

WORKSHOPS OF APULIAN RED-FIGURE OUTSIDE TARANTO

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The publication of *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia* brought, for the first time, structure to a massive body of information. The classification of thousands of vases, on the basis of style, has opened the way to other kinds of studies. One such study is offered here with gratitude to Alexander Cambitoglou from a colleague and former pupil.

Since the beginning of the study of Apulian red-figured vases, there has been controversy over the localization of its workshops.¹ It is now accepted that Apulian red-figured vases were first made in Taranto; only late in the series are Apulian workshops outside Taranto postulated. It is widely recognized that one important late group, comprising the Baltimore Painter, Arpi Painter, White Saccos Painter and others, worked in Canosa or somewhere close by.² Other painters, outside this broad stylistic grouping, may be strongly associated with one site, like the Laterza Painter with Salapia and the Lampas Painter with Canosa.³ Caution should be exercised if, as in these two cases, a large proportion of the vases with proveniences come from one tomb.⁴ The acquisition of large groups of vases by one painter, who need not have been working locally, for placement in a tomb is common in the later 4th cent. BC. The presence in Rutigliano (1976) Tomb 24 of seven vases by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl shows that the phenomenon exists right from the beginning of the Apulian series.⁵

The present study aims to use the stylistic groups and proveniences published in *RVAp* for a simple statistical survey.⁶ It will firstly look at the proveniences of vases in Late Apulian red-figure, to examine the possible localization of workshops in northern Apulia. The second part of the survey will look at Early Apulian red-figure, all of which is presumed to have been made in Taranto. The aim is to produce a more articulated picture of the way in which Italiote vase-painters catered for native Apulian customers. Finally, the Middle Apulian production will be examined in an attempt to find the point at which Tarentine potters and painters first established workshops in the native settlements.

The categories used for the graphs shall be as follows:

- (1) TARANTO;⁷
- (2) MESSAPIA;⁸
- (3) PEUCETIA, divided into:
 - (3a) Ruvo;

¹ *RVAp* II 1036f. for some of the history of research.

² *Ibid.* 450, 484, 958; E. M. De Juliis, *Gli Iapigi* (1988) 109f., 113f.

³ *RVAp* I 328ff. (Laterza Painter); *ibid.* 283ff. (Lampas Painter).

⁴ Sometimes, as with the Lampas Painter, the stylistic eccentricity of the work can be considered as contributing evidence for the existence of an isolated local workshop: *ibid.* 451.

⁵ De Juliis *op. cit.* 104f.; F. G. Lo Porto, *Atti XVI CMGr* 1976 (1982) 741f.

⁶ Figures include new vases in *RVAp* Suppl. I. On the difficulties with such calculations, see E. G. D.

Robinson in: J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Sydney 1985 (1990) 251-65 (with bibl.).

⁷ The very few vases from Crispiano, Lucignano, Palagiano, and Pulsano have been grouped with Taranto, and these sites were probably within the *chora* of that city.

⁸ Alezio, Brindisi, Ceglie Messapico, Egnazia, Latiano, Lecce, Manduria, Mesagne, Monticelli, Oria, Patù, Poggiardo, Polignano, Rocavecchia, Rugge, Torchiarello, Ugento, Valesio, Vaste, Veglie.

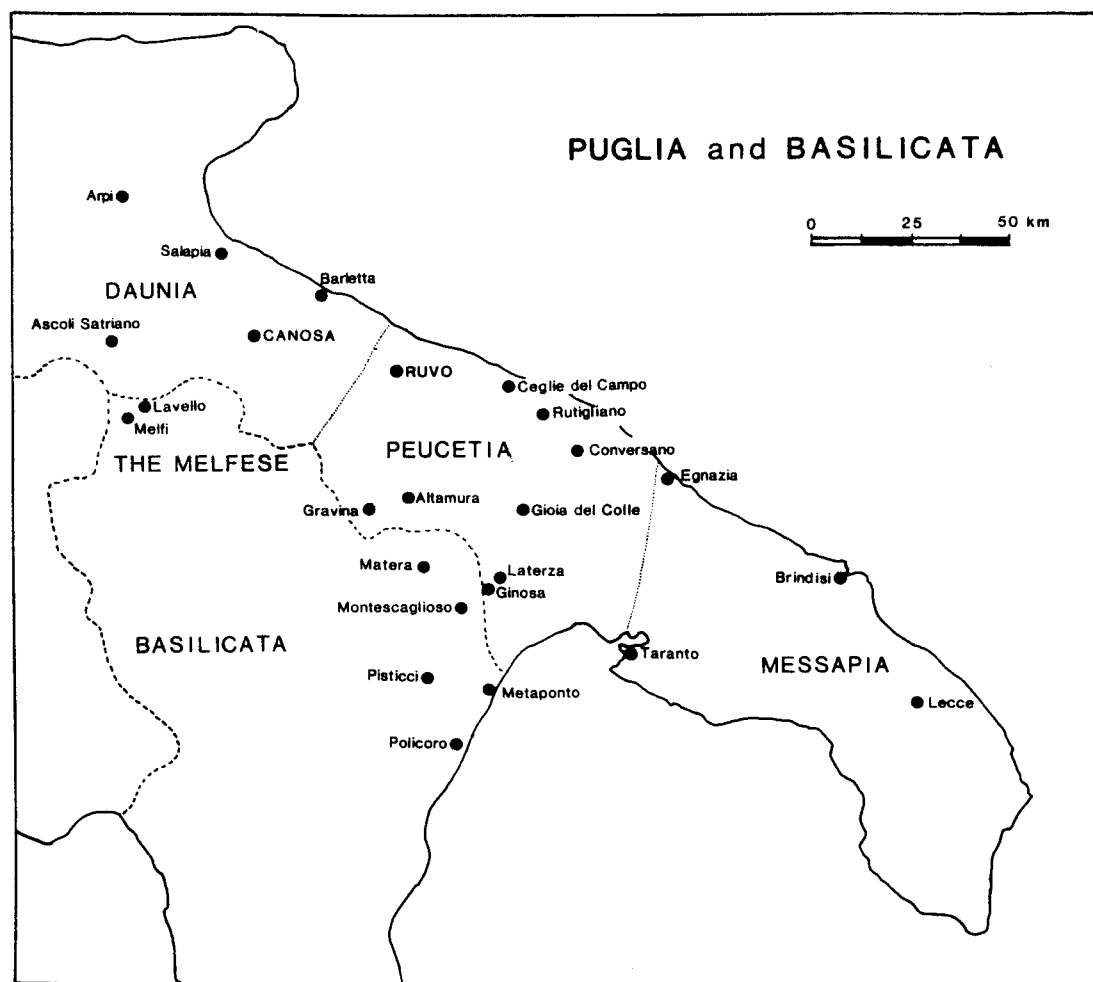


Fig. 1. Map of Puglia and Basilicata showing the regions used in the graphs.

- (3b) Central and coastal Peucetia;⁹
- (3c) Western Peucetia;¹⁰
- (4) DAUNIA, divided into:
 - (4a) Canosa/Barletta;
 - (4b) Other Daunian sites;¹¹
 - (4c) The Melfese;¹²
- (5) BASILICATA;¹³
- (6) VASES FROM ELSEWHERE.

Furthermore, an attempt will be made to recognize the fact that certain collections contain material that is drawn almost exclusively from one region:

⁹ Bari, Bitetto, Bitonto, Carbonara, Ceglie del Campo, Conversano, Gioia del Colle, Noicattaro, Putignano, Rutigliano, Toritto, Valenzano.

¹⁰ Altamura, Gravina, Ginosa, Laterza.

¹¹ Ascoli Satriano, Lupara, Minervino Murge, Ortona, Salapia, San Severo.

¹² Banzi, Lavello, Melfi.

¹³ Armento, Calciano, Cività di Tricarico, Cozzo Presepe, Crucinia, Ferrandina, Guardia Perticara, Irsina, Matera, Metaponto, Miglionico, Montescaglioso, Pisticci, Pizzica, Policoro, Pomarico, Roccanova, S. Angelo Vecchio, S. Arcangelo, S. Chirico Raparo, S. Mauro Forte, Saldone, Timmari, Tricarico.

