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THE NECKLACE OF HARMONIA AND OTHER TALES

IMAGES AND MYTHS ON CERAMICS FROM RUDIAE

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PART I. *Introduction to the figured vessels of Rudiae*

I.1. The context of discovery: the necropoleis

Over the last two centuries, the Messapian necropoleis of *Rudiae* have yielded a rich complex of figured vessels of extraordinary importance. These ceramics – made in Athens and Taras, the colony founded by the Spartans on the Gulf of Taranto – mostly belong to the collections of the “S. Castromediano” Provincial Museum of Lecce and constitute items of considerable value. The main interest of the figurative vessels however lies in their depiction of images and myths originating in ancient Greece, a subject that the Messapians clearly appreciated and understood thoroughly. The images tell stories of the gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines of the ancient world. On this pottery, the main characters of the poems of Homer and the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides appear and tell us their stories in the first person, just like actors. Burials rich in ceramic items have been unearthed in successive archaeological investigations carried out in *Rudiae*, especially those by Luigi De Simone in the second half of the 19th century.

Necropoleis yielding figurative ceramics dated to the 5th and 4th centuries BC have been found in various areas of the settlement, mainly its northern, western and southern sectors (Masseria Palombaro, Fondo Panareo). The burials featuring figurative ceramics belonged to high-ranking residents – aristocrats – who alone had the economic and cultural ability to acquire and appreciate these valuable artefacts. The figured vessels placed in the tombs of aristocrats were prestige objects that enabled them to affirm their status, ideally identifying themselves with the heroes depicted in the images.

1.2. Places of production

The figurative vessels from the necropoleis of *Rudiae* are of Greek production, executed with the technique of red figures on a black background. The vessels were both imported from Athens (Attic ceramics) and produced in the Magna Graecia colonies of Taras and Metapontion. The red-figure technique appeared in Athens around 530 BC and after 450 BC was also used in the Greek colonies of southern Italy. The emergence of red-figure pottery in Magna Graecia is explained by the migration to Italy of Greek artisans – vase painters and potters – from Attica. These craftsmen were drawn by the demand for figurative ceramics among the indigenous aristocracies of Magna Graecia, and specifically the Messapians of *Rudiae*.

1.3. Form and function

The figurative vessels of *Rudiae* come in various forms, the most frequently attested of which is the krater, a large vase. Other forms include the amphora, *lekythos*, *oinochoe* and *pelike*. Red-figure kraters have two main forms: the Column-krater and the Bell-krater, of which the latter looks like an inverted bell, with upward-pointing handles. The main function of the krater was to mix water and wine during banquets. Amphorae and *pelikai* are broader containers with two handles used for transporting beverages. The *Oinochoe* is a wine jug with a squat, rounded form and vertical handles; the function of the *oinochoe* was to draw and pour wine during banquets. The *Lekythos*, used for storing oil and perfumes, has a narrow body and one handle attached to the neck of the vessel.

PART II. *The figured ceramics of Rudiae. Tales of heroes*

The Theban cycle: Polynices and Eriphyle

1. Attic red-figure *pelike*

Polynices gives Eriphyle the necklace of Harmonia





Present location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 570).

Side A: Polynices, bearded, wearing a short chiton and a chlamys on his left arm; he has a staff on his left side, held by a balteus, and a pileus on his head. He is depicted leaning on the staff while giving Eriphyle the necklace of Harmonia, which he has just taken out of a box. Eriphyle wears a peplos and some hair bands; she is standing and extending her hand to receive the ornament. Between the two characters there is a heron. The names of the characters are inscribed.

Side B: a female figure and an ephebe leaning on a stick.

Bibliography: MANNINO 2006, cat. n. 233, p. 153.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic; 460-450 BC; the Chicago Painter.

Observations: the *pelike* from *Rudiae* with Polynices and Eriphyle is one of the most valuable pottery pieces held by the “S. Castromediano” Provincial Museum in Lecce. This is emphasised by Pietro Romanelli in the Preface to the first edition of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, devoted to the vases of this museum. Besides its artistic value, this vessel is particularly important because it has inscriptions with the names of the characters. It therefore removes any doubt concerning the interpretation of the scene. Polynices – the son of Jocasta and the king of Thebes Oedipus – is shown taking a necklace out of a box; this is not just any piece of jewellery, but the chain that belonged to Harmonia, daughter of Aphrodite and wife of Cadmus, founder of Thebes. In book III

of *The Library*, Apollodorus states that “*After his servitude Athena procured for him the kingdom, and Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. And all the gods quitted the sky, and feasting in the Cadmea celebrated the marriage with hymns. Cadmus gave her a robe and the necklace wrought by Hephaestus, which some say was given to Cadmus by Hephaestus, but Pherecydes says that it was given by Europa, who had received it from Zeus*”. Although Harmonia is the personification of symmetry, order, and loving union, her necklace – as we shall see – causes disagreement, pain, and death. In the pelike from Rudiae, Polynices is about to deliver the necklace of Harmonia to Eriphyle, sister of Adrastus, King of Argos. In order to get hold of the necklace, Eriphyle betrays her husband Amphiaraus and persuades him to join Adrastus in an attack against Thebes (Pseudo-Apollodorus, III, 6, 1-3; Diodorus Siculus, IV, 65, 5). Some authors say that the necklace of Harmonia was given to Eriphyle by her brother Adrastus (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 73); others (Diodorus Siculus, IV, 65; Apollodorus, III, 101) say that she received it from Polynices, as depicted on the vessel from Rudiae. Apollodorus (*Library*, Book III) describes what may have happened: “*So, being banished from Thebes, Polynices came to Argos, taking with him the necklace and the robe. The king of Argos was Adrastus, son of Talaus; and Polynices went up to his palace by night and engaged in a fight with Tydeus, son of Oeneus, who had fled from Calydon. At the sudden outcry Adrastus appeared and parted them, and remembering the words of a certain seer who told him to yoke his daughters in marriage to a boar and a lion, he accepted them both as bridegrooms, because they had on their shields, the one the forepart of a boar, and the other the forepart of a lion. And Tydeus married Deipyle, and Polynices married Argia; and Adrastus promised that he would restore them both to their native lands. And first he was eager to march against Thebes, and he mustered the chiefs. But Amphiaraus, son of Oicles, being a seer and foreseeing that all who joined in the expedition except Adrastus were destined to perish, shrank from it himself and discouraged the rest. However, Polynices went to Iphis, son of Alector, and begged to know how Amphiaraus could be compelled to go to the war. He answered that it could be done if Eriphyle got the necklace. Now Amphiaraus had forbidden Eriphyle to accept gifts from Polynices; but Polynices gave her the necklace and begged her to persuade Amphiaraus to go to the war; for the decision lay with her, because once, when a difference arose between him and Adrastus, he had made it up with him and sworn to let Eriphyle decide any future dispute he might have with Adrastus. Accordingly, when war was to be made on Thebes, and the measure was advocated by Adrastus and opposed by Amphiaraus, Eriphyle accepted the necklace and persuaded him to march with Adrastus.*”

The scene depicted on the vessel from Rudiae (Polynices corrupting Eriphyle with the necklace of Harmonia) is from the prologue to the Seven against Thebes, a topic widely explored in ancient

literature (see Aeschylus's tragedy "*The Seven against Thebes*"). The expedition against Thebes was to be fatal for Amphiaraus, whose death was avenged by his son Alcmaeon, who killed his mother Eriphyle. Echoes of this myth can even be found in Sophocles. In *Electra*, the chorus reminds us of how Amphiaraus was killed for a gold necklace ("*Nay, I bethink me how/ The Argive seer [Amphiaraus] was swallowed up,/ Snared by a woman for a golden chain,/ And now in the nether world*" - 836-838). That Eriphyle died by her son's hand is also revealed in fragments of *The Epigoni*, a tragedy by Sophocles reporting a dialogue between Alcmaeon and Adrastus:

Alcmaeon: *You are the brother of a woman who murdered her husband.*

Adrastus: *And you killed your mother who gave you life*".

Odysseus meets Eriphyle during his descent into Hades: "*And Maera and Clymene I saw, and hateful Eriphyle, who took precious gold as the price of the life of her own lord*" (Homer, *The Odyssey*, XI, 326-327).

Theseus

2. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater

Theseus and Amazons



Present location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 766).

Side A: In a landscape marked by bushes and a row of stones stands Theseus, naked. He wears a cloak over his shoulders and a pileus on his head. He is shown facing an Amazon on horseback: Theseus is holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. The Amazon wears an oriental costume and a Phrygian cap; she is about to throw a spear. Behind her is another Amazon, also on horseback; she is dressed the same way, but depicted from the waist up, behind a row of stones.

Side B: three draped youths.

Bibliography: MUGIONE 2000, cat. n. 261, pp. 172-173.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 390-380 BC; the Hoppin Painter.

Observations: the krater from *Rudiae* depicts the dispute between Theseus and the Amazons. Ceramic depictions usually present the hero in his travelling clothes: a short chiton, a chlamys, and a

petasos, a typical hat used by travellers. In contrast, in this case, the warrior is naked and wears a pileus. Theseus (son of Aegeus, King of Athens, and Aethra) is famous especially for his battle with the Minotaur (who was the son of Minos, King of Crete), who he kills with the help of Ariadne, a girl who he later abandons on the island of Naxos. After doing so, he returns to Athens and becomes king of the city. As we know from Apollodorus (*Epitome*, I, 16 s.), Theseus accompanies Hercules during the expedition to Themiscyra, the legendary capital of the Amazons – the mythical female warriors who lived on the southern coast of the Black Sea. According to Plutarch (*Theseus*, XXVII), the siege of the city lasted three months and the Amazons showed great courage and valour. During the fourth month, Theseus and the Amazon queen Hippolyta came to an agreement, although she fell in love with him. According to some authors, the story ends with Theseus kidnapping Hippolyta, who would later give birth to Hippolytus. The abduction of Hippolyta provoked the reaction of her fellow Amazons, who travelled to Attica to bring back their queen. This version of the myth dates back at least to the 6th century BC, and is given by Aeschylus in his *Eumenides*: “whereon the Amazons had their seat and pitched their tents, what time they came, embattled, in resentment against Theseus” (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, III, 686-688).

