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Underworld

IMAGINING THE AFTERLIFE
IN ANCIENT SOUTH ITALIAN
VASE PAINTING

EDITED BY DAVID SAUNDERS

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with contributions by

Keely Elizabeth Heuer

Sarah Iles Johnston

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J. Paul Getty Museum | Los Angeles



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ANDREA CELESTINO
MONTANARO

Apulian Funerary Practices

Grave goods from a selection of burials in Peucetia and Daunia from the late fifth and fourth centuries BC allow us to characterize local funerary rituals and the ways in which elite identity could be expressed through assemblages of figure-decorated vases and their imagery, as well as armor, jewelry, and bronze vessels. The ancient Peucetians inhabited the central region of Apulia, bordered by the Ofanto River to the north, the Bradano River to the west, and the territories of Taranto and Messapia to the south (a region mostly coincident with what is today the province of Bari and parts of the provinces of Taranto and Matera). The Daunians lived in northern Apulia, in an area extending from the Ofanto River in the south to the Promontorio del Gargano in the north (a region mostly coincident with the modern province of Foggia and the environs of Lavello, Melfi, and Banzi). These peoples left no substantial written records, and so aside from rare mentions of them by ancient Greek and Roman authors, all our evidence must come from archaeological finds—and many of the names used for these finds, from tomb types to vase shapes, come from terms applied to them by Italian archaeologists. Discoveries in the last forty years have drawn attention to the evolution of Peucetian and Daunian aristocratic classes, and in particular to the ability of high-ranking individuals to acquire prestige goods from diverse sources. Indeed, from the last decades of the fifth century BC Apulian aristocrats were among the main patrons or consumers of products from Etruscan, Greek, and Italic workshops. In the elaborate funerary assemblages of local warrior chiefs and princesses, vases, weapons, jewelry, and other goods conveyed the deceased's wealth, social role, and—in many cases—adoption of Greek cultural or ideological models.¹ These grave goods could also denote religious attitudes, not least adherence to beliefs that supported hopes for the afterlife, albeit filtered through local values and ideologies.

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Peucetia: Funerary Practices

Throughout Peucetia, the deceased were inhumed either on their sides or supine, with their legs drawn up. The bodies were placed in rectangular box-shaped (*cassa*) and cist tombs, built from and covered with limestone slabs, or in sarcophagi cut from single pieces of stone, often plastered or painted inside, and sealed with a single thin tufa slab or slabs of limestone.² These graves frequently have a *ripostiglio*, or adjoining compartment—a secondary rectangular pit that was dug at the foot of the burial to hold grave goods. From the second half of the fifth century BC, we also encounter substantial *semicamera* tombs at, for example, Gravina in Puglia, Ceglie, Monte Sannace, Altamura, and Ruvo di Puglia. These consist of large squared tufa blocks, with indentations on the longer sides for wooden planks that support the slabs laid on top. Plastered on the interior, they are often decorated with finely painted floral motifs or, more rarely, figural scenes.

The burials, both for men and for women, can contain a large number and variety of vases, including both imported Attic and Italic figure-decorated pottery and local black-gloss and matt-painted fine ware, as well as unpainted and cooking wares.³ A decorated vase for mixing wine and water, such as a krater, is typically the centerpiece, accompanied by

Figure 5.1
 Proto-Apulian Vases,
 attributed to the Painter of
 the Berlin Dancing Girl. Found
 in Rutigliano, tomb 24/1976,
 440–420 BC. Terracotta. *Top, left*
to right: Volute Krater with Nike
 Crowning Achilles Victor over
 Memnon, H: 60 cm (23⁵/₈ in.),
 Diam: 42.5 cm (16¹/₁₆ in.),
 140639; Panathenaic Amphora
 with Adrastos Setting Out
 against Thebes, H: 51 cm
 (20¹/₁₆ in.), Diam: 17.6 cm
 (6¹⁵/₁₆ in.), 140638; Pelike with
 Peleus Fighting an Amazon,
 H: 37 cm (14³/₁₆ in.), Diam: 18 cm
 (7¹/₁₆ in.), 140637. *Bottom, left*
to right: Panathenaic Amphora
 with a Greek Warrior Fighting
 an Amazon, H: 24.5 cm (9⁵/₈ in.),
 Diam: 8.6 cm (3³/₈ in.), 140602;
 Oinochoe with Herakles, Athena,
 and Kerberos, H: 23 cm (9¹/₁₆ in.),
 Diam: 12.9 cm (5¹/₁₆ in.),
 140601; Hydria with Athlete
 Crowned by Nike, H: 24.5 cm
 (9⁵/₈ in.), Diam: 10.8 cm (4¹/₄ in.),
 140230; Skyphos with Two
 Youths, H: 15.8 cm (6³/₁₆ in.),
 Diam: 18.7 cm (7³/₈ in.),
 140635. Taranto, Storeroom of
 Soprintendenza Archeologia,
 Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le
 Province di Brindisi, Lecce e
 Taranto

vessels for drinking, serving, and storing wine. Valuable Greek and Etruscan bronze vases and metal implements for the preparation and consumption of meat and wine also feature, and these attest to the active participation of aristocratic women at the banquet and other elite social activities (as in other Italic communities, women in Peucetia were the keepers of the homestead and domestic goods). In female burials, high status is manifest in assemblages of jewelry, including silver, gold, and amber necklaces, fibulae, pendants, and diadems, and occasional imports from Etruria and the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g., glass vessels that may have contained precious aromatic substances used in preparing the body for funerary rituals). Male status is primarily apparent from an array of armor and weapons—swords, greaves, helmets, belts, spears, and javelins—often imported from Magna Graecia and Greece.

Fifth-Century Practices: Rutigliano

Situated in central Peucetia, Rutigliano has yielded some of the richest and most valuable evidence for Attic, proto-Lucanian, and proto-Apulian red-figure pottery.⁴ Tombs are of sarcophagus and *cassa* type, plastered on the inside in red, with an adjoining *ripostiglio*. The compartment contained pottery, while metal instruments and personal adornments were placed within the grave. Both male and female burials contain rich ceramic sets—Attic black- and red-figure vases, Italiote red-figure vases, and Attic and Italiote black-gloss vases alongside indigenous examples—that include kraters, pouring vessels, and drinking cups. The principal vase in these pottery assemblages is a figure-decorated column krater (in tombs dating from the late sixth century BC) or volute krater (in tombs dating from the second half of the fifth century). In the last decades of the fifth century, the grand Attic vases (kraters and amphorae) are replaced by Italiote ones from workshops at Metaponto (attributed to the Pisticci and Amykos Painters) and Taranto (Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl and Sisyphus Painter). The grave goods also include several bronze vases and metal instruments, such as *lebetes*, basins with movable or fixed handles, paterae (with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic handles), jugs, strainers, thymiateria, and *kreagrai*. Imported from Greece, Magna Graecia, Etruria, or locally produced, these are all items that would be used in a banquet or symposium.

