

# MENANDER: PRODUCTION AND IMAGINATION<sup>1</sup>

By T. B. L. WEBSTER, M.A., LITT.D.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

## I. *The Stage Building and the World Outside*

THE Athenian audience must have been connoisseurs of comedy. In the fourth century five comedies were produced at the City Dionysia and five at the Lenaia every year, and in addition to these comedies were performed in the many deme theatres. The spectator had therefore certain expectations based on his previous experience of how a character would behave or a situation develop, and part of his interest must have been to see how the new play observed or transformed the accepted conventions. Convention is a third term to be added to production and imagination. The Athenian audience expected the conventional, they saw what the poet and choregos produced, and they imagined what the poet realized for them. We now have nothing but a faulty text of Menander. Our expectations are largely different from the expectations of Menander's audience. We expect the producer to simulate the realities of time and place: fog in *Peter Grimes*, moonlight in the *Merchant of Venice*, and dawn in *Tosca*, or New York for *West Side Story*, India in *East of Suez*, and "the ground floor front room with adjacent hallway, staircase and a passage leading to the kitchen" of a brick cottage in Melbourne for *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*. Mr. Lawler could demand "a glowing interior luminosity protected from the drabness outside by a light-filtered, shifting curtain of greenery", and such effects are part of our expectation when we go to see a comedy. But if we wish to understand Menander we have to forget all such expectations and patiently reconstruct from his faulty text, archaeological remains, and the Greek

<sup>1</sup> References are to the Oxford text of the *Dyskolos* and to the Teubner text for the rest of Menander. The substance of this article formed part of the Gray lectures at Cambridge, 1962.

landscape the production that the audience saw and the world that the author imagined.

The play took place in the open air during the hours of daylight. No light effects were possible. This did not prevent Menander from setting a scene at night if he wanted to. The soldier lover of the *Misoumenos* walks about at night pondering suicide. Someone in the *Anepsioi* demands " torch, lamp, lamp-stand, anything ; only make a lot of light ". At the end of the *Dyskolos* Getas asks for wreaths and torches ; the party in the *Nymphaion* is to end in a torchlight revel. Menander may also possibly be the author of two recently published papyri which show night-scenes : in one from Oxyrrhynchos a young man is afraid that he may meet the night watchmen, and in the other from Antinoopolis an old man asks for the lamp so that he may better read the inscription on a cup. But in these night scenes the poet is writing in a tradition which goes back to Old Comedy, to Strepsiades' lamp at the beginning of the *Clouds* and Blepyros' torch at the end of the *Ekklēsiiazousai*. Attic and South Italian comedy vases show that the producer aided the audience's imagination by providing the actors with torch or lamp.<sup>1</sup> The spectator was therefore accustomed by convention to imagine whatever hour he was told to imagine.

Another kind of unreality of time is present in ancient comedy but has vanished from modern comedy. Today the time experienced is broken up into separate acts and scenes, and the programme tells us whether to imagine an interval of minutes, hours, days, months or years between the scenes. In fifth-century

<sup>1</sup> Night scenes. *Misoumenos* frs. 3. 9. 11 ; cf. frs. 152, 789. *Anepsioi* frs. 55-56. *Dyskolos* 964. *P. Oxy.* no. 2329, line 26, discussed by Latte, *Gnomon*, xxvii (1956), 497 (Barigazzi, *Athenaeum*, xxxiv (1956), 350 attributes to the *Georgos* ; but (i) the evidence is insufficient, (ii) Dromon here seems to duplicate Daos in the *Georgos*, (iii) the argument from line 7 that the *Georgos* also took place at night is uncertain, because the marriage preparations may have begun the night before the day on which the action on the stage begins (cf. fr. 100)). *Antinoopolis I*, no. 15, recto line 10 (cf. the invocation to Night, verso line 9) ; cf. *C.R.* lxxvi (1952), 57. Aristophanes, *Nub.* 18, *Eccl.* 1150. Vases : torch, e.g. Attic oenochoe by Nicias painter, Louvre L 9, Webster, *G.T.P.* (= *Greek Theatre Production*), no. B2 ; Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 3. Lamp, Paestan bell-krater by Asteas, Vatican U19, Webster, *G.T.P.*, no. B60 ; Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 59. (Compare also Plautus, *Amph.* 149, 153, *Circ.* 1.)

tragedy and comedy the chorus was present continuously from its first entry to the end of the play and gave the audience a single stretch of experienced time ; therefore the discrepancy between time imagined and time experienced may be considerable. Agamemnon's herald can reach Argos from Troy while chorus and actors have sung and recited less than 500 lines of time experienced since the beacon announced Troy's capture ; and in the *Acharnians* Amphitheos takes just over forty lines to get from Athens to Sparta and back. No such glaring discrepancy occurs in Menander, and with the chorus no longer taking any part in the action there is no valid reason for any discrepancy because the intervals between the acts could contain any length of imagined time.