Castor and Pollux

3. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater

The Dioscuri on horseback



Present location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 648).

Side A: the Dioscuri are depicted naked, side view, and on horseback; between them there is an Ionic pillar. Above them, to the right and left, there are two circular elements symbolising the stars.

Side B: three draped youths.

Bibliography: LIMCIII, 1986, s.v. *Dioskouroi*, n. 5, p. 569.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 2nd quarter of the 4th century BC; associated with the Iliupersis Painter.

Observations: the krater from *Rudiae* depicts Castor and Pollux – the Dioscuri – on horseback. The Dioscuri are the mythical children of Leda and Zeus (Διὸς κοῦροι), as mentioned by Homer in one of the hymns he dedicated to them (XXXIII): “*Bright-eyed Muses, tell of the Tyndaridae, the Sons of Zeus, glorious children of neat-ankled Leda, Castor the tamer of horses, and blameless Polydeuces. When Leda had lain with the dark-clouded Son of Cronos, she bare them beneath the peak of the*

great hill Taygetus, - children who are deliverers of men on earth and of swift-going ships when stormy gales rage over the ruthless sea. Then the shipmen call upon the sons of great Zeus with vows of white lambs, going to the forepart of the prow; but the strong wind and the waves of the sea lay the ship under water, until suddenly these two are seen darting through the air on tawny wings. Forthwith they allay the blasts of the cruel winds and still the waves upon the surface of the white sea: fair signs are they and deliverance from toil. And when the shipmen see them they are glad and have rest from their pain and labour. Hail, Tyndaridae, riders upon swift horses! Now I will remember you and another son also.” In another version of the myth, Leda, wife of Tyndareus, King of Sparta, gave birth to four children: two of them (Pollux and Helen) were children of Zeus, who had approached her in the form of a swan (Apollodorus, *Library*, III, 10, 7), while the father of the other two (Castor and Clytemnestra) was her spouse Tyndareus (Pindar, *Nemean*, 10, 79 ss., Apollodorus, *Library*, III, 10, 7; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 77). Therefore, according to the myth, the Dioscuri are brothers of Helen, whose abduction by Paris caused the Trojan war, and Clytemnestra (wife of Agamemnon, and mother of Electra, Iphigenia, and Orestes). If we accept the latter version of the myth, Castor is mortal in that he is the son of Tyndareus, while Pollux is immortal as he is the son of Zeus. The two brothers are often shown riding horses, to emphasise their athletic and military virtues. Castor was a skilled horse tamer, Pollux a proficient boxer. The literature places their achievements before the Trojan War. Among the feats attributed to the Dioscuri are the freeing of their sister Helen, who had been kidnapped by Theseus (Pausanias, 2, 22, 6; 5, 19, 3; Herodotus, 9, 73), their participation in the Argonauts’ expedition in search of the legendary Golden Fleece (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*) and the hunting of the Calydonian boar (Apollodorus, *Library*, I, 67-68). On the death of the Dioscuri, Euripides gives two different versions: in the tragedy *Helen*, when Teucron is questioned by Helen on the fate of her brothers, he tells her they have turned into astral deities (Euripides, *Helen*, 137-142). In the second version, in *The Trojan Women*, he says that the two brothers killed themselves as they were ashamed of their sister’s behaviour (Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, 998-1001). After their deaths, the Dioscuri were deified and venerated as protectors of travellers and sailors. Pollux obtained from his father Zeus the right to share his immortality with Castor, on condition they would spend one day in Olympus and one in Hades. When Odysseus met Leda in Hades, he described the Dioscuri’s virtues and their immortal destiny: “And I saw Leda, the wife of Tyndareus, who bore to Tyndareus two sons, stout of heart, Castor the tamer of horses, and the boxer Polydeuces. These two the earth, the giver of life, covers, albeit alive, and even in the world below they have honour from Zeus. One day they live in turn, and one day they are dead; and they have won honour like unto that of the gods” (Homer, *The Odyssey*, XI, 298-304).

4. Attic red-figure Bell-krater

One of the Dioscuri in the presence of King Tyndareus



Present location: Taranto, Museo Arch. Naz. (I.G. 52932).

Side A: on the left, King Tyndareus, bearded, with long hair and a laurel crown; his right hand is extended, holding the sceptre. The figure wears a long chiton with a cloak over it; he is facing right, towards the youth. The latter wears a petasos, chlamys and high sandals; he is riding a rearing steed and holds two long spears in his right hand, while his left hand is against the horse's neck.

Side B: three draped youths.

Bibliography: MANNINO 2006, cat. n. 221, pp. 140-142.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic; 460-450 BC; the Villa Giulia Painter.

Observations: the figures in the Attic krater from *Rudiae* have been identified as King Tyndareus and one of the Dioscuri. There is no inscription with the name, and therefore it is impossible to establish whether this is Castor or Pollux. In this case, Tyndareus – king of Sparta and husband of Leda (on this myth see record n. 3) – is shown bidding farewell to his children, who are about to leave on a mission.

Heroes and heroines of the Trojan war

5. Early Apulian red-figure amphora

Achilles, Agamemnon and Briseis



Present location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 571).

Side A: on the left stands Briseis, wearing a long chiton tied at the waist with a belt; she has an *oenochoe* in her right hand. She faces Achilles. The hero is naked, with a helmet on his head and his cloak draped over his arm. In his left hand, he holds a spear; in the right a patera, which he extends towards Briseis. To the hero's right is a shield. Behind the Pelides, stands Agamemnon, bearded,

with the crown on his head. He is wearing a *himation* which leaves his chest uncovered. He leans on a stick that he holds in his right hand. The names of the characters are inscribed.

Side B: bearded man and woman with fillet beside a Doric Column.

Bibliography: MANNINO 2005, pp. 34-36.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 430 BC; the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl.

Observations: the scene depicted on the vase from Rudiae represents three key figures from the *Iliad*: Achilles, son of Peleus and Thetis; Briseis, whose name means “*woman of Brisa, woman of Lesbos*” (Homer, *The Iliad*, IX, 128) or “*daughter of Briseus*” (Homer, *The Iliad*, I, 392; IX, 132), the beautiful slave Achilles falls in love with “*that was like unto golden Aphrodite*” (Homer, *The Iliad*, XIX, 282); and Agamemnon, King of Mycenae (son of Atreus and husband of Clytemnestra), who organises the Achaeans’ punitive mission against Troy to avenge the offence against his brother Menelaus, whose wife Helen has fled with Paris, son of the Trojan King Priam. The myth narrated by Homer in *The Iliad* is one of the most famous of all time. According to Homer, Briseis is given to Achilles as war booty, while Agamemnon takes Chryseis, daughter of Chryses, a priest of Apollo who seeks in vain to get her back. When a severe pestilence strikes the Achaeans, the soothsayer Calchas reveals that the cause of the disease is Apollo, furious at the injustice suffered by his priest. Agamemnon is thus forced to send Chryseis back. The Achaean King returns his slave, but takes Briseis instead. Agamemnon sends his messengers to take the girl, who is in Achilles’ tent. This dramatic moment is narrated in Book IX of the *Iliad*, through the words of the sage Nestor: “*when you, sir, angered Achilles by taking the girl Briseis from his tent against my judgment. I urged you not to do so, but you yielded to your own pride, and dishonoured a hero whom heaven itself had honoured- for you still hold the prize that had been awarded to him*” (Homer, *The Iliad*, IX, 105 ss.). Achilles, offended and angry, decides to take no further part in military action: “*The wrath do thou sing, O goddess, of Peleus’ son, Achilles*” (Homer, *The Iliad*, I, 1-2). Briseis is later returned to Achilles. She cries over Patroclus’ dead body and sacrifices her hair in his honour. The subject depicted on the *Rudiae* amphora may represent the moment when Agamemnon returns Briseis to Achilles. Admiring the amphora at the beginning of the 19th century, the cultivated French traveller Lenormant recognised the subjects as “*Briseis between Achilles and Agamemnon, who took her back to the son of Peleus*”.

6. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater

Ajax, Cassandra and Palladium



Present location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 681).

Side A: The scene is in a sanctuary, as the hanging bucrania suggest. In the centre is Cassandra, depicted wearing a long garment with soft creases and a crown on her inclined head. She is seated on the base of the Palladium; with her left arm, she clings to the simulacrum. In front of Cassandra stands Ajax, naked, with his cloak on his arm. He is armed with a spear, a shield, and a sword held in *abalteus*. To the right stands a female figure, possibly a priestess, shown in the act of fleeing.

Side B: three draped youths, one with a strigil.

Bibliography: MUGIONE 2000, cat. n. 433, p. 185.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 390-370 BC; the Hoppin Painter.

Observations: the figures on the *Rudiae* krater are Cassandra and Ajax Oileus, leader of the Locrian contingent. Cassandra, daughter of Hecuba and Priam, King of Troy, had the gift of prophecy. According to one version of the myth, she received this gift together with her brother Helenus when, during their infancy, some snakes licked their ears while they were asleep. In another, more common version of the myth, she received the gift of prophecy from Apollo, on condition that she granted all his wishes, as the god was seduced by her beauty. However, once Cassandra acquired the gift, she rejected the god's advances. For this reason Apollo punished her by making sure nobody believed her prophecies (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1201 ss.). The Palladium was an ancient simulacrum of Athena, preserved in Troy and credited with protecting the city. The episode depicted on the *Rudiae* krater is the moment when Cassandra seeks refuge in the sanctuary of Athens during the capture of Troy. Ajax Oileus commits sacrilege by forcibly taking away Cassandra from the temple of Athena. Later, the goddess causes him to perish in a storm which drives his ship onto the Capherean rocks, near Euboea, on his way back home. In *The Trojan Women* by Euripides, the dialogue between Athena and Poseidon clearly tells the story:

“Athena: When homeward-bound they sail from Ilium.

Then Zeus shall send forth rain unutterable,

And hail, and blackness of heaven's tempest-breath;

And to me promiseth his levin-flame

To smite the Achaeans and burn their ships with fire.

