Patterns in the Production of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery

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By

Edward Herring

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"Nul ne t'a saisi par les épaules quand il était temps encore. Maintenant, la glaise don't tu es formé a séché. Et s'est durcie, et nul en toi ne saurait désormais réveiller le musicien endormi ou le poete, ou l'astronome qui peut-être t'habitait d'abord."

"Nobody grasped you by the shoulder while there was still time. Now the clay of which you were shaped has dried and hardened, and naught in you will ever awaken the sleeping musician, the poet, the astronomer that possibly inhabited you in the beginning."

Antoine de Saint Exupéry, *Terre des Hommes* [*Wind, Sand and Stars*], Ch. 1: La ligne (1939).

To my mother,
Vera Herring,
for grasping my shoulder before it was too late

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Fig. 11. Reverse of a volute-krater (BM F284), attributed to the Baltimore Painter (*RVAp II* 27/1), showing mourners grouped around a stele. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Even by academic standards, this book has had a long gestation. My first direct encounter with Apulian red-figure pottery came in 1983 when, as an undergraduate, I worked on an excavation at Botromagno, Gravina-in-Puglia: a life-changing experience given to me by my mentor and, later, great friend, Dr John B. Wilkins. In truth, Apulian red-figure made little impression on me, for my attention had already been taken by the highly distinctive Matt-Painted pottery produced by the indigenous population of South-East Italy, which became the topic of my doctoral research.

I first began to engage with South Italian red-figure pottery in the early 1990s, when I edited the manuscript of Gisela Schneider-Herrmann's last publication, *The Samnites of the Fourth Century BC as depicted on Campanian Vases and in other sources* (London, 1996). This task came my way as a result of the kind intervention of the late Professor John Barron, the Director of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, who recognised that the Institute did not have the resources available to devote to the editing of the work and so passed the opportunity on to the Accordia Research Institute. The support available to fund the work, provided by the generosity of the family of Mrs Schneider-Herrmann, kept me in the academic world at a precarious time in my career. During the editing work, I was incredibly lucky to enjoy the advice and support of Professor A.D. Trendall by means of the magic that was the FAX machine. His generous praise of my work as editor encouraged me to believe that I might one day, in my own right, produce some original academic work on South Italian red-figure.

That idea lay dormant for several years, while I completed other projects. It was not until 2001 that I began to put together a database on Apulian red-figure, based upon the catalogue in *RVAp* and its *Supplements*. My established research interests led me initially to make a study of the vessels that depict indigenous men, which, I believed, had further information to yield on the non-Greek population of South-East Italy.

Progress on the database has been delayed many times in the intervening years, first, by my relocation to Ireland in 2002. Although it was a great upheaval in my life, I have found in Galway, a beautiful place to build a home and family, and in the University, NUI Galway, a supportive environment in which my career has flourished. Other delays have been enforced by various management responsibilities that I have undertaken, as

Head of the Department of Classics (between January 2004 and May 2007), Head of the School of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures (between July 2007 and May 2009), and Dean of the College of Arts, Social Sciences, and Celtic Studies (between June 2009 and October 2016). Although work on the database never ceased entirely, it has only been since I commenced a period of Sabbatical Leave in November 2016 that I have been in a position to write-up the product of years of research. I am very appreciative of the opportunity to take Sabbatical Leave and also to the James Hardiman Library's Special Collections Fund for the purchase of certain essential bibliographic items that have been vital to the research.

I am very grateful to the production team at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their diligent and expeditious production of this volume and also the Editorial Board for Classics for their faith in the project.

When I first began to study Apulian red-figure pottery in detail, I was not immediately enamoured of it. Like most scholars with a background in Classics, I recognised that some of the subject matter of Apulian red-figure was unique and, therefore, worthy of interest, but my real respect was reserved for the shinier blacks and the more intense reds of Athenian pottery. I am not sure when the character of my interest changed but, no doubt, studying vases in museums around the world, in Ireland, the UK, Italy, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, and the USA, was crucial to my epiphany. They say that "familiarity breeds contempt", and one might think that the repetitive nature of many of the generic scenes that adorn Apulian vases should only reinforce that tendency but, for me, the opposite seems to be true. The more I study Apulian red-figure vases, the more I love to gaze upon them.

The completion of any large academic work usually involves the support of many individuals and organisations, and this book is no exception. In addition to my own University, I wish to acknowledge the support of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, where I had the singular honour to hold the A.D. Trendall Fellowship in 2011. It is my pleasure to thank the then Director of the Institute, Professor Mike Edwards, for his hospitality and support. I am also grateful to the libraries of the Institute of Classical Studies and the British School at Rome for giving me access to material that is hard to obtain in Ireland. Both offer wonderful environments in which scholarship is nurtured.

I should also like to acknowledge the Accordia Research Institute, an organisation that I helped to found and with which I was deeply involved for many years. Accordia was born out of the short-lived and ill-fated Department of Mediterranean Studies at Queen Mary. Over the years, it has built an impressive international reputation through its Lecture Series

and events, its Library, and its publication arm. I am immensely proud to have contributed to some of these achievements and to have helped turn John Wilkins' intellectual vision into a lasting contribution to the study of early Italy.