- (2) MESSAPIA. Vases without provenience in the museums of Lecce and Brindisi are treated as having been found in Messapia. Some vases, in Lecce certainly, have been found outside Messapia, but the number is probably insignificant.
- (3) PEUCETIA, divided into:
 - (3d) Vases from collections drawn mainly from Ruvo: the Jatta Collection in Ruvo¹⁴ and the 'H.A.' Collection in Milan, previously the Caputi Collection of Ruvo.¹⁵
 - (3e) Vases from collections mainly drawn from Peucetia. The Polese Collection in the Bari Museum, although somewhat heterogeneous in nature, was drawn mainly from Peucetia.¹⁶
- (4) DAUNIA.
 - (4d) Collections formed mainly in Canosa, or very close by. These include vases in the Museums at Canosa and Barletta.¹⁷
- (5) BASILICATA. Vases in the museums at Matera, Metaponto, and Policoro are assumed to have come from sites in the Basilicata.

When consulting *RVAp* it becomes apparent that a number of vases listed there without provenience could now have one assigned. However, the task of chasing each vase to its source has been neglected; likewise a number of museums and collections containing vases which were probably collected locally have been omitted for the sake of simplicity. For the purposes of this study it is the changes in the pattern of distribution, rather than the precise absolute numbers of vases that are meaningful. So, for example, to note that 24% of Early Apulian vases have been found in Messapia (fig. 6) is an observation which, by itself, has little meaning. It is certainly not meant to suggest that approximately one-quarter of all Early Apulian vases were exported to Messapia. Such a calculation should be made with more precision, and attempt to assess all the variables of collection, recovery, attribution, publication, etc. Rather, percentages quoted here only become meaningful when compared to others similarly derived: for example, in one group within Early Apulian, the Hoppin-Lecce workshop (fig. 9), 74% of vases have been found in Messapia, and significance now attaches both figures through their diversity.

It should be stated from the outset that the conclusions advanced below are not intended as definitive, but rather as a starting point for a discussion that is at least anchored by a numerical synopsis of *RVAp*. One suspects that a number of indigenous centres were producing Apulian red-figured pottery in the second half of the 4th cent. BC, and the quickening pace of the scientific excavation and publication of tomb-groups from Puglia and Basilicata should allow a more sophisticated treatment of the subject.

By now it is widely accepted that a red-figure workshop was probably active at Canosa, principally the Baltimore and Stoke-on-Trent Painters and the followers of the Baltimore Painter, the White Saccos Painter and Kantharos Group.

¹⁴ For the formation of the collection: F. di Palo, *Dalla Ruvo antica al Museo Archeologico Jatta* (1987).

¹⁵ The Caputi Collection was drawn from the area of Ruvo, and catalogued for the first time by G. Jatta, *I vasi italo-greci del signor Caputi di Ruvo* (1877). For the history of the collection: L. Merzagora, *I vasi a vernice nera della collezione H.A. di Milano* (1971); CVA Milano, *Collezione 'H.A.' 1* (Sena Chiesa); CVA Milano, *Collezione 'H.A.' 2* (Paribeni); M. C. Rogate Uglietti, *NumAntClass* 1976, 75. Some vases in the 'H.A.' Collection did not come from the original Caputi

Collection.

¹⁶ R. Stazio (ed.), *La Collezione Polese nel Museo di Bari* (1970) 7f. Arturo Polese was the Director of the *Ferrovie del Sud-Est* and oversaw the laying of the Bari-Taranto rail line. Most of the objects acquired by the Bari Museum in 1925 are said to have come from Bari and Monte Sannace.

¹⁷ The composition of the collection of red-figured vases in Barletta, close to Canosa, is so similar to what is found in the Canosa Museum that I have grouped the two together.

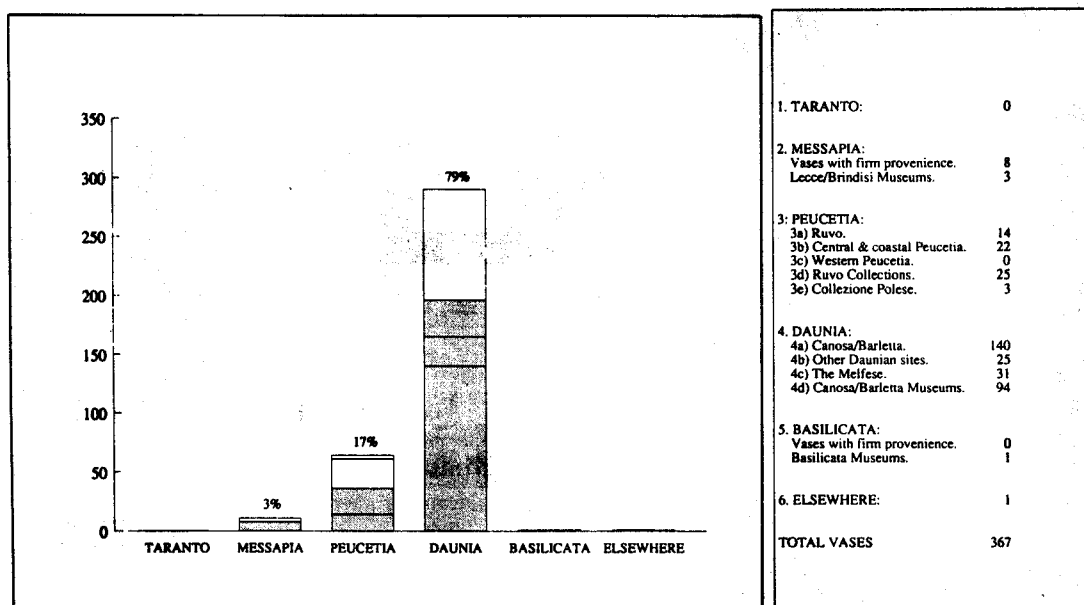


Fig. 2. *RVAp* chapters 27 and 29. The Baltimore Painter, the Stoke-on-Trent Painter, the White Saccos Painter, the Kantharos Group and associated vases. Stippled areas: vases with firm provenience. Unfilled areas: vases in museums or collections suggesting a provenience. The stacks for Peucetia and Daunia have sub-group a) at the bottom to e) and d) respectively at the top.

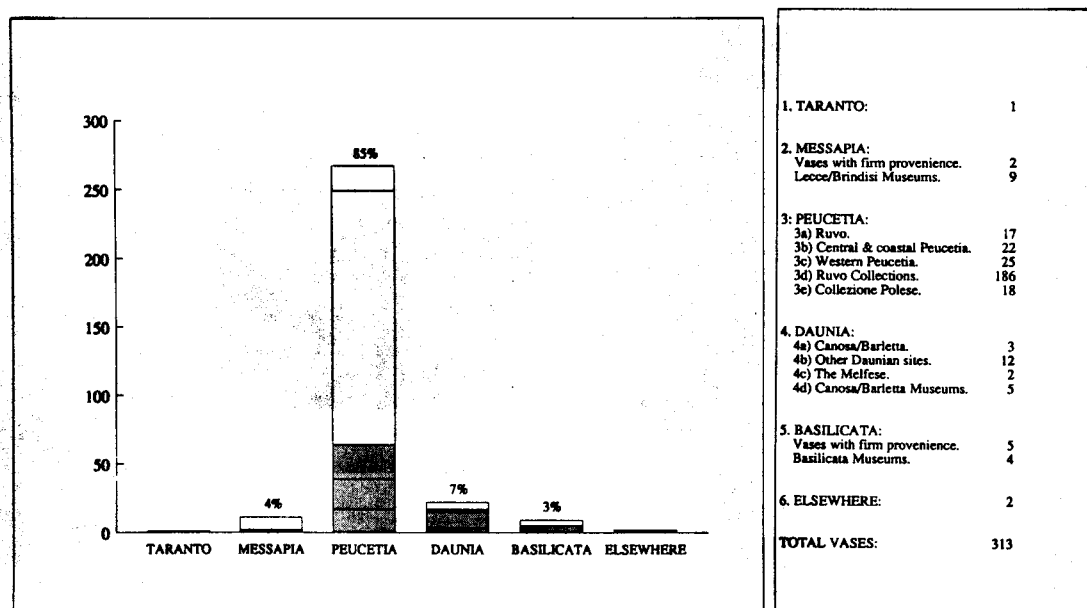


Fig. 3. *RVAp* chapters 23 to 26. The Patera Painter, The Amphorae Group, the Ganymede Painter and associated vases.

