

## On the Divergence of South Italian from Attic Red-figure Vase-painting\*

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It is generally agreed that the local production of red-figured vases in South Italy began somewhere around the middle of the third quarter of the 5th century BC. This event was plausibly associated by A. Furtwängler with the founding of Thurii in 444/3 BC,<sup>1</sup> but the recent excavations at that site have so far failed to produce much in the way of confirmatory evidence. On the other hand, the discovery in 1973 of potters' kilns at Metapontum has shown conclusively that the Amykos Painter and his immediate followers, the Creusa and Dolon Painters, must have worked there in the later 5th and earlier 4th centuries BC.<sup>2</sup> Still more recent excavations, under the direction of J. C. Carter, in the areas immediately around the city, have brought to light several other vases attributable to the Pisticci and Amykos Painters, including some of the former's earliest known works, and, in consequence, it now seems likely that their workshop was located at Metapontum from a comparatively early date. The finds from Policoro, the ancient Heraclea, which include the name-vases of the Policoro Painter and other important pieces related in style to his work, suggest that there may have been a workshop at that site as well.<sup>3</sup>

Not long after the Pisticci Painter began producing his vases, a second school of vase-painters made its appearance at Tarentum, under the

\* This lecture was originally delivered at the Beazley Colloquium in London at the British Museum on 25 June 1985 and was repeated, in a somewhat modified form, at the First Congress of Classical Archaeology in Sydney on 12 July. Only a small proportion of the material used to illustrate the lecture can here be reproduced. I am deeply grateful to all the authorities concerned for permission to publish vases in their collections.

<sup>1</sup> *Meisterwerke* (1893), 150; *Masterpieces* (1895), 108; for recent excavations, see AAVV, *Sibari*, i, Suppl. to *N.Sc.* 1969; *Sibari*, ii, Suppl. 3 to *N.Sc.* 1970; *Sibari*, iii, Suppl. to *N.Sc.* 1972; *Sibari*, iv, Suppl. to *N.Sc.* 1974.

<sup>2</sup> See AAVV, *Metaponto*, i, ii, Suppl. to *N.Sc.* 1975 (1980) and 1977 (1983). A short account is given in D. Adamesteanu, *Metaponto* (1973). The excavations supported by the Univ. of Texas at Austin, under the direction of Prof. J. C. Carter, in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Archeologica, are recorded in the series 'Excavations at Metaponto', of which the fascicules covering 1976-82 have so far been published.

<sup>3</sup> See in particular N. Degrassi, *B.d.A.* 1965, 5-36; id. in: B. Neutsch, *Herakleia-Studien*, *RM Ergh.* 11 (1967), 193-231, pls. 50-80.

relate the event to the chorus and survivors. If the myths *per se* were being depicted, he would have no place in the scene; when he is present, it is difficult not to see some connection with a stage performance rather than a simple representation of the myth. Good examples may be seen in the Berlin Chrysippus or the Melbourne Antiope (Pl. 24.4), but they can be widely multiplied. Another is probably to be seen in the Geneva Melanippe; the Sicilian Deianeira krater is a perfect illustration of the *Trachiniai* of Sophocles, in which all the principal characters appear, and the development of the plot foreshadowed. It would have made a splendid poster.

While it is clear that many of the scenes can be associated with known Greek dramas—and anyone brought up in a colony will recognize the local hunger for the latest motherland productions (cp. the story of the Athenian prisoners in Syracuse, who won their freedom by reciting passages from recent plays by Euripides)—many do not correspond at all closely with extant dramas and may well reflect 4th-century BC plays by writers like Astydamos (or indeed local dramatists) whose works are almost completely lost to us. They are known to have written tragedies which treated the old legends in a different manner—the Medea kraters in Munich and Princeton (Pl. 22.1) are probably reflections of such plays.<sup>46</sup>

Another noteworthy feature of vase-painting in South Italy, and especially in Apulia, is the artists' predilection for the less well-known myths. The great heroes of Attica, such as Theseus and Heracles, do appear (see e.g. Pl. 23.4), but with far less frequency, since they seem to have had less appeal to the inhabitants of a world largely outside their particular sphere of activity. It is not altogether easy to understand why Apulian artists, especially the Darius Painter and his colleagues, so frequently depict myths not found elsewhere—for example, Callisto, Melanippe, Niobe, the daughters of Anius, Chrysippus, Amphion, and Zethus—some of which indeed have resisted interpretation,<sup>47</sup> but it is clear that they had access to a wealth of mythology which we no longer possess, and it is to our better understanding of this field that South Italian vase-painting makes such an important contribution.

Of the contemporary scene we see but little—the presence of warriors wearing native armour, or of women dressed in what are clearly non-Greek costumes (Pl. 23.1), sheds some light upon the local inhabitants as distinct from the Greek colonists,<sup>48</sup> as well as indicating at least some

<sup>46</sup> See A. D. Trendall, *Princeton University Art Museum Record* 43 (1984), 5–17.

<sup>47</sup> See Trendall, *RVAp.* ii. 484, 494. The subject of no. 18/59 has now been identified as Anius with his three daughters, Elais, Oino, and Spermo. See for a discussion of its interpretation, A. D. Trendall in: E. Böhr and W. Martini (eds.), *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Konrad Schauenburg zum 65. Geburtstag am 16. April 1986* (1986), 165–8.

