

# Chapter 1

## The Samnite Warrior's Appearance

### 1 INTRODUCTION

Today the main surviving source of information for the Samnite warrior's equipment is Campanian vase-painting because the Capuan tomb-paintings were almost completely destroyed during the Second World War. However, we do have F. Weege's extensive descriptions of how these paintings looked in the early part of this century (Weege 1909: 99–141, figs 1–5, pls 8–12; v. also Heurgon 1942: 421–39). There are also some photographs of these tombs as well as a number of sketches of other tomb-paintings which had already disintegrated prior to the war. The scanty fragments which remain today have been thoroughly studied by Luigia Mandato<sup>1</sup>.

In broad terms, all the representations show the same type of warrior dressed in the same costume and bearing the same equipment. Obviously, the images are less colourful on red-figure vases than in the frescos on the walls of tombs or the paintings on sarcophagi. This equally applies to a series of Paestan tomb-paintings which are for the most part far better preserved than their Capuan counterparts (Weege 1909: figs 6–11; Sestieri 1956–57: 65–110; Napoli 1970a: 21, figs 9 & 10; 58, fig. 92; 59, fig. 93; 60, figs 94 & 96; 62, fig. 101; 63, figs 102 & 103; Termer 1978: 103, no. 78).

Because the stylistic development and the relative chronology of the tomb paintings has yet to be fully researched<sup>2</sup> it seems advisable to study them in the light of the comparison with red-figure vases. A.D. Trendall, in his 1936 study *Paestan Pottery*, made just such a comparison between the famous Paestan tomb-painting, known as the 'Procession fresco' (plate 5) and a Paestan oinochoe now in the Louvre (K 718). The vase is ascribed to the Boston Orestes Painter and is dated to the last decade of the 4th century BC (*PP*, p. 82–3, pls XXXIb & XXXIc; v. also Weege 1909: 116 where the tomb painting is dated to late in the 5th or early in the 4th century BC. v. also Bianchi Bandinelli & Giuliano 1973: pl. 267; and here cf. Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 2, 3). Although the tomb-paintings are grand in scale they are an art form which is related to vase painting. The date of the latter may be considered broadly appropriate for the former.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that Greek and Roman writers make reference to the equipment used by the Samnites (e.g. Livy IX, 40; Strabo 6.1.2; v. also Weege 1909: 141–158 for a full account of literary references to Samnite military equipment; also

<sup>1</sup> Luigia Mandato, *Pittura Campana antica*, Università di Bari, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia (1962/63). I wish to thank Prof. S. Garofano Venosta of Capua for his kindness in sending me a copy of Dr L. Mandato's study.

<sup>2</sup> Since the author's death a lavishly illustrated, major study of Paestan tomb-painting has appeared — *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum* by A. Pontrandolfo and A. Rouveret. The author's text has not been altered to take this book into consideration. *E.H.*

Salmon 1967: 101 which discusses a passage in Diodorus Siculus 23.2 which may refer to the Samnites). Samnites are said to have worn plain white and coloured tunics, together with shiny crested helmets, during the Samnite Wars (fought against the Romans in 310 BC and 285 BC). The Roman troops are said to have been intimidated by the appearance of the Samnites and the consul Papirus needed to calm his soldiers down (Weege 1909: 154).

## 2 THE SAMNITE TUNIC

### *Introduction*

Representations of Samnite warriors wearing tunics occur on the earliest Italiote vase paintings. As far as we know, it is a Lucanian who is portrayed by the Amykos Painter in c.430/420 BC on a Lucanian Type I nestoris (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1971.49), wearing the simplest kind of tunic (plate 6; v. *LCS Suppl. II*, (137b), p. 156, pl. XXX.1; *Indigeni*, p. 13, pl. 1–2; Schneider-Herrmann 1980: fig. 43; cf. here Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 2, 6). The next representation of a Samnite dressed in a tunic is dated to the end of the 5th century BC and ascribed to the Sisyphus Painter who worked in the Apulian red-figure style. This warrior's tunic has a more complicated shape (column krater (BM F 174) (plate 7); *RVAp I* (1/55), p. 16, (no ill.); *Indigeni*, p. 14, pl. 12. Much later, around 350/40 BC, the Campanian red-figure exponents, the Astarita and Libation Painters, and their associates, produced a number of images of Samnite warriors wearing a variety of different types of tunic, all of which bear some relation to the Apulian example cited above (i.e. that shown in plate 6) (for an example by the Astarita Painter v. the neck amphora (Vatican Astarita collection, 58) (plate 8) (*LCS*, (3/269). p. 400, pl. 155.1; *Indigeni*, p. 17, pl. 44; cf. here Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 4, 2) and the hydria by the Libation Painter (Paris, Louvre K 277) (plate 9) (*LCS* (3/301) p. 406 pl. 160.1; *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 51; cf. here Ch. 4, 2. v. Ch. 6, 3, no. Ic).

It seems that the Lucanian, Apulian and Campanian tunics were all basically related to one another. It was a short garment with short sleeves and a rounded neckline. It could have a straight, rounded or pointed lower border. A broad belt with a buckle at the front was worn around the waist thus enhancing the appearance of the tunic.

Moreover, there are a few paintings which show a tunic hanging as a trophy on the spear of a victorious warrior. Another image of a tunic, this time spread out to form a rectangle, comes from a Capuan tomb-painting (plate 10: v. Ch. 6, 4, no. IVc) (Weege 1909: 104–5, no. 7, pl. 9.1).

The tomb-paintings and vases provide us with images of Samnites wearing white, coloured and striped tunics; it is unlikely that the literary record could have furnished a more vivid picture of Samnite warriors of the 4th century BC. What the literary sources do tell us is that the Samnite army was well organised and composed of hoplites and cavalry (the so-called 'Cavalry Campana') (for references to the Samnite army v. Wuilleumier 1939: 668–70; Salmon 1967: 101–112; Salmon 1978: 49 refers to the *equites Campani*; Frederiksen 1968 deals particularly with the Campanian cavalry, v. especially page 14). The pictorial record suggests that mounted warriors were more elaborately equipped, but the foot soldier could also wear a patterned tunic and a feathered helmet; v. the bail amphora (Melbourne, La Trobe University, 94.02) (plate 11) attributed to the Three-Dot Group (*LCS Suppl. II* (2/357a), p. 196, pl. XXXI.3) (v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Ie).

What the Roman authors said about Samnite helmets, shields and belts being made of gold and silver no longer seems as improbable as it once did, because gilded Samnite belts have been recovered from excavations at Capua and the surrounding area (Weege 1909: 154; Salmon 1967: 102; cf. here Ch.1, 4). Some of the richly coloured frescos show some parts of the armour in gold. This not only enhances the images of Samnite warriors and

women but also tends to support the evidence of the literary record. On the other hand, Strabo notes that during this period the appearance of the Samnites lost its individuality as well as other characteristics (Weege 1909: 141; Strabo 6.1.2).

According to ancient tradition the tunic would have been made from one piece of cloth. The previously cited Capuan tomb-painting showing a tunic hanging as a trophy from a spear (plate 10), may be assumed to show the basic form of the garment. Other iconographical sources such as those cited provide us with evidence for how the tunic was worn. The broad belt worn by Samnite warriors would have kept the material together at the waist. The wearer would have had the freedom to gather the material around the waist and hips thus producing either a close or loose fitting garment according to personal taste. The material below the belt seems to have been arranged into a type of loin-cloth. Below the belt, the back of the garment can be closed or open, the latter presumably to allow greater freedom of movement.

An example of a similar type of one piece garment from the mediaeval period can be seen in plate 12, photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. This is a child's garment probably originally from Egypt. cf. also the Catalogue of the 1986 exhibition at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, *Schatten uit Turkije*, nos 328–353, various garments all of mediaeval date.

#### *Various features of the Campanian Samnite tunic*

##### *Examples of different shapes*

Skyphos, Brussels R 320. Plate 13.

This example shows a simple type with loose folds. There are small curves on both the right and left suggesting it is closed at the back.

Pilos Head Group.

*LCS* (2/281), p. 269, pl. 108.7.

Photograph courtesy of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.

For this vase v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Ic

Neck amphora, Vatican Astarita collection, 58. Plate 8.

This tunic is of a related but slightly more complicated type. The patterning is discussed below.

Astarita Painter.

*LCS* (3/269), p. 400, pl. 155.1; *Indigeni*, p. 17, pl. 44.

Photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 2 and Ch. 4, 2.

Capuan tomb-painting, Museo Campano. Plate 10.

A young mounted Samnite warrior wears a short red garment kept together by a golden belt over a short white tunic with a golden lower edge. Its rounded neckline makes it vaguely resemble a modern pullover.

Recorded by Weege 1909: 105, no. 7, pl. 9.1.

Neck amphora, Berlin 4982, 45. Plate 14.

This vase shows two warriors fighting; Professor Trendall (*LCS*) identifies them as Achilles and Memnon. The victor wears a simple tunic with short curves on both the right and left sides suggesting that it is closed below the waist at the back.

Ixion Painter.

*LCS* (2/784), p. 338, pl. 131.1.

Photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Hydria, BM F 215. Plate 15.

The central group shows a mounted warrior fighting a hoplite. The horseman wears a close fitting plain tunic. Below the belt comes to a point between his legs. His opponent is viewed from the rear. He has a patterned tunic which is open below the belt.

Libation Painter.

*LCS* (3/303), p. 406, pl. 160.3; *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 53.

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 5. v. Ch. 3, 3, no. IIIa.



Fig. 2 Loose fitting tunic, after hydria, New York 01.8.12



Fig. 3 Patterned tunic, after skyphos, Berkeley 8/3243



Fig. 4 Patterned tunic, after neck amphora, Vatican Astarita coll. 58

Hydria, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 01.8.12. Plate 16. Fig. 2.

The scene shows the return of a victorious mounted warrior from battle. The upper part of his tunic is loose fitting as though it has been drawn up above the belt so that it hangs over it somewhat.

Group of Naples 3227.

*LCS* (3/284), p. 402, (no ill.); *Indigeni*, p. 17, pl. 48.

Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

For this vase cf. Ch. 4, 1, Ch. 4, 2 and Ch. 5, 2. v. Ch. 6, 3, no. IIa.

### *Decoration*

The ornamentation of the tunic, applied in black with occasional touches of added white, is arranged according to a specific system. Small motifs such as, for example, short vertical stripes and dots, run horizontally in parallel rows underlined or divided from each other over the upper part of the tunic; the lower part, below the belt, is often left plain. There the stomach is indicated by various lines. Some small motif normally adorns the short sleeves.

### *Examples of various decorative patterns*

Skyphos, University of California, Berkeley 8/3243. Plate 17. Fig. 3.

A Samnite hoplite is shown wearing a tunic, the upper part of which is decorated with a single row of dots.

Painter of Louvre K296.

*LCS* (3/288), p. 403, pl. 157.6.

Photograph courtesy of University of California, Berkeley.

For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 4. v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Ia.

Neck amphora, Vatican Astarita coll. 58. Plate 8. Fig. 4.

A young Samnite warrior is shown wearing a tunic with a single horizontal row of dots across the chest and a pattern of pendant short vertical stripes around the neck.

Astarita Painter.

*LCS* (3/269), p. 400, pl. 155.1; *Indigeni*, p. 17, pl. 44.

Photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

For this vase cf. the above discussion on shape and also Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 4, 2.