I have given papers on Apulian red-figure in Berlin, Edinburgh, London, Rome, Dublin, Limerick, Maynooth, and, of course, Galway. Every audience has helped me to refine my thinking and I am grateful to all those scholars who invited me to speak. I wish to thank the many museums, in which I have viewed Apulian vases, for preserving their status as temples of culture in the fast moving, and sometimes philistine, modern world.

So many individuals have contributed to my formation and ongoing development as a scholar that I cannot possibly name them all. I can only hope that my peers, with whom I have discussed so many aspects of the history and archaeology of early Italy over more than thirty years, realise quite how valuable their time and knowledge has been. I shall single out a few individuals and groups to mention, however. First of all, those who taught me at Queen Mary College back in the 1980s. Two members of the Department, Malcolm Thompson and John Wilkins, died in 2017, during the period in which I was completing the research for this book. Their encouragement of me, and my fellow students, was exemplary. The extent to which John influenced me is such that I cannot imagine what my life would have been like had I never met him. Professor Ruth Whitehouse was my doctoral supervisor and later my colleague at Queen Mary College and at Accordia. She is a true and wise friend and a constant source of sound advice and strong encouragement to my career. Mike Edwards taught me as an undergraduate and has remained a loyal friend and ally.

I should like to thank all my colleagues at the various institutions at which I have worked, the Department of Mediterranean Studies at Queen Mary, the Accordia Research Institute, the Department of Classics at Royal Holloway, and the Department of Classics at NUI Galway. When I first came to Galway, I knew nobody in the West of Ireland. My departmental colleagues, Professor Andrew Erskine, Professor Brian Arkins, and Professor John Madden, welcomed me and made the transition to my new life much smoother than it might have been. I am happy to say that the same spirit of supportive collegiality still exists among the current staff of Classics in Galway.

Academics also learn from their students, especially those whom they support at postgraduate level, and I am happy to acknowledge the role that my students have played in refining my scholarship. In this context, I should like to single out Dr Eóin O'Donoghue, whom I taught at every

level from First Year undergraduate to supervision of his PhD. Over the years, our relationship has changed, so that now he is a colleague, we are currently collaborating on the publication of the papers of the *Seventh Conference of Italian Archaeology* (held in Galway in 2016), and a friend. It is with the greatest pride that I watch his career blossom.

For all the wonderful support of colleagues and friends, it is in family that I have been luckiest. I grew up in Stepney with my parents and siblings, surrounded by a large extended family consisting of my paternal grandmother and an array of aunts, uncles, and cousins on both my mother's and father's sides. Life was loud, full of music and fun. Most of my aunts and all of my uncles, together with my Nan, are gone now but they are ever vivid in my memory.

My sister, Angela, and my brother, Kevin have been constant in their support of me. As older siblings, they shaped me and helped me navigate a confusing world. From childhood, they have filled my days with laughter. It was been wonderful to see their families grow. Their children, my nieces and nephew, Catherine, Charlotte, Phoebe, and Kieran, have brought enormous joy to me and the rest of the family. And so it goes on to the next generation, with the arrival, in recent years, of Kevin's grandchildren, Casper and Alina. These words are just a small token of my appreciation of what they all mean to me.

Since moving to Ireland, I have acquired my own family, just one of the many ways in which the land of my ancestors has blessed me. I cannot thank my wife, Yvonne, enough for her ardent love and support, and for always being willing to cast a critical eye over my work. I find it hard to put into words how much she means to me.

Our daughter, Shauna, brightens every day simply by her presence. I should also like to thank her for helping with some of the database entries necessary for this book.

My father died while I was working on my PhD, almost thirty years ago. Yet not a day goes by when I do not think of him. I often recall his quiet but unwavering belief in me. My mother's faith in and support of me is every bit as strong and has always been, and still is, more vocal. My debt to her, for all she has done for me, can never be repaid.

I dedicated my first book, which derived from my doctoral research, to my father. Sadly, he died before it was completed. I am long overdue in acknowledging the incredible support that my mother has given me throughout my life. I am delighted to dedicate this book to her and am doubly pleased that she is here to see it.

Galway
June 2018

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations for the names and works of ancient authors follow the conventions used in the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.*
LCS	Trendall, A.D. 1967. *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily.* Clarendon Press, Oxford.
RFVSIS	Trendall, A.D. 1989. *The Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily: a handbook*. Thames and Hudson, London.
RVAp I	Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A. 1978. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia. Volume I: Early and Middle Apulian*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
RVAp II	Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A. 1982. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia. Volume II: Late Apulian*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
RVAp Indexes	Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A. 1982. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia. Indexes*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
RVAp Suppl. 1	Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A. 1983. *First Supplement to The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia.* BICS Supplement 42. Institute of Classical Studies, London.
RVAp Suppl. 2	Trendall, A.D. & Cambitoglou, A. 1992. *Second Supplement to The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia.* BICS Supplement 60. Institute of Classical Studies, London.
RVP	Trendall, A.D. 1987. *The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum*. British School at Rome, London.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

"To understand is to perceive patterns."
Isaiah Berlin, *Historical Inevitability*, 1955

