Patterns in the Production of Paestan Red-Figure Pottery

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By

Edward Herring

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“L’essential est invisible pour les yeux”, répéta le petit prince, afin de se souvenir.

“C’est le temps que tu as perdu pour ta rose qui fait ta rose si importante.”

“What is essential is invisible to the eye”, repeated the little prince, so that he would be sure to remember.

“It is the time that you have wasted on your rose that makes your rose so important.”

Antoine de Saint Exupéry, *Le Petit Prince* [*The Little Prince*],

Ch. 21 (1943).

To my wife,
Yvonne
for the time wasted and that yet to be so

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be wrong to call this book a product of the COVID-19 lockdowns but they certainly accelerated its completion. The plan to produce the volume developed while I was completing *Patterns in the Production of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018). It seemed pertinent to study another South-Italian red-figure industry for its value in it own right and also for purposes of comparison (v. Appendix I). Perhaps, in time, I will get around to making similar studies of the other South Italian fabrics but I make no promises here.

I set to work creating the database on Paestan red-figure, based upon the catalogue in *RVP*, during the first COVID lockdown in March 2020. I have never felt more grateful for my research interests than during the pandemic, as they helped to pass these periods of reduced social interaction.

I wish to acknowledge the production team at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their diligent and expeditious production of this volume and also the Editorial Board for Classics for supporting the project.

I first visited Paestum in the company of my friends and mentors, Dr John B. Wilkins and Prof. Ruth D. Whitehouse. It immediately became one of my favourite archaeological sites and museums. I have returned many times and it never fails to take my breath away.

Paestan red-figure pottery traditionally has enjoyed a somewhat more favourable reputation among vase scholars than other South Italian industries, with its parochial charms being appreciated when compared with what have been seen as the baroque excesses of, for example, Late Apulian vases. While I understand the view that Beazley (1944: 365) expressed, I do not share it. I have come to see merits in each of the South Italian fabrics despite their faults. I have studied Paestan vases in museums around the world, most especially at Paestum itself, but also in Dublin, the UK, the rest of Italy, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, and the USA and I am grateful to these museums and their staff for their excellent curation of the material.

The completion of any major academic work usually involves the support of many individuals and organisations, and this book is no exception. In addition to my own University, I wish to acknowledge the support of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, where I held the A.D. Trendall Fellowship in 2011. I am also grateful to the

libraries of the Institute of Classical Studies and the British School at Rome for providing access to material that is hard to obtain in Ireland.

In my 2018 volume, I thanked many people who have supported my career. The sentiments expressed there need not be repeated but they remain as strongly felt.

I cannot possibly name the many individuals who have contributed to my ongoing development as a scholar but I hope that they will understand that my silence is not from any lack of gratitude for all the intellectual support and stimulation that they have provided. In addition to those already mentioned, I shall single out a few others. I should like to acknowledge Professor Mike Edwards, who did me the honour of launching *Patterns in the Production of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery* in Galway in October 2018.

I should also like to thank my colleagues at the various institutions at which I have worked, the Department of Mediterranean Studies at Queen Mary College, the Accordia Research Institute, the Department of Classics at Royal Holloway, and, most especially, those in the Department of Classics at NUI Galway. When I first arrived in Ireland, my colleagues warmly welcomed and supported me. Over time, those individuals have retired or relocated and have been replaced by new colleagues but the same spirit of collegiality endures. So, I must thank the current staff of Classics at Galway, Professor Michael Clarke, Dr Jacopo Bisagni, Dr Pádraic Moran, and Dr Peter Kelly all of whom have been supportive of me in more ways than I can mention or they probably realise.

While I was working on this book, my most recent doctoral graduate, Dr Micheál Geoghegan completed his research on masculinity in Archaic and Classical Greece. Working with him has certainly influenced some of the thinking that underpins Chapter Five of this book.

There is little to add to what I said in 2018 about my family, in Ireland and the UK, except that just as their support of me never wavers, so my appreciation of that support only deepens through the years.

My constant companion during the lockdowns has been my wife, Yvonne, as we have both been obliged to work from home. This has only brought us closer. My love for her is as enduring as Paestum's temples. As a small token of it, I dedicate this book to her.

Galway
January 2022

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

"No pattern should be without some sort of meaning."
William Morris, *Hopes and Fears for Art*, 1882

Historical introduction

Paestum (Greek Poseidonia) is a remarkable place, situated in a stunning location, close to the sea – though not as close as it was in antiquity – , in a fertile coastal plain sheltered by the mountains of the Southern Apennines. Despite being a UNESCO World Heritage site, Paestum's somewhat isolated location means that, for much of the year, it is possible to visit it without being overwhelmed by tourists and to enjoy one's own private reverie amongst the ruins.