Fig. 5 Tunic with Campanian patterning, after hydria, Vatican Astarita coll. 56



Fig. 6 Tunic with Campanian patterning, after bail amphora, La Trobe, Melbourne, 94.02

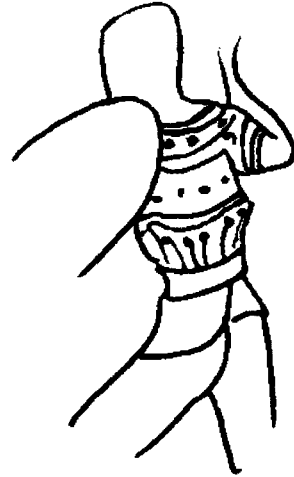


Fig. 7 Tunic with Campanian patterning, after hydria, BM F215

### Hydria<sup>3</sup>, Louvre K 277. Plate 9.

The composition of this vase is related to that on the previous one (Vatican Astarita collection 58). Here the right and left figures are reversed. Again the woman wears a red cape but here her veiled head-dress stands up around its edge. The warrior wears a tunic, a three-disc cuirass, a crested helmet and greaves. The second, departing warrior here wears a patterned tunic and a crested and feathered helmet. The tunic has a frieze of small circles framed by two parallel lines on all sides.

Libation Painter.

*LCS* (3/302), p. 406 pl. 160.1; *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 51.

Photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.

For this vase cf. Ch. 4, 2. v. Ch. 6, 3, no. Ic.

### Hydria, Vatican Astarita coll. 56. Plate 18. Fig. 5.

The scene shows a warrior and woman either side of a palmette. The warrior's tunic is covered all over with horizontal panels decorated with with dots and short pendant vertical lines. This is the typical Campanian style. The warrior also wears a broad belt, greaves and a feathered and crested helmet.

Astarita Painter.

*LCS* (3/272), p. 400, pl. 155.3; *Indigeni*, p. 17, pl. 45.

Photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

For this vase cf. Ch.1, 4.

### Bell krater, BM 1953, 4–29.1. Plate 19.

The tunic worn by the central figure is completely covered by the characteristic Campanian arrangement of rows of small motifs between horizontal lines. There is row of triangle motifs in added white just above his broad belt. The triangles are made up of three circles with two at the top and one below, in a pattern which resembles the Samnite cuirass (see the discussion on 'tribal symbols' in Ch. 2, 3). The decoration of the tunic is as whole related to Vatican Astarita coll. 56. A second warrior, who is putting on his greaves, also wears a tunic which is decorated all over.

Detroit Painter.

*LCS* (3/295), p. 403, (no ill.).

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 3, 2 and APPENDIX, fig. 74.

<sup>3</sup> In *LCS* on pl. 160.1 and 160.2 the hydriai Louvre K276 and K277 were transposed, 160.1 should be K277 and 160.2, K276. *E.H.*

Bail amphora, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 94.02. Plate 11. Fig. 6

A hoplite preparing to throw a large stone is depicted wearing a tunic which is decorated all over. Thin horizontal stripes form a frame for a pattern of short vertical lines.

**Three-Dot Group.**

*LCS Suppl. II* (2/357a), p. 196, pl. XXXI.3.

Photograph with special thanks to Professor A.D. Trendall.

For this vase v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Ie.

Hydria, Los Angeles, Dechter coll. 42. Plate 20.

The warrior in this ritual scene wears a tunic with motifs around the neck arranged in alternating black and white bands. Beneath these in the centre of the upper part of the tunic is a black swastika which we may interpret as a 'tribal symbol'.

**CA Painter.**

*LCS Suppl. II* (4/32a), p. 230 (no ill.); *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 57; Hamma 1989: 64, no. 42, colour-ill. on p. 52.

Photograph courtesy of the owner of the vase.

Hydria, British Museum, BM F 215. Plate 15. Fig. 7.

The central scene on this vase shows a horseman fighting a hoplite. The horseman wears a plain tunic. On the other hand, the foot soldier, who is viewed from the back, wears a patterned tunic which is open below the belt. The tunic is decorated with three rows of dots separated by thin horizontal stripes.

**Libation Painter.**

*LCS* (3/303), p. 406, pl. 160.3. *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 53.

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase v. above for the shape; also Ch. 1, 5 and Ch. 3, 3, no. IIIa.

Neck amphora from Capua, Museo Campano. Plate 21. Fig. 8

A warrior wearing a Samnite triple-plate cuirass is shown fighting a centaur. His tunic is decorated beneath the belt. It has a chequered pattern and its lower edge bordered by white dots.

**Caivano Painter.**

*PP*, p. 127, pl. XXXIIIc; *LCS* (2/573), p. 308 (no ill.).

Photograph courtesy of the Museo Campano, Capua.

Neck amphora, London BM F 197. Plate 22. Fig. 9.

The warrior, in this libation scene, wears a cuirass over his tunic. Below the belt the tunic is decorated with a pattern of small circles. Where it is visible above the belt one can see that the material has been drawn up to hang loosely over the top edge of the belt. This way of allowing the tunic to hang is similar to that seen in plate 16, the hydria attributed to the Group of Naples 3227 now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (01.8.12).

**Libation Painter.**

*LCS* (3/306), p. 406, (no ill.); *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 49.

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 3, Ch. 4, 1 and Ch. 4, 2. v. Ch. 6, 3, no. Id.

Pseudo-panathenaic amphora, Hamburg, Termer coll. Plate 23.

Here a returning warrior is shown in a libation scene with a woman. The warrior wears a cuirass over his tunic. Below the belt, the lower edge of the tunic is decorated with a pattern of small white dots.

**Caivano Painter.**

*LCS Suppl. III* (2/577a), p. 147 (no ill.); Hornbostel 1977: 398–400, no. 342; Schneider-Herrmann 1982: 148, fig. 3; Termer 1980: 100.1, no. 65.

Photograph courtesy of W. Hornbostel.

For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 3 and Ch. 4, 2. v. Ch. 6, 3, no. IIe.

Calyx krater, Naples, 861/82599. Plate 24.

This combat scene shows a mounted warrior wearing a red tunic, which is shorter than the usual type. Above the belt, it has a pattern of white three-dot rosettes.

**Horseman Group.**

*LCS* (4/427), p. 500, pl. 195.3; *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 56.

Photograph with special thanks to Professor A.D. Trendall.

For this vase v. Ch. 3, 3, no. IIIc.

Calyx krater, Chicago National History Museum, 27680. Plate 25.

The scene shows a young warrior wearing an entirely red tunic.

Horseman Group.

*LCS* (4/423), p. 500, pl. 195.5–6.

Photograph courtesy of the Chicago National History Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 3, 1.

### *Examples of the wearing of a loin-cloth*

Skyphos, Boston, 03.822. Plate 1.

An adolescent is shown wearing a loin-cloth. It has a number of converging lines coming to a point between the youth's legs which represent folds. It has a pattern of white dots decorating both left and right edges.

Errera Painter.

*LCS* (2/718), p. 323, (no ill.); Beazley 1943: 83, no. 4, pl. VI.

Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Francis Bartlett Donation.

For this vase cf. ASPECTS OF SAMNITE LIFE (in *Author's Notes*) and Ch. 1, 5. v. Ch. 3, 5, no. 1.

Neck amphora, Brussels A 3550. Plates 26a & b.

Plate 26a shows a battle scene in which most of the participants wear loin-cloths. Some of the loin-cloths are open at the back while one has a chequered pattern and a lower edge decorated with white dots.

Plate 26b shows a scene of youths relaxing in the company of women. Again most wear loin-cloths, and one has a loin-cloth with its lower edge decorated with white dots.

Errera Painter.

*LCS* (2/704), p. 322, pl. 126.1–2.

Photograph courtesy of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.

For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 5 and Ch. 2, 8. v. Ch. 3, 3, no. IVa.

### *Comparison with tunics worn by other Samnite groups*

In considering the tunics worn by Campanian Samnites one should also bear in mind those worn by their Lucanian, Apulian and Paestan neighbours. In fact, the depictions of the tunics worn by all the native groups resemble each other quite closely. In each group we encounter examples of the plain tunic with loose folds, the more close fitting type, and the decorated type. It is this latter group which shows greatest variation; this shows up in the patterning.



Fig. 8 Tunic decorated below the belt, after neck amphora, Museo Campano, Capua

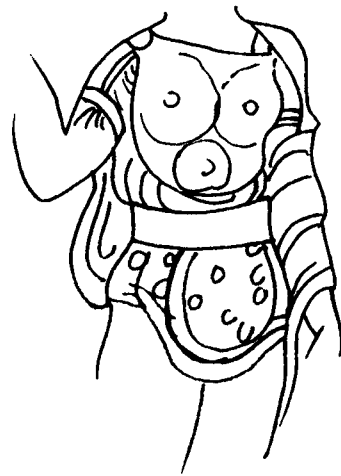


Fig. 9 Tunic decorated below the belt, after neck amphora, BM F 197

Scenes showing tunics on Lucanian vases are only rarely preserved, whereas there is a considerable number of such scenes on Apulian vases.

Variant types are not only known among other the Campanian Samnites. For example, just as one sometimes sees a Campanian Samnite wearing a short jacket, which to some extent resembles a modern pullover, over his chiton (cf. plate 9) similarly, on an Apulian column krater (Trieste S388) described in greater detail below we see a bearded warrior wearing a short jacket, bearing characteristic Apulian patterning, over a long chiton.

### *Lucanian examples*

Type I nestoris, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1971.49. Plate 6.

A Samnite warrior is shown seated wearing a loose fitting tunic which is broadly similar to the Campanian examples cited above, i.e. the skyphos, Brussels R 320 (plate 13) and the neck amphora, Berlin 4982, 45 (plate 14). The tunic has a pattern of vertical stripes.

Amykos Painter.

*LCS Suppl. II* (137b), p. 156, pl. XXX.1; *Indigeni*, p. 13, pl. 1–2; Schneider-Herrmann 1980: fig. 43.

Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 2, 6.

Type I nestoris, BM F 175. Plate 27.

This combat scene, from the shoulder of the vase, shows a young mounted warrior wearing a loose fitting tunic. Its undulating, lower edge marked by a thick black stripe. The scene also shows a foot soldier wearing a loin-cloth which is open at the back. Its lower edge is decorated by a toothed stripe. Both these costumes are reminiscent of Campanian examples.

Dolon Painter.

*LCS* (539), p.103, (no ill.).

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 10 Highly decorated tunic, after column krater BM F 174



Fig. 11 Tunic with Apulian patterning, after column krater, Trieste S388



Type II nestoris, once on the Rome market, whereabouts now unknown. Plate 28a.

Again this is a combat scene, this time from the neck of the vase. Here a young mounted warrior is shown wearing a loin-cloth decorated with two circles.

Choephoroi Painter.

*LCS* (633), p. 123, (no ill. of neck) pl. 61.6 shows the vessel body; Schneider-Herrmann 1972: 38, pl. 7 (also showing the vessel body); Schneider-Herrmann 1980: fig. 58a (shows the whole vessel including the neck). The main scene shows Athena in a naiskos wearing a pilos-helmet with a crest.

For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 2, Ch. 2, 3 and Ch. 2, 9.

### *Apulian examples*

Nestoris, Naples 2211/81830. Plate 29.

In this scene a native youth is shown pouring wine into a phiale held by a seated woman. His tunic is loose fitting (cf. the Campanian examples such as the skyphos, Brussels R 320 (plate 13) and has patterned sleeves. He also wears a broad white studded belt.

Bassano Group.

*RVAp II* (30/26), p. 1021 (no ill.); Schneider-Herrmann 1980: 63, cat. 6, fig. 74.

Column krater, BM F 174. Plate 7. Fig. 10.

This scene shows two young native warriors taking part in a libation scene. The tunic worn by the central warrior is more closely fitting and is decorated all over with small dots with black rays at the edges.

Sisyphus Painter.

*RVAp I* (1/55), p. 16, (no ill.); *Indigeni*, p. 14, pl. 12; Schneider-Herrmann 1980: fig. 97.

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

Column krater, BM F 173. Plate 30.

The scene shows a conflict between two native warriors. The victor wears a tunic with a patterned upper part. The pattern consists of rows of dots separated by thin lines (resembling the pattern on the Campanian bail amphora, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 94.02: here plate 11). His opponent wears a fairly loose fitting loin-cloth.

Prisoner Painter.

