

RECEPTION OF COMIC THEATRE AMONGST THE INDIGENOUS SOUTH ITALIANS*

E. G. D. Robinson

Richard Green guided me into the study of South Italian pottery, and has provided me with sound advice on the subject for more than 20 years. It is with some trepidation that I have attempted to combine this interest with another of his specialties: images of Greek theatre and their interpretation. I have avoided some errors thanks to his advice, surreptitiously sought and generously given, during the preparation of this paper.

There are dozens of Apulian red-figured askoi, but the earliest of them date to the second quarter of the 4th century BC. They form a tight group in terms of shape and decoration, beginning with Ruvo 1402, attributed to the Felton Painter (pl. 27: 1–2).¹ Two further askoi have been attributed to the Meer Group, which follows on stylistically from the Felton Painter, and a fourth is unattributed but said by A. D. Trendall to belong in the same general area (pl. 27: 3–4).²

The first question posed by these askoi concerns the origin of the shape, which was classified as Type A (tall, with single spout) by J. D. Beazley, followed by U. Rüdiger, and which is called a sway-back or duck askos by B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott.³ The type is known in Greece, but it is rare and its source and development are far from certain.⁴ In the Athenian Agora, there are no examples in black glaze, nor are there any known to me in Attic red-figure from any source. The shape is known, however, in coarse ware, and it is attested

* Abbreviations:

Arte e artigianato	E. Lippolis (ed.), <i>I Greci in Occidente: Arte e artigianato in Magna Grecia</i> (1996)
EVP	J. D. Beazley, <i>Etruscan Vase-Painting</i> (1947)
Comic Angels	O. Taplin, <i>Comic Angels, and other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-Paintings</i> (1992)
LCS	A. D. Trendall, <i>The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily</i> (1967)
Lippolis, proto-apulo	E. Lippolis, in: <i>Arte e artigianato</i> (1996) 377–93
RVAp	A. D. Trendall–A. Cambitoglou, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia</i> , vol. 1 (1978); vol. 2 (1982)
PhV ²	A. D. Trendall, <i>Phlyax Vases</i> . 2nd ed, <i>BICS Suppl.</i> 19 (1967)

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¹ Museo Nazionale Jatta. RVAp I, 7/68, from Ruvo.

² Meer Group: Ruvo, Museo Jatta 957, RVAp Suppl. 1, 11/133a; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.114 (ex Fleischmann Collection) RVAp Suppl. 2, 11/133b and M. True–K. Hamma (eds.), *A Passion for Antiquities. Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman* (1994) 134–5 no. 59 (Trendall). Unattributed: Basel, Antikenmuseum Z 303 (ex Rancante, Züst collection), PhV² 88 no. 202 pl. 12e. On the stylistic and chronological problems in this area of Apulian red-figure: Lippolis, *proto-apulo* 386.

³ EVP 272f.; U. Rüdiger, *JdI* 73–4, 1966–7, 1–9; B. A. Sparkes–L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora XII. Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries B.C.* (1970) 210–11; Z. Kotitsa, *Hellenistische Keramik im Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg* (1998) 23.

⁴ A black-glazed example from Olympia is probably Apulian: H. Walter, *Das Gebiet südlich der Bäder am Kladeos, der archäologische Befund. VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (1958) 45 fig. 24. Coarse-ware askoi were fairly common at Olynthos: D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus. Part V. Mosaics, Vases and Lamps of Olynthus*, Found in 1928 and 1931 (1933) 256–7 nos. 1066–71. All are dated to the 4th century, and no. 1068 is decorated with black glaze and comes from the riverside cemetery. Some others (nos. 42 and 43, pl. 28) are alleged to be of pre-Persian date (p. 31). Further 4th-century coarse-ware duck askoi are published in *Olynthus XIII* (where they are called 'sitting hen' askoi), and others are known from Carthage and Sciathby.

from the last quarter of the 5th century BC.⁵ A vessel from a slightly earlier context from the Agora has a fabric which is not Attic. Sparkes and Talcott suggest that it may be Corinthian,⁶ although one wonders if it has come from even further afield, since vessels of this shape are even rarer in Corinth.⁷

Greece therefore seems an unlikely source for the askos shape in Apulian red-figure, and I am sure that the answer lies much closer to home. Matt-painted askoi are a feature of South Italy from the Early Geometric phase (c.900–800 BC) onwards.⁸ In the 6th and 5th centuries BC they remain extremely popular in central and northern Puglia, as well as eastern and northern Basilicata. The form enjoys its greatest success in Daunia (northern Puglia), where it is present in most burials from the 7th century BC down into the Hellenistic period, when the famous *listata* and polychrome askoi were made.⁹ It is in Daunia where the first locally produced, wheelmade versions are to be found, around 400 BC, in a form very close to the earliest Apulian red-figured examples. In Chamber A of the Ipogeo dei Vimini there is both a banded and a brown-glazed example.¹⁰ The tomb also contained the remains of an extraordinary example of an askos in wickerwork, from which the tomb takes its name. Although today only the spout survives, the form of the askos is clearly identifiable from the photographs taken at the moment of discovery.¹¹ I wonder if the unusual patterns below the handles on two of the early Apulian red-figured askoi—the lozenges on the askos in Ruvo (pl. 27: 1) and the triangles on the vase in Malibu (pl. 27: 3)—are not related to wicker prototypes.

In the second quarter of the 4th century, black- and brown-glazed versions appear occasionally in Daunia, and in the surrounding regions. A brown-glazed version was found in Lavello tomb 91 (dating shortly after 375 BC),¹² and another is known in black glaze from the unpublished tomb 431.¹³ In Peucetia (central Puglia) a black-glazed example was found in Monte Sannace tomb 4, probably dating to 375–350 BC.¹⁴ Further south, such askoi become rare; there is a black-glazed example from the Peucetian site of Ginosa, dated around the middle of the 4th century BC.¹⁵

⁵ Sparkes–Talcott op. cit. catalogue nos. 1732–4 are all dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.

⁶ Ibid. no. 1731, dated 440–425 BC.

⁷ R. Stillwell–J. Benson, *Corinth XV, part 3: The Potters' Quarter: The Pottery* (1984) no. 990 pl. 117 of the middle 5th century is fragmentary, and may not belong to Type A; a Type A askos with a poor reddish glaze was found in the North Cemetery, in grave 424; the excavators say that the grave should not be later than about 420 BC, but are clearly bemused by the askos: C. W. Blegen *et al.*, *Corinth XIII. The North Cemetery* (1964) 139 pl. 71.

⁸ D. G. Yntema, *The matt-painted pottery of Southern Italy. A general survey of the matt-painted pottery styles of Southern Italy during the Final Bronze Age and the Iron Age* (1990) 31ff.

⁹ R. Cassano (ed.), *Principi imperatori vescovi: duemila anni di storia a Canosa* (1992) 78ff.

¹⁰ E. M. De Juliis, *L'Ipogeo dei Vimini di Canosa* (1990) 37 nos. 10 and 42, no. 24. The form is identified as Type V in E. M. De Juliis, *La ceramica geometrica della Daunia* (1977).

¹¹ De Juliis op. cit. (1990) 15 fig. 24.

¹² M. Giorgi *et al.*, *Forentum, I. Le necropoli di Lavello*, 1 (1988) 85ff.

¹³ Ibid. 218 n. 13. Two further black-glazed askoi from Lavello Tomb 769, currently on display in the Museo Nazionale del Melfese (Melfi) are mentioned in: A. Bottini *et al.* in: M. Tagliente (ed.), *Italic in Magna Grecia. Lingue, insediamenti e strutture* (1990) 245. The tomb is dated to the first half of the 4th century BC.

¹⁴ B. M. Scarfi, *MonAnt* 45, 1961, 230ff. This tomb group is normally dated to the last decades of the 5th century. While it contains a bell-krater by the Amykos Painter (LCS 35 no. 129), there is another red-figured vase in the tomb: a pelike attributed to the Chous Group, dating to the second quarter of the 4th century (RVAp 11/126). Part of the funerary ritual at Monte Sannace in the 5th and 4th centuries seems to have been the inclusion of a one-handled, coarseware 'pentolino rituale' (chytra) (e.g. Scarfi op. cit. 243–4 fig. 82 no. 21). All intact tombs of this date published by Scarfi have one such vase, but Tomb 4 contains two. The tomb, therefore, almost certainly contained two separate depositions, and I assume that the askos belongs to the second deposition.

¹⁵ E. Lippolis–A. Dell'Aglio, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto. Vol. II 1. Ginosa-Laterza: la documentazione archeologica* (1992) tomb 17 no. 5 (63 fig. 29). I plan to deal with the history of the askos in South (and Central) Italy after 350 BC in another place.

Given these finds, and the absence of askoi in the Greek colonies at the same period, there can be little doubt that the first Apulian red-figured askoi were made as export models for the indigenous inhabitants of central/northern Apulia (hereafter 'Italians', with 'Italiotes' for colonial Greeks). It is slightly surprising that the first askos should have been made by the Felton Painter, since Early Ornate Apulian red-figure is notable for its tendency to remain in Taranto.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the identification of the askos as an export model should be anything but surprising, since the phenomenon is by now so well documented in South Italy.

There are many examples of export models amongst the Attic pottery imported to South Italy in the second half of the 5th century BC. The most consistent is the Class of Bonn 94 kantharoi, which I have argued elsewhere were made specifically for the Peucetian market.¹⁷ There are a number of other pots which (in the present state of the archaeological record) were more casual commissions: the two vessels from the circle of Polygnotos in the J. Paul Getty Museum,¹⁸ the famous white-ground *nestoris* from the workshop of the Christie Painter in the Guarini Collection in Pulsano,¹⁹ and the olla in Naples from Ruvo by a follower of the Altamura Painter.²⁰ There are others, which L. Todisco and M. A. Sisto have recently collected.²¹

The case for export models can be made even more clearly, of course, in South Italian red-figure, starting with the first *nestorides* in Early Lucanian.²² There are many other such shapes made in the Greek colonies for the indigenous market, in both red-figure and other fabrics, such as the Xenon Group, which was in part produced in Metaponto, for export.²³ Other examples of catering for indigenous tastes in vase shape are more subtle. The column-krater, for example, while a Greek shape, had been adopted by a particular group of Italians as an important grave-vase, and the shape was then made and decorated for them in large numbers by potters and painters in Taranto.²⁴

It is probable, in my view, that the foundation of red-figure workshops in South Italy was heavily conditioned by the Italian market.²⁵ This is nowhere clearer than in Lucanian red-figure, where production for export was probably more important in the early phases than it was at Taranto. Early Lucanian presents us with a rather monotonous series of bell-kraters. Yet, when the hundreds of tombs from the rural sites in the *chora* of Metaponto at Pantanello

¹⁶ E. G. D. Robinson in: J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *EUMOUSIA. Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou*. *Meditarch Suppl.* 1 (1990) 179–93.