The site is, of course, most famous for the three well-preserved Greek temples built over the course of about a century between c.560 and c.460 BC. These temples give the greatest glimpse of the wealth of the cities of Magna Graecia available on mainland Italy; perhaps only the numerous Greek temples on Sicily surpass those at Paestum as relics of the importance of the Greek West in antiquity.

There are, of course, many other remains of the Greek city visible at the site, not least the splendid city-walls, which run for some 4.8 km, and the well-preserved *ekklesiasterion* or *bouleuterion*, and the remarkable underground shrine (Fig. 1) The excavated remains at Paestum also bear testament to a Roman town, which flourished in the Republican period before going into a steady decline. For a very readable, English-language account of the site and its various phases of excavation, v. Pedley 1990, and on the Greeks in Southern Italy in general, v. Lomas 1993. For more detailed archaeological reports, v., e.g., Greco & Theodorescu 1980; 1983; 1985; Zancani Montuoro & Zanotti Bianco 1951; 1954; and Pedley & Torelli (eds) 1993.

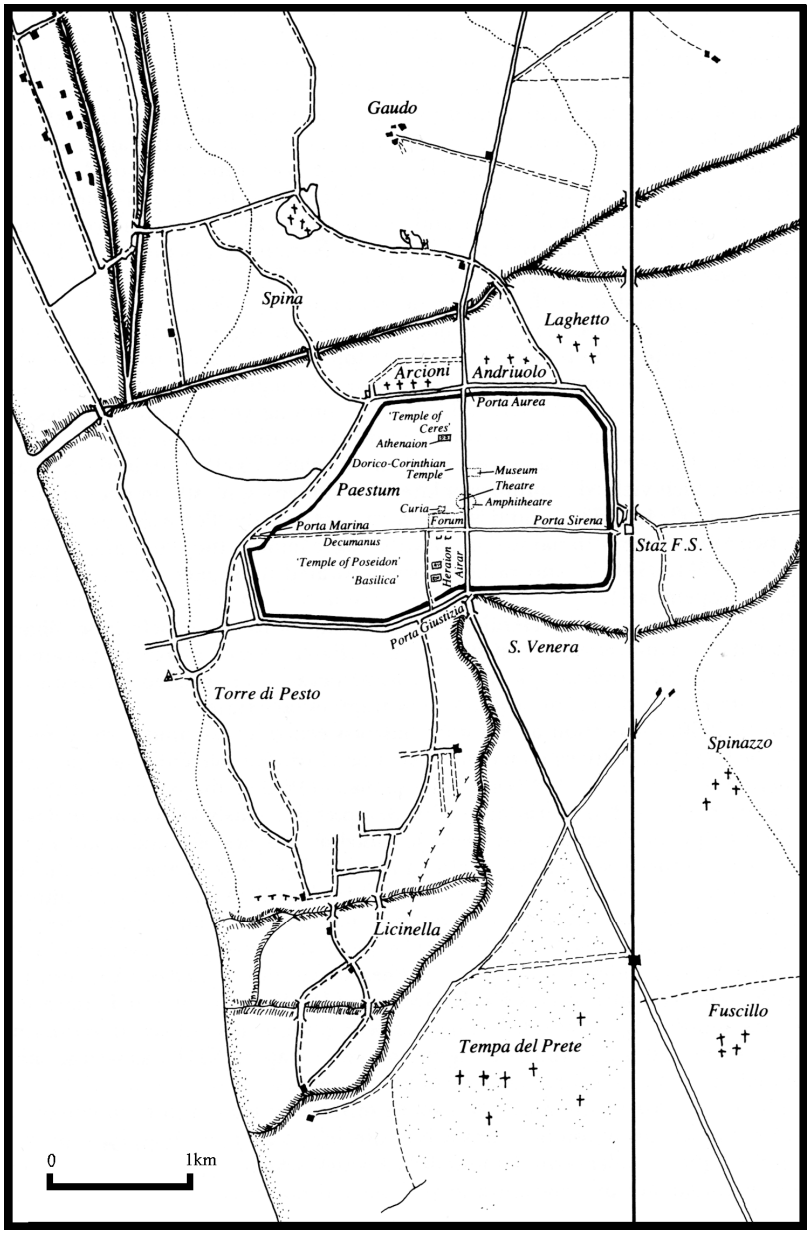

Fig. 1. Map of Paestum and the surrounding area showing the location of the principal cemeteries (after *RVP*: Fig. 1).