*RVAp I* (4/73), p. 76, pl. 26.3; *Indigeni*, p. 16, pl. 37.

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 7. v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Va.

Column krater, BM F 297. Plate 31.

The seated warrior in this scene wears a tunic bearing the typical Apulian pattern. It is decorated all over with pairs of broad, vertical black parallel stripes with toothed edges. In the space between the pairs of stripes are black dots.

Wolfenbüttel Painter.

*RVAp I* (13/197), p. 357, pl. 115.5; *RVSIS*, p. 84, pl. 175;

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 3 and APPENDIX, fig. 75.

Column krater, Trieste S388. Plate 32. Fig. 11.

Here a bearded Samnite warrior is shown carrying two spears and wearing a waist-length jacket or pullover-type garment, with typical Apulian decoration, over a long sleeveless chiton. He watches a second warrior offering a kantharos to a seated woman who holds a phiale in her left hand and has a nestoris on her head.

Dijon Painter.

Trieste *CVA IV D*, pl. 7.3; *RVAp I* (6/146), p. 152, (no ill.); Schneider-Herrmann 1980: fig. 102.

### *Paestan example*

Paestan tomb-painting, Museo Nazionale, Paestum. Plate 33.

Samnite horseman with prisoner, shown wearing a tunic which is white all over.

*Indigeni*, p. 19, pl. 63.

Photograph courtesy of the Museo Nazionale at Paestum.

For this fresco v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Vd.

### 3 THE ORIGINS OF THE TUNIC AND BELT COSTUME

Having discussed certain specific characteristics of the Samnite tunic, we should move on to consider the typical costume which combines the tunic with a broad belt. This combination has a long tradition preserved in iconographical representations which goes back most notably to Hittite art of the second millennium BC.

These Hittite representations take the form of large stone reliefs and bronze statuettes showing figures wearing a tunic or loin-cloth and a broad belt.

Dated to the 14th century BC is a large relief from the royal port of Hattusas which shows the war god wearing a loin-cloth and broad belt (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: figs 64–5). At the front the garment is open and one piece of material overlaps the other; this is indicated by the diagonal edge and ornamental border of the cloth. The sculpting of the belt is particularly skilful suggesting the flexible material from which a real belt would have been made.

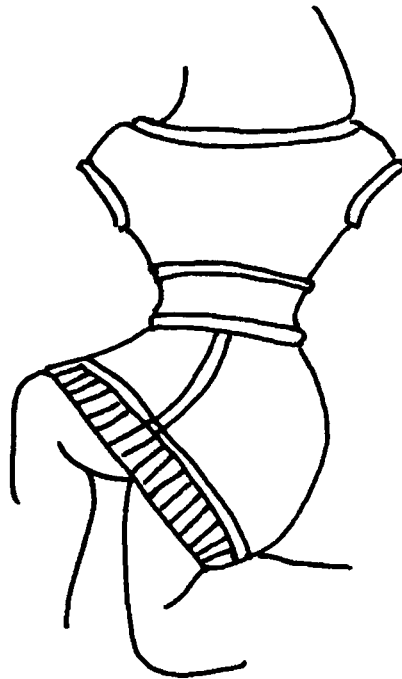


Fig. 12 Hittite bird-headed demon wearing the tunic and belt costume (after Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: fig. 109)

Similarly, we can observe the short sleeved tunic and accompanying broad belt, shown in frontal view, as worn by two winged, bird-headed demons with raised arms (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: fig. 111).

Dated between 1050 and 850 BC is a representation of a kneeling bird-headed demon, shown in three-quarter view, wearing a tunic and broad belt (fig. 12) (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: fig. 109). The tunic is particularly relevant to our study. Tunics of similar form appear several times in Hittite art and were still occurring around 700 BC (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: figs 113, 127 and especially 146 which is dated to 700 BC). This last point is particularly significant in that it was in this period that the Greeks are supposed to have begun trade and colonial contacts with the Middle East.

Whether or not the tunic or loin-cloth was generally worn by the Hittite population is beside the point, the Greeks clearly adopted it. The first representation of Greeks wearing such garments comes on the paintings of komasts on Corinthian aryballois from the early 7th century BC (Seeberg 1971). The 6th century vases sometimes show gods and

characters from mythology wearing this type of costume but mostly it is human figures such as komasts, actors, flute players and warriors that are shown wearing the tight fitting, Hittite-style short tunic with short sleeves and a broad belt. Although minor details often vary, the same basic style of costume is depicted. However, on the red-figure vases of the 5th and 4th centuries BC it is unusual to find any representations of the Hittite-style tunic.

*Short list of representations of Greeks wearing tunics showing Eastern influence*

*Early 7th century BC: early Corinthian vases*

Early Corinthian aryballos of the 'Flap group'. Priv. coll., Melbourne. Plate 34.

Hittite type tunics are worn by komasts on this vase. A long, narrow piece of fabric runs from the upper to lower edge of the tunic, lying over the front. This piece of cloth broadens beneath the belt and there covers part of the tunic. In all other respects the tunic is related to the Hittite type.

Seeberg 1971: 32, no. 165, pl. IX a–c.

Photograph courtesy of the owner.

Early 6th century Corinthian alabastron. Formerly Schneider-Herrmann coll., The Hague, now Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden I 1992/6 91. Plate 35.

The tunic, worn by a demon, is close to the Hittite type, however it is not open below the belt.

Schneider-Herrmann 1975a: 35, no. 91, pl. 35.

Photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Early Corinthian alabastron, Louvre MNB 500.

The tunic is added in red with decoration in black, and its shape is close to the Hittite type. There is a decorated band the upper part of the tunic. Part of the belt is visible as is the decorated lower edge. The tunic is worn by a winged divinity (Boreas?).

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 282, pl. VIII.

Photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.

*Early 6th century Attic vases*

The Nessos amphora, Athens National Museum 1002. Plate 36.

Herakles and Nessos are shown together on the neck of this vase dated to c.600 BC.

Herakles wears a tunic which is close to the Hittite prototype. It is open beneath the belt; there is no overlapping piece of fabric, like Early Corinthian examples.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 276, figs 19 & 20 show Herakles and Nessos while fig. 18 shows the Gorgons on the body of the vessel.

Photograph courtesy of the Athens National Museum.

*6th century Attic black-figure*

Column krater, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, 1966.17. Plates 37a & b.

The vase shows a group of padded dancers. The tunic depicted has a circular flap of material below the small belt.

Trendall & Webster 1971: 20, no. 1,7.

Photographs courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Kylix, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 3356. Plates 38a & b.

a) Plate 38a. Red short sleeved tunics are worn by bearded dancers and a flute player. There is a broad decorated band which runs vertically on both sides from the lower to the upper edge. However, they are longer than usual covering the knee. Seemingly, there is no broad belt worn around the waist. Two of the six dancers lift up the lower edge of their tunics with one hand. A long chiton pokes out from under the tunic.

b) Plate 38b. Same type of tunic and chiton as above but they are somewhat shorter except those worn by two dancers like on a) (above).

Trendall & Webster 1971: 20, no. 1,8.

Photographs courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.

Siana cup, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (22.139.22). v. Brijder 1983: 67–72, pl.1c.

The left hand komast wears a Hittite type tunic, however, he also wears a circular piece of fabric below the belt like the figures on Early Corinthian aryballois.

Cf. Similar scenes showing komasts on other Siana cups:

Brijder 1983: pl. 3c. Paris CP 10235.

Brijder 1983: pl. 3d. Paris CP 10236.

Brijder 1983: pl. 6d. Vienna 226. Note the right hand komast.

Tripod Kothon, Louvre CA 616.

The tunics are worn by warriors on this vase. They are related to the Hittite type but they are not open below the belt.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 293–4, fig. 48.

### *Mythological scenes*

Laconian black-figure kylix dated to the middle of the 6th century BC. Louvre E 670.

The scene shows the Calydonian boar hunt. Two hunters are depicted. The left hand hunter has a tunic similar to the Hittite type. However, it not open below the belt. The tunics worn by both hunters have ornate borders.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 309, fig. 73 above.

Caeretan hydria, Villa Giulia Museum.

The scene shows Odysseus, three companions and Polyphemos, the Cyclops. The vessel is dated to c.520 BC. The tunics worn by two of the Ithacans are close to the Hittite type but neither is open below the belt. They have a long thin band over the entire front of the tunic from the upper to the lower edge. (This is comparable, but not identical, to the early Corinthian aryballos mentioned earlier).

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 313, fig. 80; Hemelrijk 1984: 36–7, no. 20, pls 80–82.

The following further example may also be mentioned:

Etruscan black-figure amphora, Vatican G 91. Late 6th century BC.

The scene is from the Gigantomachy. One giant wears a tunic not unlike the Hittite examples.

Beazley 1947: 2, pl. III.4.

### *South Italian vases of the 4th century BC*

There are a large number of vases showing phlyakes wearing a loosely fitting tunic over a tricot. The tunics are, for the most part sleeveless and a ribbon is worn around the waist. Numerous examples of this type of tunic are illustrated in A.D. Trendall's *Phlyax Vases* (1959; 2nd ed. 1967).

The tunic is closely related to the loosely fitting Lucanian example shown in plate 6 (cf. Ch. 1, 2).

### *Attic terracotta statuettes*

There are a number of Attic terracotta statuettes depicting phlyakes of South Italian type. A mould for one of the sets was found in the agora at Athens. They are now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (13.225).

Trendall & Webster 1971: 127–8, IV, 9. nos 13, 14, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27 a–b.

Numbers 13, 22 & 27a–b may be compared with the phlyax vase by Python formerly in the Schneider-Herrmann collection, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden (Trendall & Webster 1971: 127–8, IV, 10).

### *General comments*

The tunic and loin-cloth may be assumed to have originated in the Middle East. It is from this area that the first prehistoric, iconographic representations of such garments are known. The Greeks adopted these garments and introduced them into Europe. Over the centuries they spread from east to west.

The Samnite tunic appears in various shapes and has an individual character. It was based on an old and simple way of treating the fabric. Exactly when and where the Samnites first created their form of the tunic is still unknown.

Quite a number of Italiote garments are recorded in iconographic representations. The patterns on a number of Samnite tunics, as represented in art (e.g. on Italiote vases), may be ascribed to contemporary fashion. This point is further emphasised by the representations of Samnite warriors on Apulian vases where the patterns belong to a different decorative system.

As a brief addendum, it should be noted that the tunic and loin-cloth of this sort are not only seen on vases but also on reliefs and plastic monuments, e.g. on bronze situlae and the statue of the warrior from Capestrano dated to the 6th century BC. (cf. the relationship of both below, Ch. 2, 3).

## 4 THE BROAD BELT

### *Artistic origins of the broad belt*

The broad belt, like the Samnite tunic it accompanied, originated in the Middle East. In its earliest form, which goes back to before the second millennium BC, it consisted simply of two or three strings worn around the waist (Lutz 1923: 143, figs 96–102, Mesopotamian seal designs).

The broad belt, which was worn by both men and women, seems to make its earliest appearance in art in the 3rd millennium. Later, the Hittites produced statuettes of a naked female idol in cult posture wearing a broad belt around her waist.

Developing from this type of statuette is a silver figurine encrusted with gold. The figure wears a broad strip of gold which is loosely tied like a ribbon. This feature tapers at the back and is knotted as though it was made in a soft fabric. The belt seems to be kept in place by a sort of pair of braces which consist of two broad strips of gold (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: 25, 28, pl. VIII, fig. 22).

Hittite examples do not seem to occur before the 18th century BC. The first examples are two miniature lead figurines representing a divine couple. Both wear a broad belt over an ample skirt and are rendered *en relief* (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: 43, fig. 35). Dated to the 17th/16th century is a miniature ivory figurine (3.9 cm in height) of a kneeling woman in cult posture. Her long ample skirt is kept together by a richly decorated broad belt rendered *en relief*. The piece is thought to be an import from Syrian-Hittite territory (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: 59, fig. 42,1–2).

