Apulia

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Summary. The paper discusses four aspects of medieval pottery production in Apulia: (1) the transition from Roman to early medieval modes of production, (2) unglazed painted wares, (3) pottery with lead glaze and (4) maiolica. After the collapse of manufacturing and most workshop production in the sixth century, efficiently thrown and fired pottery was made in only a few areas; elsewhere, home production probably satisfied most domestic requirements. However, the scattered occurrence in the seventh century of well-made jugs with painted ornament shows that some workshops existed, as did a modest system of distribution. The jugs represent an early stage in a long tradition of painted pottery. In northern Apulia, if nowhere else, early medieval wares had broad line ornament, while later vessels had narrow lines. In southern Apulia, a distinctive type of painted pottery was current in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As on the Tyrrhenian coast, so in Apulia glazed tablewares were imported from the Byzantine world and the Maghreb, beginning in the eleventh century. These imports stimulated a demand for glazed pottery, which local potters began to supply in the twelfth century. Monochrome and painted wares were produced in quantity from the thirteenth century. They were supplemented (and soon replaced at the upper end of the market) by maiolica. Several varieties, all of which belong to the general category of "Proto-maiolica", were produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Apulia occupies the south-east corner of the Italian peninsula and for nearly four hundred kilometres forms the western shore of the Adriatic Sea. (Fig. 1). In the later Middle Ages, as in other periods, maritime activity was important, partly because of the relative infertility of much of the hinterland and partly because of Apulia's position at the mouth of the Adriatic. The principal medieval ports were Siponto/Manfredonia, Bari, Brindisi and Otranto on the Adriatic, and Taranto on the Ionian Gulf. Brindisi and Otranto were among the first and last ports of call for ships voyaging between the central and east Mediterranean (HYDE 1978).

Our knowledge of the medieval pottery of Apulia is best described as patchy; whole areas (such as the Gargano) and periods (the eighth and ninth centuries in particular) are virtually unknown. We are least ignorant about the Tavoliere, thanks to field surveys and several excavations, notably at Lucera, and the ports. My paper, in fact, is concerned mainly with material from Lucera, Bari, Brindisi and Otranto. It falls into two parts. In the first, I discuss the nature of production at the beginning of the medieval period and the subsequent manufacture of utilitarian ('coarse') pottery. In the second, I describe the proliferation of glazed pottery (mostly tablewares) from the twelfth century onwards. In both cases, I review the evidence in the light of models derived from the study of medieval pottery in Liguria—another region with a long coastline and an impoverished hinterland—and other parts of north and central Italy.

From Roman to medieval

MANNONI (1975: 163-72), writing about Liguria, and BLAKE (1978a: 440), writing of northern Italy in general, postulate the end of industrial production and a decline in the use of pottery in the sixth and seventh centuries. In Liguria, despite the paucity of evidence, Mannoni detects the re-emergence of local, non-professional production after the collapse of manufacturing and long-distance trade. It was responsible for the survival of utilitarian forms, such as the cooking pot (*olla*) and the trefoil-mouth jug. Finds from Luni support the view that large scale production at a consistent, relatively high level of technology was replaced by a cottage industry characterised by « irregular throwing, finish and kiln atmosphere » (BLAKE 1977).

The only published accounts of securely dated sixth and seventh century pottery from central Italy are those of the « Lombard » cemeteries at Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino, on the basis of which BALDASSARRE (1967: 169) drew a picture of technical decline similar to that described by Mannoni and Blake.

Imports apart, the material falls into two categories: jars and jugs made on a fast wheel and cooking pots, mugs, an aquamanile and a lamp, all of which have coarse clay and were made without a fast wheel.

Pots in the first category give no reason to suppose that they were not made in workshops by professional or semi-professional potters. Some retain traces of reddish slip.

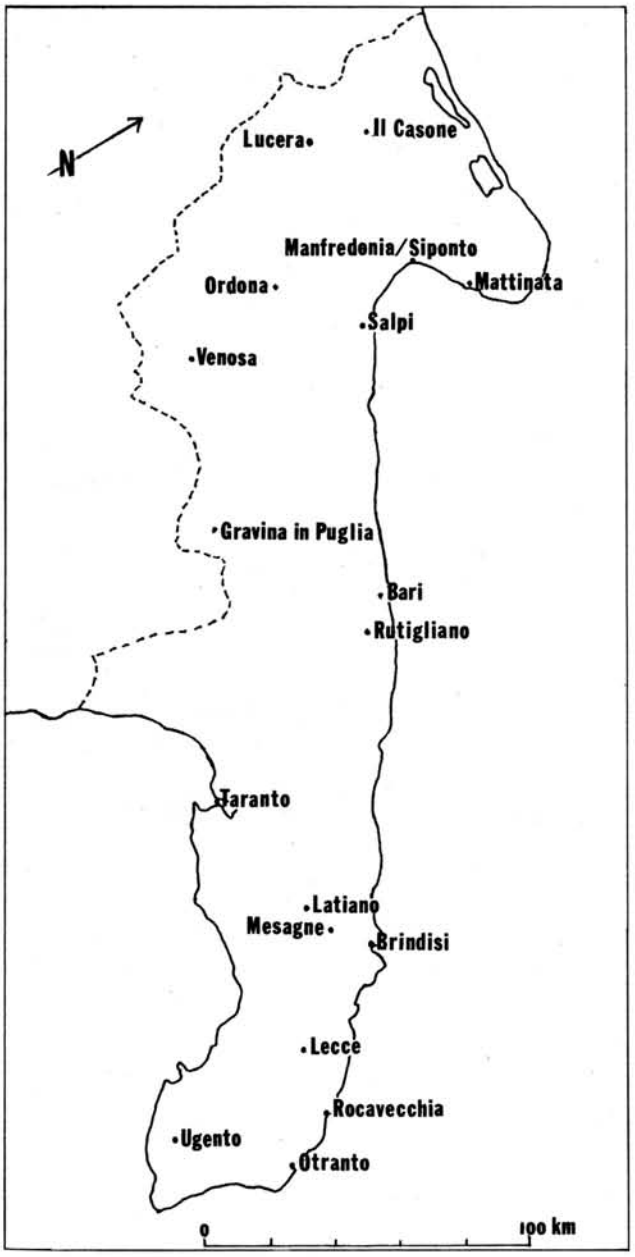

FIG. 1 – Apulia

They belong, therefore, to the extensive, but as yet ill-defined group of late Roman pottery covered or partially covered with red to red-brown slip, which is thin, streaky and often varies in colour from one part of the pot to another. The finish, and some of the forms, are imitations of North African red slip ware. Elsewhere in central Italy, pottery of this type is reported from Rome (MAZZUCATO 1977: 5-6; WHITEHOUSE *et al.* 1982: nos. 24-32), Cosa (COTTON 1979: 182) and Tuscania (pers. comm. T. W. Potter). Farther north, similar slip wares occur at Chiusi (Chiusi, Museo nazionale, inv. 2553), Fiesole (VON HESSEN 1968: pl. 27, no. 1) and at Luni (BLAKE 1977: 644).

The second category consists of vessels which often show signs of the "irregular throwing, finish and kiln atmosphere" found in the North. Some of the pots may be local versions of Lombard forms; the others belong to a local tradition.

The cemeteries, therefore, contained three classes of pottery:

1. Manufactured products, such as North African red slip ware, which arrived as long-distance imports. Six of the 52 pots (11.5%) described by Baldassarre fall into this category.
2. Artisan products from an unidentified kiln or kilns in central Italy (8 pots: 15.5%).
3. Home products, presumably made locally (38 pots: 73%).

The material is consistent with the model proposed for northern Italy by Mannoni and Blake: the revival of home production in the face of the near-collapse of manufacturing and the market economy.

