APULIAN RED-Figure POTTERY AT THE BUDAPEST MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.
ICONOGRAPHIC AND ATTRIBUTIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF LATE VASE PAINTINGS

TENETS OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

KATALIN VANDLIK

Doctoral School of Historical Studies
Director: Dr. Gábor Székely DSc., university professor
Archaeology Doctoral Program
Director: Dr. László Borhy DSc., university professor

Consultant: Dr. Miklós Szabó MHAS., professor emeritus

2012
I. Introduction

The overwhelming majority of the Apulian red-figure vases at the Antique Collection of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (thirty-one out of thirty-four) are from unknown sources and unknown contexts of artefacts. The lack of context, unfortunately, holds true of the South Italian vase collections of most museums, since these vases fell victim, on a massive scale, to the illicit trade of antique vases and tomb raiding, as a consequence of the increasing taste for art collection during the 18th and 19th centuries. Similarly, the two vases and the fragment originating from an excavation were not found at the primary site of their production. The two Rionero vases (Cat. no. 10 and 11) are part of a mixed votive find,1 while the fragment (Cat. no. 6) was unearthed by Count Judica in Akrai, Sicily in the early 19th century.2

Most of the vases were transferred into the possession of the Museum of Fine Arts from the collections of provincial museums (Gyula, Székesfehérvár and Nyíregyháza), the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts, the Hungarian National Museum and the Budapest Historical Museum during the forties and fifties of the 20th century, after a law had been passed that antique artefacts found outside Hungary fell into the field of interest of the Museum of Fine Arts. Still earlier, most of them had been part of the collections of renowned art collectors. Those in Gyula came from the collection of Antal Haán,3 whereas the majority of those received from the Museum of Applied Arts originate from the collection of the chemist and glaze researcher Vince Wartha.4 Similarly, the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts had included the two Apulian vases (Cat. no 24. squat lekythos and Cat. no 29. patera), as part of the almost seventy antique artefacts, formerly in the collection of Prince Emil von Sayn-Wittgenstein, purchased by Károly Pulszky at the Vienna World Exposition of 1873 for the would-be Museum of Applied Arts.5 

During the final third of the 19th century, when scientific interest shifted towards South Italian pottery, research initially focused on the potential birthplace of the art of red-figure vase painting. The primacy of Tarentum was declared for the first time by F. Lenormant in 1881. However, he already mentioned the possibility of workshops having been set up later, from the

---

1 For information on the story of the Hungarian excavation at Rionero and the material, see: Szilágyi 2002.
2 Szilágyi 1952, 116. It should be noted, however, that in the light of the latest research, a doubt has been cast on both the fragment’s Tarentum origin and Metapontium as its place of production.
3 Catalogue of the Haán collection: Pulszky 1876-77, 172-188.
4 Szilágyi 1966.
5 For information on the purchase, see: Szilágyi 1988, 63-68. The two Apulian vases in question: 67, nos. 40-41.
6 For information on the Wittgenstein collection, see: Szilágyi 2001.
second half of the 4th century BC outside Tarentum, in Ruvo among other places.\textsuperscript{7} In the catalogue of the Berlin museum, A. Furtwängler divided the South Italian vase production to three geographical regions (Campania, Lucania and Apulia).\textsuperscript{8} G. Patroni represents a different point of view, later to be embraced by V. Macchioro, according to which, rather than in Tarentum, production started at the indigenous centres, first in Ruvo and, at a later phase, in Canosa.\textsuperscript{9} Following this early period, the focus of research shifted primarily toward stylistic studies. In particular, as emphasised by E. Lippolis recalling the interest of the earlier wave of art collection, aesthetic considerations prevailed, the study of mass production thus being neglected.\textsuperscript{10} While acknowledging the merits of A. D. Trendall with regard to establishing the corpus, striving for completeness, of South Italian vase art, E. Lippolis considered it important to emphasise that this type of single-directional stylistic research was inclined to separate the artefacts from their archaeological, cultural and social context.\textsuperscript{11} It should be added that, since the more or less relevant criticism of E. Lippolis was expressed in 1996, research has endeavoured to make up for that backlog: including the 2002 work by A. Hoffmann, on the study of a group of Tarentum vases in their social and archaeological context or the reports of the Round Table organised in 2000 by the École Française de Rome, published in 2005.\textsuperscript{12} Most (twenty-eight) of the Budapest vases probably date back to the third or last quarter of the 4th century BC. Most pieces in the Collection are small vases with one or two figures. The sometimes enormous volute-kraters and vases depicting a complex, multi-figured Underworld and mythological themes are not present in the Collection. However, the female head ornament, increasingly popular during the second half of the 4th century, is also found on the following vases: half of the vases are adorned with the depiction of a woman’s head on at least one side or even on both sides on eight vases (Cat. nos. 8, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29, 33 and 34.). The subject matters of the scenes with one or two figures, also typically of the period, are related to the sphere of women: they depict a female figure accompanied by Eros (Cat. nos. 2, 3, 9, 11 and 21) or a youth (Cat. nos. 13 and 17), two female figures (Cat. no. 10), a lone female figure (Cat. nos. 7, 16, 18, 25, 26 and 29) or Eros by himself (Cat. nos. 22, 23 and 25). Depictions of more than two figures are found on two kraters only: one of them depicts a native in a libation scene (Cat. no. 1), whereas the other shows the departure of a warrior (Cat. no. 4). The larger vase, of which only a fragment of one of its sides has survived, bearing a partial depiction of