¹⁷ Id. in: J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*. *Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology* (1990) 251–66.

¹⁸ M. Jentoft-Nielsen in: J. Christiansen (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*. *Proceedings of the Third Symposium*, Copenhagen 1987 (1988) 278–83; ead. in: Descœudres op. cit. (n. 17) 243–50; J. Chamay–C. Courtois (eds.), *L'art premier des lapyges: céramique antique d'Italie méridionale* (2002) 156–7. The restorations are probably to be altered in favour of a shape closer to a matt-painted flat-lipped jug of the Daunian Subgeometric II phase: A. Bottini, *MEFRA* 103, 1991, 455. The scene on one of these jugs—Eos and Kephalos—is almost certain to have been requested by the Daunian commissioner of the vessels, but space forbids the extension of this argument into a broader consideration of iconography.

¹⁹ B. Fedele *et al.*, *Antichità della Collezione Guarini* (1984)

94 pl. 113.

²⁰ A. D. Trendall, 'On the Divergence of South Italian from Attic Red-figure Vase-painting', in: J.-P. Descœudres (ed.) op. cit. (n. 17) 223.

²¹ L. Todisco–M. A. Sisto, *MEFRA* 110, 1998, 571–608. Also now M. Torelli in: G. Sena Chiesa–E. Arslan (eds.), *Miti greci. Archeologia e pittura dalla Magna Grecia al collezionismo* (2004) 190–2.

²² N. R. Jircik, *The Pisticci and Amykos Painters. The beginning of red-figured vase-painting in ancient Lucania* (1991); G. Schneider-Herrmann, *Red-figured Lucanian and Apulian Nestorides and their Ancestors* (1980). Bottini has persuasively argued that the first Lucanian red-figure painter was already producing scenes especially for the indigenous market: A. Bottini, *BdA* 30, 1985, 55–60.

²³ E. G. D. Robinson in: *Arte e artigianato* 446–52.

²⁴ They very often have scenes of indigenous Italian warriors painted onto them: Robinson art. cit. (n. 16) 179–93.

²⁵ Lippolis clearly shares this belief: Lippolis, *proto-apulo* 378 and elsewhere.

and Saldone were recently published, there was but one single fragment of a bell-krater, found outside Pantanello Tomb 219.²⁶ M. Denoyelle has recently demonstrated the sophistication of the Early Lucanian painters, who made pursuit and genre scenes for their Italian neighbours in Basilicata (principally on bell-kraters), but who also made larger vases with mythological scenes featuring the deeds of heroic warriors for aristocrats living on the Adriatic coast of Peucezia: regional preferences for these types of scenes had already been established by painters of Attic red-figure.²⁷ As E. Lippolis and others have pointed out, the migration of Attic vase-painters in the second half of the 5th century BC corresponds very poorly with the political alliances of Athens, and with her official colonization; Thurii and Herakleia would have been more 'logical' sites for migration than Metaponto and Taranto or, for that matter, Corinth.²⁸ Painters migrated to places where markets had already been established.²⁹

To identify Apulian red-figure askoi as export models for the indigenous market has a certain interest, but the case becomes even more remarkable when one considers the scenes on the early askoi. Three of the four bear theatrical scenes.³⁰ The most famous of them is the vase from Ruvo, in Ruvo (pl. 27: 1–2), which features a Dionysiac *thiasos* running all around the body. Amongst the dancing satyrs and maenads, carrying torches and tambourines, are a 'phlyax'³¹ (mask Type B) and an extraordinary representation of a naked, dancing old woman, unmasked according to Trendall but with a face of type RR ('wolfish woman, long nose').³² The askos now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (pl. 27: 3) has a phlyax figure on either side forming a single picture, where an older man with white hair and beard (mask Type E) chases a slave (mask Type N).³³ The single figure on the askos in Basel does not wear a mask of recognized type, although the caricatured face, pot belly, large genitals, and indeed the scene itself—a man running with a shopping basket—all point clearly to an inspiration from a stage performance (pl. 27: 4).³⁴ The shape, it should be noted, was almost certainly used for wine. Despite what was written by Sparkes and Talcott about the suitability of the mouths of Athenian duck askoi for the pouring of oil, it is clear that in South Italy this was a shape used in the consumption of wine: an Apulian red-figured bell-krater in Utrecht by the Lecce Painter shows a maenad drinking from an askos, and similar iconographic evidence is available for the tail-spouted duck askoi in Central Italy.³⁵ I am delighted to be able to offer Richard another piece of evidence on the question, this time from the Gnathia sequence: a

²⁶ J. C. Carter (ed.), *The Chora of Metaponto: The Necropoleis* (1998) 341.

²⁷ In: *Immagine e mito nella Basilicata antica*, Potenza, Museo Provinciale, dicembre 2002–marzo 2003 (2002) 104–12.

²⁸ Lippolis, proto-apulo 380. In the context of theatre, W. Allan asks whether conflicts may have been a *catalyst* rather a hindrance to interaction, noting the intense interest of Dorian colonies in Attic theatre at the time of the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath: *GaR* 48, 2001, 79; see also C. W. Dearden, *Phoenix* 53, 1999, 222–48.

²⁹ E.g. K. Mannino in: *Arte e artigianato* 363–70; ead., *Ostraka* 6, 1997, 389–400.

³⁰ None of the dozens of later red-figure askoi have theatrical connections. Dionysiac scenes, Erotes, and female heads will dominate the later repertoire. One exception is a rather odd askos, dated 340–330 BC, in the Ragusa Collection in Taranto: F. G. Lo Porto, *I vasi italoti della collezione Ragusa*

di Taranto (1999) no. 92. While the vase was found in Taranto, Lo Porto connects it with the workshop of the Cumaeian CA Painter, especially on the basis of the accessory decoration.

³¹ That 'phlyax' is a deeply problematic term for such a figure is widely recognized, and I will omit the inverted commas hereafter.

³² PhV² 68 no. 135 pl. 6c. The elaborately draped dancing female figure may relate to mime performance: C. W. Dearden in: J. H. Betts *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, II (1988) 41. He also regards the features of the 'hag' as negroid.

³³ True-Hamma (eds.) op. cit. (n. 2) 134–5 no. 59 (Trendall).

³⁴ PhV² 88 no. 202 pl. 12e.

³⁵ Utrecht 39, RVAp 5/209 pl. 40: 5. The name-vase of the Hesse Group, a kantharos in Berlin from Vulci, shows a boy drinking out of an askos: EVP 208 no. 1 pl. 39: 2–3.

skyphos in the Museo Nazionale Domenico Ridola in Matera, showing a woman holding a cup in *kottabos* style, leaning her elbow on a wreathed askos (pl. 28: 1).³⁶

The existence of these red-figured askoi have some rather wide-ranging implications, especially for the question of the reception of theatre in the non-Greek parts of South Italy. Until now, the standard view of the interest in and appreciation of Greek theatre amongst Italians has been rather negative, starting with perhaps the most celebrated vase of all, the Pronomos Vase, apparently commissioned to celebrate the production of a satyr play in Athens. O. Taplin, for example, is 'attracted to the hypothesis (of) Trendall ... that an Italiote Greek had been so impressed at Athens that he commissioned this 'record' of the experience of theatre'.³⁷ The hypothesis is unnecessarily complicated, since it adds a number of steps to the process of the vase ending up in Ruvo, where it was found. The putative Italiote Greek has put his treasured souvenir onto the 'second hand market', whence it found its way to a customer in Ruvo, too parochial and ignorant of the subject-matter to have commissioned the vase, but perhaps nonetheless interested in its function as a krater. How much simpler to propose that the vessel was made on commission for a buyer in Ruvo. There are many examples of special red-figure commissions made in Athens precisely for this region of central/northern Apulia in the late 5th century BC, some of which have been mentioned above. And we are, after all, in the late 5th century, where personal mobility around the Mediterranean had reached a very high level. The Athenians were able to 'renew an old alliance of friendship'³⁸ with the Iapygians of Messapia and pick up 150 Messapian javelin throwers as they sailed towards Syracuse in the late 5th century. That some residents of Ruvo visited Athens in the second half of the 5th century is so highly probable as to be regarded as certain. Why, then, this reluctance to attribute to Italians an interest in and an appreciation of theatre?

In his article 'Notes on Phlyax Vases' Green rightly pointed out the elevated percentage of Apulian red-figured vases with phlyax scenes or motifs found in Taranto.³⁹ I would agree that Taranto 'was the primary South Italian centre for the manufacture of vases of this type' and that within Apulia 'so far as we can tell, vases decorated with phlyax scenes were made only in Taranto and not in other centres'.⁴⁰ But I would diverge from the conclusion concerning these data: 'The observation that comic scenes were not normally used to decorate vases made in provincial Apulian centres is an important one for questions of interpretation, since it implies that this subject-matter was less in demand or not in demand at all outside Taranto'.⁴¹

The beginning of the production of Apulian red-figured vases outside Taranto is dated around 330 BC.⁴² It corresponds, therefore, almost precisely with the disappearance of phlyax vases in Apulian red-figure (Taranto included!). Of course, no one would be prepared to argue

³⁶ Ex. Collezione Rizzon, no. 13. I am grateful to the director of the Museum, Dr Beatrice Amendolagine, for permission to publish this vase, and to Richard Fletcher for obtaining the photograph.

³⁷ *Comic Angels* 8 n. 23. Trendall, in fact, wondered instead about a special commission for an 'Apulian' customer in the context of Attic red-figured vases of indigenous shape, A. D. Trendall in: T. B. Rasmussen-N. Spivey (eds.) *Looking at Greek Vases* (1991) 152.