Historical introduction

By the middle of the Fifth Century BC, when red-figured pottery first began to be made in South Italy, Greeks (who came to be known as Italiotes) had already been living in the region for more than two and a half centuries. The traditional foundation date for Tarentum (modern Taranto), the major Greek settlement in ancient Apulia (roughly equivalent to modern Puglia), is given as 708 BC by Hieronymus (*Chron. ad Ol*. 18) and this is broadly consistent with the archaeological record. Moreover, there is some evidence to suggest that there was an earlier Greek presence at the site of Torre Saturo (Leporano), which is located less than 15km southeast of Tarentum (Lo Porto 1964; Herring 2008). The site is equated with ancient Satyrion, which was mentioned by Strabo (6.3.2), citing Antiochus as his source, in his account of the Tarentine foundation story. Diodorus Siculus (8.21) gives a fuller version of the same story. However, both Strabo and Diodorus were writing long after the events that they describe.

The foundation date of Metapontum, slightly further west in modern Basilicata, is not as well established in the historical record but most scholars ascribe it to the mid-Seventh Century. As with the case of Tarentum, there seems to have been an earlier Greek presence in the area. It appears that the first Greek settlers in the Metapontum area resided among the indigenous population at Incoronata Indigena (Carter 2006; Herring 2008: 117-119). Indeed, the evidence for there having been an earlier Greek community, living in the area that was to become part of the *chora* of the later *polis*, is stronger in the case of Incoronata and Metapontum than it is for Torre Saturo and Tarentum.

Other Greek settlements, such as Siris and Sybaris, further round the Gulf of Taranto to the west, were founded in the same time period, as were

those in Southern Calabria, Eastern Sicily, and Campania on Italy's west coast. A full discussion of the Greek settlement of Italy lies beyond the scope of this book. Suffice it to say, the phenomenon, routinely described as Greek colonisation, has been extensively problematised over the past thirty years in an attempt to explain the so-called pre-colonial Greek presence in the area, such as those mentioned above, and the motivations for and mixed nature of many early settlements. This research has helped provide a more nuanced picture of the relations between Greek and indigenous populations (v. Whitehouse & Wilkins 1985; 1989; Herring 1991; 2007; Osborne 1998; a succinct account of the traditional position on Greek colonisation, together with a selection of important sources, may be found in Crawford & Whitehead 1983: 52-65).

Generally, the Italiote communities retained strong ties to their mother-cities, *metropoleis,* in the Aegean. These relationships, which were predicated on the notion of kinship, benefited trade and cemented important political alliances. For the Italiotes, the relationships were crucial for establishing their credentials as Greeks: kinship diplomacy being a vital component of international relations in the wider Hellenic world. However, relations between mother-cities and their offspring could become strained, as happened with Sparta and Tarentum at the end of the Fourth Century, when Tarentum broke with Cleonymus of Sparta, whom it had originally invited to South Italy to help in a war with the Lucanians of South-West Italy (Diod. Sic. 20.104-105).

The Greek settlements founded in South-East Italy were independent, economically self-sufficient communities. They were not part of an imperial project. The Greeks took control of the amount of land required to support the population. Air photography and field survey have shown that the chora of Metapontum extended roughly 15km from the main settlement (Whitehouse & Wilkins 1989: 107-108). While this is a significant amount of land, its comparatively limited extent also shows that the Greeks were not interested in any wider conquest of the region. That notwithstanding, they did acquire some prime locations. Tarentum occupies one of the best natural harbours in the Mediterranean and is still a major commercial and military port. Metapontum commands a fertile plain, which ensured the prosperity of the ancient polis. The city's emblem, as depicted on its coins, was an ear of barley, testifying to the importance of agriculture in the local economy. The common feature of the Greek settlements in South Italy is that they occupy coastal locations. The interior was left in the hands of the indigenous population. Indeed, the indigenous population generally seemed to prefer inland locations for their settlement, perhaps avoiding the coast because of the threat of piracy

during the Early Iron Age (Yntema 2013). The fact that the coastal areas were only sparsely populated may have helped the Greeks both in the choice of locations for their settlements and also in ensuring their security during the early years of their existence, when their communities were probably quite small and vulnerable.

Inland Puglia is geographically diverse (Fig. 1). In the North there are two zones: the Gargano, a limestone promontory jutting into the Adriatic, and the Tavoliere, a large, low-lying plain. Central Puglia also has two main landforms: the Murge, a range of limestone hills covering most of the interior, and the coastal hinterland of Bari. Southern Puglia, also known as the Salento peninsula, has the Brindisino, a limestone plateau, and the Leccese, a series of fertile valleys and upland ridges. Each of the three main sub-regions was, according to the ancient Greeks, home to a different indigenous tribe. Northern Puglia was home to the Daunians. The Peucetians occupied Central Puglia while the Messapians were to be found in the South. A fourth group associated with the region, the Iapygians, sometimes appears as a stand-alone tribe (e.g. Paus. 10.13.10) but elsewhere is treated as a higher-level group of which the Messapians were a subset (e.g. Polyb. 3.88). Using these names is highly problematic, not least because there is no evidence that any group ever called itself by one of these names. Thus, they represent a Greek view of South-East Italian cultural geography and, therefore, from an indigenous perspective, are an externally ascribed identity. Nevertheless, traditionally the names have been applied to the sites and material culture of each sub-region, especially the local Matt-Painted pottery (for a theoretical examination of problems of using tribal names, v. Whitehouse and Wilkins 1985; also Herring 2007). Aside from the elision of archaeological cultures with the ethno-political groupings mentioned by ancient Greek authors, there are other issues with applying the names to the local material culture.[1] One group of leading scholars of Matt-Painted pottery would, taking their lead from Mayer (1914), recognise a single style in Southern Puglia but two in both Central and Northern Puglia (e.g. Small 1971; Yntema 1985; Herring 1998). This would make the correlation between the tribal names and material culture patterning quite weak for Central and Northern Puglia. Other scholars, notably De Juliis (1977; 1995; De Juliis, Galeandro & Palmentola 2006), would disagree, identifying a closer correlation with only one ceramic style in each sub-region. Due to the difficulties associated with the use of the tribal names, some scholars, myself included, avoid them, except when specifically referring to what is said by the ancient authors, preferring instead more generic terms, such as "indigenous", "native" or the Italian term "*Indigeni"*. None of these terms