<sup>48</sup> See A. D. Trendall, *Gli Indigeni nella pittura italiota* (1971); M. Dewailly, *MEFRA* 94 (1982), 581–623.

degree of fusion between the two peoples; such objects as the so-called xylophone<sup>49</sup>—perhaps the *platage* of Archytas, a musical instrument in the nature of a rattle—which makes a very frequent appearance on Tarentine vases (see e.g. Pl. 22.3), illustrate elements that are distinctly non-Attic. Some vases show scenes of conflict between Greeks and natives. Perhaps the head of a warrior inscribed *APX* on a bell-krater now in Liverpool<sup>50</sup> testifies to the presence of Archidamus of Sparta, brought across by the Tarentines to aid them in their struggle with the Lucanians, but slain at the battle of Manduria in 338 BC. Alexander the Great has been identified on an Apulian krater showing a bearded figure pursuing a Persian.<sup>51</sup> However, it may only be a general version of an episode from the Persian wars, since the Alexander is bearded, though one should not rule out the possibility that an account of his physical appearance had not reached the remoter West at the time the vase was painted.

The steady increase in the size of South Italian vases enabled their painters to indulge in grandiose compositions and this brought about an interest in the problems of perspective and foreshortening. As early as the end of the 5th century BC this is apparent in such a vase as the Cyclops krater in the British Museum (Pl. 24.1), where the Cyclops in the foreground is foreshortened, while Odysseus and his companions are tiered behind in receding planes. If we look at the famous Patroclus krater by the Darius Painter,<sup>52</sup> some sixty or more years later, we see the development of perspective in the treatment of Nestor's couch, the logs of the funeral pyre, the woman with the hydria, but they are seen as a series of independent studies, which lack cohesion. Herein lies one of the great weaknesses of South Italian composition—the inability to organize a unified picture space. The failure to give due attention to the requirements of different shapes means that, as D. von Bothmer has pointed out,<sup>53</sup> the pictures tend to lose their close organic relationship with the surface on which they are painted, as well as that sense of proportion and careful balance of the individual component parts which characterized their earlier Attic prototypes. This is perhaps why many scholars have preferred the South Italian fragment to the complete vase, since the former enables us to study the drawing in all its purity, without external distraction.

The pottery of the Greek colonists in South Italy has not on the whole had a very good press. When it has not been completely brushed aside, it has been called 'provincial' or stigmatized as a 'sorry appendix' to Attic

<sup>49</sup> Trendall, *RVAp.* i. 315–16, 404, no. 15/44a; see also E. Keuls, *AJA* 83 (1979), 476f.

<sup>50</sup> Trendall, *RVAp.* ii. 654, no. 22/47, pl. 241.3.

<sup>51</sup> Naples 3256 (Trendall, *RVAp.* ii. 496, no. 18/40); see also H. Metzger, *REG* 80 (1967), 311ff.; T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 6 (1973), 174ff. and L. Giuliani, *Ant.K.* 20 (1977), 26ff.

<sup>52</sup> Naples 3254 (Trendall, *RVAp.* ii. 495, no. 18/39, with bibliography).

<sup>53</sup> *Arts in Virginia*, 23/3 (1983), 29ff.

similar to those on actual fragments from grave monuments found at Tarentum. The originals were in a soft limestone, which would have been covered with white stucco to simulate marble, and this practice is imitated on the vases by the use of added white for the monument and the figures within it. Such scenes are also to be found on hydriai, and an amphora in the museum of Taranto gives us a third form of grave monument—an actual statue of the deceased, standing on a plinth by itself.<sup>37</sup> A barrel-amphora in Basel adds a touch of sardonic humour to the scene, where Hermes *psychopompos* comes to conduct a young man to the world below, but he refuses to go.<sup>38</sup> In Paestan and Campanian the funerary monuments are usually of much simpler form—a stele or an Ionic column rising from a plinth, with mourners grouped around, although at Cumae, under Apulian influence, a few naiskoi make a somewhat later appearance, but they were clearly not the standard local form of monument.

The mourners hold a wide variety of objects in their hands (cp. Pl. 22.2–3)—phialai, paterae, mirrors, rosette chains, fans, etc., sometimes Dionysiac, thyrsi or tambourines. Their funerary symbolism has been the subject of a good deal of recent study, notably by H. R. W. Smith in his remarkable work *Funerary Symbolism*. That many of these objects have such significance is undeniable, but it is perhaps better not to press this too far, since in many instances, and especially on the smaller vases, such objects are little more than routine items.

Also significant in this context are the so-called Underworld vases, which show Pluto and Persephone in their palace in Hades, surrounded by a selection of the denizens of the Underworld. The well-known krater in Munich is perhaps the most famous example. It treats the subject on a very elaborate scale and introduces an Orphic element in the figure of Orpheus himself, who seems to be leading in a family, probably of initiates. He appears regularly in such scenes, and on one occasion, on a highly remarkable vase in Basel, manifests himself in front of a seated poet in a naiskos. Such vases testify to the strength of the Orphic cult at Tarentum and in Apulia.<sup>39</sup>

After funerary scenes, perhaps the next most important are those associated with Dionysus. All fabrics produce large numbers of vases with genre scenes of this nature—Dionysus with his followers, or with Pan, Eros, and others. We must not forget that Dionysus was also god of

<sup>37</sup> 9265 (Trendall, *RVAp.* ii. 887, no. 27/234, pl. 340.5).

<sup>38</sup> BS 484 (Trendall, *RVAp.* Suppl. i. 174f., no. 28/86f; M. Schmidt, *Ant.K.* 27 (1984), 34–40, pls. 8–10).