Rich male burials include iron weapons and bronze armor, such as Corinthian (tomb 24/1976) or Apulo-Corinthian helmets (tombs 3/1976, 11/1976, 19/1976, 77/1977), pairs of greaves, and belts. These highlight the deceased's status as a warrior chief, and this is often reinforced by the imagery on many of the vases. Tomb 24/1976, a *semicamera* type with a *ripostiglio*, dated to around 430–400 BC, offers a good example.⁵ Seven vases in this assemblage, datable to 440–420 BC, are attributed to the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl (fig. 5.1), and were probably produced for this specific funerary context.⁶ Depictions of fighting warriors, of departure for war, or of crowning after victory exalt prowess in battle, and all the more so when these scenes involve mythical heroes. Besides a pelike that depicts Peleus fighting an Amazon, an impressive volute krater from this tomb shows Achilles crowned as victor by Nike as Memnon collapses, and a Panathenaic amphora names Adrastos setting out against Thebes. The scenes were fitting images for a deceased warrior, supporting Edward G. D. Robinson's assertion in discussing the krater that "the elites of the Italic centres were becoming interested, at just this period, in the hope of spending an afterlife in the company of

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Figure 5.2

Selection of a woman's jewelry, found in Rutigliano, tomb 16/1976, 2nd half of 5th century BC. *Top*: Chain with Acorn- and Pomegranate-Shaped Pendants. Silver, L (of chain): 41.5 cm (16 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.), H (of acorn pendants): 2.5 cm (1 in.), H (of pomegranate pendant): 3.5 cm (1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), 138548. *Bottom*: Necklace with Acorn-, Shell-, and Lotus Flower-Shaped Pendants. Amber, max. H (of acorn pendants): 2.7 cm (1 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.), max. H (of shell pendants): 2.3 cm ($\frac{7}{8}$ in.), max. H (of lotus-flower pendant): 1.5 cm ($\frac{9}{16}$ in.), 138573, 138574. Taranto, Storeroom of Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le Province di Brindisi, Lecce e Taranto



the gods.”⁷ What appears to have been a carefully constructed pictorial program finds an apt conclusion on an oinochoe that depicts Herakles having captured Kerberos.⁸ The scene has a clear eschatological message, offering a metaphor for victory over death and the achievement of immortality as a just reward for someone who had accomplished heroic deeds in battle. Such a hope for a happy afterlife may be underscored by the inclusion of eggshells in an unpublished Attic red-figure column krater by the Agrigento Painter (with a scene of Theseus fighting Prokrustes) that was also found in this grave, which finds parallels in other burials at Rutigliano (e.g., tombs 17/1976 and 77/1977). In discussing the Italic communities of Magna Graecia, Angelo Bottini sees eggs as a symbolic reference to Orphic beliefs.⁹

Female burials at Rutigliano contain—in addition to ceramic and bronze wares—gold and silver adornments (fibulae, necklaces, hair ornaments, diadems) and a large quantity of carefully carved figured ambers. Among these, tomb 16/1976, a sarcophagus type with a *ripostiglio* dating from the second half of the fifth century BC,¹⁰ has yielded one of the most elaborate

funerary assemblages in the necropolis, with more than one hundred objects. The majority of the ceramic vessels in the *ripostiglio* are Attic imports, and almost all are associated with wine consumption and the symposium—most obviously the largest vessel, a red-figure volute krater of the Niobid Group (with Menelaos pursuing Helen, and a libation scene for the departure of Hektor and Paris from Priam, Cassandra, and Hekabe).¹¹ The banqueting set was completed by a rich ceramic service of black-gloss vases,¹² and by bronze vases (*lebetes*, basin, and patera) and metal tools (iron spits) for boiling or roasting meat, as well as two bronze thymia-terria to perfume the otherworldly banquet of the deceased. Some of these metal instruments were made in Etrusco-Campanian workshops, and together with the pottery from Attica and the colonies of Magna Graecia demonstrate the complex relationships among the emerging classes during the second half of the fifth century BC. In addition, imported glass *balsamaria* were found in this burial, and would have contained precious aromatic substances used in the preparation of the body. The remnants of sumptuous ceremonial attire, probably worn during the funerary ceremony, further convey the high rank of the deceased, and of special note is the jewelry in the tomb (fig. 5.2). This includes fourteen silver fibulae with a simple or tripartite bow, others with a double-curve bow (very common in Peucetian burials), and a beautiful silver chain that was found on the body of the deceased. Hooked to the thick knitted chain, which was perhaps part of a shawl, are acorns in groups of three—each acorn made of two thin welded and embossed sheets. Two pomegranate-shaped pendants (one now detached) were suspended at the ends, with the goblets decorated with filigree. The parure is completed by more than forty exquisitely carved amber beads (in the shapes of a lotus flower, shells, and acorns) that must have formed an impressive multithread necklace, and by figured ambers, including two bovine heads, a ram's head, and a very fine female head.

Fourth-Century Practices

For some towns in Peucetia, the fourth century BC represents the peak period of economic, political, and cultural activity, characterized by a huge increase in the number of burials. The evidence concerns mainly groups that played a military role in their communities, and whose grave goods consist primarily of offensive weapons (spear butts, tips of spears and javelins, knives) and, in one case, a bronze lanyard belt. To these can be added strigils, symbolic of *paideia* and its (Hellenic) cultural associations, and a symposium set, with bronze vases (jugs, olle, basins, and *lebetes*) and iron and lead instruments connected to sacrifice and banqueting (*kreagrai*, spits, a grater, tripods, and supports for oil lamps).¹³ Allusions to the heroic banquet—evocative of the banquets described by Homer—are clear, focusing on the consumption of wine and meat. The latter would have been the product of sacrifice, to be understood as a ritual death, and in this light we may note the presence in a few contexts (e.g., tomb 7 in Monte Sannace) of the *machaira*, a sacrificial knife used to slaughter and ritually slice the sacrificed animal.¹⁴ In some assemblages (e.g., tomb 3 in Monte Sannace),¹⁵ we also encounter a basin and jug. These vessels were used in Homeric and Classical Greece for ablutions before and after eating, after bathing, and, again, for sacrifices. In Peucetian funerary contexts, their presence can be connected to the purificatory rituals undertaken by participants in funerary ceremonies.