³⁸ Thuc. VII 33: 3-4.

³⁹ J. R. Green, *NumAntClass* 20, 1991, 50-1.

⁴⁰ Green loc. cit. Possible late exceptions, from Arpi, are discussed below.

⁴¹ Ibid. 51. Taplin also finds this conclusion difficult to accept, *Comic Angels* 93 n. 12. It should be noted that Italians were particularly keen on scenes related to Greek tragedy, presumably for their use as consoling stories (Niobe, Andromeda, etc.) in the context of funerals: M. Mazzei in: F. H. Massa-Pairault (ed.), *Le Mythe Grec dans l'Italie Antique. Fonction et Image* (1999) 467-83; L. Giuliani in: F. D. Angelis-S. Muth (eds.), *Im Spiegel des Mythos. Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt* (1998) 43-52. Of course, it is much harder to propose a direct relationship between these images and the stage than it is for the comic vases, where the figures wear masks and comic costumes.

⁴² With some isolated earlier exceptions: Robinson art. cit. (n. 16).

that comic theatre was 'less in demand or not in demand at all' in Taranto after 330 BC, especially with the famous Rhinthon about to start his career.

Context and function must figure prominently in our interpretations of these vases bearing theatrical scenes. This paper may be regarded as a plea for better-contextualized treatments of South Italian vases.⁴³ The 'over-representation' of phlyax scenes in Taranto, for example, needs to come with some qualifying statements. Burial ritual in Taranto seems to have been quite different from that found in the cemeteries of its indigenous neighbours. Beyond the fundamental contrast between supine inhumations and cremations in Taranto and crouched burials in the indigenous centres, the exterior of the tomb and the material placed within it were also treated quite differently.⁴⁴ In Taranto, large vases inside the tomb were rare; choes (frequently decorated with comic scenes or simply with masks), lekythoi, and skyphoi reigned there. Large vases tended to be tomb-markers in Taranto (which is why so many of them have come down to us in a fragmentary state).⁴⁵ In the indigenous centres, large vessels appeared more often, and the overall number of vessels per tomb is normally much higher; moreover, they are almost invariably to be found inside the tomb, rather than above it. And while many of the vessels in these tombs could have been used in a symposium of Greek type, it is quite clear that allusions to many other ceremonies and social roles were being made in the indigenous tombs: roasting-spits, bronze and ceramic cooking pots, armour, and weapons are frequently met, yet these objects are extremely rare or absent in tombs of the Greek colony. So the relative rarity of comic scenes from indigenous sites may reflect not so much a lack of interest in the subject-matter, but rather the number of other things that these people were interested in expressing in their burial ritual.⁴⁶ That 4th-century BC Athenian vase-painters had little interest in representing comic theatre should immediately alert us to the fact that a purely statistical approach to this topic is likely to be misleading.

The same sort of case has been made for Italian unfamiliarity with Greek theatre on the basis of the iconography of Gnathia vases. Green has presented us with a case in which theatrical motifs were misunderstood by a painter of Gnathia pottery who worked outside Taranto. The Beaulieu Painter made Gnathia pots in the late 4th century BC. Neither the style nor the provenances of the vessels provide a clear indication for the location of the workshop (assuming that it was not itinerant), but both the provenances and the stylistic distance of the painting from mainstream Gnathia strongly suggest that the place of production was not in Taranto, but in an indigenous Apulian settlement.⁴⁷ The Beaulieu Painter frequently painted masks, and Green has pointed out that they often appear to be badly misunderstood. Again, however, I feel that the observation has been made to carry too much interpretative weight: '... the way they are drawn, the way the mask-types are confused, and the way that some can

⁴³ Readers coming to Apulian red-figure from the direction of ancient literature would profit from reading the excellent synthesis presented in Lippolis, *proto-apulo*, and from consulting other papers in the same volume.

⁴⁴ Lippolis in: E. Lippolis (ed.), *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto III*, 1. Taranto, la necropoli (1994) 130–47; A. D'Amicis *ibid.* 148–75.

⁴⁵ Lippolis *op. cit.* 108–29; A. Hoffmann, *Grabritual und Gesellschaft: Gefassformen, Bildthemen und Funktion unteritalisch-rotfiguriger Keramik aus der Nekropole von Tarent* (2002). There may, to judge from the tomb-contents, have been a ritual or custom in Taranto in which choes and the theatre were closely linked; if so, it seems not to have been shared by the Italians. Interestingly, Lippolis (*proto-apulo* 377) notes that in the *chora* of Taranto one finds larger

red-figured vases buried inside tombs, a practice more like that of the neighbouring Italians than that which is found in Taranto itself.

⁴⁶ There are substantial differences in the number and type of red-figured vases found in indigenous tombs in various centres of South Italy, with the differences conditioned by settlement size, proximity to the coast and/or to a Greek colony, and a number of other factors. Patterns of consumption within individual indigenous centres can change considerably over time, as the social value and meaning of red-figured pottery altered: Lippolis, *proto-apulo* 377ff.

⁴⁷ J. R. Green in: E. Böhr-W. Martini (eds.), *Studien zu Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg* (1986) 181–6.

hardly be said to be masks at all, suggests that these painters were copying blindly and had no familiarity with the theatre. Although so close to Taranto, they had still not felt any cultural impact at this level'.⁴⁸

Once again, a wider consideration of context and function may temper this bleak conclusion for the Italians' familiarity with Greek theatre. Firstly, the context of production should be considered. It is becoming clearer and clearer that the character of Apulian red-figure and Gnathia pottery changed quite dramatically as the 4th century drew to a close, towards a production that was industrialized in scale: the increased numbers of pots, especially of small vessels, and the repetitiveness of their decoration point in this direction.⁴⁹ These trends were doubtless closely related to changes in function. In the second half of the 4th century BC, the vast majority of Apulian red-figure and Gnathia vessels were probably made specifically for the grave. While much earlier red-figure may also have been destined for funerary use,⁵⁰ in the later part of the century two further trends are notable: the placing in tombs of multiple copies of essentially identical vases,⁵¹ and the strong movement away from narrative representation and towards pictures crammed with symbols. Symbols proliferate, but the detail in which they are drawn declines. One may again refer to the sequence from Taranto to confirm this general trend, and to conclude that it cannot be correlated in a straightforward way with an unfamiliarity with Greek culture. The motif of the stylus and writing tablet (fig. 1) and halteres (fig. 2) are both very common on red-figured vases produced in Taranto. Both motifs are represented realistically in Early Apulian (figs. 1a, 2a), but it is not long before they can appear in forms which are so stylized as to appear misunderstood; more likely, their meaning was so familiar to the potential audience that realistic representation was not necessary.⁵²

It may be argued that the Beaulieu Painter's misunderstanding was profound, while the Tarentine red-figure painters were simply stylizing motifs that they understood perfectly well. Nonetheless, I feel that in the context of production and consumption of late 4th-century Apulia the Beaulieu Painter's misunderstood masks cannot be asked to speak for the familiarity of an entire indigenous population with Greek theatre. It is important that this perception is corrected, since a casual observer may well draw the implication that if this was the position in the late 4th century, then familiarity with Greek theatre outside Taranto must have been at the same level, or lower, throughout the 4th century BC and back into the 5th. We should probably think of the Beaulieu Painter as a lightly trained, poorly paid craftsman of modest social status, working on a production line churning out objects for a market more interested in symbol and repetition than in detail.⁵³ The pots cannot be made to stand for a wider cultural phenomenon. If they can, why not then the opposite conclusion: that they were produced for a population so familiar with the theatre that only the symbol was important, and not the details?

⁴⁸ Ibid. 185.

⁴⁹ From the *Arte e artigianato* volume, see papers by: A. D'Amicis, 433–45; M. T. Giannotta, 453–68; E. Lippolis, 469–73; M. Mazzei, 403–21; also Lippolis, *proto-apulo*.

⁵⁰ For example, the name vase of the Sisyphus Painter was made for the tomb in the late 5th century, as demonstrated by its non-functional construction: Giuliani art. cit. (n. 41) 43; H. Lohmann, *JdI* 97, 1982, 225. Of course, we are all fumbling in the dark on the question of the non-funerary use of Apulian red-figure, given that virtually every vase that has survived has probably come from a tomb. Until we have some decent quantified publications of fragmentary red-figure from domestic (and other non-funerary) contexts little

can be said with certainty. It nonetheless seems reasonable to think (on the basis of more frequent repairs and more frequent 'heirloom' vases) that early on in Apulian red-figure some vessels could have been, and indeed were, used in everyday life. This is less easy to imagine for Late Apulian.

⁵¹ M. Giorgi *et al.* op. cit. (n. 12) 281ff.; in the 4th century BC in particular, this trend is accompanied by the miniaturization of vessels: *ibid.* 286–7.

⁵² There are, of course, many similar cases in 4th-century BC Attic red-figure.

⁵³ Particularly Dionysiac symbolism related to afterlife beliefs, with which the indigenous Italians were so manifestly familiar.



Figure 1. Representations of the writing-tablet and stylus on Apulian red-figured vases:
 (a) Potenza, Soprintendenza (sequestro), RVAp 4/171; (b) Once London market, Sotheby's, RVAp 14/168; (c) Bologna 595, RVAp 9/12; (d) Louvre S 1585, RVAp 20/334.

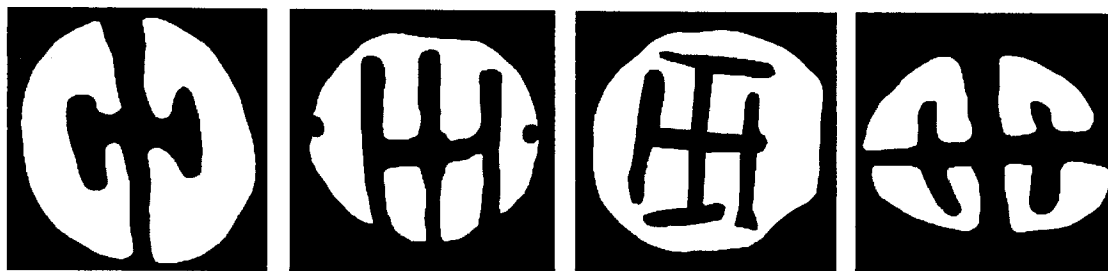


Figure 2. Representations of halteres on Apulian red-figured vases:
 (a) Milan 'H.A.' coll. 408, RVAp 1/60; (b) Naples 1862, RVAp 4/7; (c) Leningrad 311, RVAp 15/62; (d) Vatican Z9, RVAp 18/362.