Beyond the city itself, there are notable rural shrines at the mouth of the Sele River (Foce del Sele) and at Santa Venera, while the site is surrounded on all sides, except that facing the coast, by ancient cemeteries.

Paestum is also home to a small museum, which is packed with spectacular finds from the site and its immediate environs. Most famous among the materials displayed in the museum are the Archaic relief sculptures from the Sanctuary at Foce del Sele, which marked the northern limits of the territory of the Greek city, and the painted tombs. The modern building was purpose-built to house the material from Foce del Sele in 1959 and the entrance hall presents an imaginative display that re-imagines the façade of the Treasury from the sanctuary.[1] Despite this, the Archaic metopes, showing scenes from Greek mythology, are now overshadowed by the painted tombs found since the 1960s. The famous Tomb of the Diver, discovered in 1968 by Mario Napoli, a Greek painted tomb dated to the mid-Fifth Century BC, is perhaps the jewel of the collection, although the numerous painted tombs, from the period of Lucanian dominance of the site in the Fourth and early Third Centuries BC, are hardly less impressive in their own way (Napoli 1970; Meriani & Zuchtriegel (eds) 2021; Pontrandolfo & Rouveret 1992). Alongside other finds from the site, the museum is home to a splendid collection of Paestan red-figured pottery, the subject of this book.

For a site that seems so remarkable to the modern visitor and one which was manifestly so rich in its heyday, it does not feature with any great prominence in ancient historical or literary sources. Fortunately, the extent of the excavations at the site can be combined with the paltry written record to construct a reasonably convincing narrative of the city's history.

We have no detailed record of the city's foundation from antiquity but Strabo (5.4.13) reports that the site was founded by settlers from Sybaris, itself a Greek colony, established around 720 BC by Greeks from Achaea and Troizen (Fig. 2).[2] Sybaris, situated on the Ionian Gulf in the instep of Italy, was one of the first mainland colonies. Its wealth became legendary and the city and its residents became a byword for luxury, as the result of a hostile source tradition that still resonates through the use of the adjective 'sybaritic'. As Aristotle (*Pol*. 5.1303a) reports that the Troizenian component at Sybaris was later expelled from the community, it has been argued that Paestum was, in fact, founded by the exiled Sybarites of Troizenian origin. The fact that Solinus (2.10) said that Paestum was founded by Dorians perhaps lends some credence to this suggestion.

No date is provided for the foundation of the city, however, the scholarly consensus is that it was probably settled around 600 BC. This is

based on finds of Early Corinthian pottery in tombs to the north and northeast of the city. None of the material from the Hera sanctuary at Foce del Sele is earlier than c.600 BC.

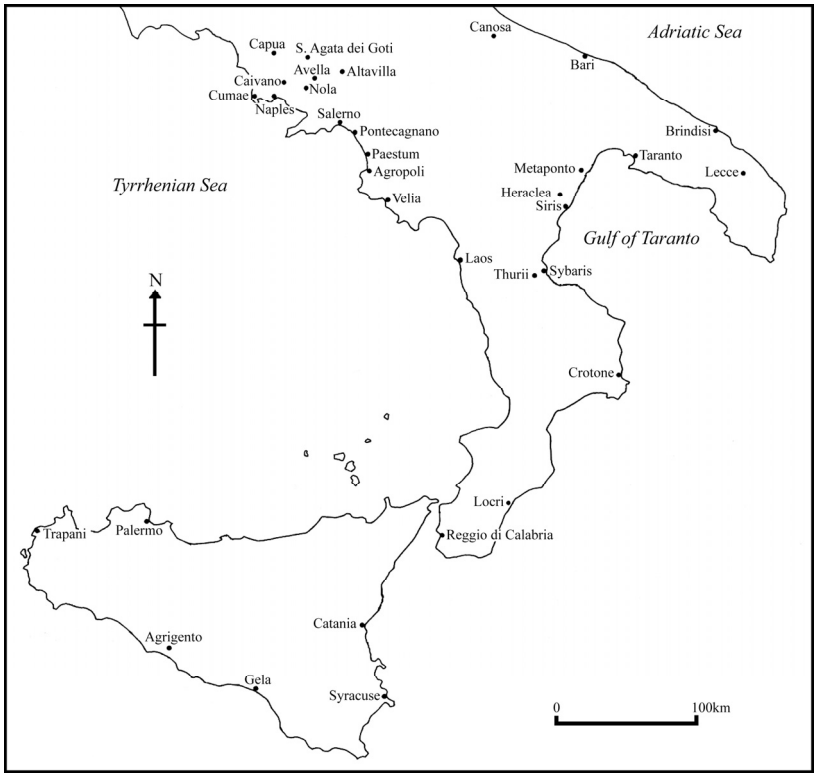

Fig. 2. Map of Southern Italy and Sicily showing some of the most important ancient sites and modern cities.