is ideal, as they all carry with them certain assumptions that are not necessarily justified, but they have the virtue of not privileging an externally ascribed view of South Italian ethno-political geography.

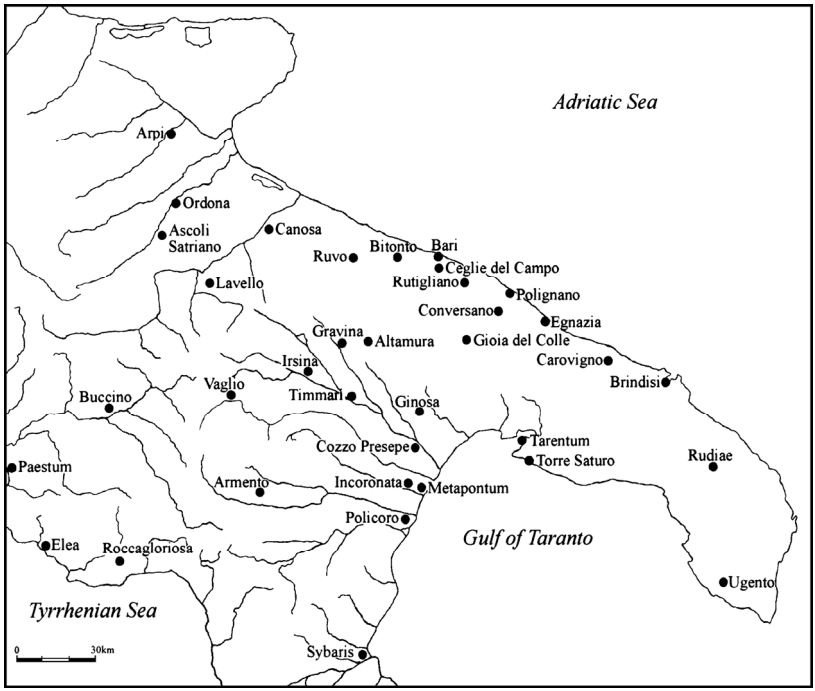

Fig. 1. Map of South-East Italy showing the principal sites mentioned in the text.

Over time the Greek communities flourished, growing in size and political complexity and perhaps acquiring a more exclusively Greek identity along the way (Herring 2011). Metapontum preserves evidence for a re-organisation of the chora early in the Sixth Century BC, which may have resulted in the destruction of the indigenous settlement at Cozzo Presepe (Macnamara 1977: 242; Herring 2008: 121). Although they do not figure extensively in ancient historical sources, the Italiote *poleis* were important in the wider Greek world. The wealth of Sybaris remains legendary and, in Greek literature, the city's fate became a *topos,* warning against the risks of decadence (cf. e.g., Hdt. 5.44.2; Athen. 520 c-d). Some glimpse of the wealth of the Italiote Greeks can be gained from the surviving temples at Paestum, a Sybarite foundation, on Italy's west coast.

Similarly, in the interior, the indigenous communities also flourished (for a recent account of the development of indigenous culture during the First Millennium BC, v. Yntema 2013). The success of both Greek and indigenous communities is not coincidental. From the earliest contact through to the Roman conquest, the two populations engaged with each other and benefited economically and culturally from the encounter. The strongest evidence of trade is to be found in the tombs of the indigenous population, which, from the later Sixth Century BC onwards, contain numerous examples of artefacts, especially pottery (and, presumably, the products, e.g. wine, oils, and perfumes, associated with such ceramics), imported from the Italiote cities and the wider Greek world. Indeed, the survival of so many examples of Apulian red-figure pottery is down to the indigenous practice of placing large numbers of vases in tombs. Exactly what the Greeks received in return for these goods is less tangible in the archaeological record and, consequently, more debated but likely suggestions include wool and textiles, wood, access to land and trade routes into the interior, and perhaps also metals and amber acquired via the Adriatic. The indigenous population may also have been a source of slaves and marriage partners. The latter may have been especially relevant in the early years of the Greek communities, if the first settlers were mostly men.