But both the *Dyskolos* and the *Epitrepontes* show that Menander still admitted unrealities of imagined time. In the *Dyskolos* Sostratos wants to achieve his result quickly ; he had fallen in love with Knemon's daughter on a hunting expedition the day before the action starts ; he sent Pyrrhias to see Knemon early in the morning (71) ; he arrives with Chaireas to find out what is happening ; when things go wrong he goes back to look for Getas because " much could happen in a single day " (187) ; he returns by himself in the hope of seeing Knemon ; Getas arrives with the cook, and later, Kallippides' household arrives and they conduct the sacrifice ; Knemon falls down the well ; Kallippides arrives ; the two marriages are arranged ; Sostratos again comments " in one day I have achieved a marriage " (864), and perhaps the reference to the torch at the end of the play suggests that the time is evening. Time experienced is a single long day.

The Nymphaion is about fifteen miles from Athens ; we can reasonably assume that Kallippides lives rather nearer Athens because Sostratos is a " young man about town " (41) but if the house is within the deme, as Sostratos implies (262), it cannot be more than two miles down the road. We may perhaps assume that Chaireas is living or at least staying with Sostratos, so that he does not have to be fetched from Athens.<sup>1</sup> (If Sostratos fetches

<sup>1</sup> If line 43 is restored with *φίλου* and line 48 with *συγκυνηγετοῦνθ'*, then Chaireas was on the hunting expedition with Sostratos and has stayed the night with him. If *δούλου* is restored in line 43 and *συνακολουθήσανθ'* or the like in

Chaireas from Athens, then Pyrrhias' interview with Knemon lasts for the time that Sostratos takes to get to Athens and back, about seven hours.) But the cook claims that he "serves countless households in the city" (490) and he must therefore have been hired in the agora (263). Getas must therefore walk thirteen miles into Athens, hire the cook, walk back thirteen miles, pick up his bundle of rugs, while the cook picks up the sheep, and walk on to the Nymphaion: eight hours would seem to be a minimum allowance for this.

The real difficulty in this timetable is not that it makes the sacrifice late starting but that it leaves an unaccountable gap in Knemon's day. Pyrrhias is sent to see him very early; he chases Pyrrhias away and comes back to see Sostratos outside his house and goes in; after the pitcher duet Daos goes to find Gorgias in the field and Sostratos goes home to find Getas. At the beginning of the second act Gorgias returns to look for Sostratos, and Sostratos returns having failed to find Getas. This need not take long if Kallippides' house is not far from the shrine and Sostratos is a quick walker. If Knemon found him outside his house at 6.30 a.m., he could be back from his fruitless search for Getas before 8 a.m. Then Gorgias and Sostratos make their plan and go off; immediately Sikon and Getas come on, having arrived from Athens. Thus within the act the clock jumps at least six hours between lines 392 and 393; and Knemon, who spends all his day working his farm, having entered his house in the early morning, does not think of leaving it until the beginning of the third act, presumably not before 3 p.m.

The answer must be that Menander was not interested in making time experienced and time imagined consistent. His primary purpose was to show Knemon's frustration (which also frustrated Sostratos) at being kept at home by the arrival of the procession and the importunities of Sikon and Getas; therefore as Knemon had come home in the first act, he had to stay at home line 48, Sostratos must fetch Chaireas from Athens, and lines 50-6 become intelligible.

For the geography and remains of Phyle see particularly Lolling, *A.M.* v (1880). 290, Skias, *Praktika*, 1900, pp. 38 ff.; Wrede, *A.M.* xlix (1924), 155 ff.; Kirsten, *Atti del III Congresso di Epigrafia greca e latina*, pp. 155 ff.; J-M. Jacques, *Bull. G. Bude*, 1959, p. 200.

until the third act when the procession arrives. For some unknown reason (Menander may have served in Phyle as an ephebe or he knew that Demetrios of Phaleron was interested in Phyle)<sup>1</sup> he set the scene in Phyle but also introduced a cook from Athens ; this made a new time difficulty, but it could be solved by the comic convention of annihilating time imagined. If this is right, Sostratos may really have fetched Chaireas from Athens and we need not ask how Pyrrhias stayed so long with Knemon or why Sostratos did not meet Getas on his way back from Athens.

The convention of New Comedy may perhaps be formulated thus : the scene of action is always within easy reach of agora, country, and harbour. In the *Epitrepontes* Smikrines lives in the city (402). Charisios and Chairestratos live in the country ; their estates run up into the hills where Daos pastures his sheep and Syriskos, who belongs to Chairestratos, saws off the stumps for charcoal (66, 83). Where is this ? As Charisios, when drunk, got mixed up with the women at a night festival (275), it would be natural to assume that he lived somewhere near the place where the night festival occurred ; the festival, the Tauropolia, was celebrated at Halai Araphenides, some eighteen miles east of Athens.<sup>2</sup> But, quite apart from the impossibility of Smikrines walking from there to Athens and back twice in the course of the play, his suggestion, that when Charisios wants to visit his mistress he will tell his wife that " he must walk to the Peiraeus " (525), which is some five miles west of Athens, hardly makes sense to someone living so far on the other side. But if the convention is that country, town, and harbour are mutually accessible between acts, the distances cease to matter, and the other timetable set by the progress of the lunch (which will be examined in the next section) can operate.

In the cases that we have so far examined a contrast should perhaps be drawn between the night scenes and the rest. In the *Dyskolos* and *Epitrepontes* the spectators accept the arrival of

<sup>1</sup> The garrison (with others) honoured Demetrios of Phaleron with a statue, *I.G.* II<sup>2</sup>, 2971.