But thou - the Aegean sea-pass make thou roar

With mountain-surge and whirlpits of wild brine,

And thou with corpses choke Euboea's gulf;

That Greeks may learn henceforth to reverence

My temples, and to fear all Gods beside.

Poseidon: This shall be: thy boon needs not many words.

The wide Aegean sea will I turmoil;

The shores of Myconos, the Delian reefs,

*Scyros, and Lemnos, the Capherean cliffs
With many dead men's corpses shall be strewn.
Pass thou to Olympus; from thy father's hands
Receive the levin-bolts, and watch the hour
When Argos' host shall cast the hawsers loose.
Fool, that in sack of towns lays temples waste,
And tombs, the sanctuaries of the dead!*

He, sowing desolation, reaps destruction.” (Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, 77-97).

After the Achaeans destroyed Troy, Cassandra was given to Agamemnon: “*Alas! Let none call forth the frenzy-driven/ Cassandra, bacchant-prophetess,/ For Argive lust to shame, lest there be given/ Distress to my distress*” (Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, 169-172). Agamemnon took her to Mycenae, where she would be killed by Clytemnestra.

After Troy: the return home

7. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater

Odysseus with Penelope, Telemachus, and the dog Argus



Present location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 671).

Side A: on the left stands Penelope, wearing a long peplum. She is depicted leaning against a small pillar, with her head in her left hand. Penelope faces Telemachus, who is naked and sits on a raised part of the ground; he observes his mother, holding his right knee with both hands. To the right stands Odysseus. He wears a pileus and a short chiton; he has two spears in his left hand. He lowers his hand towards Argos the dog, curled up at his feet. Above, in the centre, is a hanging shield.

Side B: three draped youths.

Bibliography: LIMC, VI, 1992, s.v. *Odysseus*, n. 195, p. 965.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 1st quarter of the 4th century BC; the Tarpoley Group.

Observations: The krater from *Rudiae* depicts one of the most intense moments in ancient literature: Odysseus returning to Ithaca and his family. The image shows Penelope (Odysseus' faithful wife, who has waited for her spouse for twenty years); she leans on a pillar with a melancholic and thoughtful attitude. Telemachus (the only son of Penelope and Odysseus) sits facing his mother; he has had to defend her from the Proci, suitors who have dissipated their property and issued orders in their home. Odysseus closes the scene: he is back home after much wandering; he is recognised and welcomed by the faithful dog Argos. The episode is described in detail in Homer's *Odyssey*. At the end of his many adventures after the fall of Troy, Odysseus finally reaches Ithaca in disguise. In Book XVII, Odysseus arrives at his palace and speaks to Eumaeus, the swineherd. The dog Argos, who was lying on a dunghill, exhausted by old age and hunger, recognises the voice of his old master, wagging his tail and pricking up his ears: "*Thus they spoke to one another. And a hound that lay there raised his head and pricked up his ears, Argos, the hound of Odysseus, of the steadfast heart, whom of old he had himself bred [...] There lay the hound Argos, full of vermin; yet even now, when he marked Odysseus standing near, he wagged his tail and dropped both his ears, but nearer to his master he had no longer strength to move.*" (Homer, *The Odyssey*, XVII, 290 ss). The final of this story is well known: Odysseus is recognised by his old nurse Eurycleia while she washes his feet (Homer, *The Odyssey*, XIX, 376-488, 374-690), while the test of the bow allows Odysseus to finally unveil his identity (Homer, *The Odyssey*, XXI) and to massacre the Proci (Homer, *The Odyssey*, XXII). Penelope finally proves his identity by the secret of the thalamus: "*Now, however, that you have convinced me by showing that you know all about our bed (which no human being has ever seen but you and I [...]) As the sight of land is welcome to men who are swimming towards the shore, when Neptune has wrecked their ship with the fury of his winds and waves – a few alone reach the land, and these, covered with brine, are thankful when they find themselves on firm ground and out of danger – even so was her husband welcome to her as she looked upon him, and she could not tear her two fair arms from about his neck*" (Homer, *The Odyssey*, XXIII, 272-274, 295-298).

Orestes and the Erinyes

8. Apulian Red-figure Calyx-krater

Orestes and the Erinyes





Present location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 770).

Side A: in the centre of the scene is Orestes. He is wearing a long chiton with sleeves, straps crossed over the chest, a belt, and sandals. He sits on an altar and holds a sword with his right hand. Under the altar is a garland, while on the left is Clytemnestra and on the right a bearded Agamemnon. They both wear a crown and sceptre.

Above, on the left, is a winged Erinyes; she is pointing at Orestes with her right hand. To the right is a female figure; she sits with a crown on her head, holding a patera in her hand.

Side B: a female figure with a crown on her head. She sits between two young figures, of which the one on the right has a strigil.

Bibliography: MUGIONE 2000, cat. n. 407, p. 183.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 380-370 BC; the Truro Painter.

Observations: The protagonist of this scene in the *Rudiae* vase is Orestes. To avenge his father Agamemnon, Orestes has killed his mother Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus. The hero is depicted between a bust of an Erinyes and his parents Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. The vessel represents the moment when Orestes seeks refuge in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi, to flee from the Erinyes (or Furies). The Erinyes are gods of revenge and curses; they are related to the dead and responsible for punishing those who have killed their relatives. The story of Orestes is in the *Oresteia* trilogy by Aeschylus, which includes the tragedies *Agamemnon*, *The Libation Bearers*, and *The Eumenides*. The young Orestes is raised in his father's palace in Aulis until Agamemnon's murder. Helped by his sister Electra, he abandons the palace and flees to Phocis, where he grows up with his good friend Pylades. As an adult, Orestes leaves Phocis to avenge his father's death, as this is the will of Apollo and Zeus. Orestes kills his mother and Aegisthus, who were reigning together: "Behold this pair, oppressors of the land, who murdered my father and

ransacked my house! [...]I proclaim to those who hold me dear and declare that not without justice did I slay my mother, the unclean murderess of my father, and a thing loathed by the gods. And for the spells that gave me the courage for this deed I count Loxias, the prophet of Pytho, my chief source. It was he who declared that, if I did this thing, I would be acquitted of wrongdoing. But if I refrained—I will not name the penalty; for no bowshot could reach such a height of anguish.” (Aeschylus, *The Choephoroi*, 973 ss.). After the matricide and the murder of Aegisthus, the Erinyes begin to persecute Orestes (“*O lord Apollo, look! Now they come in troops, and from their eyes they drip loathsome blood!*”: Aeschylus, *The Choephoroi*, 1058 ss.). He goes first to Delphi, where thanks to Apollo, he escapes the sleeping Erinyes, although his definitive liberation can only happen in Athens (“*No! I will not abandon thee. Thy guardian to the end, close by the side, or even far removed, I will not show me gentle to thine enemies. So now thou see’st these maddened women overcome; fallen on sleep are these loathsome maidens - beldames, aged children, with whom nor any god nor man nor beast consorteth ever. For evil’s sake were they even born, since they inhabit the evil gloom of Tartarus beneath the earth - creatures loathed of men and of Olympian gods. Nevertheless, do thou fly on and grow not faint of heart. For as thou ever tread’st the travelled earth, they will chase thee even over the wide continent and beyond the main and the cities girdled by the sea. And grow not weary ere thy course be run by brooding on this thy toil; but when thou art come to Pallas’ burgh, sit thee down and clasp in thine arms her ancient image. And there, with judges of thy cause and speech of persuasive charm, we shall discover means to release thee utterly from thy distress; for it was at my behest that thou didst take thy mother’s life*”: Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, episode I). After much wandering, Orestes arrives in Athens, where Athena declares “*as you judge the first trial for bloodshed. In the future, even as now, this court of judges will always exist*” (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 681 ss.). With these words, the goddess announces the establishment of a court on the Areopagus. Here Orestes is tried before the Erinyes, Apollo, Athena and the Athenian judges. The trial ends with Orestes’ acquittal.

PART III. *The figured ceramics of Rudiae. Tales of Dionysus*

The god introduces himself

1. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 780).

Side A: the scene is outdoors, probably in a sacred space as suggested by the crown and the hanging paterae. Dionysus, naked and beardless, sits on a raised part of the ground. He holds a kantharos in his right hand and a laurel branch in his left. To the left, a standing maenad holds out a tray with donations to the god; to the right, a satyr holds a double flute and leans against a pillar.

Side B: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: TRENDALL, CAMBITOGLU 1978, p. 242, n. 123.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 2nd quarter of the 4th century BC; the Painter of Athens 1680.

2. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 662).

Main side: Dionysus, naked and beardless, sits on a rock; he holds a patera in his left hand and a thyrsus in his right. To the left is a standing satyr who holds a situla and a thyrsus; to the right a standing maenad holds a crown and a branch adorned with a band. The scene is set outdoors, as indicated by the row of stones and the bush on the ground. In the field, there is a hanging garland.

Secondary side: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: TRENDALL, CAMBITOGLU 1978, p. 319, n. 19.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 3rd quarter of the 4th century BC; the Snub-Nose Painter.

3. Bell-krater in the Gnathia style



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 1008).

Side A: Dionysus is shown naked, fat, and beardless; his curly flowing hair is held back by a crown of ivy. He sits on a rock covered by his cloak with his leg crossed. The god holds a thyrsus and a kantharos.

Main bibliography: GIANNOTTA 1996, p. 61.

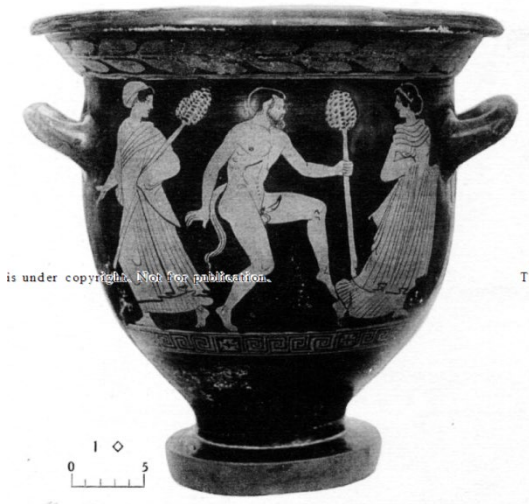
Area of production, dating, and attribution: Gnathia pottery; 370-360 BC; the Konnakis group.