A South Anatolian bronze statuette (now in a private collection in St Louis, Missouri) dated to the 16th century is a female idol like the silver statuette mentioned above. Here the broad belt is not done *en relief*, but the upper and lower edges are incised (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: 58, fig. 42,2).

Furthermore there are the Hittite artistic masterpieces showing relief statues showing gods, demons and kings wearing tunics as well as broad belts. These have been mentioned earlier, Ch. 1, 3 (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: figs 64–5, 109, 111, 113, 127 & 146).

### *The broad bronze belt*

The earliest example of the combination of the broad belt with the tunic or loin-cloth appeared in Hittite art dated to the 16th century BC; this has been discussed earlier (cf. Ch. 1, 3). The origins of the broad belt can be further traced through a group of bronze belts from South Anatolia which is dated to the 8th/7th centuries BC. Some of these are decorated with patterns which may show signs of foreign influence on the local work; e.g. meander and rosette patterns. Excavations have shown how the continuity of the bronze

belt may be traced, albeit at times sporadically, geographically from the Near East to Western Europe and chronologically from the 8th/7th to the 5th/4th centuries BC.

The broad bronze belt comes in various lengths and widths. It can be closed at the front or at the back. At the front there is a clasp which fastens on to a series of vertical holes in the other end of the belt. These patterns of vertical holes occur in sequences in order that the length of the belt may be altered. The upper and lower edges of the belt are often done *en relief*. Parallel with the lower edge there is a small row of holes which may have served to fasten a lining to the belt; all other traces of such linings are now lost.

The belt can be made of plain bronze but in a number of cases it is decorated, according to varying degrees of elaboration, with patterns *à jour*, incisions or motifs *en relief*.

*Some examples of the broad bronze belt*

*Three bronze belts from Phrygia — 8th/7th century BC*

- a) Found at Mausoleum Hill, near Ankara. The decoration has a meander of Late Greek Geometric type, while the clasp *à jour* is in the Phrygian style (Akurgal 1961: 102).
- b) Similar to a) but less well preserved (Akurgal 1961: 102).
- c) From the tomb of a young princess near Gordion. The belt has an incised geometric pattern (Young 1957: 327, pl. 92, fig. 23).

*Two Urartian bronze belts — 8th/7th century BC*

- a) This example is 120 cm in length. There are small holes along the edges of the belt. Beneath the holes there are two parallel lines with a row of knobs in between them. Inside there are two horizontal lines of joined lozenges fashioned *en relief*.  
Sotheby's *Sale Cat.*, 18/5/1981, p. 45, no. 214, (ill. p. 47.1-2).
- b) This example is 73 cm long and 10 cm wide. There are small holes along the edges which are themselves accentuated by two parallel lines. Inside, there are rows of the following patterns *en relief*: horsemen, animals, chariots, birds, and rosettes in silver. There are also four Urartian fragments of bronze belts which survive.  
Sotheby's *Sale Cat.*, 18/5/1981, p. 45, no. 215, (ill. p.47.3).

*Thessalian bronze belt — 8th/7th century BC*

Plate 39. Thessalian belt.

The Thessalian belt is 28.9 cm in diameter. It tapers from the front to the back, and it closes at the back. The ends are composed of two ovoid bosses. The decoration is incised, consisting of fine drawn panels with horses and wheel-like motifs in front.

There are also geometric motifs of varying sorts and half-moon borders.

Sotheby's *Sale Cat.*, 14-15/12/1981, p. 110, no. 295, (ill. p.111).

*'Villanovan' bronze belt — 8th/7th century BC*

The diameter of this belt is 95.5 cm. There are rows of small holes around the edges.

There are two slender buckles which are reminiscent of stylised heads. The overlapping ends of the belt are decorated with small silver rosettes.

Sotheby's *Sale Cat.*, 12/12/1983, p. 75, no. 289, (ill. p.75).

*Samnite type belts — 6th century BC to the 4th/3rd century BC*

There are a number of Samnite-type bronze belts which have been found on excavations in South Italy. There are also similar type belts in private and public collections, many of which have lost their provenance. For a good recent survey of one such collection, that in the British Museum, as well as an account of these types of belts in general cf. Suano 1986.

*Complete Samnite type belt from Castiglione di Conversano*

## 1) Plate 40.

Found at Castiglione di Conversano together with two native geometric vases, an Italic helmet of Corinthian type dated to the 6th century BC, and other metal work (Degrassi 1962: 232). It is entirely covered in decoration and is fastened by three parallel hooks. It is reminiscent of the 'Villanovan' type of the 8th/7th century BC, although that example only had two hooks.

*Samnite type fragment of a bronze belt — 5th century BC*

## 2) Plate 41.

The fragment is now lodged in the Museo del Sannio, Benevento. It is recorded as having been found in a tomb in 'territorio Beneventano'. This well preserved fragment has rows of holes at both edges. There is the remains of an embossed serpentine decoration. It has two hooks which look as though they would have fitted closely into the other end of the belt, which is now lost. The hooks do not seem to have been added but were presumably made in one piece with the rest of the belt. Galasno 1983: 34–5, fig. 29.

*Samnite type: six fragments found near Capua — 5th to 4th/3rd century BC*

## 3) The first group of three fragments are all without hooks. The holes along the edges of the belts are visible.

## Plate 42a–c

This second group of three fragments from Capua are almost identical in terms of the two hooks. This latter group of three may be dated to the 4th/3rd century BC. All three are now in the Museo Campano, Capua. There are no inventory numbers or measurements given.

## Plate 42a

The hooks stick out from the attached piece with an incised palmette.

## Plate 42b

The hooks stick out from the attached piece with an incised palmette and extensive decoration. This fragment is severely damaged.

## Plate 42c

Two hooks are fastened at the end of the belt without being attached to an extra piece of the belt.

Photographs with special thanks to Prof. S. Garofano Venosta.

*Samnite type: fragment with two youths — 5th/4th century BC*

## 4) Plate 43

Each of the two hooks is attached to a relief of a recumbent youth situated at the edge of the fragment, which would have been the end of the belt. The frontal view shows that the feet of the youths rest on a human head (mask?). According to Johannowsky (1972) it is difficult to decide if the youths are clothed or naked.

Johannowsky 1972: 378, pl. CIII. v. also Suano 1986: pl. 25, 38–43, for other examples of clasps fashioned into youths.

*Samnite type — 4th/3rd century BC*

## 5) Plate 44a &amp; b

This well preserved complete belt was once offered on the German market. The hooks are very much related to those seen on the previously mentioned Capuan fragments.

Wichert's *Kunst Auktionen, Auktion XXI* — Bonn 1982, no. 114, illustrated a) and b) (entire belt).

*Samnite type — 4th/3rd century BC*

## 6) Plate 45.

This completely preserved belt is now in the Museum Antické Umení, Prague. The belt is similar in type to the Capuan fragments. The museum also has a single loose hook which must have come from a belt of the same basic type.

*Antické Umení*, no. 257 (ill.).

Photograph courtesy of the Museum Antické Umení, Prague.

*The broad belt as shown on vases and tomb-paintings*

In representational art, the belts are shown in added white, red or black paint. These paintings can be taken to represent the plain bronze Samnite type belts mentioned above. Of particular interest is the way in which the various sorts of decoration are summarily represented. Several paintings convey the impression of the belt having been decorated with small motifs without precise forms being drawn to indicate this. Just as significant is the way in which certain ways of buckling re-occur here and there over a long time-scale. For example the 'Villanovan' type with hooks and holes to receive them is dated to the 6th century BC by excavation finds. Much older forms of buckling were still current in the 4th century. These have their origins in the Daedalic or even Hittite periods.

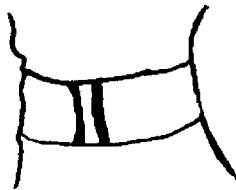


Fig. 13 Clasp represented by two lines, after skyphos, Berkeley 8/3243

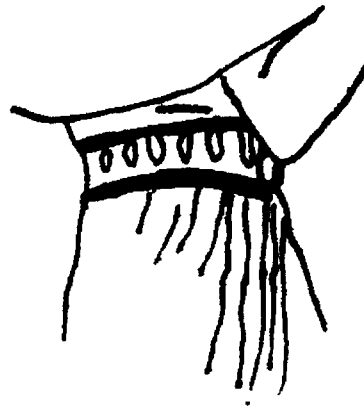


Fig. 14 Clasp represented by a row of parallel vertical lines in added white, after skyphos, Ruhr-Universität S996

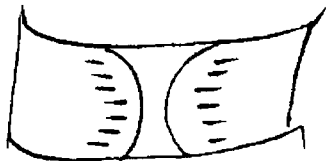


Fig. 15 Clasp represented by two opposed semi-circular lines, after hydria, Vatican Astarita coll. 56

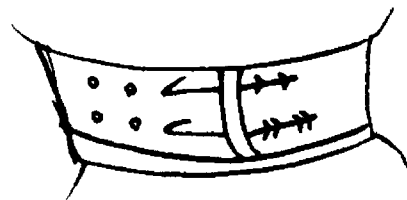


Fig. 16 Clasp represented by two hooks fitting into two holes, after a Capuan tomb-painting



It is also remarkable that Samnite women are shown wearing plain or decorated broad belts.

*A few examples of special clasps*

- a) Skyphos, University of California, Berkeley 8/3243. Plate 17. Fig. 13.  
The clasp is represented by two parallel vertical lines.  
Painter of Louvre K296.  
*LCS* (3/288), p. 403, pl. 157.6.  
The clasp is reminiscent of Daedalic belt buckles 7th/6th centuries BC, e.g. Devaris 1972: pls 10 & 32.  
Photograph courtesy of University of California, Berkeley.  
For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 2. v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Ia.
- b) Skyphos, Bochum Antiken Museum, Ruhr-Universität, S 996. Plate 46. Fig. 14.  
It shows a woman wearing a decorated broad belt. Her belt is decorated all the way around. The clasp is indicated by a row of short vertical lines in added white.  
Libation Painter.  
Kunisch 1980: 32–33, no. 177 (ill.); *LCS Suppl. III* (3/388b), p. 201, (no ill.).  
Photograph courtesy of the Bochum Antiken Museum, Ruhr-Universität.  
For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 4, 2. v. Ch. 6, 3, no. II d.
- c) Hydria, Vatican Astarita collection 56. Plate 18. Fig. 15.  
Clasp represented by two opposed semi-circular lines. The space between the two lines forms a shape with two convex sides.  
Astarita Painter.  
*LCS* (3/272), p. 400, pl. 155.3.  
This example recalls the oldest representation of the war deity, Hattusas, from the 14th century BC (v. Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: figs 64–5; cf. here Ch. 1, 3).  
Photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.  
For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 2.
- d) Capuan tomb-painting. Plate 47. Fig. 16.  
The clasp represented is of the type with two hooks fitting into two holes. It comes from a 4th/3rd century tomb painting which was in the Museo Campano, Capua. The painting was destroyed during the Second World War. Its appearance is preserved in Weege 1909: 103–4, no. 6, pl. 8.  
For this fresco cf. Ch. 2, 5. v. Ch. 6, 4, no. IV d.  
This type of buckle recalls the 'Villanovan' type bronze belt dated to the 8th/7th century BC, which was discussed earlier. It is also similar to the 6th century example from Castiglione di Conversano mentioned above (v. plate 40).

*Conclusions*

It is remarkable that the shape of the broad bronze belt worn by the Samnites was based upon a type of belt which first appeared in Europe in the 8th/7th century BC, the so-called 'Villanovan' type.

Apparently, all bronze belts were lined. The linings were attached by being sewn through holes which ran along the edges of the belts.

In the main the belts were fastened by hooks at one end fitting into corresponding holes at the other end. There were sets of holes in the latter end to enable the belt to be adjusted to fit the girth of the wearer. The hooks could be fastened in a number of ways and could also be decorated.

