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Trouble in paradise? Among  
the last comedy scenes in red-  
figure: an oinochoe from Issa  
and its cultural context

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The Issa collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split holds a red-figure oinochoe decorated with a comic scene. This vessel came to light as a grave good of grave 168, discovered during the 1983 rescue excavation of the Hellenistic necropolis of Issa, located on Vlaška njiva in modern Vis. It can be added to the known body of the so-called phlyax vases, and is the first and thus far the only such example from Croatia. After a synthesis of the available and most current knowledge on the aforementioned group of vessels, the author presents the results of an in-depth study of

Nevolje u raju? Među  
posljednjim komičnim  
prikazima u crvenofiguralnom  
stilu: enohoja iz Ise i njezin  
kulturni kontekst

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Izvorni znanstveni članak

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U Isejskoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu čuva se crvenofiguralna enohoja (vrč za vino, gr. *oinochoe*) ukrašena komičnim prikazom. Posuda je otkrivena kao grobni prilog groba 168 godine 1983., tijekom zaštitnih iskopavanja helenističke nekropole Ise na Vlaškoj njivi u današnjem Visu. Može se pridružiti poznatom korpusu takozvanih flijak (*phlyax*) vaza te je prvi i do danas jedini takav primjerak iz Hrvatske. Nakon sinteze dostupnih i ažurnih spoznaja o navedenoj skupini posuda, autorica predstavlja rezultate dubinske studije enohoje iz Ise, uključujući

the oinochoe from Issa, including the possible significance of the depicted image, setting it in its cultural context. The oinochoe features one of the most chronologically recent red-figure comic scenes, expanding knowledge of the application of the comic repertoire in regional red-figure production. This is followed by further discussion on certain aspects of Issaeian cultural facets that are emerging from the evidence of mortuary practices, including the possible connection between comedy and death as indicated by grave depositions of objects associated with the world of comedy (a phlyax oinochoe and a comic mask).

*Keywords: Issa, Vlaška njiva and Martvilo necropolises, Hellenistic mortuary practices, red-figure pottery, phlyax oinochoe, comic mask, cultural contacts, comedy and death*

moguće značenje oslikanog prikaza, postavljajući ga u njegov kulturni kontekst. Enohoja donosi jedan od najmlađih crvenofiguralnih komičnih prikaza, a samim time doprinosi boljem razumijevanju primjene komičnog repertoara u regionalnoj crvenofiguralnoj izradi. U nastavku, raspravlja se o nekim aspektima isejskih kulturnih obilježja koji izranjaju iz dokaza o pogrebnim običajima, uključujući o mogućoj povezanosti između komedije i smrti, na što upućuje odlaganje predmeta povezanih sa svijetom komedije u grobove (flijak enohoja i komična maska).

*Ključne riječi: Isa, nekropole Vlaška njiva i Martvilo, helenistički pogrebni običaji, crvenofiguralna keramika, flijak enohoja, komična maska, kulturni kontakti, komedija i smrt*

### Red-figure pottery with comic repertoire: The so-called phlyax vases

The visual images preserved or reconstructed from the surviving red-figure pottery serve as an important source of information on different aspects of the society that produced them. In this way, through the eyes of an artist, we are given glimpses into various everyday scenes or insights into manifold cultural practices and mythic impressions. A distinctive group from the Southern Italian and Sicilian red-figure pottery production, the so-called phlyax vases,<sup>1</sup> encompasses over 250 vessels decorated with different motifs and scenes inspired by the world of comedy.<sup>2</sup> Such a repertoire was more popular in the Apulian and Paestan tradition, but appears in Sicilian, Lucanian and Campanian styles as well. The vessels chosen for this decoration mostly belonged to shapes typical of a drinking set, while other forms were represented only rarely.<sup>3</sup> The motifs were applied with differing quality, and varied from a simple actor's mask to detailed and narrative staged scenes, where a number of themes illustrated multiple aspects of human and divine activity in a comic and frequently burlesque manner.<sup>4</sup> The so-called phlyax vases had their heyday in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, especially during its first three quarters. After

### Crvenofiguralna keramika s komičnim repertoarom: takozvane flijak vaze

Vizualni prikazi očuvani ili rekonstruirani na sačuvanim crvenofiguralno oslikanim keramičkim posudama čine važan izvor informacija o različitim aspektima društva njihovih stvoritelja. Na taj nam je način omogućeno da očima umjetnika provirimo u različite prikaze iz svakodnevnog života ili steknemo uvid u raznolike kulturne običaje i mitske impresije. Zasebna skupina južnoitalske i sicilske izrade crvenofiguralne keramike, takozvane flijak vaze,<sup>1</sup> uključuje više od 250 posuda ukrašenih različitim motivima i prikazima inspiriranima svijetom komedije.<sup>2</sup> Takav je repertoar bio popularniji u tradiciji Apulije i Pesta (*Paestum*), ali se pojavljuje i u stilovima Sicilije, Lukanije i Kampanije. Posude odabrane za ovakvo ukrašavanje većinom su oblika karakterističnog za setove za piće, dok su drugi oblici rijetko zastupljeni.<sup>3</sup> Motivi su oslikani različitom kvalitetom, a kreću se od jednostavne glumačke maske do detaljnih, narativno prikazanih scena, pri čemu brojne teme na komičan i često burleskan način ilustriraju višestruke aspekte ljudskih i božanskih aktivnosti.<sup>4</sup> Takozvane flijak vaze vrhunac su doživjele u IV. st. pr. Kr., posebno

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1 The ancient Greek word *phlyax* (φλύαξ, ακος, ο) was used by Atheneus (14.621 d-f quoting Sosibius) to refer to comedies and farces (and the participating actors) of the southern Italian origin. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards the same word was used for the red-figure pottery decorated with motifs and scenes from the comedic sphere (Denoyelle 2010). This terminology was extensively criticised as inadequate (e. g. in Taplin 1993), but it nonetheless remains in use.

2 Green 2001, p. 38. According to Arthur Dale Trendall, in 1967 the body of so-called phlyax vases included 185 examples, and 250 in 1990, while more were recovered in the last few decades (Trendall 1959; Trendall 1967; Green 1991, p. 49, footnote 2; Green 2001).

3 Trendall 1967; Green 1991, pp. 52-54.

4 Trendall 1967; Denoyelle 2010, p. 108; Green 2012.

\* Duboko sam zahvalna Branku Kiriginu na ukazanom povjerenju, podršci i korisnim savjetima koje mi je pružio tijekom proučavanja i objavljivanja ovog materijala. Također zahvaljujem Martine Denoyelle, koja je ljubazno ponudila svoje mišljenje o ovom radu tijekom njegova nastanka. Nadalje, želim iskazati zahvalnost prof. Johnu Richardu Greenu, prof. Ianu McPheeu i Macareni Enriquez de Salamanca na iznimno korisnim komentarima i informacijama koje su mi dali tijekom proučavanja ovog materijala. Nalaze je konzervirala Ivanka Prpa Stojanac, ilustratorice su Jasmina Beneta i Anita Ivanović, fotograf Tonći Seser, a dio grafičke pripreme odradio je Ivo Dragičević – svima sam njima zahvalna na uloženom trudu.

1 Starogrčku riječ *phlyax* (φλύαξ, ακος, ο) koristio je Atenej (14.621 d-f citira Sosibija) kako bi opisao komedije i farse, kao i glumce koji u njima sudjeluju, južnoitalskog podrijetla. Od XIX. st. nadalje ista se riječ rabi za crvenofiguralnu keramiku dekoriranu motivima i prikazima iz svijeta komedije (Denoyelle 2010). Taj je termin bio izložen velikim kritikama kao neprikladan (npr. u Taplin 1993), ali je i dalje u uporabi.

2 Green 2001, str. 38. Prema Arthuru Daleu Trendallu, 1967. godine korpus takozvanih flijak vaza sadržavao je 185 primjeraka, 1990. godine 250 primjeraka, a posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća otkriveno ih je još nekoliko (Trendall 1959; Trendall 1967; Green 1991, str. 49, bilješka 2; Green 2001).

3 Trendall 1967; Green 1991, str. 52-54.

4 Trendall 1967; Denoyelle 2010, str. 108; Green 2012.

this, their popularity declined, although research has ascertained small-scale production until the end of the century, when they finally went out of fashion.<sup>5</sup>

The application of comic motifs in south Italian red-figure pottery commenced in the ceramic workshops of the Greek cities of Metaponto and Taranto in the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Although only a short series of pottery with such decorations was manufactured in Lucanian red-figure style in the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, according to Martine Denoyelle the first experiments with this genre were done precisely in the Metaponto workshop near the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>6</sup> John R. Green argued that such a practice started at roughly the same time in both the Lucanian and Apulian workshops, thus making it rather difficult to establish which was, in fact, earlier.<sup>7</sup> In any case, the so-called phlyax vases were evidently more popular in Apulian production,

tijekom prve tri četvrtine tog stoljeća. Nakon toga njihova je popularnost opadala, iako je izrada u manjim količinama opstala do kraja stoljeća, nakon čega su se prestale izrađivati.<sup>5</sup>

Komični motivi počeli su se prikazivati na južnoitaljskoj crvenofiguralnoj keramici u keramičkim radionicama grčkih gradova Metaponta i Taranta krajem V. i početkom IV. st. pr. Kr. Iako je samo mala serija keramike s takvom dekoracijom izrađena u lukanskom crvenofiguralnom stilu u prvoj četvrtini IV. st. pr. Kr., Martine Denoyelle smatra da su prvi eksperimenti s tim žanrom provedeni krajem V. st. pr. Kr. upravo u radionici u Metapontu.<sup>6</sup> John R. Green vjeruje da je taj običaj nastao približno u isto vrijeme u radionicama Lukanije i Apulije, zbog čega je teže utvrditi koje su od njih uistinu bile prve.<sup>7</sup> U svakom slučaju, takozvane flijak vaze očito su popularnije u Apuliji, kojoj

5 Decorations drawn from the world of comedy have also been documented on later Gnathian and applied red pottery, but these, however, lack the elaborate scenes and are limited mostly to single motifs (Kirigin 1981; Green 1991, p. 51; Green 2012, p. 312).

6 The first comic scene, picturing one slave beating another, was identified on a small calyx-krater from Berlin. It was attributed to the Amykos painter, or his workshop in Metaponto, and therefore dated to approximately 420 BC (Denoyelle 2010, p. 106). According to J. R. Green these do not give a real sense of a stage setting, and he therefore questioned if they can be taken as the first evidence of phlyax vases (Green 2012, p. 292). However, besides the Amikos painter, the importance of the Dolon painter (active at ca. 400-390. BC) to the introduction of such a repertoire has been emphasised (Trendall 1989, p. 58; Denoyelle 2010, pp. 105, 106; Green 2012, pp. 292-294). Moreover, the recent re-attribution of the Tarporley phlyax krater in the Metropolitan Art Museum in New York to the Dolon Painter seems to reinforce the idea that the first known comedy representation came from the Metaponto workshop (Denoyelle, Silvestrelli 2013). Another painter in this style who used the comic repertoire was the Painter of the Phlyax Helen (Trendall 1989, p. 57, no. 74). Most of the Lucanian pottery with comic scenes is preserved only fragmentarily, for now such a repertoire has been discerned only on two shapes, calyx-krater and skyphos.

7 Green 2012, p. 295. The case of the McDaniel painter, also one of the early artisan of phlyax vases, only added to these ambiguities. Traditionally his work has been attributed to the Apulian style, but as Francesca Silvestrelli pointed out, further investigations might prove him to be Metapontian (Green 2012, p. 301). It seems that the latter, as well as latest research presented in footnote 6, may favour the hypothesis that the first south-Italian red-figure pottery with a comic repertoire was manufactured in Lucanian style.

5 Dekoracija preuzeta iz komedije također je dokumentirana na kasnijoj *Gnathia* keramici i keramici sa slikanim ukrasom u crvenoj boji, na kojima, međutim, nema razrađenih scena i uglavnom su svedene na jedan motiv (Kirigin 1981; Green 1991, str. 51; Green 2012, str. 312).

6 Prva komična scena, koja prikazuje dva roba od kojih jedan tuče drugoga, identificirana je na malom kaležastom krateru iz Berlina. Atribuirana je slikaru Amikosu ili njegovoj radionici u Metapontu, te je stoga datirana oko godine 420. pr. Kr. (Denoyelle 2010, str. 106). J. R. Green tvrdi da prikaz ne odaje pravi dojam kazališne scenografije te stoga postavlja pitanje može li se takav primjerak smatrati prvim dokazom flijak vaza (Green 2012, str. 292). Osim slikara Amikosa, za uvođenje takvog repertoara naglašena je i važnost slikara Dolona, aktivnog u razdoblju od otprilike 400. do 390. g. pr. Kr. (Trendall 1989, str. 58; Denoyelle 2010, str. 105, 106; Green 2012, str. 292-294). Štoviše, nedavna ponovna atribucija Tarporley flijak kratera u *Metropolitan Art Museum* u New Yorku slikaru Dolonu potvrđuje čini se ideju da je prvi poznati prikaz komedije potekao iz radionice u Metapontu (Denoyelle, Silvestrelli 2013). Drugi slikar tog stila koji se koristio komičnim repertoarom bio je slikar flijaka Helen (Trendall 1989, str. 57, br. 74). Većina lukanske keramike s komičnim prikazima sačuvana je samo u ulomcima; zasad je takav repertoar potvrđen samo na dva oblika - kaležastom krateru i skifu.

7 Green 2012, str. 295. Slučaj slikara McDaniela, također jednoga od ranih umjetnika flijak vaza, dodatno je pridonio ovim nejasnoćama. Tradicionalno, njegov je rad atribuiran apulskom stilu, ali kako je istaknula Francesca Silvestrelli, dodatno istraživanje moglo bi potvrditi da je bio iz Metaponta (Green 2012, str. 301). Čini se da bi to, kao i posljednja istraživanja navedena u bilješci br. 6, moglo ići u prilog hipotezi da je prva južnoitaljska crvenofiguralna keramika s komičnim repertoarom proizvedena u lukanskom stilu.

to which more than half of the recovered vessels from this group can be attributed.<sup>8</sup> The sole production centre was, according to current knowledge, the city of Taranto, which is consequently, both in terms of quantity and the date-range perspective, the main southern Italian production centre of red-figure pots with comic scenes.<sup>9</sup> Taking into account the first examples from the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, the vast majority of Apulian examples was manufactured in the period from 380 to 340 BC, and limited production can be attested until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>10</sup>

The application of comic motifs in the red-figure repertoire of Paestan, Campanian and Sicilian fabrics commenced at a somewhat later date, around the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>11</sup> The Paestan style can be described as having the most refreshing and colourful decoration, with the majority of the 'comic pots' originating in the workshops of Asteas and Python.<sup>12</sup> On the other side, comic vessels of Campanian style used somewhat simpler motifs.<sup>13</sup> The Sicilian tradition again developed its special, distinctive style in depicting comic performances.<sup>14</sup> As in Apulia, different workshops of

se može pripisati više od polovine otkrivenih posuda iz te skupine.<sup>8</sup> Jedino središte proizvodnje je, prema današnjim spoznajama, bio grad Taranto, koji je također i glavno južnoitalsko središte izrade crvenofiguralnih posuda s komičnim prikazima, kako u pogledu kvalitete tako i vremenskog razdoblja.<sup>9</sup> Uzimajući u obzir prve primjere iz kasnog V. i ranog IV. st. pr. Kr., velika većina primjeraka iz Apulije izrađena je u razdoblju od 380. do 340. g. pr. Kr., a ograničena izrada može se potvrditi do kraja IV. st. pr. Kr.<sup>10</sup>

Oslikavanje komičnih motiva na crvenofiguralnom repertoaru faktura iz Pesta, Kampanije i Sicilije započelo je nešto kasnije, oko sredine IV. st. pr. Kr.<sup>11</sup> Stil Pesta može se opisati kao stil s najsvježijom i najkolorističnijom dekoracijom, pri čemu većina "komičnih posuda" potječe iz radionica *Asteasa* i *Pythona*.<sup>12</sup> S druge strane, za komične posude u kampanskom stilu koristili su se donekle jednostavniji motivi.<sup>13</sup> Sicilska tradicija razvila je opet svoj poseban, karakterističan stil prikazivanja komičnih zgoda.<sup>14</sup> Kao i u Apuliji,

8 Trendall 1967.

9 Green 1991, pp. 50, 51.

10 Green 2012, p. 327. Among the first painters of the Apulian style who at the end of 5<sup>th</sup> and first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC produced so-called phlyax vases was the Tarporley painter (Trendall 1989, p. 75; Green 2012, pp. 296-299). Furthermore, the Choregos painter, who was active at a similar time, was one of the first to create elaborate comic compositions (Denoyelle 2010, p. 107; Green 2012, p. 299). Among the other painters of the Apulian style who left behind red-figure pottery with a comic repertoire are: the Schiller painter, the Rainone painter, the Cougno painter, etc. For more detailed insights see Denoyelle 2010, pp. 112, 113, 116, 118-120; Green 2012, p. 308-318 and bibliography cited above. The most commonly used ceramic shapes were the bell krater and oinochoe, followed by the calyx crater and less-represented shapes such as the olpe and small cups (Green 1991, p. 52).

11 Green 2012, p. 318.

12 For so-called phlyax vases made by Asteas and Python, as well as from the later Paestan Painter of Naples, see Trendall 1989, pp. 198-200, 206; Green 2001, pp. 322-324; Denoyelle 2010, p. 121; Green 2012, p. 323 and the bibliography cited therein.

13 These are mostly known from Capua and the AV group, with one from Cumae (Trendall 1989, pp. 163-166, 169). For further insights, see Green 2012, pp. 324-325, 339-340; Green 2015, pp. 45-51.

14 The so-called Sicilian-style phlyax vases can be attested through the work of the Dirce painter, but mostly from the Lentini-Manfria group and the Group of Louvre K 240 (Trendall 1989, pp. 28, 30, 236; Green 2012, p. 318-322, 337-339 and the bibliography cited therein).

8 Trendall 1967.

9 Green 1991, str. 50, 51.

10 Green 2012, str. 327. Među prvim slikarima apulskog stila koji su izrađivali takozvane flijak vaze tijekom kraja V. i prve četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr. bio je slikar Tarporley (Trendall 1989, str. 75; Green 2012, str. 296-299). Nadalje, slikar Choregos, koji je djelovao u slično vrijeme, bio je jedan od prvih koji je stvorio detaljne komične kompozicije (Denoyelle 2010, str. 107; Green 2012, str. 299). Među ostalim slikarima apulskog stila koji su nam ostavili crvenofiguralnu keramiku s komičnim repertoarom su slikar Schiller, slikar Rainone, slikar Cougno itd. Za pojedinosti vidi Denoyelle 2010, str. 112, 113, 116, 118-120; Green 2012, str. 308-318, i ondje navedenu raniju literaturu. Najuoobičajenije korišteni oblici keramike bili su zvonoliki krater i enohoja, a slijede ih kaležasti krater i manje zastupljeni oblici kao što su olpe (vrč) i manje čaše (Green 1991, str. 52).

11 Green 2012, str. 318.

12 O takozvanim flijak vazama izrađenima u radionicama *Asteas-a* i *Python-a*, kao i onima kasnijeg pestanskog slikara iz Napulja, vidi Trendall 1989, str. 198-200, 206; Green 2001, str. 322-324; Denoyelle 2010, str. 121; Green 2012, str. 323 i ondje navedenu literaturu.

13 Najpoznatiji su primjerci atribuirani skupinama *Capua* i *AV*, uz jedan iz *Cumae* (Trendall 1989, str. 163-166, 169). Za dodatne podatke vidi Green 2012, str. 324-325, 339-340; Green 2015, str. 45-51.