Relations between the Greek and indigenous populations were complex, sustained and mutually beneficial though not always friendly. When Puglia is discussed in ancient historical sources, it is mostly in the context of conflict. This may involve warfare between different Greek cities or between Greek cities and their indigenous neighbours. The lines of conflict were, by no means, always drawn on an ethnic basis, so that we see Greek and indigenous communities allied against other Greeks and/or indigenous tribes. What mattered was the specific local situation at the time. During the Fifth Century, Herodotus (7.170) records that the Messapians massacred a force of Tarentines and Rhegines in 473 BC (cf. also Arist. *Pol*. 1303a3; Diod. Sic. 11.52). Also in the 470s, the Tarentines sacked Carbina, a Messapian town. Athenaeus, citing Book Four of Clearchus' *Lives* (*ap*. Athen. 12.522d), tells us that the Tarentines gathered the women and children of the town inside their temples, stripped them and raped them. Just as the Tarentine behaviour would be regarded as a war crime in the modern world, so it would have been regarded as deeply sacrilegious by any right-thinking Greek. Clearly, enmity between Tarentum and its neighbours to the South was very strong at the time. This could be used by other Greek powers to their own advantage. So we see that during the Peloponnesian War, the Messapians and their leader Artas,

gave military support to the Athenians, the alliance between Athens and the Messapians being described as "ancient" (Thuc. 7.33).

Conflict continued throughout the Fourth Century and into the early Third, when Rome became a significant player in the region.[2] Lomas (1993) has persuasively argued for a "balkanised" model of political relations in the period leading up to the Roman conquest, as Tarentum came to rely on a series of foreign champions and mercenaries to bolster its military power.[3] The ongoing conflict and unstable nature of political relations can be seen in the ancient sources. For instance, Strabo (6.3.4) tells us that when Tarentum was in conflict with the Messapians over the control of Herakleia,[4] the Tarentines enjoyed the "co-operation of the king of the Daunians and the king of the Peucetians". By contrast, Pausanias (10.12.10) records a Tarentine dedication at Delphi, which commemorated success against the Peucetians and their ally, Opis, the king of the Iapygians. The level of political instability and disunity in the region may have been a factor in Rome's ultimate defeat of Tarentum and its takeover of the region (Herring 2015).

Despite conflict dominating the historical accounts of the Fifth to early Third centuries BC, both Greek and indigenous communities continued to prosper throughout the period. Many of the indigenous settlements had grown in size and some authorities consider them to be cities (Lomas 1994: Herring 2007: 281-290). In Northern Puglia, there were some spectacularly large sites; Arpi, the largest of all, occupies roughly 1000 hectares. The pattern of large settlements dates back to the Sixth Century, if not earlier. While these sites do not look like Greek or Roman cities, they were clearly places of great importance. Strabo (6.3.9) describes Arpi and Canosa as once having been the two largest *poleis* in Italy. The local élites seem to have been extremely powerful. Their tombs reveal access to luxury imported goods and a sophisticated knowledge of Greek culture, attested by the iconography on some of the Apulian red-figure vessels found in their graves, as well as the continuation of traditional indigenous funerary practices. Some of these sites began minting coins in the late Fourth Century, revealing the names of local leaders, whose families appear to have stayed in positions of prominence in Puglia, long after the Roman conquest (Herring 2014a: 28-29, note 18). The pattern in Central and Southern Puglia is somewhat different with the shift from small- and medium-sized sites to large sites occurring in the Fifth and Fourth centuries BC. In these sub-regions, the large sites mostly range between 40-50 hectares but a few reach up to 100 hectares. They look more like Greek cities and were clearly inspired by them, often having city-walls around them (Herring 2007: 282). It seems reasonable to think of South

Italy in the Fourth Century as a world of state-level societies, with both Greek and indigenous sites acting essentially as city-states.

The Italiote poleis were not only politically and economically important, they were also cultural centres. Pythagoras lived in Kroton in his later life, before moving to Metapontum where he died. His philosophy thrived across South Italy long after his death. Orphism, too, was popular in Magna Graecia (AA.VV. 1975). Elea, in modern Campania, was home to another important philosophical school. Athenian tragedy seems to have been very popular in South Italy in the Fourth Century BC. Many Apulian vases appear to show mythological scenes, either derived from or influenced by dramatic performances (Webster & Trendall 1971). There was also a local form of comic performance, the phlyax play, of which only a few fragments survive. Some vases may depict scenes from phlyax plays (Trendall 1967), although Taplin (1993) has argued that these vases show scenes from Old Comedy. Either way, they testify to the popularity of comic performance in South Italy.

Thus, the Italiote cities were no provincial backwater. They were large, economically, politically and culturally significant centres, whose influence and connectedness extended well beyond South Italy and the wider Hellenic world to the Mediterranean as a whole. It was in this context that red-figure pottery first came to be made in South Italy, around, or shortly after, the middle of the Fifth Century BC. That said, Apulian red-figure, and, indeed, the production of all the South Italian red-figure fabrics, was a decidedly local affair, seldom being exported beyond its region of production.