The artistic representations of these belts, particularly those seen on Campanian vase painting, are inspired by bronze examples with a number of different types of clasp. These clasps have antecedents which can be traced back over a considerable period of time.

The vase paintings show that there were all manner of combinations of various types of belt and tunic. Both may be decorated or both may be plain. Alternatively, one can be plain while the other can be decorated. Similarly, the extent and complexity of decoration can also vary.

## 5 SAMNITE FOOTWEAR

The surviving representations on vases indicate that it was apparently normal for women and men, both Greek and non-Greek, to go around barefoot.

Samnite warriors even when fully equipped are often shown without shoes; this is particularly the case when they are shown wearing greaves or with the characteristic single spur. In combat, whether mounted or on foot, they are frequently portrayed without shoes. Women, especially native ones, are frequently shown barefoot while dressed in their tribal costumes.

Despite these facts, there are plenty of carefully drawn representations of footwear. These shoes may be drawn in the reserved technique or in added white. Because the shoes are often so carefully portrayed it is possible to discern a considerable variety of types. They may be seen not only on Italiote examples but also on Attic red-figure vases from the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The Lucanian, Apulian, Campanian, and Paestan examples are likely to have been influenced by Attic models. Normally there is little difference between the footwear worn by men and women; boots are exceptional in that they show some sexual differentiation. Women, perhaps because of their long garments, seemed to prefer ankle-high boots whereas men, both civilian and military, seem to have favoured boots reaching higher up the leg; some younger warriors are shown wearing ankle-high shoes (cf. the vases cited below under C. 4).

A variety of types of footwear can be discerned where the drawing is well preserved and well enough defined. Apart from boots of different heights, there are low, ankle-high and somewhat higher shoes with the upper edge accentuated. Occasionally there is a small hole at the tip of the boot or low shoe.

Sandals sometimes have white soles, which is attached to the foot by a strap around the instep. Some types of sandal leave the foot almost completely uncovered, while there are others which are laced all over, even above the ankle or even higher up the leg.

Socks do not seem to have existed or at any rate they were not worn with shoes. Some vase paintings suggest that there might have been items of footwear made of soft fabrics (e.g. the footwear worn by Athenian symposiasts, below Att. 4 and 5). Other items suggestive of modern socks include the shoes of the Eros figure (below L.4) and those of Campanian Samnite warriors done in outline technique (C.3 below).

Also of significance is the so-called 'Ionian-type' footwear with the round and turned-up toe, which was possibly introduced into mainland Greece by Ionian East Greeks. Low shoes and boots may be seen worn by both men and women on Attic black- and red-figure vases as well as on Italiote vessels.

It is also noteworthy that a kind of forerunner appears on Hittite reliefs where gods, demons and priests are represented wearing heavy-looking boots of this type (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: pls 92–3, 111 (dated to 1050–850 BC), 127 (dated 850–700 BC) & 128 (dated to 850 BC)). In addition, two small terracotta vases, seemingly rhyta in the shape of boots, should be mentioned. These too belong to this early period. One of them, which was found at Kültepe (8.5 cm in height), is decorated in geometric patterns, the other (5.1 cm in height) shows lines which might indicate the way in which the pieces of leather, from which real shoes were made, were sewn together (Akurgal & Hirmer 1962: pl. 33, 2–3; *L'Art au Pays des Hittites, 6000 à 600 av. J.C., Collections des Musées de Turquie* 1964: no. 104 (ill.); no. 106 (ill.) with lines like seams). There are several specimens of this kind dating from the 8th/7th century BC which have been found in the Urartian lands.

During the course of the 6th century this type of footwear spread further. We find Greek influenced representations of such items in Anatolia, while the Eastern type appeared in a number of European countries.

There is from Ankara in Phrygia a decorated tile which shows two warriors whose footwear reflects the influence of the Archaic Greek style. They wear the Eastern type boot with the curved turned-up toe but the shape of the boot is more slender and not unlike examples known from Greek vases (Akurgal 1961: pl. VII.c).

By contrast, the Eastern type is represented on a group of bronze situlae dated to the 6th/5th century BC which are supposed to originate from the area which is in modern Yugoslavia. These situlae have been found in archaeological contexts in North Italy, beyond the river Po, in Central Italy, and south of the Danube, near Austrian Hallstatt for example (Kastelic 1965: pls 1 & 67 which show boots and pl. 58 shows a boot with a turned-up toe).

The single terracotta pair of Eastern type shoes which came to light on Sicily some time ago remains a unique find (Zanotti Bianco 1961: 97, no. 87).

Much earlier than this, however, these terracotta shoe vases seem to have spread over a number of different countries.

*Select list of Attic, Lucanian, Apulian, Campanian and Paestan footwear*

In the following list the examples are not arranged according to the date of the vases, but in groups according to the type of footwear.

*Some Attic examples*

*Sandals*

**Att. 1** Hydria, Florence 81947.

The sandals are laced over the instep and a little above the ankle. The toes and foot are largely uncovered. They are worn by Himeros and Pothos who pull Aphrodite's chariot.

Meidias Painter. Dated to c.410 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 377, fig. 217.

**Att. 2** Hydria, BM E 224.

The sandals are laced around the ankle and heel while the foot is left uncovered.

The sandals have a clear sole. They are worn by one of the daughters of Leucippus who is being raped by one of the Dioskouroi.

Meidias Painter. Dated to c.410 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 376, fig. 215 below.

**Att. 3** Hydria, BM E 224. Fig.17.

Here the sandals are laced all over the foot and leg. Again the sole is clearly indicated. They are worn by a Dioskouros who is raping a Leucippid.

Meidias Painter. Dated to c.410 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 376, fig. 215 below.

*Plain ankle-high shoes*

**Att. 4** Kylix, Villa Giulia 50396. Fig. 18.

These plain ankle-high shoes have a clearly defined sole and a ribbon which is knotted around the ankle. They are worn by a symposiast.

Makron. Dated to c.490 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 333, fig. 132 below.

**Att. 5** Kylix, Würzburg 479.

Similar to Villa Giulia 50369 (above). The same type of shoe is again worn by a symposiast.

Brygos Painter. Dated to c.490 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 337, fig. 138 below.

*Boots*

**Att. 6** Bell krater with lion's-head handles, Palermo V 778.

Here a pair of plain, high boots apparently without laces are shown. The boots have a curved upper edge. They are worn by a Greek youth playing the flute.

Pan Painter. Dated to c.460 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 347, fig. 161.

(Similar type boots are discussed in Att. 9 below; v. Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 348, fig. 165).



Fig. 17 Sandals worn by one of the Dioskouroi, after hydria BM E224

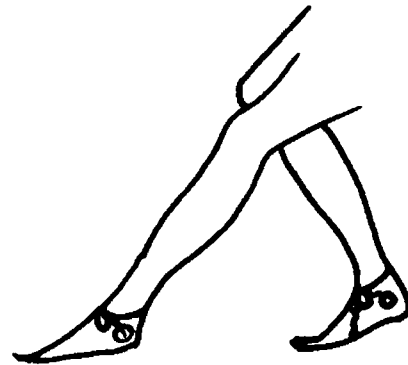


Fig. 18 Shoes worn by a symposiast, after kylix, Villa Giulia 50396



Fig. 19 Shoes worn by a woman, after kylix, Tarquinia RC 6848

*Ankle-high shoes with turned-up toes (Ionian-type shoe)*

**Att. 7** Kylix, Tarquinia, RC 6848. Fig. 19.

This pair of ornate, ankle-high shoes, with turned-up toes, is worn by a female (presumably an Ionian). On the left shoe a row of dots, which served as decoration, is preserved.

Attributed to Olto. Dated to c.515–510 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 321, fig. 103 above.

*Boots with turned-up toes*

**Att. 8** Lekythos, Boston Museum of Fine Art, 13.198.

On this vase, boots with turned-up toes are depicted in profile and in frontal view.

The part of the boot which covers the foot is plain and it is secured by broad, black laces high up the leg. The boots are worn by a young hunter, possibly Kephalos.

Pan Painter. Dated to c.470/60 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 347, fig. 164.

*High-laced boots with slightly turned-up toes*

**Att. 9** Column krater, Syracuse 12781.

The laces on these boots have been rubbed off rather badly. The upper end of the lace seems to be tucked into the upper edge of the boot forming a curved line at the back of the leg. The boots are worn by a youth playing a flute.

Pan Painter. Dated to c.460 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 348, fig. 165.

*High-laced boots with flaps and turned-up toes***Att. 10** Kylix, Paris CdM 542. Fig. 20.

These boots have a plain foot and a turned-up toe which is clear in profile. They have two pairs of laces around the leg and flaps hanging down from the upper edge.

They are worn by a flute-playing Satyr.

Ascribed to Douris and dated to c.485 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 342–3, fig. 148.

*Lucanian Examples**Early South Italian sandals***L. 1** Volute krater, Taranto 8263. Fig. 21.

A pair of high-laced sandals are depicted with the ends of the laces hanging down from the top of the boot. There is a strap wrapped around the instep and heel while the toes are left uncovered. These sandals are worn by a Maenad who stands behind the seated Dionysos.

Karneia Painter. Dated to c.410 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 387–8, fig. 230; *LCS* (1/280): p. 55, pl. 24 (details of reverse); *ESI*, p. 38, no. 350, pl. 24 (dark ill. where the Maenad's shoes are not visible).



Fig. 20 Boots worn by a Satyr, after kylix, Paris CdM 542



Fig. 21 High-laced sandals worn by a Maenad, after volute krater, Taranto 8263



Fig. 22 Shoes worn by Eros, after pseudo-panathenaic amphora, Erlangen I 288

*Plain, ankle-high shoes***L. 2** Volute krater, Toledo 81.110.

The upper edges of these boots are not visible because they are covered by the woman's costume. This type of footwear is worn here by Ariadne, a silen and a woman.

Creusa Painter. Dated to c.380 BC.

*LCS Suppl. III* (C22), p. 46, pl. VII.1.

**L. 3** Bell krater, once on the Zürich market, which is similar to Toledo 81.110 (above).

Here this type of shoe is worn by two draped youths.

Attributed to the circle of the Creusa Painter and dated to c.380 BC.

*LCS Suppl. III* (C38), p. 47, pl. VIII.2.

*Plain shoes covering the ankle***L. 4** Pseudo-panathenaic amphora, Erlangen I 288. Plate 48. Fig. 22.

The upper edge of these shoes is formed of a single line. They have a clearly defined sole. They are worn by Eros.

Related to the Primato Group.

*LCS Suppl. II* (1038a), p. 177, pl. XXXII.4.

Photograph courtesy of the Erlangen Museum.

For this vase v. Ch. 5, 4, no. IId.

*Plain shoes which extend some way up the leg***L. 5** Stemless cup, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 69.232.

These shoes have a line which runs beneath the upper edge and parallel to it giving the impression that the upper edge was folded over. They are worn by a bearded silen.

Related to the work of the Minniti Painter (Intermediate Group).

*LCS Suppl. III*, (366a), p. 27, pl. IV.1.

*Some general observations on high-laced boots and sandals*

It seems that various methods were used to secure the laces, especially with regard to keeping the horizontal part in place. In some cases we see a short curving line at the upper edge of the horizontal part and two vertical lines, or sometimes only one, running across the horizontal laces. At ankle height there is sometimes another short, curving or pointed line, e.g. Toledo 81.110, reverse (L. 6, v. fig. 23). On the other hand, there are some cases which lack the vertical lines, e.g. BM F 297 (here Ap. 11) where the horizontal laces are kept in place by buttons, painted in white. No buttons or vertical laces are applied on BM F 376 (Ap. 7) where the curving line at the top might indicate that they were tucked in to the upper edge of the boot.

*High-laced boots***L. 6** Volute krater, Toledo 81.110. Fig. 23.

These boots have one vertical lace, the upper end of which is tucked into the uppermost part of the lace which encircles the leg (note the curving line at the top). A row of black buttons flank the vertical part of the laces. The foot of these boots is highly ornate (note especially the left foot). This type of boot is worn by two young Greek warriors who are talking to two young Greek women. The scene is on the other side of the vase labelled here as L. 2.

