

La question de l'espace

au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. dans les mondes grec
et étrusco-italique : continuités, ruptures, reprises

Ce volume collectif s'intéresse à la question de l'espace au IV^e siècle av. J.-C. Sont considérés les différents espaces de la cité grecque, leur histoire, leurs fonctions, mais aussi leurs représentations figurées. Vingt ans après l'ouvrage de Pierre Carlier (Nancy, 1996), des historiens de l'art, des archéologues, des spécialistes de l'aménagement du territoire des cités antiques éclairent de leur réflexion les effets de continuité, rupture, reprise et les particularités des espaces de la cité de ce moment particulier de l'histoire grecque.

Sophie Montel enseigne l'Histoire de l'art et l'archéologie du monde grec à l'université de Franche-Comté (ISTA EA 4011).

Airton Pollini enseigne l'Histoire grecque à l'université de Haute-Alsace (Université de Haute-Alsace, Université de Strasbourg, CNRS, ArcHiMède UMR 7044, Mulhouse).

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THE APULIAN CITHARA, A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT OF THE LOVE SPHERE:
SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC DIMENSIONS ACCORDING
TO SPACE REPRESENTATIONS¹

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INTRODUCTION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW FORM OF STRINGED INSTRUMENT
IN APULIA IN FOURTH CENTURY BC – THE RECTANGULAR CITHARA

Even to non-academic visitors, a cursory look at archaeological museum exhibits of Apulian vases immediately reveals an intensive presence of musical instruments in association with different depicted figures, shown in a certain variety of scenes, presenting different types of instruments, although the overwhelming prevalence of the *tympanon* is quickly apparent.

Archaeological data supports this impression. Apulian pottery consists of one of the most important iconographical testimonies about music during the Fourth century BC. This is notable in quantity, as the number of vases depicting musical instruments surpasses one thousand. The Athenian visual arts produced in the Fourth century BC do not represent musical instruments on the same large scale as in previous centuries.² Thus, when considering such vase painting, it is pertinent to evaluate the representation of musical instruments in Apulian vases, either in red-figure or polychromic over-painted vases, the so called Gnathian vases.

Apulian iconography may be a very useful tool in the study of the changes occurring in musical culture in Fourth century, in respect to the morphology of the

¹ This study was financed in part by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - Brasil (CAPES), by the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico - Brasil (CNPq) and by the Humboldt Foundation – Germany.

² Maas, Snyder 1989, p. 165.

instruments and the modality of their use.³ The changes in musical customs and cultural attitude toward music directly affected the stringed instruments of the family of *lyra* and cithara.⁴ From about 550 to 400 BC, organological patterns remained stable, corresponding to a certain continuity in relation to music in daily life, despite the passionate debate provoked by the “New Music” from the second half of Fifth century onwards, with its defenders and opponents.

Nevertheless, the consolidation of innovative tendencies from the late Fifth century BC and the first decades of the Fourth, in combination with new social and cultural realities, in mainland Greece and the rest of the Greek and non-Greek Hellenized Mediterranean areas, determined important changes in the construction of the standard cithara. The Fourth-century Apulian vases are a testimony of two different directions followed in the reformulation of this standard classical cithara.

The first resulted in the so called “Hellenistic cithara”, with an elongated and narrower shape,⁵ marked by increased simplicity in its construction than the standard cithara. The figured monuments from Apulia⁶ and other regions display a great variation in shape across the different areas of the Mediterranean where they occur. The evolution of this instrument is not an Apulian or Italiote phenomenon, but a common Hellenistic cultural feature, and furthermore better attested in other areas of Magna Graecia, as in Campania,⁷ Paestum⁸ and Lucania.⁹ Seemingly a cultural and technical regression, as a matter of fact it represented an adaptation to new uses: no

³ Sarti 2003, p. 47.

⁴ Maas, Snyder 1989, p. 174. They are classified in five types: a) the *lyra* and b) the *barbitos* (both with tortoise-shell sound-box or with wooden sound-box in tortoise-shell shape), as well as the instruments descending from the Homeric *phorminx*, namely c) the standard cithara (with wooden sound-box, with flat base and complex polygonal structure), d) the “cradle-cithara” (with rounded base) and the e) “Thamirys-cithara” (a *lyra*-cithara hybrid).

⁵ a) Bronze votive figure. Athens, National Museum, inv. 15104. 3rd to 2nd c. BC. From Antikithera shipwreck coming from East to Italy. Cf. Maas, Snyder 1989, p. 192, fig. 6.

⁶ a) Volute-krater, Apulian, red figure. Ruvo, Museo Nazionale Jatta, inv. 1494. The Painter of Copenhagen 4223. c. 350-40. Cf. Paquette 1984, C42. b) Amphora, Apulian, red figure. Basel, Antikenmuseum, S29.

⁷ Hydria, Campanian, red figure. Tübingen, University Museum, inv. 1671. From Teano. Teano-Tübingen Group. c. 310-300. Cf. Lopinto 1995, p. 120, cat. 62C.

⁸ Lekane, Paestan, red figure. Paris, Louvre, inv. K 570 (51). From Paestum. Painter Asteas. c. 350-25. Cf. Paquette 1984, p. 126, fig. C47.

⁹ Amphora, Lucanian, red figure. Paris, Louvre, inv. K 526. Primato Painter. c. 375-50. Cf. Paquette 1984, p. 108, fig. C10.

longer confined to the exclusivity of professional musicians, now in hands of women and young boys, it became a lighter and more manageable object.¹⁰

The second direction results in the elaboration of an instrument that, at first glance, tends to be considered as having a rectangular shape, resulting from having straight and parallel arms and a rectangular sound-box (fig. 1-cat. 48).¹¹ There is abundant evidence for this instrument in Apulian contexts, above all in vase paintings, but also in terracotta figurines, votive discs and coins. On the other hand, notwithstanding its presence in figured monuments from other regions from South Italy and Sicily,¹² it is scarcely testified outside Apulia and seems to arrive in these areas thanks to contact with South-East Italy. Its representations outside Italy occur in very few cases and later than in Apulia.¹³ Based on these archaeological data, authors devoted to musical instruments in Magna Graecia recognize it as being a local or regional development of the cithara family, varying in that some authors look upon it as 'local': while Maas and Snyder consider it an Italiote instrument, Di Giulio considers it essentially an Apulian development.¹⁴

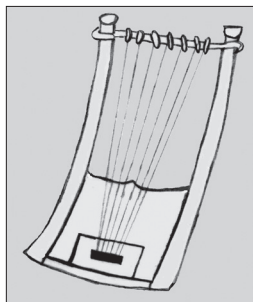


Figure 1: *Skyphos*. Bari, Museo Archeologico, inv. 6643 (Collezione Polese). End of 4th c. (drawing by the author).

¹⁰ Sarti 2003, p. 58-59.

¹¹ Maas, Snyder 1989, p. 175. Di Giulio 1983, p. 164. Sarti 2003, p. 57, states it has a "quasi quadrata" sound-box.

¹² a) *Olpe*, Sicilian, red figure. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, inv. 2079 (104). Group of the Adrano Painter. c. 325-300. Cf. Paquette 1984, p. 104, fig. C4. b) Coin. From Tyndaris (inscription). After 214 BC Cf. Buceti 2008, p. 36-37.

¹³ a) Marble relief. Athens, National Museum, inv. 217. 4th c. BC. Cf. Mass, Snyder 1983, p. 176, fig. 9. Marble slab from Mantinea, probably part of the base of a Delian triad group, represents the rectangular cithara in the hands of a Muse. b) Painted frieze depicting *symposion* scene. Macedonian tomb from Hagios Athanasios, excavated in 1994. 3rd c. BC. Cf. Tsimbidou Auloniti 2002, p. 39-40, pl. VII.

¹⁴ E.g. Di Giulio 1983, p. 164, p. 235. Maas, Snyder 1989. Hans Lohmann had already pointed the relation of this instrument with Magna Graecia, stating that "die rechteckige Form der Lyra findet sich anscheinend nur in unteritalischen Vasenbildern" (Lohmann 1979, p. 169, n. 1483, A 679).

Although vase-painting morphology may present variations and inaccuracy, most of the vase painters had in mind specific instruments, which corresponded to particular social uses and cultural symbolisms in daily life and in imaginary world.¹⁵ Based on evidence from a preliminary catalogue composed of 57 Apulian red-figure and Gnathian vases, and on observation of other iconographical evidence, I propose to reformulate the archaeological nomination of this instrument as the “Apulian cithara”, for this more accurately expresses its singularity and historical trajectory.

I- WHERE DO VASE PAINTERS DEPICT THE APULIAN CITHARA?

If the morphological analysis of the representation of the instrument itself allows us to interpret many aspects regarding its musical characteristics and associated performance, it is the analysis of the space category that makes it possible to interpret its social and cultural meanings.

But, what “space” are we talking about? Do we have a “physical space” in mind corresponding to a material reference in reality, or an “idealized space” imagined by painter? I think it is something in between. Painters have reality in mind, but not only the material and socially lived reality, but also the imaginary reality associated with religious beliefs and mythological tales – and this imaginary reality is indeed culturally lived, playing a significant role in different funerary beliefs, determining rites, as well as practical and symbolical uses of objects such as musical instruments. The instruments may be shown in their musical function, or as symbols, with amorous or funerary meanings, or even as funerary offerings.

In observing scenes depicting rectangular cithara, one verifies the oscillation between two approaches of space for similar subjects: first, a spatial characterization that indicates a specific “physical space”, even if idealized, such as domestic or outdoor space; and, secondly, a vague, ambiguous characterization, where it is not possible to determine a concrete physical space, though objects may suggest a social or imaginary context. Whereas the first may be the scenery for daily life, the second frames imaginary tales and beliefs concerning the supernatural, the gods’ world. The representation of ritual practices may result in a mixture of “physical” and “imaginary/supernatural space”,

¹⁵ For possible correspondence between iconographical representations of musical instruments, including their variations, and real instruments and social performing contexts, see: Uliériu-Rostás 2013, p. 16-17. Sarti 2003, p. 57. For a skeptical view, see: Bundrick 2005, p. 13.

since the epiphanic presence of divinities among mortals may include the superposition of attributes of both categories of space.

However, for my analysis, I prefer, in the first moment, to think of a “conceptual space”, as a *locus* in which painters represent daily activities or the dimensions of spiritual life. It is what one can call a “sphere”. And the painters do represent spheres using either representation referenced in “physical space” or in “idealized space”.