<sup>39</sup> For Underworld vases, see in particular M. Pensa, *Rappresentazioni dell'oltretomba nella ceramica apula* (1977), and K. Schauenburg, *RM* 91 (1984), 359–87, with a good selection of illustrations on pls. 94–124. For the Orphic cult, see M. Schmidt in: *Atti XIV CMGr.* 1974 (1975), 105–37, pls. 1–17.

drama, and one of the more interesting aspects of South Italian iconography is to be found in numerous vases with scenes associated with the theatre.<sup>40</sup> Many show Dionysus in the company of a maenad, a papposilen, or a satyr, with a comic mask, which may be suspended above, or held in the hand of one of the figures represented (Pl. 24.3); sometimes satyr plays are depicted, as on the Cyclops krater in the British Museum (Pl. 24.1) or the Milan krater with the stealing of Heracles' club and bow;<sup>41</sup> others give us illustrations of that very typical South Italian comic drama, the phlyax play, often identifying the characters by means of inscriptions or even showing the actual stage upon which the play was performed. This looks to have been a rather impromptu kind of structure, probably set up out of doors, since one such vase (Pl. 24.2) shows a living tree pressed into service as a stage prop.<sup>42</sup>

Two Paestan vases, both signed by Asteas, depict a dramatic scene taking place in front of a loggia-like structure, which seems to draw its inspiration from a stage background. One is the Madness of Heracles krater in Madrid, the other a hydria from Agropoli, now in Paestum, showing Proetus giving the letter to Bellerophon in the presence of Stheneboea and her attendant.<sup>43</sup> A fragmentary Sicilian krater in Syracuse shows a scene from the *Oedipus Tyrannus* on a stage, with columns in the background.<sup>44</sup> On the whole, however, South Italian vase-paintings illustrate tragedies rather than represent them. We are frequently shown the tragic fate of the hero or heroine, which could not have been part of the actual performance on the stage. This often takes place in the presence of the *paedagogus*, or old retainer,<sup>45</sup> who will subsequently

<sup>40</sup> See A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (1971). [Cp. also C. Dearden below, p. 233. Ed.]

<sup>41</sup> B.M. 1947.7–14.18 (Trendall, *LCS* 27, no. 85, pl. 8.1; Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations*, p. 36, no. II. 11); Milan (*Illustrations*, p. 38, no. II. 13).

<sup>42</sup> See A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, *BICS* Suppl. 19 (1967); Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations*, pp. 127ff. The Bari krater is published and discussed by F. G. Lo Pörto in: A. Cambitoglou (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall* (1979), 107–10, pl. 29 (= Trendall, *RVAp.* i. 400, no. 15/28, pl. 140.5).

<sup>43</sup> These two vases have recently been dealt with in some detail by S. Gogos, *Ö.Jh.* 54 (1983), 59–70, where they are illustrated in figs. 1.a–b and 3. See also Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations*, p. 102, nos. III.3 and 44.

<sup>44</sup> Syracuse 66557 (Trendall and Webster, *Illustrations*, pp. 66ff., nos. III.2, 8; Trendall, *LCS* Suppl. 3, *BICS* Suppl. 41 (1983), 276, no. 98a, with the recent bibliography). [Cp. also C. Dearden below, p. 240. Ed.]

<sup>45</sup> On the *paedagogus* in Apulian vase-painting, see F. Chamay and A. Cambitoglou, *Ant.K.* 13 (1980), 40ff. The Berlin Chrysippos krater (1968.12), is no. 1 in their list (pl. 14.2); the Antiope krater is in the Geddes collection in Melbourne (A 5: 4; ex Sotheby, Sale Cat. 10–11 Dec. 1984, no. 365); see A. D. Trendall in: H. A. G. Brijder et al. (eds.), *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery presented to J. M. Hemelrijk*, Allard Pierson Ser. 6 (1986), 157–66. The Geneva Melanippe is now published in: C. Aellen, A. Cambitoglou, and J. Chamay, *Le Peintre de Darius et son milieu*, Hellas et Roma 4 (1986), 190–9; the Deianeira krater is published by M. Cavalier and L. Bernabò-Brea, *Il Castello di Lipari e il Museo Archeologico Eoliano* (2nd ed., 1977), no. 119; see also C. Weiss, *Griechische Flussgottheiten*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 17 (1984), pl. 13; L. Bernabò-Brea, *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi* (1981), col. pl. III.

neck-amphora appears in Apulia only at the very beginning of that fabric, in an example by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl,<sup>32</sup> but is common in Campania and at Paestum, where the panathenaic type does not occur, though another variety with a handle arching over the mouth, generally called a bail-amphora, is popular in Campania and goes back there to the days of black-figure. In Apulia it is the amphora of panathenaic shape that comes into regular use. It follows much the same lines of development as the volute-krater, its decoration becoming increasingly elaborate as the century moves on, when such vases often reach a metre or more in height. They are decorated with a figure or a head in a floral setting on the shoulder, and with mythological or funerary scenes on the body. Parallel developments will be seen in the loutrophoros (Pl. 22.3), the bodies of which may be ovoid (convex) or cylindrical (concave); in the latter case the elaborate handles may be omitted, to give us what is usually known as the barrel-amphora. Other shapes which undergo modification in South Italy are the two types of situla, modelled on bronze prototypes; the tall lekythos, which reaches dimensions unknown in Attica; the lebes gamikos, which, notably at Paestum, is provided with a lid in three or four elements, of considerable complexity, as well as being decorated with plastic heads; the skyphoid pyxis, popular in Sicily, especially at Lipari, but also found in Apulia and at Paestum, again in ever-increasing size. Lastly, a passing reference may be made to fish-plates, which are derived from Attic models. They are found in all fabrics except Lucanian, and may be distinguished from their Attic counterparts by the fact that the bellies of the fish are turned towards the central depression and not the outer rim. In general, Apulian fish-plates have ornamental patterns inside the depression, those of the other fabrics do not.