It seems likely that the settlers found their new homeland largely unoccupied as there is no evidence of a prior Indigenous settlement in the immediate area.

Strabo (5.4.13) refers to two separate settlement episodes in the area, one nearer the coast and a second that occupied the eventual site of the ancient city. Some scholars have linked Strabo's first wave of settlers to the mouth of the river Sele, near where the famous sanctuary was to be built in the early Sixth Century BC. However, ancient tradition gave the sanctuary a deeper and more prestigious history. Strabo (6.1.1) himself says that the sanctuary to Argive Hera was founded by the great hero Jason

during his epic voyage with the Argonauts. The same story is repeated by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.9.13), where he garbles the relationship of the sanctuary to the river by placing it inside the Ager Picentius, and also by Solinus (2.6). It is probably unwise to read too much into Jason's Thessalian origins, in terms of the ancestry of Strabo's first wave of settlers, especially as the Argonauts came from all over Greece. The story was probably designed to give a deep and heroic ancestry to the sanctuary. The only candidates for founding a sanctuary in the heroic past were those heroes whose adventures had involved travels in the Central Mediterranean and they were relatively few in number.

By the time Paestum was founded around 600 BC, there were major Greek cities dotted around the coasts of Southern Italy and Sicily (Fig. 2). In relatively close proximity to Paestum, on the coast of modern Campania, there was Cumae to the north, founded around 750 BC and, on the island of Ischia, the earliest Greek settlement in the West, Pithekoussai, founded in the first quarter of the Eighth Century BC. Further south was Elea (modern Velia), a city famous in antiquity for its philosophical school. That site was founded by Phokaians around 540 BC, allegedly on the advice of a citizen of Paestum (Hdt. 1.167). Further south again was Laos. The earliest reference to this city is in Herodotos (6.21), in which he tells us that the survivors of the sack of Sybaris in 510 BC, were residing in Laos and Skidros at the time of the fall of Miletus in 494 BC.[3] It is unclear from Herodotos' text whether the two towns were pre-existing Sybarite colonies or new foundations established by the survivors. It is, of course, possible that some of the displaced Sybarites relocated to their other colony at Paestum.

In recent years, the nature of and motivations for the Greek settlement of the West have been re-examined and re-imagined. Similarly, the relations between the Greek settlers and the existing Indigenous residents of Italy and Sicily have been re-thought, not least because it has become apparent that, at many of the earliest colonies, the initial phases of occupation involved a mixture of Greek and Indigenous people. However, these issues are of lower relevance in the case of Paestum, because it was founded at a later date and in a previously unoccupied location. The city's Greek identity was unproblematic, at least in the first couple of centuries of its existence.[4]

The city must have thrived from 'the off'. Within a couple of generations of the foundation, the treasury at the sanctuary at Foce del Sele had been built as had the first temple to Hera on the site itself (Fig. 3). The prosperity continued into the Fifth Century BC as evidenced by the building of the second Hera temple at the start of the century and the

Temple of Athena some decades later. The temples were large and architecturally innovative and must have made quite an impression in the landscape, as they continue to do until this day. The city's wealth was built on its fine harbour and Mediterranean connectedness and its fertile agricultural hinterland.

Fig. 3. View of the two Hera temples at Paestum.

As already noted, the city did not figure prominently in the historical sources during this period of growth and prosperity. However, by the end of the Fifth Century BC, the city had become caught up in the wider politics of the region. A number of the prosperous coastal cities in Campania came under pressure from Indigenous peoples, who had traditionally dwelt in the mountainous interior.[5] These peoples go by various names in the ancient sources but they were Oscan-speakers and are commonly considered to be of Samnite origin.

Cumae was conquered by the Campanians around 421 BC (Diod. Sic. 12.76; Liv. 4.44). Capua, too, which was not a Greek city, also fell to the Campanians in the same period, c.425 BC (Liv. 4.37). Shortly afterwards, Naples seems to have preserved its autonomy by coming to an accommodation with its resident indigenous population by admitting them to the citizenship (Strab. 5.47). In this case, the Indigenous people are referred to as Campani but our sources are less than complimentary about the Neapolitans' decision. Further south, Elea (Velia) seems to have escaped being conquered but Laos was probably under Indigenous (Lucanian) control by c.390 BC, when Thurii was captured (Diod. Sic. 14.101).