Concerning the representation of rectangular cithara, I divide the 57 vases studied in the catalogue into three spheres: the love, the funerary and the musical spheres. Clear mythological narratives, as Niobe’s suffering (cat. 39, 42, 43, 44), Paris and Helen’s escape (cat. 02), or Hermes giving a musical instrument to Amphion (cat. 08), are interpreted as belonging to such spheres, since their meaning is directly connected with either love (Paris and Helen, Hermes and Amphion) or funerary spheres (Niobe), and are contaminated with local features (such as the Apulian cithara). I think the substance of the social and symbolic meaning of the rectangular cithara can be better understood in the context of love sphere representations (also because the representation of rectangular cithara in funerary contexts derives essentially from its connections with the erotic dimension). Thus I will focus only on this specific sphere.

II- APULIAN CITHARA IN THE LOVE SPHERE

The love sphere prevails in Apulian cithara iconography analyzed, corresponding to 63 % of the identified vases (36), while the funerary sphere encompasses about 16 % of the vases (9). Nevertheless, the general use of space categories, without systematic observation of a comprehensive sample of vases, has instrumentalized controversial identification of the context of the rectangular cithara. Taking objects and general scenarios into account, Castaldo states that it “*sembra riferirsi in particolare alla sfera domestica, più spesso legato al mondo femminile*”, although the fact that the instrument maybe played by young men.¹⁶ Maas and Snyder, pondering the relation of the instrument, in space, to young men and a set of objects identified as marriage symbols, suggest

¹⁶ Castaldo 2009a, p. 278. However, the example given as evidence of female domestic context, the *loutrophoros* of Matera (cat. 41), is not adequate, since the scene, connected with the myth of the death of Niobe’s sons and daughters, points to the interpretation of the objects lying under the *naiskos* as funerary offerings, and not as things belonging to the *gynaeceum*. Marcela Leone explains that these objects were deposited as offerings inside the tomb during the burial: “(...) di fatti, se questi sono compiti in nero e sono disegnati in corrispondenza del basamento indicano che essi si trovano all’interno della sepoltura.” (Leone 2006, p. 141-142, pl. LIV-LV). The same situation indicated by M. Leone occurs in cat. 42 and 43. See also Castaldo 2009b, p. 16.

a prevailing connection to the male figure, within the frame of erotic feeling, the reason why one identifies its proximity, in the vases, to Aphrodite (cat. 19, 25) and Eros (cat. 31, 35).¹⁷ Cassimatis, based on her inventory of Apulian *lebetes*, asserts that the cithara is connected with men, while the harp is linked with women, and that these scenes, in such vases, point to erotic meaning, not exclusively to marriage, but in general related to the initiation of young men in erotic life, including pleasures with courtesans.¹⁸ Maas and Snyder, following H. R. W. Smith, add that these scenes might reflect the beliefs that the “couple separated by death would be reunited in Elysium, and that those who had died unmarried would be given ideal partners in the afterlife in rites supervised by Dionysus and Aphrodite with the assistance of Apollo or Orpheus”¹⁹. Focusing on the love sphere, I propose to analyse 36 examples of my catalogue, considering the following criteria related to space:

- a) whether, and when, scenes are represented in domestic or outdoor space;
- b) whether, and when, space is represented as “physical space” or as “imaginary space”;
- c) whether the rectangular cithara is connected with men or women.

Considering iconography, I have classified four categories of representation of space: domestic space; outdoor space; transitional space; and vague, indeterminate space. They are not only different realities or conceptions of space: they are also different languages or strategies of signals for spatial framing of scenes. Domestic space is marked by the presence of furniture, windows, objects linked to daily house life (like canastas and chests, mirrors, *kalathoi*, scarfs), and by the absence of attributes of natural ambience (like trees and branches). Outdoor space is indicated by the presence of natural elements, such as rocky bases, vegetation (as flowers, trees and ivy bush), or undomesticated animals; ground may be suggested by lines of white pinpoints; objects like umbrellas or torches may compose an outdoor scene. Transitional space mixes domestic and outdoor attributes. Typical for this transitional space is the combination of artificial structures, like washbasins and pillars, with natural elements, like flowers or trees. One may think about external space associated with domestic unities, like the courtyard, where certain rituals may be accomplished – or was the intention of the painter to place the scene in an ambiguous place?

¹⁷ Maas, Snyder 1989, p. 175-176.

¹⁸ Cassimatis 1993, p. 101-105.

¹⁹ Maas, Snyder 1989, p. 171-172. Cf. Smith 1976.

Vague space is marked by the absence of either domestic or outdoor attributes. The only spatial indication used in these scenes is the line of white pinpoints, distributed at different levels. So, it is not an absence of space, it is not a non-space, but indeed another kind of space, different from the ones experienced in the physical world. The figures or objects, like the rectangular cithara, are supported by these dots or are represented on the empty space. This vague, abstracted space indicates mainly an imaginary space, the space of supernatural – a space suitable for representing actions accomplished by gods or by dead people in the afterlife, according to religious and funerary beliefs. Domestic and outdoor space tend to represent a more “physical” conception of space, while transitional and vague spaces tend to represent a more “imaginary” conception, nevertheless this “physical” conception generally uses an idealized language, through the choice of attributes.

Among the scenes belonging to love sphere identified in the catalogue (36 scenes), excluding scenes of mythological narratives (9), 26 vases were classified in this category of space,²⁰ with the following results:

- a) domestic space (8 cases): cat. 06, 07, 11, 12, 15, 23, 31, and 35;
- b) transitional space (6 cases): cat. 03, 04, 18, 19, 22, and 27;
- c) outdoor space (5 cases): cat. 01, 09, 13, 14, and 26;
- d) vague space (6 cases): cat. 02, 05, 10, 16, 24, and 28.

2.1- Domestic Space

The eight vases that depict domestic space present three types of scene: courtship (5 vases) and marriage rituals (3 vases). Courtship is indicated through two different situations. In the first case, the bride and bridegroom are caressing each other and looking into each other's eyes (cat. 07, 12, 15). In the second situation, the lovers, close to each other, practice an interaction, through dialogue or through the exchange or approximation of symbolic objects (cat. 23, 31).

On the *lekythos* London F399, by the Darius Painter (fig. 2, cat. 07), the couple sits on the nuptial *thalamos*, with their feet resting on a footstool (*threnys*). The young man plays the Apulian cithara, putting his right hand over the left shoulder of the bride, whilst she rests her left hand over his legs. A female figure comes from right side

²⁰ The image of cat. 17 (once Basle market) that I had access to, during the elaboration of this paper, did not allow me to analyze the space.

bringing a *kalathos*, while a dog touches her feet.²¹ A flying Eros nears the young man's head to garland him. Besides the pet and the *kalathos*, the ambience of domestic love is reinforced by the objects suspended in the field, a ball, a mirror and a *cista* (*kibotos*). The ball, a typical object for girls' amusement, indicates the age of the bride, linking her to adolescence; the mirror is ambiguous, at the same time an instrument of lady's coquetry and a mystical object for revealing Eros;²² the *kalathos* identifies the daily life and honour of the future wife, occupied with the production of clothes for the family.

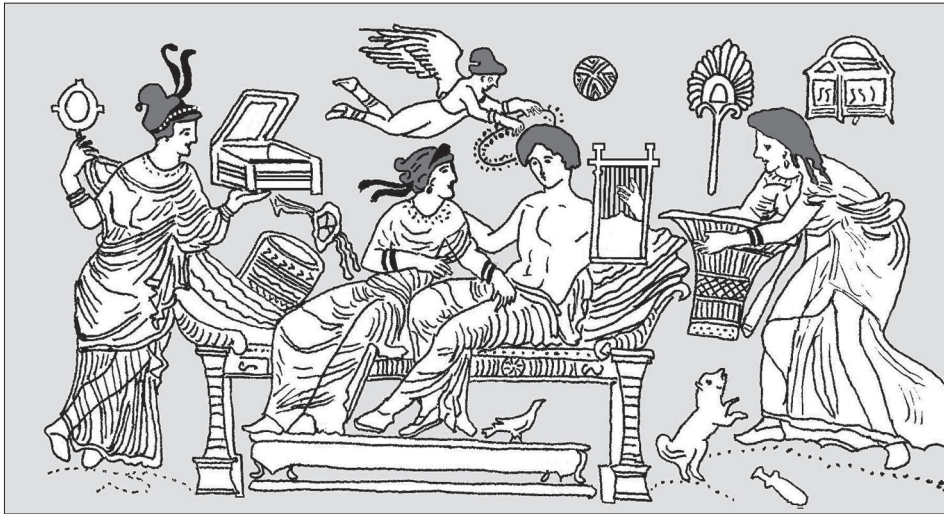


Figure 2: *Lekythos*. The Darius P. (RVAp., 18/35). London, British Museum, F399. c. 340-320 © Trustees of the British Museum (drawing by the author after Bendinelli, 1919, n. XVII, fig. 06).

The *pelike* Torino 4149 (cat. 12) repeats the caressing scene on the *thalamos*, while the bridegroom plays the Apulian cithara. A flying Eros and a woman intend to garland the couple's heads, with a ribbon and a *stephanos*. Besides the very small dog close to the bed, three secondary couples of figures occupy the principal scene, reinforcing the domestic and nuptial ambience, as suggested by the fan (*flabellum*) in the hand of a woman, an important element in female toiletries.²³

²¹ The small animals were probably pet or gift exchanged between lovers. Cf. Curti 1998, p. 93.

²² Cassimatis 1993, p. 102, 111.

²³ Forti 1988, p. 296.

A *dinos* once in London market, work of the Darius Painter in his mature phase, is one of the only two examples of Apulian cithara in banquet scenes (cat. 15). A *symposion* scene is depicted around the circular surface of the pot, with various banqueters involved in different actions, such as singing and toasting. Three women play musical instruments: an *auletris* blows the *aulos* and dances; another one plays the harp, sitting alone, between two male couples; a third one plays the Apulian cithara plucking the strings with her left hand, embracing a young man, and caressing his head. The erotic context of this scene leads not to the ambience of marriage love, but to love enjoyed with courtesans. Thus this *dinos* depicts the symposiac love provided by the company of *hetaerae*.²⁴

Even though the domestic furniture, proper for banqueting rooms, such as small tables (*trapeza*), the *kottabos* support and the *kline*, correlate with the absence of natural elements, the uncommonly long *kline* and the *phlyax* mask in the field seem to connect the scene to an idealized approach, approximating it to a Dionysian symbolism. Such an interpretation is endorsed by its twin vase (cat. 14). On the obverse of the second *dinos*, the painter depicts a similar *symposion*, with similar objects and actions. There are two meaningful differences: on the obverse of cat. 14, the painter places the banquet clearly in outdoor space, as indicated by the grapevine that frames the scene; on the reverse, in spite of the continuation of the banquet (as in cat. 15), one sees the departure of a warrior. So, the banquet of the second *dinos* occurs in the world of the afterlife, in the divine gardens under the protection of Dionysus, in such a way that the erotic couple depicted here lives an eternal love. I think that the Darius Painter shows intentionally, with the twin *dinoi*, the parallelism between life and death, according to salvific expectation that, in afterlife world, one can reach an eternal happiness.