A similar picture is emerging in the South (ARTHUR and WHITEHOUSE 1982). Here, the evidence consists of a growing body of late Roman pottery from controlled excavations and a substantial, but hitherto neglected, number of pots from « Early Christian » cemeteries. The first steps towards a study of locally-made late Roman pottery were taken by D'ANDRIA (1977), in a note on material from Egnazia, which he compared with finds from Metaponto, Sibari, Torre S. Giovanni near Ugento and Calle near Tricarico, where in 1972 Tocco excavated what appears to be the debris from a kiln. More recently, FREED (1979, 1983) has begun to publish the late Roman pottery excavated by Small and Buck at S. Giovanni di Ruoti (SMALL 1980, 1983). This is a Roman villa, built in the first century BC or AD and remodelled in the fifth century. The pottery associated with the latest occupation, which Freed places in the period c. 425/50 – 500+, includes a significant proportion of "Calle ware".

Calle ware consists of standard forms, including large bowls, pans and amphorae. They have well-prepared clay and were thrown on a fast wheel, decorated with red slip or combed ornament and carefully fired. There is no doubt, therefore, that workshop production still existed c. 500. The survival of industrial production presupposes that efficient marketing also survived, but its extent will remain an open question until we have an idea of the number of kilns producing pots of the type found at Calle, and their distribution. This is unlikely to happen overnight, although we know already that the earliest stratified material at Lucera consists of red or brown slipped pottery very similar to Calle ware, and that the latest Roman pottery in Campania includes imitations of North African red slip wares roughly comparable with those from Calle and pattern-burnished pottery (ARTHUR and WHITEHOUSE 1982).

Our evidence for the continuing existence of at least a little efficient, but not necessarily workshop production for more than a century after c. 500 comes mainly from late Roman and early medieval cemeteries, many of which were in use between the fourth and the seventh centuries. These are a rich, but neglected source of information. In Calabria alone, SOLANO (1976: 235-7), listed no fewer than 28 cemeteries, the majority unpublished. Indeed, with rare exceptions, such as Sofiana in Sicily (ADAMESTEANU 1963; BONOMI 1964), publication has only just begun: for example, by IORIO (1977-8), D'ANDRIA (1979), D'ANGELA (1980) and in particular SALVATORE (1981, 1982, 1983).

Many of the cemeteries were in use between the fourth and the seventh centuries (cp. BLAKE 1981: 21). Thus, the cemetery at Florida in Sicily contained an ARS bowl of form 52B (HAYES 1972: 77; suggested date: c. 280/300-early fifth century+), while Pianopoli in Calabria yielded an example of form 98A (*Ibid.*: 153; suggested dates: 98, early sixth century; 98a, c. 510-40). Other cemeteries, however, are later and in this context Colle D'Oro, near Vittoria, in Sicily, is of particular importance. The cementery contained about 45 graves. Thirteen of these had grave-goods: pottery, glass and bronze objects. PATITUCCI UGGERI (1975) reported that three graves contained pots associated with Byzantine coins of the ninth century.

The jugs from Vittoria have a general similarity to vessels from other cemeteries both in Sicily, such as Gela sports ground (ORLANDINI 1956: 395 and fig. 4), and on the mainland, such as Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino. Among the other pottery from Vittoria are bowls with incised ornament, which Patitucci Uggeri compared with the decoration on jugs from Sofiana (BONOMI 1964: figs. 14a and 17a). Although the analogies at Nocera Umbra, Castel Trosino and Sofiana all belong to the sixth or seventh centuries (for the date of Sofiana, see the comment by A. GUILLOU appended to D'ANDRIA [1978]), the evidence from Vittoria seems to show that in Sicily some cemeteries, together with certain 'Early Christian' pottery types, were still in use in the ninth century.

Among these pottery types are vessels with painted ornament, which provide our clearest evidence for the continuing existence of at least artisan production until the seventh century or later.

The painted pottery from the mainland includes a group of flasks from cemeteries in Apulia and the Matera region. The cemeteries yielded a more or less homogeneous collection of pots, presumably made locally, and occasional imports, such as an ARS jug from Picciano and a sixth century Byzantine bronze vessel from Ponte S. Giuliano (D'ANDRIA in ADAMESTEANU *et al.* 1976: 139; D'ANDRIA 1978). One of the flasks from Picciano is decorated on each side with a 'feather' or 'palm' motif and other examples come from the nearby cemeteries of S. Lucia al Bradano, Ovile Dragone and Timmari. Similar motifs occur on a group of jugs from the cemetery at Cagnano Varano in Apulia (SALVATORE 1982: tav. I, no. 6). A two-handled flask with a reticulate pattern on both sides of the body from Masseria Ratino, San Severo may belong to the same general group (WHITEHOUSE in HURST 1969: 140), as perhaps does a flask with broad reddish brown stripes from Rutigliano (SALVATORE 1981: 136 and fig. 5b).

These are by no means the only painted pots from Early Christian cemeteries in the South for we also have a series of trefoil-mouth jugs, decorated with loops, stripes and arcs. They have well-prepared clay, were turned on a fast wheel and were efficiently fired. Two examples from Altavilla Silentino and Pratola Serra in Campania were associated with coins of Heraclius (610-41) (PEDUTO 1979: 260 and fig. 16c), while others find close parallels among late sixth and seventh century pottery in Athens (ROBINSON 1959, Group M, layer 13 and Group N). If we include not only pots from cemeteries, but also stray finds of the same general type, 22 find-spots are know to me in Sicily and the South.

In general terms, the date of the jugs is clear enough. Fourteen of the find-spots are cemeteries, some of which have also yielded ARS and metal objects of the fourth to sixth centuries; the jugs from Altavilla Silentina and Pratola Serra were found with coins of 610-41, and an example from Corleone in Sicily was associated with an earring of similar date. In central and northern Italy, painted pottery was present at Luni by the seventh century, while a jug from Orvieto has undecorated parallels from the sixth to seventh century cemetery at Nocera Umbra. Furthermore, one of the most distinctive types, with a biconical body, is closely similar to jugs from Athens, which ROBINSON (1959) dated to the sixth and seventh centuries. Indeed, Robinson's Group M actually contains a painted jug (*Ibid.*: 117, no. M362 and p1. 33). Thus, despite the warning of Patitucci Uggeri about the apparent late date of at least one of the cemeteries, I suspect that the majority of the trefoil-mounth jugs should be dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.

Indeed, it has become clear recently that the origins of red painted pottery, at least in southern Italy, lie in the colour-coated wares of the late Roman period. Among the pottery from Ruoti are jugs and large flange-rim bowls with buff or pink fabric and broad line ornament in chocolate and red. Instead of stripes, some vessels have large areas coated with slip. Elsewhere in Basilicata, there is similar material from Venosa, Metaponto and Latronico (pers. comm. F. D'Andria). At Venosa, fragments of flange rim bowls and trefoil-mouth jugs decorated with red or brown stripes were found above the latest floors of the Roman bath-house. At Metaponto, the excavation of a bath-house in the late Roman *castrum* revealed a robber-pit containing painted pottery, associated with late Roman C ware, micaceous jars (i.e. British Biv) and Gaza amphorae (Almagro 54) of the fifth or sixth century. Similarly, in northern Campania, Paul Arthur (pers. comm.) reports pottery with stripes or zones of slip in a late Roman context at Capua.

Despite these discoveries, and those at S. Maria in Cività and S. Vincenzo al Volturno in Molise, the evidence is so slight that we can do litle more than speculate on the pattern of production in southern Italy, between the fifth and the seventh centuries. The following hypotheses, however, are consistent with what little we know:

1. As in Liguria and other parts of the North, much of the coarse pottery (comparable with the "local" pots at Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino) was made by part-time, non-professional potters.
2. As in Rome, however, efficiently thrown and fired pottery (in particular, jugs with painted ornament) was made in at least a few areas in the South. We do not know whether it was made in Apulia, but certainly it was used there.
3. Thus, as in north and central Italy, regional variations are emerging. Part of Campania (and perhaps also other well-populated areas, such as parts of Apulia and Sicily) produced at least some efficiently thrown and fired pottery: on the other hand, home production probably provided all the pots used in sparsely populated areas, which the remnants of long-range marketing rarely supplied. Indeed, I suspect that home production accounted for the majority of pottery made in the South in the seventh and early eighth centuries.