Of shapes peculiar to South Italian, we have already referred to the *nestoris* or *trozzella*; to it may be added the 'patera', or dish with knobbed handles,<sup>33</sup> found only in Apulian. These sometimes reach a diameter of 70 cm, which suggests their use was funerary rather than practical. This view is supported by their frequent appearance in naiskos and stele scenes. Other shapes of less importance include the so-called duck askos and the bottle, the latter again very common in Sicily.

From the above survey it will be seen that almost immediately after the rise of the local fabrics, the potters proceeded to go their own way in regard to shape. We have mentioned the Apulian predilection for floral decorative patterns, and there are several others, such as the black and yellow lozenges,<sup>34</sup> which play an important role in ornamentation.

<sup>32</sup> Lecce 571 (Trendall, *LCS* 7, no. 1/13). His other two amphorae are both of panathenaic shape: Taranto 140602 and 140638 (Trendall, *RVAp.* i. 434-5, nos. 1/9a, 12b).

<sup>33</sup> See G. Schneider-Herrmann, *Apulian Red-figured Paterae*, *BICS* Suppl. 34 (1977).

<sup>34</sup> Cp. Trendall, *RVAp.* i, pls. 64-5; Suppl. i, pl. 19.3-4.

Crossed squares alternating with meanders are a general phenomenon, but in South Italy the Apulian quartered square (as on Pl. 22.1) is typical and remains in constant use after c. 370 BC, when saltires and upright crosses become less popular.

When we come to the subject-matter of South Italian vases, we cannot fail to be struck by the predominance of funerary motifs, especially on the huge Apulian volute-kraters and amphorae, reaching up to one and a half metres in height. Those from the Canosan area and the workshop of the Baltimore Painter (Pl. 22.2) and his followers provide the most outstanding examples. They remind us distantly of the great Geometric vases from the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, some four centuries earlier. They represent, though in a different medium, the grave monuments that have come down to us from Tarentum and other sites in extremely fragmentary form. They obviously played a very important role in the cult of the dead and are often infused with mystic elements derived from Orphism and Pythagoreanism, where special emphasis was placed on the hereafter. This funerary symbolism comes to play an infinitely greater role in South Italian red-figure than in Attica, where there are no close parallels in pottery and where the stelai of the 4th century BC are more closely concerned with family life and are of a more private character.

The series of naiskos vases from Apulia, numbering over one thousand, has recently been studied in detail by H. Lohmann,<sup>35</sup> and it will be sufficient here to refer to a few examples only. The canonical decoration, for volute-kraters, amphorae, or loutrophoroi, consists of a naiskos scene on the obverse, with a stele scene on the reverse. Two of the earliest examples are by the Iliupersis Painter, whose innovations in pattern-work and decoration have already been noted; they are Leningrad 577 and B.M. F 283 (Pl. 21.3), both of which show on the obverse a youth by a laver in a naiskos, and on the reverse four figures grouped around a stele. The composition is a little less rigid than on later examples, where the figures are generally grouped more formally in a chiasmic arrangement, of which Leningrad 577 gives a good prototype.

In the second half of the century, the number of figures within the naiskos may increase to as many as five, and a good deal of added colour, especially orange and deep red, is used to heighten the effect, which at times is very close to that of Gnathian polychrome. That the scenes on these funerary vases were inspired by actual grave monuments seems reasonably clear from the fact that sometimes the naiskos has a frieze of triglyphs with sculptured metopes. Outstanding examples may be seen on two loutrophoroi recently on the London market.<sup>36</sup> The metopes on these are decorated with Greeks and Amazons (Pl. 22.3), very

<sup>35</sup> *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen*, AF 7 (1979).

<sup>36</sup> See Trendall, *RVAp.* Suppl. i. 71f., nos. 18/16d, e, pl. x.3-4. For the sculpture fragments, see J. C. Carter, *The Sculpture of Taras*, *Trans. Am. Philos. Soc.* NS 65/7 (1975), *passim*.

of the Lycurgus Painter;<sup>23</sup> he is one of the last of the Apulians to use volutes without applied masks, and from his time onward we note a steady increase in the size of these vases, as well as a much greater elaboration in the decorative pattern-work, which now begins to appear not only on the neck, but also on the handles around the volutes. This progression is clearly to be seen in the work of the Darius and Underworld Painters, and in that of the Canosan school, especially the Baltimore, Arpi, and White Saccos Painters. We should also note that in the later 4th century BC female heads begin to appear on the reverses of these vases, replacing the stelai, and that such heads are also frequently used as the sole decoration on vases of smaller dimensions. They are mostly female (Pl. 22.1), although occasionally a male head (Hermes, Orpheus, Pan, satyr, youth) appears. It is not easy to identify the female heads—one is inscribed Aura,<sup>24</sup> some clearly represent Aphrodite, and others seem to represent amazons (Pl. 22.2). At least on the minor vases, it does not seem that the painter always had a particular person or deity in mind.