Creusa Painter. Dated to c.380 BC.

*LCS Suppl. III* (C22), p. 46, pl. VII.2.

*Early South Italian high-laced boots***L. 7** Calyx krater, Paris CdM. 422.

The upper part of these high-laced boots has been rubbed off. The boots are of a type with a vertical lace flanked by a row of black buttons (see above). Worn by Odysseus consulting the shade of Teiresias.

Dolon Painter.

*ESI*, p. 45, no. 512, pl. 16.

*Boots with flaps***L. 8** Type I nestoris, Geneva (Vandoeuvres), Ortiz collection.

These high-laced boots with flaps have a plain foot. They are worn by two hunters at the Calydonian boar hunt.

Dolon Painter. Dated to c.370 BC.

*LCS Suppl. III* (D28), p. 61, pl. X.1.

*Ankle-high shoes with turned-up toes***L. 9** Volute krater, Toledo 81.110. Fig. 24.

These ankle-high shoes with turned-up toes have no sole represented. They are worn by the seated Dionysos in a scene from the same side of the vase described earlier as L. 2 (see also L. 6).

Creusa Painter. Dated to c.380 BC.

*LCS Suppl. III* (C22), p. 46, pl. VII.1.

*High-laced boots with flaps and turned-up toes***L. 10** Volute krater, Taranto 8263. Fig. 25.

These boots are worn by the seated Dionysos who listens to a Maenad's flute. The scene is from the same vase as that described earlier as L. 1.

Karneia Painter. Dated to c.410 BC.

Arias, Hirmer & Shefton 1962: 387–88, fig. 230; *LCS* (1/280), p. 55, pl. 24 (details of reverse); *ESI*, p. 38, no. 350, pl. 24.



Fig. 23 Boots worn by Greek warriors, after volute krater, Toledo 81.110



Fig. 25 Boots worn by Dionysos, after volute krater, Taranto 8263



Fig. 24 Shoes worn by Dionysos, after volute krater, Toledo 81.110

*Apulian Examples**Sandals***Ap. 1** Volute krater, Ruvo 1096.

These sandals have a single lace wrapped around the second toe; similar to the way sandals are often worn today. They are worn by a Leucippid who is about to be raped by one of the Dioskouroi.

Sisyphus Painter. Dated to c.420 BC.

*RVAp I* (1/52), p. 16, pl. 5.1 in the section on 'Early Vases'.

*Early South Italian sandals***Ap. 2** Volute krater, Taranto 8264.

These ankle-high sandals are made up entirely of straps. The sole is indicated in added white. They are worn by Zeus in a scene showing the birth of Dionysos.

Name vase of the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos. Dated to c.410 BC.

*RVAp.I*, (2/6), p. 35, pl. 9.1 (shows several details of this vase); full picture: *ESI*, (166), p. 53, pl. 31.

*High-laced sandals***Ap. 3** Loutrophoros, Basel S 21.

These high-laced sandals completely cover the leg and foot with laces. This type of sandal is worn by Admetos and his young daughter.

The style is close to the Laodamia Painter.

Schmidt, Trendall & Cambitoglou 1976: 78–80, pl. 21 and colourplate.

*Ankle-high shoes***Ap. 4** Pelike, Policoro 32481.

These shoes have a strap around the instep which is connected to a strap wrapped around the ankle. The foot of the shoe is plain. Shoes of this type are worn by a seated Greek woman and by the Greek youth who stands before her.

Painter of the Truro Pelike. Dated to c.340/30 BC.

*RVAp.II*, (20/9), p. 562, pl. 210.5.

*Plain ankle-high or slightly higher shoes***Ap. 5** Calyx krater, BM F 272.

This type of shoe has one or two straps around the ankle and a strap around the instep. There is a clearly visible sole. They are worn by the principal female figure and three other women. The principal figure is often taken to be Phaedra, although it is possible that she represents Laodamia.

Name vase of the Laodamia Painter. Dated to c.350/40 BC.

*RVAp II*, (18/14), p. 481, pl. 171.1–3 (obverse and reverse).

*Boots***Ap. 6** Oinochoe (shape 1), BM F 376. Plate 49.

Apparently there is a preference on Apulian vases for portraying Samnite warriors as wearing boots. Here the boots are laced, of different heights and patterned. The boots are low-laced with the upper end of the lace tucked into the upper edge of the boot forming a curved line. This type of footwear is worn by a young Samnite warrior shown standing by his horse.

Patera Painter. Dated to c.330 BC.

*RVAp II* (23/84), p. 737, (no ill.).

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 3, 1.



**Ap. 7** Column krater, Naples Stg. 456.

High-laced boots with buttons flanking the vertical lace which runs down to the undecorated foot. There is a strap running around the instep. They are worn by a seated Samnite warrior holding a kantharos and receiving an offering from a Greek woman.

Wolfenbüttel Painter. Dated to c.350/40 BC.

*RVAp I* (13/196), p. 357, pl. 115,3.

**Ap. 8** Column krater, Würzburg 858. Plate 50.

These high-laced boots have two pairs of laces. Two parallel laces run down and are connected to the strap which is wrapped around the instep. The foot is plain and there is a well defined sole. This type of footwear is worn by two Samnite warriors. One is seated and holds a phiale, the other stands before him pouring wine from a goatskin into his vessel. A Greek woman watches this scene.

Connected in style to the Painter of Geneva MF 290, who is connected to the Roermond Painter. Dated to c.350/40 BC.

*RVAp I* (14/80), p. 368, (no ill.); Langlotz 1932: 151, pl. 246.

Photograph courtesy of the Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg.

For this vase cf. APPENDIX.

*Boots with turned-up toe***Ap. 9** Column krater, Naples 2036/81714.

These boots have two pairs of laces wrapped around the leg. There is a vertical lace which runs down to the plain foot of the shoe this is connected to the strap which is wrapped around the instep. Worn by a seated Apulian Samnite warrior who is holding a phiale and receiving a wreath from the Greek woman who stands before him. The scene is similar to the above — Naples Stg. 456, here Ap. 7. (For the upturned toe v. also the vase here labelled P. 8).

Barletta Painter. Dated to c.330 BC.

*RVAp I* (14/230), p. 389, pl. 134.3.

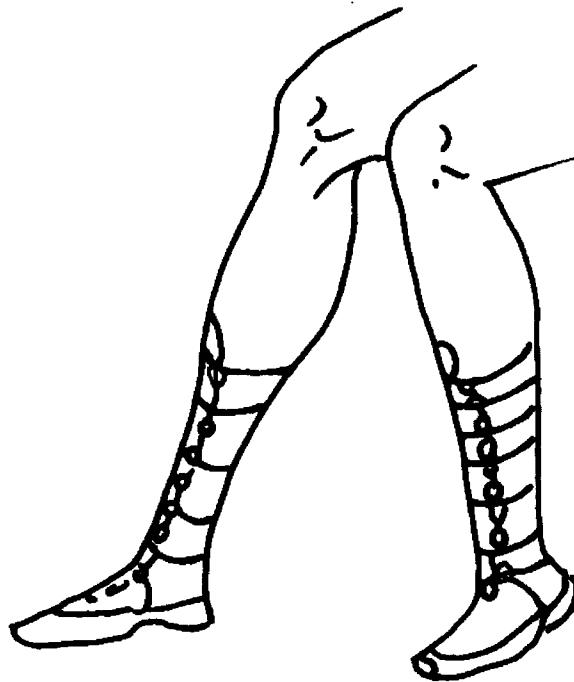


Fig. 26 Boots worn by an Apulian Samnite,  
after column krater, BM F297

*High-laced boots with white flaps***Ap. 10** Volute krater, Basel BS 464.

These high-laced boots have white flaps white hang down from their upper edge. Worn by Amphiaraos who stands before Pluto; the latter is seated in his palace.

Baltimore Painter. Dated to c.330/25 BC.

Schmidt, Trendall & Cambitoglou 1976: 51–71, pl. 17; *RVAp II* (27/23), p. 865, (no ill.).

*High-laced open-toed boots***Ap. 11** Column krater BM F 297. Plate 31. Fig. 26.

On these high-laced boots the end of the vertical lace is tucked into the uppermost part of the lace running around the leg. They have a strap around the ankle and over the instep which is connected to the vertical lace. The foot of these boots is decorated (see especially the sketch of the right foot). They are worn by a seated Apulian Samnite warrior who holds a phiale while a Greek woman offers him a wreath.

For the open-toed boot v. the vase labelled here C. 13. For the end of the vertical lace tucked into the laces running around the leg, cf., for example, Schmidt, Trendall & Cambitoglou 1976: 94–7, pl. 23 and also the vase labelled here L. 6.

Wolfenbüttel Painter. Dated to c.350/40 BC.

*RVAp I* (13/197), p. 357, pl. 115.5; *RVSIS*, p. 84, pl. 175.

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 2 and APPENDIX.

*Some observations on the high-laced boots preferred by paidagogoi*

High-laced boots are part of the standard costume of Apulian paidagogoi. This is not the case with Campanian and Paestan examples.

The following are examples of the latter two groups:

## a) Plate 51

A drawing by Tischbein (Weege 1909: 133, fig. 13 after Tischbein, I 60) shows a lost Campanian vase painting bearing the remarkable scene of a female (?paidagogos) instructing a female acrobatic dancer on the upper register (cf. Ch. 5, 2); on the lower register a barefooted youth is shown with his sword raised as he stops a duel. One of the combatants in the duel is a Samnite and wears the typical Samnite cuirass.

For this drawing cf. Ch. 3, 4.

## b) Plate 52

On a Paestan tomb-painting a barefoot and bearded man wearing a himation stops the duel with his right hand down (Weege 1909: 118, no. 33, fig. 8 based upon a drawing of the original which is now lost).

For this fresco cf. Ch. 3, 4.

*Examples of Apulian paidagogoi wearing boots*

For general information on Apulian paidagogoi v. Chamay & Cambitoglou 1980: 40–3; *RVAp II*, p. 610; and the discussion of the volute krater (Princeton 83.13) by Darius Painter (below Ap. 14) in Trendall 1984.

*High-laced boots***Ap. 12** Kantharos, Ruvo 1394.

These are high-laced boots with two vertical rows of laces which are drawn rather sketchily. Presumably these would have been fastened at ankle height where the strap around the instep is situated. The shoe part is plain and no sole is indicated. They are worn by a white haired, bearded paidagogos, who is clad in the standard

costume of a white chiton and cloak over the shoulders, fastened by a brooch under the chin. The single figure of the paidagogos seems to be a kind of portrait of this type of person.

Ascribed to the Paidagogos Group which forms part of the general group of the Darius-Underworld Painters.

For information on the Paidagogos Group and associated vases v. *RVAp II*, p. 610–612.  
*RVAp II* (21/48), p. 610, pl. 234.3.

#### *High-laced boots with a white foot*

##### **Ap. 13** Calyx krater, Kiev 120.

These high-laced boots have a white foot and laces in added white which are partly rubbed off. They are worn by a white haired and bearded paidagogos who wears a white three-quarter length chiton and a cloak fastened under the chin by a brooch. His right arm is outstretched and in his right hand he holds a stick. The paidagogos is standing before Ganymede who plays with a swan.

Attributed to a painter connected with the Perrone-Phrixos Group. Dated to c.330 BC.

*RVAp II* (18/243), p. 526, pl. 191.4.