The introduction of red-figure pottery

It is unclear why potters began producing red-figured pottery in South Italy. There had been an established market for Athenian figured wares in the region since the Sixth Century BC. Certain local preferences were already apparent by the later Sixth Century, such as the popularity of the column-krater, a shape otherwise uncommon in other contexts; the taste for the column-krater made its way into Apulian red-figure, particularly for vessels aimed at the indigenous community. Traditionally, it was suggested that the Peloponnesian War disrupted supplies of Athenian red-figure pottery to the predominantly Dorian Greek cities of South Italy. However, it has become increasingly clear that the chronology does not work. Red-figure pottery was being made in South Italy by 440 BC, if not earlier, almost a decade before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. It might be better not to seek an explanation in the geopolitics of the mid-

Fifth Century and to look, instead, at more personal motivations. It may be as simple as potters and painters recognising that an opportunity existed in Southern Italy that some chose to exploit.

It is almost certain that the South Italian industry began with some manufacturers moving to the region from Athens. There are two compelling reasons for believing this to be the case. First is the technical complexity involved in making red-figured pottery (Noble 1988). The selection of clays with the right properties and the control required over the various phases of the firing process argue against independent discovery of the technique, even by skilled potters attempting to imitate Athenian products. The second reason is that almost all of the shapes and most of the iconographic repertoire of South Italian red-figure are derivative of the Athenian industry. When different shapes and subject matter occur, they are derived from South Italian ceramic traditions and local life.

The earliest South Italian red-figure vases were produced in the area that was to become home to the Lucanian production, probably at Metapontum. Soon production had spread to Puglia. The connections between the early Lucanian and Apulian industries are very close and untangling the relationship between the two fabrics is a rich vein of inquiry for contemporary researchers (e.g. Robinson 2014a; 2014b; Silvestrelli 2014). It seems likely that the establishment of the Apulian industry involved the migration of potters from Metapontum to Tarentum, as some individuals seemed to have worked in both fabrics, which can lead to difficulties of attribution for some of the earliest vases.

Trendall and Cambitoglou argued that Tarentum was probably the principal production centre of Early and Middle Apulian (*RVAp I*: xlvii). They also considered the city to have been home to one of the major workshops of Late Apulian (*RVAp II*: 450). However, Tarentum's importance within the industry, while likely, remains unproven (Carpenter 2003: 5-6). The other major workshop of Late Apulian was argued to have been located in Northern Puglia, deep in indigenous territory, probably at or near Canosa (*RVAp II*: 450). That Canosa was a major producer also seems highly probable. It is likely, however, that there were productions in other parts of Puglia. For example, it has been argued that the Apulian vessels depicting indigenous people were produced predominantly, if not exclusively, for use in Central Puglia (Carpenter 2003; Herring 2014b). It is, therefore, likely that they were produced in the same sub-region.

Once established, the Apulian industry soon became prolific in its output (v. Chapter Two). Trendall and Cambitoglou catalogued more than 13,500 vases in the seminal *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* (*RVAp*) and

its *Supplements*. Since the publication of the *Second Supplement* (*RVAp Suppl. 2*) in 1992, many more vases have come to light, mostly as a result of illegal excavations. Robinson (2014b: 219, fn 1) estimates that there could be a similar number of unattributed vases to those catalogued in *RVAp* and its *Supplements*. If he is correct, we could estimate that something in excess of 25,000 Apulian vases have survived into the modern era. Given that the surviving vases come overwhelmingly from tombs, we may assume that there would have been huge numbers of Apulian vessels that were used and ultimately discarded in domestic contexts. Such vessels have either not survived or have only been preserved in fragments. Such fragments crop up commonly on excavations from the region but the extent of excavation of domestic sites is generally quite restricted. Additionally, there must still be many tombs in the region that contain Apulian red-figure pots that remain undisturbed. Moreover, many tombs in Southern Italy were robbed in antiquity, either by accident, in the course of later building projects, or by design. This was another context in which red-figure pots could be destroyed.

The output of the Apulian industry was not evenly spread throughout the years of production, as is discussed in detail in Chapter Two. There was a very significant increase in production during the final phase of the industry.

Trendall and Cambitoglou divided the production of Apulian red-figure into three phases (*RVAp*: xlvi-liv). Early Apulian is dated by them to between c.430 and c.370 BC, Middle Apulian between c.370 and c.340 BC, and Late Apulian between c.340 and c.300 BC. More recent discoveries have tended to push the start date back a little earlier, perhaps into the 440s (Robinson 2014b), and the end date a little later. Excavations at Tarentum have suggested that production of Late Apulian may have endured into the early part of the Third Century BC (cf. Tomb 38*: Hempel & Mattioli 1994), suggesting that production may have ceased only shortly before the Roman conquest of Tarentum in 272 BC. However, the generic and repetitive nature of much of the latest productions makes them very difficult to date (Lippolis 1994: 244).

The chronology established in *RVAp* is based largely upon stylistic comparisons, as attribution studies lay at the heart of Trendall's life-long study of the five fabrics of South Italian red-figure. Trendall and Cambitoglou's core methodology in *RVAp* and its *Supplements* was to establish stylistic groupings of artists and workshops and to map perceived connections between them. Ultimately, this produced an elaborate scheme of interconnections that could be used, together with the rare well-dated archaeological context, to establish a relative chronology. These are

represented diagrammatically in tables of "Stylistic and Chronological Relations" produced in *RVAp I* and the *Indexes*.