\textsuperscript{7} Lenormant 1881, 93-94.
\textsuperscript{8} Furtwängler 1885.
\textsuperscript{9} Patroni 1897, 132-134.; Macchioro 1911, 187-213.
\textsuperscript{10} Lippolis 1996, 359.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Hoffmann 2002.; Bilan et perspectives.
Circe and Telegonus (Cat. no. 6), would probably fall into the group of vases depicting a multi-figure mythical scene.

The fact that most of the vases were produced in the late period, providing a representative sample of genre scenes, typical of the era due to mass production, enables a more general iconographic and attributional study of the products of the workshops of the late Apulian period beyond the scope of a subject catalogue. Such study of the vases of the late period is all the more necessary as it has been a rather neglected field of research, while it has become possible due to the new directions and findings of research.\textsuperscript{13} The artifactual contexts of an increasing number of vases are becoming familiar due to recent (or recently processed) excavations of settlements and cemeteries. Such results lead to new realisations, which will supplement or often even change the wealth of knowledge whose foundations were laid by A. D. Trendall in its monography co-written with A. Cambitoglou.\textsuperscript{14} A. D. Trendall, however, primarily had ‘only’ stylistic methods at his disposal for the identification of the various workshops and vase-painters. However, more recent studies of a wider focus may, at least partly, transform the stylistic-based system of A. D. Trendall, even if, as pointed out by D. Fontannaz, there is still a great temptation to rely purely on the vase-painter hands recognised or identified by A. D. Trendall when attributing recently unearthed vases.\textsuperscript{15} Since the identification of vase-painter hands becomes particularly difficult in the case of vases from the late period, these were often arranged into larger groups only by A. D. Trendall. While the limitations of this study prevent an overall review of his classification of the whole range of vases of late production, they certainly enable the appraisal, on the basis of critical criteria, of the position of vase-painters and groups of painters relevant for the Collection and suggesting possibilities for the solution of problems where appropriate.