Painted pottery

The earliest datable medieval deposits at Lucera contained large quantities of pottery made from carefully prepared clay, thrown on a fast wheel and fired efficiently (Fig. 2). Built (as opposed to thrown) pots were rare, and it is clear that workshop production now supplied most of the needs of the community (note, however, an eleventh century jug from Ordona, made without a fast wheel: GURNET 1967: fig. 42, redated by GRIERSON 1977: 233-4). Only one glazed fragment was found: a scrap of Forum ware from Rome. The most distinctive pottery was decorated with red slip.

In 1966, I divided the majority of Italian medieval painted pottery into three categories: (1) the earliest finds, mainly from "Byzantine" contexts, (2) "broad line" pottery, most of which seemed at the time to belong between the sixth and ninth centuries, and (3) "narrow line" pottery, which came into use in the tenth century, or later (WHITEHOUSE 1966a). Later (in HURST 1969: 137-41), I combined categories (1) and (2), so that the bulk of the material was described as having either broad line or narrow line ornament. This simple typological division has been criticised by MAZZUCATO (19763 15), MAETZKE (1976: 88) and SALVATORE (1980: 254) on the grounds that it is too rigid; there are broad line pots which are later than the tenth century (e.g. at Scribla) and narrow line pots which are earlier (e.g. at Picciano). Nevertheless, I have retained the terms for the sake of convenience: pots on which most of the stripes are at least 1 cm wide are described as having "broad line" ornament and pots on which they are less than 1 cm. wide as having "narrow line" ornament. Prompted by Mazzucato, Maetzke and Salvatore, however, I must emphasise that the two categories do not represent successive stages in the development of *all* the painted pottery in *all* of southern Italy.

Broad line decoration

Pottery with broad line decoration, encountered first in late Roman and Early Christian contexts, seems to have remained in continuous use in parts of southern Italy until at least the eleventh century. Thus, at S. Maria in Cività in the Biferno Valley, Molise, excavations in 1978 yielded broad line pottery from units with (calibrated) radiocarbon dates of AD 540, 750, 810 and 906, all ±70 or ±90 (HODGES, BARKER and WADE 1980: 108). At Lucera, the earliest broad line pottery was found in association with a *denaro* of Charlemagne (in 64 Tr. 3, pit 3:1) and a Byzantine *follis*, probably of Romanus 1 (919-44) (in 64 Tr. 3, pit 2:4). Similarly, at Capaccio Vecchia, MAETZKE (1976: 539-40 and in DELOGU *et al.* 1976: 88-9) reports fragments from unit 7a in the sounding in Orto della Mennola, beneath a deposit (unit 4) containing a coin of Constantine VII and Zoe (913-9). At Otranto, broad line pottery was found in unit OB.32, immediately above a deposit containing coins of Romanus I and Constantine VII, and an anonymous *follis* not earlier than 989. At Scribla, broad line wares were still in use in the eleventh century, (BECK BOSSARD *et al.* 1981: 541-4). Finally, PATITUCCI UGGERI (1976: 159) reports "qualche frammento" with broad line decoration from unit VII at S Pietro degli Schiavoni, Brindisi. This belongs to the thirteenth century and the sherd, or sherds, if not residual, are the latest well-dated broad line pottery in the South. The pots from Lucera consist of bowls, jars, jugs and amphorae with cream, pink or reddish clay, sometimes with a cream slip. The decoration is orange, red or brown and the most common motifs are vertical stripes or arcs. Some of the pots have a horizontal band on the rim, and handles are decorated with a vertical line or, less frequently, horizontal stripes or random spots.

Most broad line pottery from Apulia forms a fairly homogeneous group, presumably derived from late Roman painted wares, such as those found at Calle and S. Giovanni di Ruoti, by way of Early Christian pots, such as the biconical jugs of the sixth and seventh centuries. It is the best evidence we have for the continuity of a small amount of workshop production, which otherwise is virtually unknown in the South between c. 650 and the late ninth or tenth century.

Narrow line decoration

Although sherds have been reported from at least 53 sites in central and southern Italy, from the Marche to Calabria, we are well informed about one area only, the Tavoliere of north Apulia, where without doubt, narrow line pottery was common in the later Middle Ages. Painted sherds are plentiful on most late medieval sites and abundant in the excavations at Il Casone, Salpi, Ordona and Lucera. The vessels include both open and hollow forms (Fig. 3). They have a cream to light red clay and decoration in red or reddish brown.

The excavations at Lucera showed that here, if nowhere else, narrow line pottery came into common use only after the disappearance of the broad line wares, but before the introduction of glazing. Thus, the only painted pottery in the earliest medieval deposits had broad line ornament, while later units (e.g. pit 65.1) contained abundant narrow line sherds, but only rare – hence probably residual – broad line pottery and no glazed fragments. Narrow line decoration, therefore, appeared at Lucera some time between the tenth century and 1225-75, a conclusion which may be compared with its occurrence at Brindisi "towards the end of the eleventh century" (PATITUCCI UGGERI 1976: 190). It remained in use at Lucera throughout the thirteenth century and may have continued long after c. 1300, when our information ceases; in Basilicata, painted pottery was current c. 1420 and in southern Apulia it was still being made in the sixteenth century.

South Apulian painted ware

The most distinctive group of painted pottery on the Italian mainland comes mainly from the provinces of Brindisi, Taranto and Lecce, in southern Apulia. This is the *Ceramica dipinta a uccelli* of PATITUCCI UGGERI (1977: 90 *et passim*; 1980), named after the type with the most elaborate ornament, an amphora decorated with birds and palms. Amphorae with birds are published from only three sites – Brindisi, Mesagne and Latiano – but pottery with simple, but related decoration does occur throughout the Salento, with outlying find-spots as far afield as Bari and Venosa. The decorative features which connect these finds with the 'bird' amphorae include, on hollow forms: groups of horizontal lines on the neck, arc-shaped borders on the body and vertical stripes down the handle, which curve at the bottom to underline one of the main motifs (Fig. 4). Open forms may have arcs, series of stripes or

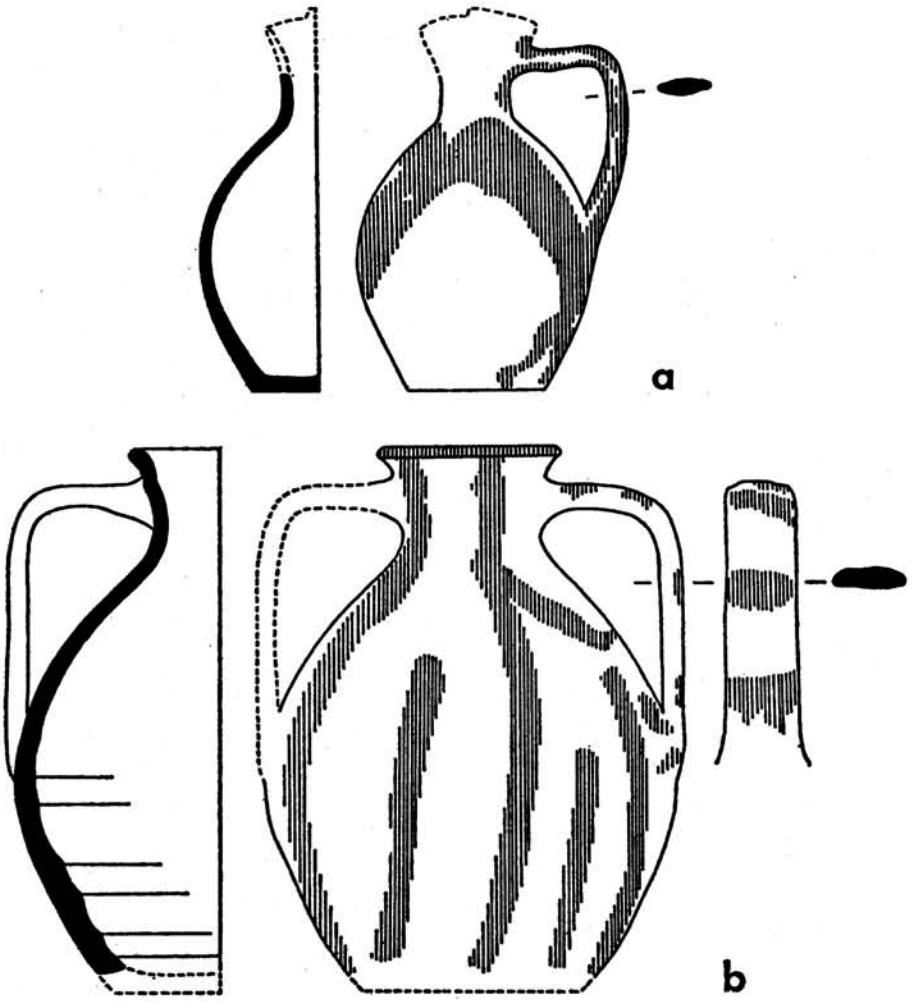

FIG. 2 – 'Broad line' decoration, Lucera (1:4)