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No less important than the grave goods are the funerary structures themselves, which sometimes reach monumental dimensions. Many *semicamera* and chamber tombs are frescoed with simple polychrome bands, ornamental motifs such as palmettes, arabesques, and floral decorations, or, more rarely, figurative scenes.¹⁶ The presence of red-figure kraters in high-ranking female burials of the fourth century BC, as well as smaller vases for drinking and pouring wine, indicates that Peucetian aristocratic women continued to enjoy the same privileges as before regarding their participation in symposia and wine consumption. The assemblages in these tombs also include beautiful Tarentine jewelry, such as rings, earrings, and necklaces embellished with precious stones.¹⁷ What is most apparent, however, from the elite female burials is the deceased's status as mistress of the homestead, as seen on a red-figure hydria from a tomb at Gravina in Puglia, on which a woman spins wool, assisted by a handmaid.¹⁸ This manifestation of female virtue *par excellence* pertains to the private and family sphere, where the woman was both bearer and protector. In these roles, she enhanced the value of the house, whose good functioning was based on land ownership and careful exploitation of agricultural resources.

Analysis of the pottery classes in fourth-century Peucetian burials reveals the expansion and intensification of Taranto's cultural influence, with Italiote workshops producing massive quantities of red-figure, black-painted, and overpainted vases, and achieving a monopoly in the Italic markets. In tandem, there is a noticeable reduction of local pottery in the most important complexes, and in the second half of the fourth century the quantity of Italiote ceramics ceases to be a sign of a privileged socioeconomic status. The most important burials are now distinguished by vases of greater monumentality, decorated with complex mythological scenes, and attributable to the major workshops of the day. So, for example, complexes in Ruvo, such as tombs 35, 55, 163, and 164, are characterized above all by kraters and amphorae attributed to the Lycurgus, Darius, Baltimore, and Underworld Painters.¹⁹

Black-painted pottery in these fourth-century graves is exclusively of Italiote and local production, and is no longer imported from Athens. The most widespread shapes are plates, cups, jugs, kylikes, and skyphoi, often found in multiples. Other products inspired by Greek models are the polychrome overpainted vessels, such as the Gnathian-style vases, which occur mainly as small and medium-size shapes (skyphoi, cups, oinochoai, and lekythoi). Red overpainted pottery is often less significant, typically limited to minimally decorated miniature vases, attributable to the workshops of the Xenon and Red Swan Groups. Finally, cooking vessels are limited to a few shapes whose use for funerary rituals is evidenced by widespread traces of burning.²⁰

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Gravina in Puglia

In inner Peucetia lies Gravina in Puglia (ancient Silbion) where, between the sixth and fourth centuries BC, different elite groups buried their dead within the urban area on the Botromagno hill and at the Padre Eterno necropolis at the foot of the hill.²¹ The latter is situated along a creek, a primary source of sustenance and exchange for the local communities, and the location appears to have been meaningful, with a cult building in addition to the cemetery conveying the sacred status of the area. Here the aristocratic tombs are almost exclusively of pit type, with a few *semicamera* graves. The latter are larger than average, dug into the tufaceous bank

Figure 5.3
Reconstructions of the funerary assemblages of two warrior chiefs, 410–380 BC, found at Gravina in Puglia: tomb 10/1999 (*top*) and tomb 4/1988. Gravina di Puglia, Museo Civico Archeologico SABAP-Ba

and grouped in a specific part of the necropolis.²² The deceased was placed supine, with the arms folded on the chest and the legs bent and superimposed on the side. While not quite a true supine deposition, this burial posture differs from the traditional practice, in which the legs were drawn up, and suggests a change (cultural and probably also ethnic) from the Archaic community. Among the burials in this necropolis are tombs 10/1999 and 4/1988 (fig. 5.3), dated between 410 and 380 BC. These belonged to two adult males united by ties of kinship (as indicated by anthropological analyses) who were buried with hoplite armaments that identify them as warrior chiefs.

In tomb 10/1999, the deceased wore a bronze belt, placed on the pelvis, a pair of ankle guards, and a leather breastplate, with iron weapons placed along his side. He was buried with vases attributed to the Proto-Lucanian Amykos Painter (a pelike with an athlete between



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cloaked female figures and a column krater depicting a Dionysiac *thiasos*), and a bronze *lebes*, a grater, a bronze kantharos, an iron tripod, and spits complete the symposium set. A bronze lamp on an iron foot was also deposited to illuminate the banquet in the darkness of the Underworld.²³ In tomb 4/1988, the deceased wore an Apulo-Corinthian helmet, a belt on the hips, a leather bodice with bronze studs, and a pair of ankle guards. A spear and an iron javelin were placed on the chest. The man's role in life as fighter and leader is also evinced in the prominence accorded to a warrior's helmet in the scene of departure for battle on the principal vase in the assemblage, an Apulian red-figure column krater by the Tarporley Painter.²⁴

A nucleus of monumental tombs from the same period within the urban area of Botromagno testify to the emergence of other local elites. Their burials—*grotticella*,²⁵ *semicamera*, and chamber types—are distinguished by uniformly rich and carefully articulated funerary assemblages that manifest the community's ideological heritage, social structure, and strong economic links with the territory of Lucania and the Metapontine hinterland. Especially significant are those funerary assemblages that have yielded early Italiote and Attic red-figure vases, as these suggest the transmission and interpretation of Hellenic iconographic models within the community. *Semicamera* tomb 1/1974 at Botromagno, dated to the late fifth century BC, provides a particularly instructive example.²⁶ Among the Attic specimens are a kantharos attributed to the Eretria Painter, with episodes from the Trojan War, and a *lekanis* lid attributed to the Achilles Painter, with the rape of the Leukippides by the Dioskouroi. The proto-Apulian vases include a monumental volute krater by the Gravina Painter and five Panathenaic amphorae by the Gravina and Sisyphus Painters. These are the most important elements of the assemblage from a stylistic and iconographic perspective, and challenging to interpret. Here, I note only the presence of the Dioskouroi in the Calydonian Boar Hunt scene on the volute krater. Already encountered on the *lekanis* lid, the twins could be seen as an expression of an aristocratic class who created their own distinctive social status through the use of equestrian art. This interpretation is supported by the image of two horsemen painted on one of the tomb's walls—perhaps part of a complex scene depicting a sumptuous funeral ceremony celebrated in honor of the deceased, which, together with the assemblage of vases and their depiction of mythical heroes, exalted the chief's deeds in life. Comparable is another high-status *semicamera* tomb that has recently been discovered on the Botromagno hill.²⁷ Although already looted, the burial yielded fragments of a Panathenaic black-figure amphora decorated with nude runners. The vase probably stood outside the grave, on worked blocks, asserting the deceased's high rank as a victorious athlete. Within the tomb were fragments of Attic red-figure (especially cups and rhyta) and black-gloss vases, and the body was buried with a sword that had an ivory hilt.