Two vases attributed to the Egnazia Group allude to courtship through other interactions between bride and bridegroom. On a *lebes* (cat. 23), a pair of lovers is associated with musical instruments, where the male offers his partner a symbolic gift. At the youth's feet is the Apulian cithara; on the fiancée's hand, an Apulian *sistrum*, one of Aphrodite's regional attributes in the frame of nuptial eschatology.²⁵ In counterpart,

²⁴ It endorses the interpretation of Cassimatis 1993, p. 101-106, for the Apulian *lebetes*, in the sense that the Apulian vases do not always mention marriage love, but, in some cases, refers to the love between man and hetaera, as an expected part of male life in Apulian society, the same way as military life and cavalry practice.

²⁵ Smith 1976, p. 137-143.

the young man offers her a swan, a love symbol associated with the goddess as well,²⁶ showing the intention to provide her with erotic happiness in marriage.

The *pelike* London F309 (fig. 3-cat. 31) alternates courtship scenes on the obverse and marriage rite scenes on the reverse. The obverse shows two couples of lovers in courtship dialogues, while a woman brings an open chest, an attribute of the future life of the wife. It hints therefore that, different to Athens, Fourth-century BC Apulian society idealized that courtship should precede marriage contract. The bride is highlighted in the central pair, seated on an imposing *klismos* that rests over a platform. In front of her, a nude young, in gallant position, offers a *pyxis*, a typical utensil of female toilettries. Between the two pairs, a *thymiaterion*, used to burn incense, points to the domain of Aphrodite.

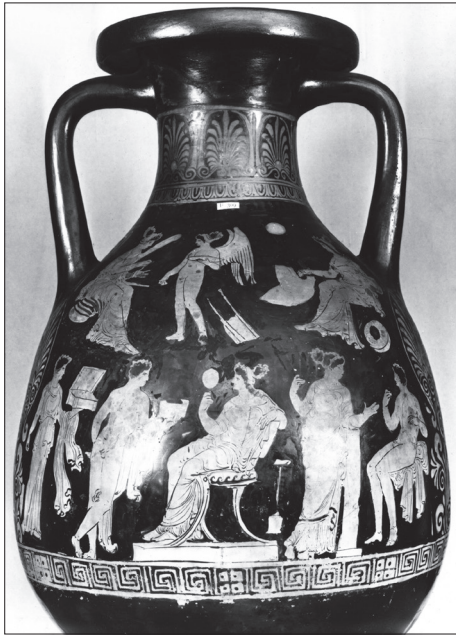


Figure 3: *Pelike*. The Egnazia Group (RVAp., 18/184). London, British Museum, F309. c. 340-320. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Indeed, the protection of Aphrodite is indicated in the upper field, where we see a woman playing the harp on the right, observed by an Eros and another woman, seated in empty space, caressing a swan, most likely Aphrodite. Between Eros, the swan and Aphrodite, an Apulian cithara stands on the ground. The bride of the principal

²⁶ Curti 1998, p. 92.

scene, figured in domestic space indicated by material attributes (platform, *klismos*, mirror, chest and *thymiaterion*), belongs to an earthly idealized world, symbolized by the courtship scene, whereas the harpist on the upper level corresponds to the same bride, but here represented in the afterlife, receiving Eros and Aphrodite's protection to guarantee eternal love and happiness. Thus, in this *pelike*, the harp and the Apulian cithara symbolize love – female and male love respectively – and, furthermore, the expectation of eternal love in afterlife. The possibility that such instruments could assume this symbolic meaning relies in the fact that, in daily life, they were probably an essential part of lovers' amusement, as indicated by all vases with caressing gestures of the domestic space that are collected in this catalogue, in all cases accompanied by the soloist music of the Apulian cithara played mainly by the young man (cat. 07, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18).²⁷

The other three examples of domestic space depict scenes connected to marriage rites, probably rites accomplished by living people in the erotic initiation of the young and in the mystic and religious preparation of the couple for marital life.

The *lebes* Naples Stg. 360 (fig. 4-cat. 11) has a clear erotic meaning, anticipated by the presence of two flying Erotes in upper level, holding objects linked with marriage rituals, such as a mirror and ribbon. Domestic ambience, suggested by the imposing stool over a platform, where a young man sits, is reinforced by the window in the field, behind which one sees a female face, who, with curiosity, observes the musical and erotic ambience within from outside. The scene in the lower level is divided in two pairs, involved in different activities. The left pair represents a courtship situation: the girl, presumably the bride, plays the harp, courted by a naked youth, in gallant position, offering her a ribbon. The other pair represents a love ritual. The youth, playing Apulian cithara, is being initiated by the woman who conducts ritual acts, under the observation of Eros, who nears his head with ribbons, to crown him as initiated in erotic life. The same bridegroom, in two moments: in a passage rite, being initiated in erotic life (on the right), and, thereafter, in courtship, with his bride (on the left).

²⁷ The exceptions are cat. 14 and 15, where the rectangular cithara is played by a woman during a caressing scene. But there is a difference in these cases: they represent a banquet scene, thereupon the woman may be interpreted as a courtesan rather than as the bride. However, one can interpret also that the female partner is holding the cithara belonging to her male partner.



Figure 4: *Lebes*. The Darius P. ("closely associated with") (RVAp., II, 18/116). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. Stg. 360. c. 335-320 (drawing by the author).

Wedding preparations are the subject of the *pelike* Taranto 4623 (cat. 06), which alternates between a mythological and human approach, with the bridegroom holding a rectangular cithara. Two small birds below the sofa announce the love union under Aphrodite's protection. This ritual is clearly domestic, as indicated by the furniture (couch, footstool, stool), despite the umbrella, which is not to be seen in its practical function, but in its symbolic role concerning wedding ceremonies.²⁸

The *lebes* New York 17.46.2 (fig. 5a-b-cat. 35) shows a rite of matrimonial alliance. The principal scene represents the bride, with dignity on an imposing *thronos*, resting her feet on a footstool, holding a *phiale*. In front of her, the bridegroom, naked, leaning against a basin, holds a ribbon and *stephanos*. A third woman, behind the bride, brings a mirror, a cult object in rituals to Eros. The bridegroom suspends the *stephanos* over the *phiale* held by the bride, indicating that they are in the act of performing a

²⁸ The umbrella "had special ritual meaning in the wedding ceremony", Forti 1988, p. 296.

rite of love union. Love entities on the upper level guarantee the mystical power of this ritual. Aphrodite holds a *phiale* and a flower, accompanied by two Erotes. One flies in the bride's direction, bringing a *phiale* and a *stephanos* for garlanding her in recognition of love alliance. The other caresses a swan. Beside him, a rectangular cithara stands on the ground. The cithara and the swan are figured in parallel position, showing a correspondence as love symbols. The swan, linked to Aphrodite and Apollo, matches the symbolic role of the rectangular cithara well, whose musical performance enchants lovers in courtship. While the lower scene happens in domestic space, marked by *thronos*, *threnys* and *louterion*, the upper scene takes place in a vague space, a space occupied not by physical bodies, but a space occupied by divinities, marked only by lines of white dots.



Figure 5: Lebes. Closely associated with the Darius P. Group of New York 28.57.10. (RVAp., II, 18/190) New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. 17.46.2. c. 335-320. © Metropolitan (NY): www.metmuseum.org

Thus, domestic space is mainly the place for courtship, but also for marriage rites, whereas the rectangular cithara music seems to be most appropriate for courtship.

continuités, ruptures, reprises

2.2- Transitional Space

The seven vases that depict the transitional space present three types of scene: courtship (3 vases), marriage rituals (1) and love initiation (3). The courtship scenes repeat the same two situations observed in the vases depicting domestic space: fiancée and bridegroom caressing each other (cat. 18 and 21) or interacting in a conversation (cat. 19).

The connection between courtship and the music of the Apulian cithara is suggested in the *pelike* from Genève (fig. 6-cat. 18), representing the couple in two moments, distributed in three pairs. The pairs in the corners represent the wedding couple conducted by an older woman, likely their mothers, with tied hair, as decent Apulian ladies. Thus, both bride and bridegroom are represented here in a moment before their love union, looking into the women's eyes confidently, since they are conducting them to their future. These women, as mothers, accomplish the female religious role in love initiation rites.²⁹ The main pair shows the young couple flirting in privacy, as indicated by the opened canasta on the ground. However, they sit over an undetermined base. She embraces him, while he tunes the instrument, preparing to play a love song to his beloved. On the upper field, Aphrodite is pulled by two Erotes in her chariot, which is invisible, reinforcing spatial ambiguity, oscillating between domestic signs (canasta) and the material indetermination of space.

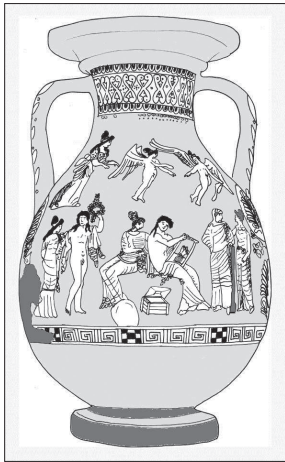


Figure 6: *Pelike*. The Licurgus P. and his Circle. Close associated of the Licurgus P. (RVAp., I, 16/57, pr. 156.1-2). Geneva, The Chamay Coll. c. 350-340 (drawing by Lidiane Carderaro).

²⁹ Cassimatis 1993, p. 102, 111.

A *pelike* conserved in Moscow (cat. 21) depicts an effusive caressing scene. The couple sits on the ground, on which musical instruments lie. Close to the bridegroom is an Apulian cithara; below them, a *tympanon*. Uncommon in scenes impregnated by love symbolism, its presence here, connected to the bride, is associated more with initiation rites rather than amorous moments proper, a role attributed to the harp. The painter plays with the contrast between outdoor elements (a tree and line of pinpoints), and domestic objects (*thymiaterion*) at the same time as he overlaps moments of ordinary love life (as courtship) and sacred love rituals (such as the union rite on the reverse). There is ambivalence in his way of representing love, perceived and felt at the same time as profane daily life and as a sacred dimension that guarantees an eternal happiness in the afterlife. The choice of representation of the scenes in a transitional space – between domestic and outdoor – is part of a semiotic strategy, but also a conception. This is a conception, because the ambivalence is not just between ordinary daily life and the sacred, but also between concrete earthly social experience and imaginary spiritual experience in the afterlife.