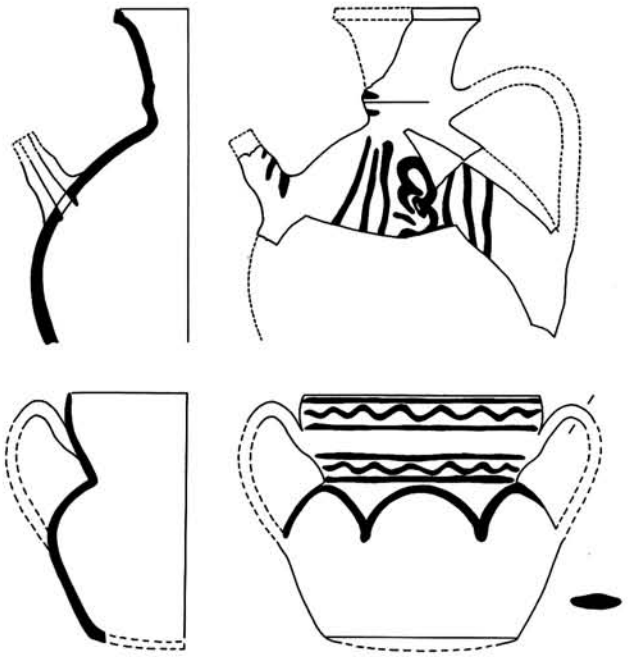

FIG. 3 – 'Narrow line' decoration, Lucera (1:4)

FIG. 4 – South Apulian painted ware, Otranto

cross-hatching on the rim, with a variety of motifs on the walls. Indeed, given the comparative scarcity of pots decorated with birds, perhaps some other term, such as South Apulian painted ware, would be more appropriate.

The earliest finds of South Apulian painted ware were identified variously as Mycenaean (!) and Early Christian (BERNARDINI 1956; VACCA 1954). JURLARO (1969a) assembled a long list of bird and palm motifs in Early Christian art and concluded that the amphorae were made in the fifth or sixth century. I, too (in HURST 1969: 137), initially supposed that they were Early Christian. Recent discoveries, however, show that the Early Christian hypothesis was completely mistaken. First, BUERGER (1974: 248) described a group of pottery from a well near S. Pietro degli Schiavoni at Brindisi, which contained a jug decorated with two birds facing a palm, associated with later medieval polychrome ware. Then, among wasters and other sherds – evidently the debris from a kiln – at Ugento, D'ANDRIA (1979: fig. 6) found typical painted fragments associated with polychrome and graffita wares, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. At about the same time, PATITUCCI UGGERI (1977) published examples from excavations in the Convento dei Celestini, at Mesagne and in discussing their date provided more information about the material from Brindisi. At S. Pietro degli Schiavoni, a sounding revealed two groups of deposits separated by a pavement. The earlier group comprised Roman and medieval units down to the mid-thirteenth century; the later units were dated to the sixteenth century. South Apulian painted ware was absent from the earlier group, but present in the sixteenth century. Mesagne yielded similar results. Pozzo 2 contained four units, the earliest of which (IV) contained a maiolica jug dated by the excavator c. 1460-70 and certainly not earlier than this, while the latest (I) was attributed to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century; units I, II and IV all contained unglazed painted sherds. Pozzo 3 also contained painted pottery, including fragments of two 'bird' amphorae, associated with fifteenth century maiolica. It was backfilled not later than 1528. Patitucci Uggeri also noted that Rocavecchia, one of the find-spots of South Apulian painted ware, was built by Walter IV of Brienne c. 1353 and demolished in 1544. She concluded, therefore, that pottery of this type came into use in the fourteenth century and was still current in the sixteenth century.

Most recently of all, the excavations at Otranto yielded large quantities of South Apulian painted ware. Among the units particularly rich in painted pottery was Cistern 2, excavated in 1978, which contained numerous amphorae decorated with double spirals, associated with a maiolica jug of the late fifteenth century, made in Emilia-Romagna. For other painted fragments from Otranto, see D'ANDRIA (1981: 225 and pl. LXXVII, 3-4).

South Apulian painted pottery was current, therefore, in the fifteenth and sixteents centuries. We do not know yet when it came into use (although negative evidence from Brindisi suggests a date after the mid-thirteenth century), or when production ceased.

To sum up, the heterogeneous character of the medieval painted pottery from Apulia warns us against combining all the finds in a single 'family' or tradition. Indeed, late Roman and Early Christian products apart, three groups emerge:

(i) A wide range of products with broad line decoration, appartently derived from Early Christian prototypes, best known in Apulia but with a distribution which covers much of Southern Italy. Examples are associated with ^{14}C dates of AD 540, 750, 810 and 906 (all ±70 or ±90), and coins of the late ninth and tenth centuries. It is not yet clear whether the material belongs to a single tradition, or to a several similar, but independent traditions.

(ii) Pottery with narrow line decoration from the province of Foggia. At Lucera, it was introduced some time between the tenth century and c. 1225-75. Similar material occurs in neighbouring areas and I believe that future research may well show that the finds from the Foggia plain are part of a more extensive tradition.

(iii) Amphorae, jugs and open forms, occasionally decorated with birds and palms, mainly from the provinces of Brindisi and Lecce, which were current in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Glazed tablewares

On the Italian mainland, the availability and character of domestic pottery underwent a profound change in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the period of the earliest evidence for the importation and subsequent local production of glazed tablewares. The most striking evidence of importation is provided by bacini, especially at Pisa, where the churches of S. Zeno, S. Piero a Grado and S. Stefano extra Moenia contain a wide range of glazed pottery – plain, painted under the glaze, decorated with lustre – all attributed to the first half of the eleventh century (BERTI and TONGIORGI 1981a: nos. 1-105). At present, this is the earliest large group of datable imports in the entire peninsula, In the twelfth century (after a notable lapse of time) bacini, nearly all of which are in north-central and northern Italy, are joined by finds from excavations at Genoa (ANDREWS and PRINGLE 1977: 138-40) and Pavia (BLAKE 1978b: 147-52) in the North, and Brindisi (PATITUCCI UGGERI 1976: 148-52), Naples and Otranto in the South.

The Tyrrhenian coast

At present, the earliest well-dated tablewares known to have been produced in southern Italy belong to the period c. 1100-50 and were made in Campania. Among the bacini from S. Sisto (consecrated in 1131-3), S. Silvestro (founded in 1118) and S. Andrea (early twelfth century), all at Pisa, are bowls with green or brownish glaze and buff clay containing volcanic inclusions, which indicate that they come from the Tyrrhenian coast between Gaeta and Salerno (BERTI and TONGIORGI 1981a: 232-3 and 289; MANNONI 1979).

Obviously, these are the tip of an iceberg. Several bacini in Rome may come from the same general area. Recent excavations in Naples have revealed other twelfth century products, as have investigations at Salerno and Cava dei Tirreni (TORTOLANI 1982: pls. LXII-III).

The model suggested by these and other finds from the west coast of Italy is as follows: c. 1000, the expanding network of maritime trade led to the importation of glazed table wares from the Maghreb and the East Mediterranean. These imports satisfied and stimulated a taste for

glazed table ware. Local potters responded to the new demand and beginning in the twelfth century produced a variety of wares, some of which (such as Spiral ware and Graffita arcaica tirrenica) eventually achieved a wide distribution along the coast.