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Ruvo di Puglia and Conversano

Some fourth-century Peucetian graves stand out for the presence of Greek-type panoplies. At Ruvo di Puglia, fine examples can be found in tomb 157/1834—a belt, an Apulo-Corinthian helmet, and a long anatomical breastplate, the last certainly for parade—and tomb 158/1839, which included a Chalcidian helmet, a long anatomical breastplate, a belt with plates, a pair of greaves, and a shield with a blazon in the form of a wild boar.²⁸ In the case of the *semicamera*

tomb 39/1929, the set of armor—a short anatomical breastplate of Italic type, a wide belt with palmette hooks, a pair of greaves, and another shield with a boar blazon—is complemented by the iconography of some of the thirty ceramic vessels (dating 345–320 BC) that were also buried in the grave.²⁹ A volute krater by the Gioia del Colle Painter depicts a male figure accompanied by his helmet and shield (hanging inside a *naiskos*), while two Panathenaic amphorae assert the deceased's heroic status through depictions of a nude youth in a *naiskos*.

Tomb 10/1958 at Conversano, roughly sixty kilometers away from Ruvo, offers a useful parallel.³⁰ This *semicamera* burial contained a remarkable complex of material, including a full set of bronze armor (a Phrygian helmet, an anatomical bivalve cuirass, a pair of shin guards, and a belt) and a curved sword, a spear, and an iron knife. The assemblage also included a terracotta group with Nike on a chariot and an exceptional collection of Apulian red-figure vessels dating to the last quarter of the fourth century BC. Together, these objects identify the deceased as a *princeps* and a military leader, a prominent figure both economically and socially. At the time of burial, the armor was placed not on the body but in a *ripostiglio*, suggesting that it was displayed or paraded during the funerary ceremony. It is not clear whether the arms and armor were spoils of war or purchases, either from Taranto or from Greek Alexandria. Nevertheless, their intrinsic value is clear, as is the significance of their deposition as an assertion of economic resources and distinction. A similar message is conveyed by the figure-decorated pottery. The vases, attributed to the workshop of the Darius Painter, are of monumental dimensions and characterized by complex iconography and themes—two amphorae feature unfamiliar scenes of Herakles fighting the Amazons and Hippolyte giving her belt to the hero. These are works intended for specific needs and commissioned by the wealthy elite.

Altamura

Tomb 1/1974 at Altamura, a settlement located in the heart of Murge in inner Peucetia, offers a final example of Peucetian elite burial practices and local engagement with Greek culture (fig. 5.4).³¹ The grave is a *semicamera* tomb containing a large number of artifacts, with red-figure vases predominating. Eight are of monumental size and attributed to the Darius, Patera, and Underworld Painters, dating the burial to 340–320 BC. After the figure-decorated pottery, silver relief-decorated vases are the most numerous, including cups, flasks, alabastra, pseudo-pyxides (with Herakles's head), and rhyta, followed in turn by terracotta figures. The extravagance of the whole ensemble, the subjects depicted on the vases (not least a grand volute krater with Alexander the Great pursuing the Persian king Darius III), and the silvered ceramics that imitate metal vessels that were circulating in the Mediterranean in the wake of Alexander's campaigns all demonstrate a clear relationship with the Greek world, particularly Macedonia. The burial also included several fragments of weapons, and the presence of miniature iron weapons is especially noteworthy. Among the latter, a double ax stands out as a marker of high status.

Many of the red-figure vases from this tomb are decorated with scenes from Greek mythology, such as a loutrophoros with a priestess, perhaps the Pythia, standing before the altar of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Of special note in regard to funerary practices and

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Figure 5.4

Altamura, tomb 1/1974,
340–320 BC. *Top*: view of the
semicamera-type tomb. *Center*:
Three of the large Apulian
red-figure vases from the grave
(*left to right*: *loutrophoros*
attributed to the Darius Painter,
10191; *hydria*, 10193, and *lekanis*,
10160, associated with the
Patera Painter). *Bottom*: Apulian
Red-Figure and Silver Relief-
Decorated Vases. Altamura,
Museo Archeologico Nazionale,
10062–10192



the beliefs that surrounded them is an amphora, associated with the Patera Painter, that depicts the Underworld (cat. 20), whose significance becomes all the more evident when it is viewed alongside a hydria, also associated with the Patera Painter, that illustrates a mythological episode often associated with beliefs regarding the afterlife—the abduction of Kephalos by Eos. Both this story, alluding to the transportation of the soul, and the Underworld scenes on the Patera Painter amphora express hopes for a safe passage and existence after death. But this destiny is seemingly restricted to those who have prominent positions in the community (as confirmed here by symbols of power, such as the miniature iron double ax) and who have accomplished heroic deeds during their lifetimes (as alluded to in the battle scene on the krater).

Daunia: Funerary Practices

Starting in the last quarter of the fifth century BC, when products from Metaponto and, shortly thereafter, Taranto began to flow into the area, Daunia shows signs of growing engagement with elements of Greek culture. The aristocrats of the main Daunian sites (Herdonia, Arpi, Salapia, Canosa di Puglia) were energetic protagonists in this new and decisive engagement with Greek civilization, as evidenced by their often sumptuous funerary monuments and as described in later literary sources.³² The trade routes between ancient Apulia and the major Mediterranean centers, such as Alexandria, that were once monopolized by Taranto were now increasingly directed toward flourishing Daunian sites, such as Canosa and Arpi, where members of the local elite sought precious Greek artifacts that allowed them to participate in Hellenistic culture. In many cases, these goods soon came to be made locally as well, most obviously Apulian red-figure pottery, and later workshops producing monumental vases have been located at Canosa and Arpi. Besides the objects themselves and the uses for which they were destined, this shift brought with it diverse representations of Greek gods, demigods, and heroes; narratives inspired by Greek tragedies and other literary sources; and subjects linked to Orphic and Dionysiac beliefs that were deeply rooted in the elite classes. Their appearance in Daunian burials is the result not of random choice but of deliberate selection by individuals or communities who were aware of the meaning of the iconography.

The intentional assemblage of objects for burials is also apparent from the vessel shapes. A pair of volute kraters is often found with a pair of Panathenaic amphorae, together with a loutrophoros and minor shapes (often with related imagery), as, for example, in the Ipogeo del Vaso di Dario at Canosa.³³ This chamber tomb takes its name from the famous Darius Krater that shows the Greek embassy to the Persian king.³⁴ The assemblage included a second volute krater, with the burial of Patroklos; one amphora with Medea and Jason, and another depicting the myth of Europa and the bull; and a loutrophoros with Andromeda and Perseus facing the sea monster. Comparable pictorial themes have already been noted for vases found in Peucetia.