14 Takozvane flijak vaze sicilskog stila mogu se potvrditi u radu slikara Dirce, ali uglavnom kod grupa Lentini-Manfria i Louvre K 240 (Trendall 1989, str. 28, 30, 236; Green 2012, str. 318-322, 337-339 i ondje navedena literatura). Predstavljeni oblici uključuju kaležasti krater i skifoidni krater, uz nekoliko enohoja i nešto manjih posuda.



the above-mentioned styles slowly ceased to apply such decorative motifs toward the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. This corresponds to the general end of red-figure production, and to the overall disappearance of narrative scenes in vase painting. The latter can, according to J. R. Green, be seen as a reaction to actual changes in the nature of the Greek comedy.<sup>15</sup>

Contrary to the popularity of so-called phlyax vases in southern Italy and Sicily, a strong demand for such products in Greece has not been ascertained. However, this is far from suggesting that it did not exist. A small group of vessels from Attic production (red-figure and polychrome) of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC was decorated with comic scenes.<sup>16</sup> After this brief period, such motifs vanished from the Attic decoration repertoire, but some scholars (e. g. Oliver Taplin) consider these vessels the forerunners of the southern Italian examples.<sup>17</sup> During the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, a series of locally produced red-figure vases with comic scenes is also known from Corinth.<sup>18</sup> Another fragment with a comic scene from Greece originated in Olympia, and is considered to be of local Elean manufacture.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it is evident that the comic repertoire was not unknown to red-figure production in Greece, but it was never as popular as in southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>20</sup>

The majority of so-called phlyax vases belong to Museum collections, frequently – and unfortunately – without a detailed description on their provenance. However, some did originate in documented contexts, mostly graves, deposited as grave goods during

prema kraju IV. st. pr. Kr. različite radionice navedenih stilova polako su napuštale oslikavanje takvih dekorativnih motiva. To odgovara općenitom kraju crvenofiguralne proizvodnje, kao i općem nestanku oslikavanja vaza narativnim prikazima. Potonje se, tvrdi J. R. Green, može smatrati reakcijom na stvarne promjene u prirodi grčke komedije.<sup>15</sup>

Nasuprot popularnosti južnoitalskih i sicilskih takozvanih flijak vaza velika potražnja za takvim proizvodima u Grčkoj ne može se potvrditi. To međutim ne znači da nije i postojala. Mala skupina posuda antičke izrade (crvenofiguralna i polikromna) iz V. st. i ranog IV. st. pr. Kr. ukrašena je komičnim prikazima.<sup>16</sup> Nakon tog kratkog razdoblja takvi su motivi nestali iz antičkog dekorativnog repertoara, ali neki autori (npr. Oliver Taplin) smatraju te posude pretečama južnoitalskih primjeraka.<sup>17</sup> Tijekom IV. st. pr. Kr. poznat je i niz lokalno izrađenih crvenofiguralnih vaza s komičnim prikazima i iz Korinta.<sup>18</sup> Još jedan fragment s komičnim prikazom iz Grčke dolazi iz Olimpije i smatra se lokalnom elejskom izradom.<sup>19</sup> Stoga je očito da komični repertoar nije nepoznat crvenofiguralnoj izradi u Grčkoj, ali nikad nije bio popularan koliko u regijama južne Italije i Sicilije.<sup>20</sup>

Većina takozvanih flijak vaza pripada muzejskim zbirkama, često - i nažalost - bez detaljnog opisa njihova podrijetla. Neke međutim ipak potječu iz dokumentiranih konteksta, većinom grobova, gdje su pohranjene kao grobni prilozi tijekom pogreba i u grčkim i u domorodačkim nekropolama.<sup>21</sup> Takva činjenica jasno

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The represented shapes include the calyx krater and the skyphoid krater, with some oinochoe and few smaller vessels.

15 Green 2012, p. 328.

16 Trendall 1959, p. 20, 72; 1976, p. 20-24; Denoyelle 2010, p. 114, 115; Green 2012, p. 291, 292, 329-331. The documented shapes include the oinochoe, chous, bell krater and a cup.

17 Taplin 1993, p. 10.

18 Trendall 1959, p. 21, 72; Herbert 1977, pl. 14.73, pl. 29; McPhee 1983, p. 151, no. 47, pl. 41; Green 2014, pp. 344-346, fig. 13.3-13.6; McPhee 2014, p. 114. The shapes in Corinthian red-figure production with comic motifs include the bell krater, oinochoe and a cup.

19 Froning 2009, p. 117, fig. 5; Green 2014, p. 333.

20 In other regional red-figure pottery productions in Greece not mentioned above, comic scenes have not as yet been registered. This does not mean that comic performances were unknown or not popular, for numerous examples of terracotta figurines depicting comic actors that were documented at various sites from Macedonia, Beotia and the Peloponnese (Pingiatoglou 1992; Green 2014 and the bibliography cited therein) testify to this.

15 Green 2012, str. 328.

16 Trendall 1959, str. 20, 72; 1976, str. 20-24; Denoyelle 2010, str. 114, 115; Green 2012, str. 291, 292, 329-331. Dokumentirani oblici uključuju enohoju, krčag, zvonoliki krater i čašu.

17 Taplin 1993, str. 10.

18 Trendall 1959, str. 21, 72; Herbert 1977, pl. 14.73, pl. 29; McPhee 1983, str. 151, br. 47, pl. 41; Green 2014, str. 344-346, sl. 13.3-13.6; McPhee 2014, str. 114. Oblici korintske crvenofiguralne izrade s komičnim motivima uključuju zvonoliki krater, enohoju i čašu.

19 Froning 2009, str. 117, sl. 5; Green 2014, str. 333.

20 U drugim regionalnim izradama crvenofiguralne keramike u Grčkoj, koje gore nisu spomenute, komični prikazi zasad nisu poznati. To ne znači da izvedbe komedija nisu bile poznate ili popularne, kao što potvrđuju brojni primjeri figurica od terakote koje prikazuju komičare, a koje su dokumentirane na različitim lokacijama od Makedonije, Beocije i Peloponeza (Pingiatoglou 1992; Green 2014 i ondje navedena literatura).

21 Tumačenje ove prakse u Velikoj Grčkoj vidi kod Hoffmann 2002, str. 170-175. O domorodačkim lokalitetima na kojima su dokumentirane takozvane flijak vaze vidi Robinson 2004; Denoyelle 2010, str. 108; Carpenter 2014, str. 266-271. Pretpostavlja se da je relativno

funerals in both Greek and indigenous necropolises.<sup>21</sup> This clearly testifies to the fact that these objects were destined for both the Greek and indigenous clientele.<sup>22</sup> However, it has been pointed out that exclusive funerary use of these vessels should not be assumed.<sup>23</sup>

The emergence, development and meaning of the so-called phlyax vases has been a lively topic among scholars for several decades. Strictly speaking, we may assume that the role of this type of decoration was simply to amuse the viewers. Consequently, such pottery is most frequently interpreted as evidence for a taste for comedy. The shapes of vessels chosen for such decoration, a drinking set, have been taken as further evidence for this assertion, as the connection between such types of vessels with the cult of Dionysus and consequently also the world of theatre is imminent.<sup>24</sup> However, interpretations on the origin of these images differ. On one side, there is a strong conviction among some scholars, such as A. D. Trendall himself, that the comic motifs and scenes on these pots represent local, Italic tradition of comic performances conveyed into images.<sup>25</sup> This contradicts other opinions that such imagery came directly from the Athenian theatre and Old and Middle comedy.<sup>26</sup> The

svjedoči o tome da su ti predmeti bili namijenjeni i grčkoj i domorodačkoj klijenteli.<sup>22</sup> Naglašava se međutim kako ne treba pretpostaviti da su te posude bile izrađivane isključivo u pogrebne svrhe.<sup>23</sup>

Pojava, razvoj i značenje takozvanih flijak vaza već je desetljećima tema žive rasprave znanstvenika. Strogo govoreći, mogli bismo pretpostaviti da je uloga te vrste dekoracije bila jednostavno zabaviti gledatelje. Posljedično, takva se keramika najčešće tumači kao dokaz o postojanju ukusa za komediju. Oblici posuda odabranih za takvo ukrašavanje, set za piće, uzimaju se kao dodatni dokaz za navedeno, budući da je neizbježno povezati takve vrste posuda s kultom Dioniza i, posljedično, kazališnim svijetom.<sup>24</sup> No objašnjenja podrijetla tih prikaza se razlikuju. S jedne strane, među znanstvenicima (npr. sam A. D. Trendall) postoji snažno uvjerenje da komični motivi i prikazi na tim posudama predstavljaju lokalnu, italisku tradiciju komičnih izvedbi pretočenu u slike.<sup>25</sup> To je suprotno drugim mišljenjima da takve slike dolaze izravno iz antičkog kazališta te stare i srednje komedije.<sup>26</sup> Atenska tradicija komedije dobro je utvrđena radovima nekoliko dramatičara, figuricama od terakote koje prikazuju komične likove s maskama i kostimima, kao što je bilo i s prethodno spomenutom malom skupinom komičnih prikaza na antičkim crvenofiguralnim posudama.<sup>27</sup> Drugi gradovi Grčke (npr., Korint

21 For an interpretation of this practice in Magna Graecia, see Hoffmann 2002, pp. 170-175. For indigenous sites where so-called phlyax vases were documented see Robinson 2004; Denoyelle 2010, p. 108; Carpenter 2014, pp. 266-271. It has been suggested that the relative rarity of comic scenes from indigenous burial sites rather reflects the nature of expression in their burial rites and not a lack of interest in the subject-matter (Robinson 2004, p. 198). However, Ruvo, where at least seven kraters with comic scenes have been discovered, can be considered an exception. For this see Carpenter 2014, pp. 266-217 and the bibliography cited therein.

22 Denoyelle 2010, p. 108.

23 Green 1991, p. 53. Macarena Enríquez de Salamanca informed me that some fragments of a comic vessel from an old excavation in Megara Hyblaea are said to have come from public and private areas (e.g. agora, houses) (Enríquez de Salamanca, personal communication). I would like to thank Macarena Enríquez de Salamanca very much for sharing this information.

24 Green 1991, p. 54.

25 Trendall 1967.

26 Csapo 1986; Taplin 1993. Middle Comedy is a style of Athenian drama, best known from the work of Aristophanes, that engaged in social themes and was performed in the period from the 400 until ca. 320 BC. At the beginning of the Hellenistic era it was replaced by New Comedy, which offered a fresh, satirical view of society, and is best known through the works of Menander. For insights on Greek comedy, see M. Revermann 2014 and the earlier bibliography cited therein.

rijetka prisutnost komičnih prikaza na autohtonim nekropolama prije odraz prirode izražavanja u njihovim pogrebnim ritualima negoli pomanjkanja zanimanja za tu temu (Robinson 2004, str. 198). Ruvo, međutim, gdje je pronađeno najmanje sedam kratera s komičnim prikazima, može se smatrati iznimkom. O tome vidi Carpenter 2014, str. 266-217, i ondje navedenu literaturu.

22 Denoyelle 2010, str. 108.

23 Green 1991, str. 53. Macarena Enríquez de Salamanca obavijestila me da se za neke fragmente komičnih posuda iz starijeg iskopavanja u Megara Hyblaea kaže da su iz javnih i privatnih prostora (npr., agora, kuće) (Enríquez de Salamanca, osobna komunikacija). Puno hvala Macareni Enríquez de Salamanca na toj informaciji.

24 Green 1991, str. 54.

25 Trendall 1967.

26 Csapo 1986; Taplin 1993. Srednja komedija vrsta je atenske drame najpoznatije prema Aristofanovu radu, koja se bavi socijalnom tematikom, a izvođena je u razdoblju od 400. do otprilike 320. g. pr. Kr. Na početku helenističkog razdoblja zamijenila ju je nova komedija, koja je donijela svjež, satiričan pogled na društvo, a najpoznatija je preko Menanderovih komedija. Uvid u grčku komediju vidi u M. Revermann 2014 i ondje navedenoj ranijoj literaturi.

27 Denoyelle 2010, str. 105.

Athenian comedic tradition is widely represented in the works of several dramatists, terracotta figurines depicting comic figures with masks and costumes, as well as in the previously mentioned small group of comic images on Attic red-figure vessels.<sup>27</sup> Other cities in Greece (e.g. Corinth, etc.) also knew and practiced comedy, as proven by theatre remains as well as terracotta figurines and masks.<sup>28</sup> These did not merely follow the Athenian model, but rather actively contributed to the general development and distribution of this media.<sup>29</sup> The south-Italian comedies can be viewed in a similar context. Theatres were an integral part of cultural activities in the cities of Magna Graecia, and in the latter half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC new forms of performances and interpretations of the theatre had emerged in Italic centres.<sup>30</sup> It can be said that Athenian comedy served, at least to some extent, as an important source for the painted repertoire of south-Italian red-figure pottery production.<sup>31</sup> This can be seen, for example, in the similarities between these images and Attic comedy or in actors wearing essentially Athenian costumes, and by the presence of inscriptions in the Attic dialect (and the possible prototypes with comic scenes in Attic red figure pottery should not be overlooked).<sup>32</sup> However, other evidence, such as local adaptations of Athenian terracottas and the emergence of new types, or the use of temporary wooden stages instead of permanent stone ones, demonstrate the impact of local practices.<sup>33</sup> In conclusion, it would appear that the basic and important influences for the so-called phlyax vases were indeed drawn from an Athenian source, but these images were not a mere imitation but rather also portrayals of vivid local performances which were adaptations and reinterpretations of such comedies, and consequently new creations.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, it can also be said that cultural encounters played an important role in the rise of the specific comic repertoire of that region, which certainly developed to accommodate the tastes of local inhabitants.<sup>35</sup>

27 Denoyelle 2010, p. 105.

28 Pingiatoglou 1992; McPhee 2014, p. 114; Greene 2014.

29 Green 2014, p. 368. In the cited work, J. R. Green stressed the need to re-examine the role of Corinthian comic performances and their influence on the cities in Magna Graecia (Green 2014, p. 362).

30 Robinson 2004.

31 Taplin 1993; Denoyelle 2010, p. 109.

32 Taplin 1993, pp. 11, 14.

33 Robinson 2004, p. 207; Denoyelle 2010, p. 109.

34 Green 2001, p. 39.

35 Denoyelle 2010, p. 108.

itd.) također su poznavali i uprizorivali komediju, kao što dokazuju ostaci kazališta te figurice i maske od terakote.<sup>28</sup> Oni nisu samo slijedili atenski model već su aktivno pridonosili općem razvoju i širenju tog medija.<sup>29</sup> Južnoitalske komedije mogu se promatrati u sličnom kontekstu. Kazališta su bila sastavni dio kulturnih aktivnosti gradova Velike Grčke i u drugoj polovini IV. st. pr. Kr. novi oblici prikazivanja i interpretacije kazališta pojavljuju se u italskim središtima.<sup>30</sup> Može se reći da atička komedija barem donekle predstavlja važan izvor za oslikani repertoar južnoitalske proizvodnje crvenofiguralne keramike.<sup>31</sup> To se, primjerice, može promatrati preko sličnosti tih slika s atičkom komedijom ili glumaca čiji su kostimi bili u osnovi atenski kao i preko prisutnosti natpisa na atičkom dijalektu. A ne zaboravimo ni moguće prototipove s komičnim prikazima na atičkoj crvenofiguralnoj keramici.<sup>32</sup> Međutim, drugi dokazi, kao što su lokalne prilagodbe atičkih terakota i pojava novih tipova, ili korištenje privremenih drvenih pozornica umjesto trajnih kamenih, ukazuju na utjecaj lokalnih običaja.<sup>33</sup> Kao zaključak, čini se da su temeljni i važni utjecaji na takozvane flijak vaze uistinu stigli iz atenskog izvora, no te slike nisu bile samo čista imitacija već i uvid u žive lokalne izvedbe koje su bile prilagodbe i reinterpretacije takvih komedija te, posljedično, novo stvaralaštvo.<sup>34</sup> Stoga se također može reći da su kulturni susreti imali važnu ulogu u usponu specifičnoga komičnog repertoara te regije, koji se svakako razvio tako da udovolji ukusu lokalnog stanovništva.<sup>35</sup>

U području središnje i sjeverne istočnojadranske obale i zaleđa (dijelu današnje Hrvatske) crvenofiguralna keramika je dosad otkrivena na nekoliko lokacija. Ti lokaliteti uključuju i grčka i domorodačka naselja, nekropole i svetišta.<sup>36</sup> Treba međutim naglasiti da

28 Pingiatoglou 1992; McPhee 2014, str. 114; Greene 2014.

29 Green 2014, str. 368. U navedenom radu J. R. Green naglašava potrebu za preispitivanjem uloge korintskih izvedbi komedije i njihova utjecaja na gradove u *Magna Graecia* (Green 2014, str. 362).

30 Robinson 2004.

31 Taplin 1993; Denoyelle 2010, str. 109.

32 Taplin 1993, str. 11, 14.

33 Robinson 2004, str. 207; Denoyelle 2010, str. 109.

34 Green 2001, str. 39.

35 Denoyelle 2010, str. 108.

36 Objavljena crvenofiguralna keramika iz navedenih područja dokumentirana je na sljedećim lokalitetima: Nezakcij (Mihovilić 2002, str. 503-505; Blečić Kavur 2010, str. 280-281, sl. 208; Mihovilić 2013, str. 264, 272, 274), Rijeka (Blečić Kavur 2010, str. 281), Rovinj (Mihovilić 2002, str. 504), Sv. Martin Tar (Mihovilić 2002, str. 504), Osor (Mihović 2002, str. 505; Blečić





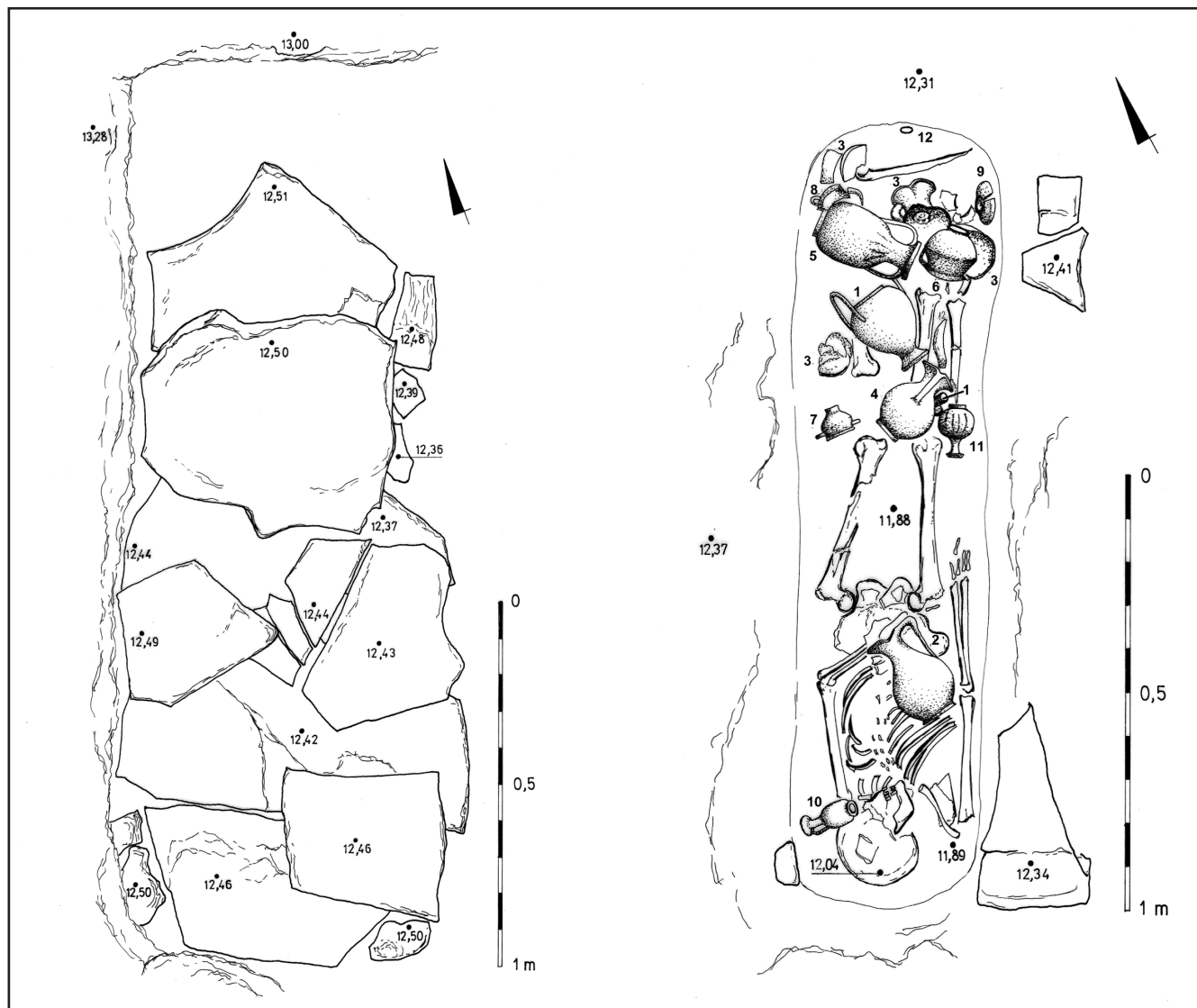
Sl. 1. Lijevo: položaj Ise (izradio B. Šegvić); desno: plan Ise (prema Kirigin 1986, preuzeto od Čargo 2010) s označenim položajem groba 168

Fig. 1. Left: location of Issa (made by B. Šegvić); right: map of Issa (according to Kirigin 1986, from Čargo 2010) with position of grave 168 added

On the central and northern Eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland (part of modern day Croatia), the red-figure pottery has so far been recovered from several sites. These localities include both Greek and indigenous settlements, necropolises and sanctuaries.<sup>36</sup>

36 The published red-figure pottery from the above-mentioned region was documented in the following sites: Nesactium (Mihovilić 2002, pp. 503-505; Blečić Kavur 2010, pp. 280-281, fig. 208; Mihovilić 2013, pp. 264, 272, 274), Rijeka (Blečić Kavur 2010, p. 281), Rovinj (Mihovilić 2002, p. 504), Sveti Martin Tar (Mihovilić 2002, p. 504), Osor (Mihović 2002, p. 505; Blečić Kavur 2015, pp. 200-201), Kaštelina-Lopar on Rab (Batović 1987a, p. 163, fig. 11, 2; Mihovilić, 2002, p. 505), Asseria (Perović 2012, p. 231), Nin (Batović, 1970, p. 39; Lisičar 1973, p. 13; Kirigin 2008, pp. 44, 45; Šešelj 2009, p. 423; Kolega 2013, p. 291, P. 15, 41-43), Radovin (Batović, 1968, P. XXIX, P. XXX; Lisičar 1973, P. IX, pp. 24, 25; Šešelj 2009, p. 423; AGH 2010, p. 201, cat. no. 288; Brusić 2010, p. 103, cat. no. 288; Šešelj, Silvestrelli 2013), Zadar (Batović 1987, P. XLII, 1; Šešelj 2009, p. 423), Čitluk (Babić 2008, pp. 203-204), Trogir (Šešelj 2009, p. 423), Sveti Ilija by Trogir (Šešelj 2009, p. 423; Kirigin 2010), Rat hillfort on the island of Brač (Barbarić 2006, pp. 58, 59; Barbarić 2010, fig. 11 and 12), Pharos (Migotti 1986, pp. 158-163; Forenbaher *et al.* 1994, p. 25, fig. 8; Jeličić Radonić 1996, p. 62, no. 1-7, p. 64, no. 8-11, p. 84, p. 86, no. 2, p. 92, p. 93, no. 4, 5, p. 94, no. 57, p. 95, no. 1, p. 101, no. 62, p. 106, no. 74, pp. 107-109, no. 1-4, 7; Maroević 1996, pp. 15, 22, 23; Kirigin, Hayes, Leach 2002, p. 249; Kirigin 2004, pp. 154-156, 293, P. XXXI, B, F; Miše 2005, fig. 3-5; Kirigin 2008, p. 65), Martvilo necropolis of Issa (Abramić 1949, P.