Another feature very characteristic of Apulian is the reflecting pool—perhaps of Attic inspiration, although far from common on Athenian vases.<sup>25</sup> It appears on vases by the Iliupersis Painter, like Louvre K3 or Boston 1970.235 (Pl. 21.4), is popular with the Lycurgus Painter, and even more so with his followers. Also noteworthy are the rock-piles on which various figures are seated, and which are very characteristic of Apulian, appearing in a somewhat different form in the western fabrics.<sup>26</sup>

There is little difference to be observed in the treatment of bell- and calyx-kraters, except that in Attic the latter, especially in the LC Group, tend to show a considerable elongation of the body and a preference for Dionysiac themes. More interesting is the column-krater, a shape which in Athens faded out around 380 BC, but continued in Apulian throughout the life of that fabric, though it is not found in Sicily and the West. In both Lucanian and Apulian it appears from the start; in the latter fabric it would seem to have had a particular appeal to the native market, since for quite a long time people dressed in native costumes are represented only on vases of this shape. An excellent example will be seen on B.M. F 174 (Pl. 23.1), by the Sisyphus Painter, which shows a woman pouring

<sup>23</sup> Trendall, *RVAp.* i 416f., nos. 16/10, 11, 14, have black open-work; 16/12 ivy, 16/16 laurel, and 16/13, 15, 16a mascaroons. Nos. 16/41–4 have mascaroons; 16/45 ivy, 16/46 plain black, 16/54 mascaroons; 16/55 red-figure ivy on one side, relief medallions on the other; 16/81–2 black open-work. After this, mascaroons are used almost without exception.

<sup>24</sup> On B.M. F 277 by the Iliupersis Painter (Trendall, *RVAp.* i. 193, no. 8/5). On female heads on Apulian vases, see Trendall, *RVAp.* ii. 646ff. (with bibliography).

<sup>25</sup> For an Attic prototype cp., from the second quarter of the 4th cent. BC, the Attic pelike by the Heracles Painter, B.M. 1901.7–10.5 (Beazley, *ARV* 1472, no. 3), showing satyrs attacking a maenad sleeping beside a rocky pool.

<sup>26</sup> See Trendall, *LCS* 207, 306.

a libation from a *nestoris*—a purely local shape—to a native warrior standing beside his horse, while another looks on. Perhaps here we may digress for a moment to look more closely at the vase held by the woman. It is usually designated by the word *nestoris*<sup>27</sup>—though this was certainly not its ancient name—or by its Italian equivalent, *trozzella*. The shape appears commonly in Messapian and in its regular form consists of an ovoid body with two high-swung handles, decorated at the top and at the front, where they join the body, with circular discs, bearing various patterns. It is in early Lucanian, where contacts with the native tribes of the hinterland were perhaps closer than at Tarentum, that the first examples of this shape in red-figure are to be found. The earliest is by the Amykos Painter;<sup>28</sup> it has side handles and tall upright ones, but without the discs, which are characteristic of the other *nestorides* (Pl. 23.4). They appear on two slightly later works by the same painter (Pl. 23.2) and thereafter come into general use. Apulian red-figure vase-painters tended to shun this shape, and it did not appear until well into the second quarter of the 4th century BC.<sup>29</sup> Of particular interest are a set of three such vases by the Varrese Painter (Pl. 23.3), with applied heads of Orpheus on the discs. The shape was never popular in Apulia and was probably produced primarily for the native market, which may have become dissatisfied with column-kraters as a substitute.

Of the other vases of larger dimensions, the most significant is the amphora, together with its close relatives like the loutrophoros and the barrel-amphora. As characteristic examples of the two types of red-figure amphorae most commonly found in Greece at the end of the 5th century BC—though seldom after that date—we may cite a neck-amphora by the Suessula Painter<sup>30</sup> and an amphora of panathenaic shape found in the Athenian Agora.<sup>31</sup> Both varieties are transmitted to South Italy. The

<sup>27</sup> On the *nestoris*, see G. Schneider-Herrmann, *Red-figured Lucanian and Apulian Nestorides and their Ancestors* (1980); also K. Schauenburg, *J.d.I.* 89 (1974), 137ff.

<sup>28</sup> Boston 1971.49 (Trendall, *LCS* Suppl. 3, *BICS* Suppl. 41 (1983), 14, no. 137b); the two later examples are Richmond 81.71 (ibid. 15, no. 188a, pl. II. 2–4), and one in the Geddes collection in Melbourne (L.10; ex Sotheby, Sale Cat. 13–14 Dec. 1982, no. 298 ill. on p. 105 = Trendall, *LCS* Suppl. 3, *BICS* Suppl. 41 (1983), 390, no. 188b). It should be noted that there is a *nestoris* in the Guarini collection at Pulsano, with the upper panels decorated in the white-ground technique. It is published as Lucanian by L. Todisco in: *Antichità della collezione Guarini* (1984), 58, no. 1, with col. plate and pls. 65–6, but the figured decoration looks to be purely Attic, and we may have here the work of an Attic vase-painter on a local Apulian shape, as on the two fragmentary red-figure vases in the Getty Museum at Malibu, discussed below by Marit Jentoft-Nelsen. Compare the curious red-figure vase in Naples (Trendall, *LCS* 5, no. 16; K. Schauenburg, *J.d.I.* 89 (1974), 165, fig. 32), which is un-Attic in shape but seems to be the work of an Attic artist.

<sup>29</sup> The earliest Apulian red-figured *nestorides* come from the workshop of the Hoppin Painter, e.g. Naples 2315 (Trendall, *RVAp.* i. 113, no. 5/84), and 2326 (*RVAp.* i. 113, no. 5/296). The three by the Varrese Painter are Trendall, *RVAp.* i. 143, no. 13/34, and Suppl. i. 46, nos. 13/34, 1–2, pl. v. 1–2).