The foregoing discussion should make clear the importance of the Apulian askoi painted with figures from Greek comedy. They cannot have arrived in, for example, Ruvo as objects from the Taranto flea-market, useful for their function but with largely incomprehensible decoration. They were produced specifically for the indigenous market, and this is made clear by their shape. The conclusion—that the various painters in Taranto knew that the purchasers in some indigenous centres were familiar with and would appreciate characters from the comic stage—is inescapable.⁵⁴

There is other important evidence that also points in this direction. In the second edition of *Phlyax Vases*, Trendall listed a volute-krater in Lecce, which he attributed to the Iliupersis Painter, and interpreted as showing an actor in a naiskos, with a phlyax mask of Type A hanging on the wall above him (pl. 28: 2).⁵⁵ Volute-kraters representing naiskoi were certainly funerary vases, with the figures inside the naiskoi representing the deceased. An understanding of the archaeological contexts of Apulian red-figure immediately sets some alarm bells ringing for this vessel. Volute-kraters with figures in naiskoi were not produced for the residents of Taranto. They were made for Italians, particularly for those who lived in Peucetia (and, after the middle of the 4th century, increasingly for Daunia as well). A rapid sample of volute-kraters with provenances in RVAp I–II demonstrates this very clearly: no

⁵⁴ There were doubtless differences amongst the indigenous groups of South Italy in their level of familiarity with Greek theatre, and differences within single settlements which had much to do with social class, but if there were elite Italian disciples of Pythagoras in the late 6th century, it is hard to imagine their successors two centuries later being ignorant about the Greek theatre: A. Mele, *AnnStorAnt* 3, 1981, 61–96.

⁵⁵ Lecce 3544. PhV: 75 no. 168. The vase was later attributed to a follower of the Iliupersis Painter, the Painter of

Lecce 3544: RVAp 15/69. The Iliupersis Painter and his followers certainly catered explicitly for the indigenous market, producing a number of column-kraters with representations of indigenous warriors in 'return of the warrior' scenes (e.g. RVAp 8/11a), native warriors in naiskoi (e.g. RVAp 8/28), and special vase shapes, like the chytra on a stand (RVAp 8/67). This last vase is in Ruvo and doubtless came from there; see the comments above (n. 14) on the importance of this shape (usually in coarse ware) in Peucetian tomb assemblages.

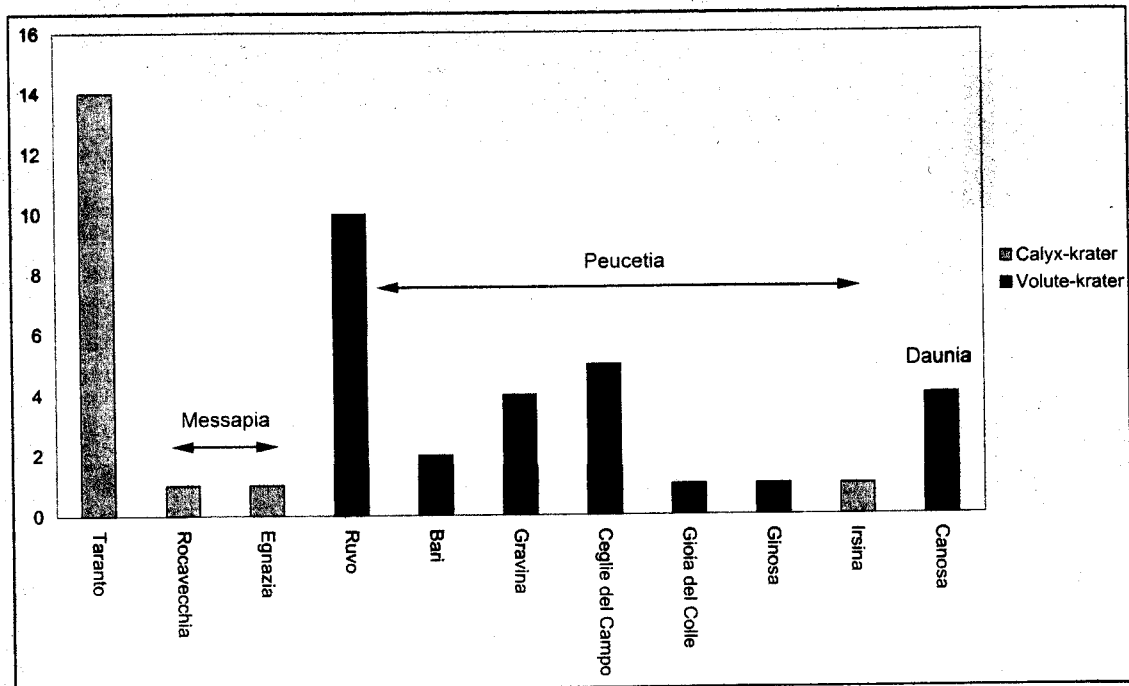


Figure 3. Provenances of calyx- and volute-kraters from RVAp chapters 1, 2, 8, 17, and 18.

volute-kraters have been found in Taranto, where the calyx-krater was preferred (fig. 3).⁵⁶ Could this particular volute-krater have been an aberration of some sort? No. What Trendall failed to mention in any of his publications is that this vessel does in fact have a provenance: Ruvo.⁵⁷ This vessel was clearly made for an indigenous customer in Ruvo. It cannot have come second-hand, because the people in Taranto did not use such pots. The indigenous customer has chosen not to have his life's achievements epitomized by the more normal armour and weapons, but by his role as a comic actor, and the same should be true of the people who were buried with other volute-kraters showing actors in naiskoi.⁵⁸ The implication of these vases for the knowledge of comic theatre amongst Italians is quite stunning in the context of previous views on the subject.

There is further evidence. In Apulia, figured art produced outside the Greek colony of Taras is very rare before the start of regional red-figure and Gnathia workshops around 330 BC. There is, however, a relatively small class of vessels which can add some information: the Xenon Group. The pottery is black-glazed, with decoration in added orange paint (occasionally, early on, with some white paint). The group may have begun in

⁵⁶ Messapia, as with many other things, goes with Taranto on this issue. This abbreviated sample of those workshops which produced notable quantities of both sorts of kraters down to the start of Late Apulian would be confirmed by wider statistics. If one included the output of the red-figure workshops of Ruvo, Canosa, and Arpi in Late Apulian, the pattern would be very dramatically accentuated. See also T. H. Carpenter, *MemAnAc* 48, 2003, 1–23.

⁵⁷ *CVA Lecce* (2) 19 pls. 33–4.

⁵⁸ E.g. RVAp 15/70, 18/293b, where the deceased in their naiskoi both hold comic masks. See A. D. Trendall in:

J. H. Betts, *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, II (1988) 137–54; *Comic Angels* 93. Also worth mentioning in this context is RVAp 9/19, an amphora by the Iliupersis Painter, where a rather enigmatic mask hangs in the naiskos (Hermes, blond king, young man?): A. D. Trendall–T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (1972) IV 7b; H. Lohmann, *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen* (1978) 55. Of course, none of these figures have to be interpreted as actors but the masks, held and suspended in naiskoi, must reflect the interests or aspirations of the deceased (or of the people who buried them).

Metaponto, since there are fragments amongst the kiln refuse there from the late 5th century BC.⁵⁹ It was presumably made as an export item, since none have been found at Metaponto, and the provenances are heavily concentrated in central and northern Apulia, and in eastern Basilicata.⁶⁰ Several shapes (e.g. the kantharoid vase) were modelled on Italian prototypes. Production soon began outside Metaponto, and it is assumed that most Xenon Group vases were made in the regions in which they have been found. Decoration is overwhelmingly geometric and floral, but there are several dozen figured scenes (leaving aside the many representations of swans inside stemless cups).⁶¹ They date between c.425 and 325 BC, with the figured scenes concentrated in the first half of the 4th century. Most of these scenes bear single figures, and it is surprising how many of them seem to refer to the theatre. They constitute an additional, and perhaps better, index of indigenous interest in performance.

Some seem closely related to orthodox Greek comic theatre. A stemless cup once on the London market carries a representation of a phlyax mask, probably of Type B (fig. 4a);⁶² another mask appears inside a stemless cup in the Zewadski Collection in Tampa (fig. 4b).⁶³ A stemless cup in Bari has a damaged motif in its tondo, but it too appears to show a comic figure wearing a mask (fig. 4c).⁶⁴ A chous in the Zewadski Collection in Tampa bears another comic actor (fig. 4d).⁶⁵ Other examples are less clearly related to the theatre, although there is certainly reason to wonder if two representations of centaurs are not meant to be understood as masked figures (fig. 4e-f);⁶⁶ the recent publication by K. Schauenburg of a red-figured bell-krater in La Louvière with a remarkably similar masked centaur makes the proposition seem plausible.⁶⁷ One wonders if a mask stands behind the rather enigmatic caricature inside a stemless cup in Milan (fig. 4g), and behind the two virtual replicas (without the inscription) which have recently appeared.⁶⁸

⁵⁹ Robinson loc. cit. (n. 23).

⁶⁰ There is one exception to this rule on provenances: a Xenon Group stemless cup was found in tomb 145 of the Pantanello necropolis, in the *chora* of Metaponto: J. C. Carter (ed.), *The Chora of Metaponto: The Necropoleis* (1998) 647 fig. 14: 9. This should be understood in the context of the fact that occasional indigenous burials have been found in both the rural and urban necropolises of Metaponto: *ibid.* 64, 169, 212 (Pantanello Tomb 106, 2nd half of the 5th century BC); A. Bottini (ed.), *Armi. Gli strumenti della guerra in Lucania* (1993) 123–33 (Tomb 17/71 from the Crucinia necropolis at Metaponto, mid-5th century BC: an extraordinary burial with woodworking tools), *ibid.* 186–6 (Metaponto, prop. D'Onofrio Tomb 18, second half of the 4th century BC).