Various scholars have questioned the attribution of individual vases and groups of vases, which inevitably undermines some of the connections within the Trendall and Cambitoglou schema with a concomitant impact upon the chronology. Furthermore, other discrepancies between archaeological and stylistic dating have appeared in the years since *RVAp* and its *Supplements* were published. However, as yet there is no single unified framework to replace the Trendall and Cambitoglou chronology (v., e.g., Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009: Tables on pp. 237-238). As this book is concerned with large-scale patterns in the production of Apulian red-figure, the traditional tripartite chrono-stylistic divisions can be used as a broad-brush tool, because minor adjustments to dating of individual vases or groups of vases should not affect the validity of the major patterns identified.

It may well prove impossible to resolve fully all of the chronological issues with the production of Apulian red-figure. This is partly because it is unlikely that any one scholar in the future will be either in a position or be inclined to devote a life-time's study to the material in the way that Trendall did for more than sixty years in the Twentieth Century. The bigger issue, however, is with the lack of full information on archaeological context for the vast majority of surviving vases. This is because most of the surviving vases were either collected as a result of antiquarianism in the days before proper scientific archaeology had developed as a discipline or were excavated illegally, a practice that continues up to the present day, to fuel the modern market demand for antiquities. It is estimated that up to 95 per cent of surviving vases have no archaeological provenance associated with them (Elia 2001). Although we can safely assume that virtually all of the intact, near intact, or restorable vases came from tombs or associated offering trenches, that is usually all that can be said. Even information on the site from which the vases were recovered is lacking in most cases. The modern scholar trying to reconstruct geographical information about the use of the vases is further hampered by the fact that Trendall and Cambitoglou did not always record information of find-spots in *RVAp* and its *Supplements,* even when such information was available (Giannotta 2014: 186).[5] This oversight reflects how their interest in the vessels was stylistic and art-historical rather than archaeological. The lack of archaeological context hinders all manner of scholarly inquiry about Apulian red-figure and its production and usage in the past. This book is an attempt to circumvent some of the difficulties that

have been created by generations of looting of the archaeological heritage of ancient Puglia.

The history of the scholarship

South Italian red-figure, including Apulian, has been the subject of academic enquiry since the Seventeenth Century, when antiquarians began to collect ancient figured pottery in significant quantities and to publish their collections. Indeed, the early scholarship on South Italian figured pottery consisted of the study and publication of major private collections. As Higginson (2011: 1) has effectively demonstrated, "the very study of Greek vases *began* with those first found in Southern Italy and Etruria", as there were no finds from Greece published before the 1820s. Of course, the tombs of South Italy and especially Etruria produced numerous examples of Athenian vase-painting as well as local products. However, the distinction between the different classes was not recognised immediately; indeed, for many years, figured wares were referred to as Etruscan vases. These early discoveries and publications were highly influential, inspiring a taste for antiquities among Europe's intellectual élites and copies of ancient pottery by contemporary craftsmen. Josiah Wedgwood studied and copied South Italian vases from Hamilton's first collection held in the British Museum and called his factory "Etruria".

As tastes changed, with Winckelmann championing Greek art over Roman, so the tide turned against South Italian productions. Higginson (2011), who has written the only full treatment of the history of scholarship on South Italian figured productions, identifies the publication of Sir William Hamilton's second vase collection in the 1790s as a key turning-point in relegating South Italian productions to the background in favour of Athenian pottery; Hamilton's second collection contained a much higher proportion of Athenian vases than his first. The excavations at Vulci, which commenced in the 1820s, brought to light very significant numbers of Athenian figured wares. The superiority of the Attic clays, which made the black gloss far more lustrous and the contrast with the red more spectacular than is found on South Italian pottery, further served to enhance the perceived superiority of the Greek "original" over its "colonial" counterpart.

The reputation of South Italian red-figured pottery has never fully recovered. This can be seen not only in the displays of figured pottery in major museums, where Athenian vessels continue to dominate but also in the prices paid for South Italian vessels at auction. Sadly, the lower prices that South Italian vases command have not served to diminish the trade in

illegally excavated antiquities, because Athenian vessels are sometimes to be found in South Italian tombs and also large, well-preserved South Italian vases with "interesting scenes" (e.g. those of myth or drama) still sell for very large sums.

Although South Italian red-figure has been something of a "poor relation" since the second half of the Eighteenth Century, it has, nevertheless, been the subject of extensive study. As a region, Southern Italy was increasingly opened up to visitors from the later Eighteenth Century and serious archaeological excavations began in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Important strides forward were made in these centuries, both in terms of distinguishing Athenian from South Italian productions and in the first recognition of the different South Italian fabrics. The first attempts to identify the birthplace of South Italian red-figure were also undertaken. Some workshop groups and individual artists began to be recognised by the key scholars of the Nineteenth Century (Higginson 2011: Ch.s III and IV give short accounts of the major contributions of each of the leading figures of this period). At the same time, collecting continued apace with some, usually local, antiquarians focusing on South Italian material, e.g. the Jatta family from Ruvo, who amassed an impressive collection of mostly Apulian material over a period of c.130 years between the early 1800s and the 1930s.