Kavur 2015, str. 200-201), Kaštelina-Lopar na Rabu (Batović 1987a, str. 163, sl. 11, 2; Mihovilić, 2002, str. 505), Asseria (Perović 2012, str. 231), Nin (Batović, 1970, str. 39; Lisičar 1973, str. 13; Kirigin 2008, str. 44, 45; Šešelj 2009, str. 423; Kolega 2013, str. 291, T. 15, 41-43), Radovin (Batović, 1968, T. XXIX, T. XXX; Lisičar 1973, T. IX, str. 24, 25; Šešelj 2009, str. 423; AGH 2010, str. 201, kat. br. 288; Brusić 2010, str. 103, kat. br. 288; Šešelj, Silvestrelli 2013), Zadar (Batović 1987, T. XLII, 1; Šešelj 2009, str. 423), Čitluk (Babić 2008, str. 203-204), Trogir (Šešelj 2009, str. 423), Sv. Ilija kraj Trogira (Šešelj 2009, str. 423; Kirigin 2010), gradina Rat na Braču (Barbarić 2006, str. 58, 59; Barbarić 2010, sl. 11 i 12), Far (Migotti 1986, str. 158-163; Forenbaher *et al.* 1994, str. 25, sl. 8; Jeličić Radonić 1996, str. 62, br. 1-7, str. 64, br. 8-11, str. 84, str. 86, br. 2, str. 92, str. 93, br. 4, 5, str. 94, br. 57, str. 95, br. 1, str. 101, br. 62, str. 106, br. 74, str. 107-109, br. 1-4, 7; Maroević 1996, str. 15, 22, 23; Kirigin, Hayes, Leach 2002, str. 249; Kirigin 2004, str. 154-156, 293, T. XXXI, B, F; Miše 2005, sl. 3-5; Kirigin 2008, str. 65), isejska nekropola Martvilo (Abramić 1949, T. III; Gabričević 1968, str. 47, T. 3; Lisičar 1973, T. VI, 19a-b, 21, T. VIII, 22; XII, 42, XII, 44; McPhee 1979, str. 159-160; Kirigin 1986, str. 21-22, br. 28-37; Kirigin 1996, str. 115, 116, 125; Čargo 2007, str. 9-14, br. 1-10; Kirigin 2008, str. 95; AGH 2010, str. 25, 40, 193, kat. br. 53-58; Čargo 2010, str. 57, 72; Miše 2010, str. 158-159; Miše 2012, str. 232, 233), isejska nekropola Vlaška njiva (Ugarković 2013; Ugarković 2015, str. 227-238; CF 1-14), gradina Kopila na Korčuli (Radić 2003, str. 67), Dubrovnik (Menalo 2004, str. 255) i Vilina špilja iznad Omble (Perkić 2010, str. 160). Pojediniosti o vrsti



Sl. 2. a, b Grob 168 (plan izradila D. Gerić) / Fig. 2 a, b Grave 168 (plan made by D. Gerić)

However, it should be emphasised that the oinochoe from Issa is the first, and thus far the only, example of a red-figure vessel with a comic scene from that area.

je enochoja iz Ise prvi i zasad jedini primjer crvenofiguralne posude s komičnim prikazom iz tog područja.

#### Enochoja iz Ise: kontekst otkrića

Isa je bila jedno od najkasnije osnovanih grčkih naselja na Zapadu. Taj mali, ali regionalno istaknut polis osnovan je u prvoj polovini IV. st. pr. Kr. na otoku Visu, u srednjoj Dalmaciji (sl. 1, lijevo). Antički izvori povezuju taj događaj sa strateškim aktivnostima Dionizija I. Sirakuškog, moćnog vladara Sirakuze na Siciliji, te smatraju Isu sirakuškim naseljem.<sup>37</sup>

III; Gabričević 1968, p. 47, P. 3; Lisičar 1973, P. VI, 19a-b, 21, P. VIII, 22, XII, 42, XII, 44; McPhee 1979, pp. 159-160; Kirigin 1986, pp. 21-22, no. 28-37; Kirigin 1996, pp. 115, 116, 125; Čargo 2007, pp. 9-14, no. 1-10; Kirigin 2008, p. 95; AGH 2010, pp. 25, 40, 193, cat. no. 53-58; Čargo 2010, pp. 57, 72; Miše 2010, pp. 158-159; Miše 2012, pp. 232, 233), Vlaška njiva necropolis of Issa (Ugarković 2013; Ugarković 2015, pp. 227-238; CF 1-14), Kopila hillfort on the island of Korčula (Radić 2003, p. 67), Dubrovnik (Menalo 2004, p. 255) and Vilina cave above Ombla (Perkić 2010, p. 160). For details on pottery types and more details on the find contexts, reader are referred to the above cited bibliography.

keramike i potanjem kontekstu nalaza potražiti u gore navedenoj literaturi.

37 Pseudo Skylax, *Periplus*, 23; Pseudo Skymno, *Periêgesis*, 405-414; Diodoros XV, 13, 4-5, XV, 14, 1-2. Sažetak kontroverzija vezanih uz dio teksta koji nedostaje u Diodora i spomen Ise (Visa) vidi u Styli-

### An oinochoe from Issa: the discovery context

Issa was one of the last Greek settlements established in the West. This small and yet regionally prominent polis was founded on the island of Vis in central Dalmatia during the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Fig. 1, left). Ancient sources connect this event to the strategic activities of Dionysius the Elder, the mighty ruler of Syracuse in Sicily, and regard Issa as a Syracusan settlement.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that after the decline of Syracusan power on the Adriatic, meaning shortly after the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, Issa developed into an independent city that had its heyday during the Hellenistic era.<sup>38</sup> By relying both on a diverse economy and cultural interactions via maritime links, this small polis became a stable community, one of the important traffic hubs on the Adriatic Sea, and it exerted considerable influence on various facets of cultural development in its surroundings.

The cultural history of this city is for now best known on the basis of material remains of dynamic cultural activities - burial customs. Two necropolises, at the Martvilo and Vlaška njiva sites, were conveniently situated on the south-western and eastern outskirts of the ancient city wall. These are thus far the only discovered and also partially investigated burial grounds of Greek cities in Dalmatia. The necropolis of Martvilo, although not as yet fully studied and published, has been known for some time to both the local population and the scholarly public.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, the pre-Roman Eastern necropolis at Vlaška njiva was discovered during rescue excavations in 1983.<sup>40</sup> It was during this investigation that the red-figure oinochoe from Issa, discussed in this contribution, came to light. The vessel was documented as a grave good in the grave 168, whose discovery occurred on 9 October 1983. The grave was spatially situated in the

Ipak, opće je prihvaćeno da se Isa, nakon opadanja sirakuške moći na Jadranu, odnosno ubrzo nakon sredine IV. st. pr. Kr., razvila u neovisni grad koji je svoj vrhunac doživio tijekom helenističkog razdoblja.<sup>38</sup> Oslanjajući se kako na raznovrsnost gospodarstva tako i na interakciju kroz pomorske veze, ovaj je mali polis postao stabilnom zajednicom, jednim od važnih prometnih čvorova na Jadranskome moru i izvorom snažnog utjecaja na različite aspekte kulturnog razvoja u svojem okruženju.

Kulturna povijest tog grada zasad je najpoznatija po materijalnim ostacima dinamičkih kulturnih aktivnosti-pogrebni običaja. Dvije nekropole, na lokalitetima Martvilo i Vlaška njiva, prikladno su smještene na jugozapadnom i istočnom rubu antičkih gradskih bedema. One su zasad jedina otkrivena i djelomično istražena ukapališta grčkih gradova u Dalmaciji. Nekropola Martvilo, iako još nije u cijelosti proučena i objavljena, već je neko vrijeme poznata i lokalnom stanovništvu i znanstvenoj javnosti.<sup>39</sup> Za razliku od nje, predrimska istočna nekropola na lokalitetu Vlaška njiva otkrivena je tijekom zaštitnog iskopavanja 1983. godine.<sup>40</sup> Upravo tijekom tog istraživanja pronađena je crvenofiguralna enochoja iz Ise koja je tema ovog rada. Posuda je dokumentirana kao grobni prilog u grobu 168, koji je otkriven 9. listopada 1983. godine. Grob je prostrano smješten u istraženom području najbližem gradskim bedemima, kvadrat D, sonda 2/3, gdje se nalazila većina najranijih grobova (sl. 1, desno). Grob je bio intaktan, jama ukopana u žutu, sterilnu zemlju, s jedne strane blizu žive stijene (sl. 2. a, b, 3. a, b). Oblik jame bio je obao i izduljen, dimenzija 1,85 x 0,45 m. Dno groba prekriveno je glinom, a nekoliko tankih kamenih ploča različitih, nepravilnih veličina, ležalo je jedna na drugoj, služeći kao pokrov. Na taj način takav se pokrov koristio i za zaštitu groba i za njegovo označavanje. Grob je položen u smjeru sjever-jug, uz blagi otklon prema sjeveroistoku-jugoza-padu. Koristio se za više uzastopnih pokopa, s jasnim ostacima skeleta troje jedinki. *Ergo*, to je istovremeno primjer jednostavnog i složenog oblika metoda od-

37 Pseudo Skylax, *Periplus*, 23; Pseudo Skymno, *Periëgesis*, 405-414; Diodoros XV, 13, 4-5, XV, 14, 1-2. For a summary of the controversies regarding the missing part of the text in Diodorus and the mention of Issa (Vis), see Stylianou 1998, pp. 194-195; for a discussion on the establishment of Issa, see Čaće 1994.

38 Čaće 1994; Kirigin 1996.

39 Cambi *et al.* 1981; Kirigin 1985; Kirigin 1986; Kirigin, Marin 1988; Čargo 2010.

40 Kirigin 1983. 249 graves, dated to the period from the latter half of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> (4<sup>th</sup>?) c. AD, were discovered, investigated and documented (Kirigin 1983; Ugarković 2013, p. 77). The pre-Roman graves were analysed as a part of a doctoral dissertation (Ugarković 2015), and the monograph that will present the necropolis as a whole is currently being prepared by the author.

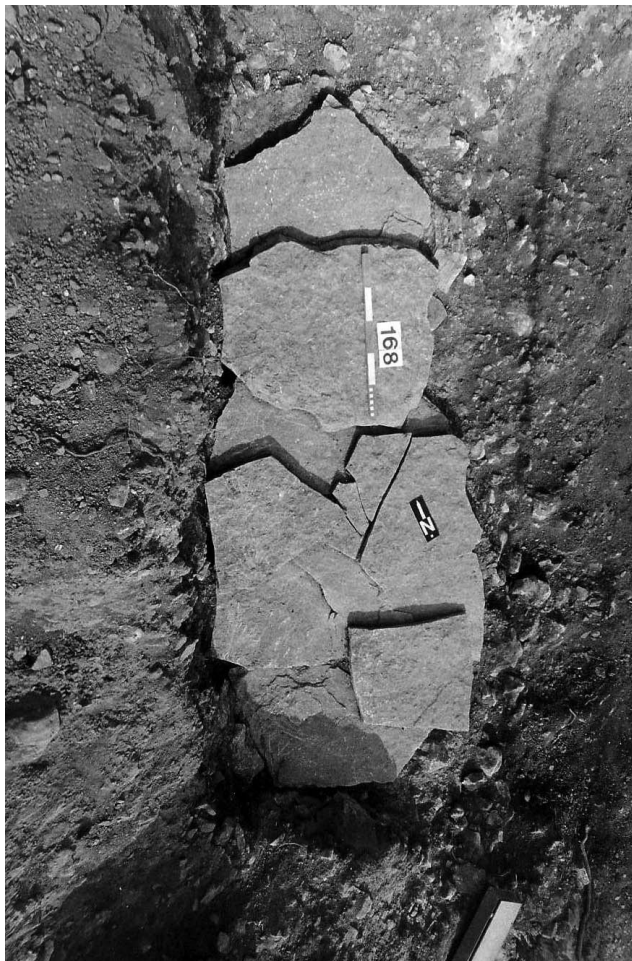
nou 1998, str. 194-195; raspravu o osnivanju Ise vidi u Čaće 1994.

38 Čaće 1994; Kirigin 1996.

39 Cambi *et al.* 1981; Kirigin 1985; Kirigin 1986; Kirigin, Marin 1988; Čargo 2010.

40 Kirigin 1983. Otkriveno je 249 grobova datiranih u razdoblje od druge polovine IV. st. pr. Kr. do III. (IV.?) st. po Kr. koji su istraženi i dokumentirani (Kirigin 1983; Ugarković 2013, str. 77). Predrimski grobovi analizirani su u sklopu doktorata (Ugarković 2015), a autorica trenutačno priprema monografiju koja će prikazati nekropolu u cjelini.





Sl. 3. a, b Grob 168 (foto: D. Gerić) / Fig. 3 a, b Grave 168 (photo: D. Gerić)

investigated area closest to the city wall, quadrant D of trench 2/3, where most of the earliest graves were unearthed (Fig. 1, right). The burial was intact, a pit dug in yellow, sterile soil, near the bedrock on one side (fig. 2a, b, 3a, b). The shape of the pit was ovoid and oblong, with dimensions 1.85 x 0.45 m. The bottom of the grave was covered in clay, and several thin stone slabs of different and irregular sizes, laid next and over each other, served as the cover structure. In this way, the structure was used both to protect the grave and as a grave marker. The grave was aligned in the north-south direction, with slight northeast-southwest deviations. It contained multiple consecutive burials, with the articulated skeletal remains of three individuals. This is therefore an example of both simple and compound forms of disposal methods, as defined by Sprague.<sup>41</sup> The skeletons of the first two buried individuals were gathered and redeposited in the north-eastern part of the pit, partially under the skeletal remains of the last buried individual and most of the grave goods. Therefore, the last interment is defined as simple while the first two are compound

laganja, kako definira Sprague.<sup>41</sup> Skeleti prvih dvoje pokopanih jedinki prikupljeni su i ponovo sahranjeni u sjeveroistočnom dijelu jame, djelomično pod ostacima skeleta posljednje sahrane jedinke i većine grobnih priloga. Stoga se posljednji pokop definira kao jednostavan, dok ono prvo dvoje predstavlja složen oblik odlaganja, budući da je njihovo konačno polaganje uključivalo više od jednog utiliziranog procesa. Posljedično, jedino u slučaju artikuliranih ostataka pojedinca koji je posljednji sahranjen možemo dobiti uvid u način polaganja tijela preminuloga. Tijelo je položeno na leđa, s ispruženim nogama. Desna ruka je položena uz tijelo, a lijeva je svijena i položena na zdjelicu. Glava je okrenuta prema jugu. Antropološka analiza osteoloških ostataka kazuje nam spol jedinki kao i dob u trenutku smrti.<sup>42</sup> Sve tri jedinke bile su odrasle, dvije žene - jedna starija od 45, a druga

41 Sprague 2005, p. 28.

41 Sprague 2005, str. 28.

42 Mikić, 1983. Antropološku analizu proveo je tijekom iskopavanja, na lokaciji, prof. Mikić s Odeljenja za arheologiju Univerziteta u Beogradu. Ovom prigodom želim izraziti zahvalnosti prof. Mikiću na dopuštenju za korištenje ovih neobjavljenih podataka.



interments, as their final deposition included more than one utilized process. Consequently, only the last articulated burial provides any insight on how the deceased's body was arranged. The body was deposited on its back, with legs extended. The right arm was laid alongside the body, while the left arm was bent over the pelvis. The head faced southward. Anthropological analysis of the osteological remains has ascertained the sex of these individuals, as well as their age at the time of death.<sup>42</sup> All three individuals were adults, two women, one over 45 and another over 60 years of age, and one man who died over the age of 45.<sup>43</sup> The grave assemblage contained a total of thirteen objects classified as grave goods (11 x) and sparse remains of attire (2x) (Fig. 4). The grave goods included only ceramic pots while the other finds can be associated with the clothing (an iron pin) and adornment (a ring) of the deceased. The deposited pottery belonged to red-figure, Gnathia, black glazed and plain painted ware, and included three oinochoai, a pelike, a lebes gamikos, an olpe, two skyphoi, a saucer, a lekythos and a bottle. The oinochoe with a comic scene was documented as grave good no. 4, found in the north-eastern part of the grave, approximately above the knees of the last deceased.

#### Description of the vessel

The discussed oinochoe is held under the inventory number 71655 in the Issa Archaeological Collection, an integral part of the Archaeological Museum in Split in the town of Vis on the eponymous island. It was preserved almost intact, with only smaller fragments missing. Its dimensions are as follows: height 19.3 cm, belly width 12.1 cm, neck width 5 cm and diameter of foot 5.2 cm. The clay was examined only macroscopically, indicating a very fine raw material without admixtures visible to an eye, with its pink colour (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/4) due to firing conditions.

The shape of the body (belly) is rounded, with an elongated neck (Fig. 5). The mouth has a trefoil shape. The handle, with an extended section and a central ridge, connects the mouth and the sloping shoulder. The foot is low and ring shaped. The bottom is slightly concave, with a small central bulge on the inner side.

starija od 60 godina, i jedan muškarac koji je umro u dobi višoj od 45 godina.<sup>43</sup> Grobna cjelina sadržavala je ukupno trinaest predmeta klasificiranih kao grobni priloz (11) i rijetki ostaci odjeće (2) (sl. 4). Grobni priloz sastoje se samo od keramičkih posuda, dok se drugi nalazi mogu povezati s odjećom (željezna igla) i ukrasima (prsten) preminulih. Priložena grobna keramika pripadala je crvenofiguralnom, *Gnathia*, crno-premazanom i običnom oslikanom stilu te uključuje tri enohoje, peliku, svadbeni lebet, olpu, dva skifa, pliticu, lekit i bocu. Enohoja s komičnim prikazom dokumentirana je kao grobni prilog br. 4, pronađen u sjeveroistočnom dijelu groba, otprilike iznad koljena posljednjeg preminulog.

#### Opis posude

Opisana enohoja čuva se pod inventarnim brojem 71655 Isejske arheološke zbirke, sastavnog dijela Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu na otoku Visu (grad Vis). Očuvana je gotovo nedirnuta, nedostaju joj tek manji dijelovi. Dimenzije su joj: visina 19,3 cm, opseg trbuha 12,1 cm, širina vrata 5 cm, promjer stope 5,2 cm. Glina je samo makroskopski pregledana i pokazuje vrlo finu sirovinu bez primjesa koje su oku vidljive te, zbog uvjeta pečenja, ružičaste boje (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/4).