Observations: Dionysus, the god of nature and fertility, of vegetation and the vine, is seen on many vessels discovered in *Rudiae*. Dionysus is the son of Zeus and the Theban princess Semele. “*I, the son of Zeus, have come to this land of the Thebans – Dionysus, whom once Semele, Kadmos’ daughter, bore, delivered by a lightning-bearing flame*”: with these words Dionysus introduces himself in Euripides’ *Bacchae* (1-4). Hesiod, in the *Theogony*, also remembers Dionysus’ parents: “*And Semele, daughter of Cadmus was joined with him in love and bore him a splendid son, joyous Dionysus*” (940-941). We owe to Hesiod (*Theogony*, 940-943) the story of Dionysus’ peculiar birth. Zeus, disguised as a mortal man, has a secret love affair with Semele, daughter of Cadmus, king of

Thebes and she gets pregnant by him. When Semele is six months pregnant, Zeus' wife Hera, who is aware of the betrayal, presents herself to Semele under the guise of an old nurse. The goddess pretends not to believe that the expected child's father is Zeus and asks the young woman to convince her lover to show himself, but Zeus refuses. At this point, Semele rejects her lover. Zeus, furious, reveals himself in all his glory with thunder and lightning bolts, the force of which kills Semele. Hermes intervenes to save the child by sewing him into Zeus' thigh, where the gestation is completed. After three months, Dionysus is born. His head already crowned with vine leaves and tendrils, he is received triumphantly on Mount Olympus. Dionysus is considered the inventor of wine, the drink that brings the world intoxication and euphoria. He is cited in ancient Greek lyric poetry as the one who "*donated to mortals the nectar that brings oblivion*" (Alcaeus in Athenaeus 10, 430). Dionysus offers his followers the chance to be saved, as well as the gifts of well-being and liberation from evil. Wine thus also becomes a message of hope for those who worship the god. Dionysus is mild and benevolent with those who trust him, to whom he teaches how to make and drink wine. However, he is ruthless and vengeful with his enemies. Dionysian religiosity has two dimensions: the urban festival and the rituals of mystery and initiation, often celebrated in the woods at night. The wild nature which dies and then periodically comes back to life is one of the most tangible manifestations of the god, who revives all things. Images of the Archaic period and the 5th century BC show Dionysus bearded, wearing a chiton and a cloak, in a solemn pose. From the 4th century BC onwards, the god is represented as a beardless young man, an appearance similar to what is described by Homer: "*seeming like a stripling in the first flush of manhood: his rich, dark hair was waving about him, and on his strong shoulders he wore a purple robe*" (Homeric Hymn to Dionysus, 3-5). The kraters with the image of Dionysus discovered in *Rudiae* all date to the 4th century BC. They show the God as a young and beardless man while performing a bloodless sacrifice. Alternatively, they depict him in a parade, holding a *kantharos* and a thyrsus in his hand, accompanied by satyrs and maenads. The *kantharos* is a vase with two handles that Dionysus uses to drink pure wine, the sole prerogative of the god. The thyrsus is a long, gnarled ritual stick, usually with a tuft of leaves on top. It is made from various types of wood, such as dogwood or giant fennel: "*whenever after the running dance he falls on the ground, wearing the sacred garment of fawn skin*" (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 138-139).

The companions of Dionysus: satyrs, maenads, Pan

4. Early Lucanian red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 625).

Side A: bearded and ithyphallic satyr holding the thyrsus; he is chasing a maenad who flees while looking back at her pursuer. Another maenad with the thyrsus observes the scene while running to the left.

Side B: three draped youths with a stick.

Main bibliography: MANNINO 2016, pp. 37-38.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Early Lucanian; 420-410 BC; the Amykos Painter.

5. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 744).

Side A: a satyr holding the flute in procession between two maenads. One has a mirror and the thyrsus, the other a laurel branch.

Side B: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: TRENDALL, CAMBITOGLU 1978, p. 132, n. 287.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 1st quarter of the 4th century BC; the Painter of the Large Egg Patterns.

6. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 636).

Side A: a maenad holding the thyrsus dances in front of a satyr and Dionysus. The God is depicted naked and beardless, holding the *tympanum*.

Side B: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: TRENDALL, CAMBITOGLU 1978, p. 106, n. 31.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 380-360 BC; the Hoppin Painter.

Observations: in ancient art, Dionysus is often depicted accompanied by his *thiasus*, i.e. retinue, made up of satyrs and maenads. Satyrs are half human and half equine creatures, usually ithyphallic. In the literary tradition, satyrs are related to Phoroneus, king of Argos: “they say ... that by the daughter of Phoroneus were born five daughters from whom sprang goddesses, nymphs and satyrs” (Hesiod, fr. 198). Maenads, also called bacchae, are possessed: not simply in a state of intoxication or frenzy, their madness is of divine nature. According to the myth, Dionysus has the power to turn mortal women into maenads. They leave their houses and families and devote themselves to the worship of the God. Maenads perform ecstatic dances, strike the ground with their thyrsi and tear apart wild animals in the mountains: “Go, Bacchae, go, Bacchae, with the luxury of Tmolus that flows with gold, sing of Dionysus, beneath the heavy beat of drums, celebrating in delight the god of delight with Phrygian shouts and cries, when the sweet-sounding sacred pipe sounds a sacred playful tune suited to the wanderers, to the mountain, to the mountain!” And the Bacchante, rejoicing like a foal with its grazing mother, rouses her swift foot in a gamboling dance.” (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 152-166). The wild appearance of satyrs and maenads, as well as their close connection with Dionysus, is emphasised by their attributes: thyrsi (“brandishing the thyrsus, garlanded with ivy” - Euripides, *Bacchae*, I semichorus), branches of ivy and laurel, flutes, and *tympana*. The *tympanum* is a percussion instrument associated with the orgiastic cult and it is considered to be an invention of Rea and Dionysus (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 130-134). The *tympanum* on the *Rudiae* krater inv. 636 is played by Dionysus himself, who conveys a sense of dynamism by driving the dancing maenad into an ecstatic frenzy. With their peculiar features, satyrs and maenads express the contradictions between human and animal natures. They venerate Dionysus as a hybrid figure, poised between wild nature and civilisation.

7. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 772).

Side A: to the left is a satyr carrying a wreath and a thyrsus. He turns towards Pan, who is depicted in the middle of the scene while climbing a herma in an attempt to pick a bunch of grapes from a pergola. *Atympanum* and a thyrsus are leaning against the herma. On the right, the scene ends with a maenad holding the thyrsus and holding out the *kantharos* towards Pan with her right hand.

Side B: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: *CVA Lecce*, 2, IV Dr, p. 12, plate 20, n°s 1-3.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 3rd quarter of the 4th century BC; the Snub-Nose Painter.

8. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 773).

Side A: to the left is a satyr sitting on a rock. He is playing the double flute while Pan performs a wild dance.

Side B: two draped youths.

Main bibliography: TRENDALL, CAMBITOGLU 1978, p. 247, n. 177.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 2nd quarter of the 4th century BC; the Schlaepfer Painter.

Observations: On the two kraters from *Rudiae*, Pan is the small half human, half goat creature. Pan is the god of nature, mountains, and rural life, originating from Arcadia. According to Epimenides (fr. 16), Pan could be the son of Zeus and the nymph Callisto, or of Apollo and the nymph Penelope. Herodotus (II, 145) agrees that the nymph Penelope is Pan's mother, but he attributes paternity to Hermes. This is also claimed in *Homeric Hymn XIX: Muse, tell me about Pan, the dear son of Hermes, with his goat's feet and two horns* (1-2). This hymn clarifies the events surrounding the birth of Pan, abandoned by his mother immediately after his due to his horrifying appearance. Indeed, the god is described as more similar to an animal than a human: his body is covered in bristly hairs, his mouth has yellow fangs, the chin is covered by a thick beard, on his forehead there are two horns and instead of human feet he has goat's feet. The god Hermes takes pity on this child whom nature has neglected. He decides to take Pan to Olympus and to present him to the other gods, where, despite his appearance, he is accepted with kindness. Indeed, Pan has a cheerful demeanour that makes all the other gods enjoy his presence. It is Dionysus who expresses the greatest enthusiasm for Pan and makes him one of his favourite companions. Together, they roam the woods and countryside, where they enjoy each other's company: *Then all the*

immortals were glad in heart and Bacchic Dionysus in especial; and they called the boy Pan because he delighted all their hearts (Homeric Hymn XIX, 46-48). In mythology, Pan never plays an independent part: he is the god of shepherds, a follower of Dionysus, and he takes part in events linked to nature and hunting. More generally, Pan displays erotic behaviour, an innate characteristic considering that his task was to make the flocks fertile. His distinguishing marks include the love of mountains, caves, lonely places and music. Indeed, he is considered the inventor of the flute which bears his name.

Dionysus and Ariadne

9. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 661).

Side A: Dionysus and Ariadne are shown seated in the middle of the scene, turning to look at each other. Dionysus is naked, the cloak covering his legs; he holds the thyrsus in his left hand and a *phiale* with donations in his right. Ariadne wears a long dress; she holds a mirror in her left hand. To the left of the scene is a standing maenad with *atympañum* and a thyrsus and to the right is a satyr with a thyrsus and a torch. In the background there is a sash and a *phiale*. On the ground, there is a plate with donations.

Side B: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: TRENDALL, CAMBITOGLU 1978, p. 383, n. 186.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian; 3rd quarter of the 4th century BC; the Schulman Painter.