The Twentieth Century was the heyday of attribution studies – the allocation of vases to individual painters and workshops on the basis of stylistic criteria and the extrapolation of relationships between the different putative workshops on the basis of these attributions. For Athenian pottery, Sir John Beazley dominated this kind of scholarship; he also made some important contributions to the study of South Italian pottery, although he considered it a distinctly inferior product (Higginson 2011: 81). In the case of South Italian, Dale Trendall occupies a similar pre-eminence (Higginson 2011: 86-94). Over a lifetime of study, extending from his first monograph, *Paestan Pottery*, published in 1936 to *RVAp Suppl. 2*, published in 1992, Trendall (together with his collaborator on Apulian red-figure, Alexander Cambitoglou) catalogued and attributed more than 20,000 South Italian vases. When he began, even the different fabrics of South Italian red-figure had not been definitively established. By the time of his death, in 1995, he left behind a body of scholarship that will form the bedrock of all future studies in the field. As already noted, it is almost inconceivable that any modern scholar will be willing or able to devote as much attention to South Italian red-figure or that any will have such a profound influence on the subject as Trendall. It is noteworthy that since his death, no one has attempted to pick up the baton of cataloguing

and attributing the very large numbers of South Italian vases that have appeared on the market. The task may simply be too Herculean for any one scholar to contemplate undertaking alone.

Although other Twentieth Century scholars made important contributions to our knowledge, which are well highlighted in Higginson 2011: Ch. V, it would be fair to say that Trendall established South Italian red-figure as a mainstream topic for academic research in Classical Archaeology.

Since Beazley's death, in 1970, both his work and his methods have attracted hostile scrutiny. The very validity of attribution studies has been called into question. The core methodology derives from art history and Beazley's approach was very much indebted to Giovanni Morelli. Although Trendall's approach was somewhat different, he openly acknowledged his debt to Beazley and his intended purpose was to do for South Italian red-figure what Beazley had done in respect of Athenian figured pottery. One major aspect of the criticism of attribution studies is concerned with the fact that the vast majority of the artists identified are anonymous figures whose very existence is extrapolated from the grouping together of pots considered by the attributor to be decorated in a similar style. This is significantly different from Morelli's work in art history, where additional works were attributed to the hands of known historical artists on the basis of comparison with paintings that were unequivocally by them. Beazley's approach has had its defenders too, not least because the basic methodology, which involves comparing small details, where artists tend to be at their most mechanical and least consciously creative, has a validity that is hard to dismiss entirely and which remains a mainstay of art history as a discipline.[6]

Strangely, Trendall's work has not been subject to the same intensity of criticism that Beazley's has attracted, although it follows the same fundamental approach. Nevertheless, it is true that the artists and workshops identified, and, therefore, the relations between them, are an artificial construct created by modern scholars to make sense of the vast numbers of surviving vases. It is equally true that during the bulk of the Twentieth Century, attribution studies overshadowed virtually all other approaches to the study of figured pottery. Moreover, as an approach it compounded the already established tendency to view ancient vases as *objets d'art*, divorced from the context of their creation and use.

It is somewhat paradoxical that the approaches of Beazley and Trendall focused on the entirety of the output of the various red-figure industries, where prior studies had mostly focused on the highest quality vases, and

yet they retained the art-historical lens of the connoisseur and concerned themselves little with the function of the vases within society.

The tendency to study figured pottery purely in terms of its iconography has its origins in the fact that the earliest studies of the material were studies of collections. These focused on individual vases or groups of vases and that focus has never really been shifted. Thus, there are far more iconographic and stylistic studies than those addressing issues such as production, context, and usage. Consequently, we have reference works, such as the *CVA* and Trendall's various South Italian catalogues (*LCS* and its *Supplements*, *RVAp* and its *Supplements*, and *RVP*), that document large numbers of vases, and detailed studies of specific forms, individual vases, groups attributed to the same workshop, and vessels showing particular types of scene. This focus on the object as a work of art rather than as a contextualised archaeological artefact is compounded by the absence of provenance for the vast majority of surviving vases. Much has been learned about the past from the study of ancient figured pottery but much more information has been irretrievably lost as a result of the looting of ancient cemeteries. Nevertheless, there is still much that can be gleaned from asking fresh questions of the surviving vase *corpora*. The present volume aims to make just such a contribution.

The aims and approach of this study

It is the intention of this volume to try to examine certain issues around the production, design, and use of Apulian red-figure across its entire history. For most archaeological artefacts, the obvious starting point for undertaking such a study would be to consider the context of discovery of the objects in question, the other objects with which they are associated, the circumstances of their deposition (i.e. the funerary rituals as these vessels were almost entirely derived from tombs), *vel sim*.. To put it simply, the natural place to begin would be archaeological context. However, as has already been pointed out, full contextual information is lost for the overwhelming majority of the surviving *corpus* of vases; it is rare enough that information is preserved about the site at which a vessel was recovered (v. Note 5).

This could be deemed an insurmountable obstacle and, for many years, as an archaeologist, I eschewed the study of such de-contextualised material. However, the sheer numbers of vessels that survive offer a way forward for the study of the production as a whole. If, instead of focusing on individual vases and groups of vases, the entire output, or at least a large representative sample of it, was studied, it would be possible to