Apulia: the eleventh and twelfth centuries

A similar pattern is emerging in Apulia. There are no bacini in the region, but excavations at Brindisi and Otranto tell the same story as those at Genoa and Naples. The earliest glazed pottery at Brindisi appeared in unit IV, which PATITUCCI UGGERI (1076d: 148-52) attributed to the eleventh century. It consisted of sherds with a colourless glaze enlivened with spashes of green and brown — a common Byzantine product, which occurs in eleventh century contexts at Corinth and Istanbul. Unit V, assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century, yielded other Byzantine imports (including Measles ware and graffita), together with plain glazed and green splashed fragments, perhaps of local origin. At Otranto, the earliest imports (a few of which in fact may be slightly earlier than c. 1000) include both Byzantine and Maghrebi wares. Again, local production (and importation on a large scale) seems to have begun in the twelfth century.

The earliest local production

The earliest glazed pottery believed to have been made in Apulia consists of open forms and a smaller number of jugs with a yellowish or bright green monochrome lead glaze. By the thirteenth century, pottery of this type was common throughout the region and at Lucera a small proportion of the green vessels have simple scratched ornament (Fig. 5).

The monochrome wares are accompanied by glazed pottery with painted decoration, the majority of which has ornament in green and brown (Figs. 6-8). It shows considerable regional variation; the globular jug with a narrow neck and trefoil mouth, for example, which is common at Lucera and other sites on the Tavoliere, does not occur farther south. At Otranto, on the other hand, we find numerous open forms with a white background covered with spots and splashes of green, and enlivened with concentric zones of scratched ornament; while some of these may be Byzantine, others (to judge by the clay) seem to be local.

Lead glazed polychrome ware

Hardly less common than pottery decorated in green and brown are wares which include red in their colour scheme (Figs. 9-10). Pottery of this type forms part of Morgan's Proto-maiolica II, for which BUERGER (1979) prefers the name Split ware. In the past, I have used the acronym RMR (for ramina, manganese, rosso), partly because much of the material is demonstrably not maiolica (it has lead glaze) and partly because the name Split ware (geographical implications apart) suggests that we are dealing with a single product, which is not the case (WHITEHOUSE 1980: 82-3). Polychrome ware is common throughout Apulia; it occurs also in Molise, Basilicata, Campania and Calabria, with additional find-spots in Sicily, central Italy and elsewhere. Indeed, in one respect it recalls the Spiral ware of the Tyrrhenian coast, for it has a wide distribution on both sides of the lower Adriatic,

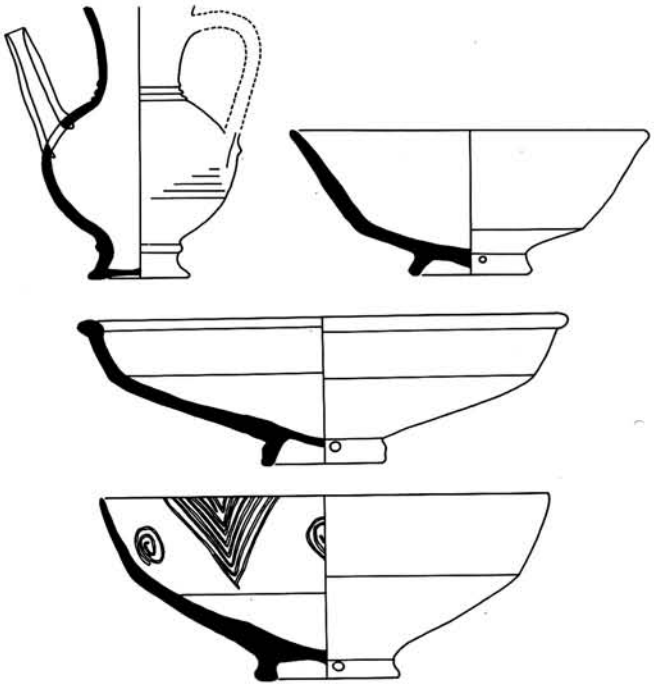

FIG. 5 – Plain green glaze, Lucera (1:4)

thanks to the frequent communications between ports like Bari, Brindisi, Split and Corinth.

The earliest polychrome ware at Lucera consists mainly of bowls with a distinctive constriction below the rim, decorated with a medallion surrounded by concentric stripes under a thin transparent glaze. They were found in the earliest deposits containing glazed pottery and are datable to the second or third quarter of the thirteenth century.

Another site on the Tavoliere, Ordona, yielded polychrome ware with more elaborate ornament, which included not only geometric motifs, but also vegetal and (rarely) zoomorphic elements. A distinctive feature is the use of rows of white spots, made by applying drops of slip to the painted surface, before the vessel was glazed (WHITEHOUSE in press). Similar vessels (but without the spots) are reported from Canosa (DONATONE 1981: 16-7).

Farther south, SALVATORE (1977: 115-9; n.d. 1) reports another variant: dishes, bowls and jugs decorated in red or red and green, sometimes with white spots, from excavations in the castle and the cathedral at Bari. At neither site is the chronology clear and it may be that at least some of the material is post-medieval. Indentical red and green pottery occurs at Gravina in Puglia and a recurrent motif at both sites—a leaf on a coiled stem—recalls the decoration on a two-handled jar from Lecce (VACCA 1954: 33 and fig. 30b). At S. Pietro degli Schiavoni, Brindisi, polychrome ware was found in two thirteenth century units: layer VII, which contained a coin of Frederick II, struck in 1209, and layer VIII, which yielded a coin of Demetrius Comnenus (1244-6) (PATITUCCI UGGERI 1976: 160, 170 and 193). At Otranto, it was present in fourteenth and fifteenth century contexts. Although the variety, wide distribution and variable petrology indicate that polychrome ware was made in several places in southern Italu, only one kiln has been discovered: at Ugento, where D'Andria recovered wasters of South Apulian painted pottery, polychrome ware and other late medieval products.