⁶¹ J. G. Szilágyi has recently reasserted the independence of the Xenon Group and the Red Swan Group. The separation of these two 'groups' would have implied for Beazley (who first classified them, EVP 219ff.) a stylistic difference, but I detect no differences and Szilágyi, in my opinion, points to none: *BullMusHongrois* 100, 2004, 32.

⁶² Sotheby's London, 21 May 1984 lot 285.

⁶³ W. K. Zewadski, *Ancient Greek vases from South Italy in Tampa Bay collections, Supplement 3* (Tampa) 75–6.

⁶⁴ M. C. Rogate Uglietti, *NotMilano* 19–20, 1977, pl. 54 fig. 4.

⁶⁵ I owe knowledge of this vessel to Richard Green. The photograph makes us wonder whether the theatrical figure is modern, perhaps added to an ancient (Attic?) chous.

⁶⁶ Fig. 4e: Pulsano, *Collezione Guarini* 57, B. Fedele *et al.*, *Antichità della Collezione Guarini* (1984) pl. 113, said to be from the territory of Gravina; fig. 4f: Zurich University 3904 (ex Basel market); G. Attinger-Gies, *AntK* 1, 1988, fig. 2 pl. 15: 3–5.

⁶⁷ K. Schauenburg, *Studien zur unteritalischen Vasenmalerei*, Bd. 7–8 (2005) 47 fig. 121; Schauenburg attributed the vase to the Painter of the Phlyax Helen, for whom see LCS Suppl. III, 54f. Also Taranto 20353, a 'guttus' from Taranto, PhV² no. 136, shows another stage centaur. One of the Painter of the Phlyax Helen's phlyax vases was found in a warrior's tomb at Montescaglioso in *contrada* Sterpinia in 1953: A. Bottini (ed.) *op. cit.* (n. 60) 187–93, with previous bibliography. Noting this, and the many other phlyax vases from the region, Green wondered about resident Greeks at Montescaglioso with a 'nostalgia for the theatre': J. R. Green, *Lustrum* 37, 1995, 148; I hope that I can change his mind.

⁶⁸ A stock character, perhaps like those of the Atellana? Fig. 4g: Milano, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia (sequestered vase), Rogate Uglietti *art. cit.* (n. 64) pl. 52 figs. 1–2. Replicas: both vases are in the J. Eisenberg Collection, New York/Beverly Hills: K. Schauenburg, *Studien zur unteritalischen Vasenmalerei*, Bd. 3 (2001) 39 figs. 198–9. Another possibly related caricature appears on a Xenon Group sessile kantharos in the Chini Collection, Bassano del Grappa, inv. 417: G. Andreassi (ed.), *Ceramica sovraddipinta, ori, bronzi, monete della collezione Chini nel Museo Civico di Bassano del Grappa* (1995) 24.

Also worth mentioning in this context of caricature is the

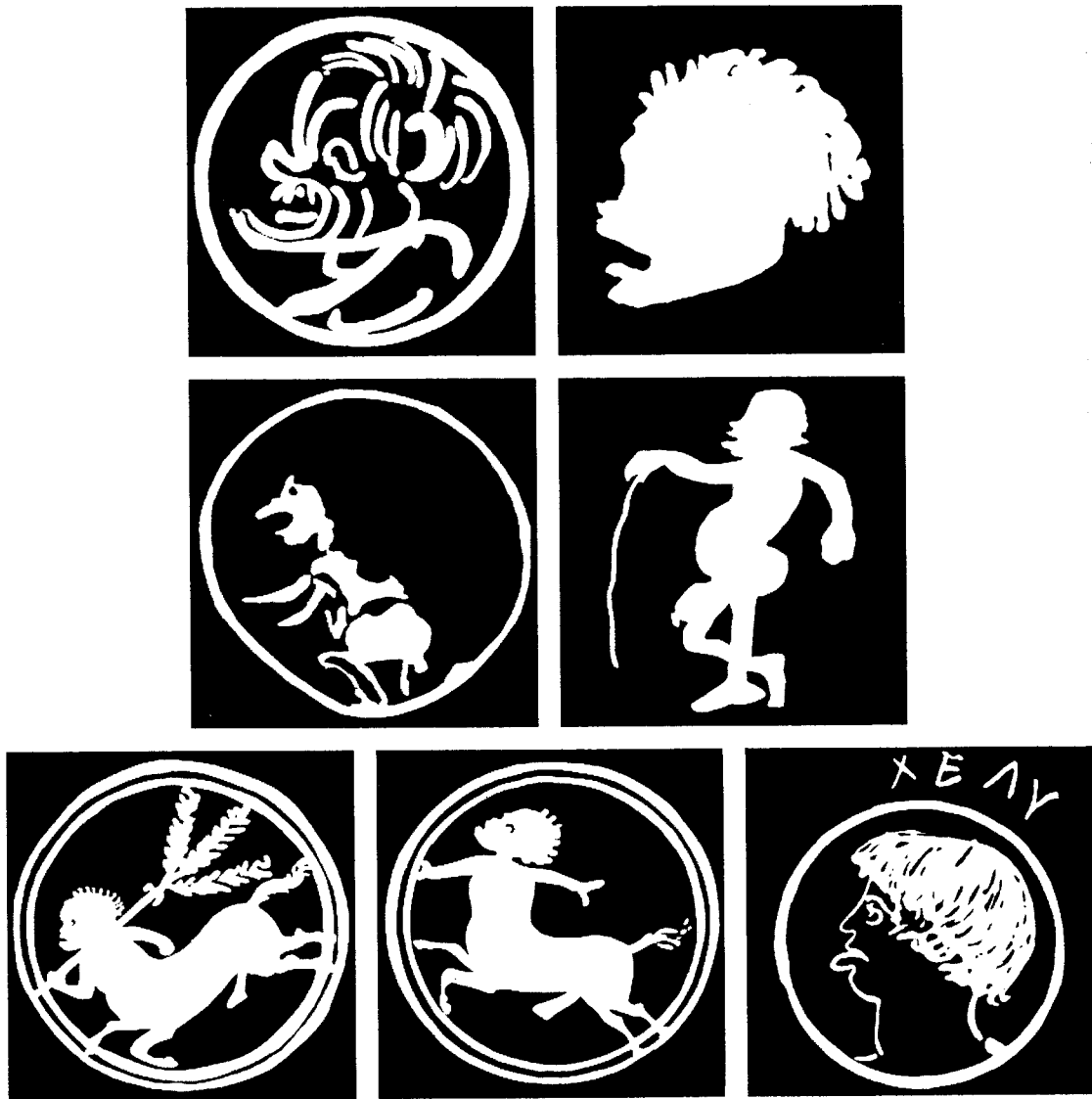


Figure 4. Scenes relating to the theatre on Xenon Group vases:

- (a) London market, Sotheby's (1984); (b) Tampa, Zewadski collection; (c) Bari, number unknown; (d) Tampa, Zewadski collection; (e) Pulsano, Guarini collection no. 57; (f) Zurich University 3904; (g) Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia, sequestered vase.

Xenon Group oinochoe, shape 2, Melfi 334720, from Lavello, contrada Casino Tomb 768. This aristocratic burial is dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC by an (unattributed) Attic red-figured 'skyphos'. The Xenon Group vase shows a man butchering a boar's head: M. Tagliente in: R. Olmos Romera–J. A. Santos Velasco (eds.) *Iconografía Ibérica, Iconografía Itálica: propuestas de interpretación y lectura* (1997) 269 figs. 5–6; Tagliente argued for the scene to be interpreted in the context of the elite role in the distribution of food within the household, while also relating it to scenes of sacrifice from the 'plebeian' strand of Roman

art, although the set of scales in the scene makes one think more of a shop setting. The scene is quite reminiscent of the famous tunny-seller from Cefalù (PhV2 83 no. 191), and the comically large knife and boar's-head may be an allusion to the theatre. Trendall compares the Sicilian bell-krater from Cefalù to an Apulian bell-krater in Munich with the same scene of the butchering of a large fish, where the presence of a satyr suggests a connection with the theatre (PhV2 84). Subsequently, a Lucanian(?) bell-krater has appeared on the market, which reprises the theme: Christies London, 12 December 1990 lot 79.

The most complex of the Xenon Group scenes is to be found on a sessile kantharos once on the Basel market (fig. 5a).⁶⁹ Masks, padded costumes, and stage phalloi place the scene firmly in the context of the comic stage. These figures are closely related to those on two further Xenon Group vases, small choes in Geneva (fig. 5b)⁷⁰ and Budapest (fig. 5c),⁷¹ which exhibit padded costumes and phalloi and similar running or dancing poses. The masks worn by these figures are less orthodox, with their thick, streaming locks and long lips, which give something of the impression of shamans' masks. I wonder if they represent not misunderstood or poorly depicted Greek theatre masks, but rather a local adaptation of them. There is very little support for this possibility beyond the strangeness and consistency of the masks, although it is worth noting that there do appear to be some monstrously masked figures depicted in the limestone stelae found in Daunia in the Archaic period.⁷²

These three Xenon Group vases seem to be related to a further stemless cup once on the London market (fig. 5d), with two fighting figures apparently wearing masks and padded costumes, one of which seems to have a stage phallos.⁷³ All of these representations appear to have a forerunner in a cup which was also recently on the London market (fig. 5e).⁷⁴ This vessel is part of a small group of stemmed and stemless cups decorated in silhouette technique. This is not the place for a full treatment of the group, which seems to have been made in the second half of the 5th century BC and the first half of the 4th century.⁷⁵ The earliest vessels may have inspired early Xenon Group (Red Swan Group) stemless cups.⁷⁶ The example illustrated here is, on the basis of the style of its drawing, best dated to the second half of the 5th century BC.⁷⁷ The possibly padded buttocks, and more particularly the long phallos and running pose are probably related to the Greek comic theatre, and push Italian interest in (and probable production of) such images back into the 5th century BC.

But is there any reason to interpret the majority of these figures purely in terms of Greek theatre? By the middle of the 4th century BC, it seems that just about everywhere one looks in non-Greek central and southern Italy, new types of performance were emerging which owed relatively little to contemporary Greek theatre. In Rome, the official *ludi scaenici* are dated to 364 BC, with actors coming from Etruria.⁷⁸ Etruscan performances are likely to go much further back. The Etruscan Phersu figures, for example, have recently been connected with

⁶⁹ Münzen und Medaillen A.G., *Italische Keramik*, Sonderliste U (1984) no. 63.