On the obverse of a *pelike* from Matera (cat. 19), the relationship is shown in its initial phase. Objects on the field symbolize feelings and expectations concerning marriage preparations: on the ground, over a line of pinpoints indicating a scarped soil, is a rectangular cithara; suspended, a mirror and a ball. The mirror, here, is linked to ritual use for Eros and symbolizes that the young woman is ready for marriage;³⁰ the ball points to her adolescence. The bride-to-be sits on a *diphros* over a platform, hinting at a domestic dimension. The other spatial markers (vegetation, pinpoints lines or undetermined bases) suggest outdoor or ambiguous imaginary space.

Beyond the examples shown before, the transitional space has also been used for scenes where the love initiation rite is characterized as the central scene (cat. 03, 04 and 27). The analysis of the scenes in domestic space provided no examples of a central focus on initiation scenes, which may suggest that such rituals could be preferentially performed outside, even if in an area close to domestic unities, as suggested by the presence of a pillar (cat. 04 and 19), a *louterion* (cat. 27) and a *diphros* over the soil marked by pinpoints (cat. 22), easily brought out from inside the house, or of a large *kline* moved outside (cat. 03).

³⁰ “Mirror in girl’s hands, strigil or warlike gear in a young man’s, are proof of maturity for marriage” (Anderson 1976, p. 5).

On a *lekythos* from Egnazia (cat. 04), the painter shows an initiation rite in an elementary manner: the youth sits on a natural base, indicated through pinpoint. The special situation is indicated by some attributes: the head crowned by a laurel wreath, a laurel branch on the hand and a large pearl necklace crossing the chest, the typical apparatus for such rituals. He is flanked by two women, responsible for the execution of the ritual acts of passage for his initiation.

On the *pelikes* from Brusuglio (cat. 27) and San Simeon (cat. 03), one sees a similar ambience for the initiation rite: an external area mixed with domestic elements. On the one hand, trees, scarped soil (a curved pinpoint line), and a rocky base, or even a bird; on the other, a *louteria*, the basin used for purification, couch and large cushions, *diphros* and footstool (*threnys*) or opened canastas, an object typical for marriage domestic life.

The San Simeon vase suggests the scene is intentionally arranged by the organizers of the ceremony to appear like a rustic location, in order to create the appearance of being in nature, as indicated by the branches used as an ornament along the coach. This configuration hints that the ceremony should happen in a space near or directly connected to the domestic unity, such as the courtyard of the house, a space with the presence of constructed elements, to where one could easily transport furniture. As a special ceremony, one paid attention to details, in order to create the appearance of a rustic space, simulating an atmosphere of a garden in which rites requesting Aphrodite's favor could reach their expected goal. The tree (cat. 03), sometimes with fruit (cat. 27), can be a reference to fecundity,³¹ but can also lead the imagination to the gardens of the Isle of the Blessed.³² So the transitional space is not just an iconographical convention. This "in-between-space" – between domestic and natural, between internal and external areas – leads also to the conception of space arranged as a place for specific rituals: in this case, those performed for Aphrodite.

The boy is in a position to play the instrument on the *lekythos* from Egnazia and on the San Simeon *pelike*, as well as on other vases, like the *lekane* Naples 82225 (cat. 01). Although it seems not to be the right moment to play, some moments before or thereafter, the sound of the rectangular cithara could be an active and efficient part of the initiation rite.

After analysing the vases representing the Apulian cithara in the love sphere placed in domestic or transitional space, emphasizing the kind of scenes represented in the

³¹ Cassimatis 1993, p. 106.

³² Cabrera Bonet 1998, p. 76-82.

vases (courtship with caressing, conversation or exchange of objects; marital situations; marriage rites; love initiation and love union rites), the semiotic strategy of the painters was identified, in giving a degree of ambivalence to the combination of scenes on the same surface of the vase (or in the relation between the two sides), since they present all these realities in a synoptic way, at the same time connecting concrete experiences and imaginary beliefs, overlapping life and afterlife, erotic happiness here and there, in the gorgeous and fantastic gardens of Aphrodite and Dionysus, divinities from whom, associated with Orpheus, the Hellenized Apulian native peoples and Tarantine colonial Greeks expected favours for eternal life. The painter merges past, presence and future.³³

Despite the iconographical ambivalence, one can identify some clear relations: for example, the preference for associating courtship scenes with caressing gestures, with domestic space and with Apulian cithara's music. It is mainly in such scenes that the instrument is being played (cat. 12) or in a position to be played (cat. 07). On the other hand, the "in-between", between domestic and natural area, appears to be the favoured space for the love initiation rite, since it offers a scenario suitable for performing Aphrodite's rituals, as one can simulate the goddesses' garden.

2.3- Outdoor Space

In my catalogue I identified five examples where the space is characterized mainly as outdoors, tagged by natural elements (a rocky base, soil indicated by pinpoints, and vegetation), in addition to the absence of domestic objects or architectural elements. The subjects vary greatly and the iconographical schemata tend to be different from the broader set of scenes of love sphere in the catalogue. Thus, in five vases I see four subjects: two concern marriage (cat. 13 and 26), though with completely different approaches, one showing a rite of love union (cat. 26), the other a very cheerful and lively atmosphere of wedding party, contaminated by Dionysian elements (cat. 13); another scene of love initiation rite also contaminated by mythological approach (cat. 01); and one scene of banqueting, where the erotic ambience is more connected with courtesan love than marriage (cat. 14), which is analysed above; and finally a one-figure scene of a woman playing Apulian cithara (cat. 09).

A *pelike* from Boston, attributed to the Egnazia Group (fig. 7-cat. 26), is the only vase of this small group with outside space that shows an iconographical schema coherent with the whole set of love sphere scenes with rectangular cithara. We see a

³³ Cambitoglou, Aellen, Chamay 1986, p. 78.

young man and a girl, holding objects that assume here a ritualistic goal (mirror, ball and *phiale*), flanked by two women who accomplish the ritual procedures of the love union, bringing a *stephanos* and a band, to crown them, celebrating the union, as well as an *alabastron*, whose special oil or perfume has ceremonial use. The painter clearly places the ritual outdoors: the bride sits on the soil, indicated by a double line of pinpoints, while he, being naked, sits over his mantle; a woman rests her foot on a rocky base, whereas the other walks on the natural soil, suggested by the dotted line. From the ground springs a gorgeous flower, recalling the magic of Aphrodite's gardens, completed by the epiphanic presence of Eros, on the upper level. He brings a pair of large bands to be given to the new wedding couple, now recognized as united one with each other. A bird of Aphrodite comes, flying, bringing in its claws another band to celebrate the ceremony. The figure of the girl deserves further observation. The two objects she holds point to past and future, symbolizing the passage from childhood to adult life: the ball signifies adolescence; the mirror, her future as wife. The hairstyle is also meaningful. In Fourth-century BC Apulia, free ladies kept long hair, tied in normal situations, just as the two women who execute the ritual functions here. Only in ceremonies do they wear their hair loose,³⁴ as does the bride on the Boston *pelike*, so enhancing the special context of union ritual celebration.

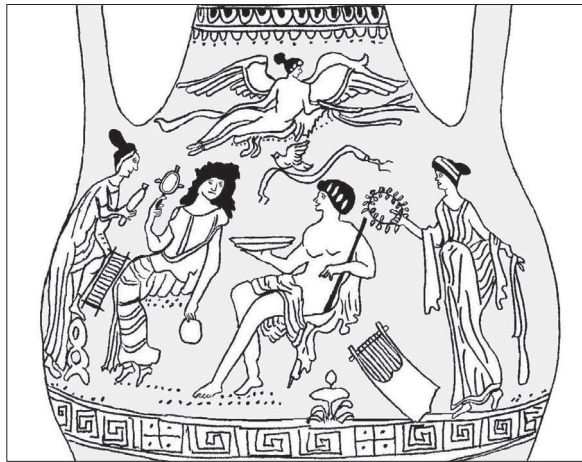


Figure 7: *Pelike*. The Egnazia Group (RVAp., II, 18/146, pr. 183.4). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.234. c. 335-320 (drawing by the author).

³⁴ Forti 1988, p. 296.

A very late volute-krater from the Foggia Group, dated from the end of Apulian red-figure style (cat. 13), represents a very complex set of scenes related to marriage ceremonies, distributed in three levels on the main surface and a band on the neck of the vase, besides dancing Erotes ornamenting the volute-handles. A cheerful and busy atmosphere results from the over occupancy of the painted surface with 18 figures, full of musical instruments being played (two *auloi*, two *tympana* and a rectangular cithara). On the neck are symbols linked to Dionysus and Aphrodite (such as the bunch of grapes and the *thymiaterion*) which frame a ritual, with a dancing woman, performing to the sound of the *aulos* and *tympanon*.

The combination of many pairs and groups, resting their feet or seating on rocky bases, columns or even large chests, occupies the main surface, switching boys, women, young women and a flying Eros figure. The main group, on the upper level on the left, includes a woman, seated over a large chest, holding a canasta, flanked by an *auletris* and a nude man on her left, seated on a rocky base, whom she looks at, listening to the song he plays on the Apulian cithara. The *aulos* in a scene approaching marriage rites appears in my catalogue exclusively on this volute-krater. It indicates that the painter is interested more in festive aspects of wedding ceremony rather than in ritual ones.³⁵ Thus the *aulos* seems to be suitable for the party that would take place on the occasion of the wedding feast.

On the obverse of the lid of a *lekane* from Ascoli Satriano (cat. 09), of difficult interpretation, is a woman on a rocky base, in front of a vegetal motif, playing the Apulian cithara, as the bridegroom on the *pelike* from Torino (cat. 12). Who is this woman? Endorsing most authors, my catalogue shows the overwhelming participation of male figures in connection to Apulian cithara.³⁶ However, beyond the scenes where the rectangular cithara is clearly associated with Aphrodite (cat. 19, 25, 31 and, indirectly, 35), due to its relation with love, we cannot underestimate the cultural representativeness of four other vases with women playing Apulian cithara (cat. 09, 12, 14 and 15). The *dinoi* by the Darius Painter (cat. 14 and 15), easier to understand, depicts courtesan love, out of the symbolic system of marriage love. This is not the case on the *lekane* from Ascoli Satriano (cat. 09) or the *pelike* conserved in Torino (cat. 12).