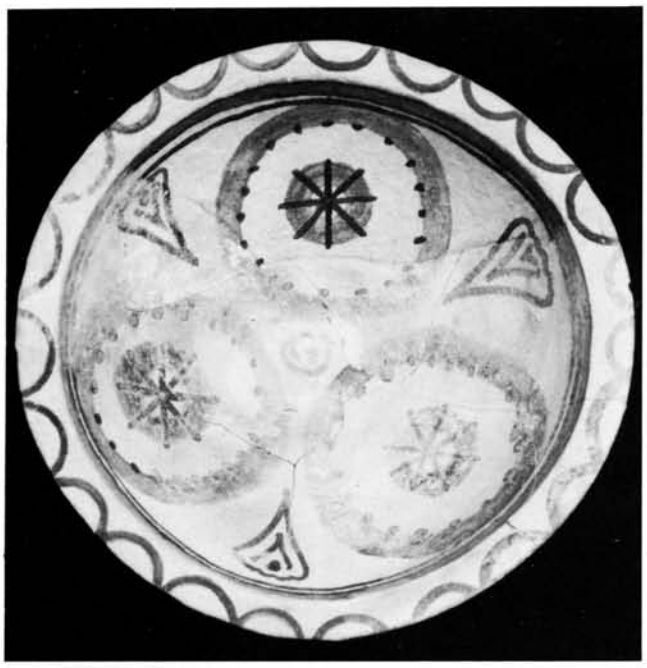

FIG. 6 – Brown and green decoration, Lucera

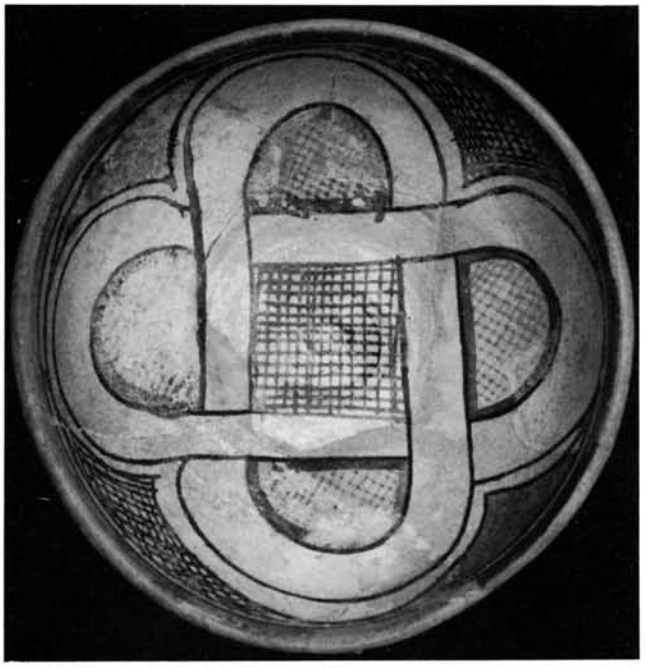

FIG. 7 – Brown and green decoration, Lucera

Maiolica

About the beginning of the thirteenth century, a new type of glazed pottery was introduced in Italy: maiolica. Sometimes in the past, the term "maiolica" has been used loosely, to mean glazed pottery in general. Strictly speaking, however, it is earthenware with a glaze rendered opaque by tin oxide. The addition of 3-5 per cent of tin oxide to what is essentially a lead glaze produces an opaque white finish, which decorators prized as an effective background for painted ornament. Tin glazing came into use in Western Asia in the ninth century AD. The technique became established in several parts of the Islamic world and by the fourteenth century maiolica was also produced in parts of Christian Spain, in southern France and in Italy. The medieval maiolica of Sicily and Southern Italy was studied first at Corinth, where it acquired the name Proto-maiolica (WAAGE 1934). The first classification of Proto-maiolica, by MORGAN (1942: 105-14), was based exclusively on material from Corinth. Almost inevitably some of the types known today were missing from Morgan's sample and his classification of Proto-maiolica I, II and III and Later Proto-maiolica I, II and III sometimes conceals, rather than defines, the regional variants that have since emerged in Italy. Indeed, Morgan himself recognised that Later Proto-maiolica II is none other than Archaic maiolica. Moreover, one of the components of Proto-maiolica II (polychrome ware) usually has lead glaze and Later Proto-maiolica III is of the fifteenth century.

Although our knowledge of Proto-maiolica is expanding rapidly in Campania and Sicily, we are still best informed about Apulia, where material collected in the province of Foggia in the 1950's and 60's was joined in the 70's finds from the provinces of Brindisi and Lecce. Here, I shall describe the principal known varieties, beginning at Brindisi in the south and ending at Lucera in the north.

Brindisi ware

One of the first varieties of Proto-maiolica to attract particular attention was a hemispherical bowl decorated with a gridiron medallion. The subsequest suggestion that the bowls are Apulian receives support from the numerous finds at S. Pietro degli Schiavoni, Brindisi, on the basis of which PATITUCCI UGGERI (1979) defined a coherent group: *Proto-maiolica brindisina 1*, "Brindisi ware".

Brindisi ware has white to pale yellow or (less often) pink clay, sandy in fracture, with very few macroscopic inclusions. The enamel is thin and often greyish or matt. The decoration is carried out in combinations of brown, pale blue or yellow. At Brindisi itself, the most common motif is the gridiron medallion, which occurs both on hemispherical bowls and on bowls with a flaring carinate side (Fig. 11). In its simplest form, the medallion consists of a brown circle filled with blue or yellow cross-hatching; on more eleborate pieces, the circle may be surrounded by dots or a zone of short, transverse stripes. In any case, the side of the vessel has a concentric band of chevrons and, on hemispherical bowls, the flat rim has a series of adjacent or adjoining arcs. Another recurrent element appears to be the use of a continuous or repetitive motif – such as a wavy line or reversed Ss – in brown on a blue or yellow stripe. More ambitious ornament – zoomorphic motifs, for example – is uncommon at Brindisi, but not unknown.

The same motifs, colour scheme and (to judge by Morgan's description) clay are typical of Proto-maiolica I at Corinth and most of this group is probably Brindisi ware; I would also include occasional pieces of Proto-maiolica III (e.g. MORGAN 1942: no. 906). The finds from Corinth en-

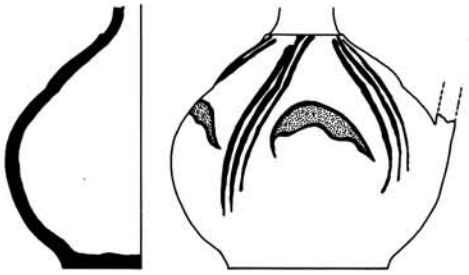

FIG. 8 – Brown and green decoration, Lucera (1:4)

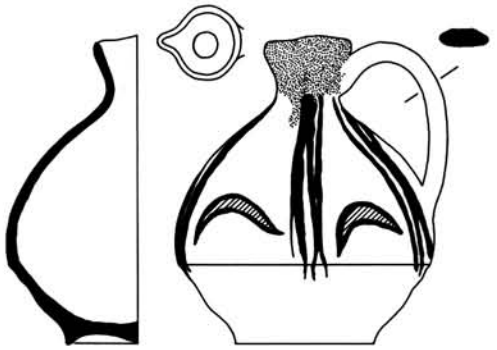

FIG. 9 – Polichrome ware, Lucera (1:4)

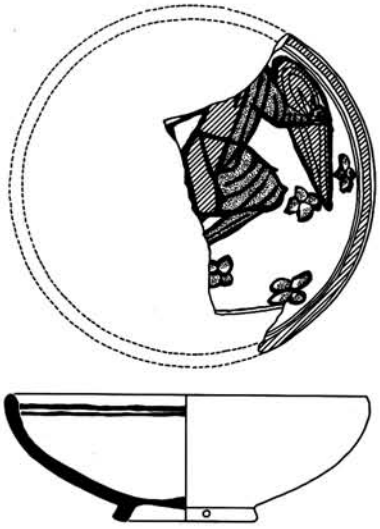

FIG. 10 – Polychrome ware, (1:4)

large our knowledge of its repertoire of shapes and ornament; they include six open forms and a jug, which are decorated with fish, quadrupeds, human figures and a ship, which has fragmentary, but convincing parallels at Brindisi.

PATITUCCI UGGERI (1979: 251-2) suggested that Brindisi ware was made at Brindisi, perhaps on the west side of the town, where clay pits in the Cillarese Valley are mentioned in a document of 1260. Although proof of the hypothesis is lacking, recent spectrographic analyses of sherds from Corinth do indicate a source in Southern Apulia. MEGAW and JONES (1983: 249-51) describe the similarity between the clay of several pieces of Proto-maiolica I illustrated by Morgan and that of Hellenistic black surfaced pottery from Taranto (PRAG *et al.* 1974: 171). *Prima facie*, therefore, a source, or sources, near Taranto appears probable, and Brindisi is at a distance of only 60 Km.

The date at which Brindisi ware came into use depends partly on the dating of bacini in two churches in the Peloponnese – the Panayia at Merbaka and the Panayia Katholiki at Gastouni – and partly on the excavations at Corinth, Brindisi and Otranto. The church at Merbaka contains eleven Proto-maiolica bacini, nine of which are bowls with gridiron medallions. MEGAW (1931-2; 1964: 156) maintained on architectural grounds that the church was constructed c. 1200 and in any case preceded the Frankish conquest of Nauplion and Argos in 1213. The church at Gastouni contains one fragmentary bowl with a gridiron medallion, and here MEGAW (1931-2; 1964: 147) proposed a date in the second half of the twelfth century. According to MORGAN (1942: 107 and 347), Proto-maiolica I may have come into use before c. 1200, but belongs mainly to the thirteenth century. At Brindisi, PATITUCCI UGGERI (1976: 193) found sherds of Brindisi ware in asociation with a coin of Frederick II, struck in 1209. A starting date not far removed from c. 1200, therefore, is not improbable, although NIKOLAKOPOULOS (1979: 37) suggested recently that the church at Merbaka is rather later than Megaw supposed. At Otranto, Brindisi ware occurred in association with two coins of Charles I of Anjou (1266-85) and at Corinth bowls with gridiron medallions have been found in pit-groups of the period c. 1250-1300 (MACKAY 1967: 257). Indeed, according to MacKay, although the first Proto-maiolica I may well have arrived c. 1200, it was more common in the second half of the thirteenth century than the first, and it continued in use after c. 1300.

Brindisi ware is reported from sites in southern Italy, Sicily, the Peloponnese, Syria and Palestine (PATITUCCI UGGERI 1979: fig. 2).