Oblik tijela (trbuha) je zaobljen, s produljenim vratom (sl. 5). Otvor je trolistan. Ručka, s produljenim dijelom i središnjom brazdom, spaja otvor s zaobljenim ramenom. Prstenasta stopa je niska. Dno je blago konkavno, s malim središnjim ispupčenjem s unutarnje strane.

Crni premaz nanesen je na vanjsku površinu i unutrašnjost otvora. To nije u svakom detalju pomno učinjeno, zbog čega je kvaliteta prosječna i mjestimično loša. Unutrašnjost stope, kao i uzak dio izvan nje gdje se dodiruje s dnom ostavljeni su u boji gline, dok je ostatak vanjske površine prekriven crvenofiguralnom dekoracijom.

Dekoracija se sastoji od nekoliko motiva koji uključuju središnji prikaz, kao i dodatne motive na stražnjoj strani tijela i vratu (sl. 6. a - e, sl. 7). Ovo posljednje ukrašeno je sa sedam dvostrukih jajolikih uzoraka, s točkom na desnoj strani, a sve u zoni obrubljenoj dvjema paralelnim linijama. Linija tog motiva različitih je debljina i odaje dojam prilično brzog rada slikara, bez osobite pozornosti. Glavni motiv širi se prednjom stranom tijela, preko trbuha, ramena i dijela vrata enohoje. Prikazuje figuralnu komičnu scenu, muškarca i ženu, vjerojatno supružnike, u razgovoru. S lijeve strane je profil muškarca okrenut udesno;

42 Mikić, 1983. The anthropological analysis was performed during excavation, on site, by Prof. Mikić from the Department of Archaeology, University of Belgrade. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Prof. Mikić for his permission to use these unpublished data.

43 Mikić 1983.

43 Mikić 1983.



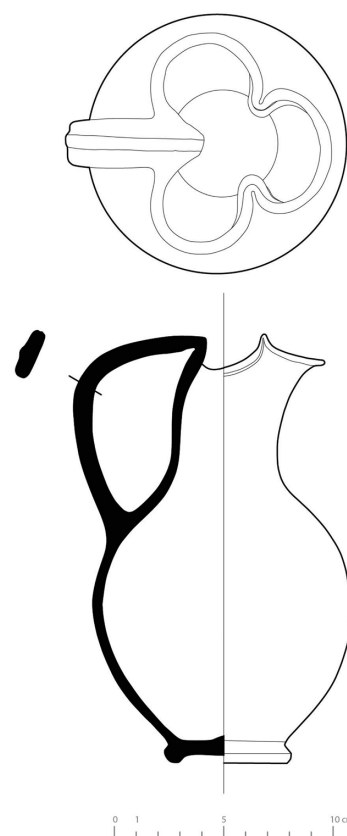
Sl. 4. Grobna cjelina 168 (foto: Tonći Seser)  
Fig. 4. The assemblage of grave 168 (photo: Tonći Seser)

The black coating was applied to the outside surface and interior of the mouth. This was not always done with the best of care, resulting in rather average and in places poorer quality. The inner zone of the foot, as well as the narrow zone outside of the foot where it touches the base were left in the colour of the clay, while the rest of the outside surface is covered in red-figure decorations.

The decoration consists of several motifs that include a main scene, as well as subsidiary motifs on the back of the belly and neck (Fig. 6. a - e, Fig. 7). The latter is decorated by seven double egg patterns, with a dot on the right side, all in a zone bordered by two parallel lines. The line of this motif exhibits different thicknesses, and gives the impression of rather hasty work by the painter, without too much care. The main motif extends along the belly, shoulder and part of the neck of the oinochoe. It depicts a figural comic scene, a man and a woman, probably a husband and a wife having a conversation. On the left is the male in right profile, leaning on a cane. He is padded around the belly and barefoot, wearing a tight undergarment ending at his ankle, and a short chiton or tunic. To the right, the woman is shown in left profile, wearing a himation and chiton. The man's chiton, as well as part of the women's drapery, are painted white. The body language of the figures, mostly the hand gestures, suggests they are engaged in a discussion, perhaps an argument. Behind the woman is a vertical frieze with a repeating geometric motif of double parallel short lines and dots – perhaps representing the vague contours of a door. Behind the men is a triangular and curling floral motif. Thus, the framing of the main figural scene is asymmetric. The back side of the body, under the handle, is covered with a large palmette, while the differently sized and shaped zone of the same aforementioned floral motif is depicted between the so-called door and the palmette.

## Discussion

An analysis of the stylistic and morphological features of the described oinochoe indicates its uniqueness. In short, it seems to exhibit a combination of Apulian, Campanian, possibly even Sicilian, and certain other, local (Issaeian or other?) elements. Beginning with analogies to the shape, certain similarities can be drawn with the Alto Adriatico oinochoai typical of central and north-western Adriatic production in the latter half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and first third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>44</sup> Somewhat similar forms of locally produced



Sl. 5. Enohoja iz groba 168 (ilustracija: J. Beneta)  
Fig. 5. Oinochoe from grave 168 (illustration by J. Beneta)

oslanja se na štap, debljeg je trbuha i bosonog je, a nosi usko donje rublje koje mu seže do gležnja i kratki hiton ili tuniku. S desne strane je prikazan lijevi profil žene koja nosi togu i hiton. Muškarčev hiton, kao i dio ženske odjeće, obojani su bijelo. Govor tijela tih likova, najviše pokreti ruku, sugerira da vode razgovor, možda se svađaju. Iza žene je okomit friz s ponavljajućim geometrijskim motivima dvostrukih paralelnih kratkih linija i točaka, koji možda predstavlja korupciju vrata. Iza muškarca je trokutasti i uvojiti cvjetni motiv. Tako je uokvirivanje glavnog figuralnog prikaza asimetrično. Stražnja strana tijela, ispod ručke, prekrivena je velikom palmetom, dok je između takozvane korupcije vrata i palmete prikazano isto, već opisano, područje cvjetnog motiva različite veličine i oblika.

## Rasprava

Analiza stilskih i morfoloških značajka opisane enohoje upućuje na njezinu jedinstvenost. Ukratko, čini se da je izložak kombinacija elemenata Apulije,

44 For example see Forma 1a in Robino 2000, p. 79. The Alto Adriatico oinochoai of similar shape have been documented in other graves at the Vlaška njiva necropolis.



Sl. 6. a - e Enohoja iz groba 168 (foto: T. Seser)  
Fig. 6. a - e Oinochoe from grave 168 (photo: T. Seser)





Sl. 7. Enohoja iz groba 168, grafički prikaz dekoracije (crtež: Anita Ivanković)

Fig. 7. Oinochoe from grave 168, graphical representation of the decoration (drawing: Anita Ivanković)

oinochoai, with “*kugeliger Bauch und gelängter Hals*” can be also found in the Taranto necropolis during the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>45</sup> However, there are differences between the oinochoe from Issa and those from the other production sites. For example, in both cases of the latter, the angle at which the handle connects the shoulder to the trefoil mouth is completely different from that on the Issaeian oinochoe, which also has a somewhat less prominent belly.

With regard to the subject matter of the main decoration, the figural comic scenes, is thus far completely unknown in defined Alto Adriatico production.<sup>46</sup> The scene depicting a man and a woman in discussion, very often a husband and wife, is essentially of Apulian origin. In the Taranto workshop(s), the more common appearances of wives in comic scenes can be seen from second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onward.<sup>47</sup> The woman from the Issaeian oinochoe is certainly too firmly arranged to be a hetaira and the clothing does not seem suited to a hetaira either.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the preceding point is reinforced if the vertical pattern behind the woman is indeed a distorted door. Comedic scenes often strongly associated women with housewives in proximity to doorways that symbolize the

Kampanije, možda čak Sicilije i nekih drugih lokalnih (isejskih ili drugih?) stilova. Krenemo li od analogije oblika, određene sličnosti mogu se povući s Alto Adriatico enohojama, tipičnima za srednjojadransku i sjeverozapadnu jadransku izradu druge polovine IV. i prve trećine III. st. pr. Kr.<sup>44</sup> Donekle sličan oblik lokalno izrađenih enohoja s *kugeliger Bauch und gelängter Hals* može se također pronaći u nekropoli u Tarantu tijekom posljednje trećine IV. i prve polovine III. st. pr. Kr.<sup>45</sup> Postoje međutim razlike između isejske i drugih enohoja spomenute izrade. Primjerice, u oba druga slučaja nagib pod kojim ručka spaja rame s trolisnim otvorom potpuno se razlikuje od onoga na isejskoj enohoji, gdje je također nešto slabije naglašen trbuh.

Što se tiče teme glavne dekoracije, figuralni komični prikazi zasad su potpuno nepoznati u okviru definirane Alto Adriatico proizvodnje.<sup>46</sup> Scena koja prikazuje muškarca i ženu u razgovoru, vrlo često supružnike, u osnovi je podrijetlom iz Apulije. U radionici (radionicama) Taranta češće pojave žena u komičnim prikazima mogu se svrstati u razdoblje druge četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr. i kasnije.<sup>47</sup> Žena s isejske enohoje zasigurno je prikazana previše čvrsto da bi bila

For such finds, see Ugarković 2015, p. 243, AA2 or pp. 244-245, AA 3 and bibliography cited therein.

45 Graepler 1997, p. 86.

46 For the motifs used in Alto Adriatico production, see Landolfi (ed.) 1997; Landolfi 2000.

47 Green 2001, p. 46.

48 For an example of the portrayal of a hetaira, see Green 2001, p. 38, fig. 1.

44 Primjerice, vidi *Forma 1a* u Robino 2000, str. 79. *Alto Adriatico* enohoje sličnog oblika dokumentirane su u drugim grobovima nekropole Vlaška njiva. O takvim nalazima vidi Ugarković 2015, str. 243, AA2 ili str. 244-245, AA 3 i ondje navedenu literaturu.

45 Graepler 1997, str. 86.

46 O motivima korištenima u *Alto Adriatico* stilu vidi Landolfi (ur.) 1997; Landolfi 2000.

47 Green 2001, str. 46.

home.<sup>49</sup> The other plausible explanation could be that it was a kind of pillar column, thus also indicating an entrance. The man had his left arm covered, which was an indication of a proper man. The same can be said of the cane, whose function was connected to expressions of status.<sup>50</sup> The conclusion that these two figures are engaged in discussion can be drawn from their gestures. This manner of expression was significant to the ancient Greeks.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, this scene presents a parodic depiction of wife complaining to her husband, in other words scolding him.

Direct analogies to this type of scene appear on several Apulian-style kraters and oinochoai.<sup>52</sup> For example, one chous, probably from the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, comes from the Nicholson Museum in Sydney, and it has been attributed to the Truro Painter.<sup>53</sup> Another similar chous, also from Australia, is today held in the Geddes Collection in Melbourne.<sup>54</sup> It should belong to the same period as the above vessel, but it is not from the same painter.<sup>55</sup> The next example of oinochoe with such a scene is held in the National Museum of Taranto under inv. no. 54724.<sup>56</sup> It was found in a grave discovered in Via duca degli Abruzzi in Taranto, and although without attribution, it has been dated to the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>57</sup> Another example from the period toward the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, attributed to the wider circle of the Hoppin Painter, can today be found in the Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (H 5846).<sup>58</sup> Among the kraters decorated with such scenes, one example from the Harvard collection has been attributed to the McDaniel Painter and dated between 400 and 370 BC.<sup>59</sup>

hetera, a ni njezina odjeća izgledom ne odgovara heteri.<sup>48</sup> Nadalje, ako je okomiti uzorak iza žene korupcija vrata, to dodatno osnažuje navedenu pretpostavku. U komičnim scenama postoji snažna asocijacija na žene kao domaćice, pa se u tom smislu prikazuju blizu ulaznih vrata koja simboliziraju kuću.<sup>49</sup> Drugo vjerojatno objašnjenje moglo bi biti da se radi o nekoj vrsti stupa, čime se također upućuje na ulaz. Muškarac je prekrpio svoju lijevu ruku, što upućuje na muškarca odgovarajućeg statusa. Isto se može reći za štap, čija je funkcija povezana s iskazivanjem statusa.<sup>50</sup> Zaključak da ta dva lika raspravljaju može se izvući iz njihovih gesta. Ovaj način izražavanja bio je značajan za antičku Grčku.<sup>51</sup> Stoga je ta scena parodijski prikaz supruge koja se žali svojem suprugu, drugim riječima - kori ga.

Izravna analogija te vrste prikaza pojavljuje se na nekoliko kratera i enohoja u apulskom stilu.<sup>52</sup> Primjerice, jedna enohoja (*chous*), vjerojatno iz druge četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr., dolazi iz sidnejskog muzeja *Nicholson* i pripisuje se slikaru Trurou.<sup>53</sup> Druga slična enohoja (*chous*), također iz Australije, danas se čuva u zbirci Geddes u Melbourneu.<sup>54</sup> Trebala bi pripadati istom razdoblju kao i spomenuta posuda, ali nije rad istog slikara.<sup>55</sup> Sljedeći primjerak enohoje s takvim prikazom čuva se u Nacionalnom muzeju u Tarantu pod inventarnim brojem 54724.<sup>56</sup> Pronađena je u grobu otkrivenome u *Via duca degli Abruzzi* u Tarantu i, iako bez atribucije, datirana je u drugu četvrtinu IV. st. pr. Kr.<sup>57</sup> Drugi primjerak datiran u drugu četvrtinu IV. st. pr. Kr., pripisan širem krugu slikara Hoppina, može se danas naći u muzeju *Martin von Wagner*, u

49 Green 2001, pp. 37-64.

50 In ancient depictions, canes are normally never found with labourers or slaves (Green 2001, p. 42).

51 The power of gestures was especially important in the world of theatre, a fact known also from ancient writings (Green 2001, p. 41).

52 Trendall 1959, p. 12; Hoffman 2002, p. 170.

53 The vessel is discussed and illustrated in Cambitoglou, Turner 2008 (CVA Nicholson Museum 1), pp. 44-45, pl. 48-49. See also Trendall, Cambitoglou 1978, p. 118, no. 141.

54 The depicted scene does not show a man and a woman, but rather two men in discussion (McPhee, personal information). I would like to thank Ian MCPhee for sharing this information.

55 MCPhee, personal information.

56 Lo Porto 1964, pp. 17, 18, abb. 7; Trendall 1967, p. 64, no. 121; Hoffmann 2002, p. 236, taf. 31, 2.

57 Hoffmann 2002, p. 236.

58 Güntner 1999, p. 29, taf. 22.

59 Green 2001, p. 47, fig. 6; Green 2012, fig. 14.5. See also footnote 7.

48 Primjer prikaza hetere vidi u Green 2001, str. 38, sl. 1.

49 Green 2001, str. 37-64.

50 U drevnim se prikazima štapovi u principu nikad ne pojavljuju u asocijaciji s radničkom klasom ili robovima (Green 2001, str. 42).

51 Snaga geste posebno je bila važna u kazališnom svijetu, što je poznato i iz drevnih zapisa (Green 2001, str. 41).

52 Trendall 1959, str. 12; Hoffman 2002, str. 170.

53 Posuda je opisana i ilustrirana u Cambitoglou, Turner 2008 (CVA Nicholson Museum 1) str. 44-45, pls. 48-49. Također vidi Trendall, Cambitoglou 1978, str. 118, br. 141.

54 Opisana scena ne prikazuje muškarca i ženu, već prije dvojicu muškaraca u raspravi (McPhee, osobna informacija). Zahvaljujem Ianu MCPheeu na toj informaciji.

55 MCPhee, osobna informacija.

56 Lo Porto 1964, str. 17, 18, abb. 7; Trendall 1967, str. 64, br. 121; Hoffmann 2002, str. 236, taf. 31, 2.

57 Hoffmann 2002, str. 236.

However, to the best of my knowledge, the closest analogy to the Issaeon scene comes from the Apulian bell krater, Vienna 1131 (old 466), dated to the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>60</sup> It has been attributed to the Heidelberg U6 painter, and is today kept in the Kunsthistorisches Wien Museum. The similarities are reflected not only in the nature of the scene itself but also in the specific postures and gestures of the characters. Although this scene is painted on a krater, as seen above many appear on oinochoai as well, and besides the aforementioned fact that Apulia produced the majority of such examples, it is also interesting to know that most of oinochoai phlyakes are also attributed to the Apulian style. In Campania and Sicily, there are less conversational scenes between men and women. However, one chalice krater from the Louvre (K 523), dated to ca. 380-370 BC may be mentioned.<sup>61</sup> It has been attributed to the Campanian Nyn Painter, and interpreted as a parody of Alkinoos and his wife. Although the main scene includes three figures, the first two, a man and a woman, are depicted similarly.

The evident complexity of the scenes in Sicilian red-figure ware appears to make them an unlikely model for the painter of the oinochoe from Issa. However, some simpler scenes do appear, especially in the Lentini-Manfria group, that exhibit a resemblance to the scene on the oinochoe from Issa.<sup>62</sup> The Paestan influence should be excluded on the basis of the very specific production of 'phlyax vases' in the Paestum area, where the topics were essentially Dionysian while generic scenes, such as our conversation (discussion) between a man and a woman, are not typical. All this only confirms what was noted above, that the source for the main scene was essentially of Apulian origin. Nevertheless, the general style of decoration somehow evoke the Campanian tradition. First, there are the white parts of the figure's garments,<sup>63</sup>

Würzburgu (H 5846).<sup>58</sup> Od kratera ukrašenih takvim prikazima jedan primjerak iz harvardske zbirke pripisuje se slikaru McDanielu i datiran je između 400. i 370. g. pr. Kr.<sup>59</sup>

Međutim, najbliža analogija isejskom prikazu, a prema mojim saznanjima i najbolja, dolazi od apulskog zvonolikog kratera, Beč 1131 (prethodno 466) iz druge četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr.<sup>60</sup> Pripisuje se slikaru Heidelberg U6 i danas ga čuva *Kunsthistorisches Museum* u Beču. Sličnosti se odražavaju ne samo u prirodi samog prikaza već i u specifičnim položajima i gestama likova. Iako je prizor oslikan na krateru, kao što je gore viđeno mnogi se pojavljuju i na enohojama, a osim spomenute činjenice da je Apulija izradila većinu takvih primjeraka, također je zanimljivo znati da se i većina flijaka na enohojama također pripisuje apulskom stilu. U Kampaniji i na Siciliji manje je prizora razgovora između muškarca i žene. Mogli bismo, međutim, spomenuti jedan krater iz muzeja *Louvre* (K 523) datiran otprilike u 380. - 370. g. pr. Kr.<sup>61</sup> Pripisuje se kampanskom slikaru Nynu i tumači se kao parodija na Alkinoja i njegovu suprugu. Iako glavna scena prikazuje tri lika, prvo dvoje, muškarac i žena, prikazani su na sličan način.

Očita složenost sicilskih crvenofiguralnih prikaza naizgled ih ne čini vjerojatnim modelom za slikara enohoje iz Ise. Međutim, neki se jednostavniji prikazi ipak pojavljuju, posebno u skupini Lentini-Manfria, koji pokazuju sličnost s prikazom na enohoji iz Ise.<sup>62</sup> Utjecaj Pesta treba isključiti na temelju iznimno specifične izrade 'fljak vaza' u području Pesta, gdje su teme u osnovi dionizijske, a generički prikazi, kao naš razgovor (rasprava) između muškarca i žene flijaka, nisu tipični. Sve to samo potvrđuje već navedeno, da je izvor za glavni prikaz u osnovi podrijetlom iz Apulije. Ipak, opći stil dekoracije nekako ostavlja dojam tradicije Kampanije. Prvo, tu su bijeli dijelovi odjeće likova,<sup>63</sup> a zatim i način na koji likovi stoje, tretman

60 Trendall 1967, p. 47, no. 66.

61 Trendall 1967, p. 54, no. 85.

62 For an example, see the Sicilian red-figure krater from the Louvre museum, CA7249, dated to the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and attributed to the Lentini-Manfria group. The scene depicts a conversation between a master and his slave. I would like to thank M. Denoyelle for bringing this scene to my attention.

63 For example, added white colour can be seen on the Campanian bell krater attributed to the Libation Painter of the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Green 2012, p. 324, fig. 14.19). Besides the Campanian style, such a practice has been documented in the Paestan style, e.g. on bell krater of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC found at Pontecagnano that has been attributed to Asteas (Denoyelle 2010, p. 110). Additional white has also been recorded on Gnathian pottery with comic scenes, e.g. on the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century BC calyx-krater attributed

58 Güntner 1999, str. 29, taf. 22.

59 Green 2001, str. 47, sl. 6; Green 2012, sl. 14.5. Također vidi bilješku br. 7.

60 Trendall 1967, str. 47, br. 66.

61 Trendall 1967, str. 54, br. 85.

62 Kao primjer vidi sicilski crvenofiguralni krater u muzeju *Louvre*, CA7249, datiran u sredinu IV. st. pr. Kr. i atribuiran skupini Lentini-Manfria. Scena prikazuje razgovor između gospodara i njegova roba. Zahvaljujem M. Denoyelle što mi je svratila pozornost na taj prikaz.