The majority of vases (64%) were found in Canosa or reside in museums which indicate such a provenience. There was some diffusion elsewhere in Daunia (7%) and across to the Melfese (8%).¹⁸ Other vases reached Ruvo (11%) and Peucetian centres further south (6%); there are no vases of this workshop from Taranto, and very few from Messapia (3%).

¹⁸ There is little red-figure in the published tombs of this period from the Melfese, e.g. M. Giorgi *et al.*, *Forentum I. Le necropoli di Lavello* (1988). However, the wealthy tombs from the acropolis at

Melfi, some of which are on display in the *Museo Nazionale del Melfese* contain red-figured vases mainly from the Baltimore/White Saccos Circle: see M. P. Fresa, forthcoming.

When one turns to the Patera, Amphora, and Ganymede Painters and their associates, the pattern is considerably different.

Sixty-five per cent of the vases come from Ruvo or are in collections which suggest a Ruvo provenience. A further 20% come from sites in Peucetia, including 8% from sites in western Peucetia, which received no vases from the Baltimore/White Saccos workshop. Only 7% of the vases have come from Daunian and the Melfese. It is difficult to imagine, therefore, that these two groups were made in the same centre. One is tempted to ascribe the Baltimore/White Saccos workshop to Canosa, and the Patera/Amphora/Ganymede workshop to Ruvo.¹⁹ The suggestion of a major workshop at Ruvo will meet with resistance, mainly because it relies heavily on the evidence of the vases in the Jatta Museum.²⁰ It is known that not everything in the Jatta Museum comes from Ruvo, nor even from Peucetia (e.g. the collection of Messapian pottery). Indeed, it is clear that the Jatta family were often buying antiquities from a variety of sources, including Canosa, Bitonto, Ceglie del Campo and Egnazia. The family was involved in excavations at a number of other centres in Puglia; in 1900, for example, Michele Jatta ran the risk of prosecution for his clandestine excavations at Ceglie del Campo.²¹

Nonetheless, the difference in pattern between figs. 2 and 3 is marked, and it can at least be said that if the Baltimore/White Saccos workshop was in Canosa, then the Patera/Ganymede workshop was very likely to have been located further to the south, if not in Ruvo then in another Peucetian site or sites. At what point, then, did Apulian red-figure potters and painters first work in native centres? This can best be determined by examining the series from the other end—from the Pioneers onwards.

EARLY APULIAN VASE-PAINTING²²

Early Apulian vases are listed in chapters 1–7 of *RVAp*, and cover a period c.430–370/360 BC. It is assumed that all of these vases were made in Taranto, so an examination of the proveniences is directed towards the discovery of significant patterns of export. Specifically, we can ask whether certain regions of Apulia were sent the products of a particular workshop, or vases of a particular shape, or representations of a particular kind. In this context it is worth noting the situation amongst Lucanian red-figure vase-painters. From the time of the Amykos Painter an indigenous shape, the *nestoris*, was made in red-figure, and often decorated with representations of native people.²³ If one looks at Apulian and Lucanian red-figure down to the beginning of the 4th cent. BC, it is the Lucanian pottery which predominates in Apulia.²⁴ Of the total

¹⁹ A. D. Trendall suggests a Ruvo workshop in: *RVSIS* 94. J. R. Green has arrived at similar conclusions on the basis of provenience for the Knudsen Group and Laurel Spray Group in Gnathia pottery, in: M. E. Mayo (ed.), *The Art of South Italy: Vases from Magna Graecia* (1982) 252–9. My thanks to him for our many discussions on the location of red-figure and Gnathia workshops. Late branches of these workshops were probably established in other major sites in the area such as Arpi.

²⁰ My thanks especially to Dr M. Labellarte, Director of the *Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Bari*, for discussion of this question.

²¹ Di Palo op. cit. 85ff.

²² This section was originally submitted for publication with my article in: Descœudres (ed.)

op. cit. (n. 6). It was not included there for reasons of space. A draught of the paper was circulated and some of this information has by now appeared elsewhere.

²³ A. D. Trendall, *Gli indigeni nella pittura italiota* (1971); G. Schneider-Herrmann, *Red-figured Lucanian and Apulian Nestorides and their Ancestors* (1980); A. Bottini, *NSc* 35, 1981, 183ff.; D. G. Yntema, *The Matt-painted Pottery of Southern Italy* (1985) 461.

²⁴ For Lucanian, information from Trendall, *LCS* I, II and Suppl. III. The fragments from the potters' quarter at Metaponto have been excluded, as the unique circumstances of those finds would unnecessarily distort the figures. For Apulian, information from *RVAp* and Suppl. I.

Early Lucanian production in fig. 4, 55% found its way to Apulia, while very little Early Apulian red-figured travelled in the opposite direction.

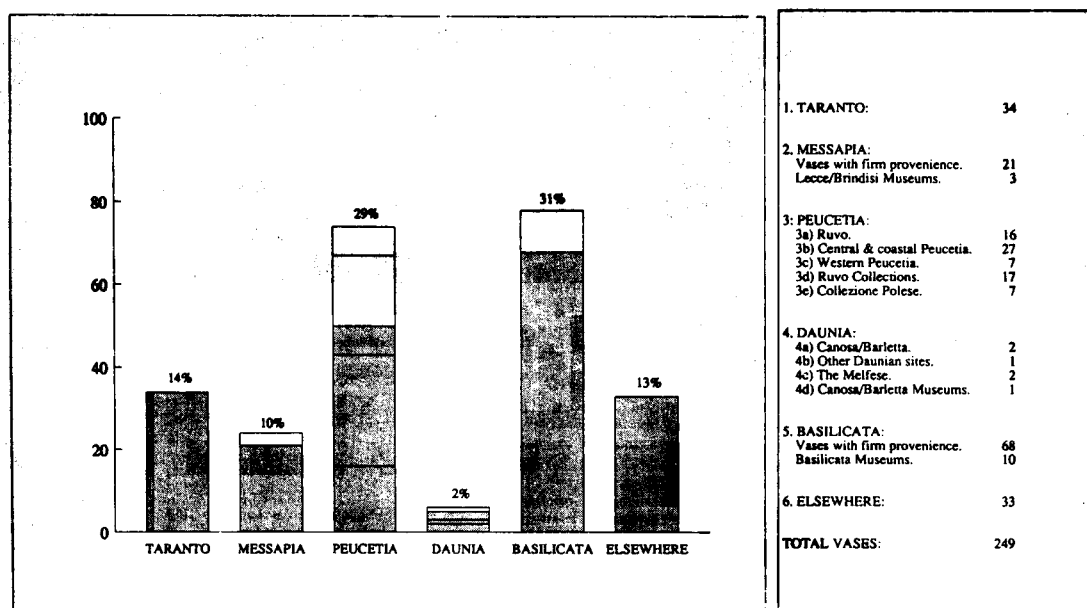


Fig. 4. Early Lucanian vases. LCS chapters 1 to 3. The workshops of the Pisticii and Amykos Painters, the Dolon and Creusa Painters and the Intermediate Group.