Daunian burials in this period present some important innovations in ritual. Besides the traditional practice of burying the corpse on its side, with legs drawn up, we find a type of contracted supine posture, where the torso and pelvis are supine, but the legs and the arms

are slightly bent (with one of the arms often resting on the pelvis). This posture is found especially in chamber and *grotticella* tombs, and lies midway between the traditional local custom and the fully supine posture characteristic of the Greeks, Samnites, and Romans. We also encounter partial cremation in situ, especially in the chamber and *grotticella* tombs of Canosa and in nearby Canne (the earliest example is in the Ipogeo dei Vimini, dated to the early decades of the fourth century BC). In these burials, the deceased was exposed to high temperatures on a funeral pyre inside the open chamber. The body was placed next to a large pile of wood, together with certain significant objects, and an animal would have been sacrificed on the pyre (animal remains were recognizable in the heap of ashes found in the center of the Ipogeo dei Vimini). The rest of the rich funerary assemblage would have been brought in only later, after the pyre had partially consumed the deceased, leaving behind the bones.³⁵

Pit graves and *cassa* burials, made from slabs of stone and tufa, are widespread throughout Daunia. *Semicamera* tombs are attested only at Arpi and Salapia, but *grotticella* and chamber tombs prove more common than in Peucetia. The *grotticella* burials consist of one or more subterranean rooms, rounded or squared, with a mostly irregular vault, but with an ogival or barrel section. Access is via a stairway, a sloping floor, or, more rarely, a circular shaft. The entrance is generally closed by monolithic slabs, walls made of raw bricks, or large terracotta roof tiles. Examples are found in Ascoli Satriano as early as the fifth century BC, but they are frequently encountered in the fourth century, especially where the local geology allowed for their excavation, as at Canosa, Canne, Lavello, Salapia, Arpi, San Severo, and Minervino Murge.

The chamber tomb, of clear Hellenic origin, is the richest and most monumental form of burial. It can be built entirely of stone blocks, or its lower section can be dug into the ground and the upper part constructed of stone. The ceiling is generally flat or sloping, although there are some examples of a barrel vault (especially at Arpi). Access consists of a long and wide sloping plane or a large staircase, which ends in an external vestibule where the entrance to the tomb itself opens, framed by substantial monolithic slabs. The plan of the chamber is regular and squared, and there can be one or more rooms arranged symmetrically around the axis formed by the entryway. The tombs are often also characterized by painted or embossed decorative elements, such as semi-columns and pilasters surmounted by Ionic capitals, and even carved figural decorations. At the same time, owing to Tarentine influence, sculptural and decorative elements recall monumental porticoes or small temples, such as *naiskoi*. These emphasize the monumentality of the burial and the prominent economic standing of the aristocratic families (see, e.g., the Lagrasta and Varrese hypogea).³⁶

Within the tombs painted figural scenes are very rare. Examples are best known from the external facades of three burials at Canosa: the Ipogeo del Cerbero, the Tomba di Sant'Aloia, and the Ipogeo Scocchera B, all datable between the fourth and third centuries BC. The first and third depict the arrival of the deceased in the Underworld, where he is met by Kerberos. Other figures include Hermes, a warrior armed with lance and shield leading a horse, and, set off to one side, two cloaked women, presumably living relatives of the deceased. The journey of the deceased to the afterlife is also depicted on the bas-relief on the back wall of the Ipogeo dell'Oplita, also in Canosa, and the local popularity of this *deductio ad inferos* motif is underscored by a fourth example, recently recognized, in the famous Tomba della Medusa at Arpi.³⁷

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Figure 5.5
Selection of armor found in the
Ipogeo Monterisi-Rossignoli,
340–320 BC. Naples, Museo
Archeologico Nazionale

Aristocratic chamber hypogea become more widespread during the second half of the fourth century BC, especially at Canosa. They suggest Greek influence, first from Taranto and later from Macedonia. These burials contain funerary complexes of exceptional richness. The Ipogeo Lagrasta I, for example, has nine rooms and demonstrates that, by the end of the fourth century and into the third, wealth and status were conveyed by gold, silver, and bronze vessels, ornamented mirror cases, engraved gems, ivory, and glass vases of Alexandrian production—rather than by an abundance of large funerary vases.³⁸ Many other burials contain armor. We have already mentioned the Ipogeo del Vaso di Dario, which contained two anatomical breastplates of gilded bronze, a javelin tip, and an equine bit. Other burials that included armor are the Ipogeo Monterisi-Rossignoli (an anatomical breastplate, two Chalcidian helmets, a greave, a belt, and a horse face-guard) (fig. 5.5)³⁹; the Ipogeo Varrese (an impressive anatomical bronze cuirass); and the Ipogeo Scocchera A (an anatomical breastplate, a bronze belt, horse bits, spear tips, and a Gallic iron helmet—the last probably a trophy from an encounter between Daunian and Gallic warriors).

A particularly rich example from the end of the fourth century comes from Minervino Murge, an important Daunian settlement on the edge of the Ofanto River valley.⁴⁰ Tomb 21/1993 is a chamber tomb for a young warrior (fig. 5.6). He was buried with a pilos helmet,



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a wide bronze belt, and long iron weapons (spear tips and a javelin). A laurel wreath was placed on his head as a marker of his military prowess, perhaps even representing him as an immortal hero (compare the scene in the pediment of the Tomba della Nike at Arpi where Nike crowns a triumphant horseman).⁴¹ Besides his status as a warrior, the grave assemblage highlights his high rank through the display of prestige goods (e.g., a bronze handled phiale), and his control of economic resources, as manifest by a large unpainted olla and a locally made amphora. Pairs of volute kraters and amphorae by the Baltimore Painter seem, to judge by the duplication of male and female figures in the *naiskos* scenes, to have been wedding gifts. Their deposition displays the deceased's membership in a gens, with a showy celebration of the mistress of his household.