<sup>30</sup> Louvre S 1677 (Beazley, *ARV* 1344, no. 1).

<sup>31</sup> Agora P. 10.554; P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949), 306–8, pls. 73–4; the last example is considerably later and belongs to the Kerch style (K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kercher Vasen* (1934), 3, no. 1, pl. 30), but is in very poor condition.

and his 'Early Ornate' follower, the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (Pl. 21.1), up to the time of the Illupersis Painter (Pl. 21.3-4),<sup>15</sup> who seems to have been responsible for at least two momentous developments: (i) the application of masks to the volutes,<sup>16</sup> which up to that time had been either done in black open-work or decorated with ivy; and (ii) the introduction of a female head in a floral setting,<sup>17</sup> still rather tentative in its first stages, on the neck (Pl. 21.4) of the obverse. The latter was to become one of the most characteristic elements of Apulian vase-decoration. The appearance of floral patterns has been credibly associated with the Greek painter Pausias, who seems to have specialized in floral work.<sup>18</sup> His influence can possibly be seen in some mid-4th-century BC mosaics, like those from Eretria and Sicyon, but it was in Apulia that the floral style seems to have reached its highest development. It is characteristically found on the necks of volute-kraters (Pl. 22.1-2), but it can spread at times to cover almost the entire vase, as on the Kiel hydria and many others.<sup>19</sup> This floral style was transmitted to Paestum by the Aphrodite Painter<sup>20</sup> and is found in later Campanian, e.g. in the T. T. Group,<sup>21</sup> as well as appearing regularly on Gnathia vases. We see it again on the borders of the Pella hunting mosaic, and in the famous bronze krater from Dherveni,<sup>22</sup> which appears closer to Apulian models than to Attic. The further development of the volute-krater may be seen in the work

Brussels A 1018, all by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (Trendall, *RVAp.* i, nos. 2/6, 7, 9) and the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (*RVAp.* i, no. 2/8), has black-figure ivy on the volutes, with swan heads; Lemngrad 585, by the Painter of the Long Overfalls (*RVAp.* i, no. 4/140). Naples 2411, by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (*RVAp.* i, no. 2/23), has black-figure ivy without swan heads. The earlier volute-kraters by the Illupersis Painter have either (i) black open-work scrolls, e.g. Lemngrad 377, Milan, 'H.A.' coll. 377, Naples 3223 (Trendall, *RVAp.* i, nos. 8/1-3), or (ii) ivy, e.g. Milan, 'H.A.' coll. 239, and with a radiate star on the reverse, B.M. F 277 (*RVAp.* i, nos. 8/4-5). Thereafter there are figured scenes or masks on the volutes (*RVAp.* i, nos. 8/7-12). All have black swan heads on the shoulder.

<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that mascarons also appear on a volute-krater once on the Bari market (Trendall, *RVAp.* ii, 1043-4, no. 4/140a; here Pl. 21.2), by the Painter of the Long Overfalls; it is a late piece, contemporary with the early work of the Illupersis Painter whose influence in this regard it probably reflects.

<sup>17</sup> On Boston 1970.235 (Trendall, *RVAp.* i, no. 8/11, pl. 61.3; here Pl. 21.4); a head of Pan between two lions, reminiscent of the earlier animal friezes on the necks, appears on Vatican A 2 (*RVAp.* i, no. 8/13).

<sup>18</sup> On Pausias and floral-painting, see in particular M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (1975), 486ff., and Trendall, *RVAp.* i, 189 (where refs. are given to the principal publications of the mosaics from Sicyon, Eretria, and Pella).

<sup>19</sup> The Kiel hydria B 562 is the subject of a detailed study by K. Schauenburg, *Jdl.* 99 (1984), 137-60, where many of the other 'floral' vases are also illustrated.

<sup>20</sup> E. Greco, *Il Pittore di Aphrodite* (1970), pls. I, IV.

<sup>21</sup> e.g. Naples 132422 (Trendall, LCS, pl. 221.1).

<sup>22</sup> E. Tiohpn, *O kapitpas tov Δεφνεϊοβ, Bβλ. Μθην. Μπρ.* 89 (1978); Robertson, *History of Greek Art*, pp. 482ff., pl. 141b.

naturally to mind when one thinks of that fabric—is the volute-krater confined to Apulian and Lucanian—it is not found at all in Sicilian or Campanian, and very rarely in Paestan, where three of the four known examples belong to the Apulianizing phase.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the Attic prototypes which provided the models for the earliest South Italian volute-kraters have been found in Ruvo. They are by the Kadmos (Pl. 20.1), Pronomos, and Talos Painters.<sup>12</sup> In Athens production of volute-kraters ceased around c. 380 BC, but continued at a steadily increasing pace in Apulian throughout the life of that fabric; in Lucanian volute-kraters are comparatively rare in the early stages but appear more frequently in the later.<sup>13</sup> In Apulian, the earliest is by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl (Pl. 20.2) and we may follow the progress of the shape<sup>14</sup> through the work of the Sisyphus Painter (Pl. 20.3)

<sup>11</sup> Paestum 32128 is probably by Asceas, but it is in such a battered state that a more positive attribution is difficult (*RVAp.* i 113, no. 2/149, pl. 64a). The two in Naples: 3248 (A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (1936), fig. 62; id., *The Red-figured Vases of Paestum* (1987), 344, no. 3/63c, pl. 224c; K. Schauenburg, *RM* 62 (1955), pls. 48.1; 49.1) and another, unnumbered and in a fragmentary state (A. D. Trendall, *BSR* 27 (1959), 25, no. A348; *RVAp.* i, no. 3/629), are both Apulianizing. To these may now be added a third on the European market, representing Phaon. It is by the same hand as Naples 3248 (*RVAp.* i, 449-51, no. 3/630a, pl. 241d).

