

On Seeing and Depicting the Theatre in Classical Athens

J. R. Green

For Eric and Carol Handley

ONE OF THE MORE MARKED DEVELOPMENTS in the study of classical drama in the last two decades has been the increasing consciousness that the plays were written for performance. Scholars as a result have become much more concerned with assessing the surviving plays in terms of the impact they can be thought to have made when performed on stage. A theatrical performance is of course a complex interaction of text, *mise en scène*, and audience. Any attempt to reconstruct this coalition must be seriously hampered by the irretrievable loss of a number of the key elements that went to make it up, but the possibilities for useful investigation are not yet exhausted. This contribution does not aim to carry things very far, although I hope that it will have something to say, *inter alia*, on the way that we should handle some of the evidence.¹

¹ These observations follow on from "Dedications of Masks," *RA* (1982) 237-48, and have been prompted particularly by Oliver Taplin's "Fifth-Century Tragedy and Comedy: A *Synkrisis*," *JHS* 106 (1986) 163-74, and its examination of the generic differences between tragedy and comedy, especially in terms of their relationship to the audience.

Abbreviations: "*Birds*"=J. R. Green, "A Representation of the *Birds* of Aristophanes", *The J. Paul Getty Museum. Greek Vases 2* (Malibu 1985) 95-118; *IGD*=A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London 1971); *MMC*³=T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*³, rev. J. R. Green (=BICS Suppl.39 [London 1978]); *MTS*²=T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr-Play*² (=BICS Suppl. 20 [London 1967]); Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*²=A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*², rev. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1988); Taplin, *Stagecraft*=O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977); Taplin, "*Synkrisis*"=O. Taplin, "Fifth-Century Tragedy and Comedy: A *Synkrisis*," *JHS* 106 (1986) 163-74.

Of the elements that go to make up a theatrical performance, it is worth observing that the text at the time of the original performance may not have been the finite thing that is sometimes assumed from modern analogy. The fifth-century playwright worked to stricter deadlines than many of his more recent counterparts, and often with less time between creations; but whatever one may conjecture about the speed with which he wrote, he certainly would have been foolish not to take the opportunity to improve his text if necessary after the experience of performance, before releasing it.² It would seem likely that the text was not public property before the performance, but something which the poet used in conjunction with the performers in rehearsal.³ It follows that the gap between text and performance was not so great as in some modern situations where, for example, there can be considerable lapses in time between composition and production

² On speed of writing note recently C. W. Müller, *Zur Datierung des sophokleischen Ödipus* (= *Abh Mainz* 1984.5) 60–77, who argues for a normal two-year gap between tragedians' productions on grounds of observed practice and probable preparation time for a tetralogy (or a set of four plays). Comedians, who had only to create single plays, had an easier time of it in this respect, despite Cratinus fr.237 K.=255 K.-A. (although his "two years" might be no more than the interval between two festivals), and even if the evidence suggests that they continued to write after the award of a chorus, right up to the last moment: see most recently A. C. Cassio, "I tempi di composizione delle commedie attiche e una parafrasi di Aristofane," *RivFil* 115 (1987) 5–11 (with earlier references).

³ Aristophanes had to have the costume of his *Birds* very clear at least in his mind before completing the text. On the other hand, it would appear that he released the first version of the *Clouds* even though he was unhappy with substantial parts of it (see K. J. DOVER, *Aristophanes, Clouds* [Oxford 1968: hereafter 'Dover'] lxxxff). And one does not know how the second version entered the literary tradition, particularly if it was not performed, as Dover maintains: but see P. Fabrini, *AnnPisa* 5 (1975) 1–16; Taplin, *Stagecraft* 13 n.1. More generally, E. Pöhlmann, "Zur Frühgeschichte der Überlieferung griechischer Bühnendichtung und Bühnenmusik," in his *Beiträge zur antiken und neueren Musikgeschichte* (Frankfurt 1988) 23–40. E. W. Handley points out to me the case of Theodorus, the distinguished tragic actor of the earlier half of the fourth century, who, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1336b27), would not allow any other actor to come on before him. I am not sure how to interpret this, but it could be taken to mean that even classic tragedies (he was famous for his portrayal of Sophocles' Antigone) could be altered to suit the occasion (*contra*, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals* 2 135). It is perhaps more likely that the reference is to the performance of extracts—since, according to Ehippus fr.16 K.=16 K.-A., Theodorus also gave dinner recitals.

and divergence in culture and/or social conventions. The involvement of the author in the production also meant that there was a much smaller gap than is sometimes presupposed in modern theory of the theatre.⁴ The classical playwright seems to have composed for direct performance, and he could be argued not to have had much if any thought for posterity. He also wrote with the physical conditions of production in mind and was himself usually involved in the creation of the performance. In this respect he could be reckoned a counterpart to the classical architect who was present to superintend the construction of a building in something of the rôle of a master-craftsman, rather than a figure who sat in an office and produced drawings. Similarly, one could reasonably argue that at this period the construction and detailing of the performance was as integral to the poet's activity as the writing of the script or text. (He was out to win a competition in front of a mass audience.) Some notable progress has been made in attempting to reconstruct aspects of performance on the basis of the texts.⁵ What makes it difficult to go much further is the nature of the archaeological evidence.

⁴ On this question, see recently P. Pavis, *Languages of the Stage* (New York 1982) 18f, and the discussion at 28ff. See also S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge 1986) 284: "performance does not efface the textuality of drama." I am not convinced that fifth-century drama was 'textual', even if it came to be so later. The dangers of anachronism are very great here. See Taplin, *Stagecraft* 12–16, but note "*Synkrisis*" 168 n.26. Wiles has given a pertinent discussion in *Gar* 34 (1987) 136–51.

⁵ I think, for example, of Taplin's *Stagecraft* and *Greek Tragedy in Action* (London 1978) or his investigation of the use of stage-space by Sophocles in *Entretiens Hardt* 29 (Vandœuvres/Geneva 1983) 155–74. For these reasons, it seems highly unlikely that a classical playwright wrote plays that could not readily be staged, and while one can see the intellectual point of an argument such as that of Goldhill (*supra* n.4: 278–86), Euripides must have had a clear idea of how he would stage the 'palace-miracle' scene of the *Bacchae*, whether or not a modern scholar chooses to take any notice of the problem. Carcinus' bungle, having Amphiaraus resurrected from a temple rather than a tomb (Arist. *Poet.* 1455a22), presumably implies that his text had earlier told the audience that the central door was a temple and that their belief had not been changed in the meanwhile: I find it hard to believe that this could have happened had there been scenery—indeed this is perhaps a good argument against scenery of such a type. We do not know if Carcinus produced the play himself, but it is strange that the omission was not picked up (whether by producer or actors) unless there had been a last-minute change to the script: see my note in *GRBS* 31 (1990) 281–85.

I am not much concerned here with the physical features of the Theatre of Dionysus in the fifth century: it would be foolish to try before one learns the results of the new programme of investigation and conservation at present under way.⁶ We may simply note that, as Gebhard pointed out some years ago, there is “no incontrovertible evidence for an orchestra *circle* before the theater at Epidauros was built at the end of the fourth century B.C.”⁷ She also suggested that the rectilinear orchestra is not a design of itself but a function of the early form of the *cavea*: the orchestra is simply a space between the seating and whatever lay behind, whether terrace or building. Pöhlmann’s re-examination of the *prohedriai* in the Theatre has shown that they must have been in a straight line, and he concurs in thinking that the form of the orchestra must have been like those at Thorikos and Trachones.⁸ He points out that the

⁶ See W. W. Wurster, “Die neuen Untersuchungen am Dionysostheater in Athen,” *Architectura* 9 (1979) 58–76, who points out that such a programme had been urged by Broneer as long ago as 1935 (*AJA* 39, 418).

⁷ E. Gebhard, “The Form of the Orchestra in the Early Greek Theater,” *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 428–40. Winter (*Phoenix* 37 [1983] 41) argues that Athens, as the centre of drama, should have had a high stage and circular orchestra before Epidauros, but not necessarily by very much. Polacco has recently suggested that Athens was later: *Dioniso* 57 (1987) 267–79. Whether one agrees with Gebhard’s interpretation of the evidence or not, it is surprising how many scholars continue to assume without question a large circular orchestra. For other work on non-circular orchestras, see in the first instance C. Anti, *Teatri greci arcaici da Minosse a Pericle* (Padua 1947), and then G. Butterweck, “Das Dionysostheater. Neue Rekonstruktion des Grundrisses des Dionysostheaters und der theatralischen Architekturdarstellungsformen in Athen im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,” *Maske und Kothurn* 20 (1974) 105–47; F. Kolb, *Agora und Theater. Volks- und Festversammlung* (=AF 9 [Berlin 1981]), and his “Polis und Theater,” in G. A. Seeck, ed., *Das griechische Drama* (Darmstadt 1979) 504–45; for the (hypothetical) early trapezoidal orchestra at Syracuse, L. Polacco and C. Anti, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* (Rimini 1981), and Polacco, “Le assimetrie del teatro antico di Siracusa,” *NumAntCl* 13 (1984) 85–93. Compare too the early theatre at Metapontum, best published in D. Mertens and A. De Siena, “Metaponto: il teatro-ekklesiasterion, I,” *BdA* 16 (1982) 1–57. R. Rehm’s discussion in *GRBS* 29 (1988) 276–83 was accessible to me only after my article was essentially written.

⁸ E. Pöhlmann, “Die Proedrie des Dionysostheaters im 5. Jahrhundert und das Bühnenspiel der Klassik,” *MusHelv* 38 (1983) 129–46; see also his “Bühne und Handlung im Aias des Sophokles,” *AuA* 32 (1986) 20–32. On Thorikos T. Hackens, *AntCl* 34 (1965) 39–46. On Trachones see O. Alexandri, *Ergon* (1980) 24f, *Praktika* (1980) 64–67, *Ergon* (1981) 44f. Note also W. R. Biers and

playing area at Trachones must have been *ca* 15 x 7 m., that at Thorikos *ca* 25 x 12 m., and the one at Athens not much larger. On this interpretation, the stage was about 25 m. long and formed a finite boundary to the activity. What is striking about this new reconstruction, especially for those brought up on a more traditional view, is the very short distance between the actors and the front rows of the audience. It not only makes for closer interaction between actors and audience (and at a practical level makes it easier for comic actors to throw nuts and figs into the audience),⁹ but it affects our view of the style of acting at this period: the style could be more restrained, more subtle, its gestures reliant on hand-signals as much as arm-signals—by contrast with the more extravagant style that develops in the larger theatres of the fourth century.¹⁰ Such a reconstruction of ‘intimacy’ may also lend credence to the stories of interruption by members of the audience—as Socrates standing up to be compared with his stage-version, or the more doubtful one of Socrates calling for the repetition of the first three lines of Euripides’ *Orestes*.¹¹ The estimated length of the stage relative to the distance from the audience is quite large. Producers must have avoided the effect of a tennis-

T. D. Boyd, “Ikarion in Attica: 1888–1981,” *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 1–18. The views of Gebhard and Pöhlmann have recently been attacked by N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 29 (1988) 5–9. I remain convinced that the line of stones claimed by Dörpfeld to mark the edge of an orchestra 25 m. in diameter (R in his plan, more often called SM 1 from Fiechter’s) was never as regular as it was made to appear in the drawings, despite Hammond’s stout defence of Dörpfeld and suggestion that they have suffered considerably since excavation: compare the early photographs.

⁹ Cf. *Ar. Wasps* 58f, *Plut.* 797ff; also *Peace* 960–66.

¹⁰ See B. Marzullo, “Die visuelle Dimensionen des Theaters bei Aristoteles,” *Philologus* 124 (1980) 189–200; on Aristotle’s reaction to contemporary acting styles, see also Taplin, *Stagecraft* 477ff, and S. Halliwell, *Aristotle’s Poetics* (London 1986) 337–43, esp. 342f. It is worth adding that, without the analogy of later theatres to help us, the usual estimates of the size of the audience have little basis. Although not specifically concerned with the absolute size of the Theatre of Dionysus at any given point in the fifth century, L. Gallo has made some good points of methodology on the problem of relating population size and theatre capacity: “La capienza dei teatri e il calcolo della popolazione. Il caso di Atene,” in I. Gallo, ed., *Studi salernitani in memoria di R. Cantarella* (Salerno 1981) 271–89.