<sup>2</sup> On the location of the Tauropolia at Halai see most recently *TO EPTON*, 1957, p. 24.

Getas or the return of Smikrines without question because they know that Comedy discounts distances and they see with their own eyes that these characters have arrived. In the night scenes the words, with only a torch or a lamp burning in broad daylight to help them, have to convince the audience that it is dark, when they see that it is not. It is this difference between what the poet imagines and what the audience sees which I particularly want to discuss. We shall find that Menander imagines places and objects with great clarity and that we can reconstruct his imagination from our knowledge of Greek scenery and archaeological remains, and this precise and particular imagination not only goes far beyond what can be produced on the stage but may also conflict with the limited possibilities of production. The conflict may be solved by theatrical convention and the convention may become an accepted theatrical reality (we shall find this when we come to discuss interior scenes), or the conflict may be left unresolved for the audience to appreciate (and some of the interesting cases of this arise from the use of stock masks). For convenience the subject can be divided into scenes and objects outside, scenes and objects inside, and people.

Hermann Fränkel<sup>1</sup> in his excellent essay on Apollonios Rhodios uses the word *Fixierung* as a label for Apollonios' tendency to fix the action in a precise framework of place, time, order, and arrangement. "Everything that is narrated is fully shaped down to the last detail; everything is seen complete and in the round even if not very much is said about it." This seems to me also to be a good description of Menander. It is just the quality which separates Menander from Terence where we can compare them. Terence's midwife says "Afterwards give her the drink as I ordered and as much as I told you" (*Andria* 483), but Menander's midwife says "After that, my dear, the yolk of four eggs" (fr. 37). Terence's old man has "the best and most valuable land in this district" (*Heaut.* 63), but Menander's old man has "the best of all the farms in Halai by a long chalk and the most blessed because it is unmortgaged" (fr. 127). In the *Kitharistes* (65) Laches proposes to find his son not merely in the Agora but "at the Hermai", perhaps because this was a place

<sup>1</sup> *Mus. Helv.* xiv (1957), 3.

frequented by young men of the cavalry.<sup>1</sup> Several plays are set in Attic demes, probably the *Epitrepontes* and *Georgos* and certainly the *Dyskolos*, *Heautontimoroumenos*, and the *Halaeis Araphenides*. The *Heros* was set at Ptelea on the slopes of Aigaleos ; the young hero is working as a shepherd and someone says " I will take the huntsmen round the pear-trees " (fr. 8).

The *Dyskolos* naturally reveals more than any of the fragments. Pan distinguishes at once between " the Phylasians and the people who can work the rocks here " and calls his Nymphaion " a very famous shrine ". The very famous shrine can only be the cave on Mount Parnes, in which reliefs with inscriptions and other objects have been found in some quantity :<sup>2</sup> the offerings run in an unbroken series from Mycenaean to late Roman times. Considerable remains of fourth century houses have been found on the lower ground between the cave and the fort. Pan distinguishes between the hard country, " the rocks that bear only thyme and sage-apples " (605), and the land of " the Phylasians ", which is the richer land below the level of the cave, where Kallippides has his large farm. This distinction is also clear in the modern accounts of the country. On the way up from Kallippides' farm to the Nymphaion there were fig-trees and olive trees, if we may believe Sikon (395-6). Knemon's farm and Gorgias' neighbouring plot run up the hill. Knemon's farm is bounded by the road at the bottom (162) and runs up through scrub, which he shares with Gorgias (351), to the pear trees, where he was found by Pyrrhias (100 f.). This is a clear picture which fits the local geography ; and perhaps Menander knew the country from his ephebe service.

This is what the audience has to imagine. We have to ask what they saw. The play was produced at the Lenaia in 317/6 B.C. (according to the almost certain emendation of the archon's name). Lenaia plays, as far as we know, were produced in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wycherley, *Agora* III, no. 303 and note. " The women's market " (fr. 390), " At the olive oil " (fr. 700), " at the sesame " (fr. 709) are similar precise expressions for parts of the Agora, but we do not know their context.

<sup>2</sup> For the country see references above on p. 237, n. 1. Reliefs and inscriptions : Rhomaios, *Arch. Eph.*, 1905, pp. 99 ff.; Wilhelm, *Ö. Jh.*, xxv (1929), 54; Peek, *A.M.* lxxvii (1942), 50 f. The fullest account of the finds of pottery, terracottas, metal, etc., is in *Arch. Eph.* 1906, pp. 89 ff.

theatre of Dionysos. The theatre of Dionysos had been rebuilt by Lykourgos soon after 330 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that in this reconstruction the theatre had a stone stage building with wings projecting about 15 feet from a façade, which was 66 feet long.<sup>2</sup>

On the assumption that the façade, like the wings, had columns in front, the audience would see within the framework of the wings a façade divided by columns into eleven spaces;<sup>3</sup> the third, sixth, and ninth of these spaces were occupied by doors of which the central one was wider than the rest and was alone used for tragedy. For comedy one, two, or three doors were available. The *Dyskolos*, and probably the *Perikeiromene*, needs all three doors; the *Samia* and the *Epitrepontes* only need two doors and presumably in these plays only the outer doors were used.