The story at Paestum was similar. The Lucanians appear to have taken control of the city around the turn of the Fifth Century into the Fourth. For most of the Fourth Century and down to the Roman conquest in 273 BC, when a Roman colony was established at the city, the Lucanians remained in charge. It is commonly argued that for a brief period in the 330s, the governance of the city reverted to Greek control, during the campaigns of Alexander the Molossian.[6] A battle was fought between Alexander's troops and various Lucanians near Paestum around 335 BC. Alexander's victory is believed by some scholars to have restored Greek control over the city but it was short-lived (e.g. *RVP*: 2-3). According to this view, following Alexander's death in c.330 BC, the city soon returned to Lucanian control. However, Wonder (2002: 47-51) has argued that the battle was fought against other Lucanians from the interior and that the leaders of Paestum were allied with Alexander the Molossian and would have welcomed his victory. Either way, there is no archaeological indication of any great change that coincides with Alexander's campaigns.

There is a source tradition that the Greeks suffered greatly under Lucanian rule. Aristoxenos of Tarentum (*ap*. Athen. 14.632) claims that the Greek people of Paestum became "utterly barbarised" and were only allowed to speak Greek once a year at a special festival. There is, however, no archaeological support for the suppression of Greek culture. Coins reveal that, initially at least, the city was still called Poseidonia.[7] There are inscriptions in Greek as well as Oscan. The old sanctuaries were still in use as was the *bouleuterion*. Indeed, it was in the period of Indigenous political domination that Paestum red-figured pottery flourished. Aristoxenos clearly had a rhetorical agenda for his remarks that overrode any historical reality (Fraschetti 1981; Wonder 2002; Herring 2007b).[8]

The Fourth Century appears to be a period of continued and increasing prosperity when the population grew and the agricultural exploitation of the city's *chora* intensified significantly. Although the Lucanians were politically dominant, we should probably imagine the city as culturally quite diverse. Moreover, it is very likely that, over time, the populations mixed through intermarriage, something which would have scandalised Greeks with views similar to those of Aristoxenos.[9]

As mentioned above, the most famous manifestation of Indigenous culture at Paestum is the painted tombs. These tombs date throughout the period of Lucanian control of the city, with three distinct stylistic phases identifiable. The first phase (c.400-c.370 BC) mostly consists of geometric motifs. The second phase sees the dominance of figurative designs and dates from c.370 to c.330 BC. Figurative designs still dominate in the final phase, dating from c.330 to the early years of the Third Century BC, but

style now has larger figures and uses a chiaroscuro effect to give a greater three-dimensionality to the figures. The figurative tombs feature a range of stock themes, most prominent among which are: the return of a warrior, wearing typical Indigenous costume and Samnite-type armour; possible funerary games, including combat scenes, boxing matches, and chariot-racing; prosthesis and mourning; combats between wild or mythical beasts; Nike-type figures riding in chariots; and the ferrying of the dead to the Underworld by a winged divinity. These elaborate tombs often contained substantial numbers of grave goods, including weaponry and armour, jewellery, and numerous ceramic items, including examples of Paestan red-figured pottery. (For the *catalogue raisonné* of the Lucanian painted tombs, v. Pontrandolfo & Rouveret 1992).

The use of the painted tombs and the production of red-figured pottery seem to cease in the early decades of the Third Century BC and broadly coincide with the Roman conquest of Campania.

In the Roman period, Paestum went into a slow but profound decline. Although the city still prospered in the Republican period and was rewarded for its consistent loyalty to Rome throughout the Third and Second Centuries BC, its backwater status was sealed by the building of the via Popilia, which by-passed the city in terms of the North-South land-route, and the growth of Puteoli (Pozzuoli) as the major port in Campania. By the Imperial period, the city seems to have been most famous for its roses, which are mentioned by a number of poets, including Vergil (*Georg*. 4.118), Propertius (4.5.59), Ovid (*Met*. 15.708), and Martial (4.42; 6.80).

Ultimately, the city was condemned by the silting-up of the rivers, which created marshy swamps that were breeding grounds for malaria-carrying mosquitoes. Strabo (5.4.13), writing in the First Century AD, describes the location as unhealthy. By the Fourth Century AD, the population had fallen dramatically but there are still magistrates recorded for the town. The bishopric of the diocese of Paestum was transferred to nearby Capaccio towards the end of the Ninth Century AD. A small population endured and there is evidence for industrial activity throughout the medieval period but the city and its former glories were all but forgotten beyond the immediate vicinity of the settlement.