Observations: Dionysus and Ariadne are depicted in the presence of a maenad and a satyr. In Book VIII of *Metamorphosis*, Ovid describes the myth of Dionysus and Ariadne, who meet for the first time on the island of Naxos. Ariadne, daughter of Minos, king of Crete, helps Theseus to kill the minotaur and to escape from the labyrinth where he is trapped. They flee from Crete, but Theseus leaves her on Naxos, after admitting that he only pretended to love her to receive her help. Abandoned, Ariadne cries and tells her trouble to a group of young nymphs. To distract her, they tell Ariadne that a ship with a god on board has just landed. The god is Dionysus. Once he arrives on the beach, Dionysus is struck by Ariadne's beauty and he falls in love with her. The arrival of Dionysus and his retinue on Naxos is also described by Catullus: "*while she gazed with grieving at his disappearing keel, turned over a tumult of cares in her wounded spirit. But on another part [of the tapestry] swift hastened the flushed Iacchus with his train of Satyrs and Nisa-begot Sileni, seeking you, Ariadne, and aflame with love for you. ... These scattered all around, an inspired band, rushed madly with mind all distraught, ranting "Euhoe," with tossing of heads "Euhoe." Some with womanish hands shook thyrsi with wreath-covered points; some tossed limbs of a rended steer; some girded themselves with writhed snakes; some enacted obscure orgies with deep chests, orgies of which the profane vainly crave a hearing; others beat the tambours with outstretched palms, or from the burnished brass provoked shrill tinklings, blew raucous-sounding blasts from many horns, and the barbarous pipe droned forth horrible song*" (Catullus, Poem LXIV, 41-43).

The sources say that Dionysus gave Ariadne a beautiful golden crown made by Hephaestus and then took the girl to Olympus to marry her. Seneca tells of Ariadne's entry into the vast sky with the other immortal gods: "*Phoebus a stately anthem sings, with his locks flowing down his shoulders, and twin Cupids brandish their torches. Jupiter lays aside his fiery weapons and, when Bacchus comes, abhors his thunderbolt*" (Oedipus, 499-503). Thus, Ariadne becomes Dionysus' wife and is made immortal by Zeus so she can live forever like her husband. The crown given by Dionysus to Ariadne is then transformed into a constellation bearing her name (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 947-949). Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca Storica*) presents an alternative version in which the constellation was created after Ariadne's death in order to make her memory immortal. In depictions on pottery of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, Dionysus is often represented next to his beloved Ariadne (as in the *Rudiae* krater). In such scenes one can recognise hierogamy, i.e. divine marriage, when the couple attend a bloodless sacrifice in the presence of satyrs and maenads.

Wine and its effects

10. Attic red-figure Column-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 602).

Side A: three satyrs are seen harvesting: the first is carrying a basket full of grapes, with his back bent by the load. A companion presses the grapes into a sack which lies on a wooden press from which the must flows. A third satyr crushes the grapes in a vat while holding on to two hooks hanging from the ceiling.

Side B: a draped youth with a stick between two athletes.

Main bibliography: MANNINO 2006, cat. n. 225, pp. 147-148.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic; 480-460 BC; the Leningrad Painter.

Observations: the krater from *Rudiae* shows a scene from the harvest: the pressing of the grapes. The three harvesters are satyrs, emphasising the role of Dionysus in the process of wine production. It is not uncommon for the god himself to attend this festive and cheerful operation. In this case, an environment that corresponds to the real human world is occupied by the god's tireless companions, who are always ready to drink and celebrate. The workers in Dionysus' vineyard dance while they work; the scenes reveal the festive aspect of the transformation of grapes into the intoxicating drink, often celebrated by Euripides in the *Bacchae*: "The plain flows with milk, it flows with wine, it flows with the nectar of bees"; "to the less fortunate, he gives an equal pleasure from wine that banishes grief"; "Without wine there is no longer Aphrodite or any other pleasant thing for men". The image also provides precise details about wine production methods in antiquity, when grapes were pressed with the feet. In the Archaic and Classical periods, the Greeks mainly used wooden hand-operated winepresses which could be carried to the vineyards, as seen in the *Rudiae* krater. Winepresses could be also dug into the rock, although wooden tools were mainly used in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

11. Bell-krater in the Gnathia style



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 3545).

Side A: The young Dionysus is standing under an ivy pergola. He is naked, with a red cloak hanging from his right arm and sandals on his feet. A red sash with crowns hangs from the pergola. The god is intoxicated and dances with hesitation, on his toes with his left arm extended. With his right hand Dionysus touches the crown of ivy on his head.

Main Bibliography: GIANNOTTA 1996, p. 61.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Gnathia; 350 BC.

Observations: the krater from *Rudiae* shows Dionysus returning intoxicated from the banquet. He walks with hesitation, like a common person who has been to a symposium. Due to his intoxication, his attitude is one of languid abandonment. The god is represented surrounded by ivy, a plant sacred to him: “*And all at once a vine spread out both ways along the top of the sail with many clusters hanging down from it, and a dark ivy-plant twined about the mast, blossoming with flowers, and with rich berries growing on it*” (*Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, 39-41).

12. Attic red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 646).

Side A: a double flute player between two dancing komasts holding sticks. The figure on the right raises a cup.

Side B: three dancing komasts: the figure in the middle holds a stick while the one on the right offers *askyphos*.

Main bibliography: MANNINO 2006, cat. n. 230, pp. 150-151.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic; 440-430 BC; similar to work by the Komaris Painter.

13. Attic red-figure *Pelike*



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 573).

Side A: a bearded komast holds a stick in his right hand while leaning on his companion's shoulder; the latter turns to face him while playing the lyre.

Side B: a bearded komast holds a stick in his left hand; he raises his right hand while observing a young companion playing the double flute.

Main bibliography: MANNINO 2006, cat. n°232, pp. 152-153.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic; 470 BC; the Syriskos Painter.

Observations: the two Attic vases from *Rudiae* show two scenes of the *komos*. The word *komos* refers to a procession of dancing men either going to a symposium or leaving the place where the event took place in an inebriated state. The procession takes place at night, lit by torches and marked by the wild behaviour of the participants. The figurative repertoire of the 5th century BC has many *komos* scenes. Vessels depicting processions of *komasts* enable the shift from the world of Dionysus to that of humans, and transpose Dionysian imaginary to everyday life. Wine is the main subject of these scenes. On the krater from *Rudiae*, the vessels held by the *komasts* are explicitly associated with wine: both the cup and the *skyphos* are used to sip the intoxicating drink. Processions of men and women are always depicted with elements underlining the euphoric and enthusiastic behaviour arising from wine consumption. Whether going to or returning from a gathering, the figures are always represented in movement or in frenetic poses. Music confers rhythm on the *komasts*' pace, highlighting their enthusiasm. Most of the figures in the processions play an instrument, be it the double flute or the lyre (as in the vessels from *Rudiae*), and *crotales* and *castanets* confer rhythm on the dancers' steps. The *komasts* are thus an expression of the joy unleashed by wine consumption. Eubulus, a Greek dramatist of the 4th century BC, describes the power of wine with these words: "*For sensible men I prepare only three kraters: one for health (which they drink first), the second for love and pleasure, and the third for sleep. After the third one is drained, wise men go home. The fourth krater is not mine anymore – it belongs to bad behaviour; the fifth is for shouting; the sixth is for rudeness and insults; the seventh is for fights; the eighth is for breaking the furniture; the ninth is for depression; the tenth is for madness and unconsciousness*" (Eubulus, fr. 94 Kock).

Dionysus and the theatre

14. Apulian Red-figure Bell-krater



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Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 765).

Side A: A standing Dionysus, naked and beardless, is leaning on a pillar. He holds the thyrsus in his right hand and a theatrical mask in his left. Facing him is a maenad holding the thyrsus, seated on a raised rocky part of the ground. With her right hand she offers the god a patera with donations. In the area above them is an open window.

Side B: two draped youths.

Main bibliography: TRENDALL, CAMBITOGLU 1978, p. 112, n. 78.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Puglia; 370 BC; the Bucrane Group.

Observations: Dionysus is considered to be the inventor of tragedy and therefore the god of theatre. According to Aristotle (*Poetics*, 1449a), tragedy was born “from the prelude to the dithyramb”, a hymn in verses chanted during the feasts in honour of Dionysus: “since I know how to lead off the fine song of lord Dionysus, the dithyramb, when my mind has been thunderstruck with wine”

(Archilochus, fr. 120W). Scenes with theatrical elements are frequent in the pottery of Puglia in the 4th century BC. In most cases, the images depict specific moments of a tragedy or comedy, and Dionysus himself is also often represented on these vessels, enhancing the direct link between the god and theatrical production. Sometimes, Dionysus mingles with the actors who are getting ready for the play, or he attends the preparations for the show. In contrast, in the scene on the krater from *Rudiae*, the actors perform an act of devotion towards Dionysus. Offering the stage mask to the god was a frequent habit after the positive outcome of a show. On the krater from *Rudiae*, Dionysus holds a mask with short curly hair and the face painted white; this mask does not have a specific character attribution.

PART IV. *The figured ceramics of Rudiae. Tales of Hephaestus and other gods*

Hephaestus

1. Attic red-figure Column-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 603).

Side A: A bearded Hephaestus has a garland on his head; he wears a long and highly decorated chiton and a cloak. He is riding a mule and holds a pair of tongs in his right hand. A maenad precedes the god; she holds a torch and she looks back over her shoulder.

Side B: a woman in a *himation* and two draped youths.

Main bibliography: MANNINO 2006, p. 149, n. 228.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic, 440-430 BC, the Orpheus Painter.

Observations: The god of fire Hephaestus is the main protagonist of this scene on the Rudiae krater. He is a blacksmith and a weapon maker, manufacturing cups and other valuable items for gods and heroes. According to the literary sources, he is the son of Hera and Zeus (Homer, *The Iliad*, XIV, 338), or possibly of Hera alone (Hesiod, *Theogony*). The myth presents Hephaestus as lame and misshapen. According to the Homeric tales, when Hephaestus was a young boy he was cast out of Olympus. A verse in the *Iliad* (I, 590-594) tells of how Zeus banished Hephaestus from the sky; the injury sustained when he fell to earth on the island of Lemnos made him lame. In this same poem there is a second version of the myth (Homer, *The Iliad*, XVIII, 394-405), in which Hera attempts to eliminate her son because of his disability, so she casts him out of Olympus. In this version, Hephaestus falls in the ocean and is welcomed by Thetis and Eurynome. He stays here nine years manufacturing “many beautiful works in bronze, brooches, spiral armlets, cups, and chains, in their cave” (Homer, *The Iliad*, XVIII, 400-402). After practising the metallurgic arts he decides to take revenge on his mother. He gives her a throne endowed with magic bonds whose function is to restrain the goddess. Once she sits on the throne, Hera cannot get up again. Convinced by Dionysus through the power of wine (a drink Hephaestus did not know), Hephaestus frees his mother. An intoxicated Hephaestus, supported by the Dionysian procession, is then readmitted to Olympus while riding a mule, as depicted in the krater from Rudiae. Once he arrives in front of the gods Hephaestus presents himself as a cup maker, a proposal that causes much mirth: “Then Hephaistos drew sweet nectar from the mixing-bowl, and served it round among the gods, going from left to right; and the blessed gods laughed out a loud approval” (Homer, *The Iliad*, I, 597-600).