Eight intercolumniations were free of doors and in them wooden panels could be fixed. Each panel would be about 3 ft. wide by 10 ft. high. For these panels or *pinakes* we have inscriptional evidence from Delos and Oropos,<sup>4</sup> and at Megalopolis, Epidauros, Assos, Delos, and Oropos the columns were specially shaped to receive them;<sup>5</sup> in the earlier Periklean theatre the corresponding spaces in the wooden stage building were about 8 ft. wide, and in Late Hellenistic theatres the three doors themselves were set in much wider panels (*thyromata*). The chief point in doubt about the suggested reconstruction for the

<sup>1</sup> For the date cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, xii (1943), 200. For plan and remains, cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, pp. 148 f. Cf. also BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, XLII (1959-60), 495 f., 506 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The fifth century theatre at Corinth (*Corinth*, II, pp. 15 ff.) and the fourth century theatres at Heraclea Minoa (*N.Sc.* 1958, p. 253) and Dodona (*B.C.H.* lxxxiv (1960), 746) all have straight fronts without wings; so also the early third century theatre at Thasos (*B.C.H.* lxxxiv (1960), 300 ff., 309 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Priene, G. Kleiner in *RE.* s.v. Priene, no. 11; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, figs. 68-9; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 417-9.

<sup>4</sup> Delos: *I.G.* xi. 2, nos. 158, 159, 199. Oropos: *I.G.* vi. 423 and 423a. On these texts cf. Vallois, *Architecture Hellénique à Delos*, pp. 235 f.; *G.T.P.*, pp. 147 f. (Delos), 140 (Oropos). Perhaps the *θυρώνες* of the papyrus, *Fuadh University*, i (1949), no. 14 marks a continuation locally of *θυρώματα* into the third century, A.D. (In Cyprus *θύρωμα* means door, doorposts, or lintels, Mitford, *A.J.A.* lxxv (1961), 113.)

<sup>5</sup> Columns shaped to take *pinakes*: Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, p. 217, fig. 76.



Lykourgos theatre is whether after the wide panels of the Periclean theatre such narrow panels would have been accepted; against the use of wider panels and therefore fewer columns is the assumption that the columns were re-used in the Hellenistic theatre which had an intercolumniation of about 4 ft. 6 in. with a centre intercolumniation of about 8 ft. The narrow panels divided by marble columns are therefore perhaps more likely. Our only evidence for the nature of these panels are the scanty ancient notices on scene painting and the inscriptions from Delos and Oropos.

When Aristotle speaks of spectacle (*opsis*), he apparently does not think of scenery but of costumes and masks. He says that the art of the *skēuopoios* is more important than the art of the poet in perfecting spectacle, and the *skēuopoios* from Aristophanes to Plutarch is only concerned with making masks and costumes.<sup>1</sup> Scenery is only mentioned in the *Poetics* in the note "three actors and scene-painting, Sophocles", which Professor Else has shown<sup>2</sup> convincingly to be an intrusion into Aristotle's argument and not quite so certainly to be an interpolation by someone other than Aristotle. The other allusion to early scene-painting is in Vitruvius:<sup>3</sup> in the preface to his seventh book he begins a list of books on architecture with the words "for first Agatharchos at Athens, when Aeschylus was producing a tragedy, made a scene and left a note-book about it. This caused Demokritos and Anaxagoras to write about the same problem . . . that the representations in scene-painting might render the visual appearance of buildings and what is drawn on vertical flat walls should appear to be now receding, now projecting." Elsewhere Vitruvius says that "scene-painting is the drawing of a façade

<sup>1</sup> *Poetics* 1450 b 19; cf. Aristophanes, *Equ.* 232; Plut., *Vita Crassi*, p. 33; *Moralia*, p. 853e.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetics* 1449 b 18. G. F. Else, *Aristotle's Poetics*, pp. 166 ff.; 174 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vitruvius, VII, *praef.* 11; I, ii. 2. For the connection with buildings cf. Polybius, XII, 28A, 1. On the kind of perspective see J. White, *Hellenic Society, Supplementary Paper no. 7*, pp. 45 ff. On the dating of Agatharchos see A. Rumpf, *J.H.S.* lxxvii (1947), 13. Note that Anaxagoras died in 428/7 B.C., and Demokritos was born 460/59 B.C.; Demokritos was not recognized when he visited Athens and therefore may have visited Athens young. The *Life of Aeschylus*, ch. 14, ascribes the introduction of "paintings" to Aeschylus without mentioning Agatharchos.

and receding sides and the correspondence of all the lines to the point of the compass". Scene-painting clearly became a technical term for the drawing of buildings in perspective; but the drawing of buildings in perspective must have originated in scene-painting or else this term would not have been used, and the references to Sophocles, Aeschylus, Demokritos, Anaxagoras, and Agatharchos fix this earliest scene-painting with perspective buildings in the fifth century B.C. The exact nature of the perspective employed, which has been much discussed, and the dating of Agatharchos (everything except Vitruvius' *Aeschylo docente tragoediam* would suggest that he was active in the second half rather than the first half of the fifth century) do not concern us here. From the fifth century, then, perspective paintings of buildings could be used as scenery for tragedy. The only other reference to scenery in the late fifth or early fourth century is the anecdote of Zeuxis:<sup>1</sup> he painted grapes with such success that birds flew onto the stage (*in scaenam*). This is another kind of scenery and perhaps suggests the background for a satyr play.