¹¹ *Ael. VH* II.12 (cf. *Dover* xxxiii); *Cic. Tusc.* 4.63.

match—bouncing dialogue from end to end—but they must equally have enjoyed the possibilities of groupings of figures, the presentation of the entry and approach of new characters, or the ready ability to ignore a figure present on another part of the stage.¹² A long stage would also account for the phenomenon in tragedy pointed out by Jebb and, following him, P. D. Arnott: the four- or five-line introduction to the audience of figures appearing on the crane. They are an instruction to look to one end of the stage area.¹³

This seems to be the sort of background against which we should set our surviving representations of fifth-century theatre. My main concern, however, is with establishing the iconographic tradition of these representations and relating it to the way Athenians regarded theatre and theatrical performance. I start from two basic suppositions, first that the vase-painter (or the coroplast) can to a large degree be regarded as an ordinary member of the audience. He was, however skilled, an artisan and does not seem to have possessed the level of creativity, individuality, inventiveness, and desire to interpret that we associate with modern creative artists. His function within society was a different one, just as the conventions of fifth-

¹² On this line see now E. Pöhlmann, "Sucheszenen auf der attischen Bühnen des 5. und 4. Jhs. Zur Bühnentechnik der Eumenides, des Aias, der Acharner und des Rhesos," in W. Dahlheim *et al.*, edd., *Festschrift Robert Werner* (= *Xenia* 22 [Konstanz 1989]) 41–58=L. De Finis, ed., *Scena e spettacolo nell' antichità* (= *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Trento, 28–30 marzo 1988* [Florence 1989]) 89–109.

¹³ *Greek Scenic Conventions* (Oxford 1962) 73. It is normally supposed that the crane was situated on the stone base T in the Theatre of Dionysus: e.g. C. W. Dearden, *The Stage of Aristophanes* (London 1976) 75–85. For the reasons just stated, I would prefer to have it towards the right-hand end of the stage as the audience saw it; one could add that the right was the favourable side and therefore appropriate for the appearance of gods, and that it would be a more credible fantasy for Trygaios to fly near Peiraeus at *Peace* 164f. Pollux (4.128), for what it is worth, says it was situated by the "left" parodos at a height above the skene. On the crane see more recently A. L. H. Robkin, "That Magnificent Flying Machine. On the Nature of the 'Mechane' of the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens," *ArchNews* 8:1 (1979) 1–6, although he continues the suggestion that it was located on the platform T at the centre of the stage. Newiger gave an excellent survey of the evidence for its use in *Dioniso* 59 (1989) 173–85=*WürzJbb* 16 (1990) 33–42.

century Athenian society were different from ours.¹⁴ It is therefore reasonable to regard him as reacting like an ordinary member of the audience. The second point is a self-evident one, but one which constantly seems to need repetition: Athenian vase-paintings are not sketch-books, let alone photographs.¹⁵ The whole question of scenes of so-called everyday life is an extremely difficult one, but what does seem increasingly clear is that these scenes are fairly limited in number and type, and that they fall within certain conventions and categories.¹⁶ Think of what one does *not* find in Athenian vase-painting. The vase-painter was certainly not concerned with recording society and its habits in the sense of a later nineteenth-century painter in Paris, a 'painter of modern life'. His work falls within quite a strict conventional framework, and we need to remember that, as Schefold succinctly puts it, "griechische Bilder sind Symbole, keine Naturkopien."¹⁷ This does not mean that a vase-painter could not develop a degree of inventiveness within his inherited traditions, or that he could not expand them—indeed this is what classical Athens is about, in both art and literature.

I

Scenes that concern Comedy go back as early as the middle of the sixth century and run as a continuous series, without break or change in approach, past 486, the stated date of the official introduction of Comedy at the Dionysia. We have no means of knowing what this involved—whether an existing activity was simply recognized as an existing activity, whether official contests and/or records of contests merely began at this point, or something already existing at the Lenaia was admitted to the

¹⁴ One could add that he was much more bound by market forces than a modern artist, and his product was the more likely to abide by (and be created within) the conventions of society, conventions that were much more restricted then than now. For a useful study of the traditional character of Greek society and literature, see G. M. Sifakis in *EpistEmetThess* 12 (1973) 453–70.

¹⁵ The point is made graphically by the *New Yorker* cartoon used as the first illustration in Gombrich's *Art and Illusion* (London 1960).

¹⁶ See, for example, the articles in *Beiträge zum antiken Realismus. Schriften der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft* III (Berlin 1977).

¹⁷ *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) 127.

Dionysia.¹⁸ Certainly the vase-paintings make it clear that Comedy was a pre-existing genre, and they exhibit no change in style of presentation such as might suggest a modification in the nature of Comedy at that date.¹⁹ The scenes at this period depict choruses and in only one case, the skyphos in Boston, is there a figure who could by any stretch of the imagination be considered an actor or proto-actor.²⁰ The convention crystallized from the initial stage: a chorus of figures, normally with a piper.²¹ The piper can stand at the head of a row of figures, or in the middle with those on each side facing toward him, as on the lekythos from the Kerameikos (PLATE 1a, b).²² When the piper is in the middle, it is difficult to be sure if he is thought of as facing or leading the others, but in some cases he clearly leads, and if one were forced to make a decision, this may well be the general rule. One possible exception seems to reinforce the case. On the skyphos in Thebes (PLATE 2a, b), we have, on one side, old men wearing cloaks rushing on with torches.²³ This is

¹⁸ See E. Capps, *The Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia* (Chicago 1903) and *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 10f; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals* 82. The date rests on the statement in the *Suda* that Chionides won the first victory eight years before the Persian invasion. Of course official recognition at the Lenaia did not happen until 442.

¹⁹ I attempted to collect and illustrate all the surviving scenes of this type in "Birds," and I give that as the primary reference in what follows. Add to the list the black-figure skyphos, B. Fedele *et al.*, *Antichità della collezione Guarini* (Galatina 1984) 45f, pl. 43; it has dancers with helmets, striped mantles, dotted chitons, and *krotala* (very like those of the Würzburg and Brooklyn vases: "Birds" nos. 9f, figs. 12f). Another example of the second series of dolphin-riders ("Birds" nos. 13–17) is to be found on the tondo of a black-figure cup of the Leafless Group in Los Angeles: K. Hamma, ed., *The Dechter Collection of Greek Vases* (San Bernardino 1989) 42f no. 22 (ill.). I am most grateful to Mr and Mrs Dechter for inviting me to examine this and others of their vases.

²⁰ Boston 20.18; M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*² (Princeton 1961) fig. 125; "Birds" no. 17, fig. 20B.

²¹ The iconography seems to owe something to the earlier representations of padded dancers, but the latter tend to be less formally organized—as perhaps the performances themselves were. For a full and analytical treatment see A. Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases* (=BICS Suppl. 27 [London 1971]). For eighth-century pipers leading dancers or playing in front of them see e.g. M. Wegner, *Musik und Tanz* (=ArchHom 3 [Göttingen 1968]) pls. 3ff.

²² Athens, Kerameikos 5671; "Birds" no. 13, fig. 16A–B, ABV 518 (Theseus Painter).

²³ Thebes B.E. 64.342; "Birds" no. 12, fig. 15A–B.

surely the entry. On the other side of the vase, we have what seem to be these same old men doing hand-stands, having put their cloaks aside.²⁴ For the spectator this was presumably a remarkable dance, and, if this interpretation is right, the depiction is permissible iconographically because we have already had the standard representation on the other side of the same vase. On the psykter by Oltos decorated with a chorus of dolphin-riders, the figures sing ἐπὶ δελφίνος, and Sifakis has argued that the words should be from their anapaestic entry-song.²⁵

The first entry was, of course, the point at which the chorus usually made its greatest visual impact, at least in terms of costume. Old Comedy was a type of theatre in which, to judge by both representations and titles, the character of the chorus could be repeated over the years. Within such a convention, any poet aiming to win the competition would want to appear original and inventive, and would therefore want to give the appearance of his chorus a new twist, particularly if copying was not well regarded.²⁶ Thus our three surviving representations of *Birds* are all quite different.²⁷

²⁴ On "stripping" see e.g. R. C. Ketterer, "Stripping in the Parabasis of the *Acharnians*," *GRBS* 21 (1980) 217–21.

²⁵ "*Birds*" no. 6, fig. 9; *ARV*² 1622.7 bis; *Paralipomena* 259, 326; Sifakis in *BICS* 14 (1967) 36f.

²⁶ Although the analogy is not entirely a safe one, it is perhaps worth comparing Aristophanes' comments on the lack of originality of his competitors, or theirs about him: see *Knights* 400 (on Cratinus), *Clouds* 553–59 (on Eupolis, Phrynichus, and Hermippus), *Frogs* 12–15 (on Lycis and Ameipsias), fr.333 K.=347 K.-A. (on Krates), or (on Aristophanes) Eupolis fr. 78 K.=89 K.-A. (*Baptai*, saying he helped Aristophanes compose the *Knights*) and Cratinus fr. 200 K.=213 K.-A. These lead into the implied comparisons with other poets, such as *Clouds* 537–43, *Lysistrata* 1217–20, *Wasps* 56ff (on Megarian jokes), *Frogs* 1ff, *Plutus* 797ff, but their function can be different, for example as an amusing way to introduce low or slapstick humour. See K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London 1972) 214.

²⁷ (1) Berlin F 1830; Bieber (*supra* n.20) fig. 124; "*Birds*" no. 11, fig. 14; (2) London B 509, Bieber fig. 123, "*Birds*" no. 8, fig. 11A–C; (3) Malibu 82.AE.83; "*Birds*" figs. 3, 22. Note also the matching bird-man terracottas, one in the Schimmel collection (O. W. Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art. The Norbert Schimmel Collection, New York* [Mainz 1974] no. 49 [ill.], and J. Settgest, ed., *Von Troja bis Amarna. The Norbert Schimmel Collection, New York* [Mainz 1978] no. 89 [ill.]) and the other formerly in the Zewadski collection, Tampa, Florida, and given by him to the Emory University Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (1988.34.10; Charles Ede Ltd., *Greek and Roman Terracottas VIII* [London 1985] no. 18 [ill.]; Emory University *Museum Newsletter* 2.3 [1989] 5).

The perception of the importance of this first entry seems to have survived a long time. It is the entry that seems to be shown in the early vase-paintings. It looks as if Cratinus made much of it in their song.²⁸ And it remained as a convention even after the chorus had lost most of its place in the action of the drama. Sifakis has given a convincing demonstration that Aristotle, in that notorious passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* where he comments (unfavourably) on comic choruses and the use of purple, must be referring to the wearing of purple cloaks at the initial entry.²⁹ Again, it seems certain that the commemorative reliefs from the Athenian Agora, probably of soon after the middle of the fourth century, also show the entry of the chorus.³⁰ They have a piper leading a chorus that dances, as usual, with a uniform step. The reliefs are important because they are public monuments and show how one represented and identified a comedy at a public, quasi-official level. By this date it was a traditional, old-fashioned convention and one that was very soon to be replaced,³¹ but the very survival of the tradition shows how strong it must have been in the fifth century, when the chorus mattered. Even in the comedy of Menander, the one point at which the chorus is referred to is the initial entry.³² On this issue, the interpretation of both the archaeological and the literary evidence seems to point in the same direction.

An interesting feature of the depictions of Comedy is that they are literal in their approach. The vase-painter seems almost to take a delight in showing the detail as it was in the orchestra. At one level, this must reflect the importance of the visual element in the production of Comedy, and the effort that the poet put into this side of the production—in that the costuming

²⁸ As pointed out by Taplin, *Stagecraft* 251 n.3, 425.

²⁹ G. M. Sifakis, "Aristotle, *E.N.*, IV, 2, 1123Aa9–24, and the Comic Chorus in the Fourth Century," *AJP* 92 (1971) 410–32.