In the field of iconographic studies, scholars have from the beginning (i.e. from G. Patroni and V. Macchioro to M. Pensa, M. Schmidt and A. D. Trendall to H. R. W. Smith)\textsuperscript{16} more or less agreed that the Apulian production was dominated by funeral scenes, Dionysian and Orphic themes and depictions inspired by the theatre. More recent research has, on the other hand, been determined by the study of mythical subjects on a wider spectrum, with a deeper insight into the historical and cultural context.\textsuperscript{17} The majority of iconographic studies thus mainly focus on multi-figure mythical scenes, slightly neglecting the examination of smaller vases that depict one or two figures, condemned as genre art. However, the subject

\textsuperscript{13} For a general summary, see: Bilan et perspectives.
\textsuperscript{14} RVAp I-II and Suppl. I-II.
\textsuperscript{15} Fontannaz 2005, 131.
\textsuperscript{16} Patroni 1897; Macchioro 1913; Pensa 1968; Schmidt – Trendall – Cambitoglou 1976; Smith 1976.
\textsuperscript{17} A few examples: Pontrandolfo 1997; Mazzei 1999; Mugione 2000.
matters of apparently simple depictions of Eros, women and young men may not be so
obvious. The high proportion of vases decorated with such motifs is not limited to the
Budapest Collection; vases depicting the chasing of women, gift-giving or simply a female
figure or Eros were mass-produced at Apulian workshops from the second half of the fourth
century. The imagery thus having become genre scenes often make it difficult to trace them
back to the original underlying range of ideas. It is rendered even more difficult by the fact that
the objects around the figures or held in their hands often have meanings on various levels,
such as the wreath, the *taenia* or the mirror, and because the Dionysian, Aphrodisial and
Orphic elements (*thrysos*, grape, *tympanon*, bird, flower, egg, torch etc.) are often placed side
by side on the same vase. It should therefore be assumed that certain links exist between the
symbols, almost compressed into signs, of the various ideas. Since the major part of vases
originating from known sources are found in graves, it is worth investigating to what extent the
themes, associated mainly with the female sphere, are related to the funeral use of vases and
the manner in which the symbols associated with various cults are interrelated in the South of
Italy.

II. The function of vases

The primarily funeral function of Apulian vases is a fact, as most of them are found in
graves, are often unglazed and have no bottom. Albeit to a much lesser degree, red-figure vases
are also found in shrines and residential environments (sometimes ritually smashed). It can be
assumed that most of these were also used for ritual purposes, such as ritual feasts.\(^{18}\) There is a
separate category of ornamental vases, which were produced to order following an event
(theatre performance or initiation rite) and, while not immediately buried, probably
accompanied their owners to the otherworld when the latter had died. A. Hoffmann was trying
to find a relationship between the form of the vase, its imagery and the gender of the deceased
on the study of Tarentum graves. The respective tables, however, fail to demonstrate any
obvious relationship, as the scenes considered ‘female’ by A. Hoffmann (figures of women,
woman-satyr, woman-Eros, ‘amorous chase’, gift-giving) also appear on wine-drinking vases
and are found in the graves of both women and men.\(^{19}\) For example, the placing of the ‘basic
Dionysian kit’ (oinoche and drinking cup) into the grave, becoming increasingly popular from

---

\(^{18}\) Mazzei 1996, 403.
\(^{19}\) Hoffmann 2002, 122-124, Abb. 10-12.
the early fourth century BC, was independent of the gender or social standing of the deceased. Similarly, male imagery (Dionysian scenes, departure of warriors, draped youths) was also used to decorate female vases (e.g. pelike). Obviously, that can partly be explained by the fact that the scenes presumed to depict an amorous chase or gift-giving in fact derive their subject matter from the sphere of rites and cults, referred to above, affecting the life of everyone. Nevertheless, a link may exist between the imagery and the departed person in a way that the person is identified with the protagonist of the mythical scene depicted on the vase, which may also carry a reference to historical events in addition to the social and cultural standing of the deceased person.20