Aphrodite and Eros

2. Attic red-figure Ariballic *lekythos*



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 796).

Decoration: Aphrodite is seated on a rock. She observes an erote who is turning back towards her as he moves to the right. He holds the *tympanum* and the *phiale*. The goddess wears a chiton and has her hair in a bonnet.

Main bibliography: MANNINO 2006, p. 154, n. 237.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic, beginning of the 4th century BC, officina submeidiaca.

3. Lucanian red-figure Calyx-krater



Location: Lecce, Collezione Romano (Inv. 1).

Side A: In the middle of the scene is Eros. He is naked and beardless, with his left arm raised. He is chasing a fleeing female figure. The girl wears a chiton and a cloak and has a crown on her head; she is running to the right and she turns her head, looking back at the god with fear. On the left there is a female figure who also turns her head to look back; she wears a chiton and a cloak and she has her hair in a bonnet. She is running away towards the left. On the right, the scene ends with a bearded figure wrapped in a cloak; he is holding a sceptre.

Side B: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: BERNARDINI 1955, pp. 118-119, n. 2.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Early Lucanian, 440 BC; the Pistocci Painter.

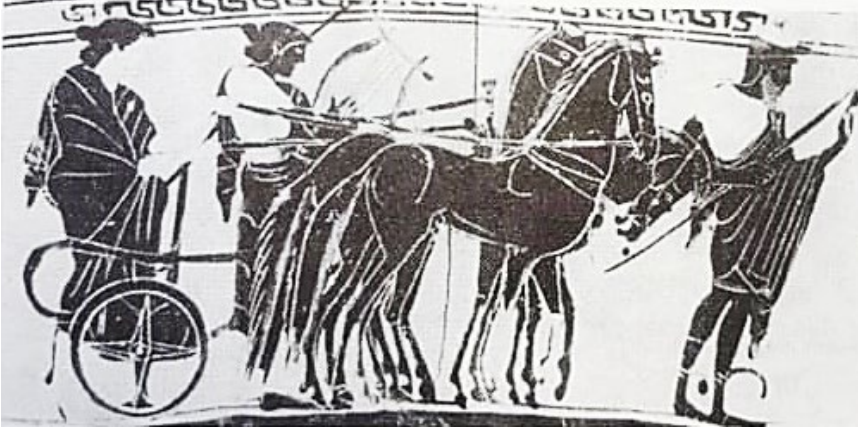
Observations: the vessels from *Rudiae* show images connected with the world of Aphrodite and Eros. Aphrodite is the Greek Goddess of love. She symbolises instinct, vigour, and fertility. Homer says that Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione. In contrast, according to Hesiod (*Theogony*), the goddess was born from the sea foam, the latter inseminated by Uranus' castrated genitals. She is said to have landed first on the island of Kythera, then Cyprus. "Her gods and men call Aphrodite, and the foam-born goddess and rich-crowned Cytherea, because she grew amid the foam, and Cytherea because she reached Kythera, and Cyprogenes because she was born in billowy Cyprus, and Philommedes because she sprang from the members. And with her went Eros, and comely Desire followed her at her birth at the first and as she went into the assembly of the gods. This honour she has from the beginning, and this is the portion allotted to her amongst men and undying

gods – the whisperings of maidens and smiles and deceits with sweet delight and love and graciousness” (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 195-206). Hesiod tells the story of her birth and explains her primitive nature. The divine nature of Aphrodite has unrestrained powers over sex and procreation. Her powers, however, go beyond sex and love. Plato’s *Symposium* describes the difference between Aphrodite Pandemos, the queen of love as we commonly know it, and Aphrodite Urania, who governs the highest forms of spiritual love. The most common image of the goddess in the iconographic and literary tradition is that of a powerful seductress. Aphrodite embodies female beauty. Eros “fairest among the deathless gods” (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 120) was born from Aphrodite’s relationship with Ares (Pausanias, 9, 27,2). Eros embodies the desire for love. In most of the scenes in which the god is with his mother, Eros has a “plural” form: by means of the erotesheis multiplied. Erotes are winged gods in Aphrodite’s retinue. As in the *lekythos* from *Rudiae*, the erotes are often depicted while dancing, or in joyful settings. The common image we have of the god is of a winged figure. Sappho compares him to a strong wind “Now Eros shakes my soul, a wind on the mountain overwhelming the oaks” (fr. 47). The god thus embodies violent and physically overpowering desire or love. Hesiod describes him as one “who unnerves the limbs and overcomes the mind”, for both gods and human beings. On vases, Eros is frequently depicted as chasing one or more female figures, as in the *Rudiae* krater. The act of chasing a woman is a metaphor for the gratification of erotic desire; when eventually caught, the prey embodies seduction.

Hermes

4. Attic black-figure *lekythos*





Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 565).

Decoration: Hermes stands in front of a chariot drawn by three horses and driven by a woman with her hair wrapped in a scarf. The god is depicted from the side, he is bearded and wears a chlamys, high sandals and a petasos. Next to the chariot stands Apollo, wrapped in his cloak, playing the lyre.

Main bibliography: SEMERARO 1997, p. 263, n. 964.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Attic, the Diosphos Painter.

5. Apulian Red-figure Calyx-krater





Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 629).

Side A: A satyr and a girl are depicted near a tall basin (*louter*). The satyr has an animal skin fluttering behind him; he has an *alabastron* and an apple in his hands. The woman is wearing a chiton; she styles her hair while looking in the mirror, which she holds in her left hand. Hermes wears the chlamys knotted on his chest and a winged pileus on his head. He has just stolen the cloak and the girl's shoes; he is barefoot and walks away carefully, moving towards the left.

Side B: three draped youths.

Main bibliography: CVA Lecce, 2, IV Dr, plate 2, n. 3, plate 3, n°s1-2.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Apulian, 420-400 BC, the Hearst Painter.

Observations: Hermes, son of Zeus and the nymph Maia, is seen on two vessels from *Rudiae*. According to the *Homeric hymn to Hermes*, as soon as the god was born he invented the lyre using a tortoise shell; he then stole all his half-brother Apollo's heifers: "*Born with the dawning, at mid-day he played on the lyre, and in the evening he stole the cattle of far-shooting Apollo*" (17-19). Hermes is said to have calmed Apollo's anger over the theft by giving him the recently invented lyre (*Homeric Hymn*, 447). The gesture typifies the behaviour of Hermes, who always prefers persuasion to violence in the pursuance of his goals. The Homeric hymn describes most of Hermes' features: finesse, intellect, speed, shrewdness, and craftiness, corresponding to the god's various spheres of influence. More generally, Hermes is a friend of human beings, and he is always keen to help them. If necessary, he is not afraid to oppose the gods (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 361-425). He is also known as the messenger of the gods. For this reason, he is associated with the wind and with a seagull approaching the waves (Homer, *The Iliad*, XIX, 29; *The Odyssey*, V, 43-54). In iconography, the messenger Hermes is depicted as a wayfarer equipped for a journey. He wears a wide-brimmed hat

(the *petasos*) and a pair of sandals, and he holds the symbol of the herald: the *caduceus*, a staff with two snakes entwined around it. Both the hat and the sandals have wings. Hermes is also a guide: (Homer, *The Iliad*, XXIV, 153), “*the most disposed to escort men on their way*” (Homer, *The Iliad*, XXIV, 334-335). Given these features, Hermes is the protector of travellers, merchants and all those who use the roads, including thieves. This is narrated in the *Homeric hymn*, where Hermes is defined as “*the prince of robbers*” (292). Most of Hermes’ thefts are not evil however. They are mostly harmless stunts that highlight the god’s skills and cheerful attitude, and this is the case of the scene depicted on the krater from *Rudiae*.

Hercules and Nessus

6. Early Lucanian red-figure Bell-krater



Location: Lecce, Museo Prov. (Inv. 628).

Side A: A bearded Hercules wears his lion skin. He grasps the head of the centaur Nessus with his left hand and he is about to strike him with the cudgel which he holds in his right hand. To the left, a young girl wrapped in a cloak runs away, turning her head back to observe the scene.

Side B: two draped youths.

Main bibliography: MUGIONE 2000, p. 175, n. 295.

Area of production, dating, and attribution: Lucanian, 420-400 BC, the Hearst Painter.

Observations: the krater from *Rudiae* shows Hercules, Deianira and the centaur Nessus. Hercules is the son of Zeus and Alcmena, wife of the king of Thebes Amphitryon (Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 392;

Hesiod, *Theogony*, 317). He is best known for having accomplished the “twelve labours” that tested his physical and moral strength. Until the middle of the 5th century BC, Hercules is always portrayed bearded, with a muscular physique, as he is on the crater from *Rudiae*. Later on, this image will be joined with a depiction of a beardless and young Hercules. Sometimes he is represented as an archer (Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 392-397; *The Odyssey*, XI, 607). However, in the best known iconography his shoulders are covered by a lion skin and he holds a cudgel. Deianira, daughter of Oeneus, king of the Aetolians, is Hercules’ third wife. She is shown as Hercules is about to kill the centaur Nessus. The latter was a horrific creature, half human and half horse. He was the son of Ixion and a cloud. The myth is told by Sophocles in the *Trachiniae*, and in Book XII of the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid. Hercules takes his wife Deianira on a trip to *Trachiniae*. The two reach the swollen river Euenos, where the centaur Nessus offers to carry Deianira to the other side of the river in return for a reward while Hercules swims across the river. However, the centaur falls in love with Deianira and tries to rape her. “Nessus, a centaur who would carry men for pay across the deep Evenus river, using no oars or sails to help convey them. So, when my father sent me forth to follow Heracles, as his bride, this monster bore me upon his back and, when we reached midstream, touched me with lusting hands” (Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 549-565). Hercules realises his a mistake and rescues his wife by shooting Nessus with a poisoned arrow. Before dying, the centaur tells Deianira a way to ensure that her husband will always be faithful to her. She should sprinkle his chiton with a potion made from the blood of his wound and some oil. Deianira prepares the potion and stores it in a bottle. After sometime she becomes jealous of her husband and doubts his loyalty so she pours the potion on his chiton. However, the potion is poisonous. As Hercules is about to perform a sacrifice, he dons the poisoned chiton and is struck by horrible pains that drive him to commit suicide, after which Deianira also kills herself.