³⁰ See *MMC*³ 118f, AS 3–4 with references.

³¹ By an appropriate selection of masks: cf. the Aixone relief, *MMC*³ 118, AS 2 with references; H. J. Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* (Berlin 1977) 136, III B 5, 2. D. Whitehead's suggestion (*The Demes of Attica* [Princeton 1986] 218f) that it records a contest between five pairs of choregoi since there are five masks on the relief, seems highly unlikely: the masks represent the cast of a play.

³² *Asp.* 245–48, *Dysk.* 230ff, *Epitr.* 169ff, *Perik.* 191ff. Professor Sommerstein reminds me of the herald's command to bring on the chorus at *Ar. Ach.* 11.

of a chorus was inextricably bound up with the character he created for it.³³ Indeed he cannot have produced a definitive version of his script before he thought out the costume. One could even argue that in the earlier periods of Old Comedy, the creation of the character of the chorus was the first step in the creation of a comedy. Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449b5–9) implies that the introduction of coherent plots in comedy occurred quite late (since he names Crates, perhaps after 450), and so it is not only permissible to see the chorus as the original core of comedy, but, in a traditional sense, the play. That is why comedies were so often named after their choruses. For the vase-painter and his public, the appearance of the chorus was how one identified the play. No titles are preserved on the vases.³⁴ Just as it is argued that the fifth-century Athenian was aurally aware and had an acute sense of the spoken (as distinct from the written) word, so, in a period before one was bombarded with visual images, he must have been very visually aware.³⁵ In a depiction of a chorus, he must have had no trouble in identifying the play from the drawing, and versions of a single chorus by different painters show the drawings to be remarkably similar to each other and, one would therefore suppose, accurate.³⁶

³³ See MacDowell's comments on the importance of the production, as distinct from the words, *CQ* n.s. 32 (1982) 25, even though his concerns are different (Callistratus and Philonides), and, more generally, Taplin, *Stagecraft* 12ff. Also my comments in "*Birds*" 118.

³⁴ Of some relevance here is A. L. Brown's point (*CQ* n.s. 34 [1984] 268f) that firm titles for plays may well not have been applied until some considerable time after the event (although Aristophanes seems to have had the title for the *Knights* already at *Ach.* 301, and *Thes.* 850 seems to refer to the *Helen*). See also O. Taplin, *JHS* 95 (1975) 184ff; M. L. West, *JHS* 99 (1979) 131; A. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus, Eumenides* (Cambridge 1989) 12.

³⁵ M. Robertson (*History of Greek Art* [Cambridge 1975] 63–66, 90–93, 162f, 299) makes this clear with regard to terror-symbols in the sixth century. The fifth-century viewer of a picture was probably more sophisticated in reading pictures, but still not jaded. As a possible analogy one may note writers' (and especially Aristophanes') awareness of the appearance and characteristics of wild animals and birds, a fact which for some reason continues to amaze modern commentators.

³⁶ There is no hint that the vases showing a single comic performance were produced over any noticeable length of time. The depictions would seem to have been made near the time of performance only and not to have entered into any pictorial tradition.

At another and arguably more important level, this approach to the depictions of comedy coincides with what we know of the way Comedy was treated in the theatre. The question of 'dramatic illusion' now has a large literature and there is no point in reiterating the details here.³⁷ Although Sifakis' view that there is no dramatic illusion in Old Comedy has not met with general acceptance, he has a strong point, and there is in any case no doubt that it was part of the convention of Old Comedy that the audience remained aware of the artificiality of what took place.³⁸ Apart from the self-referential aspects of the texts, the costume of the actors with their phalloi and grotesque padding (padding which was used for those playing women as well as those taking male rôles) is of itself far from naturalistic.³⁹ Old Comedy was always playing a game and the audience saw it for what it was. This attitude is reflected in the 'literal' treatment we see in the vase-paintings. They show the costumes of the choruses in all their details. As always, it is the exceptions that are interesting. Both the Dolphin-Riders represented by Olto and the Dolphin-Riders of the later play (PLATE 1b) fail to show how the costume actually worked in the orchestra. One assumes that the players' legs must have come down within and below the dolphins and that the legs we see were artificial, just as the intended feet of the London Birds were at the players' knees but there shown literally (see "*Birds*" 109). In these cases

³⁷ Fundamental is G. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses. A Contribution to the History of Attic Comedy* (London 1971) 7–14; see also R. Crahay and M. Delcourt, "Les ruptures d'illusion dans les comédies antiques," *Mélanges Henri Gregoire IV* (= *AnnPhilHist* 12 [Brussels 1952]) 83–92; T. Gelzer, *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970) 1538ff; Dover (*supra* n.26) 55–59; F. Muecke, "Playing with the Play: Theatrical Self-Consciousness in Aristophanes," *Antichthon* 11 (1977) 52–67; A. M. Wilson, "Breach of Dramatic Illusion in the Old Comic Fragments," *Euphrosyne* 9 (1978–79) 145–150; G. Roux "Aristophane au théâtre," in *Stemmata. Mélanges Labarbe* (= *AntCl* Suppl. [Liège 1987]) 91–100; and the survey of examples by G. A. H. Chapman, "Some Notes on Dramatic Illusion in Aristophanes," *AJP* 104 (1983) 1–23. There is also much useful comment in Taplin, "*Synkrisis*"; see too T. Kowzan, "Les comédies d'Aristophane, véhicule de la critique dramatique," *Dioniso* 54 (1983) 83–100.

³⁸ N. Slater's "Play and Playwright References in Middle and New Comedy," *LCM* 10.7 (1985) 103ff, gives some useful leads on the changes in the periods after Old Comedy.

³⁹ The artificiality of satyr-costume with its tights and phalloi is not relevant, since satyrs are not supposed to be people.

the painters were to this extent persuaded by the characters created. One may note in parallel that, with the important exception of the parabasis, where the chorus could conventionally speak on behalf of the poet, ruptures of the 'illusion' tend to concern the actors or the play itself as a piece of theatre. The chorus keeps its integrity.

In reading the language of Athenian vase-paintings relating to comedy, the presence of a piper means that we have a chorus, and the chorus shown represents a specific comedy.⁴⁰ Among the characteristics of the figures one may note that they dance with a uniform step and that they are uniformly dressed. (The same applies to the later Agora reliefs.) It is this latter aspect, their uniform appearance, that students of literature seem to find hardest to accept.⁴¹ Nevertheless the evidence of the depictions is clear and there are, so far at least, no exceptions. As a matter of principle, it seems to me dangerous to reject direct contemporary evidence in favour of what is, after all, modern interpretation of texts for which we have no stage directions or instructions from the playwrights.⁴²

Two other points also seem relevant. The first is that within this uniformity of dress, minor variation was allowed, even exploited. This is clear on the dress of the sixth-century dancers on the hydria formerly in the collection of Henning Throne-Holst (PLATE 3),⁴³ and on the corselets of the five stilt-dancers on the amphora in Christchurch ("*Birds*" no. 4, fig. 7). On the former the men's dress is (a) yellow with red bands, (b) in yellow and black quarters, (c) black and yellow with red and with black trim, and (d) red with black trim: that is the colours are varied within a range of yellow, red, and black but the style and cut of the dress is the same throughout. The corselets of the Christchurch dancers are similarly varied within a standard

⁴⁰ For the piper in tragedy see below and Beazley (n.61 *infra*).

⁴¹ See the reaction of O. Taplin, "Phallogogy, Phlyakes, Iconography and Aristophanes," *PCPS* 213 (1987) 92-104, and his more recent, revised version, "Classical Phallogogy, Iconographic Parody and Potted Aristophanes," *Dioniso* 57 (1987) 95-109.

⁴² See O. Taplin, "Did Greek Dramatists Write Stage Instructions?" *PCPS* 203 (1977) 121-32. On the use of evidence note Dover vii: "If I have to choose between a dogma of Apollonios Dyskolos and what is inscribed on a fragment of stone from Aristophanic Athens, I choose the latter."

⁴³ "*Birds*" no. 2, fig. 5. Add Christie's (London), *Sale Catalogue*, 8 June 1988, no. 37 (colour ill.).

scheme. There are hints in the literary sources too, for example in Aristophanes' *Birds*, that colour could add variety within an otherwise standardized series of costumes. The chorus was a group, and it took its identity from being a group.

Second, when a comic poet has a character point up differences within the group, he could be using and exploiting these small differences, or he could be doing it as a joke when the audience could quite clearly see that there was no difference,⁴⁴ or on occasion he could be verbally enhancing what is there. From the *Nesoi*, variously attributed to Archippus and Aristophanes, we have a fragment that seems to describe the overcast, cloudy appearance of what one takes to be a single island, but the words can hardly describe the dress or appearance of an individual chorus member in the orchestra (fr.395 K.=410 K.-A.). This last phenomenon, verbal enhancement, occurs more often in tragedy, and we shall discuss it again in that context, but we are used to it at a simple level when we are told, often early in the play, what the stage represents—palace-court, sanctuary, countryside, urban street, *etc.*⁴⁵ One can be persuaded to see tears quite often, or, on one occasion, gore dripping from the faces of Aeschylus' Erinyes.⁴⁶ The latter are in fact a useful example. The vases nearest in time to Aeschylus' play represent comparatively simple costumes; and unless they are totally misleading, they strongly suggest that the words of the text not only emphasized features of costume and mask but developed

⁴⁴ As a parallel to this sort of case, one could think of occasions when a male calls a female attractive (or acts as if she were), but the audience can see that she is not only grotesquely padded but wears an unattractive mask. Cf. the ugly nymphs on Apulian bell-krater in London, F 151; A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia I* (Oxford 1978) 100, no. 252 (in the Eumenides Group among the followers of the Tarporley Painter), and A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*² (=BICS Suppl. 19 [London 1967]) no. 37, or the hag called Charis on the Moretti bell-krater: Trendall, *Phlyax* no. 45, pl. 2; *IGD* IV.18. Both belong fairly early in the fourth century and are most likely Athenian-inspired.

⁴⁵ See *supra* n.5 on Carcinus and the temple.

⁴⁶ On such questions as the representation of weeping on stage, see the useful article by F. L. Shisler, "The Use of Stage Business to Portray Emotion in Greek Tragedy," *AJP* 56 (1945) 377–97, esp. 381, 392, 394. On the Erinyes see P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "The Appearance of Aeschylus' Erinyes," *GaR* 20 (1973) 81–84, although he is mainly concerned with interpreting the text.

their appearance in the imagination of the audience.⁴⁷ Given the nature of the genre, this verbal enhancement is much more common in tragedy, but it must (despite involving something we might call dramatic illusion) have happened to some degree in comedy. In *Frogs*, one may doubt that Dionysus was made to look completely like Heracles, or in his turn, Xanthias, when they exchanged rôles, and it is highly unlikely that they exchanged masks. Dionysus still had to look recognizably like Dionysus for the sake of the audience. Yet, for the purposes of the drama, the audience could be persuaded to believe that Aeacus thought that Xanthias was Heracles and Dionysus a slave. Superficially, of course, this transformation must have been carried out by the exchange of identifying items such as lion-skin, club, and baggage, but Dionysus-masks and slave-masks do not look like Heracles-masks, and the basic slave costume seems to have differed from that of a god.⁴⁸ That is, beyond the symbolic identifiers, the audience was persuaded by the words. It is of course an extremely common technique even in relatively illusionistic theatre to have a transparent but dramatically successful change of costume. To look at the question of so-called verbal enhancement the other way round, there seems to be little point in having choruses of river-gods such as we have on the London hydria or the Oxford cup⁴⁹ unless they were at some stage distinguished by words (we do not seem to have much evidence for river-gods as a generic). But they were all dressed the same way. Such individualization, created by words more than appearance, seems to me possible as a quite frequent occurrence. And so far as one can tell, this individualization of chorus-members was never maintained for very long in the play.

⁴⁷ See, for example, the hydria in Berlin (F 2380; ARV² 1121.16; J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italienne* (Rome 1975) pl. 44.2; K. Schauenburg, *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1977) pl. 69.2 (in a survey of Erinyes); or later, and seemingly more interpreted, the column-krater London 1923.10–16.10; ARV² 1112.5 (Orestes Painter); *IGD* III 1.8.