III. The problems of attribution and the localisation of workshops

A. Early vases

As far as attributional studies are concerned, while the three early vases of the Collection undoubtedly do not constitute sufficient grounds for subjecting the early production to a detailed critical study, they nevertheless raise interesting problems which confirm the more recent point of view claiming that the development of South Italian vase painting and workshop traditions is worth being re-considered. On the basis of the use of the same iconographic subjects and compositional principles, links can be established between vase-painters formerly treated separately in space and time by A. D. Trendall. The opposite may also be true in other cases: often no continuity can be demonstrated between vase-painters recognised as representatives of the Ornate style and classified into the same workshop tradition by A. D. Trendall on the basis of certain technical criteria. In most cases, representatives of the ‘Ornate’ and ‘Plain’ styles may have worked in the same workshop. This is all the more likely as, first, there are examples, from even the early period, of a vase-painter (e.g. Adolphseck-Painter) working in both styles and, second, the number of Ornate vases is a fraction of that of Plain ones. That was probably related to a certain group of customers, which is also indicated by the distribution of the vases. On the identification of workshops, the degree and quality of Atticism, i.e. the iconographic themes of which Attic workshop are borrowed, the vase form, composition techniques, geographic distribution and the artifactual context should all be taken into consideration.

While on the basis of style, the painter of the Cat. no. 6 skyphoid pyxis rim fragment, aka. the Parasol Painter is classified by A. D. Trendall with an early Apulian workshop displaying the influence of the Sisyphus-Painter, the sources and artifactual contexts of his more recently unearthed vases indicate a Metaponto workshop instead. Even the preference for depicting faces from a three-quarter view is typical not only of Apulia, but may as well reflect the influence of Metapontine vase-painters. The site where the Budapest fragment was found (Akrai), the skyphoid pyxis vase form so popular in Sicily, as well as the dotted line ornament along the rim, also characteristic of Sicilian pieces, probably bear evidence to a special order or group of customers. The Cat. no. 4 bell-krater, on the other hand, reveals the origin and survival of a motif, which can be neatly tracked along a series of workshops up to the end of the red-figure production. In fact, it can be used to find a relationship between several early representatives of the Plain and Ornate styles, indicating that some of them probably worked at the same workshop. The direct antecedent of the depiction of a youth standing in front of his horse on the main side of the krater could have been a funeral terracotta plate from Tarentum, the original of which can in turn be found on the western frieze, depicting horsemen, of the Parthenon of Athens. The Athens original was most probably transmitted by an Attic red-figure vase, as the frieze, along with other motifs of the Parthenon were popular themes in the Attic vase painting of the second half of the fifth century BC; a great number of such vases were found at South Italian sites. The motif appears in Apulian vase painting as early as at the end of the fifth century, on a column-krater of the Sisyphus-Painter, followed, in chronological order, by the portrayal on the Budapest vase, which can be connected with the Lecce 681-Painter. Beginning with the middle Apulian phase, i.e. the circle of the Iliupersis-Painter, the motif of the youth with a horse would be depicted in naiskos scenes. With the relocation to Canosa of the workshop of the Darius Painter, the figure of the youth standing in front of his horse shows up in the repertoire of local vase painters, in particular of the Baltimore Painter. The latter bears the influence primarily of the Underworld Painter, the latter having painted the motif several times. From the vase paintings of the Arpi Painter, there is a slight shift in the posture of the relaxing leg, whereas both the horse and the figure of the youth are depicted in an increasingly unsophisticated manner by late group painters. Finally, it should be mentioned that the motif, probably at the influence of Apulian vase painters, also reached

---

21 See, for example: Marlay-Painter, ARV 1277, no. 12.
22 RVAp I., 16, no. 55.
23 RVAp II., 865, no. 24 (Jatta); RVAp II., 860, no. 1, e.g. 319,1-2 (London); RVAp II., 866, no. 27, pl. 325,2 (Naples, private collection).
24 RVAp II., 925, no. 92a, and 926, no. 96, pl. 362.
25 Ld. pl.: RVAp II., 948, no. 287, pl. 372, 1-2, és 1022, no. 32, pl. 395, 5-6.
Campania (Horsman Group). Most Apulian portrayals, particularly from the second half of the fourth century, emphasise the warrior nature of the youth, depicting him with a lance, wearing shield and helmet, and sometimes a breastplate. Indigenous elements can be identified in both the weapons and the attire, bearing testimony that vase-painters were trying to satisfy the requirements of their native clientele through the ‘customisation’ of the original Greek motif.