#### *High-laced boots with flaps*

##### **Ap. 14** Volute krater, Princeton 83.13.

These boots have two vertical rows of laces extending down over part of the plain foot area. These laces are flanked by white buttons. A kind of heel is indicated in added white. The upper edge of these boots has a band in added white. These boots have white flaps which hang down from their upper edge. They are worn by a paidagogos who is standing inside a temple at Eleusis. The paidagogos is listening to Medea who stands before him talking. He wears the usual costume which has been described above. His chiton is knee length and he wears a black cord or belt tied around the waist. He also has a wide cloak around his shoulders which, as usual, is fastened by a brooch beneath the chin. His right hand is held under his chin and is covered by the cloak. He rests his head on a white stick held in his right hand. The paidagogos is white haired and bearded. He holds a pilos in his left hand which is held behind his back; as a result the pilos is half-hidden.

Darius Painter.

Trendall 1984; *RVAp Suppl. I* (18/41a), p. 78, pl. XII.

#### *Some Campanian Examples*

##### *Sandals*

##### **C. 1** Oinochoe (shape 10), Paris CdM 987.

These ankle-high sandals have a strap over the instep which is connected to the strap which runs around the ankle (compare with the Attic example, here Att. 2). These sandals are worn by a small Eros figure who is embracing a woman who may perhaps be Aphrodite.

Related in style to the Whiteface Painter.

*LCS Suppl. III* (3/109f), p. 189, pl. XXI.6.

##### *High-laced sandals*

##### **C. 2** Calyx krater, Lipari 11806.

The foot and lower leg are completely covered with laces in this example; no sole is visible. Worn by a small Eros figure who stands behind a woman.

Prado/Fienga Painter. Dated to c. 380–370 BC.

*LCS Suppl. III* (1/120), p.108, pl. XII.4.

*Ankle-high shoes (shown in the outline technique)*

**C. 3** Amphora decorated in outline technique, Vatican AB 14. Plate 53a–d.  
 These shoes are similar to those depicted on the pseudo-panathenaic amphora, Erlangen I 288, here described as L. 4. Here the shoes are worn by two warriors. They are painted in outline technique and the shoes are solid painted in black. *VIE II*, (AB 14), p. 273, figs. 37a–d. Illustrated in Frederiksen 1968: figs 4–5; Weege 1909: 136–7, fig. 14. For this vase v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Vg.

*Three similar examples of ornate ankle high shoes*

**C. 4** (C. 4.1, C. 4.2, C. 4.3)

On these three vases the ornate ankle-high shoes have a knotted ribbon on their upper edges. They have a white sole and a single strap on the foot. In each case they are worn by a young Samnite warrior in training.

**C. 4.1** Bail amphora, Naples priv. coll. 228. Plate 54.

*LCS Suppl. III* (2/822d), p. 160, pl. XVIII.1.

**C. 4.2** Skyphos, Naples priv. coll. 1–8–6. Plate 55.

*LCS Suppl. III* (2/843a), p. 162, pl. XVIII.3.

**C. 4.3** Skyphos, Bloomington I.U.A.M. 100.10.5.81 B. Plate 56a.

*LCS Suppl. III* (2/843b), p. 162, pl. XVIII.4.

All three vases are ascribed to the Ixion Group. (For these vases cf. especially Ch. 3, 1).

*Ornate ankle-high shoes*

**C. 5** Neck amphora, Swiss priv. coll.

These shoes are decorated with stripes on the foot. They are won by Eros.

Laghetto Painter.

*LCS Suppl. III* (2/510a), p. 144, pl. XV.2.

*Plain shoes which extend somewhat above the ankle*

**C. 6** Skyphos, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 03.822. Plate 1. Fig. 27.

These shoes have two parallel straps wrapped around the instep. The upper edge which is somewhat above the ankle is indicated in white. Below the ankle there are two parallel lines. The sole is indicated in white. They are worn by a Samnite boy dressed in a loin-cloth

Errera Painter. Dated to c.330 BC.

*LCS* (2/718), p. 323, (no ill.); Beazley 1943: 83, no. 4, pl. VI.

Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Francis Bartlett Donation.

For this vase cf. ASPECTS OF SAMNITE LIFE (in *Author's Notes*) and Ch. 1, 2. v. Ch. 3, 5, no. 1.

**C. 7** Bail amphora, Museo Campano, Capua 7541. Plate 57.

These shoes are similar to those above (Boston 03.822; here C. 6). They are worn by a seated Samnite warrior who has a feathered helmet, a spear and a shield. The warrior is holding a fillet.

Errera Painter. Dated to c.330 BC.

*LCS* (2/706), p. 322, pl. 120.3.

Photograph courtesy of the Museo Campano, Capua.

*Boots**Low-laced boots*

**C. 8** Neck amphora, Brussels A 3550. Plate 26a.

These boots have the laces painted in added white and white soles. They are worn by a group of Samnite warriors carrying out an assault.

Errera Painter. Dated to c.340–330 BC.

*LCS* (2/704), p. 322, pl. 126.1.

Photograph courtesy of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.

For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 2 and Ch. 2, 7. v. Ch. 3, 3, no. IVa.



Fig. 27 Shoes worn by a Samnite boy, after skyphos, Boston 03.822

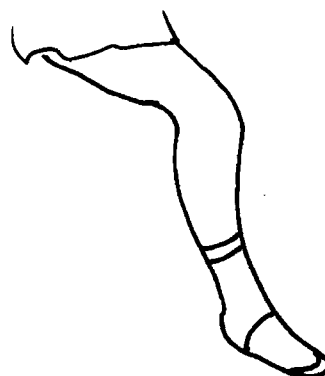


Fig. 29 Boots worn by a Samnite boy, after neck amphora, The Hague, Liefkes coll.

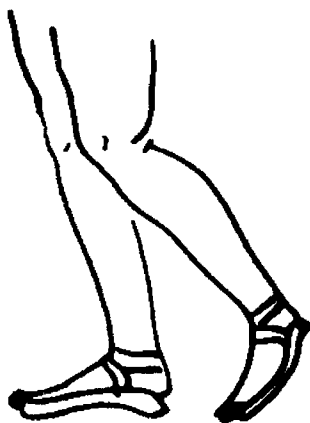


Fig. 28 Shoes worn by a Satyr and a youth, after bail amphora, Naples priv. coll. 1-7-4

### C. 9 Hydria, BM F 215. Plate 15.

These low-laced boots have black laces and a sole in added white. They are worn by the right hand Samnite warrior in the scene. He is engaged in combat and stands by a tree.

Libation Painter.

*LCS* (3/303), p. 406, pl. 160.3; *Indigeni*, p. 18, pl. 53.

Photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

For this vase cf. Ch. 1, 2. v. Ch. 3, 3, no. IIIa.

### *High-laced boots*

#### C. 10 Skyphos, Museo Campano, Capua. Plate 58.

The painting of these boots has been rather rubbed off. They are worn by a running Samnite warrior whose spear is pointed downwards.

Laon Painter. Dated to c.335 BC.

*LCS* (2/50), p. 233, pl. 91.3.

Photograph courtesy of the Museo Campano, Capua.

For this vase v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Id.

### *Shoes with turned-up toes*

#### C. 11 Bail amphora, Naples, priv. coll. 1-7-4. Plate 59a & b. Fig. 28.

These ankle-high shoes have a turned-up toe and a strap around the ankle. The sole is painted in white. They are worn by a young, standing Satyr playing the flute on the obverse of the vase and a draped youth on the reverse.

Painter of Naples 128012. Dated to c.320 BC.

*LCS Suppl. III* (2/370b), p. 135, pl. IV.5-6.

Photograph courtesy of Professor A.D. Trendall.

*High-laced boots with turned-up toes*

**C. 12** Bail amphora, once on the Zürich market, Galerie Koller. Plate 60.

These boots have a single vertical strap which is connected to the strap wrapped over the instep. They have turned-up toes and the sole is painted in added white. They are worn by a young Samnite warrior who has a spear, a shield and a spiked diadem.

Ixion Group.

*LCS Suppl. III* (2/822g), p. 160, pl. XVIII.2.

For this vase cf. Ch. 3, 1.

*Boots with a small hole in the toe area*

**C. 13** Neck amphora, Liefkes collection, The Hague. Plate 4. Fig. 29.

These are high-laced boots with open toes. They are worn by a mounted Samnite boy who returns with his father.

LNO Painter. Dated to c.320 BC.

*LCS* (4/291), p. 481, pl. 185.9; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1975: no. 587, pl. 239.

Photograph courtesy of Dr L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford.

For this vase cf. ASPECTS OF SAMNITE LIFE (in *Author's Notes*), Ch. 3, 1 and Ch. 5, 2. v. Ch. 6, 3, no. IIc.

*Paestan examples**Sandals*

**P. 1** Calyx krater, Syracuse 36334.

On these high-laced sandals the vertical lace extends down to the strap around the ankle. They have a strap wrapped around the instep. They are worn by a young silen who stands before a standing woman.

Dirce Painter. Dated to the period c.380–350 BC.

*PP*, p.7 & 113, no. 1, pl. Ia. *RVP* (1/1), p. 24, pl. 1a.

*Ankle-high shoes*

**P. 2** Bell krater, Madrid 11019.

These shoes have a plain ribbon which is knotted around the ankle. They are worn by a seated, bearded silen. Dionysos stands before him with a thyrsus and a sprig.

Attributed to Asteas. Dated to c.350 BC.

*PP*, p. 40 & 116, no. 44, fig. 18. *RVP* (2/37), p. 72, pl. 26c.

*Women's patterned ankle-high shoes*

**P. 3** Bell krater, Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia, 81.72. Plate 61.

On the obverse of the vase a woman wears a pair of shoes with a single strap over the instep and shown. The sole is clearly indicated. There is a decorative stripe which runs over the shoe. The scene may be interpreted as a marriage ceremony.

Ascribed to Python. Dated to c.330–310 BC.

*RVP* (2/285), p. 160, pl. 104.c; Mayo 1982: 240, no. 113.

Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.

For this vase cf. Ch. 2, 1, Ch. 4, 2 and Ch. 6, 2.

*Patterned ankle-high shoes*

**P. 4** Bell krater, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, D 391/1980.

The shoes depicted here are somewhat rubbed off. The upper edge, located somewhere above the ankle remains visible, it curves round to the ankle. There are two white dots at the upper edge and one white dot at the ankle. Down on the foot there are two black dots. The shoes have a white sole. They are worn by a standing Maenad who leans against a pillar and holds out to Dionysos a twig in her right hand and a phlyax mask in her left.

Attributed to Asteas. Dated to c.360/350 BC.

*RVP* (2/24), p. 68, pl. 21c; Trendall 1981: 20–29, figs 20, 22–23, 26.

*Shoes that come somewhat above the ankle***P. 5** Bell krater, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, D 391/1980.

Similar to the shoes worn by the Maenad in the same scene described above; here P. 4. This pair have a white upper edge. They are worn by Dionysos who stands before the Maenad.

Attributed to Asteas. Dated to *c.*360/350 BC.

*RVP* (2/24), p. 68, pl. 21c; Trendall 1981: 20–29, figs 20, 22–23, 26.

**P. 6** Bell krater, BM F 188.

Ankle-high shoes similar to the above from Melbourne (P. 4 & P. 5). Worn by Dionysos who stands before a dancing phylax.

Attributed to Asteas. Dated to 360/350 BC.

*PP*, p. 38 & 116, no. 36, fig. 15; *RVP* (2/26), p. 68, pl. 22c.

*High-laced boots***P. 7** Hydria, Madrid 11139.

These boots have a vertical lace which runs down to the ankle. They are worn by a Greek youth who has an offering for the Greek woman who is seated before him.

Now attributed to the Painter of Würzburg H 5739, who was part of the Asteas-Python workshop.

*PP*, p. 49 & 117, no. 76, fig. 38; *RVP* (2/400), p. 180, pl. 125b.

*High-laced boots with turned-up toes***P. 8** Oinochoe (shape 2), Vienna 413.

These high-laced boots have a vertical lace which runs down to the strap around the ankle which takes the form of a knotted ribbon with a white dot. They have a turned-up toe and a white sole. They are worn by a Greek youth who runs with a woman who, herself, is wearing ankle-high shoes.

Attributed to Asteas. Dated to *c.*350/340 BC.