The Bari crosses

The walls of the cathedral of S Sabino, Bari, are decorated with maiolica crosses (JURLARO 1969b; BUERGER 1974: 247). The crosses are about 48 cm. across and have arms of equal length with foliate ends (Fig.12). They are composed of tiles, set in cruciform recesses carved in the wall. It appears that 24 crosses existed originally. Six survive, ten are represented by empty sockets and eight are reported to have been obscured during restoration. The surviving tiles have white tin glaze and are decorated in combinations of brown, green, blue and yellow. They seem to be closely datable. The cathedral was consecrated by archbishop Romuald in 1292 and three of the crosses are covered by masonry supporting the loggia, which Romuald himself added. Jurlaro, therefore, is probably correct to regard them as original features, inserted c. 1290.

It is interesting to note that painted maiolica tiles enjoyed a minor vogue in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Charles II of Anjou sent from Naples to Salerno for *pictorem unum magistrum pro matunibus faciendis* in 1298 (FILANGIERI 1936: 263). The thirteenth century ciborium in S. Pietro ad Oratorium, near Capestrano had

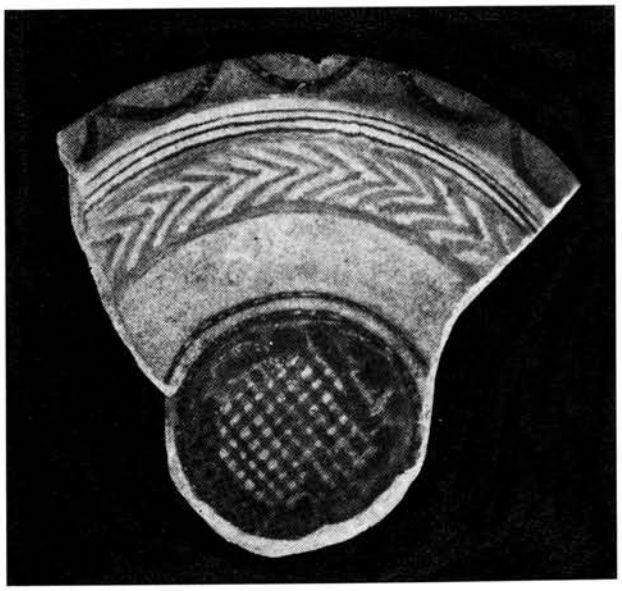

FIG. 11 – Brindisi ware, Otranto

painted maiolica tiles, as did the high altar of the Upper Church at Assisi (PALUMBO and BLAKE 1972), the apse of the cathedral at Lucca (TOESCA 1951) and a group of thirteenth century tombs in S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna (NEPOTI 1976).

North Apulia

The maiolica from north Apulia consists of surface finds from the sites first investigated by Bradford, and of excavated material from Lucera, Il Casone, Salpi and Ordona, all in the province of Foggia. It displays a considerable range of forms and motifs, and appears to come from more than one source; indeed, we know of two centres of pottery production – Lucera (where there is documentary evidence for potters in 1278) and Il Casone (where there are wasters) – and others may have existed. Be that as it may, much of the material in question has pink to reddish clay, readily distinguishable from the clay of Brindisi ware.

The earliest well-stratified maiolica found at Lucera during the excavations of 1964-5 came from a pit dug in the glacis of the so-called Cavalleria, the *castrum seu palacium* built by Frederick II. The pit ('pozzo 1' in WHITEHOUSE 1966a: 172) contained fragments of five gilded and enamelled glass vessels, a piece of Chinese stoneware, parts of a coloured glass window and numerous sherds of maiolica. It post-dates the construction of the Cavalleria, which was begun in or after 1223 and was in existence in 1240 (STHAMER 1912: 10, doc. 38). The fall of Lucera to Charles I of Anjou in 1269 offers a possible context for the breakage of so many exotic objects, but doubtless there were other occasions when valuables got broken. In any case, a date in the second or third quarter of the thirteenth century is probable.

The maiolica in question ('North Apulian I') includes small carinate bowls decorated with crosses (e.g. WHITEHOUSE 1966b: fig. 28, 1) and jugs with a truncated conical body and tall flaring neck, decorated in brown, green and yellow (Fig. 13). The shape resembles that of jugs in south-west Sicily and RAGONA (1960: 11) suggested that it was introduced to Lucera by the Moslems trasported by Frederick II in 1223.

A different type of maiolica ('North Apulian II'), again mostly decorated in brown, green and yellow, came from the fillings of a cistern and a brick-lined pit, both of which also contained fragments of water pots with pierced strainers. Most of the latter appear to be made of typical north Apulian clay. They were not produced there before the arrival of the Moslems and we have no reason to believe that they were made for long after Charles II dispersed the Saracen community in 1300. Moreover, the cistern yielded sherds of porcelain and celadon of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A date within the bracket c. 1275-1325/50, therefore, should not be wide of the mark.

North Apulian II was made in a variety of forms, including dishes, carinate bowls and jugs (Fig. 14). Zoomorphic ornament occurs, together with geometric and vegetal motifs and heraldic devices. Similar pottery ('North Apulian III') occurs at Il Casone, where the finds include wasters.

Before leaving the Tavoliere, I return briefly to the later group of maiolica from Lucera. The dishes have a distinctive shape recorded among the Proto-maiolica III at Corinth, which is described as having "red clay, fired buff on the exterior" (MORGAN 1942: 111), like many of the pots from the Tavoliere. Three other flat-rim dishes are known to me, all with zoomorphic decoration: from Mattinata, Brindisi and Atlit, in Israel. The dish from Mattinata has ornament in brown, green and yellow. The main motif is a deer, strikingly similar to a deer from Lucera (BUERGER 1978: photo. 56). The second piece, "bought at Brindisi in the (eighteen–) nineties" (PEIRCE and TYLER 1926: 44 and pl. 67) and decorated with a lion in brown and muddy yellow, is now in the Musée de Cluny. The dish from Atlit has a similar lion, this time in brown, yellow and blue (JOHNS 1934: 142 and p1. 12; FRIERMAN 1975: p1. 51).

Although the dishes appear to form a coherent group, the ocurrence of blue – one of the hallmarks of Brindisi ware – on dishes from Lucera, Atlit and Corinth, and the discovery of a dish at Brindisi prompt the question: were they all made in northern Apulia, or were some made farther south? Without analyses of the clay, it is impossible to provide the answer. We should note, however, that blue occurs on other pieces from Lucera, one of which has a gridiron medallion, and on finds from other sites on the Tavoliere, such as Ordona. The pot with a gridiron medallion is either an import or a local imitation of Brindisi ware and for the time being we must accept that some finds defy attribution to one area or the other; indeed, future discoveries may show that some products were common to both, and that kilns were also operating in central Apulia, perhaps at Bari.

Discussion

Four variants have emerged from our analysis of medieval maiolica in Apulia and, given the uneven character of the evidence and the number of pots which fall outside the definitions offered above, I suspect that a similar or larger