B. Late vases

In terms of tendencies, the Apulian red-figure vase collection of the Museum of Fine Arts provides a representative sample of the late-period production as far as the activity of workshops and vase-painters is concerned. While the fact that we are talking about a collection of thirty-four artefacts undoubtedly does not enable the monographic processing of the entire late production, it does nevertheless enable the critical study of several important late groups. At some points, however, the terminology of A. D. Trendall may be confusing as, for example, by the term ‘group’ he refers to either groups of vase-painters or groups of vases, which should be clarified in each individual situation. This is particularly important in the classification of late vases since, during the mass production typical of the second half of the fourth century BC, not only the scenes but even the style of the smaller vases produced by the workshops became increasingly similar, rendering the identification of the individual vase-painters more difficult. Moreover, the high number of sub-groups within the groups may suggest a multitude of vase painters, although most groups were probably constituted by two or three vase-painters only. Examples to the above include the B. M. Centaur, Liverpool and Rochester groups, whose choice of subjects and style are so similar that they most probably consisted of two or three masters who shared a workshop. Their group may also have included the Woman-Eros Painter, more characteristic in certain stylistic traits but otherwise rather similar in both style and the choice of topics. The fact that their vases were found side by side in the Rutigliano grave no. 54 is another indication to the above, and therefore it appears logical to assume that the customer had ordered the vases from the same workshop.

The same can be said of the Otago, Como C62 and Winterthur groups, and, in fact, even the Monopoli group can be mentioned here, due to the high number of common traits.

27 RVAp II., 644-645.
28 De Juliis 2006, 442.
29 RVAp II., 694-700, 700-704, 710-715.

8
While all four of the above groups had a preference for small-sized pelikes, they are also linked by the relatively long eyebrows and dot-like pupils. There is a particularly strong link between the Otago and Como C62 groups, both being characterised by the initially slightly protruding, closed, drooping lips, which became increasingly short with time, and elongated necks. The slight protrusion of lips, especially of the lower lip, was also characteristic of the Monopoli and Winterthur groups. The latter is linked also to the Otago Painter by the relatively large tuft of hair over the forehead as well as the plain *kekryphalos* pattern. With the exception of the pair of elongated ribbons at the top of the *kekryphalos*, the style of the Vienna 334 Painter, separated from the rest of the Winterthur group, also shows many similarities to that of the Otago group. The Otago, Como C62 and Winterthur groups may thus be assumed to have worked at the same workshop or at least that they were constituted by vase-painters starting out from the same workshop. The Chevron group, however, does not show such a homogeneous picture, as it was on the basis of a single stylistic element, that these vase-painters were classified into the same group by A. D. Trendall. Several vase-painters may be identified among them who no doubt worked at different workshops. At least that is indicated by a larger group of vases found at Salapia and San Severo, which are probably associated with a single vase-painter and concerning which even A. D. Trendall presumes that they were not necessarily imported but could have been the works of a master having settled and opened a workshop here. The style of the female heads depicted on some early vases of the Chevron group resembles the styles of the female heads by both the Woman-Eros Painter and the B.M. Centaur, Liverpool and Rochester groups, working in the same workshop as the former. Their potential relationship is confirmed by the material of the Rutigliano necropolis, where vases of the Chevron and the Liverpool groups were unearthed in the same grave. Some of the Chevron group vase-painters may have begun their career in that workshop.

It is also worth devoting some attention to the Amphorae group, as in that case it appears that A. D. Trendall himself did not definitely decide whether it was a group consisting of a few vase-painters working together with the Patera Painter or both sides of the vases were painted by the same hand. The pitfalls of that double approach also appear with regard to the classification of the Budapest vases, leading to a situation where the same vase is classified elsewhere in a different chapter (e.g. Cat. no. 3) or only one side of a vase was taken into account.