⁷⁰ Geneva, private collection: J. Chamay, *NumAntClass* 17, 1988, 125–9 fig. 2.

⁷¹ Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts 99.4.A: Szilágyi, art. cit. (n. 61) 27–40 fig. 19.

⁷² Manfredonia 0810, M. L. Nava (ed.), *Le Stele della Daunia. Sculture antropomorfe della Puglia protostorica dalle scoperte di Silvio Ferri agli studi più recenti* (1988) 107 fig. 142. The stela seems to show a mythological scene, with two human figures fighting monsters while wearing masks representing, according to Nava, three-horned bulls. For W. Burkert this is the ancient Italian version of three-horned Herakles, fighting monsters with Iolaos: W. Burkert (ed.), *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (1979) 79–98 (where shamanism looms large).

⁷³ Sotheby's London, sale 5415, no. 321. They may be related, therefore, to the Poseidonian wall-paintings discussed below, in which boxing features.

⁷⁴ Christies South Kensington, 7 October 2001, 107 no. 260,

where it is called Boeotian and dated to the late 6th/early 5th century.

⁷⁵ It is not certain where they were made, but the centres of production probably included a number of indigenous centres and perhaps also Metaponto. Vases with secure contexts have come from Larino (Molise), Pisticci, Lavello, Oppido Lucano, Banzi, Ripacandida, Ruvo del Monte, Melfi-Pisciolo (Basilicata), Rutigliano (Peucetia), and Ascoli Satriano (Daunia). An (unpublished) example, Metaponto 20123, from Pisticci, Matina Soprano Tomb 1 (1968), was found in a tomb together with vases by the Pisticci and Cyclops Painters (LCS Suppl. I 5–6). The tomb is discussed in: Popoli anellenici in Basilicata (1971) 22.

⁷⁶ As Szilágyi art. cit. (n. 61) 30 has recently pointed out. For a fuller treatment: E. G. D. Robinson, *The Xenon Group* (unpublished diss.) (1996) 56–68.

⁷⁷ It is most closely related to two vases in Ruvo, a stemmed cup, inv. 36116, which perhaps represents a maenad, and a stemless cup, 36645, showing an (old?) man with a staff. Both are unpublished.

⁷⁸ E.g. F. H. Bernstein, *Ludi publici: Untersuchungen zur*



Figure 5. Scenes relating to the theatre on Xenon Group vases:
(a) Once Basel market, Münzen und Medaillen (1984); (b) Geneva, private collection; (c) Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts 99.4.A; (d) London market, Sotheby's; (e) Once London market, Christie's (2001).

Entstehung und Entwicklung der öffentlichen Spiele im Republikanischen Rom (1998); J. C. Dumont-M.-H. François-Garelli, *Le Théâtre à Rome* (1998). T. P. Wiseman, having reviewed a number of 'Praenestine' cistae in: C. Bruun (ed.) *The Roman Middle Republic: Politics, Religion, and Historiography: c.400-133 BC* (2000)

concluded (p. 286) that the 'complex iconographic evidence presented here indicates, I think, a common fourth-century culture of mimetic representation extending far beyond the Greek cities of southern Italy and into Etruria and Latium'; see also Allan (art. cit. n. 28).

mimetic dance.⁷⁹ Even more instructive for the Apulian case is Paestum. A. Pontrandolfo has presented evidence for figures wearing half-masks in Paestan wall-paintings as early as the mid-4th century BC, where pugilists appear to be miming their fight in the context of funeral games, accompanied by a double flute.⁸⁰ She sees in these boxers the origin of the Atellana, previously dated to the time of Livius Andronicus by P. Ghiron-Bistagne, and to the early 3rd century BC by P. Zancani Montuoro.⁸¹ Figures more closely related to phlyax actors are also occasionally depicted in the Paestan tomb-paintings, although they appear not to be closely copied from the contemporary Greek theatre.⁸² A. Hughes has recently pointed out how theatrical representations in Paestan red-figure gradually become less and less current with wider developments of masks and costumes, after an initial impetus provided by a putative immigrant Sicilian vase-painter.⁸³ With the observation one can agree, but as with so much of what is written about the reception of theatre amongst the Italians, the reasons for and nature of the divergence need to be further explored. New interpretations of theatre, and new hybrid forms of performance were emerging in Italic centres. A Campanian chous from Nola demonstrates this quite clearly.⁸⁴ On it, an actor wears a phlyax mask of Type G, yet his costume is totally unorthodox. Furthermore, an inscription identifies the figure not in Greek, but in Oscan, as *Santia*. Even Taplin, whose recent book is essentially an argument for the very close dependence of South Italian comedy on Attic, is prepared to accept this vase as evidence for an Italian version of Greek comedy not long after the middle of the 4th century BC.⁸⁵ The evidence of Paestan tomb-painting points in the same direction, and I would endorse the view of Pontrandolfo: 'Credo che agli inizi del V secolo, ed ancora di più nel periodo cronologico in cui si collocano i documenti pestani, soprattutto in ambito tirrenico sia difficile segnare una linea di demarcazione netta, sia nelle manifestazioni ideologicamente connotate, sia nelle rappresentazioni che queste riflettono, tra quanto è specificamente greco, quanto è etrusco e quanto propriamente italico'.⁸⁶

Taplin's book *Comic Angels* is a very accessible and readable work. It has been and will continue to be an influential restatement and elaboration of T. B. L. Webster's 1948 observation, largely followed by Trendall, that some Apulian comic vases can be shown to be strictly dependent on Attic comedy;⁸⁷ he goes further and implies that they should all stand in the same relationship. Impressive as the evidence is, it should be remembered that there are only a handful of phlyax vases which can be convincingly associated with surviving Attic texts; nothing at all survives from a putative corpus of local plays for us to compare with the iconographical record. That Athens remained, throughout the 4th century, the primary centre to which the rest of the Mediterranean looked for matters theatrical is not in doubt: terracotta

⁷⁹ J. R. Jannot in: *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique*. Actes de la table ronde, Rome 3-4 mai 1991 (1993) 281-320; A. Mastrocinque in: L. De Finis (ed.), *Dal teatro greco al teatro rinascimentale: momenti e linee di evoluzione* (1992) 13-20; J. P. Thuillier in: C. Landes (ed.), *Spectacula*, 2. *La théâtre antique et ses spectacles*. Actes du colloque tenu à Lattes les 27-30 avril, 1989 (1992) 201-8.

⁸⁰ A. Pontrandolfo, *AttiMGrecia* NS 1, 1992, 263-70. See also the Campanian red-figured hydria, Boston AP 486 03.831, from Suessula, with two opposed figures both wearing masks of Type B. They have been interpreted variously as boxers (M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, second edition [1961] 140) and as dancers (PhV² 67).

⁸¹ P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *RA* 1970, 253-82; P. Zancani Montuoro in: *La monetazione di bronzo di Poseidonia-Paestum*, *Atti del III Convegno del Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici* (1973) 11-21.

⁸² E.g. Andriuolo Tomb 53, A. Rouveret-A. Pontrandolfo, *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum* (1992) 64, illustrated on p. 141.

⁸³ A. Hughes, *OxfJA* 22, 2003, 281-301. Richard Green tells me that he is preparing a paper on theatre representations in Paestum, which will further develop these arguments.

⁸⁴ London, British Museum F233, by the Spotted Rock Group: PhV² no. 111; LCS 238, 2/94.

⁸⁵ *Comic Angels* 40-1.

⁸⁶ *Art. cit.* (n. 80) 269.

⁸⁷ T. B. L. Webster, *CIQ* 42, 1948, 15-27; PhV² 9.

statuettes speak eloquently for this, and they show that phlyakes on Apulian vases wear a fundamentally Athenian costume (although local adaptations of Athenian terracottas and the emergence of new types have been recognized, if not fully researched).⁸⁸ But it is perhaps time to step back from the minutiae of the arguments and to consider the perspectives that some decades of post-colonial theory may offer for the general situation in South Italy.⁸⁹ Two factors emerge very clearly.⁹⁰ Firstly, a colonial society (such as the Greeks in South Italy) is inevitably changed in its transferral to foreign shores. The Greeks in Taranto, in moving from Greece, encountered a different landscape and different resources, a different ethnic mix in the citizen body, and different social, economic, and political possibilities. And, above all, quite different neighbours, whose presence must obviously have exerted an influence.⁹¹ When it comes to their neighbours, recent studies have demonstrated that those aspects of Greek culture which appeared amongst the Italians were extremely unlikely simply to have been passively accepted.⁹² Material culture does not work like that. Foreign objects and concepts tend to be brought into existing value systems and are reinterpreted and used for the benefit of the adopters, usually to send messages to others within their own societies.⁹³ If an import can overlay an existing custom or object, so much the better.⁹⁴ The existing customs in South Italy relating to performance are difficult to identify archaeologically; the Xenon Group vases and Paestan tomb-paintings may give us some clues. One should perhaps think in terms of ritual (as opposed to literary) drama, the literary and archaeological evidence for which I. Nielsen has recently traced back into the Bronze Age for Greece and at least to the

⁸⁸ Green art. cit. (n. 39); divergent and novel theatrical terracotta types in South Italy: id., *Lustrum* 37, 1995, 146.

⁸⁹ Taplin (*Comic Angels* 53) criticizes Trendall and Dearden for their less than wholehearted acceptance of the dependence of South Italian comic theatre on Athens, believing that 'colonial pride' has affected their views on the subject. He may be right to look at the formation of these scholars for clues to their assumptions, but 'a greater awareness of colonial realities' rather than 'colonial pride' might better describe the situation. T. J. Dunbabin (another Antipodean) wrote explicitly about colonial pride, but with precisely the opposite intention: 'I have drawn much on the parallel to the relations between colonies and mother country provided in Australia and New Zealand. Here political independence is combined with almost complete cultural dependence, on which the colonials pride themselves. Difference in manner of life is due to difference of material circumstances, and it is not enough to destroy the essential unity. This unity is the pride of most colonials; so probably in antiquity': T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (1948) vii; see F. De Angelis, *Antiquity* 72, 1998, 539–49. It is worthwhile asking whether Taplin, a European, an Englishman, a Classicist, and a Professor at Oxford, has factors in his national and institutional formation which predispose him to insist, for South Italy, on the total cultural dominance of Classical Greece in general, and of Athens in particular. What of my own unspoken assumptions? I suppose they include the belief that the attitude towards the 'motherland' of a 4th-century BC Italiote Greek was closer to mine than to my great-grandfather's.