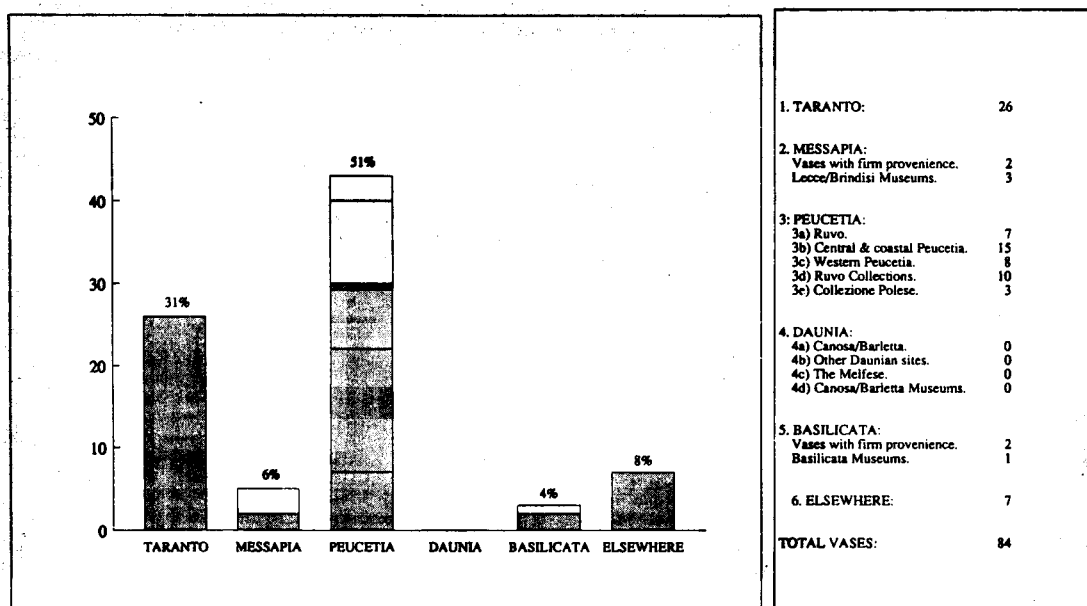


Fig. 5. Early Apulian vases. *RVAp* chapters 1, 2 and 3/1–63. The Sisyphus Group, the beginnings of the Ornate Style and the Tarporley Painter.

This distribution has been remarked upon before, along with the fact that Early Lucanian pottery enjoys a greater advantage over Early Apulian in Daunia and Messapia than it does in Peucetia.²⁵ Of further interest will be the comparison of the distribution

²⁵ B. d'Agostino in: M. Pallottino *et al.* (eds.), *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica IV* (1974) 239; De

Juliis *op. cit.* 105ff., 118f.; F. D'Andria in: *Italia omnium terrarum alumna* (1988) 685.

of different workshops within Early Apulian. Firstly, the overall distribution of Early Apulian:

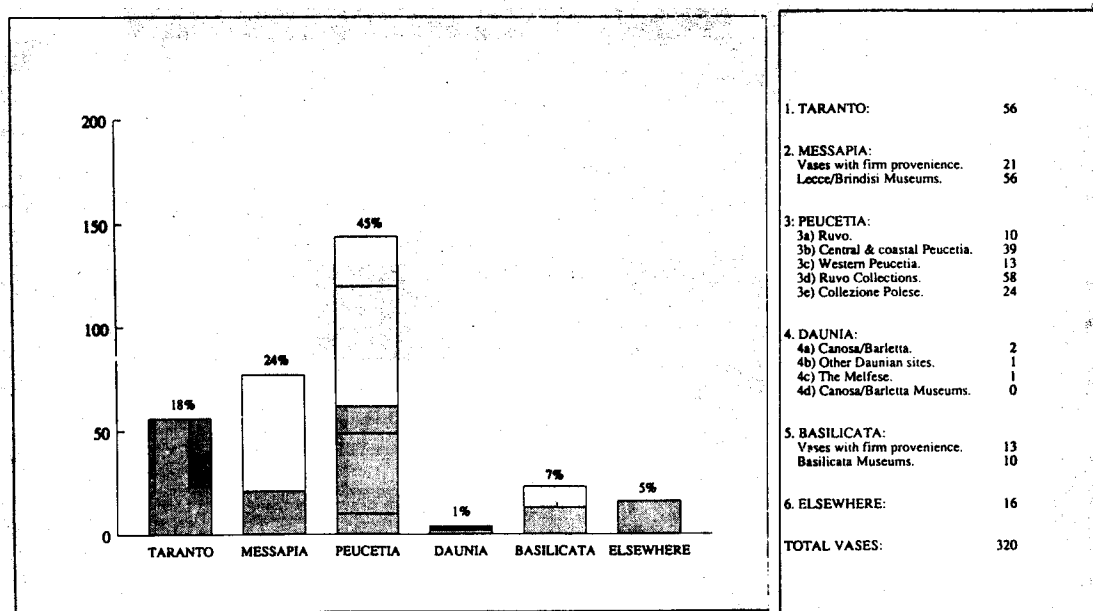


Fig. 6. Early Apulian as a whole. *RVAp* chapters 1 to 7.

Proveniences in Peucetia dominate even those from Taranto. While this in part reflects the loss of the Classical necropoleis under later buildings, Taranto may after all have been like Athens in the 6th and 5th centuries, exporting the greater part of its fine pottery. For vases from the early Ornate Style workshops, the pattern is considerably different:

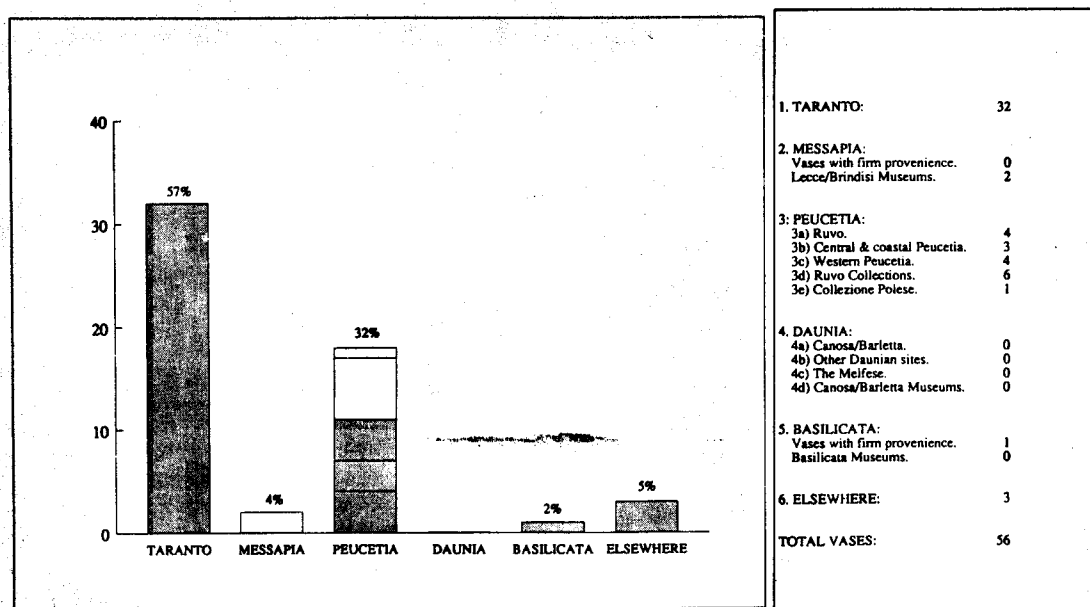


Fig. 7. Apulian Early Ornate. *RVAp* Chapters 2 and 7.

The majority of these vases stay in Taranto, with some finding their way to Peucetia. These workshops apparently made no shapes of special interest to native Apulians, and produced no representations of native people. The same cannot be said for the early Plain Style workshops, and here the Tarporley Group and the Followers of the Tarporley Painter (A) and (C) are treated together:

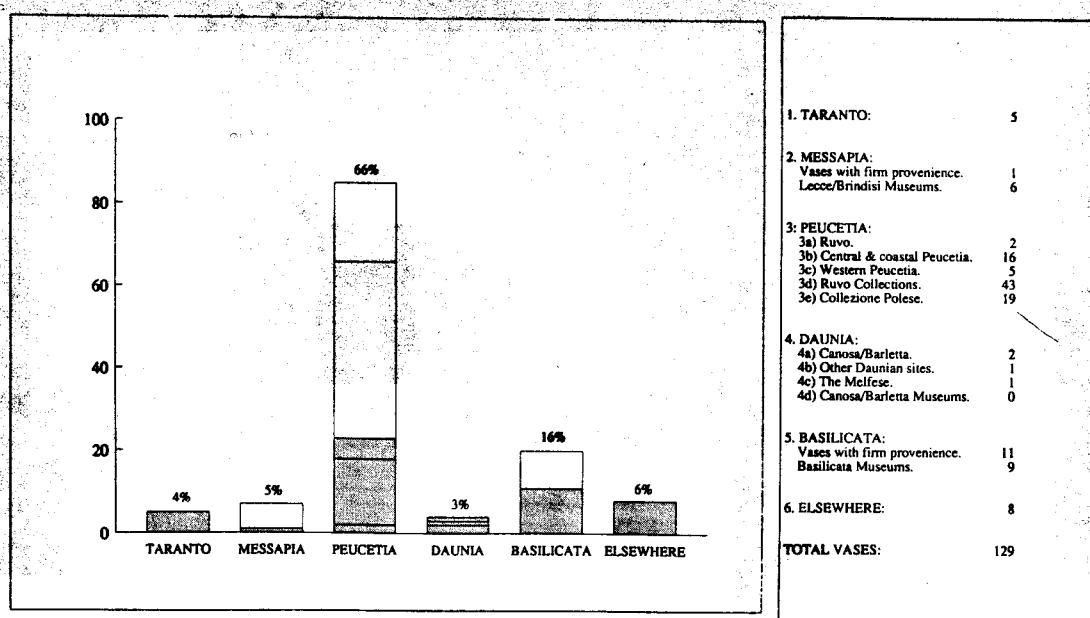


Fig. 8. RVAp Chapters 3, 4 and 6. The Tarporley Group and the Followers of the Tarporley Painter (A) and (C).

These three groups all produce, in quite large numbers, representations of native Apulians, recognizable by their clothing, their weapons, and sometimes also by the type of vases that they carry.²⁶ These representations are restricted to the column-krater,²⁷ a shape which is not made by Early Ornate painters, and there are some 120 such representations before a native Apulian is found on vases of a different shape.²⁸ The column-krater was apparently a shape of special interest to Peucetians. Each region of Apulia had its characteristic grave-vase. In Messapia it was the *trozzella*, which continued to be made long after other non-Greek forms had been pushed out of the Messapian repertoire.²⁹ In Daunia, including the Melfese, it was the *olla* and *atingitoio*, usually in pairs.³⁰ The Peucetian situation is somewhat more complicated. In the early 6th cent. BC, for example, several varieties of matt-painted vases shared the role of characteristic grave-vase: kraters with fungus handles on the shoulder or with vertical band handles or column-krater handles from shoulder to rim; pithoid jars with

²⁶ For the attributes of native Apulians, see M. Dewailly, MEFRA 94,2, 1982, 581ff. The representation of vases of indigenous type on Italiote red-figured vases is a complex problem which must be dealt with elsewhere.

²⁷ There are now two exceptions, a volute-krater of the Long Overfalls Group (RVAp 4/140) and a shape 3 oinochoe by the Felton Painter (Suppl. I 7/88a).

²⁸ RVAp 13/206-7, two *nestorides* connected in style to the Wolfenbüttel Painter, and many other *nestorides* soon afterwards.

²⁹ Yntema op. cit. 455ff.

³⁰ A. Bottini, DArch (n.s.3) 4, 1985, 59-68, esp. 62f.

tube-shaped or saddle-handles attached horizontally on the shoulder.³¹ When the fast-wheelmade 'banded' ceramics of Greek type begin to be made in Peucetia around the middle of the 6th cent.³² there are many competing influences on Peucetian pottery—Attic, Laconian, East Greek, Corinthian, colonial Greek. The pithoid jar or krater with handles horizontally attached on the shoulder is translated fairly directly in the new 'banded' technique; it is not far in shape from a column-krater and becomes the usual large vase in a Peucetian burial of this period.³³ At some point during the 5th cent., the handles were joined to the rim with little other alteration to produce a true column-krater, presumably under the influence of the many different varieties of imported column-kraters which were in circulation in Peucetia. From at least as early as the second half of the 6th cent., Peucetians seem to be displaying a preference for column-kraters when they place imported pottery in their tombs. Tomb 40 (1976) at Rutigliano, for example, has an Attic black-figured column-krater as the main grave-vase, and another black-glazed example of Laconian type was found in the *ripostiglio*.³⁴ The famous series of local black-figured columns-kraters was produced in the late 6th and 5th centuries³⁵ and figured versions of the Laconian type appear at least as early as the second quarter of the 5th cent.³⁶ In the 5th cent. the Attic red-figured column-krater was the dominant imported large shape; its place could be taken by the locally produced

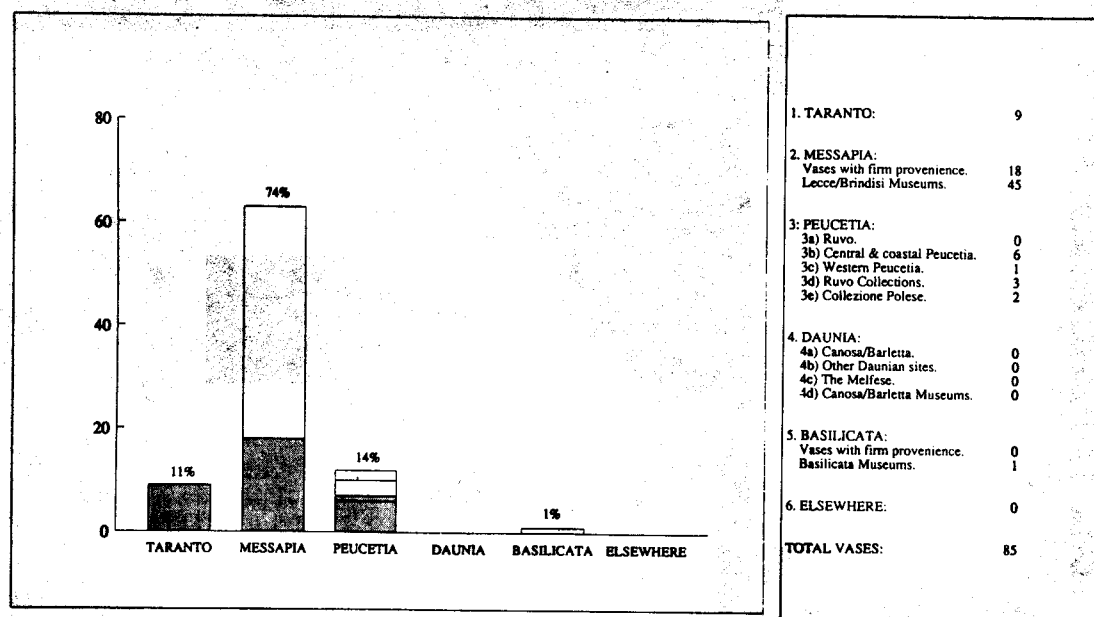


Fig. 9. RVAp chapter 5. The Hoppin-Lecce Group.

³¹ e.g. Yntema op. cit. fig. 193 no. 16 and notes p. 286; A. Ciancio, *Taras* 9, 1985, 45ff. esp. pl. 45 no. 2 and p. 91.

³² De Juliis op. cit. 73f.; E. M. De Juliis in: M. L. Gualandi *et al.* (eds.), *ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ. Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di Paolo Enrico Arias* (1982) 123ff.

³³ Ciancio art. cit. pl. 47 and *passim*. The many tombs from Valenzano and Noicattaro from the mid-6th to the mid-5th cent. almost all contain a banded wheelmade pithoid jar.

³⁴ Atti XVI CMGr 1976 (1982), 737–8 and pl. 106.

³⁵ D'Andria art. cit. 668; De Juliis op. cit. 74f. It is not certain where these vases were produced, but the southern part of coastal Peucetia is perhaps the most likely place.

³⁶ Rutigliano T.69 (1977) Atti XVII CMGr 1977 (1983) 502 and pl. 59. C. M. Stibbe's new book on Laconian kraters has not yet become available at the time this article goes to press.

banded or 'mixed-style' column kraters, or in the late 5th and 4th, by Italiote red-figured versions of the shape.³⁷

The column krater clearly became, therefore, the favoured grave vase in Peucetia in the 5th and 4th centuries, even if its use is not as universal as the *trozzella* in Messapia. Only one group of Early Apulian painters (fig. 8) decorated the shape, and the output of that group is strongly directed towards Peucetia. The same painters were the only ones who depicted indigenous people on their vases before about 360 BC, and they restricted these representations to the column-krater with a remarkable single-mindedness.