---

30 RVAp II., 704-710.
31 RVAp II., 650-660.
32 RVAp II., 650, 657.
33 Cf.: RVAp II., no. 79, 657, pl. 243, 10.
34 De Juliis 2006, 438, tomba 5Dd. Vases considered close to the Chevron group were also found in grave no. 54, referred to above.
35 RVAp II., 765-792.
consideration on the attribution of a specific piece (e.g. Cat. no. 7). The study of the Budapest vases classified into the Amphorae group definitely revealed that the painter of the female heads was different from that of the A side. However, the style of the female heads shows such a degree of resemblance which shows that there could have been no more than two vase-painters; at most, it is possible that in certain cases, the painter of the A side also painted the female head on the B side, imitating the style of his partner. A cooperation similar to that of the Patera Painter/Amphorae group could probably have existed between the Virginia Exhibition Painter and his followers and the White Cross group\(^{36}\). Some of the vases considered to be the works of the workshop of the former, and their lids, bear female head depictions characteristic of the White Cross group, with the white ribbon painted as a cross in the bun. In other respects, the works of the group are linked to the Kantharos group by several traits,\(^ {37}\) including the style of the eyes, the white and black strips appearing at the bottom on the back of the kekryphalos, and the thicker white line in the tuft of hair over the forehead, which is, however, shorter than the one on the female heads depicted on the vases of the Kantharos group.

The surprisingly close relationship between Apulian vase-painters and the interdependence of styles (which in turn makes the identification of the specific vase-painter hands more difficult) can be traced relatively easily not only at the workshop of the Darius Painter, but at the Baltimore Painter, too. As far as the latter is concerned, even the moment of his separation from the Patera/Ganymede workshop can probably be detected, as some of the vases of the group of small vases associated with the Patera and Ganymede Painters, i.e. the Menzies group,\(^ {38}\) are closer to the Ganymede Painter, whereas others more closely resemble the style of the Baltimore Painter. Some of them may have been the first direct colleagues of the Baltimore Painter, when the latter founded his own workshop, their style being echoed on the vases of the Kantharos group. A slight uncertainty may be felt on the part of A. D. Trendall also with regard to the establishment of the Menzies group, not surprisingly, as these small vases are almost identical as far as their themes are concerned but different in style. The relationship between the style of the vase-painter first classified as belonging with the group but later set apart from it as the Brussels A 3759-60 Painter\(^ {39}\) and that of the a Ganymede Painter is so close that it would in fact be more practical to have the vases of the former recorded among the late works of the Ganymede Painter.

\(^{37}\) RVAp II., 991-1009.
\(^{38}\) RVAp II., 830-851.
\(^{39}\) RVAp II., 803, 657.
Unfortunately, the problem reiterated by A. D. Trendall, i.e. the majority of small vases with one or two figures have not been published and are inaccessible has, for the most part, remained true. However, the more late vases are processed and exhibited, the higher the chances that new painter hands are added to the classification of A. D. Trendall and that the classification is substantially updated at certain points. For the time being, however, we can mostly make small improvements only, where the description and analysis of the method of attribution and any problematic issues may become relevant from the point of view of later research.

IV. The iconography of late vase paintings

As we have repeatedly emphasised, the works devoted to the study of the iconography of Apulian vases have primarily focused on larger vases depicting mythical, theatrical and Underworld scenes. It actually makes sense as, apart from being more spectacular, these vase paintings also enable a more complex research, one that encompasses cultural links and historical events. At the same time, despite appearances, the mass production of small vases depicting one or two figures and the fact that they are overcrowded with symbols, are the very indications of their importance rather than their insignificance. The original sphere of ideas from which their imagery was derived was the world of cults and worship which must have imbued the life of the entire contemporary society. Since the depictions can, for the most part, be compared to the votive artefacts of shrines, together they reveal more of religious life than the multi-figure scenes of large vases that may be based on literary works or even pattern books.