⁴⁸ This sort of question is well discussed by L. M. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy* (New York 1981).

⁴⁹ London B 308, "*Birds*" no. 5, fig. 8; Oxford 1971.903, "*Birds*" no. 7, fig. 10A-B. I was mistaken in "*Birds*" in calling them minotaurs or bull-men, as Carola Weiss has shown in *Griechische Flussgottheiten in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (= *Beiträge zur Archäologie* 17 [Würzburg 1984]) 109ff, esp. 118ff and pl. 10.2. I am most grateful to Heide Froning for bringing this to my attention.

It is for all these reasons that I cannot accept Taplin's view, well as it is put, that the Getty Birds vase (PLATE 4) shows the Just and Unjust Arguments dressed as fighting cocks from the first version of *Clouds*.⁵⁰ Leaving aside the absence of their cages, they are not dressed as actors, and, more importantly, the language of the vase-painting, the construction of the composition—piper with dancers—says that what we have is a chorus, not actors (*cf.* PLATE 3), and their identity of dress is no objection to their being from Aristophanes' *Birds*.⁵¹

If we use the material objects as a source of evidence for audience reaction, the lack of depictions of comic actors until the later part of the fifth century is a potentially useful piece of information. It is of course negative evidence with all its inherent dangers, and in attempting to use it, we have to recognize that the accepted mode of depicting comedy had been by the chorus. The chorus convention had been little used during the middle and third quarter of the century, but nonetheless, given that a convention existed—and continued to exist, as the Getty Birds vase and the later monuments show—one could argue that it would take an important development to upset that convention. It is probably for this sort of reason that our earliest depictions are of actors on their own, without clear context even from other figures let alone the sort of scenes one finds on South Italian vases. The Agora cup fragment unfortunately does not preserve the head of the figure, so we cannot say if he wore a mask or carried it.⁵² He is, however, shown on his own, and he does not seem to have been doing very much. It may

⁵⁰ See *supra* n.41. It should be added that he has now modified his view, both in public lectures and in his forthcoming book *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase Paintings*.

⁵¹ His point that some of the birds are female, not male, is answered effectively by E. G. Turner's discussion of the satyrs of Sophocles' *Ichneutai*, in J. H. Betts *et al.*, ed., *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* (Bristol 1988) II 156, where he points out that a number of the indubitably male satyrs of the chorus bear female names—because, in this case, they are a hunting pack and packs of hounds in classical Athens were normally bitches. It may be worth emphasizing again the connexion with satyr-play in the staging of *Birds*.

⁵² Athens, Agora P 10798, *MMC*³ 31, AV 3 (with references). I have omitted here the red-figure column-krater by the Syriskos Painter in Tarquinia (RC 8261; *ARV*² 260.12; G. Ferrari, *La ceramica a figure rosse* [= *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia* 11 (Rome 1988)] no. 27 with full references) because I am still not quite convinced by Ferrari's arguments that the vase shows three comic actors.

date to about 430. From about the same date or a fraction earlier is the Cyclops on a red-figure lekythos in Athens. It has not been possible for me to examine the vase and I know it only from the rather inadequate published photograph.⁵³ I am not quite sure either if he has to do with Comedy. He is shown as a balding figure with straggly hair and bushy beard; his face is satyr-like with squat nose and apparently pointed ear; his 'normal' eye is shown as closed but there is another (open) eye on the upper part of the forehead. He wears a dotted costume (animal skin?) with narrow sleeves to the wrist and a short skirt; below that it is difficult to tell if he has a phallos (which would be very low) or if what we see is the flap of a long boot on the advanced left leg (the right leg is missing). He holds uncertain objects in his right and left hands. If he is a figure from Comedy, one may be tempted by the idea of Cratinus' *Odysseis*, but an origin in satyr-play can by no means be ruled out. Next chronologically comes the Vlasto chous with a comic Perseus on stage, and then the imaginative Louvre vase with a comic actor leading a centaur-chariot.⁵⁴ Three small choes of much the same date have children playing at being actors, again Comedy off the stage.⁵⁵ But then there is the set of plain-ware choes with polychrome decoration which seem to be fairly directly related to stage performances and were probably celebratory in function.⁵⁶ For the moment, two points may be made about this sequence: first, the steady emergence of actor-figures and subsequently actors acting; second, that these acting-scenes are not yet standardized into a convention of depiction. Indeed so far as Athens is concerned, this creation of a convention never seems to have occurred (or at least we have no evidence for it beyond the polychrome jugs). That was left to other centres such as Corinth and, most notably, the vase-painters of Metaponto and Taranto, with their so-called phlyax vases.

⁵³ *ADelt* 25 (1970) Chron. 47, pl. 51D (O. Alexandri).

⁵⁴ Athens, Coll. Vlastos, *MMC*³ 31, AV 4 (with references); Paris, Louvre N 3408, *MMC*³ 32, AV 6.

⁵⁵ Paris, Louvre CA 2938, *MMC*³ 31, AV 5; Leningrad Pha. 1869.47, *MMC*³ 32, AV 8; Athens 17752, *MMC*³ 32, AV 9.

⁵⁶ London 1898.2-27.1, Athens, Agora P 23856, P 23900, P 23907, P 23985; *MMC*³ 33f, AV 10-14.

What does happen in Athens is the creation of terracotta figurines. After a few seemingly casual attempts, apparently of individual inspiration, we suddenly, at the end of the century or a fraction earlier, have the New York Group of terracottas (*MMC*³ 45ff with references). They form a coherent series, and the idiosyncrasy and consistency of style surely imply that the archetypes were made by a single coroplast. On present evidence, the Group comprises some 15–20 types, and others may be posited from copies made in other centres. Not only are these pieces remarkable as terracottas, but they have other features that are important in the history of theatre. They are no longer of individual inspiration, as one may guess both from their appearance and from their reproduction in quantity over a long period. Versions have turned up in the destruction context at Olynthos (348), others have appeared in tomb-groups over much the same period. Copies were made over a wide area outside Athens, and local versions and re-interpretations continued to be made well into the third quarter of the fourth century and even beyond. No single play or set of plays could have been that popular or had so much re-play. They reflect standard types of the comic stage in standard situations. They were applicable to contemporary comedy in general, and, *pace* Bieber and Webster, there is no evidence that they were designed as sets of figures from particular plays, even if there were nothing to prevent a buyer from putting some together to make a set.⁵⁷

The other important element in this series is the standardization of mask-types. The paucity of depictions of actors earlier than this makes it difficult to say much about earlier comic masks, but what we do have suggests a much less rigorous standardization. The terracottas and their continued popularity reflect a new style of comedy, that called Middle Comedy. They seem to have been current before the turn of the century. The picture presented by the archaeological evidence is

⁵⁷ I pointed out in *MMC*³ that the different colours of the clays of the figurines in the grave-group in New York could derive from their positioning even in a single firing, and that when sold the figurines would in any case have been covered with slip and paint. Dorothy Thompson has since been so good as to give me a copy of some notes of an examination of the pieces by F. Matson demonstrating that the classification into 'yellow' and 'red' sets according to the supposed character of the clay was itself faulty.



(a)



(b)

Black-figure lekythos by the Theseus Painter,
ca 490–480 B.C. (Kerameikos 5671)

PLATE 2 GREEN

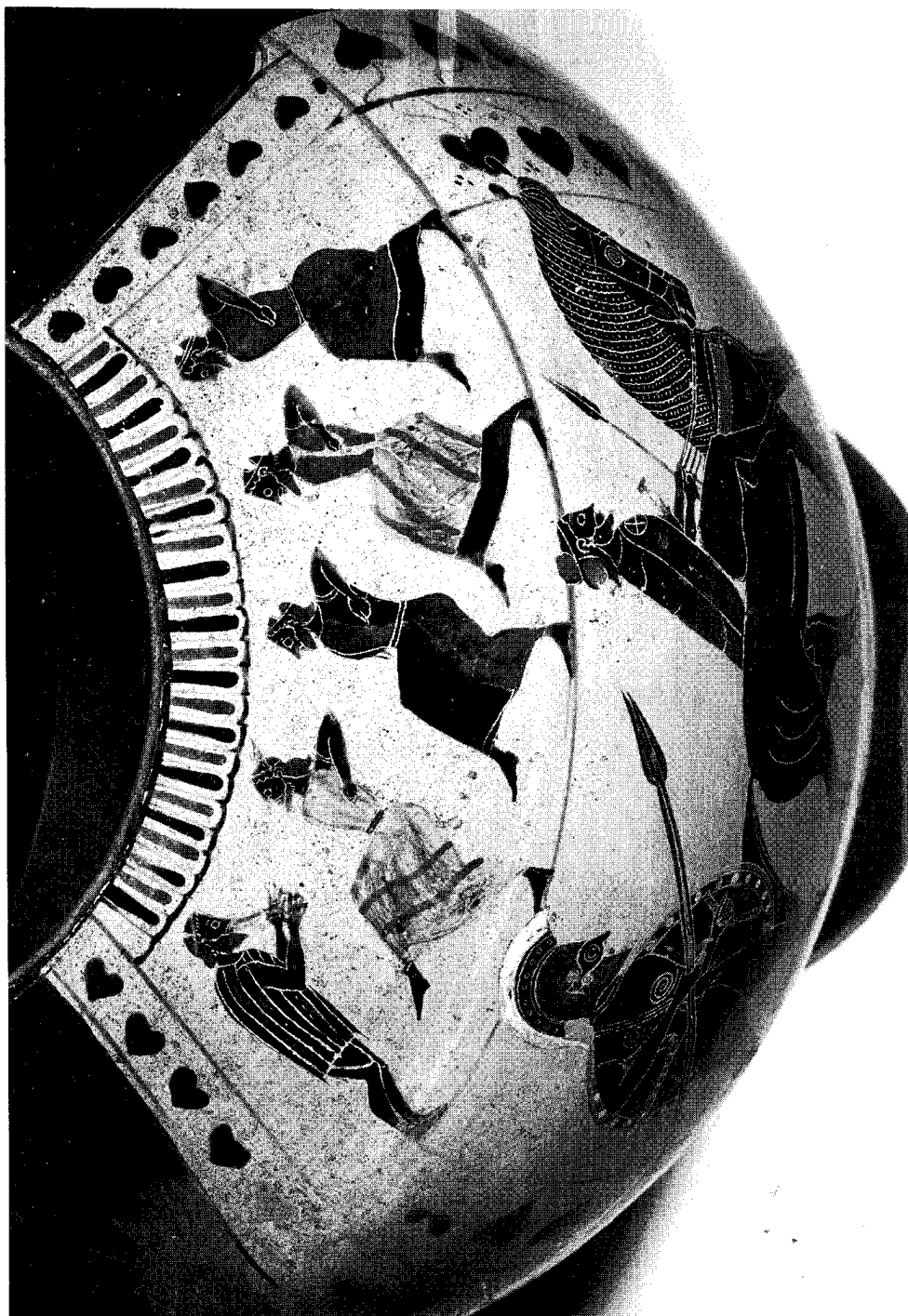


(a)



(b)

Black-figure skyphos, ca 480 B.C.
(Thebes B.E. 64.342)



Black-figure hydria, *ca* 560 B.C.
(formerly Swedish private collection)

PLATE 4 GREEN



Red-figure calyx-krater, *ca* 414 B.C.
(Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.83)



(b)



(a)

Red-figure pelike by an Earlier Mannerist, ca 470 B.C.
(Berlin inv. 3223)



Red-figure column-krater, *ca* 490 B.C.
(Basle BS 415)



(a)



(b)

- (a) Red-figure askos, *ca* 480–470 B.C. (Boston 13.169)
(b) Black-figure lekythos of the Cock Group, early fifth century B.C.
(Munich 1871 inv. 6025)



Red-figure calyx-krater by the Kleophon Painter, *ca* 440 B.C.
(Basle BS 403)