A completely different impression is given by the figures for the last remaining Early Apulian workshop: the Followers of the Tarporley Painter (B), the Hoppin-Lecce Group.

This workshop exported its products, in overwhelming numbers, to Messapia.³⁸ The same workshop produced the first Apulian red-figured *nestorides*, very close in shape to the Messapian *trozzella*,³⁹ and representations of native people are painted on these *nestorides* almost immediately.

MIDDLE AND LATE APULIAN

The figures for Middle Apulian are more difficult to compile and interpret. The stylistic groupings seem somehow less emphatically marked than in either Early or Late Apulian, with many small groups influenced by and connected with others. This is also the period when, one suspects, Apulian workshops first moved into native Apulia, but to distinguish these workshops on the basis of provenience alone is difficult. It is

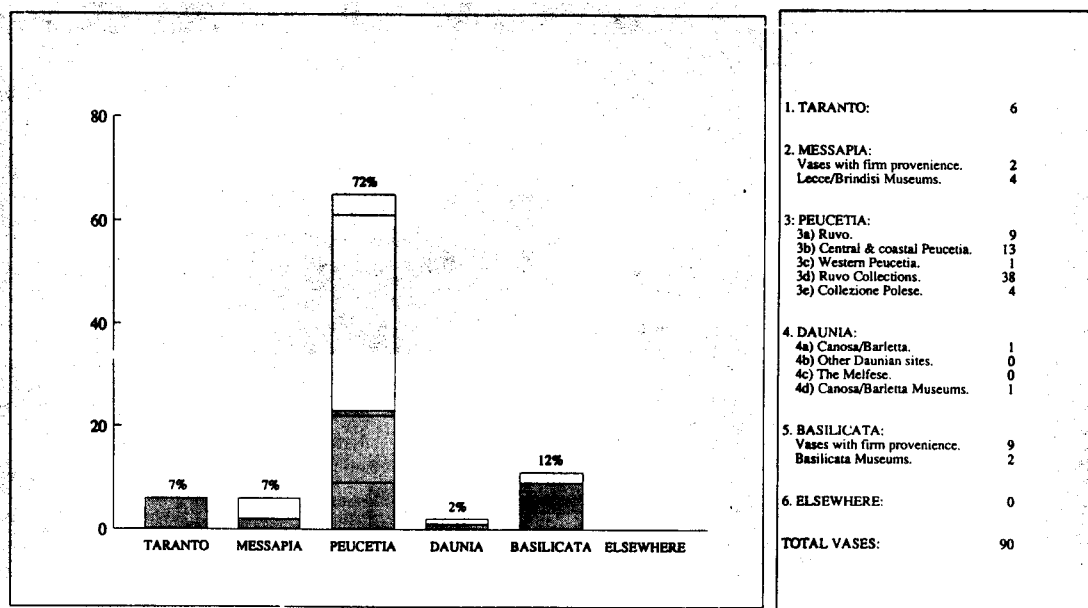


Fig. 10. RVAp chapters 8, 15 and 16. Middle Apulian Ornate Style. The Iliupersis Painter, the Lycurgus Painter and associated vases.

³⁷ This evolution can be clearly seen in tombs from Ceglie del Campo: M. D. Marin *et al.*, Ceglie Peuceta I (1982) and from Rutigliano: Atti XVI CMGr 1976, Atti XVII CMGr 1977.

³⁸ This is demonstrated by D. G. Yntema, Studi di Antichità 3, 1982, 119–21. His comments, and the graph figure 3, inspired this study.

³⁹ Strictly speaking, the two earliest *nestorides* are *trozzelle*, as they lack horizontal handles: RVAp 5/84 (the Bucrane Group) and 5/296 (the Painter of Naples 2307). See also Yntema art. cit. (n. 38) n. 106; Schneider-Herrmann op. cit. figs. 69–70.

believed, for example, that the vases represented in figs. 8 and 9 were all made in Taranto, but graphs of the distribution of vases made in a hypothetical workshop in Peucetia or Messapia would not presumably look much different. If, as seems likely, 'branch' workshops were set up outside Taranto by a few members of a large stylistic grouping, then the effect of this move on the simple statistical compilation for the overall stylistic grouping will be lost or blurred. To pick out small groups of painters whose work tends to be found in one area will involve the use of smaller groups of vases, less statistically valid, but apparently the only feasible approach.

One can follow the Ornate branch of Apulian red-figure down to the middle of the 4th cent. BC and beyond in the work of the Iliupersis Painter, the Lycurgus Painter and related works (fig. 10). The pattern is much different from Early Ornate (fig. 7) but the total number of vases is too small to make definite conclusions.

Plain Style followers (*RVAp* Ch. 9–10) and the Opera Minora (*RVAp* Ch. 11) are not always easy to unravel stylistically or chronologically, but it is worth noting amongst them two possible groupings that may have worked outside Taranto: the Lampas Painter may have worked in Canosa⁴⁰ and the Thyrsus Painter seems to have finished his career in Paestum.⁴¹

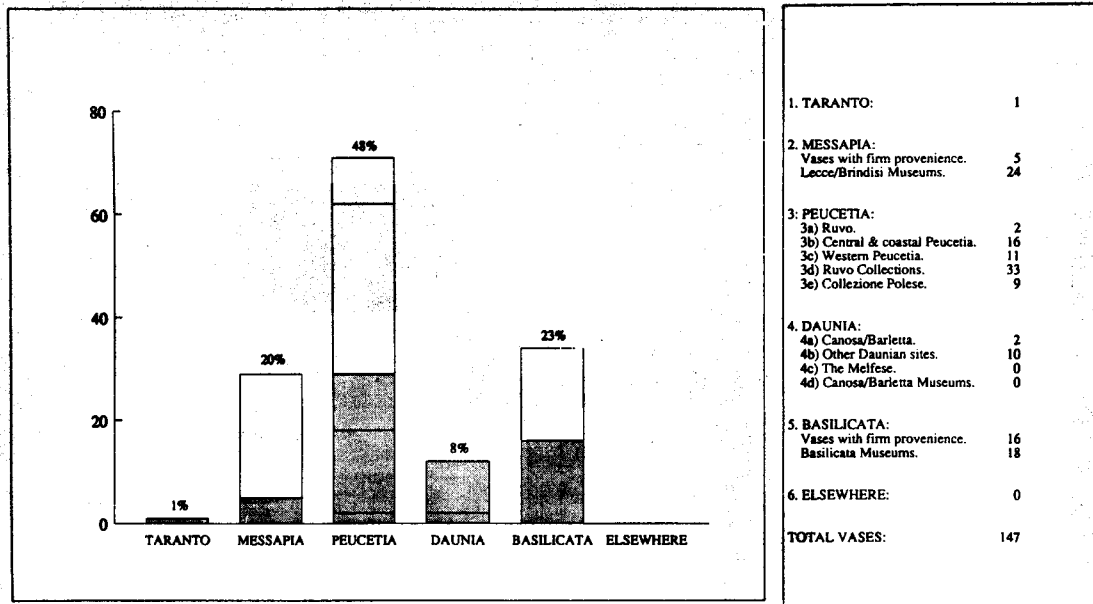


Fig. 11. *RVAp* chapters 12 to 14. The Snub-Nose and Varrese Painters and associated vases.

The Snub-Nose and Varrese Painters and their associates form a more interesting group. One notes the relatively large number of vases from Basilicata and Messapia, although many of the Messapian vases are accounted for by the relatively small Schulman Group.⁴² Over 30% of the vases come from Basilicata or the bordering region of western Peucetia and one wonders if any of these painters worked in either Basilicata or Peucetia. At this period in Basilicata one finds painters apparently trained in or strongly influenced by Apulian workshops, setting up in inland Basilicata, such as the Roccanova Painter and Primato Painter.⁴³ On the other hand, the Varrese Painter and his group make and decorate several shapes that are connected with Peucetia: the shape 2

⁴⁰ Above, nn. 3 and 4.

⁴¹ *RVAp* 274ff.

⁴² *Ibid.* 14/162–256.

