzo 1993; Nava 1999, 56–57; Naso 2006, 339–341; D’Ercole 2008, 99–100; Mazzei 2010, 109–111; Montanaro 2010a, 72–73, 104–105; Montanaro 2011, 30–32; Montanaro 2016, 519–520. For the diadem from Cales: Passaro – Ciaccia 2000, 20–25.

<sup>18</sup> For the sacrifice of horse: Boldrini 1996, 45–48; Mazzei – Corrente 2005, 303–306; Corrente et al. 2010, 225–228; Mazzei 2010, 113–114; Montanaro 2010a, 105–107; Montanaro 2011, 17–20; Corrente 2016c, 115–120; Montanaro 2016, 520–521.

<sup>19</sup> For the Egyptian vase: D’Ercole 2008, 99–100; Mazzei 2010, 153–154; Corrente 2016b, 103–106; Diomedede 2016b, 109–110.

<sup>20</sup> For the testimonies of scaraboids: Nava – Fuligni 1994, 72–73; Nava – Fuligni 1995, 94–95, 117; Mazzei 2010, 29, 153–154.

<sup>21</sup> Tomb of turtles: Corrente 2016b, 106–107; Diomedede 2016b, 110–113.

<sup>22</sup> The bronze bowl from Altamura: Montanaro 2010b, 491–524; Montanaro 2012b, 9–50; Sciacca 2015, 98–99; Montanaro 2016, 515–516.

<sup>23</sup> For the jewels from Noicattaro: De Juliis 1990, 398–399; Guzzo 1993, 102–103; Montanaro 2015, 173–174.

<sup>24</sup> Hut-house of Monte Sannace: Amatulli et al. 2016, 33–44.

<sup>25</sup> Tombs from Monte Sannace: Ciancio 2005, 8–12; Ciancio et al. 2009, 315–316; Ciancio 2010, 229–230.

<sup>26</sup> Taranto: Masiello 1996, 142–146; Lippolis 1997, 3–17; Masiello 1997, 196–197, 200–204; De Juliis 1998, 38–42; Lippolis 1998, 103–106.

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Fig. 1: after Bruscella 2016a figs. 22bv–22ci; table elaborated by the author. – Fig. 2.1: after Montanaro 2016 fig. 24. – Fig. 2.2–4: after Bruscella 2016a figs. 22bh, 22bk, 22bl, 22bm, 22bn; table elaborated by the author. – Fig. 3: after Montanaro 2010a pls. II–III, IX, X, XII. – Fig. 4: after Montanaro 2010a pls. IV, VII, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII. – Fig. 5.1: after Mazzei 2010 fig. at page 155. – Fig. 5.2: Photographic Archive of Museo Archeologico della Città Metropolitana di Bari. – Fig. 6: after Montanaro 2015 pl. XXIX, 2–4. – Fig. 7: after Montanaro 2015 pl. XXXIII and photos from the Photographic Archive of Museo Archeologico della Città Metropolitana di Bari. – Fig. 8.1: after Ciancio 2005, 12. – Fig. 8.2–4: after De Juliis – Loiacono 1985, photo modified by the author.

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