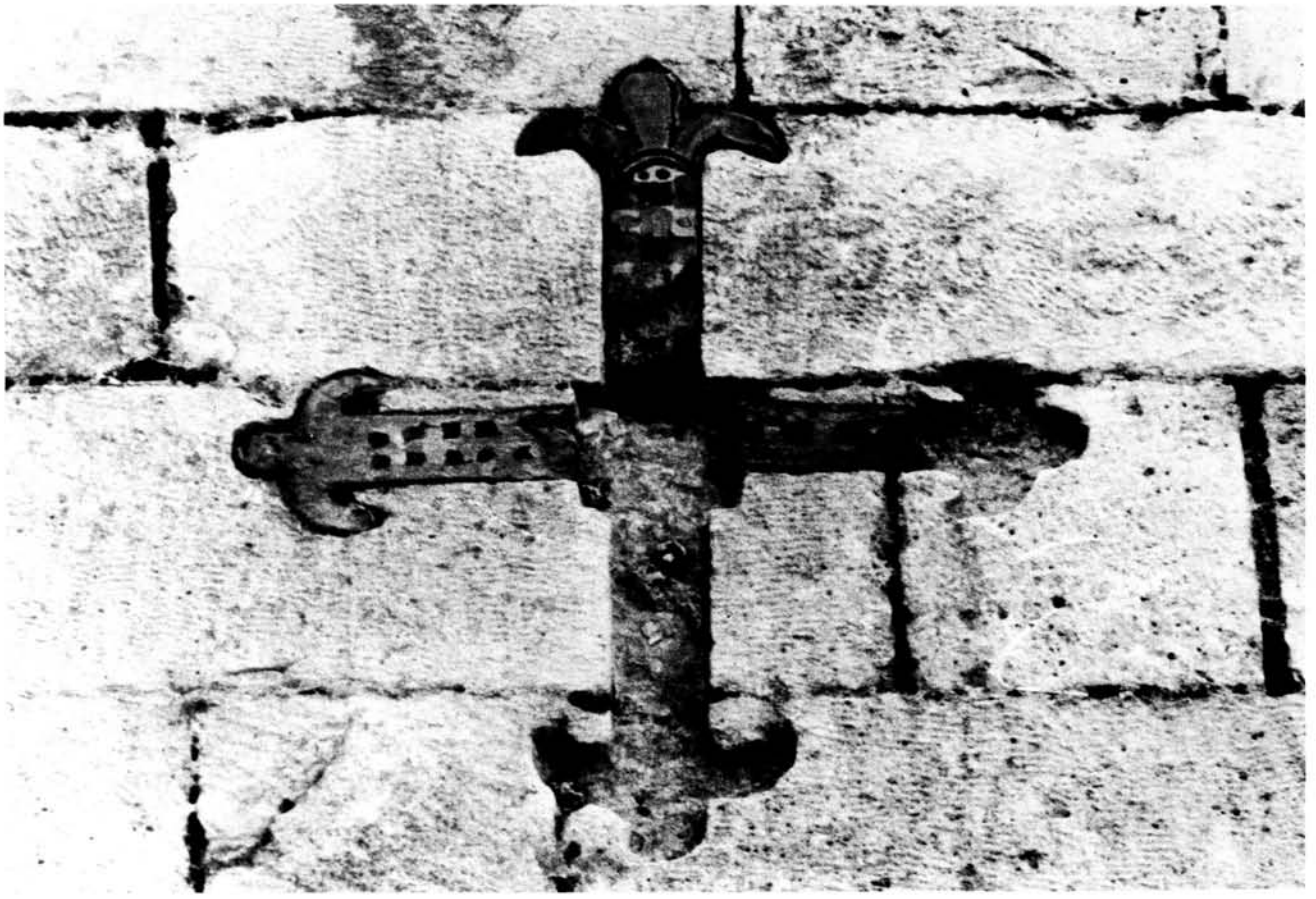

FIG. 12 – S Sabino, Bari (Ht. 48 cm)

FIG. 13 – North Apulian I, Lucera

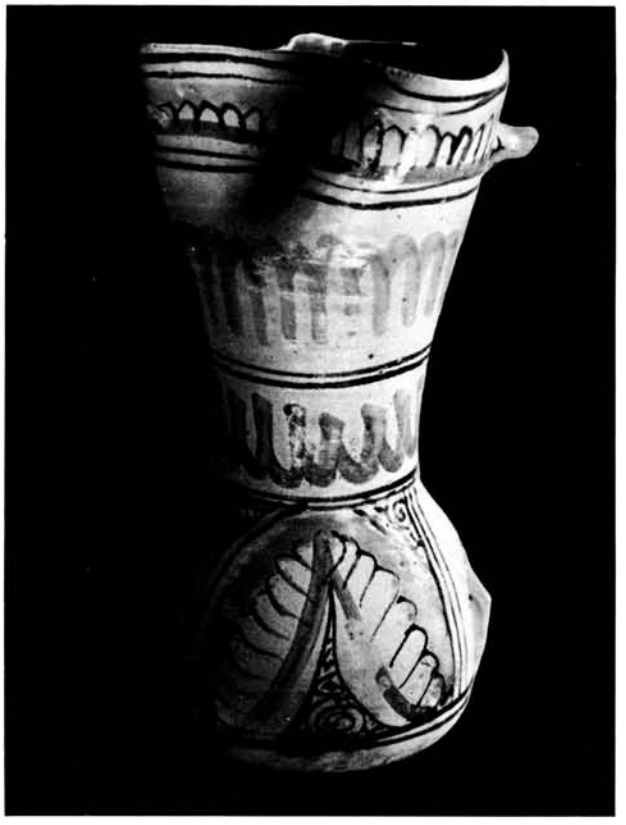

FIG. 14 – North Apulian I, Lucera

FIG. 15 – North Apulian II, Lucera

number has yet to be recognised.

The four variants are:

1. Brindisi ware
2. North Apulian I
3. North Apulian II
4. North Apulian III

In every case, we have much to learn about chronology. Even the date at which tin glazing came into use in Apulia is uncertain. The bacini from S. Michele degli Scalzi and S. Paolo all'Orto, Pisa show that Proto-maiolica existed c. 1200 (BERTI and TONGIORGI 1981a: 234-7). Excavations at Paphos seem to confirm that it was in use by 1222 and, at Corinth, MACKAY (1967: 263) noted its presence "probably. . . before the Frankish conquest (1208), or possibly very closely after it"; a starting date within one or two decades of c. 1200, therefore, is very likely indeed. Before c. 1300, pots with zoomorphic ornament were being made in Apulia (cp. North Apulian II), Campania and Sicily.

Several scholars have pointed to the occurrence on south Italian maiolica of Islamic motifs, such as kufic or pseudo-kufic letters, and one variant, from Naples, has been described as being "of Islamic tradition". It would be wise, however, not to overstate the case, for ornament of Islamic origin was widely used by craftsmen of all kinds – sculptors, weavers, bronze-founders, etc. – in late medieval Italy, as GABRIELI and SCERRATO (1979) so vividly demonstrate. Nevertheless, it is difficult to dissociate completely the appearance of maiolica in Sicily and southern Italy c. 1200 from the importation in the same period of tin-glazed pottery from the Maghreb (using the term in its original sense: 'the Islamic West').

The best-known variety of tin glazed pottery from the Maghreb consists of bowls, sometimes with a flange rim, decorated in brown and blue. Some have small motifs, such as fish, a short Arabic inscription or a cross-hatched oval, in the centre; others, perhaps later in date, have ela-

borate vegetal scrolls or a large six-pointed star. In Sicily, examples have been reported from several sites including Gela (BUERGER 1978: 274, no. 69), Palermo (FALSONE 1976: Fig. 6), Selinunte (D'ANGELO 1971: photos. 6-7) and Marsala (D'ANGELO 1979). On the mainland, I have seen one fragment among the finds from S. Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples.

Bacini, mostly at Pisa, show that pottery of this type was imported in the last quarter of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century. Among the earliest brown and blue bacini are bowls from S. Giulio, Lucca and S. Ambrogio Vecchio, Varazze, both attributed to the late twelfth century; S. Michele degli Scalzi, Pisa (before 1204); S. Paolo all'Orto and S. Stefano extra Moenia, Pisa and the cathedral at S. Miniato (all late twelfth – early thirteenth century). The latest examples include bacini in S. Pietro di Malaventre at Vecchiano, which are earlier than 1269, and in S. Iacopo di Metato at S. Giuliano Terme and S. Lorenzo at Monterappoli, which are earlier than 1260 (BERTI and TONGIORGI 1972; 1980; 1981a: 207-11; 1981b: 16-7).

It would be absurd to suggest that Proto-maiolica was developed purely and simply in imitation of brown and blue maiolica from the Maghreb. On the other hand, it does seem likely that the two products are related; indeed, D'ANGELO (1979) has published a Sicilian imitation of an imported piece, from Marsala. The Maghreb, I suggest, was the source of a taste first in Sicily and later in the South for painted ornament on a white background, and perhaps also the formula for the glaze. As far as antecedents for the motifs and the colours are concerned, we should examine not only imported pottery, but also local objects in other media for, as LANE (1937) remarked, apart from the technique of glazing, Proto-maiolica is essentially European (i.e. Italian) in character.

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