⁴³ Trendall, *LCS I*, II 130f., 159f.

oinochoe⁴⁴ was popular in Peucetia in black glaze, Xenon Group and Peucetian 'mixed' style versions;⁴⁵ likewise the shape 1 oinochoe,⁴⁶ which is also favoured by the Xenon Group,⁴⁷ would become extremely common in the Patera/Ganymede and Baltimore/White Saccos workshops. However, neither these indications nor the information on proveniences allows of firm conclusions.

The remaining large stylistic grouping is the Late Apulian Darius Painter/Underworld Painter workshop. Firstly, the immediate forerunners of this workshop, the Darius Painter and his closest associates.

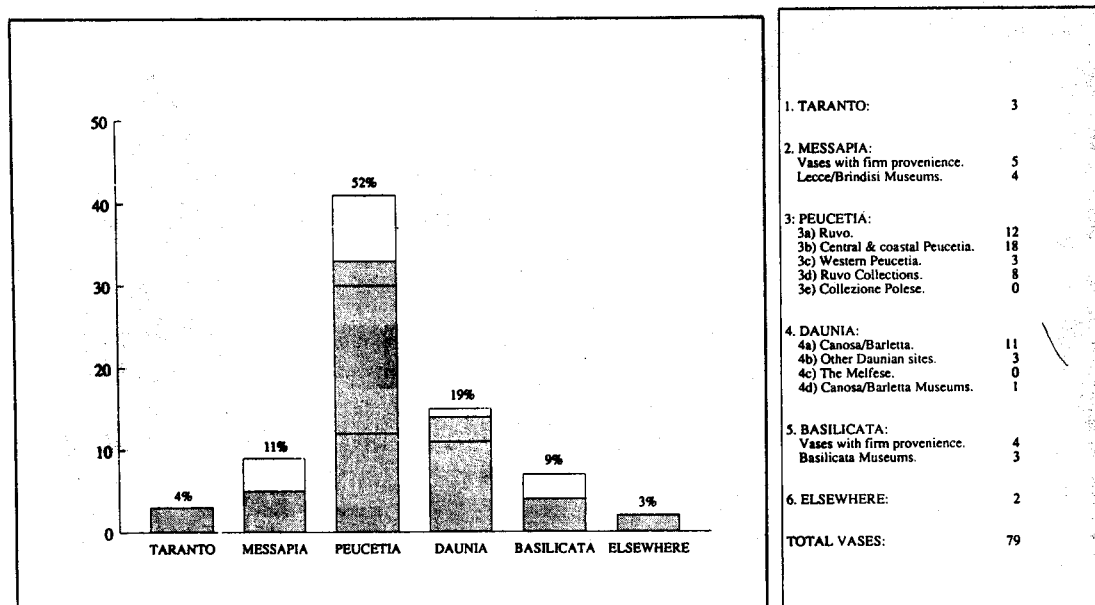


Fig. 12. RVAp chapters 17 and 18/1–281. The forerunners of the Darius Painter, the Darius Painter and his immediate associates.

The pattern is rather reminiscent of the Tarporley Painter and his Plain Style followers (fig. 8), working in Taranto and exporting mainly to Peucetia. The principal difference is the larger number of vases from Daunia; Daunia, led by Canosa, is now at the start of its late but whole-hearted entry into the Hellenized world of Southern Italy.

If one looks, on the other hand, at the Underworld Painter and close associates, hydriai of the Darius-Underworld Circle and the 'Plain' Style vases connected with the group (fig. 13) a completely different picture emerges. Here the dominant provenience is Basilicata, and if one includes western Peucetia the total reaches almost 45% of the vases. One wonders whether some or all of these painters were working in Basilicata. The Varrese Painter workshop (fig. 11), from which many of these painters derive, has already been put forward as a candidate for location in Basilicata, but in this later group the suggestion of the proveniences is much stronger. Several other related small groups display the same trend: the Liverpool Group, the Rochester Group, the Group of Vatican

⁴⁴RVAp 13/151, 13/174.

⁴⁵ For example, from Ceglie del Campo, Marin *et al.* op. cit. pl. 21: 3 no. 6 (black glaze); pl. 15: 1 (Xenon Group); pl. 44: 1 ('mixed' style). For this shape generally see Robinson art. cit. (n. 6). It was also popular in Basilicata, and the Peucetian black-glazed and Xenon Group examples probably

derive originally from Metapontine black-glazed versions.

⁴⁶ RVAp 13/8a, 13/144–50.

⁴⁷ For example, again from Ceglie del Campo, M. Labellarte in: aa.vv., Bari. Archeologia di una città (1988) 328 figs. 451–2.

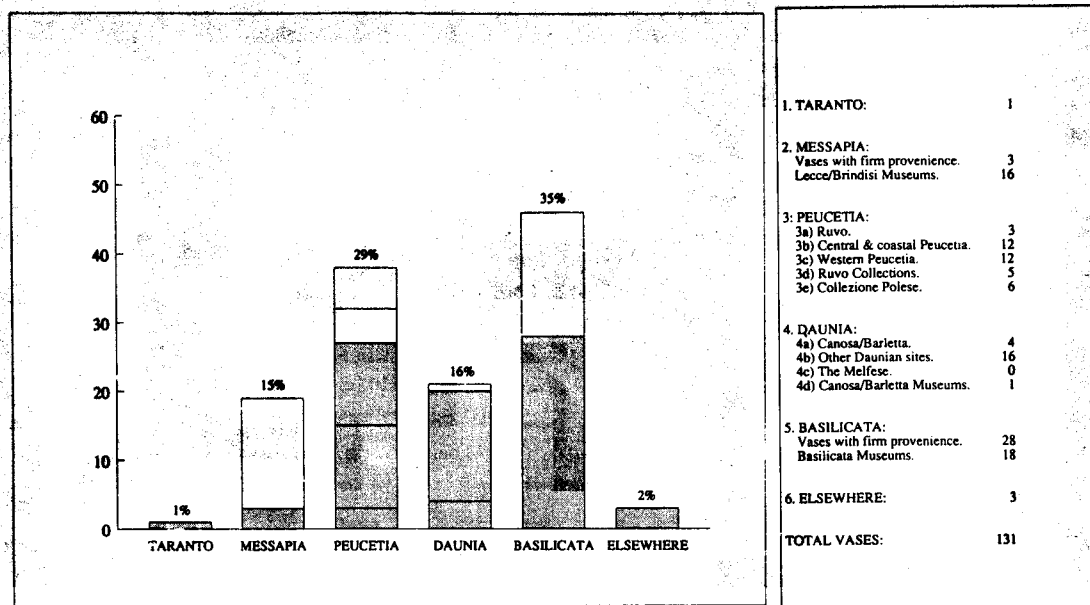


Fig. 13. RVAp chapter 18/282–389, chapter 19, chapter 20. The Underworld Painter and his immediate followers, the Darius-Underworld Circle hydriai and 'Plain' Style vases.

Z3 and the Painter of the Kassel Cup. Here the ground is more certain, thanks to the discovery of kilns and pottery dumps at Metaponto.⁴⁸ These dumps are justifiably famous for the fragments which attest the presence at Metaponto of the Amykos, Dolon, Creusa and Anabates Painters, but the later red-figured fragments have received much less attention. In dumps nos. 3, 5, and 6 and in kiln B, red-figured fragments were recovered, attributed by F. D'Andria to the Darius-Underworld Circle, particularly close to the Underworld Painter.⁴⁹ The closest comparisons were with the vases from tomb 12 at Montescaglioso.⁵⁰ The majority of these vases are now attributed to the Apulian Liverpool Group⁵¹ which should therefore possibly be detached from Apulian and entered, along with a number of other related groups listed above and in fig. 13, into Lucanian red-figure. Lucanian and Apulian red-figure were always closely related, and in the past painters or groups have been detached from one production and added to the other.⁵² This case is slightly different, however, in that the Liverpool Group, for example, seems to have no stylistic ancestry in Lucanian red-figure. In style, the group is purely Apulian, detached from the Apulian series and transplanted in Metaponto unless, of course, the group derives from forerunners working in Basilicata but currently classified as Apulian. The Tarentine stylistic koine of the later 4th cent. is

⁴⁸ F. D'Andria in: D. Adamesteanu *et al.*, *Metaponto I*, Suppl. to NSc 29, 1975 (1980) 355–452.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 422ff.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 424 and *passim*. For tomb 12 at Montescaglioso: F. G. Lo Porto, *Civiltà indigena e penetrazione greca nella Lucania orientale*, *MonAnt* 48, ser. misc. I-3 (1973).