*PP*, p. 42 & 116, no. 53, fig. 24; *RVP* (2/214), p. 133, pl. 82b.

*Examples from Paestan tomb-paintings**Sandals***P. 9** Paestan tomb-painting. Plate 62.

These sandals have two strings around the ankle. The foot is completely uncovered and no sole is visible. They are worn by a mounted Samnite warrior returning with two prisoners.

Sestieri 1956–57: 77–8, figs 15 & 16.

For this fresco v. Ch. 3, 3, no. Ve.

**P. 10** Paestan tomb-painting, known as the 'Procession' fresco. Plate 5.

The footwear in this fresco is similar to the above (here P. 9). Here the sandals are worn by a mounted Samnite warrior returning in procession.

*PP*, p. 82, pl. XXXIc; Bianchi Bandinelli & Giuliano 1973: pl. 267.

For this fresco cf. Ch. 1, 2, Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 2, 3.

*Boots***P. 11** Paestan tomb-painting, known as the 'Procession' fresco. Plate 5.

This fresco shows a pair of high-laced boots worn by a bearded prisoner wearing a white himation. He is marching behind the Samnite cavalryman mentioned above (see P. 9). At the same time he holds onto the horse's tail.

*PP*, p. 82, pl. XXXIc; Bianchi Bandinelli & Giuliano 1973: pl. 267.

For this fresco cf. Ch. 1, 2, Ch. 2, 1 and Ch. 2, 3.

*High-laced boots ('Schnürstiefel' type)*

**P. 12** Paestan tomb-painting. Now destroyed, recorded by F. Weege.

This type of footwear is worn by a Samnite warrior portrayed in a farewell scene.

His small son is also present.

Weege 1909: 117, no. 31 (no ill.).

*Plain high boots*

**P. 13** Paestan tomb-painting.

These plain high boots have their upper edge drawn as a single line while there is another which runs just below and parallel to it. They are worn by a Samnite who is a hunter. The Samnite wears a tunic of Apulian type with a broad, red vertical stripe on the back and broad, red upper and lower edges. There are also broad, red stripes around the ends of the sleeves.

Napoli 1970a: 62, fig. 101.

Finally there is another group of representations of footwear which may be mentioned in addition to vase and tomb-paintings. There is a small number of moulded vases in the shape of a human foot or leg on which sandals, shoes or boots are represented in paint (Maximova 1927; Higgins 1959; Ducat 1966).

The style of these vases has led them to be called 'Ionian' or 'East Greek', like the aforementioned footwear with turned-up toe. Rhodes, Samos, Paros, Crete, Corinth, Eretria and Boeotia are assumed to be places of origin. One such vase, found in Akragas, is assumed to have been made using an East Greek mould.

Such plastic vases are made in two parts. The leg is turned on the wheel and the moulded foot is added later. The foot is made in two moulds one for each side of the foot. The top of a plastic vase can be cut off flat or have a mouth resembling a lekythos or an aryballos. These vases are dated to the 6th century BC. The footwear painted on them is similar to the types known from Attic and Italiote vases of the 5th and 4th centuries BC; often, however, they are more colourful and portrayed in greater detail. For a list of the related types v. the index to this section below.

*Some examples of footwear as represented on plastic vases*

(As with the previous list the vases here are listed according to the type of footwear rather than the type or date of the vases).

*Sandal painted on a plastic foot (type 1)*

**PF. 1** BM 24.3–10.5. From Samos.

The sandal has a strap running across the toes, from which another strap runs up to the ankle, where it is combined with the strap running around the ankle. A short thong splits from both the right and left hand sides of the strap which runs over the foot. These short thongs are fastened to a broad, decorated strap which is divided into two parts and comes from the back of the foot. At the back the two halves of this strap are united to form a leather tongue.

Plastic foot: 90 mm high. It is probably a left foot and was made in two half moulds. The mouth of the vase resembles that of an aryballos. It has a broad plaque at the back which is decorated with a Gorgon's head. The sandal has a sole attached which is indicated by horizontal lines which are presumably supposed to indicate different layers of leather. The decoration, including the Gorgon's head, is done in black glaze with added red and white.

Payne (1931: 88, no. 3) dated this vase to the second half of the 6th century BC based upon the style of the Gorgon's head.

Higgins 1959: 32–3, no. 1655, pl. 22.



*Sandal painted on a plastic foot (type 2)***PF. 2** BM 1928. 1–17.49.

This type of footwear is related to type 1 above. This example is more completely covered with straps, however.

Plastic foot: 80 mm high. In terms of technique and shape this vase may be related to that described above (no. 1655; here PF. 1). Like the above it has an aryballos type mouth but the plaque at the back is smaller in this instance. It is decorated with a palmette in black glaze with added red and white. The sole of the sandal is decorated with black knobs.

Dated to the 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC based upon the style of the palmette which may be compared with those on the Little Master cups.

Higgins 1959: 33–4, no. 1656, pl. 23; Ducat 1966: 182, no. 1.

*Sandal painted on a plastic foot (type 2 related to type 1)***PF. 3** BM 1950. 2–II.1. From Acragas, Sicily.

The sandal painted on this foot is laced in a similar way to those on vase no. 1655 (here PF. 1), however the paint has mostly been rubbed off in this example.

Plastic foot similar to no. 1655 (here PF. 1): 100 mm high. In terms of technique this vase is again similar to no. 1655. The mouth is of aryballos type. The plaque at the back is smaller than in no. 1655. The sole of this example is left undecorated. Probably a South Italian version of an East Greek type. The clay is orange with mica and has a pale green slip.

Higgins 1959: 47, no. 1680, pl. 33.

*Sandal painted on a plastic foot (related to types 1 & 2)***PF. 4** Athens National Museum, NM 2072. From Crete.

The sandal is similar to the type 1 example. The paint is partly rubbed off.

Plastic foot: 166 mm high. The shape is similar to nos 1655 and 1656 (here PF. 1 and PF. 2 respectively), but it does not have the aryballos type mouth. Instead the vase broadens towards the upper edge which is cut off flat. There is a broad band beneath the upper edge.

Ducat 1966: 185, pl. XXIV.3.

*Sandal painted on the foot of the boot of a plastic leg  
(fragmentary; the laces assumed to be going up the leg are not discernible)***PF. 5** BM 42.4 – 4.9. From Vulci. Formerly in the Feoli collection.

This example is laced on the foot in a way similar to no. 1655 (PF. 1).

Plastic leg is 110 mm high. It is incompletely restored from fragments. Decoration on the leg is not discernible.

Higgins 1959: 30, no. 1651, pl. 20.

*Sandal painted on the foot of the boot of a plastic leg***PF. 6** Berlin F 1307 (A 22).

The foot is laced in a way broadly similar to no. 1655 (here PF. 1). There is a knot at ankle height which keeps the laces in place. The upper edge of what might have been a high-laced boot undulates down to the front. There are two parallel lines beneath the upper edge. The leg forms an open vase shape which was closed with a cover with a knob. There is a band round the mouth of the vessel which is filled with geometric patterns.

Ducat 1966: 135, pl. XX.3. No measurements are given; the place of origin is unknown. Maximova 1927: no. 80, pl. XX–XXI. Here a height of 280mm is given for the leg. This vase is in the collection Fourtâles. The clay is pale, and the decoration is in black glaze with added white and red. It is part of the 'Groupe au Style Grabade'.

For the undulating upper edge of a boot v. the Attic red-figure example, here Att. 6; and PF. 10.

*Shoe on plastic foot*

**PF 7** Munich, Glyptothek, coll. Arndt, inv. 98.9.

Plain, long shoe with a pointed toe in red and a strap over the instep. There is broad band just above the ankle with alternating patterns of plain and dotted horizontal rows painted in red-brown. The vase is moulded into the shape of the shoes so the foot itself is not visible. It has a thin sole.

Maximova 1927: no. 137, pl. XXXVII. No measurements or date are given. It is 'Italo-Ionian' in origin.

*Boot on plastic leg (shoe on foot with turned-up toe: fragmentary vessel, incompletely restored)*

**PF 8** BM 46.9–25.22. No place of origin.

Here the boot extends about halfway up the lower leg. There is a band beneath the upper edge of the boot. The tongue extends above the upper edge of the boot and ends in a tongue-patterned border with a volute on either side. At the back above the boot, is a large decorative rosette. The plastic leg is 280 mm high. The vase has an open mouth. The rim of the vase is decorated with a broad ornate band. The vase is covered in black glaze with added red and white.

Higgins 1959: 29, no. 1650, pl. 21; Ducat 1966: 134, no. 1, pl. XX.1–2. (For the turned-up toe v. also the vase labelled here as Ap. 9).

*Boot on bent plastic legs*

**PF 9** Louvre CA 3547.

The boot goes halfway up the lower leg and has a broad straps (incised) above the ankle and over the instep. A strap is fastened onto the latter. The leg itself is bent. Ducat 1966: 135, no. 8, pl. XXI.1.

**PF 10** Berlin, Antiquarium, F 1308.

A laced up boot extends halfway up the leg but no details are discernible. The upper edge has the same curve as the plastic leg. It differs from the above (PF 9) (Ducat 1966: 135, no. 8, pl. XXI.1) in that in this case the leg is bent to form a right angle (i.e. the thigh is horizontal), whereas in PF 9 the leg is bent in such a way so that the thigh is at an angle. The upper edge is cut off with a parallel line around it. These boots have a thin sole and no decoration. They are coloured black and red with the details (straps) incised. The clay is red-brown.

Maximova 1927: no. 86, pl. XXI. No place of origin is given but it belongs to the 'Groupe du Style Gorgone'.

*Short Index of similar or related examples of Greek and non-Greek footwear on Attic and Italiote vases, plastic vases and tomb paintings*

## Sandals

## Ankle-high

Att. 1 and 2

Ap. 1

C. 1

PF. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6

## Completely laced, ankle-high

Ap. 2

PF. 2

## Completely laced on foot, low- or high-laced on leg

Att. 3

Ap. 3

## High-laced, foot bare

L. 1

C. 2

P. 1

Tomb-paintings P. 9 and 10

**Shoes****Ankle-high, plain**

Att. 4 and 5 knotted with ribbons (worn by a symposiast)

L. 2, 3, 4 and 5 (plain)

Ap. 4 and 5

P. 2 and 3 (worn by a woman)

**Ankle-high, ornate**

C. 4 (worn by three Samnite warriors) and C.5

**Ankle-high, patterned**

P. 4, 5 and 6

**Somewhat above the ankle**

C. 3 Black figure, worn by two Samnite warriors (in outline technique)

C. 6 and 7

**Boots****Low-laced**

Ap. 6

C. 8 and 9

**High-laced**

L. 6 and 7

Ap. 7, 8 and 12

C. 10

P. 7

**High boots, no laces with undulating upper edge**

Att. 6

PF. 9 and 10

**Footwear with turned-up toes****Ankle-high shoes**

Att. 7

L. 9

C. 11

PF. 7

**High-laced boots**

Att. 8 and 9

Ap. 9 and 13

C. 12

P. 8

PF. 8

**High-laced boots with flaps**

Att. 10

L. 8 and 10

Ap. 10, and 14

**High-laced boots with small hole in the toe**

Ap. 11

C. 13

*Conclusions*

Having compared Samnite footwear with that of Attic and South Italian Greeks it becomes evident that the non-Greeks wore a whole range of different types depending on individual choice or the accompanying costume.

Ankle-high or slightly higher shoes were particularly favoured by young boys and young warriors (C. 6 boy; C. 4 young warriors) although a fully grown warrior could also wear such items (C. 3 and C. 7). Boots, low- or high-laced, were popular with fully grown warriors (C. 8, C. 9 and C. 10). The young boy who wears high-laced open-toed boots, as he returns with his father from combat, may be considered an exceptional case (C. 13). A young warrior is shown with high-laced boots with turned-up toes (C. 12). Sandals were seemingly not in favour with boys or warriors.