It was not until the Eighteenth Century that Paestum began to attract the interest of antiquarians. The key figure in bringing knowledge of the site to the wider world was Count Felice Gazzola. Having visited the site and been entranced by the well-preserved temples, he ordered that they be documented and drawn. A number of other antiquarians had engravings commissioned in the second half of the Eighteenth Century, which served

to publicise and popularise the site further (v. Pedley 1990: 168-173 on the story of the rediscovery). It soon became the focus for scholarly debate on the development of ancient architecture and was crucial for the formulation of Winckelmann's seminal work, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten* (1762) that established the primacy of Greek architecture as a source of inspiration to Roman builders.

By far the most famous early engravings of the site and its monuments were produced by Giovanni Battista Piranesi and his son, Francesco, in 1777-78. Cheap copies of these are still sold in the souvenir shops that run along the road that bisects the ancient city.

The introduction of red-figure pottery

Red-figured pottery was first introduced at Athens around 530 BC and rapidly became the dominant figured style produced there. Soon many other Greek cities began producing their own versions of the style, which were used alongside Athenian imports.

Athenian red-figure was widely exported overseas. In Italy, it was hugely popular in Etruria and throughout Southern Italy. In the latter area, its popularity extended beyond the Italiote cities on the coasts to include the Indigenous communities of the interior. Indeed, the market for figured pottery may well have been greater among the non-Greek populations of South Italy because of their tradition of placing significant numbers of ceramic vessels in the tombs of the dead.

It is not known why potters began producing red-figured pottery in South Italy but production had begun by 440 BC, if not earlier. It is almost certain that the South Italian industry began with some manufacturers moving to the region from Athens. There are two compelling reasons for believing this to be the case. First is the technical complexity involved in making red-figured pottery (Noble 1988). The selection of clays with the right properties and the control required over the various phases of the firing process argue against independent discovery of the technique, even by skilled potters attempting to imitate Athenian products. The second reason is that almost all of the shapes and most of the iconographic repertoire of South Italian red-figure is derivative of the Athenian industry. When different shapes and subject matter occur, they are derived from South Italian ceramic traditions and local life.

Eventually, there were productions in five distinct fabrics, four on the mainland, viz. Apulian, Campanian, Lucanian, and Paestan, and one in Sicily. The earliest South Italian red-figure vases were probably produced at Metapontum; the main production of the Lucanian industry was most

likely based at the same site. Soon production spread to Puglia. The connections between the early Lucanian and Apulian industries are very close and have been the subject of much recent research (e.g. Robinson 2014a; 2014b; Silvestrelli 2014). It seems likely that the establishment of the Apulian industry involved the migration of potters from Metapontum to Tarentum, which may have been the main producer of Early Apulian red-figure, as some individuals seemed to have worked in both fabrics.

The Sicilian industry was the next to commence. Trendall (*RFVSIS*: 29) suggested that production in Sicily began around the same time as the disastrous Athenian expedition during the Peloponnesian War, i.e. 415 BC. It is probably unwise to suggest a causal relationship between the military campaign and the beginnings of the Sicilian red-figured vase industry. Nevertheless, some of the earliest Sicilian vases are remarkably close in style to contemporary Athenian vessels, suggesting another wave of migration of Athenian potters and painters.

The two South-West Italian fabrics owe their origins to Sicilian products of the earlier Fourth Century BC. The connections between Campania and Sicily were strong in the period. The Campanian industry seems to have begun at Capua, where Trendall identified two production centres, sometime before 370 BC; a third production centre, probably based at Cumae, commenced around the middle of the Fourth Century BC. The introduction of production in the Campanian fabric seems to have begun when some Sicilian potters/painters moved to Capua. Artists such as the Dirce Painter, the Painter of Naples 2074, the Prado-Fienga Painter, and the Revel Painter represent the transition from Sicilian to the Campanian industries.[10]

The Paestan industry has its origin with the same migration of potters/painters from Sicily. Here the Painter of Louvre K240 represents the most important transitional painter and the date for the commencement of the industry probably belongs between 370 and 360 BC. There was also strong interaction between the Paestan and Campanian industries. To some degree, they served the same markets, although the Paestan industry was more of a local affair. However, Campanian vases crop up with some regularity in Paestan tombs, often alongside local products. There is stylistic evidence that suggests mobility between the two industries with a very close relationship between Campanian painters, such as the Caivano Painter,[11] the Painter of BM F 63, and the Errera Painter, and the Paestan artist, the Painter of Naples 1778. Trendall (*RVP*: 266) argued that the Caivano Painter may have spent some time working at Paestum during which the artist influenced the early work of the Painter of Naples 1778.