³⁵ The same occurs, however, on other vases with *aulos* associated with marriage scenes, as the large *pelike* Copenhagen Chr. VIII 316, with a musical performance of *aulos* and harp, played by two women, while the *lyra* lies on the ground, waiting its moment to be played.

³⁶ Maas, Snyder 1989. Cassimatis 1993.

The citharist woman on the Torino *pelike* is on the upper level, often occupied by mythological scenes related to imaginary beliefs concerning divine protection of love. She is close to Aphrodite, drawn in her chariot by two Erotes. However, she is not in the ether, as are Aphrodite and Eros, who advance over no surface, since she seats on a *diphros*, in front of an opened canasta. Are the women from the Torino *pelike* and the Ascoli Satriano *lekane* the same category of figure? I can hardly find an answer. Is she the double of the bride, represented in afterlife? Or is Aphrodite herself playing the instrument? The only conclusion we can assert, surpassing these conjectures, is that women can play the Apulian cithara, though its iconic connection is with young men.

2.4- Vague Space

In my present catalogue, in six vases the painter chooses the strategy of placing the figures in an indeterminate, vague space, without domestic, architectural or natural elements, with exception sometimes in the use of pinpoint lines. The scenes are distributed across two of courtship (cat. 05 and 10), two of the love initiation rite (cat. 24 and 28), one of a marriage ceremony or marital life (cat. 16) and finally one with a mythological approach, as an apologia for love (cat. 02).

A small bottle from Egnazia, conserved in Lecce (**fig. 8**-cat. 10), shows a typical courtship scene with the couple sitting on the nuptial coach and flirting to the sound of the rectangular cithara played by the bridegroom. The elaborated furniture seen in other vases is here replaced by a delicate double line of pinpoints, accompanied by a pair of Aphrodite's birds below the imaginary sofa. A flying Eros is crowning the bride's head with a diadem. The birds, two stereotyped flowers and a branch behind the bride, lead to a garden: not an earthly garden, but the joyful afterlife garden, where Elysian love, under the auspices of a Dionysian Aphrodite, becomes reality, according to nuptial eschatology beliefs that inspired Apulian vase-painters.³⁷ The vague space frames courtship in the afterlife. The enjoyment of the Apulian cithara, as in the best moments of earthly love, symbolizes this eternal love.

³⁷ Smith 1976, p. 65-69.



Figure 8: *Bombylios*. Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, inv. 1292. From Egnazia. c. 350-300 (drawing by the author).

A *hydria* once on London market (cat. 24) and a *situla* conserved in Naples (cat. 28), dated to circa 360-50 BC, show similar scenes of initiation rites. The figures on the *situla* are distributed on different levels, all of them resting on pinpoint lines. The boy, the centre of attention, is initiated by women, while an Eros comes to crown him. The presence of Aphrodite is reinforced by her musical symbol, the Apulian *sistrum*. The woman, in the upper corner on the right side, stops playing the harp and turns back to watch everything, slightly away from the main scene. It recalls the harpist on the *pelike* London F309 (fig. 3-cat. 31). The figure ought to be identified as the bride promised to the youth, for the afterlife, holding the musical instrument that symbolizes the female role in erotic relations.

A small *lekythos* found in 1960 in Tarentum (cat. 05), dated to about 350-25 BC, shows that the interest for nuptial eschatology was not exclusively indigenous. Thanks to a long period of cultural interaction, many beliefs were shared and reshaped by colonial Greeks and Apulian indigenous peoples, in a transcultural process. Courtship is depicted with singularity: a child, with a pearl necklace, comes in the direction of the couple, bringing a bird and an Apulian cithara. It seems to be the resilience of a Greek tradition, imported from the mainland and preserved among Tarentine inhabitants:

the child calls to mind the *pais amphithales*, who accompanied the wedding couple in different moments of marriage ceremonies represented in Attic vases.³⁸

On a *loutrophoros* conserved in New York attributed to the Darius Painter (cat. 16) we can identify a scene of marital life, as an idealization of a love routine between husband and wife. Neither objects used by women in scenes concerning marriage rites, nor ritual gesture or cheerful atmosphere of wedding party. The fan in the hands of the female partner, one of her toiletries, points to the wife's condition. The Apulian cithara symbolizes the continuation of love along the years. The bridegroom, now as husband, is a good partner. Rather than closely embracing her, he just puts his hand over her shoulder, as a good companion. I think we see here an idealization of normal life: lived not in earthly life, but in the afterlife.

On a small mug conserved in Milan (cat. 02), dated from the end of the Fourth century BC, the painter makes use of one of the most popular mythological narratives: the escape of Paris and Helen. The pair is revelling in the music of the cithara played by Paris. Helen is to be identified mainly by the bag she holds.³⁹ The indeterminacy of space places the scene anywhere but here; the focus is neither initiation rituals and daily erotic life, nor afterlife remarriage and Aphrodite's ministries. I allow myself to define this mug as a very romantic vase! And it reveals the romantic essence of this society. As an apologia of love, beyond social rules and hierarchy, it points to the prominence of love in the sensibility that permeates social ties that sew the tissue of Fourth century BC Apulian society.

III- FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: APULIAN CITHARA PERFORMANCE IN DOMESTIC SPACE AS AN ICONIC SYMBOL OF APULIAN EROTICISM

The general funerary proposal of Apulian vases influences the spatial characterization of scenes, determining a prevalent ambiguous, indeterminate, ambivalent and almost ethereal conception of space, in this the analysis of vases with themes belonging to the love sphere reveals that the painter could choose among different strategies of placing the scene in spatial context. This decision was not just an esthetical choice, but also a semiotic option. In selecting between domestic, transitional, outside and vague space, regardless of the level of idealization, the painter gives us information that

³⁸ Cf. Pollux, III, 40. See: Golden 1990, p. 30. Vergara Cerqueira 2013, p. 95, fig. 8-9.

³⁹ Dolci 2004, p. 214, n° 146.

oscillates between physical and imaginary spaces, sometimes merging one with another, sometimes characterizing their singularity.

When conducting us to the “imaginary space”, due to the contamination of nuptial-funerary eschatological beliefs, the painter presents “un paisaje sin localización en una geografía mítica precisa, un paisaje inconcreto, polivalente, ubícuo. [...] un espacio indefinido, submergido en la mística de lo sobrenatural”.⁴⁰ This space, even without a concrete existence, exists intensively in Apulian mind, as the place where the promise for an eternal happiness and delightful (after)life would be accomplished. This is the afterlife landscape, a gorgeous garden, with fantastic flowers springing from within one another, where gods as Dionysus and Aphrodite, supported by their deputies, such as satyrs and flying Erotes, as well as swans and pigeons, provide their followers with Elysian love, including experiences like remarriage for eternity and courtship on scented gardens. The Apulian cithara is part of this landscape, accompanying the bridegroom in the afterlife, as a symbol of erotic happiness and of the masculine role in the love sphere. Some vases suggest that rectangular citharas were among the deposition of offerings inside the tomb, in order to be available to the dead man in afterlife.

However, a concrete physical space insinuates itself among idealized representations of the love sphere. Outside space – sometimes near the house, as the courtyard, merging garden, domestic furniture and architectural elements, sometimes in nature, suggested by rocky bases and scarped soil, or even close to sanctuaries, indicated by pillars – seems to be suitable for love initiation rites. Domestic space, in its turn, is presented as convenient for courtship, preserving intimacy, place where lovers caress each other, delighting their passion through the sweetness of music, flirting to the sound of the Apulian cithara and the harp, played respectively by the bridegroom and bride.⁴¹

Despite these vases belong to funerary material culture, they inform us about love and society. In comparison to the society revealed by Sixth- and Fifth-century Attic iconography, the Fourth-century BC Apulian vases disclose a world with a

⁴⁰ Cabrera Bonet 1998, p. 63-64.

⁴¹ H. R. W. Smith, though admittedly heir and defender of the nuptial eschatological model, according to a tradition inaugurated by Patroni 1897, who had asserted “Italiote red figure (in contrast to Attic) was funerary *as a rule*” (Smith 1976, p. 66), concedes that some *pelikai* could represent earthly weddings, in this point agreeing with B. M. Scarfi, who refutes the eschatological interpretation of erotic scenes in Apulian vases (Smith 1976, p. 65. Scarfi 1961, p. 195-196). Some *pelikai*, according to Smith, were “reminiscent and earthly in on side, Elysian on the other” (cf. cat. 12. Smith 1976, p. 66). I believe, regardless of the overwhelming funerary meaning and use of these vases and iconography, the expression of the earthly society exceeds significantly “some *pelikai*” in number and historical meaning. See Patroni 1929.

degree of female empowerment in love life – consistent with the clues left by remaining Messapian inscriptions – which points to the valorisation of domestic space connected to a more symmetrical conception of marriage love, different from mainland Greece.⁴²

CATALOGUE

1. Love Sphere

[01] *Lekane*. Painter of the White Saccos. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 82255. From Canosa. c. 325-300.

[02] “Boccale”. The White Saccos-Kantharos Group. Vases associated with the Stuttgart Group. (*RVAp.*, II, 29/272) Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico, Coll. Lagioia, inv. A997.01.298. Former Bari, Coll. Lagioia (still 1997). c. 315-305.

[03] *Pelike*. The Varrese P. b) The Sub-group of Vatican X6 (*RVAp.*, I, 13/23). San Simeon, State Historical Museum, 5609 (former Hearst Coll.).

[04] *Lekythos*. Egnazia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Egnazia “Giuseppe Andreussi”, 1.30 (exhibition 2014). From Egnazia.

[05] *Lekythos*. The Licurgus P. and his circle. The Chamay P. (*RVAp.*, I, 16/70). Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Taranto, inv. 117068. From Taranto. Corso Piemonte angolo Via Emilia, 1960. c. 350-325.

[06] *Pelike*. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 4623. From Taranto. Arsenale Militare. c. 350-300.

[07] *Lekythos*. The Darius P. (*RVAp.*, 18/35). London, British Museum, F399. c. 340-320.

[08] Kalyx-krater. Darius Painter (*RVAp.*, II, *Suppl.* 1, 1983, 18/64d). London, Market, Sotheby's, 13-14 December 1982, lot. 291 (Formerly Melbourne, Coll. G. Geddes, from 1994-2008). c. 340-330.