Ascoli Satriano

Recent discoveries at Ascoli Satriano reinforce the notion that funerary ceremonies were central occasions in Daunian social and family life. During the fourth century BC, local

Figure 5.6
 Reconstruction of the funerary
 assemblage found in Minervino
 Murge, tomb 21/1993, 320-
 300 BC. Minervino Murge,
 Museo Civico Archeologico

aristocrats use funerary rituals for the display of luxury goods, and the assets placed in the burials make tangible both the virtues of the deceased and the complex and symbolic dynamics of private and public ritual within the community.⁴² The transmission of cultural, religious, and mythical-cultic knowledge is particularly important as a sign of an aristocratic group, and so, too, is the use of funerary space—*grotticella* tombs, for example, were a response to the need to bury multiple members of the same family clan. The ritual consumption of wine was clearly significant, and the krater—often occurring in multiples—assumes an exceptional position within these funerary complexes. Six kraters were buried in the Ipogeo della Situla di Hermes, alongside other vessels that pertain to sympotic practices, including unpainted jars, banded and mixed-style vessels (three jugs and two kantharoid vases), eleven small black-gloss vessels, five Saint-Valentin-type kantharoi, fourteen monochrome overpainted jugs and cups, four Gnathian cup-skyphoi, and four silvered vessels (three oinochoai and a kantharos).⁴³ Dionysiac themes predominate on the six kraters and other red-figure vases. The repetition of shapes reinforces the expression of conviviality and suggests the great importance of these practices that were restricted to aristocrats and their families. Few had the privilege of accessing Dionysiac images, of decoding the unusual aspects of the myths, and of participating in rituals of death and rebirth that in mystery cults offered hopes for regeneration and renewal.⁴⁴

Even more complex are the grave goods from the Ipogeo dei Profumi at Ascoli Satriano, found in 2007 and dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BC.⁴⁵ The tomb was used for four individuals, each found in the traditional posture (on the side, with legs drawn up), having undergone partial cremation. Two are warriors, as evidenced by the presence of belts and long throwing weapons, and the other two are women, one with an assemblage of silver fibulae, the other with a glass paste necklace. Here, for the first time, numerous containers for ointments and perfumes (pattern lekythoi, black-painted oil jars, and red-figure *lekanides*) highlight the significance accorded to bodily care and adornment, in a practice that was previously unknown in the local culture but widespread in the Hellenistic Mediterranean. A monochrome overpainted oinochoe and bronze basin would have been used together in the funerary ritual for a postmortem washing ceremony that recalled the nuptial bath. Vases of local production are rather few, with only one Geometric vessel (Daunian Subgeometric III), while banded and mixed-style pottery are more conspicuous (and represented by new shapes such as the *unguentari* of Italiote production). Another peculiar aspect of this burial is the oil lamps. These would have symbolically illuminated the space of the tomb, no longer considered the dark recess of the Underworld.⁴⁶

I conclude with a third assemblage at Ascoli Satriano, Tomba Serpente 1/2002, also known as the Tomba dei gioielli d'argento (Tomb of the silver jewelry).⁴⁷ This trench grave (*tomba a fossa*) dates from the last quarter of the fourth century BC, and the female deceased was buried with a fired-ware jug and a bronze basin that were used together for purification rituals, alongside a wide range of tableware vessels (mainly black-painted pottery). Particularly conspicuous are the jugs and drinking cups with monochrome red decoration by the Xenon Group. Their presence and the remarkably homogeneous composition of pottery shapes seem to allude to the number of participants in the funerary ritual. Notably scarce in

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this burial are red-figure vases—just two bell kraters depicting pairs of figures with offerings. The shape is no longer central to the ceramic symposium service, and the tendency toward miniature vessels marks a sharp difference from rituals focused exclusively on the consumption of wine. Nonetheless, convivial rituals continued to play a part in funerary practices, as suggested by the recurrence of *situlae*. These vessels, with bands and mixed-style decoration, are also encountered in other burials in northern Daunia (Salapia, San Severo Casone, Arpi) during the fourth century.

The Tomba dei gioielli d'argento takes its modern name from the jewelry with which the deceased woman was buried. It includes functional ornaments for clothing, such as iron, bronze, and silver fibulae (widely attested in funerary assemblages at Ascoli Satriano), and reveals the reception of imported materials—a necklace with amber beads and, most striking of all, a silver armband with embossed ram's-head terminals and elaborate engraved decoration that shows two running lions attacking a bull, and a horse succumbing to two griffins. These depictions have Eastern and Levantine (particularly Achaemenid) precursors and parallels, which were extensively adapted in the Greek figurative tradition beginning in the Archaic period. The motifs are of great apotropaic value. The ram's long-standing associations with fertility recall propitiatory rites linked to birth and growth, while the animal friezes are of a type that recurs on funerary couches, vases, and other grave goods. Similar figures can be found on vases of precious metal and jewelry made by Greek artisans in the workshops of the Bosphoran Kingdom and the Thracian-Macedonian region in the third quarter of the fourth century BC. The armband is almost certainly the work of a craftsman who was deeply enmeshed in the artistic koine of the Hellenic and Hellenized world, and clearly demonstrates the diffusion of prestigious and exotic markers that define the particularly high status of their owners.⁴⁸

Conclusion

The Peucetian assemblages of the late fifth and fourth centuries BC present a flourishing stratified society that had cultural and commercial contact with Greece, Etruria, and Magna Graecia. Although there are a great number of Greek imports, such as Attic and Italiote vessels, this is not simply the result of the Hellenization of this area. Rather, Peucetians chose specific Greek vases and shapes—and also iconographies—that they assimilated into their funerary practices, but used them in very different ways from Athenian and Italiote peoples, maintaining their own beliefs and behavior. The burial assemblages are dominated by a symposium set for the consumption of wine and meat, which indicates the acquisition of and adherence to Greek models, but Peucetians diverged from Hellenic practice in their multiplication of objects, with numerous examples of a specific shape appearing in a single burial. Another distinction occurs in the ways in which vases were used; for instance, eggshells were found in some vessels (a krater, skyphos, and *lekanis*) at Rutigliano.⁴⁹ In a number of cases, we see the grouping of thematically linked vases with the aim of conveying a clear message about the deceased's identity and high rank. This is particularly apparent in some male graves where the figure-decorated vases bear scenes linked to the world of the warrior and his values. Mythological heroes, strong and brave warriors, and mythical performers

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of extraordinary feats who achieved immortality all represent ideal models for the Peuce-tian aristocracy, and were well adapted to their needs for self-representation. The tombs at Rutigliano and Gravina, and later at Conversano, Ruvo, and Altamura, show us communities structured according to a hierarchical system, with a small circle of noble warriors at the top. Their burials contained grand Apulian vases with complex scenes and sets of prestigious armor—all with the intention of equating the dead with the heroes of myth and displaying their nobility and high rank to the community.⁵⁰

Daunia saw new developments in social organization only in the second half of the fourth century BC, with the rise of a few aristocratic families such as those buried at Minervino Murge and Canosa (the Varrese, Vaso di Dario, Monterisi-Rossignoli, and Lagrasta hypogea). The creation of such pyramidal hierarchies is suggested, according to Marisa Corrente, by the grave goods, with the adoption of new pottery types (*ceramica listata* and *tempera* pottery); the need for more complex products with sophisticated, often mythological scenes; and extraordinary panoplies for men, and beautiful jewelry for women. In this period, monumental Late Apulian vessels became perfect symbols for a funerary ideology that emphasized the status of a narrow oligarchy.