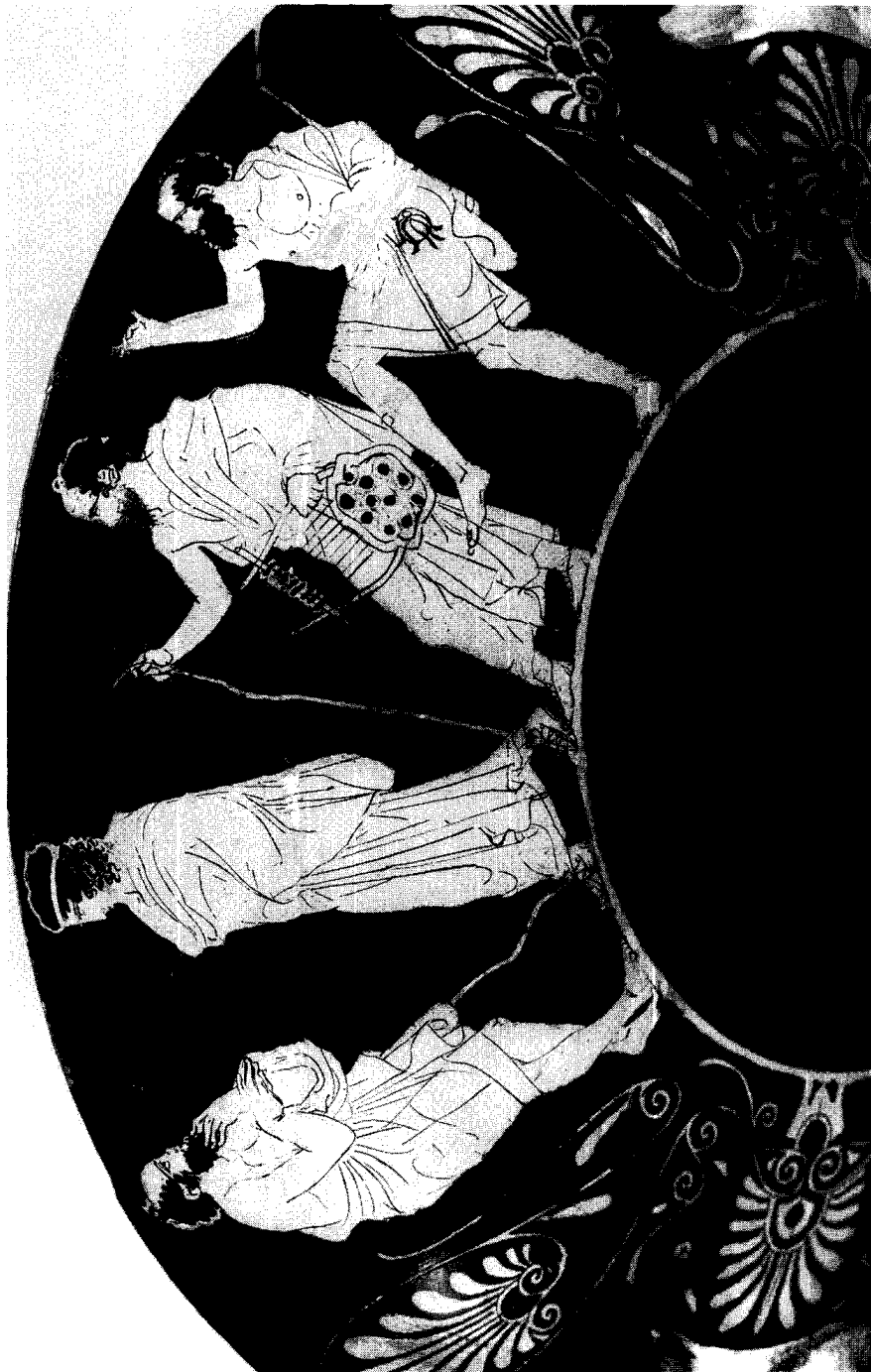
(a)



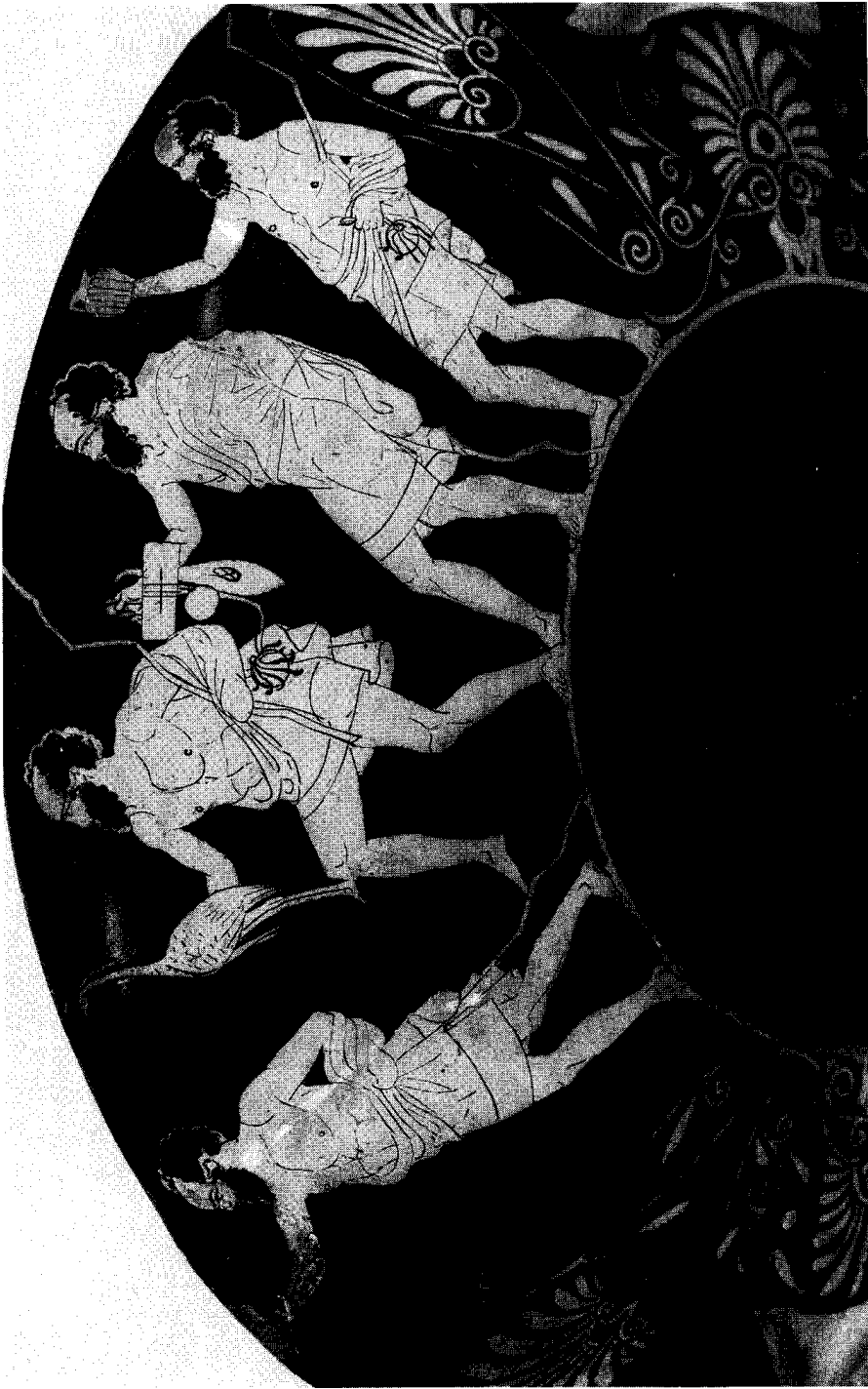
(b)

- (a) Fragment of a skyphoid krater, ca 410 B.C. (Würzburg)
(b) Red-figure kylix by the Codrus Painter, ca 420 B.C., interior
(Cambridge GR 2.1977)

PLATE 10 GREEN



Cambridge GR 2.1977, exterior (side A)



Cambridge GR 2.1977, exterior (side B)



Red-figure calyx-krater by the Altamura Painter, ca 470-460 B.C.
(Vienna IV 985)

therefore rather different from that of the literary remains in the form of the preserved plays. It raises the question of the principles of selection of our surviving plays, and one is tempted by Handley's idea that our plays of Aristophanes were chosen for their historical/political content rather than for reasons of their form.⁵⁸ Erich Segal has argued that Aristophanes was slower than some of his contemporaries to move towards something we would call Middle Comedy.⁵⁹

The terracottas, of course, continue to show comic figures literally, and demonstrate that the audience continued to see the comic theatre for what it was, without any intervening illusion. In this sense, as well as in their costume, masks, and style, they are indistinguishable from the figures seen on the so-called 'phlyax' vases of South Italy. Indeed the popularity of these terracottas in, say, Taranto, as well as the manufacture of local copies, is in itself a strong argument that those vases represented a theatre that was essentially Athenian in origin, and it should be added to the more commonly presented arguments such as the identity of mask-types, the presence of Attic dialect, and so on.⁶⁰ Indeed we at last seem to be approaching a major reassessment of the literary background to 'phlyax' vases.

II

The tradition of the depiction of tragedy in Athenian vase-painting is very different. We have no surviving fifth-century representation of tragic actors acting, or even of chorusmen performing in the orchestra shown as chorusmen in the literal way that comic chorusmen are. The closest we come is on the well-known pelike in Berlin (PLATE 5a, b) dating to about 470, near

⁵⁸ *Cambridge History of Classical Literature* I (Cambridge 1985) 391ff, and, as Professor Sommerstein has pointed out to me, in his introductory notes to *P.Oxy.* L 3540.

⁵⁹ *HSCP* 78 (1973) 129–36.

⁶⁰ Taplin (*supra* n.41), *Comic Angels* (*supra* n.50); E. Csapo, "A Note on the Würzburg Bell-Crater H 5697 ('Telephus Travestitus')," *Phoenix* 40 (1986) 379–92; and my own comments in *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 75–78, and more particularly, "Notes on Phlyax Vases," *NumAntClass* (1991). C. W. Dearden, "Phlyax Comedy in Magna Graecia—A Reassessment," in Betts *et al.* (*supra* n.51) II 33–41, takes a less committed position though arguing that at least some vases must depict Athenian comedies.

the beginning of a series of depictions that can be taken to represent or derive from tragedy.⁶¹ It is an instructive piece. On each side of the vase, there is on the right a piper in his normal elaborate costume. He provides the context for the figure on the left. The latter is a maenad, shown with a sword in the right hand and a half fawn or kid in the left. The maenad is shown as 'real'. Yet the piper (like those in comic scenes) signifies that the figure is a chorusman, and as such he should have footwear and cannot have had a naked feminine breast. And one may ask, with Beazley, if the half fawn or kid is a literal depiction of a piece of stage property, or is an insertion by the vase-painter as something that maenads normally have (to emphasize that this is a maenad), or (I would add) if it is something that the painter was persuaded to see by the words of the poet. Certainly the blood pouring from it goes beyond the performance in the theatre. There are only two other hints that the figures derive from the theatre. On one side the frontal face (PLATE 5a): this is the way one sees a mask.⁶² The face of the similar figure on the other side (5b) is shown in profile; in this case it has long been suggested that the curious treatment of the hair above the forehead may represent the artificial hair of a mask.⁶³ And, as Beazley pointed out, on the side with frontal face, the painter wrote *καλός* rather than *καλή* above the figure of the maenad. These details apart, the painter has interpreted the figure through the convention.

This kind of ambiguity between the two realities is unusual, but a somewhat similar case is to be found on the now well-known column-krater in Basle with six youths dancing before a figure who rises behind or from a monument (PLATE 6).⁶⁴ Here

⁶¹ Berlin-Charlottenburg inv. 3223; *ARV*² 586.47; *MTS*² AV 15; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*² 182, fig. 35; A. Greifenhagen, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung* (Berlin 1968) 126, pl. 65B; E. Simon, *The Ancient Theatre* (London 1982) pl. 1. There is excellent discussion by Beazley in *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 312f.

⁶² This is surely the way to see the frontal face here. Cf. F. Frontisi-Ducroux, "Idoles, figures, images," *RA* (1982) 81–108, and Y. Korshak, "Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period," *AncW* 10 (1984) 89–105. I have not seen the latter's book of the same title (published in 1987).