⁴² For a theory about the singular condition of women in Greek colonies of Western Mediterranean and its historical and anthropological rootedness in intercultural colonial contexts and in the contingency of the arrival of the colonists, see Domínguez Monedero 1986, p. 143-152. More recently, on the debate about interethnic marriages in colonization, see Esposito, Zurbach 2010. Concerning Messapian inscriptions and its clues about a degree of female empowerment, the frequency of the names *Aprodita*, *Damatra* and *Tabaras* (“priestess”) points to the prominence of fertility, love and feminine clergy in Apulian religious feelings and society. See Smith 1976, p. 52-55. De Simone 1982, p. 177-197. Mastronuzzi, Ciuchini 2011, p. 676-701.

[09] *Lekane* (lid). Ascoli Satriano, Museo Civico, ex Museo Civico “Pasquale Rosario”, inv. 31899 (lid), inv. 31881 (base of the vase). From Ascoli Satriano, Località Giarnera Piccola, Tomba 5/07 (Ipogeu dei Profumi), c. 340-310.

[10] *Bombylios*. Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, inv. 1292. From Egnazia. c. 350-300.

[11] *Lebes*. The Darius P. (“closely associated with...”) (*RVAp.*, II, 18/116). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. Stg. 360. c. 335-320.

[12] *Pelike*. Torino, Museo Archeologico di Torino, inv. 4149. c. 350-325. CVA Torino, I, pl. 13-15.

[13] Volute-krater. The End of red-figure style. 2. The Foggia-Group. (III) **b**) Late descendents of the White-Saccos Group. (δ) A late votule-krater (*RVAp.*, II, *Suppl.* 2, 1992). Once London Market, Sotheby’s. c. 305-295.

[14] *Dinos*. The Darius P. (II) Mature period. *Dinoi* with stands (*RVAp.*, *Suppl.*, I, 1983, 18/71d). Once London Market. c. 435-25.

[15] *Dinos*. The Darius P. (II) Mature period. *Dinoi* with stands (*RVAp.* *Suppl.*, I, 1983, 18/71e). Once London Market. c. 435-25.

[16] *Loutrophoros* (bottomless). The Darius P. (18/20, pr. 174.2). New York, Metropolitan Museum, 11.210.3. c. 330-320.

[17] *Pelike*. The Darius P. (*Münzen und Medaillen*, catalogue de vente, n. 156, 1969). Basel, Market. c. 340.

[18] *Pelike*. The Licurgus P. and his Circle. Close associated of the Licurgus P. (*RVAp.*, I, 16/57, pr. 156.1-2). Geneva, The Chamay Coll. c. 350-340.

[19] *Pelike*. The Varrese P. (*RVAp.*, I, 13/34b) Matera, Museo Archeologico Nazionale “Domenico Ridola”, inv. 164519. c. 355-45.

[20] Situla. The Darius P. (IV) Vases in the Manner of the Darius P. and possibly by his own hand. (*RVAp.*, II, 18/115a). Matera, Museo Archeologico Nazionale “Domenico Ridola”, inv. 164533 (Coll. Rizzon 74). c. 340-330.

[21] *Pelike*. The P. of Louvre MNB 1148 and related Vases. (*RVAp.*, II, 20/284). De Sanctis P. (CVA Moscow 2, pl. 17) Moscow, Pushkin State Museum, inv. II 1b 661. c. 330-320. According to Trendall, “beginning of the last third of the 4th BC.” c. 335-325.

[22] *Pelike*. Painter of the Copenhagen Dancer (*RVAp.*, II, p. 18/128). Moscou, Pushkin State Museum, inv. II 1b 741. 335-320 (*RVAp.*). c. 330 (CVA Moscow 2, pl. 12.1-3).

[23] *Lebes*. The Egnazia Group. (*RVAp.*, II, 18/143, pr. 185.1-2). Basel, Vente. c. 330-320.

[24] *Hydria*. The Varrese Painter (*RVAp.*, I, 13/30c). Once London Market, Thomas Howard-Sneyd. c. 350-330.

[25] Situla. Between the Illioupersis and the Licurgus Ps. The Rise of the Baroque Style. (*RVAp.*, I, 15/51, pr. 143.4-6) Maplewood, New Jersey, J. V. Noble Collection. c. 350-330.

[26] *Pelike*. The Egnazia Group (*RVAp.*, II, 18/146, pr. 183.4). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 10.234. c. 335-320.

[27] *Pelike*. The Group of the Copenhagen Dancer (*RVAp.*, II, 18/131). Brusuglio, private coll., 9. c. 335-320.

[28] Situla. The Varrese P. The Sub-group of Vatican X6 (*RVAp.* I 13/29). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 81862. c. 360-350.

[29] Volute krater. "Peintre de Darius et son milieu" (attributed by C. Coquoz)⁴³. Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, inv. 24692. c. 350-325.

[30] Amphora. Matera, Museo Archeologico Nazionale "Domenico Ridola", inv. 160821. From Timmari, tomb 33 (1984). End of 4th century.

[31] *Pelike*. The Egnazia Group (*RVAp.*, 18/184). London, British Museum, F309. c. 340-320.

[32] Volute-krater. Late follower of Baltimore P. (*RVAp.*, II, *Suppl.* 1, 1983, 28/117a). Basel, Market, Palladium, s.inv. End of 4th century.

[33] Callyx-krater. The White-Saccos P. (*RVAp.*, II, *Suppl.* 2, 1992, 29/8e). Once New York, Royal-Athena Galleries, S LZ37. Ex-London Market, Sotheby's. c. 315-305.

[34] Volute-krater. The Ginosa Group. (IV) The P. of Bari 12061 (*RVAp.*, I, 14/126b). Once Italian market, now Matera, Museo Archeologico, Colezione Rizzon, 164564. c. 350.

[35] *Lebes*. Closely associated with the Darius P. Group of New York 28.57.10. (*RVAp.*, II, 18/190) New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. 17.46.2. c. 335-320.

[36] Volute-krater. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, St. 426.

⁴³ Coquoz 1996, p. 121, pl. 21, cat. 83.

2. Funerary Sphere

[37] Krater (“Vaso di Patroclo”, identified by inscription). The Darius Painter. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H 3254 (inv. 81393). From Canosa (same tomb of “Vaso Persa”). c. 340-320 (Angela Pontrandolfo)⁴⁴.

[38] Krater. The Darius P. (*RVAp.*, II, 18/42). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H 3255 (inv. 81934)⁴⁵. c. 335-320.

[39] Amphora. Varrese P. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 3246. Actually in Canosa, Palazzo Sinesi, Coll. Ipogeo Varrese. From Canosa (Ipogeo Varrese). c. 360-40.

[40] Volute-krater. The Baltimore P. Madri, Museo Archeologico Nacional, inv. 1998/92/1. c. 340-320.

[41] *Loutrophoros*. The Baltimore P. (*RVAp.*, *Suppl.* 1, 27/48a). Matera, Museo Archeologico Nazionale “Domenico Ridola”, inv. 164531 (Coll. Rizzon). c. 325-320.

[42] *Loutrophoros*. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H 3246 (inv. 82267). From Ruvo. c. 350-340.

[43] *Hydria*. Zurich, Archäologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich, 4007 (formerly Zurich market, Gallerie Nefer).

[44] *Loutrophoros*. Painter of Louvre MNB 1148 (*RVAp.*, *Suppl.* 1, 20/278a). Malibu, J. P. Getty Museum, inv. 82 AE 16. c. 330-320.

[45] Volute-krater. Painter of Copenhagen 4223. (Trendall, *Handbook*, n. 189). Geneva, Musée d’art et d’histoire, inv. HR 69. c. 340-330.

3. Musical Sphere – Gnathian Vases

[46] Krater. Group of the Ambrosiane P. Szczecin, Poland, National Museum in Szczecin, Dohrns’ Szczecin Collection, inv. MNS/AH/83 (from 1945 to 1994 in Warsaw, National Archaeological Museum, 138485). c. 325 B.C.

[47] *Skyphos*. Sèvres, Musée national de Sèvres, 233.1.

[48] *Skyphos*. Bari, Museo Archeologico, inv. 6643 (Collezione Polese). End of 4th c.

⁴⁴ Pontrandolfo 2009, p. 119-123, fig. P. 121.

⁴⁵ In the museum, the informed number is inv. 81393.

[49] Bell-krater. Attributed to “Grupo A dell’Arpa de Napoli”, Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 80987. (now in Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Egnazia “Giuseppe Andreussi”). From Egnazia. Mid 4th c.

[50] Bell-krater. Matera, Museo Archeologico Nazionale “Domenico Ridola”, inv. 10727. Timmari-Camposanto, scavi D. Ridola Complesso 34, Tomba 7.

[51] *Hydria*. Circle of the Painter of Lecce inv. 1075. Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico, Coll. Lagioia, inv. A997.01.093. Former Bari, Coll. Lagioia (still 1997). c. 330-320.

[52] *Skyphos*. Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, inv. 1399. From Egnazia. End of 4th c.

[53] *Skyphos*. Conversano (Norba), Museo Civico, Sezione Archeologica. Last decades of 4th c.

[54] Cratere a “zupiera” (tureen). Brindisi, Museo Archeologico Provinciale “Francisco Ribezzo”, inv. 623. From Valesio.

[55] *Skyphos*. Munich, Antikesammlung, inv. NI 9913. Second half of 4th c.

[56] *Bombylios*. Munich, Antikesammlung, inv. NI 6489.

[57] Krater (handles with feline protomes). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 80084.

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RÉSUMÉS

Elena FRANCHI

Continuity and Change in Phocian Spatial Politics: Commemorating Old and New Victories in Fourth Century Delphi

Abstract: The Fourth century represents a key moment in Phocian history: the Phocians experimented their rise and fall during the so-called Sacred War (356-346 BC). During the first years of this conflict, they seized the sanctuary of Delphi and shaped its space by monumentalizing it in order to express a specific policy narrative. However, even when their sovereignty in Delphi was over, their need to regain their lost reliability urged them to shape a policy narrative and to express it by erecting monuments, even if only as common dedicators. Studying these monuments and the spatial politics they convey allows us to catch some glimpses about Phocian attitude both to their past and to their present: in fact, in late Fourth century Delphi, the Phocians set up statues that celebrated both the winners of an archaic battle against the Thessalians (Herodotus, VIII, 27 *sq.*) and the winners of a recent battle fought against the same enemy (Diodorus, XVI, 30). Celebrating the old victory, they connect to their archaic past (continuity), celebrating the recent victory, they reaffirm their new policy (change). The position of these monuments in the sanctuary reflects these attitudes: at least one of them was indeed placed between a Boeotian and a dedication by the Pieres, most probably evoking, to a Fourth century visitor, the Thessalians/Macedonians, who were in fact together with the Boeotians the most important opponents of the Phocians during the Sacred War.