63 Primjerice, dodana bijela boja može se vidjeti na kampanskom zvonolikom krateru atribuiranom slikaru Libationu iz treće četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr. (Green 2012, str. 324, sl. 14.19). Osim kampanskog stila takva je praksa dokumentirana u pestanskom stilu, npr. na zvonolikom



followed with the posture of the figures stand, the treatment of their faces and the way they cover the space on the vase that also alludes to the Campanian style of painting.<sup>64</sup> All of this especially contrasts with the typical Tarentine. The unusual element, as J. R. Green pointed out, is certainly the use of three-quarter heads, probably a change added by an unknown local artist.<sup>65</sup> However, this element brings our attention to possible influences from Sicily. The scene from the krater of the Lentini-Manfria group mentioned in the footnote 62 exhibits to the Issaeon phlyakes similarity in the way the figures and their mask are drawn.<sup>66</sup> For example, the shape of the face of the male figure on the Issaeon oinochoe is somewhat analogous to the right figure decorating the krater of the above-mentioned Sicilian group. To this we can also add the use of the light, white colour for the upper parts of the dress.

Moving away from the main scene, some attention should be focused on the other motifs that decorate this oinochoe. The framing of the comic scenes with subsidiary motifs is typically found in Apulia, Sicily and Campania. It frequently includes architectural motifs, such as the door and column in the scene depicted on the aforementioned krater of the McDaniel painter. Sometimes the framing is abstract, depicted by a simple line with or without decoration.<sup>67</sup> Finally, floral framing is also common, and several examples are known in the Paestan, Sicilian and Campanian styles.<sup>68</sup> Usually, the framing motifs are symmetric on both ends. However, this is not the case with Issaeon example, where the frame is asymmetric, and includes both floral and probably architectural (vague contours of a door) motifs. Asymmetric framing can also be seen on a Campanian hydria of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC attributed to the Cassandra Parrish Painter, which consists of different floral motifs.<sup>69</sup> The practice of covering the back of the oinochoe with a large palmette, as

njihovih lica te način na koji pokrivaju prostor vaze koji također asocira na stil kampanskog oslikavanja.<sup>64</sup> Sve je to u posebnom kontrastu s tipičnim tarantskim. Neobičan element, kao što je istaknuo J. R. Green, svakako je korištenje tročetvrtinskih glava, vjerojatno promjena koju je uveo nepoznati lokalni umjetnik.<sup>65</sup> Međutim, taj element nam svraća pozornost na moguće utjecaje Sicilije. Prikaz na krateru skupine Lentini-Manfria spomenut u bilješci 62 pokazuje sličnost u načinu na koji su likovi i njihove maske oslikane na isejskim flijacima.<sup>66</sup> Primjerice, oblik lica muškog lika na isejskoj enohoji nalazi određenu analogiju u desnom liku koji ukrašava krater gore-navedene sicilske skupine. Tome možemo također dodati korištenje prozirne bijele boje za gornji dio odjeće.

Osim glavnom prikazu, određenu pozornost treba posvetiti i drugim motivima koji ukrašavaju tu enohoju. Okvir komičnog prikaza s dodatnim motivima tipičan je za Apuliju, Siciliju i Kampaniju. Često uključuje arhitektonske motive, kao što su vrat i stup u sceni prikazanoj na spomenutom krateru slikara McDaniel. Okvir je ponekad apstraktan, prikazan jednostavnom linijom s dekoracijom ili bez nje.<sup>67</sup> Naposljetku, cvjetni okviri su također uobičajeni, a nekoliko primjeraka poznato je iz pestanskog, sicilskog i kampanskog stila.<sup>68</sup> Motivi okvira obično su simetrični na oba kraja. To međutim nije slučaj s isejskim primjerkom, gdje je okvir asimetričan i uključuje i cvjetne i vjerojatno arhitektonske (korupcija vrata) motive. Još jedan asimetrični okvir može se vidjeti na hidriji iz Kampanije iz sredine IV. st. pr. Kr., pripisan slikaru Cassandra Parrish, koji prikazuje različite cvjetne motive.<sup>69</sup> Običaj pokrivanja stražnje strane enohoje velikom palmetom, kao što se vidi na isejskom primjerku, tipičan je za oslikavanje Alto Adriatico posuda. Međutim, manje palmete ispod skifa ili ručki kratera po-

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to the Compiègne Painter (Green 2012, pp. 312, 313, fig. 14.13).

64 I am grateful to J. R. Green for discussing this with me.

65 Green, personal communication.

66 According to Maja Miše, one lebes gamikos from Vis, conceivably from the Martvilo necropolis, shows similarities to the Sicilian Lentini Manfria group (Miše 2012, p. 233).

67 E.g. on the Apulian oinochoe from the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, see Trendall 1967, p. 65, no. 124, or on the oinochoe from Basilicata, Trendall 1967, p. 61, no. 110.

68 For example, see the skyphos of the Sicilian Manfria group in Green 2012, p. 302, or the Paestan krater attributed to Asteas in Hughes 2003, fig. 4.

69 Trendall 1959, p. 49, no. 128.

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krateru iz sredine IV. st. pr. Kr. pronađenom u Pontecagnanu koji je atribuiran *Asteasu* (Denoyelle 2010, str. 110). Dodana bijela boja potvrđena je također na keramici s komičnim prikazima stila *Gnathia*, npr. na kaležastom krateru iz IV. st. pr. Kr. atribuiranom slikaru Compiègne (Green 2012, str. 312, 313, sl. 14.13).

64 Zahvalna sam J. R. Greenu na razgovoru o toj temi.

65 Green, osobna komunikacija.

66 Prema Maji Miše jedan svadbeni lebet iz Visa, vjerojatno s nekropole Martvilo, pokazuje sličnosti sa sicilskom grupom Lentini Manfria (Miše 2012, str. 233).

67 Npr. o apulskoj enohoji iz posljednje četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr. vidi Trendall 1967, str. 65, br. 124, ili o enohoji iz Basilicate, Trendall 1967, str. 61, br. 110.

68 Kao primjer vidi skif sicilske skupine Manfria u Green 2012, str. 302, ili krater iz Pesta atribuiran *Asteasu* u Hughes 2003, sl. 4.

69 Trendall 1959, str. 49, br. 128.



seen on the Issaeon example, is typical of Alto Adriatico vase painting. However, smaller palmettes under skyphoi or krater handles also appear in the Sicilian, Paestan and Campanian red-figure styles.<sup>70</sup> A triangular and curling floral pattern which frames the main scene on one side of the Issaeon oinochoe also appears in similar form over a somewhat larger surface between the 'door' and large palmette. I was not able to find exact analogies to this pattern, which adds to the uniqueness of the style, but it is noteworthy that in the Campanian style we find triangular floral motifs that may, perhaps, again be taken as an indication of influences from that area.<sup>71</sup>

In an attempt to date the oinochoe from Issa, we have to take into consideration all of the elements discussed above, including the contextual analysis. Coming back to the main topic, it occurred fairly late in Middle Comedy, thus already near the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The man in the scene is shown without a phallus, which points to the possibility that on the original that was used as model, it must have already been small if not missing completely. The disappearance of phalli is connected to the emergence of New Comedy and the scenes inspired thereby.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, the man appears to have lost his beard as well, which can be taken as further evidence for the latter. Keeping this in mind, as well as the dated analogies to this form of oinochoe (while also allowing some delay in transmission), the probable date should be set close to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Can the contextual evidence back this assumption? The rest of the pottery assemblage encompasses a lebes gamikos (red-figure), two oinochoai (*Gnathia*), a pelike (*Gnathia*), an olpe (plain painted), two skyphoi (black glazed), a saucer (black glazed), a lekythos (red-figure) and a bottle (black-glazed?).

Based on the results of a stylistic and morphological analysis, these vessels can be dated to the period between the last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> and beginning-first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, the con-

javljaju se također u crvenofiguralnom stilu Sicilije, Pesta i Kampanije.<sup>70</sup> Sličan trokutasti i uvojitni cvjetni uzorak koji s jedne strane uokviruje glavni prikaz na isejskoj enohoji pojavljuje se i na nešto većoj površini između "vrata" i velike palmete. Nisam uspjela pronaći precizne analogije za taj uzorak, što pridonosi jedinstvenosti stila, ali vrijedi napomenuti da u kampanском stilu pronalazimo trokutaste cvjetne motive koji možda mogu biti uzeti kao indikacije utjecaja iz tog područja.<sup>71</sup>

U pokušaju datiranja enohoje iz Ise treba u obzir uzeti sve opisane elemente, uključujući kontekstualnu analizu. Vratimo li se na glavnu temu, ona se pojavljuje prilično kasno u srednjoj komediji, tako da se već približavamo polovini IV. st. pr. Kr. Muškarac je prikazan bez falusa, što nas navodi na uvjerenje da je original koji je poslužio kao model već morao biti malen ako ga je uopće bilo. Nestanak falusa povezan je s pojavom nove komedije i scena inspiriranih unutar nje.<sup>72</sup> K tome, muškarac izgleda kao da je izgubio i bradu, što se može smatrati dodatnim dokazom za navedeno. Imajući na umu sve navedeno, datirane analogije oblika enohoje kao i dopuštanje određene odgode prijenosa, vjerojatni datum treba postaviti bliže kraju IV. st. pr. Kr. Mogu li kontekstualni dokazi to potvrditi? Ostatak keramike uključuje svadbeni lebet; crvenofiguralni), dvije enohoje (*Gnathia*), peliku (*Gnathia*), olpu (obično oslikana), dva skifa (crnopremazana), pliticu (crnopremazana), lekit (crvenofiguralni) i bocu (crnopremazana?).

Na temelju rezultata stilske i morfološke analize te se posude mogu datirati u razdoblje između posljednje trećine IV. i početka prve četvrtine III. st. pr. Kr.<sup>73</sup>

70 E.g. for palmettes on the skyphos of the Sicilian Manfria group, see Green 2012, p. 302, for the Paestan example, see the calyx krater attributed to Astaes in Trendall 1967, p. 46, no. 65, and for the Campanian example, see the krater from the Libation Painter (350-325 BC) in Trendall 1975.

71 For example, see the floral pattern in Trendall 1989, p. 158, fig. 7, d.

72 Green 2001, p. 60.

73 The two other red-figure vessels, a lebes gamikos and a lekythos, should be dated to the last third and near the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. *Gnathia* oinochoe no. 2 has been attributed to the group Eliza Lanza called *ramo secco con foglie a punti*, which was produced at the end

70 Npr. o palmetama na skifima sicilske grupe Manfria vidi Green 2012, str. 302, o primjeru iz Pesta vidi kaležasti krater atribuiran *Astaesu* u Trendall 1967, str. 46, br. 65, a o kampanском primjeru vidi krater slikara Libation (350. - 325. g. pr. Kr.) u Trendall 1975.

71 Kao primjer vidi cvjetni uzorak u Trendall 1989, str. 158, sl. 7, d.

72 Green 2001, str. 60.

73 Ostale dvije crvenofiguralne posude, svadbeni lebet i lekit, trebaju biti datirane u posljednju trećinu i prema kraju IV. st. pr. Kr. *Gnathia* enohoja br. 2 atribuirana je skupini koju Eliza Lanza naziva *ramo secco con foglie a punti*, koja je izrađena krajem IV. st. pr. Kr., vjerojatno u Tarantu. *Gnathia* enohoja 3 vrlo je bliska skupini Laurel Spray, ali je oblik te vaze nešto drugačiji. Kako sugerira E. Lanza, kojoj sam zahvalna za taj komentar, ona je vjerojatno izrađena u zasad neutvrđenoj regionalnoj radionici pod utjecajem mesapijske produkcije (Lanza, osobna komunikacija). Opći oblik pelike br. 5 u nekim aspektima podsjeća na *Gnathiu* iz Pesta, kao što je i izbor lovoru na stražnjoj strani vrata. Međutim, oblik pelike također nosi analogije iz regije Epir. Boca

textual evidence backs up the proposed dating for the oinochoe. However, it remains unknown which of the vessels should be associated with which burial, and it is challenging to even define the assemblage of the last burial. In the case of the latter, based on the documented position of the lekythos in proximity to the skull and oinochoe no. 2 positioned on the chest, they appear to be a part of that assemblage. The situation is more unclear in the northern part of the grave, where most of the pottery was found. The youngest pot in the overall assemblage is a bottle whose shape corresponds to the beginning and first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. This chronology indicates that the bottle should, in any case, also be associated with the youngest burial. Since our oinochoe was found next to it, it leads to the conclusion that their placement was contemporaneous, leaving open the possibility for an early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC production date.<sup>74</sup> However, one may ask if all of the pottery from grave 168 should be associated with the final burial? This would imply

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of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, probably in Taranto. The Gnathia oinochoe 3 is very close to the Laurel Spray group, but the shape of the vase is slightly different. As suggested by Lanza, to whom I am grateful for this observation, it probably comes from some as-yet unidentified regional production, under Messapian influence (Lanza, personal communication). The overall shape of pelike no. 5 in some respects recalls the Paestan Gnathia, as does the choice of laurel on the neck on the reverse. However, its form also has analogies from the Epirus region. Bottle no. 11 may have been made in Gnathia style, although the painted decoration has not been preserved and it might have been only black-glazed. In any case, it should be dated to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Two skyphoi, no. 7 and 8, from which one was only black-glazed, and the other may have had some additional decoration, both Attic type A imitations, can be dated to the last third or near the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, perhaps even the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The black-glazed saucer could be found in southern Italy during the later 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and has therefore been dated accordingly. The only plain painted vessel, olpe no. 6, has finds analogies in 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC south Apulian *a fasce* production. A detailed description of and analogies to these vessels are for now available in the unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Ugarković 2015, pp. 225, 233, 235, 259-261, 264, 266-268, 292-293, 330-331, 341, 349, 360-361, 379, 448-449, 452-453, CF 7, CF 11, GN 2, GN 4, GN 31, GN 84, CP 14, CP 15, CP 50, OS 2.

74 Although, the association of the oinochoe and bottle appears likely, caution should be exercised here because some graves were discovered filled with water and objects had floated in them and changed their original position, while the position of some objects was disturbed by small burrowing animals.

Kontekstualni dokazi stoga podupiru ranije predloženo datiranje enohoje. I dalje međutim nije poznato koju od posuda treba povezati s kojim pokopom, a izazov predstavlja i utvrđivanje grobnih predmeta posljednje sahrane. U drugom slučaju, na temelju njihova dokumentiranog položaja, lekit u blizini lubanje i enohoja broj 2 smješteni na prsima izgledaju kao dio te cjeline. Situacija je nejasnija na sjevernoj strani groba, gdje je pronađen veći dio keramike. Najmlađa posuda u sveukupnoj cjelini je boca čiji oblik odgovara početku i prvoj četvrtini III. st. pr. Kr. Ova kronologija upućuje na to da je boca u svakom slučaju morala biti povezana s najmlađim pokopom. Budući da je naša enohoja pronađena uz nju, postavlja se pitanje jesu li položene istodobno, čime ostaje otvorenom mogućnost da se radi o izradi početkom III. st. pr. Kr.<sup>74</sup> Moglo bi se međutim postaviti pitanje treba li sva keramika iz groba 168 biti povezana s posljednjim pokopom, što bi upućivalo na to da su prilozii odloženi tijekom prethodnih pokopa uklonjeni? Ili, što je izglednije da su prethodne cjeline gurnute prema sjevernoj strani groba, zajedno s ostacima skeleta?<sup>75</sup> U svakom slučaju, dosad se pestanska posuda iz posljednje četvrtine IV. st. pr. Kr. pripisana slikaru iz Napulja smatrala jednim od najmlađih primjeraka 'flijak vaze'.<sup>76</sup> No u svjetlu ovih novih dokaza čini se da taj status treba pripisati enohoji iz Ise, čime bi ona postala jednim od najkasni-

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br. 11 mogla je biti izrađena *Gnathia* stilom, iako oslikana dekoracija nije sačuvana i mogla je imati samo crni premaz. U svakom slučaju, treba biti datirana u prvu četvrtinu III. st. pr. Kr. Dva skifa, br. 7 i 8, od kojih je jedan imao samo crni premaz, a drugi mogao biti dodatno dekoriran, oba imitacije atičkog tipa A, mogu se datirati u posljednju trećinu ili prema kraju IV. st. pr. Kr., možda u početak III. st. pr. Kr. Plitica s crnim premazom može se pronaći u južnoj Italiji tijekom kraja IV. st. pr. Kr. te je stoga tako i datirana. Jedina jednostavno obojana posuda, olpe (vrč) br. 6 analogna je *a fasce* izradi južne Apulije III. st. pr. Kr. Detaljan opis i analogije tih posuda zasad su dostupni u neobjavljenoj doktorskoj disertaciji Ugarković 2015, str. 225, 233, 235, 259-261, 264, 266-268, 292-293, 330-331, 341, 349, 360-361, 379, 448-449, 452-453, CF 7, CF 11, GN 2, GN 4, GN 31, GN 84, CP 14, CP 15, CP 50, OS 2.

74 Premda se povezanost enohoje i boce čini vjerojatnom, treba biti oprezan jer su neki grobovi pri otkrivanju bili puni vode pa su predmeti plutali i mijenjali svoje prvotne položaje; položaj nekih predmeta promijenile su pak male podzemne životinje.

75 Čini se da se radi o drugom slučaju, ali temeljitija rasprava o ovoj temi nužno bi vodila do uvođenja drugih dokaza te će se stoga detaljno obraditi drugdje.

76 Trendall 1989, str. 206.

that goods from the previous burials were removed, or what appears to be more likely former assemblages were pushed to the northern part of the grave together with skeletal remains?<sup>75</sup> In any case, until now, the Paestan vessel of the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC attributed to the Painter of Naples was considered one of the youngest examples of a 'phylax vase'.<sup>76</sup> However, in light of this new evidence, it seems that this position should be given to the oinochoe from Issa, thus making it one of the most recent, if not the most recent example of a red-figure vessel with a comic scene.

We have seen that the discussed oinochoe does not belong to any of the defined painting styles, but is a hybrid product manufactured under different influences. It is clear we are not able, at least at this point, to attribute it to any known Painters, but can we at least associate it with a workshop from a specific locality or even area? This question remains unanswered. But, at least for a moment, we have to consider the possibility of a local, Issaeian, provenance. The current state of research points to Dyrrhachium (Durrës in modern Albania) as the only eastern Adriatic ceramic workshop that produced red-figure ware.<sup>77</sup> Although certain stylistic elements of a red-figure fish plate that was found in Vlaška njiva grave 66 and a known example from Dyrrhachium show some similarities in the way south Italian and Athenian elements were combined, such a connection cannot be established with the oinochoe in question.<sup>78</sup> Previous studies of red-figure pottery from Vis (Martvilo necropolis) did not reveal evidence for the possibility of local production.<sup>79</sup> The study of Gnathia ware indicated that the Issaeian production of fine ceramic tableware commenced at around the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, B. Kirigin pointed out the possibility that e.g. pithoi were already produced in Issa toward the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>81</sup>

jih primjeraka, ako ne i najkasniji primjerak crvenofiguralne posude s komičnim prikazom.

Vidjeli smo da ova enohoja ne pripada ni jednom od utvrđenih slikarskih stilova, već je hibridni proizvod izrađen pod različitim utjecajima. Jasno je da ga, barem u ovom trenutku, ne možemo pripisati ni jednom od poznatih slikara, ali možemo li ga barem povezati s radionicom iz nekog određenog mjesta ili barem područja? Odgovor na to pitanje i dalje je nedostupan. No moramo, barem na trenutak, razmotriti mogućnost lokalnog, isejskog podrijetla. Trenutačno stanje istraženosti pokazuje da je u današnjem Draču u Albaniji bila jedina istočnojadranska keramička radionica koja je izrađivala crvenofiguralnu keramiku.<sup>77</sup> Iako neki stilski elementi crvenofiguralnog ribljeg tanjura pronađenoga u grobu 66 s Vlaške njive i poznati primjer iz Drača upućuju na određene sličnosti u načinu na koji su kombinirani južnoitalski i atenski elementi, takva se veza ne može utvrditi za predmetnu enohoju.<sup>78</sup> Prethodne studije crvenofiguralne keramike s Visa (nekropola Martvilo) nisu zasad dale dokaz moguće lokalne izrade.<sup>79</sup> Proučavanje *Gnathia* keramike ukazalo je na isejsku izradu finoga stolnog posuda koja je počela oko sredine III. st. pr. Kr.<sup>80</sup> Istodobno, B. Kirigin ističe vjerojatnost da su npr. pitosi izrađivani u Isi već pred kraj IV. st. pr. Kr.<sup>81</sup> Ovdje valja spomenuti da nedavne mineraloške i kemijske analize nekoliko uzoraka Alto Adriatico keramike iz kasnog IV. st. pr. Kr., iz grobova nekropole Vlaška njiva, upućuju na mogućnost lokalne izrade.<sup>82</sup> Dokaže li se to, mogli bismo zamisliti da enohoja s crvenofiguralnom komičnom dekoracijom pripada istom razdoblju, kao jedan od najstarijih primjera "pokušaja i pogreške" u nastojanju lokalne izrade keramike, možda čak napravljenom prema narudžbi za potrebe pronađenog pokopa ili prije njega. To bi bilo u doba kad je izrada crvenofiguralne keramike na jugu Italije već polako posustajala i prestajala, a isejska je keramička proizvodnja, ako je u to doba postojala, vjerojatno slijedila taj trend, čime se može objasniti razlog zbog

75 It appears to be the case of the latter, but a more thorough discussion on this topic would necessarily lead to the introduction of other evidence, and will therefore be covered in greater detail elsewhere.