LITERARY TRADITIONS LINKED TO QUINTUS ENNIUS

Quintus Ennius: biography

Quintus Ennius, a Latin poet, was born in Rudiae in 239 BC to a noble Messapian family. He grew up in an environment where Oscan, Greek and Latin cultures coexisted. According to tradition, he was brought to Rome in 204 BC by Cato, who had met him in Sardinia while doing his military service during the Second Punic War. In Rome, Ennius devoted himself to teaching Latin and Greek while making friends with Scipio Africanus. In 189 BC he accompanied Marcus Fulvius Nobilior into battle in Aetolia and in 184 BC he received Roman citizenship for his military achievements. In recognition of his talent as a poet, historian and dramatist, Ennius was allowed to live in the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine, sharing the dwelling with the comic poet Caecilius Statius. In 169 BC he died in Rome at the age of 70 and was buried on the Via Appia in the tomb of the Scipio family.

Quintus Ennius: literary production

Of Ennius' works, only fragments have come down to us.

Ennius' most important work is the *Annales*, a monumental work divided into 18 books, which is the most important Latin epic poem composed before the *Aeneid*. The work – of which 650 lines of an estimated 30,000 survive – tells the story of Rome from year to year, from its origins until 171 BC. In the preface, after an invocation to the Muses (“*Muses, who with your feet beat mighty Olympus*”), Ennius tells of how Homer appeared to him in a dream, prompting him to sing the epic story of Rome: “*When I was dreaming, Homer the poet appeared at my side*”. The aim of the *Annales* is to praise the power of Rome, founded on the men and customs of old times, and to celebrate the characteristics of the aristocracy, including Ennius' own protector, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior. In the *Annales*, Ennius declares himself to be a native of Rudiae: “*We that were Rudians once are Romans now.*” (XII, fr. 377 Vahlen).

Ennius wrote 22 tragedies, including 20 *coturnatae* (*Achilles, Ajax mastigophoros, Alcmaeon, Alexander, Andromacha aechmalotis, Andromeda, Athamas, Cresphontes, Erechtheus, Eumenides, Hectoris lytra, Hecuba, Iphigenia, Medea exul, Melanippa, Nemea, Phoenix, Telamo, Telephus, Thyestes*) and two *praetextae* (*Sabinae, Ambracia*). Most of the tragedies are about the Trojan War; the main model is Euripides, but Ennius also borrows from Homer, Sophocles, Aeschylus and other Greek tragic authors.

Achilles is a tragedy based on the Embassy to Achilles narrated in Book IX of the *Iliad*.

The main character of *Alexander* is Paris, also called Alexander; the tragedy borrows from *Alexander* by Euripides. Of the surviving fragments, the most significant focus is on Cassandra, a woman of

extreme sensitivity: “*Mother, woman wiser far than the best of women, driven was I by superstitious soothsayings, and Apollo by foretellings told stirs me to madness – not against my wish. Yet I shrink from maidens of my own age; before my father, best of men, I am ashamed of what I have done. Mother mine, I pity you, I grieve for me; to Priam you have born blessed bairns – apart from me. That’s painful. Ah! That I should be a hindrance, those brothers a help! That I should stand against you, they stand with you!*” (fr. 56).

Andromacha aechmalotis (*Andromache Captive*) borrows from Euripides’ *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*. The tragedy is said to have truly moved the audience, mainly when Andromache laments the ruin of her country, the destroyed palace and the mangled corpse of her husband Hector: “*Once mighty in resources, now resource/ Needing from you, my Hector. What succour should I seek and follow? What help in retreat or what escape could I rely on now? Bereft am I of citadel and city; where at home no country’s altars stand – they lie broken, torn apart; the holy places are burnt down by fire, the high walls stand scorched and misshapen, and with fir-wood crinkled up... O father, O fatherland, O house of Priam, you temple close-fixed by high-creaking hinge, I have seen you, with barbaric throng at hand, furnished in kingly fashion with gold and ivory, with ceilings chiselled and fretted. All this I saw with flame devoured, Priam’s living force by force unlifted, Jupiter’s altar with blood befouled*” (94-101 Jocelyn).

The tragedy *Hectoris Itra* encapsulates an entire trilogy by Aeschylus—*Myrmidons*, *Nereids* and *Hector’s Ransom* – and is divided into three autonomous parts: the first describes the victory of Hector, the killing of Patroclus in battle and the grief of the Myrmidons; the second focuses on the delivery to Achilles, by his mother Thetis, of arms manufactured by Hephaestus; the third focuses on Priam’s visit to the camp of the Myrmidons to ransom the dead body of his son Hector.

Iphigenia borrows from Euripides’ *Iphigenia in Aulis* but Ennius introduces some innovations. Specifically, the Latin poet replaces the chorus of maidens of Chalcis with a chorus of soldiers and highlights Agamemnon’s fragility and inner conflict: “*The commoners stand better than their king in this – the commoners may weep, the king may not, with honour*” (fr 235 Vahlen).

Medea exul (*Medea banished*) is a tragedy in two scenes – borrowed from Euripides’ *Medea* and *Aegeus* – based on two moments of the main character’s exile, first in Corinth, then in Athens: “*Stand there and Athens contemplate, a city Ancient and wealthy, and towards the left, look upon Ceres’ temple*” (294-295 Jocelyn). The prologue of the tragedy is famous in theatrical repertory and has become a proverbial harbinger of woe: “*Would that the firwood timbers had not fallen to earth hewn by axes in a Pelian grove; and that thereupon no prelude had been made to begin the ship which is now known by the name of Argo, for that chosen Argive heroes were carried in it when*

they were seeking the golden fleece of the ram from the Colchians, by trickery, at the behest of King Pelias. For thus never would my misled mistress Medea, sick at heart, smitten by savage love, have set foot outside her home” (253-261 Jocelyn). Compared to Euripides’ *Medea*, Ennius’ tragedy provides a psychological portrait of the heroine, described by her nurse as deeply in love; the culmination of pathos is achieved when Medea alludes to her plan: “*In no way thither shall the business go; not on that course; great is the striving within it. What! Would I have humbled myself before him with such charm of speech were it not for some purpose? Whoever has a wish that whatever he wishes shall come about, according to the trouble he will take, so turns out the event. Yonder wretch crooked in soul has this day given me charge of bolts and bars whereby I shall let open all my wrath and make ruin for him, yes, sorrows for me, grief for him, for me a banishment, for him a bane*” (274-280 Vahlen).

Ennius also wrote tragedies with a Roman setting: *Sabinae*, a drama based on the famous popular legend of the abduction of the Sabine women by Romulus, and *Ambracia*, in which he celebrates the capture of the city by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior in 189 BC.

We know of just two comedies by Ennius: *Caupuncula* and *Pantratiastes*, of which just five fragments are extant. The works echo the typical themes of Greek New Comedy.

Ennius also wrote a collection of poems (*Saturae*), with a variety of themes and meters; a short poem about Scipio Africanus (*Scipio*) to immortalise the general’s deeds in the Second Punic War; a prose piece (*Euhemerus*) dedicated to Evemerus from Messina, a Greek writer of the 4th century BC; *Epigrammata*; *Sota*, a poem in the style of Sotades of Maroneia, who wrote licentious verse; *Hedyphagetica*, a short culinary treatise; *Epicharmus*, work dedicated to the comedy writer from Syracuse of the 6th century BC; and *Protrepticus*, on ethics and other philosophical themes.

Literary traditions linked to Quintus Ennius

In antiquity, many scholars refer to ENNIUS and his literary production. In the Republican period, Ennius is quoted in Varro, Cicero and Lucretius. Varro’s *De lingua latina* highlights Ennius’ influence on the language, with the introduction of new words, expressions and place names. Thanks to Varro, we can retrace in *Annales* the history of Rome and its mythical origins, focusing on the work of its first kings: “[*Numa Pompilius*] established the Tables, he also the Shields”, “and the Pancakes, the Bakers, the Rush-Dummies, and the cone-haired Priests”, “He likewise established the priests of Voltumnus, of Palatua, of Furina, of Flora, of Falacer, and of Pomona” (frs. 121-122 Vahlen). Numerous passages from the works of Cicero show his profound consideration for the poet from *Rudiae*. In *Pro Archia*, Cicero agrees with Ennius on the divine nature of poets: “*rightly, then, did our great Ennius call poets “holy”, for they seem recommended to us by the benign bestowal of*

God" (18). Cicero considers Ennius an author who should be studied for his exemplary lexicon and perfect style (*De oratore*, I, 154). In addition to technique, Cicero repeatedly emphasises Ennius' communicative method, dramaturgical innovations and messages. He also considered Ennius to be a rational thinker: "In kingdoms the disadvantages are still greater; of them Ennius said "No holy confidence or fellowship reigns there" (*De re publica*, 1, 49), and – like Homer – a "poet with divine ingenuity" (*Orator*, 109).

Lucretius knew the works of Ennius, the *alter Homerus*, and used them to organise his own thoughts, focusing in particular on the themes of death, transcendence and the possible migration of the soul towards other bodies, all themes developed by the poet from *Rudiae*.