⁹⁰ From works such as J. G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: interaction, culture change, and archaeology* (1998); C. Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism: cultural contact from 5000 B.C. to the present* (2004); C. Gosden (ed.),

Culture Contact and Colonialism (1997); C. L. Lyons–J. K. Papadopoulos (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (2002); T. A. Murray (ed.), *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies* (2004); N. Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Colonialism and Material Culture in the Pacific* (1991); R. Torrence–A. Clarke, *The Archaeology of Difference: Negotiating Cross-cultural Engagements in Oceania* (2000); P. van Dommelen, *On Colonial Grounds: A Comparative Study of Colonialism and Rural Settlement in First Millennium BC West Central Sardinia* (1998).

⁹¹ Those who might like to see Taranto as a sealed oasis of Greek culture could not, at a minimum, deny the likelihood of very close economic links with indigenous Italian neighbours.

⁹² The usual approach has recently been described thus: the colonized 'were seen as passive recipients of new habits, abandoning their ancestral lifeways as they were subsumed into the dominant colonial culture. Foreign goods such as textiles or weaponry were usually presumed to be accepted by natives who became acculturated by emulating the superior achievements of outsiders. Looking superficially at objects of everyday life, assimilation appears to be an inevitability, varying only in its degree of success. Critics of this theory of acculturation observe that it presents a one-sided view and considers neither reciprocal influences nor the responses of colonists to the demands of life amongst alien others. It divides settler culture...and non-settler culture...into separate, impermeable spheres, and positions technologically advanced societies over primitive ones'. Lyons–Papadopoulos op. cit. 7.

⁹³ E.g. for the Mediterranean M. Dietler in: Cusick (ed.) op. cit. (n. 90) 288–315; I. Malkin in: Lyons–Papadopoulos op. cit. (n. 90) 151–81.

⁹⁴ N. Thomas in: Lyons–Papadopoulos op. cit. (n. 90) 182–98.

4th century BC for Italy. She proposes an even earlier and more loosely organized phase of 'dramatic ritual' in Italy.⁹⁵

That Greek customs and objects were not accepted passively in indigenous South Italy from the time of the arrival of the Greeks, indeed even earlier, is abundantly clear. The inhabitants of Messapia (southern Puglia), for example, sought wine cups and to a lesser extent jugs from Corinthians in the 8th century BC. They largely rejected kraters: local matt-painted vases seemed to fulfil the role of a large fine-ware container. This situation would persist in Messapia well into the Archaic period, and is visible especially in the grave assemblages.⁹⁶ Even more remarkable is the total rejection by the Messapians of the Corinthian aryballois and other perfume vessels which were ubiquitous elsewhere in the 7th-century BC Mediterranean.⁹⁷ The same selectivity probably operated in the sphere of religion. While the outward appearance of cult in Messapia is largely Greek, relatively few Greek divinities appear to have been adopted, and those perhaps only in a syncretic fashion.⁹⁸

All of this has two implications. Firstly, that the ignorant acceptance of Apulian red-figure vases with theatrical scenes by the Italians is really very unlikely. At a minimum, we should accept that phlyax vases were buried with Italians as prestigious items, used to associate the deceased with an important facet of metropolitan Greek culture, in the same way that strigils and alabastra and symposium sets appear at the same time. I would go further and suppose that amongst the elite of a place like Ruvo, from where so many of the theatrical vases have come, the level of understanding was very much more intimate, and probably also connected to Dionysos in his funerary role: remember the Ruvan comic actor sitting in his funeral chapel on the red-figured volute-krater discussed above, where the two objects suspended in the naiskos are a comic mask and a stemmed kantharos (pl. 28: 2). I would further suggest, more tentatively, that the prominence of comic vases in a place like Ruvo was partly due to the fact that they could overlay some local type of performance, perhaps of the sort that we have seen emerging in Tyrrhenian Italy at just this time. Could the 'hag' on the Ruvo askos (pl. 27: 2) possibly be a reflection of this?

The two extraordinary comic vases published by E. M. De Juliis should not be ignored in this context.⁹⁹ Trendall attributed the reverse of each vase to the Painter of Sèvres 1, but seemed reluctant to accept the authenticity of the scenes showing figures in naiskoi on the obverses.¹⁰⁰ Whether this reluctance was based mainly upon stylistic concerns, or upon the startling nature of the scenes depicted, was not made entirely clear. The vases are said to have come from Arpi, where the Painter of Sèvres 1 probably worked. Arpi was the largest site in northern Daunia, and had a history of links to Campania. By the time these vases were produced (late 4th century BC), the city was allied to Rome. On one vase a comic actor apparently playing Epeios stands in a naiskos, holding up one leg of the Trojan Horse which

⁹⁵ *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama: a study in regional development and religious interchange between East and West in antiquity* (2002) 158ff.; O. Szemerényi, *Hermes* 103, 1975, 300–32.

⁹⁶ F. D'Andria, in: *Corinto e l'Occidente. Atti del trentaquattresimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto, 7–11 ottobre, 1994 (1997) 457–508, esp. fig. 12. In the same article, D'Andria discusses the earliest Greek export model in Apulia, which dates back to this period: the Corinthians apparently made a small one-handled, round-mouthed jug (known locally as a *boccalotto*) specifically for this market, to replace the matt-painted dippers in common use. For later periods: G. Semeraro, *En Neusi. Ceramica*

greca e società nel Salento arcaico (1997).

⁹⁷ D'Andria *ibid.*, Semeraro *ibid.*

⁹⁸ E.g. Zeus Batas in Messapia: F. D'Andria–A. Dell'Aglio (eds.), *Klaohi Zis. Il culto di Zeus a Ugento* (2003); A. Böttini in: G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Vita religiosa e cultura letteraria, filosofica e scientifica* (1988) 55–90. Demeter/Persephone and Aphrodite were also popular in Messapia: see G. Mastronuzzi, *Luoghi di culto arcaici nel mondo indigeno dell'Italia meridionale* (forthcoming).

⁹⁹ Bari, Guido Marotti collection, nos. 19, 20. E. M. De Juliis in: *Studi in onore di Dinu Adamesteanu* (1983) 77–85.

¹⁰⁰ *RVAp Suppl. I* 177–8, 28/265a–b.

stands behind him (with one leg missing). The mask is related to Type L, and the figure has a large phallos, but the similarities with normal phlyax costume end there (indeed, the large phallos would already be rather unorthodox by this time). The figure has neither padding nor stage tights, and indeed is naked except for a sash of drapery across his chest. The other krater seems to show the same man, again with a mask like Type L, and similar in every way except that he now wears a tunic (without padding). He leads a horse, but clearly a stage horse: it stands upon two pairs of human legs, each wearing stage tights. De Juliis points to links with what we know of Rhinthon, and notes that both Livius Andronicus and Naevius would write an *Equos Troianus* in the decades after this vase was produced. These vases, if genuine, were produced in an indigenous Italian centre with close links to Rome. With all we have seen above, the unusual nature of the scenes on these volute-kraters is surely not enough to declare them forgeries.¹⁰¹

That brings us, finally, to the question of possible Italian influence on theatre in colonial Taranto. If Rhinthon is credited with the invention of new comic forms around or shortly after 300 BC, it is very likely that he gave literary form to, or at a minimum borrowed elements from, a pre-existing local tradition. There may be some clues in a famous passage from the *Sympotic Miscellany* of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, in which he described the Greeks of Poseidonia as having been 'completely barbarized' in speech and other practices, and allowed to speak Greek only at one annual festival.¹⁰² The phrase that Aristoxenus uses is strange: the Poseidonians were barbarized, becoming 'Tyrrhenians or Romans'. Aristoxenus cannot be referring to the Roman conquest of the city in 273 BC, by which time he would have been almost 100 years old.¹⁰³ A. Meriani has recently argued for a date of around 320 BC for the composition of this passage.¹⁰⁴ Aristoxenus ought to be referring to the Samnite takeover of Poseidonia in the late 5th century BC, although some recent and plausible arguments have suggested that Aristoxenus was able to regard the Hellenized Lucanians of Poseidonia as Greeks, or at least still 'Greek' enough to be barbarized by contact with Romans and Tyrrhenians (presumably the Etruscans of Campania).¹⁰⁵ This agrees remarkably well with Pontrandolfo's conclusion, reached independently on the basis of the Paestum tomb-paintings, that the ideology expressed in the paintings in general, and the unorthodox half-masked figures boxing in the context of funeral games in particular, find their best parallels in the Etrusco-Campanian ambit.¹⁰⁶ Whichever explanation one prefers, Aristoxenus is clearly talking of a barbarization of the city by Italians. He immediately goes on to say that 'our' theatre (presumably at Taranto) has also become 'utterly barbarized'. There are several ways in which this statement, and more particularly the term 'barbarized' can be interpreted. Aristoxenus may use the term in a similar way to modern English, as a synonym for corrupted, or he may be referring to 'barbarian' musical forms (like the Phrygian) which threatened the manly Doric modes which Aristoxenus himself preferred, for political as well as aesthetic reasons.¹⁰⁷ But coming immediately after reference to the barbarization of

¹⁰¹ De Juliis (art. cit. 83 n. 21) also notes an unpublished vase of the early 3rd century in Daunian polychrome technique, with an Italian warrior in comic costume.

¹⁰² F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Commentar. Band 2: Aristoxenos* (1945) Fragment 124.

¹⁰³ A. Meriani, *Sulla Musica Greca Antica: Studi e Ricerche. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità* (2003) 31.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 19.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 45–8; J. W. Wonder, *Phoenix* 56, 2002, 40–55;

A. Fraschetti, *AnnStorAnt* 3, 1981, 97–116 interprets the passage in terms of the fears of the Tarentine (and philo-Syracusan) Aristoxenus in the face of Rome's hegemonic intentions; D. Asheri in: *La Colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale: Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à George Vallet* (1999) 361–70.