Keywords: Phocians, Thessalians, Delphi, Space, Spatial Politics, Spatial Turn, Phocian Desperation, Commemoration, Iconatophy, Narrative Policy Framework, Network Sociology.

Continuité et changement dans la politique spatiale phocidienne : commémoration des anciennes et des nouvelles victoires à Delphes au IV^e siècle

Résumé : Le IV^e siècle représente un moment clé de l'histoire phocidienne : les Phocidiens ont en effet connu leur essor puis leur chute durant la Guerre sacrée (356-346 av. J.-C.). Pendant

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les premières années du conflit, ils se sont emparés du sanctuaire de Delphes et ont remodelé son espace en le monumentalisant, afin d'exprimer un discours politique spécifique. Toutefois, même quand leur souveraineté sur Delphes prit fin, leur besoin de regagner la confiance perdue les poussa à élaborer un discours politique et à l'exprimer en érigeant des monuments en tant que simples dédicants. En étudiant ces monuments et la politique spatiale qu'ils portent, on saisit l'attitude phocidienne envers leur passé comme leur présent : en réalité, à la fin du IV^e siècle, les Phocidiens érigèrent à Delphes des statues qui les célébraient en qualité de vainqueurs d'une ancienne (Hérodote, VIII, 27 *sq.*) et d'une plus récente (Diodore, XVI, 30) bataille contre les mêmes ennemis, les Thessaliens. En célébrant l'ancienne victoire, ils affirmaient le lien avec leur passé le plus ancien (continuité) tandis que, en célébrant la victoire la plus récente, ils réaffirmaient leur nouvelle politique (changement). L'emplacement de ces monuments dans le sanctuaire reflète ces attitudes : l'un d'entre eux au moins était placé entre une offrande béotienne et une dédicace des habitants de Piérie, évoquant probablement, pour un visiteur du IV^e siècle, les Thessaliens/Macédoniens qui étaient en réalité avec les Béotiens les opposants les plus importants des Phocidiens durant la Guerre sacrée.

Mots-clés : Phocidiens, Thessaliens, Delphes, Espace, Politique spatiale, Tournant spatial, Désespoir phocidien, Commémoration, Iconatrophie, Discours politique stratégique, Sociologie des réseaux.

Amélie PERRIER

La réorganisation de l'espace du sanctuaire d'Apollon à Delphes au IV^e siècle av. J.-C.

Résumé : Le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Delphes est profondément restructuré au cours du IV^e siècle, sous la tutelle de l'Amphictonie. L'espace sacré fait alors l'objet d'un effort accru de définition, de délimitation et de réglementation. L'étude des transformations du sanctuaire, en particulier dans le dernier tiers du siècle, invite à formuler une double hypothèse : celle d'un élargissement du *temenos* et celle de l'édification, pour la première fois dans l'histoire du sanctuaire, d'une entrée monumentale.

Mots-clés : Delphes, Portique Ouest, Sanctuaire, Topographie, Architecture, Programme de construction, Comptes de construction, Entrée monumentale.

The Spatial Reorganization of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi in Fourth Century BC

Abstract: The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi was considerably restructured under the authority of the Amphictyony during the Fourth century BC. This sacred space was then subjected to additional work to increase its definition, delineation and conformity to rules governing the era. The study of the transformation of the sanctuary, especially in the last third of the century, invites us to formulate two hypotheses: one concerning the expansion of the *temenos*, the other concerning the edification of a monumental entrance for the first time in the history of the sanctuary.

Keywords: Delphi, West Stoa, Sanctuary, Topography, Architecture, Construction projects, Construction accounts, Monumental entrance.

La question de l'espace au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. dans les mondes grec et étrusco-italique :

Anna CANNAVÒ

Amathonte de Chypre. Développement urbain d'une capitale royale chypriote

Résumé : Le IV^e siècle marque pour les royaumes chypriotes une phase d'apogée mais en même temps de transformations profondes. On analyse, à travers l'exemple d'Amathonte, les modalités d'implantation urbaine d'un centre royal chypriote et son développement historique, plus particulièrement sa transformation de capitale de royaume en cité hellénistique. La place centrale du palais, le rôle du sanctuaire de la divinité protectrice de la dynastie royale, la structure et l'importance des nécropoles comme lieux d'affichage : autant d'éléments qui définissent les caractères propres d'Amathonte capitale royale, tandis que d'autres – le développement de l'agora, la construction du port de guerre, l'abandon du palais – marquent sa transformation en cité hellénistique.

Mots-clés : Chypre, Amathonte, Royaume chypriote, *Polis*, Palais royal, Agora, Nécropole, Urbanisme, Lagides, Port.

Amathus (Cyprus): The Urban Development of a Cypriot Royal Capital

Abstract: The Cypriot kingdoms experience during the fourth century a phase of apogee but at the same time of deep transformations. Through the case study of Amathus we analyze the urban articulation of a Cypriot royal centre and its historical development, most particularly its transformation from royal capital to Hellenistic *polis*. The centrality of the palace, the role of the sanctuary of the patron deity of the royal dynasty, the structure and importance of the necropolis as place of display: these elements contribute to the definition of Amathus as a royal capital, while others – the development of the agora, the building of the military port, the abandonment of the palace – mark its transformation into a Hellenistic *polis*.

Keywords: Cyprus, Amathus, Cypriot kingdom, *Polis*, Royal palace, Agora, Necropolis, Urbanism, Ptolemies, Harbour.

Nicolas GENIS

Les annales politiques dans l'espace public : une nouveauté du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. ?

Résumé : Les annales politiques sont des inscriptions récapitulant les noms de magistrats ou de personnages publics importants d'une cité sur une certaine durée, de plusieurs décennies à plusieurs siècles. Ce type d'inscriptions apparaît au IV^e siècle dans l'espace public de plusieurs cités, qui semblent trouver dans cette démarche une réponse à la fois aux crises qu'elles traversent et au besoin de se référer au passé pour reconstruire ou affermir l'identité civique collective. Le lien entre cette dernière et l'espace de la communauté est ainsi réaffirmé.

Mots-clés : Épigraphie, Identité, Mémoire, Crise, Thasos, Athènes, Milet, Rhodes, Cité, Espace.

Political Records in Public Space: an Innovation of the Fourth Century BC?

Abstract: The political annals are inscriptions that sum up and list the names of a city's magistrates or public, important personalities, who were in charge for some decades or centuries. This type of inscriptions appears in the Fourth century BC in the public space of several cities; they seem

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to find in this measure a response at the same time to the crises they are going through and to the need to refer to the past in order to reconstruct or establish the collective civic identity. The link between this collective identity and the community's space is thus confirmed.

Keywords: Epigraphy, Identity, Memory, Crisis, Thasos, Athens, Miletus, Rhodes, City, Space.

Jason R. HARRIS

Continuity Through Rupture: Space, Time, and Politics in the Mass Migrations of Dionysius the Elder

Abstract: Although rupture and continuity seem to be mutually exclusive ideas, the study of human mobility in fourth-century Sicily is evidence of a more complex concept: continuity through rupture. Mass migrations under the control of Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse, are a key example of this concept. These large-scale population transfers allowed the tyrant to unify his subjects and to extend his empire. This chapter will develop several examples: the destruction and repopulation of Naxos and Catane, as well as the foundation of the Sicel site Adranum. One may say that mass migrations created important rupture in the *physical space* of these sites. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the tyrant, such movements also fostered continuity in the *temporal space*. In this sense, Dionysius followed earlier tyrants of the fifth century, who utilized mass migration and the transformation of urban space as a means to increase their power and to construct an empire.

Keywords: Sicily, Dionysius the Elder, Mass migrations, Repopulation, Foundations.

La continuité des ruptures : espace, temps et politique dans les migrations de masse de Denys l'Ancien

Résumé : Bien que ruptures et continuités semblent être des idées différentes, la mobilité humaine en Sicile au IV^e siècle peut être étudiée sous un angle plus complexe : la continuité des ruptures. Les migrations de masse menées sous le contrôle du tyran de Syracuse, Denys l'Ancien, en sont des exemples clés. Ces déplacements à grande échelle permettent au tyran de rallier le peuple et d'étendre son empire. Le chapitre développera plusieurs exemples : la destruction et le repeuplement de Naxos et Catane, ainsi que la fondation du centre sicule d'Adranum. Ainsi pourrait-on dire que les migrations de masse apportent une rupture importante dans *l'espace physique* des cités. Toutefois, du point de vue du tyran il faut plutôt parler de *continuité temporelle*. Denys se rattache en effet aux tyrans du V^e siècle qui utilisèrent les migrations de masse et la transformation de l'espace urbain comme un moyen d'augmenter leur pouvoir et de construire un empire.

Mots-clés : Sicile, Denys l'Ancien, Migrations de masse, Repeuplement, Fondations.

La question de l'espace au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. dans les mondes grec et étrusco-italique :

Chiara LASAGNI

“Tribal *poleis*” in Northwestern Greece

Abstract: The *polis* model, both as an urban centre and as a political community, represented a key-element in the evolution of the Northwestern *ethne* into federal States. In such development, the *polis* played an important role both as an external factor, for the presence of Corinthian and Elean colonies in the coastal and insular area, and an internal, for the birth and growth of urban settlements (here called “tribal *poleis*”) in *ethnos* territories. The present paper focuses mainly on the latter, with the aim of determining whether it is possible to find out substantial differences between the “normal” Greek *poleis* and those tribal *poleis* that arose in Northwestern Greece mostly in the course of the Fourth century. The analysis of some significant cases studies (Stratos, Phoinike, Kassopa, Kallipolis) leads us to assume that such peculiarities did exist, and can be mostly detected in the territorial control patterns and in the self-representation as political communities, which characterized the tribal *poleis* in a different way than the normal Greek *poleis*.

Keywords: *Polis*, *Ethnos*, Greek federal States, Akarnania, Epirus, Aitolia, Urbanization.

***Poleis* tribales en Grèce nord-occidentale**

Résumé : Le modèle de la *polis*, centre urbain et communauté politique, représente un élément clé dans l'évolution des *ethne* de la Grèce du Nord-Ouest vers des États fédéraux. Dans ce développement, la *polis* joua un rôle important, à la fois comme facteur externe avec la présence des colonies corinthiennes et éléennes sur la côte et les îles, mais aussi comme facteur interne, avec la naissance et le développement d'établissements urbains (que nous appelons “*poleis* tribales”), dans le territoire d'un *ethnos*. Cet article s'intéresse en particulier à ces derniers, dans le but de déterminer s'il est possible de trouver des différences substantielles entre les *poleis* grecques “normales” et ces “*poleis* tribales” qui se développent dans le Nord-Ouest de la Grèce dans le courant du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. L'analyse de quelques cas significatifs (Stratos, Phoinikè, Kassopè, Kallipolis) nous conduit à supposer que de telles particularités existent, et peuvent être remarquées dans la façon de contrôler le territoire et dans l'autoreprésentation comme communautés politiques, qui caractérisent les *poleis* tribales d'une manière bien distincte des *poleis* grecques normales.