Burials in northern Daunia (except at Arpi), however, display some differences from other aristocratic assemblages. Here, the central vase of the symposium set is a bell krater with generic Dionysiac subjects, often found in multiples, as in the Ipogeo della Situla di Hermes and Ipogeo dei Profumi at Ascoli Satriano. The set also includes a large number of small drinking vessels in association with one or more *situlae*, another shape that becomes central in the composition of northern Daunian ceramic assemblages. The presence of so many sympotic vessels can be explained as the symbolic participation of the extended family group in the funerary rituals, and demonstrates that the deceased belonged to a specific social circle. At Ascoli Satriano, the absence of elaborate vases decorated with complex epic or mythological themes reflects clear ideological choices by certain elite families, who preferred to display their wealth through a multiplicity of midsize vases.⁵¹

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NOTES

- 1 On these aristocratic tombs, see Riccardi 1989; Ciancio 1997; Montanaro 2007; Ciancio 2010; Mazzei 2010; Montanaro 2015, 37–86; Montanaro 2018.
- 2 For tomb types in Peucetia, see Riccardi 1989, 69–75; Montanaro 2007, 155–86; Peruzzi 2016a; Peruzzi 2016b, 87–173.
- 3 For typical funerary assemblages of this period, see Riccardi 1989, 69–75; Ciancio 1997, 89–107; Montanaro 2007, 155–86; Ciancio 2010; Gargano 2010; Peruzzi 2016b, 87–122.
- 4 A sector of the large necropolis in Rutigliano's Purgatorio district was excavated between 1976 and 1980, and 367 tombs were found, dating from the Archaic period to the end of the fourth century BC. The assemblages from a portion of the southern section of the necropolis (where most of the tombs dating from the fourth century BC were located) were published in De Juliis 2007. The tombs excavated by Felice Gino Lo Porto, concentrated in the northern sector of the necropolis, are still unpublished save some short notices concerning the most important complexes; Lo Porto 1977; Lo Porto 1978; Cassano, Lorusso Romito, and Milella 1998, 65–81; Masiello 2004; Riccardi 2010; Montanaro 2015, 68–77, 88–90, 179–90.
- 5 The tomb has yet to be properly published, but is partially described in Lo Porto 1977, 741–42, pls. 112–114; Robinson 2014b; Montanaro 2015, 71, pls. 55, 56; 231, pls. 156, 157; Montanaro 2019; Montanaro 2020, 65–74.
- 6 The tomb also contained two vases from the early phases of the Lucanian Creusa and Anabates Painters; Silvestrelli 2008, 279–300 (with bibliography).
- 7 Robinson 2014b, 226 (with bibliography). On the other side of the krater is a gymnasium scene with three athletes (Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 140639; illustrated in Montanaro 2020, 76, fig. 18), a motif that acquires further significance when seen alongside the three bronze strigils found among the grave goods.
- 8 The group of red-figure vases by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl in this grave is completed by a skyphos with (A) two youths and (B) a youth departing from an elder male (Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 140635); a second Panathenaic amphora, with a Greek warrior fighting an Amazon rider (Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 140602); and a hydria with an athlete crowned by Nike with a band (Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 140230); see Robinson 2014b, 225–26, fig. 1.
- 9 On eggs in burials at Rutigliano, see Peruzzi 2016a, 72–73; Montanaro 2020, 72; for Orphic beliefs, see Bottini 1992; Bottini 2000; Bottini 2005, 140–42; on the role of eggs in Orphism, see Edmonds 2013, 164–68.
- 10 Tomb 16/1976 remains largely unpublished, but see Mannino 2008, 428–29; Riccardi 2010, 351–54; Montanaro 2015, 93–94. Exceptional among the Attic imports are askoi and skyphoi by the Penthesilea Painter, white-ground lekythoi by the Beldam Painter, and a black-figure oinochoe by the Athena Painter.
- 11 The krater was attributed by Mannino (2008, 428–29) to the Painter of Bologna 279.
- 12 The black-gloss ceramic service includes kylikes, askoi, oinochoai, olpai, skyphoi, kantharoi, cups, plates, and a *guttus*. The banquet set is completed by Corinthian pottery (a *lekaneis*) and local banded and mixed-style vessels (stamnoi, kalathoi, plates, and cups), unpainted ware (kantharoi, jugs, cups, and plates), and cooking pots. Among the bronze artifacts there are two *ollette ariballiche* (small oil jars), a strainer, a grater, and a box with embossed decorations. For the bronze vases, see Tarditi 1996, 51, cat. 91; 66, cat. 128; 92, cats. 198, 199; 102, cat. 238; 118–19, cats. 267, 268.
- 13 In this period there is a noticeable decrease in metal objects at almost all Peucetian sites, except Rutigliano and Monte Sannace.
- 14 For Monte Sannace, tomb 7, see Scarfi 1961, 275–98; Gargano 2009, 92–93. Detienne (1979) provides a thorough discussion of the sacrifice and the banquet in Classical Greece.
- 15 For Monte Sannace, tomb 3, see Scarfi 1961, 188–210; Gargano 2009, 92–93. The emerging elite assemblages of Monte Sannace are essentially composed of Greek-type pottery (red-figure, black-gloss, Gnathian, overpainted), in some cases of monumental dimensions; a small percentage are accompanied by locally produced wares (unpainted and cooking pots).
- 16 For Peucetian assemblages in the fourth century, see Depalo 1989; Montanaro 2007, 193–208; Gargano 2010, 181–84; Peruzzi 2016b, 122–73.
- 17 For the assemblages in female burials, see Depalo 1989, 99–105; Montanaro 2007, 199–205; Ciancio 2010, 231–34; Gargano 2010, 181–84; Peruzzi 2016b, 140–51.
- 18 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, TA15277; Ciancio 2005a; Montanaro 2015, 93, fig. 66.
- 19 On Apulian red-figure pottery in Peucetian burials of the second half of the fourth century BC, especially those from Ruvo, see Montanaro 2007, 193–208, 293–306 (tomb 35), 357–81 (tomb 55), 707–38 (tombs 163, 164); Vastano 2019a; Vastano 2019b (with bibliography).
- 20 For the other classes of pottery in Peucetia in the fourth century, see Depalo 1989, 105–10; Montanaro 2007, 200–204; Peruzzi 2016b, 122–73 (with extensive bibliography).
- 21 On Gravina, see Ciancio 1997; Ciancio 2003; Ciancio 2005b, 47–57; Ciancio 2010, 227–31; Montanaro 2015, 60–68.
- 22 On Padre Eterno, see Ciancio 2003, 16–34; Ciancio 2005b, 49–50; Peruzzi 2016b, 105–12 (with bibliography).
- 23 The burial (dating from the last decades of the fifth century BC) also includes black-gloss vases, overpainted kantharoi of the Xenon Group, and a proto-Lucanian oinochoe by the Dolon Painter; see Ciancio 2003, 32–34; Ciancio 2005b, 50–52; Montanaro 2015, 62–63.
- 24 The assemblage also included two pelikai with generic scenes composed of a pair of figures, connected to the Creusa Painter. See further Ciancio 1997, 35–38; Ciancio 2003, 29–31; Ciancio 2005b, 52–53; Montanaro 2015, 61–62 (with additional bibliography).
- 25 *Grotticella* tombs were low chambers excavated in the ground, often with an entrance way.
- 26 For tomb 1/1974, see Ciancio 1997, 69–73, 99–101, 120–22 (with bibliography); Mugione 2002; Ciancio 2005b, 53–56; Montanaro 2015, 64–65, 222–23, 237–38.
- 27 The grave was found by the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Bari, under the direction of Marisa Corrente. It is as yet formally unpublished, and my description derives from a press release of the Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti

- e Paesaggio, "Gravina, sulla 'collina delle meraviglie' rinvenute anfore millenarie e la tomba di un atleta," *Barinedita*, November 20, 2020, <https://www.barinedita.it/cronaca/n4141-gravina-sulla-collina-delle-meraviglie-rinvenute-anforemillenarie-e-la-tomba-di-un-atleta>, and from Marina Dimattia, "Gravina, dal sottosuolo nuovi tesori archeologici: Sulla collina di Botromagno tombe VI-IV sec. a.C.," *La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno*, November 13, 2020, <https://www.lagazzettadelmezzogiorno.it/news/newsweek/1260608/gravina-dal-sottosuolo-nuovi-tesori-archeologici.html>.
- 28 For defensive and offensive armor of the period, see Montanaro 2007, 176–86, 193–208; Montanaro 2015, 77–81 (with bibliography).
- 29 On tomb 39/1929 at Ruvo, see Montanaro 2007, 307–31; Montanaro 2015, 79–80.
- 30 For the archaeological material from Conversano, see Ciancio and L'Abbate 2013 (with bibliography). On tomb 10/1958, see Chieco Bianchi Martini 1964; Ciancio 2013a, 258–60; Ciancio 2013b; Ciancio 2014, 162–66 (with bibliography).
- 31 On tomb 1/1974 at Altamura, see Lo Porto 1987, 35–38; Canosa 2003; Montanaro 2015, 114, 116–18, 255–56; Bagnulo, Dezio, and Caggiani 2018; Montanaro 2018, 33–34. The funerary assemblage of the princely tomb at Timmari (tomb 33), near Matera, identified by Canosa (2007) as the burial of Alexander I of Epiros, the uncle of Alexander the Great, is very similar in its materials and composition.
- 32 On Daunia in the fourth century BC, see De Juliis 1992, 137–42; Mazzei 2015.
- 33 For Apulian red-figure vases in Daunia, see Mazzei 1996; Pouzadoux 2008; Corrente and Pouzadoux 2014; Mazzei 2015, 17–42, 79–82, 118–28; Sassu 2019b (with bibliography). For a detailed study of the vases from the Darius tomb, see Pouzadoux 2013.
- 34 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81947.
- 35 In other hypogea of the same date at Canosa, mats made of the leaves of marsh plants have been found stretched out under the bones of the deceased, unburned. This, together with the observation that traces of fire have never been noted on the walls of the funerary chambers, led Marisa Corrente (2003, 97–109) to conclude that hypogea were not used for such partial cremation rituals. She proposed instead that burning of the deceased must have taken place outside, on (unidentified) pyres in the immediate vicinity of the tomb, and that within the tomb there were only small pyres for offerings in honor of the dead, ritually extinguished with the contents of *askoi* and amphorae. See also De Juliis 1990; De Juliis 1992, 137–42; Mazzei 2015, 72–73.
- 36 Remains of a *naiskos* were found in the San Paolo district on via Cerignola; Corrente 2006, 284–86. For the types of tombs in Daunia, see De Juliis 1992, 137–42; Corrente 2006, 276–98; Mazzei 2015, 57–72 (with bibliography).
- 37 For funerary painting in Daunia, see De Juliis 1988b; De Juliis 1992, 137–42; Mazzei 1995; Corrente 2015; Mazzei 2015, 106–12 (with bibliography).
- 38 For the great hypogea of Canosa, see Cassano 1992a; De Juliis 1992; Corrente 2004; Corrente 2006; Corrente 2012f; Lippolis 2012; Mazzei 2015, 66–72 (with extensive bibliography). For the glass vases from the Ipogeo Lagrasta I now in the British Museum, see Milanese 2014, 173–85.
- For the other artifacts from the same tomb preserved in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico in Naples, see Sassu 2019a.
- 39 For the Ipogeo Monterisi-Rossignoli, see Sassu 2019c (with bibliography).
- 40 For the settlement of Minervino Murge, see Corrente 1993; Corrente and Maggio 2008 (with extensive bibliography).
- 41 For tomb 21/1993 at Minervino, see Corrente 1993, 33–34; Corrente 2002; Corrente 2005, 72–76; Corrente and Maggio 2008, 82–85. For the Ipogeo della Nike at Arpi, see Mazzei 2002–3; Mazzei 2015, 64–65, 106–10; Montanaro 2018, 34–35.
- 42 See Corrente 2012d.
- 43 For the Ipogeo della Situla di Hermes, see Rossi 2012a. Many of the red-figure vases are attributed to the Ascoli Satriano Painter, on whom see Rossi 2012b.
- 44 See Corrente 2012b. On mystery cults, see also Johnston in this volume (18–23).
- 45 This tomb was found during the field excavations conducted by the University of Innsbruck; see Rückl 2012.
- 46 See Corrente 2012c.
- 47 For this tomb, see Corrente 2012g.
- 48 For the silver armlet and comparanda, see Corrente 2012a.
- 49 Peruzzi 2016a, 76–77.
- 50 Giacobello 2014b, 36–37; Pouzadoux 2014, 73–78.
- 51 Corrente 2014, 180–82.

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