76 Trendall 1989, p. 206.

77 For red-figure pottery from Dyrrhachium, see Hidri 2005; Hidri 2011.

78 Ugarković 2013, p. 94.

79 According to M. Miše, all red-figure pottery from Vis (Martvilo necropolis) should be attributed to the last phase of south-Italian production in the latter half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, with one from Sicilian production (Miše 2012, pp. 232, 233).

80 For insights into local Issaeian ceramic production, see Čargo and Miše 2010 and the bibliography cited therein, and for a recent study of local Issaeian Gnathia ware, see Miše 2010; Miše 2013.

81 Kirigin, personal communication.

77 O crvenofiguralnoj keramici iz Drača vidi Hidri 2005; Hidri 2011.

78 Ugarković 2013, str. 94.

79 Prema M. Miše svu crvenofiguralnu keramiku iz Visa (nekropola Martvilo) treba atribuirati posljednjoj fazi južnoitalske proizvodnje u drugoj polovini IV. st. pr. Kr., uz jednu sicilske proizvodnje (Miše 2012, str. 232, 233).

80 Detaljnije o lokalnoj isejskoj izradi keramike vidi Čargo, Miše 2010 i ondje navedenu literaturu, a o nedavnoj studiji lokalne isejske *Gnathia* keramike vidi Miše 2010; Miše 2013.

81 Kirigin, osobna komunikacija.

82 Šegvić *et al.* 2016, str. 45.



At this juncture, it is worth mentioning that recent mineralogical and chemical analysis of several samples of late 4<sup>th</sup>-century BC Alto Adriatico ware from graves in the Vlaška njiva necropolis suggest that these may have been manufactured locally.<sup>82</sup> If this is proven correct, one can perceive the oinochoe with a red-figure comic decoration that belongs to the same period as one of the oldest 'trial-and-error' attempts at local ceramic manufacture, perhaps even custom-made for the needs of the discovered burial or prior to that. That would be at the time when the production of red-figure pottery in southern Italy was already slowly diminishing and on its way out, and Issaeian ceramic production, if it existed at the time, would conceivably follow these trends, which could explain why there is little other evidence. Having said this, but also given the lack of concrete evidence, for now we can only safely conclude that the oinochoe must have been produced in one of the regional workshops, perhaps Issaeian, and perhaps some other, possibly even currently unknown workshop, but its exact provenance remains, for now, within the realm of speculation.

In any case, considering the combination of different elements, the comic scene that decorated the oinochoe was a unique adaptation of a known motif. This phenomenon is not unknown. Copying and adopting representations of comedy is something known already from the time of Menander and Middle Comedy, when such scenes survived for at least six centuries after their original creation.<sup>83</sup> Such a process shows the popularity of the scenes in question as an embedded cultural trait. In our case, we can think of an original that was made in Taranto, adaptations in Campania and Sicily, and finally an adaptation in Issa or some other unidentified locality (that ended up at Issa) that was influenced, conceivably, by all of the previously-noted styles. Contacts between Campania and Issa at the time have not been very well studied, although there are some coins and pottery finds that can be taken as evidence for their direct or indirect existence.<sup>84</sup> What can be added is that links

kojeg ima tako malo drugih dokaza. Rekavši to, ali također s obzirom na nedostatak konkretnih dokaza, zasad možemo samo sigurno zaključiti da je enohoja morala biti izrađena u jednoj od regionalnih radionica, možda isejskoj, i možda nekoj drugoj za koju možda još nikad nismo čuli, ali njezino podrijetlo zasad se ne može precizno utvrditi.

U svakom slučaju, uzimajući u obzir kombinaciju različitih elemenata, komični prikaz koji ukrašava enohiju jedinstvena je adaptacija poznatog motiva. Taj fenomen nije nepoznat. Kopiranje i usvajanje prikazivanja komedije nešto je s čime smo upoznati već od vremena Menandera i srednje komedije, kad su takve scene preživjele barem šest stoljeća nakon izvornika.<sup>83</sup> Takav proces pokazuje popularnost tih scena koje su integrirane u kulturne odlike. U našem slučaju, možemo razmišljati o izvorniku koji je napravljen u Tarantu, adaptiran u Kampaniji i na Siciliji te konačno adaptiran u Isi ili nekom drugom, poznatom lokalitetu (koji je završio u Isi) pod utjecajem, pretpostavlja se, svih navedenih stilova. Kontakti između Kampanije i Ise tog vremena nisu podrobno proučeni, iako je nađeno nekoliko komada novca i keramike koji se mogu smatrati dokazom njihova izravnog ili neizravnog postojanja.<sup>84</sup> Tome se može dodati da su veze od sjeverne Apulije do Kampanije (većinom putem moderne ceste) prilično snažne, a kontakti preko Jadrana između sjeverne Apulije i Ise, kao što je već zamijećeno, učestali, vjerojatno čak i redoviti.<sup>85</sup> Mogući sicilski utjecaj može se, zanimljivo je, povezati s pretpostavljenim sirakuškim podrijetlom Ise, a kontakti između dvaju otoka dokumentirani su

82 Šegvić *et al.* 2016, p. 45.

83 Green 2015, p. 60.

84 For a coin from Velia dated to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC that was found in grave 29 of the Vlaška njiva necropolis, see Bonačić Mandinić 2014, p. 215. The Ancient Coin Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Split holds another five examples of Velia coins, without a certain provenance, but said to have come from central Dalmatia (Bonačić Mandinić 2014, p. 207, footnote 29 and the bibliography cited therein). According to Miše, two pelikai, one from grave 3/1976 of the Martvilo necropolis, and one from a grave at the palm nursery in Vis, show similarities in form to the

83 Green 2015, str. 60.

84 O novcu iz Velije datiranom u prvu polovinu IV. st. pr. Kr., koji je pronađen u grobu 29 nekropole Vlaška njiva, vidi Bonačić Mandinić 2014, str. 215. Zbirka antičkog novca u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu sadrži još pet primjeraka novca iz Velije, bez sigurnog podrijetla, ali za koje se smatra da su iz središnje Dalmacije (Bonačić Mandinić 2014, str. 207, bilješka 29 i ondje navedena literatura). M. Miše tvrdi da su dvije pelike, jedna iz groba 3/1976 nekropole Martvilo i druga iz groba kod rasadnika palmi u Visu, oblikom slične takozvanim pelikama iz Pesta, ali autorica spominje i mogućnost lokalnog podrijetla na temelju dokaza o lošem pečenju (Miše 2010, str. 109, bilješka 481 i ondje navedena literatura).

85 O *Gnathia* keramici uvezenoj iz Kanose (sjeverna Apulija), kao i o lokalnim isejskim *Gnathia* posudama koje su proizvedene pod njenim utjecajem vidi Miše 2010; Miše 2013.

from northern Apulia to Campania (roughly along the route of the modern road) were quite strong, and contacts across the Adriatic between northern Apulia and Issa, as already observed, were frequent, possibly even regular.<sup>85</sup> The possible Sicilian influence can be intriguingly linked to the presumed Syracusan origins of Issa, and contacts between the two islands have been documented in onomastic,<sup>86</sup> numismatic<sup>87</sup> and certain ceramic<sup>88</sup> evidence.

Can we interpret the phlyakes on the Issaeon oinochoe as a local taste for comedy? According to the scene classification made by O. Taplin, our motif belongs to the group of comic motifs that do not have significant bearing on the relationship between vase-painting and plays themselves.<sup>89</sup> In other words, it is a copy from another vase painting rather than a reflection of a staged performance. Nevertheless, the figures can still be considered comic actors, and it remains entertaining for the viewer. For now, there is no direct evidence on the existence of a theatre in Issa during Late Classical and Hellenistic times.<sup>90</sup> The

onomastičkim,<sup>86</sup> numizmatičkim<sup>87</sup> i rijetko keramičkim<sup>88</sup> dokazima.

Možemo li flijake na isejskoj enohoji tumačiti kao lokalni ukus za komediju? U skladu s klasifikacijom prikaza O. Taplina, naš motiv pripada skupini komičnih motiva koji nisu značajni za vezu između oslikavanja vaza i samih komedija.<sup>89</sup> Drugim riječima, prije će biti kopija slike s druge vaze negoli prikaz uprizorene komedije. Ipak, likovi se i dalje mogu smatrati komičarima i gledateljima su i dalje zabavni. Zasad nema izravnog dokaza o postojanju kazališta u Isi tijekom kasnoga klasičnog i helenističkog razdoblja.<sup>90</sup> Skromne ostatke rimskog kazališta, koji su i danas vidljivi na poluotoku Prirovo, objavio je Apolonije Zanella.<sup>91</sup> Branimir Gabričević je međutim tvrdio da je to vjerojatno nastavak ranijega, grčkoga kazališta.<sup>92</sup>

Iako nema pisanih, arhitektonskih ni drugih materijalnih ostataka koji bi potvrdili postojanje grčkoga kazališta u Isi, postoje neki neizravni dokazi koji se mogu smatrati indicijom da su Isejci u najmanju ruku bili upoznati s kazališnim svijetom. Primjerice, postoje indicije koje mogu potvrditi popularnost kulta Dioniza koji je, prema grčkoj religiji i mitologiji, upravljao carstvom kazališta, vina i smrti. Osobno ime Dioniz bilo je najčešće teoforičko ime zabilježeno u različitim epigrafskim spomenicima grčkih gradova u srednjoj Dalmaciji, uključujući Isu (kamene

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so-called Paestan pelikai, but the author mentions the possibility of local provenance due to evidence of poor firing (Miše 2010, p. 109, footnote 481 and the bibliography cited therein).

85 For Gnathia pottery imported from Canosa in northern Apulia, as well as local Issaeon Gnathian ware that was produced under these influences, see Miše 2010; Miše 2013.

86 On this, see Brunšmid 1898; Fraser 1993; Marohnić 2012.

87 For a Syracusan coin of Dionysius I (405-367 BC) issue, found in proximity to grave 12 at the Martvilo necropolis see Kirigin, Marin 1985, pp. 48, 49, while for the issue of a Hiero II (274-216 BC) coin, recovered from trench 7 of the Vlaška njiva necropolis, see Bonačić Mandinić 2014, p. 216, no. 7. Additionally, five coins from the Zanella collection are also from Syracuse (Bonačić Mandinić, Visoná 2002, pp. 333, 334, no. 4-8). One coin from Alaesa in Sicily was found on Vlaška njiva, while another one comes from the Zanella collection, Bonačić Mandinić, Visoná 2002, p. 333, no. 2; Bonačić Mandinić 2014, pp. 204, 215, 216, no. 5. Another coin is a Mamertine issue of Messina, datable after 288 BC (Bonačić Mandinić 2014, pp. 203, 216, no. 6).

88 For a lebes gamikos attributed to the Lentini Manfria group, see Miše 2012, p. 234; for a bottle and pyxis from the Stonca grave dated to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and attributed to the Sicilian workshops, see Miše, Touloumtzidou 2016, pp. 307-308. Additionally, some vessels from the Vlaška njiva necropolis, for example the plain painted pyxis from child's grave 11, have analogies in Sicilian products.

89 Taplin 1993, p. 34.

90 Kirigin 2010a, p. 120.

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86 Vidi Brunšmid 1898; Fraser 1993; Marohnić 2012.

87 O pitanju sirakuškog novca Dioniza I. (405. - 367. g. pr. Kr.), pronađenog u blizini groba 12 nekropole Martvilo vidi Kirigin, Marin 1985, str. 48, 49, a o pitanju novca Hierona II. (274. - 216. g. pr. Kr.), iz sonde 7 nekropole Vlaška njiva, vidi Bonačić Mandinić 2014, str. 216, br. 7. Dodatno, pet komada novca iz zbirke Zanella također su iz Sirakuze (Bonačić Mandinić, Visoná 2002, str. 333, 334, br. 4-8). Jedna kovanica iz Alaese na Siciliji pronađena je na Vlaškoj njivi, dok je druga iz zbirke Zanella (Bonačić Mandinić, Visoná 2002, str. 333, br. 2; Bonačić Mandinić 2014, str. 204, 215, 216, br. 5). Još jedan komad novca može se vezati uz Marmentince iz Messane, a može se datirati nakon 288. g. pr. Kr. (Bonačić Mandinić 2014, str. 203, 216, br. 6).

88 Za svadbeni lebet atribuiran skupini Lentini Manfria vidi Miše 2012, str. 234; za bocu i piksidu datirane u početak III. do sredine III. st. pr. Kr., iz groba Stonca, atribuirane sicilskim radionicama, vidi Miše, Touloumtzidou 2016, str. 307-308. Dodatno, neke posude iz nekropole Vlaška njiva, primjerice jednostavno obojana piksida iz dječjega groba 11, nalaze analogije u sicilskim izradama.

89 Taplin 1993, str. 34.

90 Kirigin 2010a, str. 120.

91 Zanella 1893, str. 72-77.

92 Gabričević 1981.

modest remains of a Roman theatre, which are today still visible on Prirovo Peninsula, were published by Apolonije Zanella.<sup>91</sup> However, Branimir Gabričević argued that these were probably a continuation of an earlier, Greek theatre.<sup>92</sup>

Although there are no written, architectural or other material remains that would speak in favour of Greek theatre in Issa, there is some circumstantial evidence that could be considered an indication that the Issaeans were, at least, familiar with the world of theatre. For example, there are indications that may speak of the popularity of the cult of Dionysus who, according to Greek religion and mythology, directed the realms of theatre, wine and death. The personal name Dionysos was far the most frequent theophoric name recorded in different epigraphic monuments in Greek cities in central Dalmatia, including Issa (stone grave stelae from the Martvilo necropolis) and its settlement on the island of Korčula.<sup>93</sup> The representation of Dionysos and his attributes (grapes and the kantharos) have been documented on coins that were minted in Issa,<sup>94</sup> while the choice of motifs that were used to decorate locally produced Gnathia pottery, such as wine, ivy and theatrical masks, also belong to the sphere of Dionysus and theatre (in the case of masks).<sup>95</sup> The choice for some of these motifs comes as no surprise, since the production and export of wine were a vital branch of the Issaeian economy.<sup>96</sup> Further evidence of familiarity with the world of theatre comes in the form of a terracotta theatrical mask that was discovered in a grave in the Martvilo necropolis (fig. 8).<sup>97</sup> It was a grave of a child that came to light during the 1979 excavations.<sup>98</sup> Originally, masks for

grobne stele nekropole Martvilo) i njezino naselje na otoku Korčuli.<sup>93</sup> Prikazivanje Dioniza i njegovih atributa (grožđe i kantar) dokumentirano je na novcu iskovanom u Isi,<sup>94</sup> dok je izbor motiva koji su se koristili za ukrašavanje lokalno izrađene *Gnathia* keramike, kao što su vino, bršljan i kazališna maska, također pripadali sferi Dioniza i kazališta (u slučaju maski).<sup>95</sup> Izbor nekih od tih motiva ne iznenađuje budući da su proizvodnja i izvoz vina bili važna grana isejskoga gospodarstva.<sup>96</sup>

Dodatni dokaz o upoznatosti sa svijetom kazališta je terakota kazališne maske koja je otkrivena u jednom grobu nekropole Martvilo (sl. 8).<sup>97</sup> To je grob djeteta koji je otkriven tijekom iskapanja 1979. godine.<sup>98</sup> Izvorno, maske za potrebe uprizorenja komedije izrađivale su se od lana, pluta i drva te stoga nijedna nije sačuvana.<sup>99</sup> Ipak, možemo se osloniti na inačice od terakote i kamena kao i ilustracije na zidnim slikama kako bismo rekonstruirali njihov izgled i razvoj.<sup>100</sup> U ovom slučaju maska predstavlja ranohelenističkog mladića s uzdignutom obrvom; pripada atičkoj vrsti "Monuments Illustrating New Comedy" (artefakata koji ilustriraju novu komediju).<sup>101</sup> Maska je malena, 8,5 cm, i datirana u III. st. pr. Kr. Međutim, grob treba datirati kasnije, otprilike u II. st. pr. Kr., ali vjerojatno najranije oko druge četvrtine II. st. pr. Kr. Taj se zaključak temelji na stilskim i morfološkim značaj-

91 Zanella 1893, pp. 72-77.

92 Gabričević 1981.

93 According to the recent prosopographic and onomastic study conducted by J. Marohnić, the name Dionysos has been recorded 27 times (Marohnić 2012, p. 150).

94 Kirigin 1996, p. 101.

95 These, together with birds, were the main motifs used to decorate pottery during the first phase of local Issaeian Gnathia production as defined by M. Miše (Miše 2010, p. 130; Miše 2013). See also the mask on the oinochoe from the grave by the palm nursery in Vis in Čargo 2008, p. 108. To these we can add some examples of imported Apulian Gnathia pottery, found at Issa, also decorated with theatrical masks (Kirigin 1981; Kirigin 1986, p. 23, no. 44; Čargo 2007, pp. 29-30, no. 7; Miše 2010, p. 172, no. 8).

96 Kirigin *et al.* 2005.

97 The mask belongs to the Issa Archaeological collection on the island of Vis.

98 Grave 15 was a single burial of a child, it was on one side cut into bedrock, and constructed from an irregular stone block set vertically (on two sides) in combi-

93 Prema nedavnim prozopografskim i onomastičnim studijama J. Marohnić, ime Dioniz zabilježeno je 27 puta (Marohnić 2012, str. 150).

94 Kirigin 1996, str. 101.

95 One su, zajedno s pticama, glavni motivi korišteni za dekoriranje keramike tijekom prve faze lokalne isejske *Gnathia* keramike, kako definira M. Miše (Miše 2010, str. 130; Miše 2013). Vidi također masku na enohoji iz groba kod rasadnika palmi u Visu, Čargo 2008, str. 108. Tome možemo dodati neke primjere uvezene *Gnathia* keramike iz Apulije, pronađene u Isi, također dekorirane kazališnim maskama (Kirigin 1981; Kirigin 1986, str. 23, br. 44; Čargo 2007, str. 29-30, br. 7; Miše 2010, str. 172, br. 8).

96 Kirigin *et al.* 2005.

97 Maska je dio Isejske arheološke zbirke na Visu.

98 Grob 15 bio je dječji grob; s jedne strane bio je uklesan u živu stijenu i građen nepravilnim kamenim blokovima postavljenima okomito (s dvije strane) u kombinaciji s kamenim klesancima na drugim stranama (Cambi *et al.* 1981, str. 66). O maski vidi Kirigin 1986, str. 35, br. 238; Kirigin 1996, str. 104, AGH 2010, str. 195, br. 126.

99 Siede 2004.

100 Za 3. revidirano i prošireno izdanje MNC (*Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*) vidi Webster *et al.* 1995.

101 Webster *et al.* 1995, br. 1AT 49.



the purpose of comedy performances were made from linen, cork and wood. As a consequence, none have been preserved.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, we can rely on terracotta and stone versions as well as illustrations on wall paintings to reconstruct their appearance and development.<sup>100</sup> In this case, it represents an Early Hellenistic youth with a raised brow, belonging to the Attic type as noted in *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*.<sup>101</sup> The mask is small, of 8.5 cm, and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The grave should, however, be dated later, broadly to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, but probably to roughly the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC at the earliest. This conclusion is based on the stylistic and morphological characteristics of the oinochoe that was, as one of the grave goods, deposited in the same grave.<sup>102</sup> Terracotta models of actors and paraphernalia belonging to the comic stage, including comic masks, have been found in graves and chthonic sanctuaries at a number of sites in Magna Graecia.<sup>103</sup> Their appearance in the graves in Taranto, most commonly during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, has been interpreted as a confirmation of the rising popularity of comedy driven by the emergence of New Comedy.<sup>104</sup> The deposition of such objects during burials, for example in the case of the island of Lipari, whence an impressive and often unique amount of examples emerged, has been explained by Luigi Bernabò Brea in eschatological terms, more specifically as the evidence of the performance of Dionysian mysteries.<sup>105</sup> Such a custom of funerary deposition was certainly not restricted to the mentioned area, but it seems that the connection between the experience of comedy and death, in other words between the comic and the chthonic, as

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nation with dressed stones on the other sides (Cambi *et al.* 1981, p. 66). For mask see Kirigin 1986, p. 35, no. 238; Kirigin 1996, p. 104, AGH 2010, p. 195, no. 126.