⁶³ For example by Furtwängler, Beazley, Greifenhagen, Simon (*supra* n.61).

⁶⁴ Basle BS 415. The primary publication is M. Schmidt, "Dionysien," *AntK* 10 (1967) 70, pl. 19.1f, although the vase was illustrated earlier with a brief description in H. Cahn, *Masterpieces of Greek Art* (André Emmerich Gallery, New York, 1964) no. 25. Also E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich

there is no piper, but it is nonetheless clear that we should read them as a chorus since the youths are dressed alike and dance with uniform step and uniform gestures. It is clear too that they are not ordinary warriors: they have no greaves or helmets but wear diadems. There are two slight hints of players playing. One is the extension of the chin-line in a way reminiscent of a mask.⁶⁵ The other is the line on the left ankles of the nearer figures, as if the painter knew they had footwear. In all other respects they have become the characters played.

The scene is an interesting one, and what seems to be happening is that the figures dance and sing before a tomb (words come from their mouths). They are surely raising the ghost of a dead hero—as both Karouzou and Schefold perceived.⁶⁶ It is the same motif as is used some years later by Aeschylus in the *Persae*, or that we see in very abbreviated form some years earlier on the Boston askos (PLATE 7a).⁶⁷ Another example of the same theme is of course the scene on the hydria fragments by the Leningrad Painter in Corinth, whether or not they are to be related to Aeschylus' *Persae*.⁶⁸ In this case the piper is present and signifies the context of the action; the other figures do not have obviously theatrical costume. It is also tempting to see the theme on the black-figure lekythos in Munich as showing something on the same

1969) 273, fig. 262, and (*supra* n.61) pl. 2; H. Froning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen* (Würzburg 1971) pl. 7.2; N. Hourmouziades, in *Istoria tou ellenikou ethnous* III.1 (Athens 1972) 356 (colour); S. Melchinger, *Das Theater der Tragödie* (Munich 1974) 264 n.55, fig. 14; K. Schefold, *A Welt* (1974) 13, fig. 10 (= *Wort und Bild* [Basle 1975] 6, pl. 8.3); *AJA* 82 (1978) 380, fig. 10; *CVA* (3) pls. 6.1f, 7.3ff with further references.

⁶⁵ Robertson has in fact taken them as masked: *Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977) 81 n.5.

⁶⁶ Karouzou, *RA* (1972) 199 n.2; Schefold (*supra* n.64) 13 (= *Wort und Bild* 6); and (now) Simon (*supra* n.61) 8f; also H. Kenner, *ÖJh* 57 (1986–87) 66f. I do not see how Hammond and Moon (*AJA* 82 [1978] 380) could regard the figure as a suppliant.

⁶⁷ Boston 13.169, *ARV*¹ 188.59 (Tyszkiewicz Painter; but not in *ARV*²); *MTS*² 45, AV 4.

⁶⁸ *ARV*² 571.74; *MTS*² 46, AV 13; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*² fig. 36; "Birds" 114, fig. 23. It has always been tempting to claim that this vase represents Aeschylus' play and Beazley always resisted. Hammond (*supra* n.8: 16–22) has recently argued strongly for the equation.

lines (PLATE 7b).⁶⁹ Hackl had the idea that the scene shows three men doing obeisance before an Egyptian mummy, a view that has been supported by Boardman despite Haspels' scepticism and Beazley's description "youths and man at image of Dionysos."⁷⁰ The principal reason for taking the figure as a mummy is the criss-cross marking of the 'body', which is reminiscent of bandaging. Other points, such as the pose of the figures, are secondary, despite the (thirteenth century B.C.) parallels adduced in Egyptian tomb-paintings.⁷¹ But the interpretation is not totally compelling. Haspels disposed neatly of Hackl's claim that *proskynesis* is "echt orientalisches."⁷² The head, with its fine red beard, also remains something of a problem for this view, notwithstanding Hackl's splendid hellenized ushabti. Probably more difficult are two other aspects of the main figure: the block-like form of the 'body' (it in no way echoes the form of a human body as one would expect of a mummy); the red dots scattered over the net-pattern also seem out of place, even if they do remind one of the scheme on Julio-Claudian mummies, where one finds gilded studs on red

⁶⁹ Munich 1871 inv. 6025, *ABV* 470.103 (Cock Group).

⁷⁰ R. Hackl, "Mumienverehrung auf einer schwarzfigurig attischen Lekythos" *ArchRW* 12 (1909) 195-203; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*³ (London 1980) 151 fig. 190 (and earlier editions); C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936) 67f; Beazley in *ABV*.

⁷¹ As Hackl's fig. 2. Egyptian paintings contemporary with the vase do not seem to show this custom, but whether for reasons of convention or because the practice had died away by this date is difficult to say. Lisa Giddy, who has given me much help on these issues, points out to me that there is evidence from graffiti of classical Greek interest in earlier tombs. So if one follows the general direction of Hackl's interpretation, the influence on the Athenian vase-painter could be iconographic rather than based on contemporary practice. On the Greek reaction to Egyptians and their practices, see recently F. Hartog, "Les grecs égyptologues," *AnnEconSocCiv* 41 (1986) 953-67.

⁷² By quoting Theophr. *Char.* 16.5; also O. Walter, "Kniende Adoranten auf attischen Reliefs," *ÖJhBeibl* 13 (1910) 229-34, and A. Delatte, "Le baiser, l'agenouillement et le prosternement de l'adoration (*proskynesis*) chez les grecs," *BulAcRoyBelg* 37 (1951) 423-50. But of course *proskynesis* in the *Persae* is made out to be special; see too, as E. W. Handley points out to me, *Eur. Tro.* 1021 and *Or.* 1507, although one might query whether the mention of barbarian in each case extends and qualifies the sense rather than simply repeats it.

lozenges between criss-crossed lines of bandage.⁷³ More attractive is the context in which a photograph of the vase has been published by Hourmouziades.⁷⁴ He took it as a tragic chorus about a herm with a Dionysus-head. We should not linger over the herm component: the absence of phallos and arm-stumps has rightly been seen as damning to the idea by most scholars. Since kneeling is particularly associated with the earth and the dead, it seems to me quite possible that the Basle and Boston vases provide good parallels for an interpretation along the lines of a hero being summoned from his tomb.⁷⁵ Perhaps also in support of a theatrical interpretation are two details not clear in the drawing by Reichhold which is normally published. The central kneeler has a beard, as others have observed, but the one on the right has a somewhat curious curved line at the neck that may just hint at a mask; and, to judge by lines running across the legs a little above the ankles, they seem to have footwear. The literary evidence for evocation of the dead in tragedy has been well discussed recently by François Jouan.⁷⁶ The Basle, Boston, and Corinth vases, and perhaps the Munich, give us clear evidence that the theme was not new to Aeschylus' *Persae*. In the context of this article we may simply note rather than emphasize a not unimportant point in the history of drama, that this must have been a very effective way of achieving dramatic impact in a period when only one actor worked with the chorus.

The youths in Basle, the maenad in Berlin, and possibly the men in Munich are the only cases known to me where there is hesitation in the depiction of the 'reality' of the figures. For the rest, participants in a scene which one may take to derive from the tragic theatre are shown as if they were the actual figures of

⁷³ Cf. C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Graeco-Egyptian Coffins* (Cairo 1905) nos. 33.127 (pl. 7) and 33.222f (pl. 34).

⁷⁴ *Supra* n.64: 355 (detail in colour).

⁷⁵ Hackl himself pointed out that one finds similar net-patterns on altars on Tyrrhenian amphorae.

⁷⁶ F. Jouan, "L'évocation des morts dans la tragédie grecque," *RHR* 98 (1981) 403-21. For figures rising from a tomb, cf. the interpretation of the scene on the inside of the cup by the Painter of the Oxford Brygos: Oxford 1911.615, ARV² 399, bottom; D. Von Bothmer, *JHS* 98 (1978) 24, and recently D. Williams, in *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg* (Mainz 1986) 79.

the myth or story. At this point we become involved in the problem of the relationship between tragedy and vase-painting, a problem that has been debated for over a century.⁷⁷ In the 1880s Robert and Vogel tended to deny that vase-painting had any dependence on tragedy in fifth-century Athens because the themes of tragedy would not have had the time to penetrate the popular consciousness to the point of inspiring the industrial arts.⁷⁸ A century later there are those who would come to similar conclusions for reasons of the self-sufficiency of the industrial arts, but in the meanwhile the opposite extreme was typified by Séchan, whose *Études sur la tragédie grecque* first appeared in 1926. Even now there are those who accept and attempt to use Séchan's lists without question. It is hardly an oversimplification to say that in many cases, identity or supposed identity of subject (since there have been many cases of equation with a tragedy known only from its title) has been enough to prompt a claim that a scene on a vase is a representation, or at least an illustration of a play. A major change in view has occurred through the development of iconographic studies, due in large part to the efforts of French-speaking scholars. For example Metzger, in an important if not readily accessible article, has attacked the practice of what he calls "archéologie

⁷⁷ Key works in the history of the discussion include O. Jahn, "Satyrn und Satyrdrاما auf Vasen," *Philologus* 27 (1868) esp. 24–27; C. Robert, *Bild und Lied. Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Heldensage* (= *Philologische Untersuchungen* 5 [Berlin 1881]) esp. 28, 129–48; J. Vogel, *Scenen euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden* (Leipzig 1886); J. H. Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-Paintings* (London 1898); L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque* (Paris 1926); H. Bulle, "Weihebild eines tragischen Dichters," in *Corolla L. Curtius* (Stuttgart 1937) 151–60, followed by some useful comment on the two realities by E. Buschor, "Zwei Theaterkratere," in G. E. Mylonas, ed., *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* (St. Louis 1951) I 90–95; IDG; Moret (*supra* n.47), and *Oedipe, la Sphinx et les Thébains. Essai de mythologie iconographique* (= *Bibl. Helvetica* 23 [Rome 1984]); A. Kossatz-Deißmann, *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen* (Mainz 1978). G. F. Pinney has pointed out that male pyrrhic dancers can be distinguished from heroic warriors only when judges or aulos-players are present: *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Copenhagen 1988) 468.

⁷⁸ Robert (*Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile* [Halle 1895] 78ff) later attempted to associate the Penelope vase (ARV² 1300.2; CVA [Chiusi 2] pls. 34.4, 35f) with Soph. *Niptra*. As Huddilston (*supra* n.77: 36 n.3) already observed, the chronology does not seem to work.

philologique,"⁷⁹ pointing out that vase-paintings (or other objects) should not be taken simply as illustrations of what we read about (as if our texts were the only true representative of Greek culture).⁸⁰ Iconography has its own rules, its own grammar, which we should attempt to learn to read, even if it is, as Metzger puts it, like trying to read an undeciphered language; it is not to be interpreted simply by reference to written sources (in the fashion used by antiquarians) but within its own terms. Fundamental, too, is the point that it is not to be interpreted simply by reference to our own twentieth-century experience and training in perception.⁸¹ One must attempt to learn the ancient language. On the other hand, I do not see that the iconographic autonomists need deny the possibility of the introduction into a vase-painter's 'bricolage' of an idea seen in the theatre, but the problem remains of detecting such an event when it occurs.

Given that Athenians depicted comedy in some fashion or other throughout the fifth century, it would on the face of it seem strange if they did not depict tragedy.⁸² One problem is, as I have just said, that such depictions are not immediately recognizable or distinct from depictions based directly on myth. It is worth asking why a depiction taken from tragedy is not immediately recognizable. Séchan did not pose the ques-

⁷⁹ H. Metzger, "Une nouvelle approche de l'image," *Bulletin de liaison de la Société des amis de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach* II (1984) 5-9; it is the text of a lecture presented at the 1983 Athens Congress. The term "philologie archéologique" was introduced by Edmond Pottier for studies that applied archaeological evidence to literary in *Mélanges H. Weil* (Paris 1898) 393; it was adopted by Séchan as the title for the fifth chapter of his introduction.