Vitruvius<sup>2</sup> tells us that there are three kinds of scenes, tragic, comic, and satyric; they are differently decorated; on tragic scenery are depicted columns, pediments, statues, and other royal things; comic scenery displays private houses with balconies and windows; satyric scenery is decorated with trees, caves, mountains, and other rustic things after the manner of the landscape painter. Rumpf has pointed out that these three scenes are perfectly illustrated by the cubiculum of the first century villa at Boscoreale, that they imply the large *thyromata* settings of the late Hellenistic theatre with the high stage (introduced in the second century B.C.), and that the first named landscape painter (*topographos*) also belongs to the second

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, 35, 65 *in scaenam* only refers to Zeuxis, not to Parrhasios; Parrhasios' curtain may also have been scenery but we have no evidence that it was; *in certamen* does not necessarily mean "a public competition", still less a competition in the theatre, as Pfuhl assumes (*M.U.Z.*, § 742).

<sup>2</sup> Vitruvius, v, vi. 9, as interpreted by Rumpf, *J.H.S.* lxxvii (1947), 18, (Vitruvius, vii. v, 2, is the connecting link). Boscoreale: Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, figs. 89, 90, 91, 94; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 471-4; *G.T.P.*, pl. 23 (comic scene).

century B.C. The Naples comedy relief,<sup>1</sup> which, to judge from the elaborate architecture in the background, derives from an original of the same date, adds another point; the architecture was sometimes covered by a curtain. The Boscoreale satyric scene has rocks with cave and spring; round the mouth of the cave is a vine, a tenuous link back to the grapes of Zeuxis. The receding colonnades of the tragic scene point more strongly back to the perspective buildings of Agatharchos, which are illustrated by the perspective buildings on late fifth-century vases.<sup>2</sup>

These echoes raise a question of the greatest importance: were the *pinakes* (or later the *thyromata*) prepared for the individual play or were they stock sets? Nothing in our texts suggests that they were anything but stock sets. Vitruvius, in referring to Late Hellenistic scenery, merely divides it into tragic, comic, and satyric, and this suggests stock sets. The names connected with scene painting (Aeschylus in Vitruvius and Sophocles in Aristotle) may merely give a date; the texts do not mean that Agatharchos painted a scene to suit an individual play of Aeschylus or that Sophocles introduced different scenery for different plays. The inscriptional evidence from Delos and Oropos<sup>3</sup> points the same way. At Delos the payments for scenery come out of the general funds of the temple and therefore had nothing to do with the company performing the play. At Oropos a private benefactor gave the *thyromata* and recorded the fact in a large inscription, which suggests that they were expected to last some time. At Delos payments were made for painting four *pinakes* for the *proskēnion* in 282 B.C., and *pinakes* were installed in the theatre in the next year; in 274 B.C. the terminology is changed, and instead of *pinakes* the panels are called *skēnai* and *paraskēnia*; it looks as if for the smaller *pinakes* larger panels were installed, and we hear of a new lower set, a new upper set, a restored set, and a set which was either used as a frame or given a frame. These sound like standard sets which

<sup>1</sup> Naples 6687. Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, fig. 77; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 324; *G.T.P.*, pl. 24a; *Monuments illustrating New Comedy* (= *MNC*), no. N.S. 25; on the curtain, *G.T.P.*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. fragment in Heidelberg, Pagenstecher, *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, pl. 17 f; Bulle, *Arch. Eph.*, 1937, p. 478; Jena 382, Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 16a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above p. 242, n. 4.

are meant to last some time; the painting of the set of four panels in 282 B.C. cost 400 drachmai, and the painting of the *skēnai* and *paraskēnia* in 274 B.C. cost between 2,500 and 3,000 drachmai.

For the sets of New Comedy it is natural to turn to the pictures of New Comedy, but a glance through the twenty-four listed by Dr. A. K. H. Simon<sup>1</sup> shows that only four have anything except a plain undivided light (or, in the Casa del Centenario, dark) background behind the figures. Of the four the scene<sup>2</sup> from the Casa del Centenario with the slave watching the youth night-walking and the mosaic by Dioskourides with the musicians<sup>3</sup> add a door to the plain background, because a door is essential to the scene—the youth is overheard telling his troubles to the audience and the musicians are serenading. The mosaic by Dioskourides with the women<sup>4</sup> has been interpreted as a scene taking place inside one of the wide openings of the Hellenistic theatre, which according to this theory showed the audience a room. This is for several reasons impossible. First, a scene set back behind the front of the stage building would not have been audible. Secondly, the *thyroma* (which the authors of the theory point to as evidence for such a room) does not mean a room but a panel sometimes containing a practicable door. Thirdly, the wide openings are only found in the Late Hellenistic theatre and the original of the Dioskourides mosaic must be dated in the early third century by the proportions and drapery of the figures and the form of the cup held by the old woman. Fourthly, in the first scene of Menander's *Synaristosai*, which may be the scene represented, the old woman says "the barbarian has removed the wine as well as the table". The only reason for removing the table (which perhaps the little slave in the mosaic is preparing to do) would be if the action took place on the stage, and the stage had to be cleared. We must therefore accept Rumpf's explanation

<sup>1</sup> *Comicae Tabellae*, Emsdetten, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> *MNC*, no. NP 22; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 770.