99 Siede 2004.

100 For third revised and enlarged edition of MNC (*Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*), see Webster *et al.* 1995.

101 Webster *et al.* 1995, no. 1AT 49.

102 Besides the terracotta mask, two other goods are said to have been found within the same grave, a terracotta fragment of a model boat, and the aforementioned Gnathia-style oinochoe (Cambi *et al.* 1981, pl. 25; Kirigin 1986, p. 35, no. 237). For the shape and decoration analogies of the oinochoe, see the Issean production of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC described in Miše 2010; Miše 2013.

103 For a good overview of these sites, see Todisco 2005; Maclachlan 2012 and the bibliography cited therein.

104 Green 1991, p. 51.

105 Bernabò Brea 1981, pp. 21-27. For terracottas from Lipari, see also Bernabò Brea 1965; Webster 1965; Schwarzmaier 2011.



Sl. 8. Komična maska iz groba 15, preuzeto od Čargo 2004 (foto: Boris Čargo)

Fig. 8. Comedy mask from grave 15, taken from Čargo, 2004 (photo: Boris Čargo)

kama enohoje koja je, kao jedan od grobnih priloga, položena u isti grob.<sup>102</sup>

Terakota modeli glumaca i rekviziti koji pripadaju pozornici komedije, uključujući komične maske, pronađeni su u grobovima i podzemnim svetištima na brojnim lokacijama u *Magna Graecia*.<sup>103</sup> Njihova prisutnost u grobovima u Tarantu, najčešće iz III. i II. st. pr. Kr., tumači se kao potvrda uspona popularnosti komedije potaknute pojavom nove komedije.<sup>104</sup> Polaganje takvih predmeta tijekom ukopa, primjerice u slučaju otoka Lipari, odakle je dobivena impresivna i jedinstvena količina primjeraka, objasnio je Luigi Bernabò Brea u eshatološkom smislu, preciznije, kao dokaz za izvedbu dionizijskih misterija.<sup>105</sup> Takav običaj polaganja grobnih predmeta svakako nije bio

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102 Tvrdi se da su uz masku od terakote pronađena još dva predmeta u istom grobu - fragment modela broda od terakote i gore spomenuta enohoja izrađena u *Gnathia* stilu (Cambi *et al.* 1981, tab. 25; Kirigin 1986, str. 35, br. 237). O analogiji oblika i dekoracija enohoje vidi isejsku izradu II. st. pr. Kr. opisanu u Miše 2010; Miše 2013.

103 Dobar pregled tih lokacija vidi u Todisco 2005; Maclachlan 2012 i tamo navedenoj literaturi.

104 Green 1991, str. 51.

105 Bernabò Brea 1981, str. 21-27. O terakotama iz Lipara vidi također Bernabò Brea 1965; Webster 1965; Schwarzmaier 2011.

argued by Bonnie Maclachlan, was most tangible in that region.<sup>106</sup> Returning to the mask in question, the association of this kind of terracotta mask, as well as figurines of comic actors within children's graves was not uncommon - quite the contrary, in fact. For example, evidence from the funerary context of Greek cities in southern Italy, such as Taranto or Paestum, has established a close relationship between clay objects representing comic theatrical subjects and children.<sup>107</sup> Nikolaus P. Himmelman argued that such objects, produced in the workshops of Magna Graecia between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, were deposited in the graves of children as amulets and toys.<sup>108</sup> Daniel Graepler, who extensively studied the burial customs of the city of Taranto, connected such funerary depositions with burials of male children.<sup>109</sup> He has examined this evidence in the context of the cultural significance of Greek theatre in wider society, arguing that such objects were the embodiment of this important cultural practice in which these children never got an opportunity to participate.<sup>110</sup> However, as Luigi Todisco pointed out, the current evidence suggests the improbability that such goods were interments of only male children's graves, but were deposited within the graves of minors of the opposite sex as well.<sup>111</sup> Unfortunately, the sex of the individual buried with a comic mask in grave 15, remains, for now, unknown.<sup>112</sup>

Reconstruction and attempts at in-depth explanations of the Issaeian mortuary practices go beyond the scope of this work.<sup>113</sup> However, at least a brief outline of their main aspects as seen from grave 168, the funerary context of the first and only Issaeian so-called phlyax vase, should be sketched here. The grave is an intact funerary assemblage from the time of late 4<sup>th</sup>

ograničen na navedena područja, već se čini da je povezanost između iskustva komedije i smrti - drugim riječima, između komičnog i podzemnog, kako tumači Bonnie Maclachlan, bila u toj regiji izrazito materijalna.<sup>106</sup> Vraćajući se na našu masku, povezanost te vrste terakota maski, kao i figurica komičara s dječjim grobovima nije bila neuobičajena, naprotiv. Primjerice, dokaz iz pogrebnog konteksta grčkih gradova na jugu Italije, kao što su Taranto ili Pest, utvrdio je blisku vezu između glinenih predmeta koji predstavljaju kazališne komičarske subjekte i djetu.<sup>107</sup> Nikolaus P. Himmelman tvrdio je da su takvi predmeti, izrađeni u radionicama Velike Grčke između V. i III. st. pr. Kr., polagani u dječje grobove kao amuleti i igračke.<sup>108</sup> Daniel Graepler, koji je opsežno istraživao pogrebne običaje grada Taranta, povezo je takve pogrebne predmete s pokopima djece muškog spola.<sup>109</sup> Proučio je te dokaze u kontekstu kulturnog značenja grčkog kazališta u susjednom društvu, tvrdeći da su takvi predmeti utjelovljenje tog važnog kulturnog običaja; ta djeca, pak, nikad nisu dobila mogućnost sudjelovanja u njemu.<sup>110</sup> Međutim, kako je naglasio Luigi Todisco, sadašnji dokazi upućuju na to kako nije moguće da su takvi prilozili bili vezani samo uz grobove djece muškog spola, već su se polagali i u grobove djece suprotnog spola.<sup>111</sup> Nažalost, spol jedinke ukopane s komičnom maskom u grobu 15 zasad ostaje nepoznat.<sup>112</sup>

Rekonstrukcija i pokušaji temeljitog objašnjava- nja isejskih pogrebnih običaja nadilaze opseg ovog rada.<sup>113</sup> Ipak, ovdje treba barem ukratko navesti njihove glavne aspekte, kako proizlaze iz groba 168, i pogrebni kontekst prve i jedine isejske takozvane fli- jak vase. Grob je nedirnuta cjelina iz vremena kasnog IV. i ranog III. st. pr. Kr. Za njega je karakteristično

106 Maclachlan 2012, pp. 359, 361. It has been pointed out by the same author that the cult of Dionysus dominated in southern Italy, while the cult of Kore/Persephone and Demeter was more popular in Sicily.

107 Todisco 2005, p. 717.

108 Himmelmann 1994.

109 Graepler 1997, pp. 231-234.

110 D. Graepler pointed out that first visit of young males to theatre performances that were not only entertaining, but also critical of society and its traits, was some kinds of cultural 'initiation' whereby they entered a new phase of understanding society and made a step forward into adulthood (Graepler 1997, pp. 231-234).

111 Todisco 2005, p. 721.

112 An osteological analysis of skeletal remains from the Martvilo necropolis has been done, but not yet published.

113 Detailed insights into Issaeian mortuary activities in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC provided by an analysis of fresh material evidence that also includes our grave will be discussed elsewhere at greater length.

106 Maclachlan 2012, str. 359, 361. Ista autorica naglašava da je kult Dioniza dominirao južnom Italijom, dok je kult Kore/Perzefone i Demetre bio popularniji na Siciliji.

107 Todisco 2005, str. 717.

108 Himmelmann 1994.

109 Graepler 1997, str. 231-234.

110 D. Graepler napominje da je prvi posjet mladića kazališnim izvedbama, koje nisu bile samo zabavne, već krucijalne za društvo i njegov karakter, bio svojevrsna kulturna 'inicijacija' kojom bi započinjali novu fazu razumijevanja društva i učinili korak prema odrasloj dobi (Graepler 1997, str. 231-234).

111 Todisco 2005, str. 721.

112 Osteološka analiza ostataka skeleta iz nekropole Martvilo je obavljena, ali još nije objavljena.

113 Uvid u isejske pogrebne aktivnosti IV. i III. st. pr. Kr., dobiven analizom svježih materijalnih dokaza koji uključuju i naš grob, bit će potanje obrađen drugdje.

and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. It is characterized by more than one individual in a grave that was designed for a single burial, the position of at least one deceased head(s) facing south, and an earthen pit with partial stone architecture. The specific form of the latter, an oblong, ovoid pit with a cover made from approximately a dozen thin stone blocks of differing shapes with rough edges, is the only such example in both Issaeon necropolises.

However, a similar cover was documented on two other graves from the Vlaška njiva necropolis, as well as on one isolated grave documented in Stonca Bay.<sup>114</sup> According to the available bibliography, this type of grave architecture has no analogies in the documented contemporary graves on the Eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. On the other side, direct analogies appear on the island of Sicily, at several indigenous sites such as Assoro<sup>115</sup> or Troina.<sup>116</sup> These, too, included multiple burials, usually with three individuals. Such newly discovered connections to the customs of the Sicilian indigenous communities are indeed quite intriguing, especially since we can only speculate about all of the different ethnic and cultural identities of inhabitants that populated Issa at the time. However, in the context of presumed links between Syracuse and Issa, some caution should be exercised, as the Classical period necropolis of Syracuse has not yet been published, and consequently we still cannot speak of typical Syracusan mortuary customs in the time that preceded the establishment of Issa.<sup>117</sup> The custom of multiple consecutive burials was one of the traits of Issaeon interments.<sup>118</sup> Based on published information, at the Martvilo necropolis this custom was prac-

da je grob više jedinki, a dimenzijama je predviđen za jedan pokop; položaj glave najmanje jednog preminulog okrenut je prema jugu; to je zemljani grob s djelomičnom kamenom arhitekturom. Specifičan oblik, izdužena ovoidna jama s pokrovom sačinjenim od oko tuceta tankih kamenih blokova različitog oblika i grubih rubova, jedini je takav primjer u obje isejske nekropole.

Međutim, sličan je pokrov dokumentiran kod još dva istovremena groba s Vlaške njive te u jednom grobu izoliranom nešto istočnije, u uvali Stonca.<sup>114</sup> Prema dostupnoj bibliografiji, ta vrsta grobne arhitekture nema analogije u dokumentiranim suvremenim grobovima na istočnojadranskoj obali i u njezinom zaleđu.

S druge strane, izravne analogije pojavljuju se na otoku Siciliji, na nekoliko domorodačkih lokaliteta kao što su Assoro<sup>115</sup> ili Troina.<sup>116</sup> One također uključuju višestruko pokapanje, obično s tri jedinke. Takve novootkrivene poveznice s običajima autohtonih sicilskih zajednica uistinu su iznimno zanimljive, posebno zato što možemo samo spekulirati o svim različitim etničkim i kulturnim identitetima stanovnika koji su u to vrijeme naseljavali Isu. No u kontekstu pretpostavljene povezanosti Sirakuze i Ise treba biti oprezan, budući da sirakuška nekropola iz klasičnog doba još nije objavljena te zbog toga još uvijek ne možemo govoriti o tipičnim sirakuškim pogrebnim običajima u vrijeme koje je prethodilo osnivanju Ise.<sup>117</sup>

Practiciranje višestrukog uzastopnog pokapanja jedan je od odlika isejskog pogrebnog običaja.<sup>118</sup> Na nekropoli Martvilo, prema objavljenim informacijama, taj je običaj bio gotovo ekskluzivan, dokumenti-

114 Grave 148 was an earthen pit with partial stone architecture in the form of a single stone on shorter sides, while grave 49 was partially built into the bedrock in combination with irregular stone blocks (Ugarković 2015, pp. 77-78, 90-91). For the Stonca Bay grave, see Rapanić 1960, pp. 37, 38, Fig. 1. Although the cover appears to be of the same type, the rest of the grave architecture differs. While grave 168 from Vlaška njiva is an ovoid earthen pit, the grave in Stonca Bay had a dry-walled trapezoid form, built from smaller blocks of dressed stones in different shapes, set into the bedrock. For a further analysis of this grave and its assemblage, see Miše, Touloumtzidou 2016.

115 Morel 1966, pp. 246-247, 285.

116 Militello 1961, pp. 164, 363.

117 For example, one was discovered and investigated in Viale Santa Panagia, but remains unpublished (Musumeci 2006, p. 9).

118 This should be differentiated from contemporary multiple burials, where the single disposal method has been utilized, and also from double burials whose dynamic of occurrence is somewhat different.

114 Grob 148 također je jama u zemlji, ali s djelomičnom kamenom arhitekturom u vidu jednom kamenog klesanca na kraćim stranama, a grob 49 je načinjen u kombinaciji nepravilnih kamenih ploča i žive stijene (Ugarković 2015, str. 77-78, 90-91). Za grob u uvali Stonca vidi Rapanić 1960, str. 37, 38, sl. 1. Iako je pokrov naizgled iste vrste, ostatak grobne arhitekture se razlikuje. Dok je grob 168 u Vlaškoj njivi ovoidna zemljana jama, grob u uvali Stonca bio je trapezoidnog oblika u suhozidu, građen od manjih blokova obrađenog kamena različitih oblika, postavljenih u živu stijenu. O daljnjoj analizi tog te grobne cjeline vidi Miše, Touloumtzidou 2016.

115 Morel 1966, str. 246-247, 285.

116 Militello 1961, str. 164, 363.

117 Primjerice, jedna je otkrivena i istražena u Viale Santa Panagia, ali još nije objavljen (Musumeci 2006, str. 9).

118 To treba razlikovati od istovremenog višestrukog pokapanja, gdje se primjenjuje jedinstvena metoda ukapanja, kao i od dvostrukih pokopa čije su dinamika i pojavnost donekle drugačije.



tised almost exclusively, as it has been documented in stone graves interpreted as family tombs.<sup>119</sup>

The same practice was confirmed at the Vlaška njiva necropolis. However, there it appears not only in stone graves, but in earthen graves with partial stone architecture as well. Furthermore, it is far from an exclusive disposal method, and according to the preserved and documented graves in this particular necropolis it was only during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC that the ratio turned in favour of multiple burials. The reuse of the same grave architecture, from economic to other reasons embedded in the cultural identity of the community in question, has not been confined to the case of Issa in this period. Considering the fact that we are still not familiar with the mortuary customs of the Vis population prior to establishment of Issa, we are unable to confirm whether such practices were inherited from the locals. On one side this may well be plausible, as the geographically nearest earlier and partially contemporary graves from Vičja luka and Žaganj dolac, on the island of Brač, show clear evidence of such practice.<sup>120</sup>

This would align with the fact that such a custom was practiced by indigenous communities on the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland<sup>121</sup> and across the

ran u kamenim grobnicama koje se smatraju obiteljskima.<sup>119</sup>

Isti je običaj potvrđen na nekropoli Vlaška njiva. Ondje se, međutim, ne pojavljuje samo u kamenim grobnicama nego i u zemljanim grobovima s djelomičnom kamenom arhitekturom. Nadalje, daleko je to od jedinstvene metode pokapanja, a sudeći prema sačuvanim i dokumentiranim grobnim cjelinama na ovom ukopištu, samo tijekom III. st. pr. Kr. omjer je u korist višestrukih pokopa. Opetovano korištenje iste grobne arhitekture, zbog ekonomskih i drugih razloga uklopljenih u kulturni identitet predmetne zajednice, nije u ovom razdoblju ograničeno na slučaj Ise. Uzimajući u obzir činjenicu da još uvijek nismo upoznati s pogrebnim običajima viškog stanovništva prije osnivanja Ise, nismo u mogućnosti potvrditi jesu li takvi običaji naslijeđeni od lokalnog stanovništva. S jedne strane, to bi uistinu bilo moguće, budući da zemljopisno najbliži i djelomično suvremeni grobovi na lokalitetima Vičja luka i Žaganj dolac na otoku Braču daju jasne dokaze o takvim običajima.<sup>120</sup>

To bi bilo analogno činjenici da su takvi običaji primjenjivani u praksi autohtonih zajednica na istočnoj obali Jadrana i u njegovu zaleđu,<sup>121</sup> kao i širom

119 Kirigin 1985.

120 For the graves from Žaganj dolac dated to the late 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, see Marović 1971, especially grave 3, a stone cist, with 5 individuals, conceivably deposited in flexed position. For more detailed insights into 5<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC stone graves from Vičja Luka, see Barbarić 2006 and the older bibliography cited therein.

121 The first who connected this custom to Dalmatian indigenous communities was Branko Kirigin (Kirigin 1985). Besides the localities mentioned in footnote 121, for evidence of such practices from the central eastern Adriatic region, see the grave from Trcela near Vranjic on the central Dalmatian coast, dated to the earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age (early Delmat culture), with three individuals conceivably deposited in flexed position (Marović 1967, p. 6); from the hinterland, see the graves near Imotski (Bulić 1898), the 8<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC tomb from Potočani near Livno (Periša 2017, in press); the stone tombs of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC from Vašarovine near Livno (Čović, Mikić 1983; Marijan 1986, p. 28; Periša 1998); and two 7<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC tombs in Crvenice near Duvno (Čović 1969). Such practices have also been documented in the area south-east of the lower course of the Neretva River, see, for example, the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC tombs on flat terrain from Ston, Radmilja Konštica near Stolac, and Kačanj near Bileća in the hinterland, but also in burial mounds such as Grebnice, Grudine and Vranjevo selo (Marijan 2001, pp. 34-36, 153; Blečić Kavur, Milićević Cipek 2011 and the older bibliography therein). Further south

119 Kirigin 1985.

120 O grobovima u Žaganj dolcu iz VII. i VI. st. pr. Kr. vidi Marović 1971, posebno grob 3, kameni sanduk s 5 jedinki, vjerojatno položenih u zgrčenom položaju. Više pojedinosti o kamenim grobnicama iz Vičje luke V. - III. st. pr. Kr. vidi Barbarić 2006, i ondje navedenu stariju literaturu.

121 Ovaj običaj je s autohtonim dalmatinskim zajednicama prvi povezoao Branko Kirigin (Kirigin 1985). Osim lokaliteta spomenutih u bilješci 121, za dokaze o takvim običajima središnje istočne jadranske regije vidi grob u Trceli kraj Vranjica na srednjodalmatinskoj obali, datiran u raniju fazu kasnog brončanog doba (rana delmatska kultura), s tri jedinke, vjerojatno položene u zgrčenom položaju (Marović 1967, str. 6); iz zaleđa vidi grobnice blizu Imotskog (Bulić 1898), grobnicu iz VIII. do V. st. pr. Kr. u Potočanima kraj Livna (Periša 2017, u tisku), kamene grobnice iz VI. i V. st. pr. Kr. u Vašarovinama kraj Livna (Čović, Mikić 1983; Marijan 1986, str. 28; Periša 1998), dvije grobnice iz VII. i V. st. pr. Kr. u Crvenicama kraj Duvna (Čović 1969). Takav je običaj dokumentiran u području jugoistočno od donjeg toka Neretve; za primjer vidi grobnice iz V. st. pr. Kr. na ravninama iz Stona, Radmilja Konštica blizu Stolca i Kačnja kraj Bileće u zaleđu, ali također pogrebne humke kao što su Grebnice, Grudine i Vranjevo Selo (Marijan 2001, str. 34-36, 153; Blečić Kavur, Milićević Cipek 2011 i ondje navedenu stariju literaturu). Na južnom dijelu obale, od IV. do I. st. pr. Kr., pogrebni običaji u nekropoli Budva (Crna Gora) uključivali su samo uzastopne višestruke pokope (Marković 2012, str. 13). U sjevernoj Dalmaciji višestruki

Adriatic Sea, in the communities of southern Italy.<sup>122</sup> Such a disposal method was also not unknown to some cities in Greece, especially in the Peloponnesus and north-western Greece, although at the time it seems not to have been practiced in the Magna Graecia.<sup>123</sup> To this we might now add the newly discovered links with the indigenous communities in Sicily, where not only multiple burials were practiced at the time, but also precisely the same type of grave architecture as in grave 168 in Vlaška njiva was documented. In terms of chronology, in both the eastern and western Adriatic regions and their hinterlands, the available evidence suggested the earliest appearances of such a practice came from the central Dalmatian hinterland.<sup>124</sup> However, multiple successive burials were a common practice of indigenous Sicilian communities

Jadrana, u italskim zajednicama na jugu Italije.<sup>122</sup> Također, takav način pokapanja nije bio nepoznat u nekim grčkim gradovima, posebno na Peloponezu i u sjeverozapadnoj Grčkoj, premda se čini da se u to vrijeme nije prakticirao u Velikoj Grčkoj.<sup>123</sup> Tome sad možemo dodati najnovije otkrivene poveznice s autohtonim zajednicama na Siciliji, gdje ne samo da su u to vrijeme bila uobičajena višestruka pokapanja već je dokumentirana i grobna arhitektura potpuno istovjetna onoj groba 168 na lokalitetu Vlaška njiva. Što se tiče kronologije, i u istočnom i u zapadnom dijelu Jadrana te u njegovu zaleđu dostupni dokazi upućuju da najranije pojave takvih običaja dolaze iz srednjodalmatinskog zaleđa.<sup>124</sup> Međutim, višestruki uzastopni pokopi običaj su autohtonih sicilskih zajednica, ne samo tijekom cijeloga željeznog doba već i od ranog brončanog doba.<sup>125</sup> U svjetlu gore navedenih no-

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along the coast exclusively successive multiple burials were practiced in the Budva necropolis (Montenegro) from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (Marković 2012, p. 13). In northern Dalmatia, multiple burials in graves appear but are considered rare, especially in the earlier phases of Liburnian culture (Kukoč 2009, p. 44). However, they have been documented in the Dragišić necropolis from the end of 6<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (Brusić 2000; Kukoč 2009, p. 39, bibliography in footnote 65) but appear more common only in the last phase of Liburnian culture, see, for example, Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica and Nadin in Brusić 1976, p. 116; Brusić 1980; Brusić 2000; Kukoč 2009, pp. 45-46).