On the relation between pictures and tragedy, see in addition F. Jouan, "Autour du sacrifice d'Iphigénie," in *Texte et Image. Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly (13 au 15 octobre 1982)* (Paris 1984) 61-74, who concludes that the vase-paintings cannot help in resolving the problems posed by the *IA*, together with F. Vian's comments at 216f.

⁸⁰ The position given to the literary remains is of course explicable in historical terms. They are what survived to Western culture before the advent of archaeology.

⁸¹ The importance of this training in reading a picture was brought to popular consciousness by Gombrich (*supra* n.15).

⁸² As the title of this article implies, I am not concerned here with vase-painting of South Italy of the fourth century: it has its own problems.

tion.⁸³ The best discussion is that by Beazley (*supra* n.61: 311). After noting much that we have reviewed here, he suggested that “idealistic art, when representing performers—actors or chorus-men—tends to substitute the character for the impersonator.” But the idealism of Greek art is hardly a compelling explanation of the phenomenon. It does not account for what seems to be a generic difference between the depictions of comedy and those of tragedy, or, for that matter, the fact that satyr-play seems to share both approaches. More recent work would suggest that the answer lies in the theatre and its reception rather than in the art as such. If we accept that the vase-painter reacted like an ordinary member of the audience, and that he produced his work largely for ordinary members of the audience, we should accept that his products reflect a normal reaction. Indeed the vase-painter was not an artist independent of society, but was a part of society and shared in its conventions. We have noticed that comedy, with its frequent rupture of ‘dramatic illusion’, was seen literally, as men dressed up being funny. Tragedy, on the other hand, constantly maintained the illusion, and in fact could not risk breaking it.⁸⁴ At one level, the figures seen in the theatre re-created myth-history and they were to that degree ‘real’. When the vase-painter showed them, he therefore showed them as real. The vase-painter’s figures are what the poet intended them to be, re-creations of the subjects of the drama.

The occasions on which we see tragic actors or chorusmen as such are depictions of moments before or after performance. On the Ferrara bell-krater we are told that the figures are theatrical by the fact that one of the young men carries his mask; but the one who wears his mask begins to act his part as a

⁸³ The closest he comes is at 553f, where he discusses the absence of kothornoi and masks on the figures in vase-paintings. He explains it by a wish on the vase-painter’s part to preserve the proportions and human appearance of his figures, so that the picture may keep “tout son charme décoratif.” He goes on: “beaucoup moins soucieux de reproduire exactement une scène de tragédie que d’évoquer, selon sa propre fantaisie ou d’après quelque peinture célèbre, une légende illustrée par le drame...”

⁸⁴ D. Bain, “Audience Address in Greek Tragedy,” *CQ* n.s. 25 (1975) 13ff and esp. 23ff; Taplin, *Stagecraft* 129–34, and “*Synkrisis*,” *passim*.

maenad, starts to become a maenad.⁸⁵ On his pelike in Boston, the Phiale Painter, who seems to have been particularly attracted by the theatre, shows two chorusmen dressing as females: again the one who wears his mask already dances, takes on the part, becomes the person.⁸⁶ On the Pronomos Vase, to use a parallel example involving satyr-play, the one player who wears his mask (lower centre) acts the part.⁸⁷ Even when a vase-painter is consciously painting theatre people outside the theatre, he feels compelled to show figures who wear their masks in the parts they play.

We have no representations of tragic actors acting in the fifth century (and I suspect we never shall). One consequence of such a conclusion is that we have to exercise great care in using any depictions that may be derived from tragedy for our own purposes. We can never be sure how much the vase-painter has injected of what the poet has persuaded him to see, or, indeed, how much embellishment by way of dress, objects, setting, or even extra figures he may have added from what he knew rather than what he actually saw. We see an element of all this on the Berlin pelike where the painter uses iconographic conventions such as the torn animal and naked breast to indicate that the figure is a maenad. We should therefore be extremely hesitant in using scenes on pottery as quasi-photographic illustrations of what took place in the theatre. It is for these sorts of reasons that I remain doubtful of Hammond's or Melchinger's 'pagos' in the Theatre of Dionysus.⁸⁸ This misplaced search for or expectation of the literal is most obvious where numbers are concerned. There seems to be no standard number of figures in the representations even of early comic

⁸⁵ Ferrara VP T.173 C, *MTS*² 46, AV 10, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*² fig. 33; T. B. L. Webster, *Griechische Bühnentaler* (Göttingen 1963) pl. 1; Simon (*supra* n.61) pl. 6.2.

⁸⁶ Boston 98.883, *ARV*² 1017.46, *MTS*² 47, AV 20 (with references); Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*² fig. 34; J. H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Mainz 1990) no. 46, pl. 26A (with references). Oakley dates the vase 440–435.

⁸⁷ Naples inv. 81673 (H 3240), *ARV*² 1336.1 (Pronomos Painter), *MTS*² 49, AV 25.

⁸⁸ S. Melchinger, *Das Theater der Tragödie* (Munich 1974) 20ff, 82ff; Hammond (*supra* n.8) 5–9 (with earlier references). And in all logic, why accept rocks on vases as real for the period of Aeschylus but not for Euripides' *Andromeda*? See further the arguments adduced by Rehm (*supra* n.7) 270 n.34.

choruses: they range from one to eight, depending, presumably, on the space available on the vase. It is therefore hard to accept Hammond and Moon's argument that six youths on the Basle krater and six muffled figures seated in pairs on three altars on the black-figure lekythos in Athens indicate the painters' conscious depiction of hemi-choruses, or Calder's that early choruses had six participants.⁸⁹ A similar attitude towards numbers obtained in the theatre. Trendall and Webster, for example, have pointed out that "it is one of the curious conventions of tragedy that a chorus of twelve (Aeschylus) can represent fifty daughters of Danaos, or a chorus of fifteen (Sophocles, Euripides) nine Muses or seven (or more accurately five) mothers of the Seven Against Thebes."⁹⁰

The clearest and most convincing example of depictions derived from the theatre is the series which seems to relate to Sophocles' *Andromeda*. As Schauenburg has shown,⁹¹ we have five vases:

1. The red-figure hydria, British Museum 1843.11-3.24 (E 169). *ARV*² 1062 (workshop of the Coghill Painter), 1681; *MTS*² 117, AV 56; *AJA* 72 (1968) pl. 6.11f; F. M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1970) 54 fig. 26; *IGD* III.2 3.

2. The red-figure pelike, Boston 63.2663. *Paral.* 448 (Kensington Painter and Kensington Class); *MTS*² 117, AV 54; *AuA* 13 (1967) 1-7 figs. 1f; *AJA* 72 (1968) pl 7.13; Snowden 231 fig. 90; *IGD* III.2 2.

⁸⁹ *AJA* 82 (1978) 380; W. M. Calder III, "The Size of Thespis' Chorus," *AJP* 103 (1982) 319f. Calder adds the idea that the *Eitheoi* would have had seven (since Thespian tragedy did not allow female rôles); Theseus would have been the protagonist, thus leaving six. The Basle krater is mistakenly referred to as black-figure; the lekythos is Athens 18606 (ex Empedokles); *RA* (1972) 195-204 (Karouzou); *AJA* 82 (1978) 381, fig. 11. Some speculation by Mrs Karouzou was presumably the source for all this.

⁹⁰ *IGD* 69, with reference to the Vatican Hydria by the Phiale Painter that is thought to reflect Soph. *Thamyras*, and where two figures represent the Muses of the chorus.

⁹¹ *AuA* 14 (1967) 1-7; See also his article in *LIMC* I s.v. "Andromeda," where he adds a fragmentary Attic red-figured pelike in the Louvre (but it is later and has no negroes). Note also T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Sophocles*² (London 1969) 203f; G. M. Rispoli, "Per l'Andromeda di Sofocle," *RendNap* 42 (1972) 187-210; and M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, "The Stuff of which Greek Heroines are Made," *BABesch* 64 (1989) 1-49, esp. 26ff.

3. The red-figure bell-krater, Caltanissetta V.1818. *MTS*² 117, AV 55; *ArchReports* 1963–64, 44 fig. 16; *AuA* 13 (1967) 1–7 figs. 8, 10; *AJA* 72 (1968) pl. 6.14.

4. The red-figure calyx-krater, Basle BS 403 (PLATE 8). *ARV*² 1684, 15 bis, 1708 (Kleophon Painter); *AntK* 11 (1968) pl. 18.6; *CVA* (3) pl. 10.1–6 (with references).

5. The white-ground calyx-krater, Agrigento AG 7, *ARV*² 1017. 53 (Phiale Painter); *MTS*² 116, AV 53; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965) 121 fig. 57; *AJA* 72 (1968) pl. 7.15; *IGD* III.2 1; *Klearchos* 25 (1983) 27–61 (A. Denti); *Veder Greco: Le necropoli di Agrigento* (Rome 1988) 222f no. 73 (colour ill.); Oakley (*supra* n.86) no. 53, pl. 37, with further references.

What makes this series convincing is the combination of a number of elements: (a) the shared features on (b) as many as five vases that (c) stand apart from the rest of the iconographic tradition (e.g. the negro attendants, the stakes, the dress of Andromeda), which (d) belong, so far as we can tell, to a single date (in the earlier 440s), and (e) are by vase-painters from different workshops (and so are unlikely to depend one upon another).⁹² Short of identifying inscriptions, this is the best one could hope for. How many of these elements one can do without and still have a convincing equation is very much a matter of judgement. To take the case of vases that have been associated with Euripides' *Andromeda*,⁹³ we have, depending on the selection of vases, (a) a number of shared features (e.g. the rock or cave) on (b) a number of vases, but there is no uniformity of date, and only the Berlin vase is Athenian. While it is possible that the Berlin vase derives from the staging of

⁹² The selection of events tells against the old idea of inspiration from a commemorative votive plaque: Andromeda led to the spot while stakes are set up (no. 1), Andromeda being tied to the stakes (no. 2), Andromeda standing tied to the stakes (nos. 3ff). Different moments are chosen from an evolving tableau. Note the ambiguity in no. 3 where Andromeda stands tied to a stake but an attendant is still digging a hole for the stake.

⁹³ See e.g. Webster's list in *MTS*² 154f or *IGD* III.3 10–13.

Euripides' play, the evidence is not compelling,⁹⁴ and to account for the others one has to suppose re-productions of the play in different centres and argue away the notion of a tradition among vase-painters who add to and subtract from an iconographic scheme. In the case of the new Ixion fragments in Würzburg (PLATE 9a),⁹⁵ we have an isolated incomplete vase, but here the highly individual character of the representation (as compared with the standard scheme of Ixion tied to the wheel, which is found from early in the fifth century in Athens until well on in the fourth in Campania), and the seeming coincidence with the date of Euripides' play, make the equation tempting. But it could not be taken as proven. An oinochoe of shape IV in Kiel has a fascinating scene of Iphigeneia being led to sacrifice.⁹⁶ It is too early for Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, and there seems to be no good reason to link it with the work of any other known dramatist. Is one to suppose an unknown play? or some other source of inspiration? To sum up, the only key to this problem lies in the study of the iconography, and not in a random equation between subject and plays of which we happen to know. Once one accepts an equation, the 'reality' shown is what was intended by the performance, not the performance itself. As a consequence, such depictions are not straightforward evidence of costume or of what happened in the theatre.

III

The audience reaction to satyr-play as seen in fifth-century representations is again parallel to what we learn of it from literary sources as a dramatic genre. The representations divide themselves fairly neatly into what one could call the literal and the interpretive, and so use both the conventions for represent-

⁹⁴ Berlin inv. 3237; *MTS*² 50, AV 34; *IGD* III.3 10. See K. Schefold, "Der Andromeda des Nikias," in *Studies in Honour of A. D. Trendall* (Sydney 1979) 155-58, where he argues that the Berlin vase is derivative from the Andromeda by the painter Nikias, of which a later copy is that in the Casa dei Dioscuri.

⁹⁵ E. Simon, "Kratos und Bia," *WürzJbb* N.S. 1 (1975) (=Festschrift E. Siegmann) 177-86, *Jdl* 90 (1975) 119f figs. 2ff, and *LIMC* III s.v. "Bia et Kratos"; K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) 153-157. For other versions see conveniently *LIMC* V s.v. "Ixion."