Mots-clés : *Polis*, *Ethnos*, États fédéraux grecs, Acarnanie, Épire, Étolie, Urbanisation.

Thomas MERLE

L'application de modèles géographiques contemporains à la Grèce classique.

L'exemple de la Béotie

Résumé : Les modèles géographiques contemporains de localisation et de hiérarchie urbaine sont, par définition, utilisables en tout lieu et époque, dans leurs conditions de validité, y compris pour comprendre l'organisation de l'espace dans la Grèce du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. Les données permettent d'esquisser le réseau poliade de la Béotie, lequel peut ensuite s'appréhender avec des modèles géographiques, particulièrement celui de Christaller. La démarche présente un intérêt

continuités, ruptures, reprises

double : confirmer la validité du modèle pour la géographie et comprendre l'organisation de l'espace des Grecs pour l'historien.

Mots-clés : Modèles géographiques, Analyse spatiale, Christaller, Zahavi, Béotie, Réseau, Hiérarchie poliade, Cités ; *Koinon* .

Applying Contemporary Geographical Models to Classical Greece. The Case of Boeotia

Abstract: Contemporary geographical models of localization and of urban hierarchy can be used, by definition, in any place and time, in their conditions of validity, including the understanding of the organization of space in Fourth century BC in Greece. Data suggest a network of cities in Boeotia that can be studied by geographic models, particularly that of Christaller. The approach has two advantages: for the geographer, it confirms the validity of the model and, for the historian, it helps understanding the space organization by the Greeks.

Keywords: Geographical Models, Spatial Analysis, Christaller, Zahavi, Boeotia, City Network, *Koinon*.

Anastasia PAINESI

La représentation de l'espace dans la peinture du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.

Résumé : Dans l'iconographie antique, la notion d'espace est principalement exprimée à travers un certain nombre d'éléments qui font allusion au paysage dans lequel la scène figurée a lieu. Dans l'art, et surtout dans la peinture, du IV^e siècle av. J.-C., ces éléments représentent principalement le paysage naturel, des infrastructures humaines, des objets spécifiques et des inscriptions. L'étude de ces motifs, qui sont d'importance primordiale pour la détermination de la scène figurée et sont souvent indicatifs de sa signification, constitue l'objet de cet article.

Mots-clés : Paysage, Vases italiotes, Peinture, Iconographie, Perspective.

The Representation of Space in Fourth Century BC Painting

Abstract: In ancient iconography, representations of space feature elements that allude to the place where the illustrated scene takes place. In Fourth century BC art, especially painting, these iconographic elements refer mostly to the natural landscape, man-made structures, specific objects and inscriptions. This paper addresses the study of these particular motifs, which are of great importance to the identification of the represented scene and often indicative of its significance.

Keywords: Landscape, South Italian Vases, Painting, Iconography, Perspective.

Florence LE BARS-TOSI

Aux frontières de l'Hadès. La représentation des espaces funéraires dans la céramique apulienne du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. : l'exemple des vases de l'hypogée Monterisi de Canosa

Résumé : Les « scènes de *naïskos* » ne se rencontrent que rarement en dehors de la céramique apulienne où elles abondent. Elles ornent souvent le revers de vases historiés monumentaux

La question de l'espace au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. dans les mondes grec et étrusco-italique :

dont l'iconographie complexe fait oublier leur lien et leur véritable rôle dans le rituel funéraire. Or l'étude d'un contexte homogène comme celui de l'hypogée Monterisi de Canosa, en Daunie, permet de saisir les enjeux sociaux, culturels et politiques d'un véritable programme iconographique qui illustre, à travers sa représentation des espaces funéraires, la volonté d'un commanditaire indigène baigné de culture grecque et étrusque.

Mots-clés : Céramique apulienne, Canosa, Daunie, Hypogée, Archéologie grecque, Grande-Grèce, Enfers, *Naïskos*, Espace funéraire.

Blink on the Hades Border. The Representation of Funerary Spaces in Fourth-Century BC. Apulian Vase-Painting: The Example of the Monterisi Hypogeum's Vases

Abstract: The *naïskos* scenes do not appear frequently outside the Apulian vase-painting, where they abound. Most of the time, they ornate the backside of monumental figured vases, which complex iconography makes us forget their bound and their true role in the funerary ritual. The study of a homogeneous context as the Monterisi hypogeum in Canosa (Daunia) allows grasping the social, cultural and political stakes of a real iconographical program. This illustrates, through the representation of funerary spaces, the willing commission of a Native élite bathed by Greek and Etruscan culture.

Keywords: Apulian red-figured vase-painting, Canosa, Daunia, Hypogeum, Greek archaeology, Magna Graecia, Underworld, *Naïskos*, Funerary space.

Vincent JOLIVET

Les Assis : statut des protagonistes et topographie du sacré dans le monde étrusque

Résumé : Au IV^e siècle av. J.-C., les représentations de personnages figurés sur les vases étrusques font l'objet de conventions étroitement liées au statut des personnages concernés et à leur rôle dans l'espace figuré. On distingue ici huit manières d'être assis, de l'absence de toute indication de siège, qui connote le caractère surnaturel du personnage figuré, à la représentation de sièges construits moulurés, typologiquement proches mais distincts des autels, qui pourrait témoigner de l'existence d'un nouveau type de mobilier introduit dans les sanctuaires étrusques de cette époque, peut-être en liaison avec la diffusion de la religion dionysiaque. Ce corpus est comparé ensuite à celui de la céramographie attique et italote, dont il est en grande partie tributaire.

Mots-clés : Étrurie, Céramique, Figures rouges, Mobilier, Sanctuaires, Dionysisme.

Seated Figures: Status and Topography of the Sacred Sphere in the Etruscan World

Abstract: During Fourth century BC, Etruscan vase-painters often figured gods, half-human or human beings seated in a great variety of ways, here summarized in eight different cases: from the complete lack of any seat, which normally connotes a supernatural being, to an elaborate kind of built moulded, altar-like structures, which seem to reflect a new kind of furniture introduced in the Etruscan sanctuaries during the second half of this century, maybe with some relationship to

the Dionysiac cult. Then, these representations are compared with those, largely interconnected, present in the Attic and Italiot vase-painting.

Keywords: Etruria, Pottery, Red-figure, Furniture, Sanctuaries, Dionysism.

Fábio VERGARA CERQUEIRA

The Apulian Cithara, a Musical Instrument of the Love Sphere: Social and Symbolic Dimensions According to Space Representations

Abstract: Based on a catalogue of 57 vases from Apulia from the Fourth century BC (45 of red figures and 12 in the style of Gnathia), classified from the thematic point of view in love sphere (36), funerary sphere (09) and musical sphere (12), I propose a systematic study of the iconography of scenes with representation of the so-called “rectangular cithara”. In the introduction, we present the development of this new form of string instrument in the region of Apulia, and especially in Tarentum throughout the 4th century, which resulted in the establishment of a regional pattern of the rectangular cithara that we define as “Apulian cithara”. In the second part of the article, an analysis of the cultural and social meaning of the iconography of this instrument is developed, taking as an interpretative parameter the representation of space, identified as being constructed, natural or fantastical objects or markers. Here, the category of space is presented in an oscillating way, either as a “physical space”, materially referenced in the lived social reality, or as an “idealized space”, according to representations arising from the imaginary, related to religious beliefs and mythological narratives, and strongly linked to the so-called nuptial-funerary eschatology. Our attention is focused on the predominant subject of the scenes (the love sphere, with 63 %), classified in four types of representation of space: domestic space (8 cases), transitional space between inside and outside a constructed monument (6 cases), external space (5 cases) and ambiguous cases (6 cases). After emphasizing its social significance linked to the masculine gender in the projections of the love life, we conclude by pointing out how the performance of the Apulian cithara in a domestic space functions as an iconic symbol of the singular eroticism of the communities of southern Italy, especially of the Apulian and Tarentine worlds.

Keywords: Magna Graecia, Apulia, Figured vases and iconography, Music, Eroticism.

La cithare apulienne, instrument de musique de la sphère amoureuse : dimensions sociales et symboliques d’après les représentations de l’espace

Résumé : En m’appuyant sur un catalogue de 57 vases apuliens datés du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. (45 vases à figures rouges, 12 du style dit de Gnathia), organisé selon des catégories thématiques (36 vases du registre de l’amour, 9 du registre funéraire et 12 du registre musical), je propose une étude systématique de l’iconographie des scènes dans lesquelles apparaît celle qu’on appelle la « cithare rectangulaire ». Dans l’introduction, nous présentons le développement de ce nouvel instrument à cordes en Apulie, et en particulier à Tarente tout au long du IV^e siècle, ce qui aboutit à l’établissement d’une distribution régionale de la cithare rectangulaire, que nous désignerons désormais comme la cithare apulienne. Dans la deuxième partie de l’article,

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nous développons une analyse de la signification culturelle et sociale de l'iconographie de cet instrument, en utilisant la représentation de l'espace (construit, naturel, fantastique, avec des objets et des marqueurs) comme paramètre interprétatif. L'espace est présenté tantôt comme un espace physique, nettement marqué dans la réalité, tantôt comme un espace idéalisé, dans les scènes issues de l'imaginaire, liées à des convictions religieuses ou des récits mythologiques, et très fortement liées à ce que l'on appelle l'eschatologie nuptiale et funéraire. Notre attention s'est portée sur le sujet principal des scènes (registre de l'amour, 63 %), organisé en quatre types de représentation de l'espace : l'espace domestique (8 cas), l'espace de transition entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur d'une construction (6 cas), l'espace extérieur (5 cas) et l'espace ambigu (6 cas). Après avoir mis en avant la signification sociale de ces images, liées à la vie amoureuse du genre masculin, nous concluons en montrant que, dans l'espace domestique, la cithare apulienne fonctionne comme un symbole iconique de l'érotisme particulier des communautés d'Italie du Sud, en particulier des univers apuliens et tarentins.

Mots-clés : Grande-Grèce, Apulie, Vases peints et iconographie, Musique, Érotisme.