One certainly cannot talk of clear and precise depictions, which may not even be the consequence of mass production but can be deliberate, in order to enable that a vase could be utilised in various contexts. That is indicated by the unvarying surroundings and characters, i.e. rocks, a natural environment, Eros, youth and woman, surrounded by various symbols, often ambiguous or used in various contexts. They are known primarily from the circle of Persephone, Aphrodite and Dionysus (thyrso, grapes, tympanon, bird, flower, phialé, torch), whereas the wreath and the taenia are present in various situations in life. Orphic elements (e.g. egg, wheel) are also added. By contrast with Attic iconography, also characterised, from the late fifth century BC, by the motifs and characters referred to above, Apulian vase paintings are always inspired by a powerful funeral character. The same sitting/standing women and
terracotta Eros figures are found in the materials of graves and of the Messapian or even the Lucanian shrines as are depicted in the scenes of vase paintings. Shrines were typically devoted to the cult of several deities, in which fertility, battle and chthonic/otherworldly elements were present collectively. Apart from belonging to the sphere of Persephone, the connection and continuity of life and death or birth and death can also be connected with the Orphic outlook on life. While the cyclical nature of life-death-life is undoubtedly expressed on Orphic relics (e.g. on the Pelinna and Olbia plates), M. Schmidt claims that the portrayal of the Underworld on Apulian vases, with the punishment of sinners and the bliss of the innocent, is not necessarily of an Orphic nature and there are no convincing links between the text of the golden plates and the representations of the Underworld on large vases. These Orphic ideas, however, may have, albeit in a simplified manner, reached the population, which was turning toward purification rites out of a craving for salvation from punishment. Elements of that process could appear in representations as well as in rites. On the basis of the above, three major life situations can be identified, where these vases could play a role: during sexual initiation, i.e. the step from puberty into adulthood, in Dionysian rites, influenced by orphism and on the death of a young girl. The latter is characterised by a blending between the systems of symbols of death and matrimony (their dividing line being fluid anyway), which is thus particularly suitable for the expression of women’s self-identification with Persephone, as well as the presentation of Eros as psychopompos. Since the three situations are essentially linked by symbolic death and rebirth, which accompanies transitional rites, chthonic symbols are typically present in all vase paintings. Female heads, often the only ornaments on late vases, need not necessarily be interpreted as the anodos of Persephone or another chthonic goddess, as they can just as well be pars pro toto representations relating to the lady of the Underworld or, since they are often surrounded by the same symbols as other vase paintings, they may allude to the important role of women in religious life in Southern Italy. As most vases are found in graves, they may perhaps be taken along by the deceased persons to the Otherworld as symbols of their ritual purity and initiation, somewhat similarly to the reminder function of the gold plates, ultimately also expressing the hope of defeating death and annihilation.

List of abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ActaAnt</th>
<th>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>Antik Tanulmányok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 Schmidt 1975, 128.
Bilan et perspectives

RM
Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)

RVAp I-II

RVAp Suppl. I-II

SZMK
A Szépművészeti Múzeum Közleményei

Bibliography

De Juliis 2006

Fontannaz 2005

Furtwängler 1885
Furtwängler, A., Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium, Berlin 1885.

Hoffmann 2002

Lenormant 1881
Lenormant, F., La Grande-Grèce, paysage et histoire, Paris 1881.

Lippolis 1996

Macchioro 1911

Mannino 2006

Mazzei 1996

Mazzei 1999

Mugione 2000
Mugione, E., Miti della ceramica attica in Occidente. Problemi di trasmissioni iconografiche nelle produzioni italiote, Taranto 2000.
Patroni 1897
Patroni, G., La ceramica antica nell’Italia Meridionale, Napoli 1897.

Pensa 1968

Pontrandolfo 1997

Pouzadoux 2005

Pulszky 1876-77

Pusztai 1876-77

Rusjaeva 1978

Schmidt 1975

Schmidt – Trendall – Cambitoglou 1976

Smith 1976

Szilágyi 1952

Szilágyi 1966

Szilágyi 1988

Szilágyi 2001

Szilágyi 2002

Tsantsanoglou – Parassoglou 1987

Relevant publications by the author:


Vandlik 2009

Vandlik 2010