Some of the producers during the later phases of both the Campanian and Paestan industries show strong influence from the Apulian industry. In the case of some of the Paestan vases, it only the use of the distinctive micaceous clay that identifies the vessels as Paestan and not Apulian imports. The most likely explanation for this phenomenon is that some Apulian-trained producers moved to South-West Italy during the final third of the Fourth Century BC.

Of all of the South Italian and Sicilian industries, the Apulian was by far the most prolific. In the *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* (*RVAp*) and its *Supplements*, Trendall and Cambitoglou catalogued more than 13,500 vases and Robinson (2014b: 219, fn 1) estimates that there could be a similar number of unattributed Apulian vases, in addition to those catalogued in *RVAp* and its *Supplements*. In *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily* (*LCS*) and its *Supplements*, Trendall catalogued and made attributions for roughly 1,500 Lucanian, 4,000 Campanian, and 1,000 Sicilian vases (these figures derive from *RFVSIS*: 7).[12] In terms of the Paestan industry, Trendall catalogued and attributed over 2,000 vases in *The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum* (*RVP*). This number includes vases in Applied Red and black-figured vases of the Pagenstecher Class, as well as those in red-figure. The total number of true red-figured vases from Paestum, catalogued in *RVP* and used in the database upon which this study is based, is 1,832.

Trendall considered that the production of each of the South Italian and Sicilian fabrics ceased around the end of the Fourth Century BC (v. the chronological tables in *RVSIS*: 270-271). However, more recent evidence suggests that production at Paestum endured into the first decade or so of the Third Century BC. In other parts of South Italy, the production of red-figured pottery seems to have come to an end by the time of the Roman conquest of the area in the 270s.

In *RVP*, Trendall divided Paestan output into two phases, although he does not designate them explicitly as such. The first, addressed in Part 2 of *RVP*, covers the workshop of Asteas and Python, while the second deals with the Later Paestan vases detailed in Part 3. Within the first phase is a short-lived sub-phase, lasting just ten years from c.360 BC, which consists of a group of 'Early Vases', many of which are deemed to be early works by Asteas. The bulk of Part 2, which includes a far greater number of vases, is dominated by the workshop associated with Asteas and Python and dates between c.350 and c.320 BC. The second phase (Part 3 of *RVP*) covers the remainder of Paestan production, which, according to Trendall, lasted from c.330 BC until shortly after 300 BC (*RVP*: 340). For a simplified chronological diagram of Paestan production, v. *RFVSIS*: 271.

For reasons detailed further in Chapter Two, I shall refer simply to two phases: one which covers the period between c.360 and c.320 BC and includes the entire output attributed to Asteas and his followers, and the other which is the same as Trendall's 'Later Paestan' and dates between c.330 and the end of red-figure production at the site.

The output of the Paestan industry was not evenly spread throughout the years of production, as is discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Output seems to have been somewhat lower during the final phase of production than it had been in earlier decades.

The chronology established in *RVP* is based largely upon stylistic comparisons, as Trendall's life-long study of the five fabrics of South Italian and Sicilian red-figure was built upon attribution. However, in the case of Paestan red-figure, we have a large number of tombs excavated at the site that allow the stylistic chronology of the vases to be cross-referred against other grave goods. Although there is some risk of circular reasoning, in that the dating of many artefact types from South Italy is, in part, based on associations with red-figured pottery, the broad chronological framework seems sound.

This is not to deny that some scholars have questioned the attribution of individual vases and groups of vases nor that serious criticisms have been leveled at validity of attribution studies as a whole, although the criticism of Trendall and his methodology has been mild compared with that aimed at Beazley. At present, there is no alternative chronology to replace that of Trendall (and Cambitoglou, in the case of Apulian), however, v. the chronological table in Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009: 237-238 for some minor adjustments. As the present book is concerned with large-scale patterns in the production and decoration of Paestan red-figure through time, the traditional chrono-stylistic divisions can be used as a broad-brush tool, because adjustments to dating of individual vases or groups of vases should not significantly affect the validity of the major patterns identified.

Paestan is unique among the five South Italian and Sicilian fabrics in that two of the artists signed some – albeit only a tiny fraction – of their output. There are 11 vases and fragments signed by Asteas (who actually signs himself as Assteas but he often writes a double sigma in other inscriptions) and two by Python. Both these artists appear to have been significant figures in the industry and both have Greek names. However, it would be unwise, on the basis of such a small sample of evidence, to conclude that the industry was solely in Greek hands, especially in such a culturally mixed community as Fourth Century Paestum. The fact that the overwhelming majority of the subject matter could be deemed to be of a

Greek character and that all of the surviving inscriptions on the vases are in Greek still does not prove that production was dominated by Greeks. It is worth remembering that many of the local customers for the vases appear to have been of Lucanian origin or ascribed to a Lucanian identity, judging from the character of their tombs. Similarly, we cannot conclude that all of the artists working in the industry were male simply because the two who signed their names were.