<sup>3</sup> *MNC*, no. NM 2; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, fig. 85; Bieber *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 346.

<sup>4</sup> *MNC*, no. NM 1; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, fig. 86; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 347. The interpretation of Bulle has been revised and expanded by H. Kenner, *Das Theater und der Realismus*, p. 72. Rumpf, *J.H.S.* lxxvii (1947), 17.

that the strips of black, grey, and yellow on the upper edge and the left edge of the mosaic have nothing to do with stage apparatus but must be an attempt to show spatial depth, paralleled on the third century grave stele of Helixo in Alexandria. For Menander the mosaic gives positive evidence of an interior scene played on the stage.

The only hint of a background (other than a door) is given by the fragmentary mosaic from the Santangelo collection.<sup>1</sup> The slave mask with its deep trumpet beard dates the original in the early third century B.C., and a parallel for the painted garland can be found in an early Hellenistic grave in Alexandria. Behind the actor a tympanon hangs from an ivy garland. The decoration naturally recalls the ivy trail with masks suspended from it which hangs above the symposion of three actors on a Paestan bell-krater. There the context is a symposion, but other South Italian vases show similar decoration as the background for comic scenes. On the Sicilian Manfria group the background between the columns is regularly decorated with bucranes or bucranes alternating with phialai.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Santangelo mosaic stands in a tradition, which goes back to the Middle Comedy period, of decorating the background with objects that suggest sacrifice and symposion. Such a decoration is therefore likely also on the pinakes used as the background for comedy in the theatre of Lykourgos : *συμποτικά τὰ πράγματα*.

The elaborate and fantastic architecture of the Boscoreale comic backgrounds has no stage ancestry as far as we know, except in one point : the windows between the doors and the outer edge of the panel. Windows are seen on Paestan and Apulian vases,<sup>3</sup> and windows are necessary in the *Clouds*, *Wasps*,

<sup>1</sup> Naples 6146, *MNC*, no. IM 3 ; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 401. Grave at Sidi Gaber, Studniczka, *das Symposion Ptolemaios II*, 56, fig. 14 ; Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, pl. 57/2. (On dating Breccia, *Necropoli*, xxxi.)

<sup>2</sup> Symposion of Actors : Vatican AD 1, Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 164 ; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 538. Manfria group : e.g. Lentini, Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 73 (cf. nos. 89, 91) ; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 488. Apulian : e.g. British Museum F 169, Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 75 (cf. nos. 18, 24, 77, 143, 144, 150) ; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 485 ; Beazley, *J.H.S.* lix (1939), 38.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Paestan bell-krater quoted above, p. 236, n. 1 ; Apulian, Bari 3899, Trendall, *Phlyax vases*, no. 17 ; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 492. On Aristophanes, A. M. Dale, *J.H.S.* lxxvii (1957), 205, 208, 210.

and *Ekklesiazousai*. In the Periclean theatre they were probably set in the panels on either side of the central doorway. The Boscoreale fresco perhaps shows that in New Comedy, which can hardly have abjured the window serenade, the window conversation, and the window rescue, the windows were placed outside the two side doors.

The grapes of Zeuxis may have hung from a vine in a landscape like the satyric background of Boscoreale.<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to determine how early a landscape background is likely, since if a landscape background was used for satyr play it might be used also for a comedy which was set in the country. Rumpf in connection with the Boscoreale background mentions the Alexandrian painter Demetrius who gave hospitality to Ptolemy Philometor in Rome in 164 B.C. and was called *topographos*, landscape painter.<sup>2</sup> He may well have been very early in the tradition of painters who painted wide prospects of landscape either without human figures or with tiny human figures. The absence or subordination of the human figures is something entirely new in free painting, but theatre backgrounds had always been free of figures because the poet supplied them. From the point of view of scene-painting the innovations in the Boscoreale satyric scene are the size of the panel and the treatment of space. The landscape itself with its pergola, its grotto, and its marble fountain belongs to the general and much discussed class of bucolic landscapes. The beginnings of this class seem to me to be firmly fixed in the early third century by Adriani's publication of a handleless kantharos or deep phiale of bronze in the Alexandrian Museum.<sup>3</sup> Theokritos' idylls and the grottoes<sup>4</sup> in Ptolemy's banqueting tent are a parallel phenomenon. This evidence may suggest that *pinakes* with bucolic scenery could have been used for the background of satyr plays in Alexandria in the early third century, but this is Alexandria and not Athens and Alexandria a generation later than the *Dyskolos*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Gnathia, particularly the red and white group, *J.H.S.* lxxi (1951), 224.

<sup>2</sup> Valerius Maximus V. 1, 1; Diodorus Siculus, *Exc. Vat.*, III, 96 (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 2141-2).