⁹⁶ CVA Kiel (1) pls. 39.1-4, 40.1f (with references).

ing comedy and those for tragedy. We have pictures of satyr-players as chorusmen in action wearing their tights and their masks, seen objectively; but we also have pictures which are interpreted through the conventions, so that we see not men dressed as satyrs, but 'real' satyrs. The latter present the same problems of detection and interpretation as pictures deriving from tragedy, except, perhaps, that the traditional range of satyrs' activities as seen in vase-painting is much more limited than that of humans, and so there is some attraction in the principle put forward by Jahn, Buschor, and Simon that scenes falling outside the normal scope of satyrs' activities are quite likely inspired by the theatre.⁹⁷ The principle is the more likely to work because their range of activities is so much more restricted than that of humans and/or mythical figures, and Simon has given a number of convincing examples of the period of Aeschylus. A tantalising example from the later 430s is a cup by the Codrus Painter in Cambridge (PLATES 9b, 10, 11).⁹⁸ In publishing the vase, Nicholls took it as representing the *Oschophoria*, but the line of cloaked satyrs carrying objects that belong (or have belonged) to the elegant young man near the head of the group makes satyr-play more likely. The theme should fall within the category well known from satyr-plays of *kourotrophia*; one may speculate that the young man has now grown up (note the sandals which would suit an ephebe) and that he is about to leave his foster parents. They appear reluctant to see him go and carry the symbols of his childhood and youth—lyre, aryballoi, discus, pet bird, writing tablet, strigil,

⁹⁷ E. Simon, "Satyr-Plays on Vases in the Time of Aeschylus," in D. Kurtz and B. A. Sparkes, edd., *The Eye of Greece. Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge 1982) 123–48. On scenes from satyr-plays see in general *MTS*²; F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² (Berlin 1959), with additions in *GettyMusJ* 6–7 (1978–79) 139–46 and "Satyrspielvasen in Malibu," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum I* (Malibu 1983) 115–20. D. F. Sutton, "Scenes from Greek Satyr Plays Illustrated in Greek Vase-Paintings," *AncW* 9 (1984) 119–26, gives a sober assessment. More sceptical is F. Lissarrague, "Why Satyrs Are Good to Represent," in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, edd., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its Social Context* (Princeton 1990) 228–36.

⁹⁸ Cambridge GR 2.1977; R. V. Nicholls, in *Annual Report of the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate* (Cambridge 1977) pl. 2. I wrote this without knowing Lucilla Burn's examination of the cup in *Proceedings* (*supra* n.77) 99–106. We come to similar but not quite the same conclusions.

knucklebone bag, mug—and perhaps try to tempt him with them; but he ignores them, doubtless because he now has important tasks to undertake. To judge by his appearance, the young man may well be Theseus, but I cannot see the depiction as relating to any known play.⁹⁹ A somewhat similar theme involving *kourotrophia* is to be found on the roughly contemporary skyphos in Bari which has on one side a cloaked papposilenos as paidagogos in pursuit of a boy who runs away on the other side, but there are no grounds for supposing derivation from a common source.¹⁰⁰

The figures on this cup are shown as 'real'. Examples of satyr-players shown literally, in their tights, are common and need no listing here, but an interesting case is the calyx-krater in Vienna by the Altamura Painter, of about 470–460 (PLATE 12).¹⁰¹ It has a Return of Hephaestus with the lame god on foot in close company with Dionysus; they look like their real selves, not actors acting, but the satyr who leads them and grandly plays the kithara wears the drawers of a satyr-player. It is a nice dilemma: the painter depicts a stage performance and so shows the satyr-player for what he is (as one might just have guessed from his use of the kithara rather than the more normal lyre),¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Nor am I clear if the Amazon shown on the inside of the cup has anything to do with the scene on the outside; she makes the idea of Theseus the more tempting.

¹⁰⁰ Brommer (*supra* n.97) no. 115, fig. 67. Curiously, the figure is taken by N. H. Young, "The Figure of the Paidagogos in Art and Literature," *BiblArch* 53 (1990) 80–86 (the skyphos p.84), as a human paidagogos.

¹⁰¹ Vienna IV 985, *ARV*² 591.20; Brommer (*supra* n.97) 28 fig.20; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*² 184 fig. 41; *MTS*² 47, AV 16; F. Brommer, *Hephaistos, der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst* (Mainz 1978) pl. 3.1; *CVA* (3) pl. 101.1f (with further references); Schefold (*supra* n.95) 130 fig. 165.

¹⁰² Cf. the Fogg calyx-krater by the Kleophrades Painter from near the beginning of the century. On the side with Dionysus, a satyr has a lyre, but on the side with Hephaestus, the satyr has a kithara: Cambridge (Mass.), 1960.236; *ARV*² 185.31; Schefold (*supra* n.95) 128f, figs. 162f: perhaps a hint of satyr-play here. Schefold provides a good and convenient discussion of Returns in the fifth century; see also recently M. Halm-Tisserant, *AntK* 29 (1986) 8–22. It may well be that, as others have suggested, to have Hephaestus return on foot derives from satyr-play—there is a well-known law to the effect that donkeys or mules would be at their most perverse when expected to behave compliantly. For kithara-playing satyrs see too the late-fifth century Würzburg fragments: *CVA* Würzburg (2) pls. 42ff; Brommer, *AA* (1979) 512;

but the gods are shown as 'real', as they would have been for tragedy. The painter could hardly have shown them otherwise.

As the fifth century goes on, few if any literally-depicted satyrs are shown in the action of the play; they are presented in moments before or after the performance. The situation is, however, complicated by the painters' habit of making a figure who wears his mask take on the character or act the part, regardless of his surroundings (as we have seen above for tragic chorusmen, or like the one on the Pronomos Vase).¹⁰³ In the context of the present discussion, however, the important point is that players who are clearly giving a dramatic performance are at times shown literally, and this should in turn mean that at times the audience was conscious of the illusion involved in the performance. Given the small quantity of surviving satyr-plays, it is not easy to point to many examples of the rupture of dramatic illusion in the texts. One interesting case is that of *P.Oxy. XVIII 2162* from Aeschylus' *Isthmiastae*.¹⁰⁴ The satyrs carry likenesses of themselves. Lines 5–21 of fr.1 may be translated:

Look and see whether this image could be more like me, this Daedalic likeness: it only lacks a voice. Look at them. Do you see? Come, yes, come. I bring this offering to the god to decorate his house, this finely-painted votive. It would give my mother trouble. If she could see it, she would certainly turn and shriek, thinking it me, the son she brought up. He is so like me.

Look, then, upon the house of the Lord of the Sea, the Earth-Shaker, and each of you fasten up the likeness of his

Kannicht and Snell, *TrGF* II fr.3f; and Simon, *Pantheon* 36 (1978) 199–206, where she argues that the scene relates to a satyr-play about the return of Hephaestus.

¹⁰³ See also the Athens dinos (NM 13027) or the fragments in Bonn (1216.183+; *ARV*² 1180.2f [Painter of the Athens Dinosaurs]; *MTS*² 49, AV 23f; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*² figs. 45f), where the figures act like satyrs although they are clearly not performing, for the piper holds his pipes away from his mouth.

¹⁰⁴ Radt, *TrGF* III fr.78A. See further H. Lloyd-Jones in the Loeb edition of *Aeschylus* II (Cambridge [Mass.] 1957) 541–56 with references; H. J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 164–70; D. F. Sutton, *The Greek Satyr Play* (Meisenheim 1980) 29–33.

handsome form ("face": Lloyd-Jones), a messenger, a voiceless herald to keep off travellers...it will halt strangers on their way by its terrifying look.¹⁰⁵

As Gloria Ferrari has pointed out, the only objects which fit this description are masks¹⁰⁶—thus, all they cannot do is speak, they are so like the carriers of the objects that their mothers could not tell the difference (of course, since they are reproductions of the masks the carriers are wearing), they are finely painted, they will be placed about a temple (as is in fact normal at the Temple of Dionysus after a victorious performance in the Theatre),¹⁰⁷ and they will frighten off strangers (a known use for satyr-masks).¹⁰⁸ The humour of the situation rests in the audience's recognition of all this, in their seeing the chorusmen as players wearing masks, and therefore in their recognition that the dramatic illusion is being stretched to near breaking point. This is probably as far as one could go in satyr-play.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ The translation is based on that by Lloyd-Jones. I am unsure if μορφή at line 19 should be translated as "face": it is an attractive suggestion. The word is also used at line 6.

¹⁰⁶ *RA* (1986) 19f. The suggestion had been made already by Mette (*supra* n.104), who compared Cratinus fr.205 K.=218 K.-A. from the *Seriphioi*, and he was followed by Kassel-Austin; but, *pace* Mette, I very much doubt if the satyr-players took off their own masks here. Sutton (*supra* n.104) also takes these effigies as masks but, following Fraenkel, sees them as possibly for use as antefixes, as does F. Lasserre, *RivFil* 101 (1973) 286. The passage is misunderstood by C. H. Hallett, *JHS* 106 (1986) 75–78, with disturbing consequences.

¹⁰⁷ See *e.g.* Green (*supra* n.1) 237–48.

¹⁰⁸ Examples are later, but one still within the fifth century is that shown on the small chous in Eleusis: *MTS*² 49, AV 26; G. Mylonas, *To Dytikon nekrotapheion tis Eleusinos* (Athens 1975) pl. 362, no. 726. This seems in fact to be one of the deepest-embedded and longest-lasting motifs involving masks: see for the later periods W. Deonna, "Notes archéologiques. I. Eros jouant avec un masque de Silène," *RA* (1916) 74–97; L. Hadermann-Misguisch, "Image antique byzantine et moderne du putto au masque," *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels 1982) 513–52. Note, of course, the use of the term *mormolykeion* in *e.g.* Ar. fr.131 K.=130 K.-A., where the masks are said to be hung in the Dionysion.

¹⁰⁹ See Bain (*supra* n.84) 13ff and esp. 23ff, and *Actors and Audience. A Study of Asides and Related Conventions in Greek Drama* (Oxford 1977) 72 n.2: "There is no evidence that (in the fifth century at least) satyr drama dif-

The evidence from both literature and vase-paintings is too thin for firm conclusions, but it is tempting to link the maintenance of dramatic pretence in the *Cyclops*¹¹⁰ with the observation that in the later fifth century literally-depicted satyr-players are shown only outside the theatre, not in performance. One might speculate that this is an indication of a shift in the genre and the public perception of it. One might argue that, compared with the wilder days of Pratinas and the young Aeschylus, satyr-play had lost something of its overtly comic, burlesque edge. There have been suggestions that the genre had lost something of its popularity (although one should note that representations of papposilenoï and of satyr-masks are immensely popular in the fourth century). One could certainly have pro-satyr-ic tragedies now. There is some merit in the suggestion that it was only in the 430s that Comedy made its mark in Athens and defined its territory in the manner in which we know it (Taplin, "Synkrisis" 165). This would certainly accord well with the first appearance of comic actors (as distinct from chorus) in vase-paintings. It is quite possible that this new territory included areas previously covered by Satyr-play (and certainly there is no reason to regard Satyr-play as having been any more static than Comedy or Tragedy).

This article has been concerned with aspects of the interaction between the theatre-performance and its audience in Athens in the fifth century, and in particular with how we should read images and indeed distinguish images concerned with theatrical performance. It has not been concerned with what happened outside Athens or with what happened in later periods. The later history of depictions concerning tragedy becomes much more complicated, as the fifth-century tragedies themselves lost their immediacy and came to be regarded as classics for self-

ferred from tragedy in regard to the dramatic illusion." This statement would seem, from the evidence of this passage of the *Isthmiastae*, to be rather too strong.

¹¹⁰ Seaford on Eur. *Cyclops* 227 sees a reference to Silenus' mask; *contra*, Taplin, "Synkrisis" 170 n.35.

conscious performance. And vase-painters in South Italy in the fourth century were serving a different market which had its own needs and concerns.¹¹¹

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