<sup>12</sup> See n. 5. One of the latest Attic volute-kraters is the magnificent example from r. 136 in the Valle Pega at Spina (P. E. Arias, *RIA*, ns 4 (1955), 95ff. figs. 2-3, 5-11, 23-4, 41-52). Dr Ian McPhee attributes it to the Painter of Athens 12255 (Beazley, *ARV* 1435), and places it in the second decade of the 4th cent. BC. It has open-work handles, and the lower part of the body is ribbed (cp. Ruvo 1494, by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, where the ribbing is on the upper half).

<sup>13</sup> Good examples of early Lucanian volute-kraters may be seen in (i), Ruvo 1095, by the Amykos Painter (Trendall, LCS, no. 243); (ii), Mithun 85, AE. 101 by the Palermo Painter (shortly to be published by Marti Jentoft-Nilsen), representing (a), Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, (b), four draped youths; (iii), Tarento 8263, by the Karneia Painter (Trendall, LCS, no. 280); (iv), Ruvo 7694, by the Karneia Painter (LCS, no. 281). The first has black open-work handles; on the other three the other two (Toldo 81.110: CVA 2, pls. 91-3; Lemngrad 361), have handles decorated with ivy. The Dolon Painter seems to have decorated only one volute-krater (now in the 'H.A.' collection in Milan (Trendall, LCS Suppl. 3, *BICS* Suppl. 41 (1983), no. D16), the handles of which are also decorated with black-figure ivy. For later volute-kraters, see Trendall, LCS Suppl. 3, *BICS* Suppl. 41 (1983), 13-14 (Chochophoroi Painter); 688 (Roccanova Painter); 788, 794, 849, 849a, 850, 875 (Group (1983), 13-14 (Chochophoroi Painter); 688 (Roccanova Painter). Most of those by the Primato Painter have mascarons handles after the later Apulian fashion.

<sup>14</sup> The developments in the shape and handles of early Apulian volute-kraters are well illustrated by the following vases: (i) scroll-volutes, decorated with ivy; no swans' heads on shoulder: Tarento 140639, by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl (Trendall, *RVAp.* i, 435, no. 1/12a; *Ami XVI CMGr.* 1976 (1978), pl. 113; here Pl. 20.2); Munich 3268, Ruvo 1096, Warsaw 142296, all by the Sisyphus Painter (Trendall, *RVAp.* i, nos. 1/51-3); Geneva 15036, by the Tarporley Painter (*RVAp.* i, no. 3/43). To these must now be added the magnificent Sisyphus volute-krater recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (85, AE. 102), showing (a) the binding of Andromeda and the pater between Perseus and Cepheus, (b) two nude youths between two women. It will shortly be published, together with its Early Lucanian counterpart (85, AE. 101), by Marti Jentoft-Nilsen; the two admirably illustrate the similarities and differences between the two styles at the beginning of the 4th cent. BC. Their reverses are here published on Pl. 20.3 and 4; (iii) volutes in black-glaze with scrolls or open-work: Tarento from Gravina (Trendall, *RVAp.* i, no. 2/1); Tarento 8264, Ruvo 1494

leadership of the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl, who was closely followed by the Hearst and Sisyphus Painters. Thus, by the end of the 5th century BC, we have two well-established schools of vase-painting in South Italy. At first they were close together in style, and the products of this period are often conveniently referred to in general terms as Early South Italian, although the first might more properly be designated Early Lucanian and the other Early Apulian. It was not long before the two fabrics developed clearly defined styles of their own.

The first Early South Italian vases are closely modelled upon Attic prototypes, especially vases from the Polygnotan Group by such artists as the Christie or Peleus Painters,<sup>4</sup> some of whose works have been found in Apulia. The Tarentine school tends to reflect the more monumental style of artists like the Kleophon and Dinos Painters, and later of the painters of volute-kraters like the Kadmos (Pl. 20.1), Pronomos, and Talos Painters. Vases by all three have been found in Ruvo and should therefore have been accessible to the local painters.<sup>5</sup> The influence of the Meidias Painter is less immediately apparent, though his manner of treating drapery had its effect on some of the earlier 4th-century BC painters; the pattern-work of some of the minor Attic artists (like the Marlay Painter, one of whose skyphoi was found at Tarentum) is copied on the Aura skyphos.<sup>6</sup>

The 4th century BC saw a decline in the political significance of Athens, and the contraction of Etruscan power coincided with a drop in imports to Etruria from Greece. In consequence Athens was forced to seek new markets for its wares<sup>7</sup> and it looked to South Russia (Kerch), North Africa (Cyrene), and Spain (Ampurias). This brought about some changes in the choice of subjects—e.g. Europa or Arimaspians and griffins appeared on the Kerch vases, and the Hesperides on those destined for North Africa. With the rise of locally made wares in Magna Graecia, the demand for Attic imports rapidly fell off, and comparatively few vases of the 4th century BC have been found in South Italy, with the exception of a group of kraters, often with symposium scenes, imported by the Campanian city of Saticula (S. Agata dei Goti). These were at first thought to be South Italian and indeed gave rise to the so-called fabric of Saticula,<sup>8</sup> but are now recognized as Attic. Some 4th-century BC Attic,

<sup>4</sup> Beazley, ARV 1027–64.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Ruvo 1093 by the Kadmos Painter (Beazley, ARV 1184, no. 1); Naples 3240 by the Pronomos Painter (ARV 1336, no. 1); Ruvo 1501 by the Talos Painter (ARV 1338, no. 1).