⁵¹ RVAp 21/322, 328, 360, 379. Also in the same tomb 18/214 (Groups of Vases Closely Associated with the Darius Painter), 22/834 (the Painter of the

Kassel Cup), 14/55–7 (the Montescaglioso Painter, a follower of the Snub-Nose and Varrese Painters). Much of the Gnathia, Xenon Group and black-glazed pottery found in the tomb was also probably made in Metaponto, on the evidence of the Metaponto kiln dumps.

⁵² e.g. *ibid.* 258ff., where the Painter of the London Pelikai and the Rehearsal Painter are transferred to Lucanian; *ibid.* 53ff. for Dolon Painter vases transferred to the Tarporley Painter.

well-documented in a variety of artistic media including pottery; here we have another example of how this artistic current was spread directly by the migration of artists.

Finally, a red-figure workshop in Messapia seems possible, especially as it is thought that Gnathia vases were produced there.⁵³ There is a small group of painters in the Darius-Underworld Circle who may have worked in Messapia: the B. M. Centaur Group, the Winterthur Group, the Group of Como C 62, the Monopoli Group and the Otago Group.⁵⁴

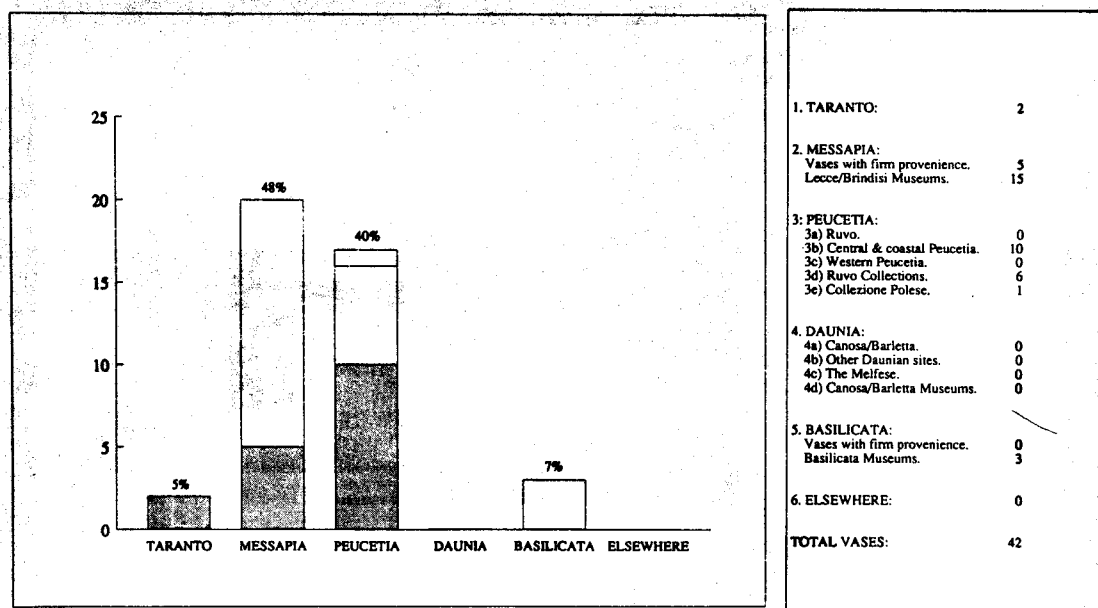


Fig. 14. Selected groups from the Darius-Underworld Circle smaller vases and 'head' vases. *RVAp* chapter 21/145–290 and chapter 22/557–865.

The number of vases is admittedly small, but proveniences in Messapia predominate (47%), and if they are grouped together with the vases from central and coastal Peucetia, the figure rises to 74%. The group produced many choes (shape 3 oinochoai), which had long been a very popular shape in Messapia; the Messapian branch of Late Gnathia makes the shape in abundance.⁵⁵ It seems possible that a workshop operated somewhere in this region, and some slightly earlier vases may precede this workshop in the same area to judge from their proveniences.⁵⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Early Apulian potters and painters were sophisticated in the way that production was geared to specific export markets. While vases of the Early Ornate style tended to stay in Taranto, Early Plain Style vases are directed to Peucetia with one workshop (the

⁵³ Green art. cit. (n. 19).

⁵⁴ *RVAp*: the B. M. Centaur Group, 21/145–290, the rest are at 22/557–865.

⁵⁵ For a typical Late Gnathia painter of the Messapian branch, decorating mainly choes, J. R. Green in: E. Böhr-W. Martini (eds.), *Studien zu Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Konrad Schauenburg zum 65. Geburtstag am 16. April 1986* (1986) 181–6.

⁵⁶ The Thyrsus Painter (before he left for Paestum, *RVAp* 10/88–170), the Choes Group, the Group of the Dresden Amphora, the Wellcome and Turin Groups, the Monash Group, the Waterspout Group, the Group of Lecce 727, the Meer Group, the Egg and Wave Group, the Painter of Reggio 1157 (ibid. 11/33–218). The percentages (total 39 vases): Taranto 26%, Messapia 44%, Peucetia 20% (including 13% from central and coastal Peucetia), Daunia and Basilicata 0%, elsewhere 10%.

Hoppin-Lecce Group) exporting to Messapia. The Plain Style workshops make vases which seem specifically designed for export to their target areas, the column-krater for Peucetia and the *trozzella/nestoris* for Messapia; these same painters also represent native people on their vases. Early Ornate workshops produce neither 'export' shapes nor representations of native people.

In Middle Apulian some individuals like the Lampas and Thyrsus Painters seem to have worked outside Taranto, but the larger stylistic groupings are more difficult to interpret. There is some suggestion that members of the Snub-Nose/Varrese Painter workshop may have been working in Basilicata or Peucetia, but there are no clear indications.

In Late Apulian, some followers of the Varrese and Underworld Painters were certainly working in Metaponto as their vases are found in the *kerameikos* there, and the provenience of a large group of associated vases is also strongly centred on Basilicata. Meanwhile, the Patera-Ganymede workshop was probably working in Ruvo and their followers in the Baltimore-White Saccos workshop in Canosa, with another smaller workshop operating in southern Peucetia or Messapia.

Doubtless a much more complex reality for the production of non-Tarentine red-figure remains to be revealed. It seems likely that the thriving region of central and coastal Peucetia (Bari, Monte Sannace, Ceglie del Campo etc.) took a greater part in this process than these graphs have revealed. As this region was a consistent destination for Tarentine red-figure right from the beginning, it is less easy to distinguish workshops which may have operated in the region on the basis of provenience alone.⁵⁷ Further controlled excavations will doubtless clarify the picture. In the meantime, a thorough examination of the clays of Tarentine red-figure could help to verify (or otherwise) and expand on the suggestions made above. A simple optical examination and clay colour and inclusions of a large number of vases would be a first step,⁵⁸ with subsequent chemical analysis to verify those findings.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ In the graphs presented here, for the sake of simplicity only two variables have been used: stylistic group and provenience. I have at times drawn attention to certain shapes, such as the column-krater and *nestoris*, which are strongly associated with a particular area. One has the impression that many other such links exist e.g. choes and pelikai in Messapia, oinochoai shapes 1 and 2 and kantharoid skyphoi in Peucetia, rhyta and other plastic vases in Ruvo, shape 10 oinochoai in Daunia, hydriai and pelikai in Basilicata. Likewise, certain representations seem popular on vases found in specific areas. It would be instructive to recalculate the graphs incorporating

other variables such as shape and type of representation.

⁵⁸ Some information is available for the clays of Gnathia pottery: J. R. Green, *AA* 1977, 551-63 and *id. loc. cit.* (n. 19).

⁵⁹ The rich Italiote vase collections assembled in the Nicholson Museum by Alexander Cambitoglou and his predecessor as Curator, Arthur Dale Trendall, are a fine source of material for a preliminary study. The first steps have been made to carry out PIXE-PIGME analysis through the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organization at Lucas Heights, NSW.