122 In the indigenous communities of Apulia, multiple successive burials began to appear in roughly the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and have been interpreted as the family burials of the upper social classes (Small 2014, pp. 23-27). Such disposal methods were documented in chamber tombs (*tombe a semicamera*), that toward the end of the same century BC in some parts of Daunia and Messapia developed into much larger *hypogea*, and graves carved into the bedrock, so-called cave tombs (*tomba a grotticella*), that are distributed unevenly, depending on the microlocal geology (Small 2014, pp. 23-27).

123 In the 4<sup>th</sup> and/or 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC such cases have been documented in the Peloponnese (e.g. for Argos, see Coleman Carter 1998, p. 109, footnote 7; for Asine see Hägg and Fossey 1980, pp. 98-99, 102-103; for Corinth, see Palmer 1964, p. 76; for Elis see Georgiadou 2005), Epirus (e. g. for Ambracia see Whitley 2005, p. 11) and Macedonia (e. g.; for Ai Makros see Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2009 or for Veroia see Allamani- Souris 1991, p. 82, P. 76).

124 Multiple successive burials in tombs built on flat terrain were typical for Delmatae culture area during the Iron Age (Periša 2017, in press). Moreover, the beginning of such a custom can even be traced to the Late Bronze Age; see, for example, the central grave in the Konjsko stone burial mound near Split, with evidence of multiple successive burials discussed in Periša 2017, in

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pokopi se pojavljuju, ali se smatraju rijetkima, posebno u ranijim fazama liburnske kulture (Kukoč 2009, str. 44). Međutim, dokumentirani su u nekropoli Dragišić s kraja VI. do III. st. pr. Kr. (Brusić 2000; Kukoč 2009, str. 39, literatura u bilješci 65, no češće se pojavljuju tek u posljednjoj fazi liburnske kulture; za primjer vidi Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica i Nadin u Brusić 1976, str. 116; Brusić 1980; Brusić 2000; Kukoč 2009, str. 45-46).

122 U autohtonim zajednicama Apulije višestruko uzastopno pokapanje počinju se pojavljivati oko sredine IV. st. pr. Kr. i tumače se kao obiteljski pokopi više društvene klase (Small 2014, str. 23-27). Takve metode pokapanja dokumentirane su u grobnim komorama (tal. *tombe a semicamera*), koje se krajem istog stoljeća u nekim područjima Daunije i Mesapije prerasle u daleko veće hipogeje i grobove uklesane u živu stijenu, takozvane grobove pećine (tal. *tomba a grotticella*), koji su neravnomjerno raspoređeni, ovisno o geologiji mikrolokacije (Small 2014, str. 23-27).

123 U IV. i III. st. pr. Kr. takvi su slučajevi dokumentirani na Peloponezu (npr. za Arg vidi Coleman Carter 1998, str. 109, bilješka br. 7; za Asine vidi Hägg i Fossey 1980, str. 98-99, 102-103; za Korint vidi Palmer 1964, str. 76; za Elis vidi Georgiadou 2005), u Epiru (npr. za Ambracia vidi Whitley 2005, str. 11) i Makedoniji (npr. za Ai Makros vidi Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2009 ili za Veroia vidi Allamani-Souris 1991, str. 82, T. 76).

124 Višestruki uzastopni pokopi u grobnicama na ravnom tlu tipični su za područje delmatske kulture tijekom čitavog željeznog doba (Periša 2017, u tisku). Štoviše, počeci takvog običaja mogu se slijediti čak do kasnog brončanog doba; primjerice, vidi središnji grob u kamenom grobnom humku Konjsko blizu Splita, s dokazima višestrukih uzastopnih pokopa, o kojima se govori u Periša 2017, u tisku. Zahvaljujem kolegi Darku Periši na razgovorima o ovoj temi i svim informacijama koje su proistekle iz toga.

125 Shepherd, 2005.

not only during the entire Iron Age, but also from the earlier Bronze Age.<sup>125</sup> Given the aforementioned new evidence in the type of grave architecture, as well as the known association between Syracuse and Issa, it is clear that contacts between the communities of the two islands, Vis and Sicily, should also be closely followed up in future investigations.<sup>126</sup>

Returning to the grave goods, from the functional perspective these can be grouped into three categories: tableware as part of a drinking set (oinochoai, skyphoi), ritual vessels (lebes gamikos, saucer) and small ointment containers (lekythos, bottle). Unfortunately, as discussed previously in the text, we cannot associate these with a specific individual. Consequently, we also cannot infer on this part of the mortuary custom practised for adults of explicit sex or age.<sup>127</sup> Based on his studies of grave assemblages from the Martvilo necropolis, Branko Kirigin suggested that for each individual, an oinochoe, pelike and skyphos were placed in the grave.<sup>128</sup> However, this is evidently not in fact the case for grave 168. We may assume, for example, that since there are three oinochoai and three cups, one of these could have been deposited with each of the three buried individuals. This leaves us with one lebes gamikos, pelike, saucer, lekythos and bottle that cannot be connected to a specific individual.<sup>129</sup> In any

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press. I thank colleague Darko Periša for conversations on this topic and all the information revealed within.

125 Shepherd 2005.

126 In any case, in order to understand this custom, an in-depth analysis of all available material evidence should be taken into account, from the mortuary sphere, but also from different facets of social organisation, including the performed cultural interaction which will be followed at length elsewhere.

127 Contemporary single burials from Issa have been documented only for children and men. In the cases of the latter, interments contained tableware e.g., an olpe and skyphos, or tableware and an ointment container (e.g., a skyphos and lekythos).

128 Kirigin 1985.

129 Lekythos and bottle are both ointment vessels, and since there are two of them, and two of the individuals from the grave are females, one could assume the connection. However, keeping in mind their position, that was discussed in the text, observations in footnote 74, as well as one grave from Issa that appears to have a lekythos in association with a male adult burial, it becomes clear we cannot make any safe conclusions. With other pottery it is even harder, as we can rely only on comparative studies from different localities, but the conclusion, nevertheless, stays the same. For examples, lebes gamikos is a ritual vessel usually associated with weddings and funerals. It was deposited as a grave good in a number of Greek (see in Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 209), western Greek (e. g. for

vih dokaza o vrsti grobne arhitekture, kao i poznatih veza između Sirakuze i Ise, jasno je da također treba pomno proučiti kontakte između zajednica tih dvaju otoka - Visa i Sicilije - u budućim istraživanjima.<sup>126</sup>

Grobni se prilozi funkcionalno mogu podijeliti u tri kategorije: stolno posuđe kao dio seta za piće (enochoja, skif), ritualne posude (svadbene lebet, plitica) i male posude za pomast (lekit, boca). Nažalost, kako je već objašnjeno, još uvijek ih ne možemo povezati s određenom jedinkom. Stoga ne možemo donositi ni zaključke o tom dijelu pogrebnih običaja vezanih uz odrasle osobe određenog spola ili dobi.<sup>127</sup> Na temelju svojih proučavanja sadržaja grobnih cjelina nekropole Martvilo Branko Kirigin sugerirao je da su za svaku jedinku u grob stavljeni po jedna enochoja, pelika i skif.<sup>128</sup> No to očito ne odgovara grobu 168. Primjerice, budući da se ondje nalaze tri enochoje i tri čaše, možemo pretpostaviti da je po jedna od njih mogla biti položena sa svakom od tri pokopane jedinke. No, pritom ostaju jedan svadbenu lebet, pelika, plitica, lekit i boca, koji se ne mogu povezati ni s jednom određenom jedinkom.<sup>129</sup> U svakom slučaju, to je prvi

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126 U svakom slučaju, da bismo shvatili taj običaj, trebalo bi u obzir uzeti dubinsku analizu svih dostupnih materijalnih dokaza, iz pogrebne sfere, ali također iz različitih aspekata organizacije društva, uključujući praktičnu kulturnu interakciju, koja će potanje biti obrađena drugdje.

127 Suvremeni pojedinačni pokopi iz Ise dokumentirani su samo za djecu i muškarce. U potonjim slučajevima pogreb je uključivao stolno posuđe, npr. olpe (vrč) i skif, ili posuđe i posudu za pomast (npr. skif i lekit).

128 Kirigin 1985.

129 I lekit i boca posude su za pomast, a budući da su dvije, a dvije jedinke iz groba su žene, mogla bi se pretpostaviti povezanost. Međutim, imajući u vidu njihov položaj, koji je opisan u tekstu, napomenama u bilješki 74, kao i jedan grob iz Ise u kojem s, kako se čini, nalazi lekit povezan s pokopom odraslog muškarca, postaje jasno da ne možemo sa sigurnošću donijeti zaključke. S drugom je keramikom čak i teže jer se možemo osloniti samo na komparativne studije s različitih lokaliteta, ali zaključak ipak ostaje jednak. Primjerice, svadbene lebet ritualna je posuda obično povezana s vjenčanjima i sprovodima. Polagao se kao grobni prilog na brojnim grčkim (vidi u Kurtz i Boardman 1971, str. 209), zapadnogrčkim (npr. za Meligunis Lipara u Bernabò-Brea i Cavalier 1965a, tav. CXII, 3 i 4 a, tomba 22, za Taranto u Lippolis 1994, str. 262; za Metaponto u Hall 1998, str. 188) te južnoitalskim i siciljskim autohtonim lokacijama (npr. za Assoro na Siciliji u Morel 1966, str. 250, sl. 31, 32; za Lucania Bianco 1994, str. 115; za Bari u Messapiji - južna Apulija u Labellarte i Desantis 1989, str. 191-192, tav. LXXIX, 2; za Samnij u Delle Corte 1928, str. 37). Dodatno, za one u Apoloniji u Albaniji vidi Grazia Amore 2010, str. 344, 393, 532,



case, this was the first discovery of a so-called phlyax vase in the graves from Issa, showing that such a practice was not unknown to Issaeans. Although a safe biological or social connection between the individuals buried in this grave cannot be established, there are indications that the graves in Issa used for multiple burials were, in fact, family tombs. If this was true, it is especially tempting in the case of grave 168 to imagine a buried man and a woman of similar age as a husband and wife, and a comic oinochoe as custom made vessel, either for the purpose of this burial, or as an object that belonged to them during their lives, and in this case reutilized during the burial in an attempt to honour the deceased and their lives in the style of a comedy. As Menander, an Athenian dramatist and poet, would have said in the recognisable parodic manner of the Greek New Comedy: "Marriage, if one will face the truth, is an evil, but a necessary evil".<sup>130</sup>

### Concluding remarks

The primary subject of this contribution is a detailed analysis of a previously unknown oinochoe with a comic scene and its funerary context, grave 168 from Vlaška njiva in Issa - modern day Vis. The oinochoe is especially intriguing as it is the first example of red-figure pottery with a comic decoration, a so-called phlyax vase, from the central and northern sections of the Eastern Adriatic (modern day Croatia). Based on an examination of its stylistic and morphological features, the oinochoe seems to have been made by combining influences from Apulia, Campania, Sicily, and the Alto Adriatico and/or other unidentified regional production styles. Consequently, in both of the aforementioned aspects it is a unique and hybrid ceramic product that emerged as a result of the dynamic cultural interactions in the central Mediterranean. Moreover, the oinochoe from Issa can be considered one

slučaj takozvane flijak vaze u grobovima Ise, što pokazuje da je takav običaj bio poznat njezinim stanovnicima. Iako se ne može sa sigurnošću utvrditi biološka ili društvena povezanost između jedinki pokopanih u tom grobu, postoje indicije da su grobovi u Isi, korišteni za višestruko pokapanje, zapravo bili obiteljski grobovi. Ako je to istina, poseban izazov u slučaju groba 168 je zamisao da su pokopani muškarac i žena slične dobi bili supružnici, a da je komična enohoja bila posuda izrađena po narudžbi u svrhu njihova pokopa, ili kao predmet koji im je pripadao tijekom života te je u tom slučaju ponovno korišten tijekom sahrane kao pokušaj odavanja počasti pokojniku/pokojnicima i njihovu životu u stilu komedije. Kao što bi rekao Menander, atenski dramatičar i pjesnik, u prepoznatljivom parodijskom stilu nove grčke komedije: "Brak, govoreći istinito, jest zlo, ali nužno zlo."<sup>130</sup>

### Zaključak

Glavna tema ovog rada je detaljna analiza prethodno nepoznate enohoje s komičnim prikazom i njezin pogrebni kontekst, iz groba 168 nekropole Vlaška njiva u Isi, današnjem Visu. Enohoja je posebno intrigantna zbog toga što je prvi primjerak crvenofiguralne keramike s komičnom dekoracijom, takozvana flijak vaza, iz središnjega i sjeveroistočnog Jadrana (današnja Hrvatska). Prema studiji njezinih stilskih i morfoloških značajki čini se da je enohoja izrađena kombinacijom utjecaja Apulije, Kampanije, Sicilije te gornjeg Jadrana i/ili drugih neidentificiranih regionalnih proizvođača. Stoga je, u oba gore navedena slučaja, to jedinstven i hibridan keramički proizvod izrađen kao rezultat dinamičkih kulturalnih interakcija u središnjoj sredozemnoj regiji. Štoviše, enohoja iz Ise može se smatrati jednim od posljednjih primjereka (ako ne i posljednjim primjerkom) crvenofiguralne keramike s komičnom dekoracijom, koja vjerojatno pripada samom kraju IV. st. pr. Kr. Međutim, regionalna radionica koja ju je izradila ostaje nepoznata. Mogućnost da ona pripada Isi, čak i ako u ovom trenutku nije potpomognuta čvrstim dokazom, po mojem se mišljenju ne bi smjela u cijelosti odbaciti. Glavni dekorativni komični prikaz žene koja grdi muškarca, vjerojatno svojeg supruga, iako je u osnovi apulskog podrijetla, vjerojatno je preuzet sa slika

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Meligunis Lipara in Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier 1965a, tav. CXII, 3 and 4 a, tomba 22, for Taranto in Lippolis 1994, p. 262; for Metaponto in Hall 1998, p. 188) and south Italian and Sicilian indigenous sites (e. g. for Assoro in Sicily in Morel 1966, p. 250, fig. 31, 32; for Lucania Bianco 1994, p. 115; for Bari in Messapia - south Apulia in Labellarte and Desantis 1989, pp. 191-192, tav. LXXIX, 2; for Samnium in Delle Corte 1928, p. 37). Additionally, for such in Apollonia in Albania see Grazia Amore 2010, pp. 344, 393, 532, or Ancona see Colivicchi 2002, pp. 92, 429. Although such ritual vessels are usually associated with burials of children of females, that this is not always the case is evidenced from examples in Metaponto (Hall 1998, p. 188).

<sup>130</sup> Menander, Unidentified fragment 651 [https://archive.org/stream/menanderprincipa00menauoft/menanderprincipa00menauoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/menanderprincipa00menauoft/menanderprincipa00menauoft_djvu.txt).

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ili za Anconu vidi Colivicchi 2002, str. 92, 429. Iako su takve ritualne posude obično vezane uz pokope djece ili žena, dokaz da to nije uvijek slučaj nalazi se u primjerima iz Metaponta (Hall 1998, str. 188).

<sup>130</sup> Menander, neidentificirani fragment 651 [https://archive.org/stream/menanderprincipa00menauoft/menanderprincipa00menauoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/menanderprincipa00menauoft/menanderprincipa00menauoft_djvu.txt).

of the most recent (if not the most recent) example of red-figure pottery with a comic decoration, conceivably belonging to the very end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The regional workshop that manufactured it remains, however, unidentified. The possibility of this being Issa, even if not backed up by firm evidence at the moment, should, in my opinion, not be entirely dismissed. The main decorative comic scene depicting a woman scolding a man, probably her husband, although essentially Apulian in origin, is plausibly an adaptation from another vase painting(s), indicating that the popularity of such an image had taken root across the “borders” of several central Mediterranean zones. Its primary purpose was to amuse the viewer. That being said, the image on this vessel may have had a particularly pointed meaning within its funerary context, especially in the eyes of the mourners, and it may have even been crafted specifically for that occasion. Although it is likely that during the Hellenistic era the Issaeans engaged in performances of comedy, this remains an assumption. However, the evidence presented above is indicative they were, at least, familiar with the world of the comedy. Moreover, the phlyax oinochoe in association with an adult burial at Vlaška njiva and the comic mask from a child’s grave at Martvilo can be taken as evidence that the Issaeans were also familiar with the custom of depositing comedy objects in graves. Grave goods were tools in the hands of the mourners, and represent the embodiment of their relationship to the dead. In cases where certain patterns in customs can be observed, we can speak in favour of specific funerary beliefs, or at least a practiced funerary tradition of certain communities and/or their individual members. In the case of Issa, we can only state that objects associated with comedy were placed in grave during funerals, but its statistical representation (two graves) as well as a lack of further contextual details (the exact assemblage, sex and more precise age of the deceased) prevent us from drawing any further conclusions. Nevertheless, the connection between the world of comedy and the world of death in these cases is inescapable, just like in life where tragic and comic elements are unavoidably interwoven.

druge posude, ili drugih posuda, što upućuje na to da je popularnost takvog prikaza uvriježena preko “granica” nekoliko središnjih sredozemnih regija. Njezina primarna svrha bila je zabaviti gledatelja. Ipak, prikaz na toj posudi mogao je lako imati posebno istaknuto značenje u pogrebnom kontekstu, posebno u očima ožalošćenih, a možda je bila izrađena posebno za tu prigodu. Iako je moguće da su tijekom helenističkog razdoblja Isejci sudjelovali u uprizorenjima komedija, to je i dalje samo pretpostavka. No opisani dokazi upućuju na to da su, u najmanju ruku, bili upoznati sa svijetom komedije. Štoviše, flijak enohoja u kontekstu sahrane odrasle osobe na lokalitetu Vlaška njiva, kao i komična maska iz dječjeg groba na lokalitetu Martvilo, mogu se smatrati dokazima da su stanovnici Ise bili upoznati s običajem polaganja predmeta komedije u grobove. Grobni prilozi bili su alati u rukama ožalošćenih i predstavljaju utjelovljenje njihove veze s mrtvima. U slučajevima u kojima se mogu vidjeti određeni obrasci u običajima, možemo govoriti u korist pojedinih pogrebnih vjerovanja, ili barem primijenjenih pogrebnih tradicija određenih zajednica i/ili njihovih pojedinaca. U slučaju Ise možemo govoriti samo o prakticiranju polaganja predmeta vezanih uz komediju u grobove tijekom pokapanja, ali njihova statistička pojavnost (dva groba) kao i nepostojanje dodatnih kontekstualnih pojedinosti (precizan položaj grobnog sadržaja, spol i preciznija dob preminulih) ne dopuštaju nam iznošenje daljnjih implikacija. Unatoč tomu, povezanost u ovim slučajevima između svijeta komedije i svijeta smrti je neizbježna, kao što se i u životu nužno isprepliću tragični i komični elementi.

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