<sup>6</sup> For the Marlay Painter, see Beazley, ARV 1276ff.; his skyphos Taranto 50936 (ARV 1278, no. 27) has similar pattern-work to that of the Aura skyphos Sydney 53.30 (Trendall, LCS 70, no. 352); cp. also the skyphoi listed in Trendall, LCS Suppl. 3, BICS Suppl. 41 (1983), 26, nos. 353a–c.

<sup>7</sup> See B. R. Macdonald, *AJA* 85 (1981), 159–68.

<sup>8</sup> E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (1923), 18–20; J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (1928), 75–6; id., *JHS* 63 (1943), 70; see also A. D. Trendall in: D. Kurtz (ed.), *Beazley and Oxford* (1985), 33–4.

especially by the Meleager Painter and his followers, has been found in the area of Montesarchio and also at the Etruscan city of Spina in the Po delta (where South Italian is very rare), but elsewhere it is hardly to be found at all. Changes, therefore, which were taking place in the 4th-century BC wares of mainland Greece do not necessarily find parallels in South Italian, where the conditions were completely different, and where export markets were not a matter for consideration. South Italian vases are seldom found far from the area in which they were manufactured and were hardly ever exported overseas—less than 1 per cent of the extant total has come to light outside Magna Graecia.

As has already been noted, the first locally made South Italian vases were closely modelled on Attic prototypes, and initially were often regarded as Attic. In his review of *CVA Louvre* 5, J. D. Beazley makes the following comment: 'M. Pottier says it is often difficult to distinguish Attic vases from Italiote. I think he exaggerates; the two fabrics are frequently confounded, but unreasonably, for there can seldom be any doubt.'<sup>9</sup> Not everyone, however, is possessed of Beazley's acute eye and wide knowledge, and confusion between the two still exists, though to a lesser extent, despite the far greater wealth of published material in the area.

One might almost be forgiven for regarding some of the earliest of the Pisticci Painter's vases as Attic,<sup>10</sup> but their discovery near Metapontum, as well as slight differences in the drawing of the drapery and in the appearance of the fired clay and the black glaze, suggest they are of local make. It was not long before the two styles began to draw apart significantly and major divergences to manifest themselves; by c. 400 BC each was developing along clearly different lines. At this period we are still primarily concerned with the vases made in Apulia and Lucania; the Sicilian school does not seem to have begun until the end of the 5th century BC, again with close stylistic affiliations with later 5th-century BC Attic, and the fabrics of Campania and Paestum, both of which reflect a strong Sicilian influence in their earlier stages, not before the second quarter of the 4th century BC. The divergences manifest themselves in shape, in both figurative and ornamental decoration, in function, and in other ways. Here our primary concern will be with shape, style, and subject-matter.

Perhaps the most characteristic shape in Apulian—the one that springs

<sup>9</sup> *JHS* 48 (1928), 270f.

<sup>10</sup> e.g. Trendall, LCS 14–15, nos. 1–9; Suppl. 3, BICS Suppl. 41 (1983), 5, nos. 2a–9b, where some of the recently found vases from Metapontum and the surrounding area are listed. To these should now be added a hydria from Pantanello, t. 212, and a lebes gamikos from t. 95—for information about which I am deeply indebted to J. C. Carter. Three other hydriai: Louvre G555 (*CVA* 9, III 1d, pl. 51.9), one in a private collection in New York, and another in a private collection in Berne should be added to the list of the Pisticci Painter's early works. All three show two or three draped women.

vase-painting. One should not, however, judge South Italian by the standards of early Attic red-figure—the world of the 4th century BC is far different from that of the early 5th—and, when set beside the contemporary Attic products, South Italian vases can at least hold their own and are certainly more interesting as regards subject-matter. They reach a high level of technical competence and there are some quite outstanding works. The stronger inclination to the florid and the baroque, as well as to vases of huge dimensions, is understandable in a colonial world, where artists strive to outdo the products of the motherland, are less bound by centuries of established tradition, and are perhaps encouraged by their surroundings to a more exuberant manner of expression. The vases we have considered illustrate bold experiments in the rendering of perspective or of shading, and a greater interest in the use of polychromy and purely decorative elements; they offer us as well a remarkable range of subjects associated with mythology and with the legends that provided the themes of Greek drama. We are also given glimpses of local life, customs, and costumes, and a great deal of light is shed upon the funerary practices of the time and the emphasis given to the life hereafter and to the cult of the dead.

South Italian vase-painting began in the later 5th century BC, by following closely in the steps of Attic. Very soon afterwards divergences manifest themselves, and by the time we reach the early 4th century BC we can hardly confuse the two styles. In my opinion it should be held to the credit of the Western Greeks that they were prepared to establish their own conventions and follow their own path. They have transmitted to us a wealth of fascinating material and revealed something of the complex life of their world, for which literary and inscriptional sources are almost completely lacking. We can learn much from the study of South Italian vase-painting and it is encouraging to see that it is slowly gaining the recognition it richly deserves.