<sup>3</sup> Alexandria 25263, Adriani, *Una Coppa Paesistica*, Rome, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> Athenaeus V, 196f-197a, cf. Studniczka, *op. cit.* pp. 92 ff.

If we start from the other end we can at least state the possibilities. Aeschylus' *Prometheus* needs a rocky background and the representation of hills by simple outlines can be seen on the vases of the Niobid painter and his circle.<sup>1</sup> Sophocles' *Ichneutai* and *Philoctetes* both play in the country before a cave, and in the late fifth century the new technique of *skiagraphia*, shading as well as painting shadows, was used to give rocks in free painting rounded forms and hollows.<sup>2</sup> In the fourth century on an Attic red-figure vase<sup>3</sup> the earth-goddess rises from an elaborate cave; this is outlined in white stone, the inside is red with receding patches of black, and plenty of plant-life is visible both outside and in. There is some reason for assuming that among the standard sets for tragedy and satyr play were panels representing rocky landscape and that the central door could be flanked by panels representing a cave. We have, moreover, one pointer to such scenery in comedy. An Apulian vase<sup>4</sup> of the very early fourth century has the aged Cheiron pulled up the steps on to the stage by Xanthias; two women also in comic masks, labelled Nymphs, look out of their cave, which is represented by wavy lines. Here I should suppose that in the production the panel at the side of the door was painted with rocks and that possibly the Nymphs were seen through the window before Xanthias knocked on the door.

What was possible for an Apulian production in the early fourth century must have been possible for Menander in the Lykourgos theatre and I think we may assume that for the *Dyskolos* he could have used panels representing a rocky background, panels which were perhaps more often used for tragedies

<sup>1</sup> Niobid painter, etc., e.g. Pfuhl, *M.u.Z.*, figs. 492, 506, 507; Richter, *Greek Art*, fig. 451.

<sup>2</sup> Rocks in the fifth century: M. Robertson, *Greek Painting*, 125-7 (Nysa); 136, 138, 139 (Helikon); E. Bielefeld, *Zu einer attischen Lekythos in Hamburg*, 1944, pl. 1; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, 562, no. 119; Hoffmann, *Kunst des Altertums*, no. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Red figure vase: Berlin F 2646; Metzger, *Représentations*, 75, pl. 5, 5 (early fourth century). Cf. the fourth century sculptured relief from Vari, Athens N.M.2011; the plastic vases with a young Dionysos in a grotto, festooned with vines bearing grape clusters, Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas*, II, no. 1708; D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, vol. xxiii (1954), pl. 19, no. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 35; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 491.

or satyr plays with a country setting. The rocks would appear on the panels, but imagination would have to supply not only the fig-tree and the olive tree but also the thyme and the sage apples ; and the houses of Knemon and Gorgias and the famous cave were reduced to three doors, two smaller doors at the side and a more splendid door in the centre. This translation into conventional stage terms has, however, its compensating advantages. The ' famous shrine ' must be the Cave on Parnes ; but, as Professor Herter<sup>1</sup> notes, it is extremely difficult to reach particularly for a heavily-laden party, and there would not be room inside it for such an elaborate and crowded picnic. It is at least more likely that Knemon and Gorgias had their farms near the deme-centre with its spring, just below the fort rather than on the precipitous ground near the cave. With modern realistic scenery the complete interweaving of the actions in the two houses and the Nymphaion would be hard to achieve ; in the Lykourgos theatre with its three contiguous doors it is easy. The contiguity of the three doors is emphasized by the curious moment in the pitcher scene when the daughter, standing outside the Nymphaion, mistakes the noise of Daos coming to open Gorgias' door for the noise of her father coming to open his door (204). When Menander realizes this imagined scenery in the theatre, he develops the action in terms of the stage setting. The great central door (the door of the tragic palace) can obviously admit any number of people, however cramped the " famous shrine " itself may be. But the two other doors are close to it and this makes plausible the pitcher scene with Daos overhearing ; when Knemon falls down his well, Simike can fetch Gorgias and Gorgias can fetch Sostratos in a moment (635), and Sikon outside the Nymphaion can hear what is going on in Knemon's house (648 f.).<sup>2</sup> In fact contiguity is so well established that when Getas and Sikon propose at the end to drag Knemon out and rag him, Getas carefully explains that they will not be heard because the party in the Nymphaion is making so much noise

<sup>1</sup> *Rh. Mus.* cii (1959), 96 f. More imagination is needed in the *Rudens*, cf. Beare, *Roman Stage*, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> The text is lost at the crucial place but in 639 f. Sikon believes Knemon dead ; in 657 f. he knows he is safe. Cries off must have informed him.



(901 f.). This substitution of stage reality for imagined reality will occupy us again when we deal with interior scenes.