¹⁰⁶ Pontrandolfo art. cit. (n. 80) 267ff. See now also ead., *Ostraka* 9, 2000, 117–34.

¹⁰⁷ E. Csapo in: P. Murray–P. Wilson (eds.), *Music and the Muses: The Culture of 'Mousike' in the Classical Athenian City* (2004) 207–48.

Poseidonia by Italians, it does not seem unreasonable to interpret the term in the same way a few lines later. In a further fragment of Aristoxenus, this time from his *Commentaries*, he mentions a number of performers: Straton of Tarentum who was admired for his imitation of dithyrambs, and Eudykos the clown who was famous for his imitations of wrestlers and boxers—one wonders about a connection to the half-masked boxers on the wall of a tomb in Poseidonia/Paestum, mentioned above—and, most important of all, Oinopas (or Oionas) ‘from Italy’, who did parodies of songs for the kithara and who introduced whistling Cyclopes and scenes of the stranded Odysseus talking in bad Greek.¹⁰⁸ ‘From Italy’ is an odd descriptor, when other characters are identified by their (Greek) city of origin. While in some translations, Oinopas is quite gratuitously called an ‘Italian Greek’,¹⁰⁹ M. Gigante is happy for him to be of Italic origin.¹¹⁰ The question cannot be definitively resolved; the name Oinopas is Greek, but looks a bit suspicious, and could be a ‘stage name’ for an Italian who sometimes plied his trade amongst Greek audiences.¹¹¹

If local forms of comedy and other theatrical performance were emerging in the 4th century BC at Taranto I would expect, given what we have learned in the last few decades about colonial interactions worldwide, that there was some Italian influence on the development. Since (as I hope to have demonstrated above) the Italians were not generally ignorant of and uninterested in theatre, the proposition should not be alarming. But E. Csapo, Taplin, and others have brought forward many persuasive arguments for the strict reliance of South Italian comic theatre upon Athens.¹¹² How can we ever certainly identify local comedies if the Tarentines stuck fairly closely to the pan-Hellenic suite of masks and costumes for which Athens was the leading innovator?¹¹³ There may be one way into the question. Italian warriors were identified by Apulian and Lucanian vase-painters by a number of means. Broad belts (representations of the metal belts found in so many indigenous graves) and patterned tunics or loin-cloths are the two most certain indicators; long hair and *pilos* helmets or hats are often present as well. The motif of the swastika is used in the same way, appearing on the clothing of indigenous warriors as soon as they start to be depicted in red-figure.¹¹⁴ It is consistently used right down to the end of the series, on red-figured vessels made in the indigenous settlements.¹¹⁵ The motif occasionally appears on other figures, mainly Amazons.¹¹⁶ One fascinating chous by the Felton Painter in Turin has a comic warrior wearing a tunic decorated with swastika motifs (pl. 28: 3).¹¹⁷ A broad belt was perhaps not plausible over the padded costume, but the long hair and *pilos* are present, as is a short beard

¹⁰⁸ Wehrli Fragment 135.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. C. B. Gulick, *Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists* (1927) 1, 19.

¹¹⁰ M. Gigante, *Taras* 8, 1988, 14.

¹¹¹ Compare the name which the Greek colonists in the Ionian Gulf gave their indigenous neighbours: Oinotrians. See D. Asheri in: L. B. P. Doria (ed.), *Studi in Memoria di Ettore Lepore*, 2. *L'incidenza dell'antico* (1996) 151–64. Oionas/Oinopas is otherwise unattested in Italy: P. M. Fraser–E. Matthews (eds.), *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names Volume III.A: Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia* (1997) 339.

¹¹² E. Csapo, *Phoenix* 40, 1986, 379–92: his list of 10 points on p. 389 is a particularly concise and compelling summation; also Taplin in *Comic Angels*, and in a number of articles.

¹¹³ Dearden attempted to find Italic influence on Sicilian

theatre, without notable success, in: *Descœudres op. cit.* (n. 17) 231–42.

¹¹⁴ E.g. a column-krater by the Tarporley Painter once on the London market (ex Nostell Priory), *RVAp* 3/22. *Christies London* 30 April 1975, 19 no. 20 pl. 7. The motif is ubiquitous on matt-painted pottery: *Yntema op. cit.* (n. 8) *passim*; see also E. M. De Juliis, *ArchCl* 23, 1971, 37–49. Swastikas are even met on some terracotta antefixes made in indigenous settlements: D. Adamesteanu, *La Basilicata antica* (1974) 177, from Lavello.

¹¹⁵ E.g. a volute-krater by the Ganymede Painter, Melbourne, *Geddes Collection A* 1:23, *RVAp Suppl.* 2, 25/9d, pl. 62: 3–4.

¹¹⁶ I argued, in my A. D. Trendall Lecture at the Institute of Classical Studies, London (December 2004) that there is a convincing and very interesting explanation for this anachronism, and the lecture will be published shortly.

¹¹⁷ Turin, Mario Bruno collection, *RVAp* 7/91.

of a type sometimes met in depictions of indigenous warriors.¹¹⁸ This seems a set of attributes very unlikely to have been borrowed from Athenian custom. If local plays were being performed in Taranto, then their Italian neighbours would surely have been a prime source of comic material. And if this is accepted, what then of the other comic vases upon which swastikas appear? On an Apulian calyx-krater from Armento (an indigenous site in Basilicata), the costume of the central figure is decorated with a swastika.¹¹⁹ Trendall found the scene 'not easy to interpret', and I wonder if his unease is not to be explained by this being a local play, with local Italian characters. Finally, on the calyx-krater in Bari dubbed by Taplin 'The Bari Pipers', the stage curtain is decorated with swastikas.¹²⁰ Could this be evidence for performances in indigenous settlements, as suggested by Taplin?¹²¹

Since this journey has become a long one (much longer than I had anticipated), I shall sum up the major findings.

(1) The contention that Italians did not understand and were not very interested in comic theatre is no longer tenable, considering that:

- (a) Red-figured askoi decorated with theatrical scenes were produced specifically for an Italian audience in the second quarter of the 4th century.
- (b) Red-figured volute-kraters around the middle of the 4th century showing actors in naiskoi must have been intended for the same market.
- (c) Xenon Group vases, produced either for or by the Italians show a considerable knowledge of and interest in the theatre.
- (d) Recent studies of colonial interactions suggest that the passive reception of theatrical images amongst the Italians is very unlikely.

(2) New forms of comic performance were probably developing in Taranto during the 4th century BC, and they may well have been influenced by developments in the indigenous Italian centres.

- (a) Aristoxenus writes (around 320 BC) of the 'barbarization' of theatre in Taranto, in a context which suggests Italian influence.
- (b) Aristoxenus mentions a prominent performer 'from Italy' who may have been of Italian origin.
- (c) A few phlyax vases show characters in costumes decorated with swastikas who are probably to be interpreted as Italians, and those vases could therefore depict local (rather than Athenian) plays.
- (d) Xenon Group vases may provide evidence for Italian adaptation of Greek theatre, and such a development would not be surprising given the contemporary developments in Etruria and Rome (mainly literary evidence) and Campania (Poseidonian tomb-paintings and the Cumaean Santia vase).

While not every conclusion may be to the taste of our honorand, I hope that there is something in this 'outsider's' perspective which he may find useful.

¹¹⁸ The vase by the Felton Painter looks like a fairly close comic translation of, for example, the scene on the column-krater Ruvo, Museo Jatta 718, RVAp 14/247 (Schulman Group): H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo* (1966) pl. 103.

¹¹⁹ Naples 118333, PhV² 53 no. 83; RVAp 13/12 (The Varrese Painter). A good colour illustration can be found in

G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Magna Grecia. Vita religiosa e cultura letteraria, filosofica e scientifica* (1988) 319 fig. 394.

¹²⁰ Bari, Contessa Malaguzzi-Valeri collection, no. 52. RVAp 15/28 (The Salting-Suckling Group). Discussed by Taplin in *Comic Angels* 70-8.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 93 n. 12.

ENDNOTE

There is a crime which dare not speak its name amongst interpreters of South Italian red-figured vases: forgery. I am struck by the fact that none of the Xenon Group vases I have illustrated comes from a secure context, and that they have all appeared since the early 1980s. The vast majority of key vases in *Comic Angels* fall into the same category. The New York Goose vase, at least, is safe. Some very erudite forging would have to be proposed, but that of course is not unknown.¹²² Is it pure coincidence that the appearance of all these vases and the emergence of a wealthy American private collector-dealer, whose wife was a thwarted actress with a penchant for theatrical vases (Laurence and Barbara Fleischmann), are contemporary?¹²³ Collectors with deep pockets and known predilections can stimulate tomb-robbing: Axel Guttman's collection of around 1,200 arms and weapons (which included 174 ancient bronze helmets!) is a case in point for Apulia.¹²⁴ They can also stimulate forgery. C. Chippendale and D. W. J. Gill report the following: 'A colleague in the Italian *carabinieri* specialized for fine art and antiquities reports that seizures of illicitly excavated classical antiquities in South Italy typically include both genuine and faked pieces, which enter the supply-chain to the marketplace together.'¹²⁵ Paolucci believed, in 1996, that the number of faked South Italian pots entering the market exceeded the number of genuine ones. Yet little work has been done on this subject, and one wonders how firm are the foundations upon which we build all our arguments.¹²⁶

¹²² E.g. M. Guarducci, *La cosiddetta fibula prenestina. Antiquari, eruditi e falsari nella Roma dell'Ottocento* (1980).

¹²³ True-Hamma (eds.) op. cit. (n. 2); V. Norskov, *Greek Vases in New Contexts: the collecting and trading of Greek vases. An aspect of the modern reception of antiquity* (2002) 305–6 for the Fleischmann Collection; C. Chippendale–D. W. J. Gill, *AJA* 104, 2000, 474: the collection started in 1951, but their activity became more intense and focused

from 1983.

¹²⁴ D. Graepler in: P. Pelegatti–M. Bell (eds.), *Antichità senza provenienza: atti della tavola rotonda, American Academy in Rome, 18 febbraio 1995* (1996) 30–1.

¹²⁵ Chippendale–Gill art. cit. 495.

¹²⁶ On some forgeries of South Italian red-figure see now D. Fontannaz, *Ostraka* 9, 1998, 35–98.