Paestan red-figure is also in a privileged position when compared with the other South Italian and Sicilian fabrics in that a higher proportion of the known vessels have either been discovered in modern excavations or have a recorded find-spot, often Paestum itself. Although this does not fully mitigate the difficulties created by the loss of provenance for those that were discovered in the days before the development of proper scientific archaeology or those excavated illegally, the situation is no where near as bad as it is for Apulian red-figure, for example, where Elia (2001) has estimated that up to 95 per cent of surviving vases have no archaeological provenance associated with them. While the ravages of modern looting may not have affected Paestum as severely as it has some of the burial grounds of Apulia, the site is not immune to the attentions of *tombaroli*.

In total, 1,066 find spots are listed for red-figured vases in *RVP*, some 52.22 per cent of the total of 1,831 vases.[13] Of these, 834, or 45.55 per cent of all vases and 78.23 of all those with a recorded find-spot, are reported to have been found at Paestum itself. A further 224, 12.23 per cent of all vases and 21.01 per cent of those with find-spots, are from other sites in Campania. Prominent among these sites are: Pontecagnano, where 79 vases are reported to have been found (4.31 per cent of all vases and 7.41 per cent of those with a find-spot); Agropoli and Montesarchio both with 23 vases (each amounting to 1.26 per cent of all vases and 2.16 per cent of those with a find-spot); Roccadaspide with 15 vases (0.82 per cent of all vases and 1.41 per cent of those with a find-spot) and Oliveto Citra with 11 (0.60 per cent of all vases and 1.03 per cent of those with a find-spot). No other site has produced more than ten vases according to the data recorded in *RVP*. Pontecagnano is about 30km from Paestum, Agropoli c.11km, Montesarchio c.108km, Roccadaspide c.22km, and Oliveto Citra, c.54km. Vases are recorded to have been found at 26 other sites in Campania.

More than 99 per cent of vases with a recorded provenance come from Campania. Of the others, four are reported to have come from sites in Puglia, two from Basilicata, and two from Sicily. The total is completed by a vessel with a probably spurious provenance from Jordan.

Although there are many problems with these data, they give a good sense of the extent to which Paestan was a rather local affair, whose market was mostly the city itself, and neighbouring parts of Campania.

In the case of Paestan, it is possible to have more confidence that the distribution of find-spots is a reasonable analogue for the original trade in the vessels. Nevertheless, it remains the fact that the majority of the scholarship on Paestan red-figure has been concerned with stylistic and art-historical matters rather than the archaeological context and ancient usage of the vessels.[14] This book is an attempt to make a contribution to our understanding of the vessels by examining the production as a whole, notwithstanding that the surviving material is biased towards funerary and, to a lesser extent, sanctuary evidence. In doing this, my aim is to look at the vessels as archaeological artefacts that were created and used by ancient community. The patterns observable in terms of vessel shape and decorative content reflect choices made by the producers to serve the needs and tastes of their customers. As, to a large extent, the producers and customers lived in the same community, ancient Paestum, we can be reasonably confident that the former had a keen awareness of what the latter wanted.

The history of the scholarship

Paestum holds a special place in the study of South Italian red-figured pottery. A.D. Trendall published his first book on red-figure in 1936.[15] It was entitled, *Paestan Pottery* and was the direct forerunner of 1987's *RVP*. McPhee (1998: 504) records that Trendall visited Paestum while studying at Trinity College, Cambridge, and it was this visit that inspired his decision to devote himself to the study of South Italian and Sicilian red-figure. He retained a deep affection for the site and its pottery throughout his life and his ashes were scattered there after his death in 1995.

PP and Trendall's other early publications reveal how little was known about the development of South Italian red-figure in the 1930s, certainly much less than was known of Athenian pottery. Much of what we know today is a result of Trendall's devotion to his chosen field of study and his long publication career that lasted for roughly 60 years.

When he began his work, the study of South Italian and Sicilian red-figure had become something of a backwater. This is despite the fact that it had been the subject of academic enquiry since the Seventeenth Century (for a detailed history of the scholarship on South Italian figured pottery v. Higginson 2011). In the early days, antiquarians built their collections from the contents of tombs excavated in Etruria and South Italy. Initially,