In the Augustan age, echoes of Ennius works are found in Virgil, Horace, Livy and Valerius Maximus. Virgil does not contain direct references to Ennius, but many passages of the *Aeneid* recycle lexical and stylistic elements from the *Annales*. References to the poet of *Rudiae* are explicit and always positive in Horace and elegiac poetry. According to Horace, Ennius is "wise and valiant, the second Homer" (*Epistles*, 2,1,50), deserving of praise for having reinvigorated the Latin language: "when the tongue of Cato and of Ennius has enriched our mother-speech and brought to light new terms for things" (*Ars poetica*, 56-57). Propertius drew direct inspiration for his Elegies from Ennius' epic poetry (I, 61-62). Tibullus considered Ennius to be among the most significant literary glories of Rome (I, 15, 19-20). The same admiration for the poet of *Rudiae* is seen in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*: "Ennius merited, although born in the hills of Calabria, to be buried near you, great Scipio" (III, 409-410). The historian Livy invoked the judgment of Ennius on Quintus Fabius Maximus, who had guided Rome through one of its most difficult periods. Valerius Maximus however did not express a positive opinion of Ennius, considering him to be rough and inelegant: "The elder Africanus wanted the portrait of the poet Ennius placed among the monuments of the Cornelian clan because he judged that by Ennius' genius his own performances had been illuminated" (8,14,1).

References to Ennius and his literary activity are also found in Seneca, Aulus Gellius, Quintilian and the poets and rhetoricians of the Imperial period. Seneca disparagingly judges the lexicon of Ennius to be old-fashioned. In contrast, Gellius expresses his appreciation for the poet of *Rudiae*, referring to him to explain the origin of various words. The poets of the Imperial Age are generally critical of Ennius. Only Silius Italicus pays homage to the poet, describing a battle from which he would have emerged unharmed thanks to the intervention of Apollo, protector of poets: "Ennius, a scion of the ancient stock of King Messapus; and his right hand held the vine-staff, the distinguishing badge of the Roman centurion. He came from the rugged land of Calabria, and he was a son of ancient *Rudiae* – *Rudiae* which now owes all her fame to this child of hers.[...] So Ennius had made himself

conspicuous by slaying many of the enemy, and his ardour in battle grew with the number of his victims. Now, hoping to win everlasting fame by disposing of such a dangerous foe, Hostus flew at Ennius and strongly hurled his spear. But Apollo, seated on a cloud, mocked his fruitless endeavour and sent the weapon wide into the distant air” (Punic Wars, XII, 393-406). Quintilian gives an admiring description of Ennius’ style, vocabulary and rhetoric: “Ennius deserves our reverence, but only as those groves whose age has made them sacred, but whose huge and ancient trunks inspire us with religious awe rather than with admiration for their beauty” (X, 2,88). Many of the rhetoricians of the Imperial period acknowledged the wisdom of his conceptions and the effectiveness of his style; Fronto for example considers him to be an author of great value, and among the most appreciated.

Ennius’ thought and works were cited and studied even during the Christian period. Lactantius mentions his linguistic choices and philosophical thought, in particular his conception of the soul. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, invokes Ennius’ metrics, vocabulary, style and content.

From late Antiquity onwards, Ennius’ fame is mainly due to the ethical principles he expressed in his works, his characterisation – especially of female figures, with rare sensitivity and strong pathos – and the social, religious, political and cultural issues that emerge in his writings. As well as breaking with the past in terms of poetry and language, the poet of *Rudiae* offers profound philosophical reflections on universal issues, such as unbridled ambition, war, exile, pain, cupidity, politics, superstition, hatred, sickness and death.

Literary sources on Quintus Ennius

Literary sources: 1st century BC

1. CICERO, *Pro Archia*, 9, 22.

Our Ennius was an esteemed friend of the elder Africanus, and therefore it is believed to be his statue in marble that was erected even upon the tomb of the Scipios.

2. CICERO, *Pro Archia*, 8, 18.

Wherefore rightly does our own great Ennius call poets holy; because they seem to be recommended to us by some especial gift, as it were, and liberality of the gods.

3. CICERO, *De natura deorum*, 1,119.

Or those who teach that brave or famous or powerful men have been deified after death, and that it is these who are the real objects of the worship, prayers and adoration which we are accustomed to offer [...] This theory was chiefly developed by Euhemerus, who was translated and imitated especially by our poet Ennius.

4. CICERO, *De re publica*, 1,32.

In kingdoms the disadvantages are still greater; of them Ennius said “No holy confidence or fellowship reigns there”.

Literary sources: Augustan Period

5. STRABO, *Geography*, VI 3, 5 (C 281) (*sequitur*)

From Leuca to Hydrus,¹⁰ a small town, 150 stadia. From thence to Brentesium 400, and the like distance also [from Hydrus] to the island Saso,¹¹ which is situated almost in the midst of the course from Epirus to Brentesium; and therefore when vessels are unable to obtain a direct passage they run to the left from Saso to Hydrus, and thence watching for a favourable wind they steer towards the haven of Brentesium, or the passengers disembarking proceed on foot by a shorter way through Rudiaë, a Grecian city, where the poet Ennius was born.

6. OVID, *Ars amatoria*, III, 409-410.

Ennius sprung from Calabrian hills, won a place, great Scipio, by thy side.

Literary sources: Imperial Period

7. SILIUS ITALICUS, *Punica*, XII, 393-397.

Ennius, a scion of the ancient stock of King Messapus; and his right hand held the vine-staff, the distinguishing badge of the Roman centurion. He came from the rugged land of Calabria, and he was a son of ancient Rudiaë – Rudiaë which now owes all her fame to this child of hers.

8. SUETONIUS, *On Grammarians*, 1.

The beginnings of the subject, too, were humble, for the earliest teachers, who were also both poets and Italian Greeks (I refer to Livius and Ennius, who gave instruction in both tongues at home and abroad, as is well known), did no more than interpret the Greeks or give readings from whatever they themselves had composed in the Latin language.

9. MARTIAL, *Epigrams*, 5,10, 7-8.

Ennius was read by you, O Rome, while Virgil was alive; and Homer was derided by his own age.

Literary sources: Byzantine Period

10. *Suida*, s.v. *Ennius*

Ennius, a Roman poet ... a poet of messapic lineage.

Literary sources on the works of Quintus Ennius

Literary sources: 4th-2nd centuries BC

11. ENNIUS, *Annales*, XII fr. VII (376) Vahlen, *apud* SERVIUS, *Commentary on Virgil*, VII 691.

“But Messapus, tamer of horses, the seed of Neptune” (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 691): this Messapus came to Italy by sea ... from this personage Ennius claimed to be descended.

12. ENNIUS, *Annales*, XII fr. VIII (377) Vahlen, *apud* CICERO, *De Oratore*, III 42, 162.

You perceive the whole force of this kind of figure, when, by the variation or change of a word, a thing is expressed more elegantly; and to this figure is closely allied another, which, though less ornamental, ought not to be unknown; as when we would have the whole of a thing understood

from a part; as we say walls or roof for a whole building; or a part from the whole, as when we call one troop the cavalry of the Roman people; or when we signify the plural by the singular, as,
But still the Roman, though the affair has been
Conducted well, is anxious in his heart;
or when the singular is understood from the plural,
We that were Rudians once are Romans now.

13. ENNIUS, *Annales*, fr. 488 Vahlen, *apud* GELLIUS, *Attic Nights*, VII 6,2.

But of a truth it was Hyginus who was altogether foolish in supposing that the meaning of praepetes was known to him, but unknown to Virgil and to Gnaeus Matius, a learned man, who in the second book of his Iliad called winged Victory praepes in the following line:

While Victory swift (praepes) the victor's palm bestows.

Furthermore, why does he not find fault also with Quintus Ennius, who in his Annals uses praepes, not of the wings of Daedalus, but of something very different, in the following line:

Brundisium girt with fair, propitious (praepete) port?

14. ENNIUS, *Hedyphagetica*, frs. n°s 37-38 Vahlen, *apud* APULEIUS, *The Defence*, 39.

Quintus Ennius wrote a poem on dainties: he there enumerates countless species of fish, which of course he had carefully studied. I remember a few lines and will recite them:

Clipea's sea-weasels are of all the best,
for 'mice' the place is Aenus; oysters rough
in greatest plenty from Abydos come.
The sea-comb's found at Mitylene and
Ambracian Charadrus, and I praise
Brundisian sargus: take him, if he's big.
Know that Tarentum's small sea-boar is prime

Literary sources: 1st century BC

15. ENNIUS, *Evemerus*, fr. 10 ss., *apud* VARRO, *De re rustica*, 2,4,10.

The words “beard” and “grain” are familiar to nearly every one, the word husk to but few, for to my knowledge Ennius is the only writer who has used it.

16. ENNIUS, *Annales*, 119, *apud* VARRO, *De re rustica*, 7,42.

To him replied Egeria with sweet sound

17. ENNIUS, *Annales*, 120, *apud* VARRO, *De re rustica*, 7,43.

He established the Tables, he also the Shields . . .

18. ENNIUS, *Annales*, 121, *apud* VARRO, *De re rustica*, 7,44.

. . . and the Pancakes, the Bakers, the Rush-Dummies, and the cone-haired Priests.

19. ENNIUS, *Annales*, 122, *apud* VARRO, *De re rustica*, 7,45.

He likewise established the priests of Voltumnus, of Palatua, of Furina, of Flora, of Falacer, and of Pomona.

Literary sources: Imperial Age

20. ENNIUS, *Annales*, 7, 234-251 Vahlen, *apud* GELLIUS, *Attic Nights*, 12, 4, 1 ss.

So saying, on a friend he called, with whom
He oft times gladly shared both board and speech
And courteously informed of his affairs,
On coming wearied from the sacred House
Or Forum broad, where he all day had toiled,
Directing great affairs with wisdom; one with whom
He freely spoke of matters great and small,
Confiding to him thoughts approved or not,
If he so wished, and found him trustworthy;
With whom he took much pleasure openly

Or privily; a man to whom no thought
Suggested heedlessness or ill intent,
A cultured, loyal and a winsome man,
Contented, happy, learned, eloquent,
Speaking but little and that fittingly,
Obliging, knowing well all ancient lore,
All customs old and new, the laws of man
And of the gods, who with due prudence told
What he had heard, or kept it to himself:
Him 'mid the strife Servilius thus accosts.

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