The *Leukadia* is played before the temple of Apollo at Leukas : " as is your will, Lord God, let there be silence about the precinct of the Leucadian shore " (fr. 258) and the priestess is told to put the fire on the altar (fr. 257). The *Hiereia* is perhaps played before the temple of Kybele, since the heroine is a priestess of Kybele (fr. 210) and according to the summary the servant pretends to consult her in her official capacity. Possibly also the *Kolax* played before the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos, since this would account for the libation and prayer of the cook (fr. 1), who according to Athenaeus is serving the Tetradistai in the feast of Aphrodite Pandemos ; the *pornoboskos* may not have had a house on the stage, as Körte supposes, but may rather, like the *pornoboskos* of the *Poenulus*, have had business in the temple of Aphrodite. These temples had no easy distinguishing mark like the rocks of Pan's cave, but the central door could have been identified by a statue of the god or goddess concerned ; here again Athenian producers are unlikely to have been behind South Italian producers, and on the Auge vase of the Manfria group the temple is identified by a statue of the goddess.<sup>1</sup> In the *Dyskolos* itself a statue of Pan is implied by the frequent references to greeting the god (401, 433, etc.). Menander could therefore distinguish between temples ; absence of statue would show that the central door was house and not temple ; probably different panels could be used to distinguish between rich house and poor house and certainly to distinguish between country and town setting. But greater precision than this was unattainable.

South Italian vases also show an altar as a stage property not only in temples but also in secular scenes.<sup>2</sup> The presence of the altar can therefore be accepted. Photios says that they are accustomed to call the altar of Apollo, which is set before the doors, Loxias, Apollo, or Agyieus. This then is " Apollo here " by which Sikon swears in the *Dyskolos* (659) to emphasize how much he will enjoy seeing Knemon wet through. This is the

<sup>1</sup> Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 73 ; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 488.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 21 ; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 487.

altar from which Polemon snatches a garland at the end of the *Perikēiromene* (421) and from which "Mysis" is told to take the myrtle branches in the *Andria* (fr. 40). This is the altar on which Tryphe in the *Samia* (fr. 1) and the priestess in the *Leukadia* (fr. 257) are told to put fire. The most curious use of the altar is in the Antinoopolis fragment<sup>1</sup> which Dr. Barns has connected with Menander's *Misogynes*. It appears to be used as a postbox for a legal challenge and a love letter. Even if we suppose that the "new fire" refers to pangs of love rather than burning sacrifice, the procedure is peculiar and we must assume that the lady is incarcerated and can only send her servant out as far as the altar to leave a communication for her lover.

It is this altar too that someone means when he says "I will seize Loxias himself and sit down here" (fr. 807). This must be a slave taking refuge on an altar. The papyrus of the *Perinthia* provides the sequel to such a scene. Daos has taken refuge on the altar. His master Laches orders Pyrrhias, Tibeios, and Getas to bring out faggots and he himself carries a lighted torch. Laches gives the order to set fire to the faggots before the text breaks off. Daos must either give in or be rescued (like Tranio in the *Mostellaria*). Menander is working in a tradition here, but the scene would always be alive and exciting. Possibly the parallel Euripidean scenes—in the *Andromache* Hermione threatens to burn Andromache off the altar of Thetis, in the *Hercules Furens* Lykos threatens to burn Amphitryon and Megara off the altar of Zeus, in the *Alkmena* Amphitryon starts to burn Alkmene off the altar (the last probably in a messenger speech)<sup>2</sup>—are earlier than any comic scene of the kind. But Aristophanes has already taken the scene over in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (726 ff.) where the angry women threaten to burn Mnesilochos off the altar. The Middle Comedy slaves seated on an altar, which we know from

<sup>1</sup> *Antinoopolis Papyri*, II, no. 55, fragment (a), verso. Perhaps cf. Plautus, *Miles*, 411, *Truc.* 475 ff. for a woman visiting an altar outside the house. For a very pretty picture illustrating the *Samia* fragment cf. Neutsch, *A.A.* 1956, p. 231, figs. 24-5.

<sup>2</sup> *E. Andr.* 257; *H.F.* 240; fr. 90 N, cf. my *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*, p. 87.

Attic terracottas,<sup>1</sup> are no doubt using the altar for security but they are seated, as their gestures show, because they want to think out a plan, not to avert immediate danger. But an Apulian vase in Taranto<sup>2</sup> of the third quarter of the fourth century shows a Middle Comedy version of the *Perinthia* scene: a slave, his head covered by his cloak in terror, and two branches of laurel in his hand, sits on an altar which an old man approaches brandishing a torch. How fresh Menander made the traditional scene we cannot tell because none of its more immediate ancestors survive. It does, however, raise the problem which will have to be discussed in the next chapter: in real life would this scene have taken place outside the house in the street or in the courtyard of the house behind the front door?

## II. Houses: Inside and Outside

Greek private houses were built round a courtyard. Even the modest house of Simon the cobbler,<sup>3</sup> where Sokrates used to go and talk, a small house in a triangular site between two roads by the boundary stone of the Agora, had its courtyard with a shed where the cobbler could work, and with doors into the street, into another room, and into a further courtyard where the well was dug. Two houses<sup>4</sup> west of the Areiopagos, built in the fifth century but still inhabited in the fourth century, have a more regular shape; both have a large courtyard in the middle, into which the other rooms open and which is approached by a passage from the door on to the street; the courtyard of the larger house has a well. The larger house had ten rooms (besides the passage

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Webster, *Monuments illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*, nos. AT 14, 19, 21 (before 350 B.C.); AT 99-100 (before 325 B.C.); Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 191, 196, 198, 148. For this altar used as a place from which to watch cf. Plautus, *Aul.* 606.

<sup>2</sup> Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, xxiii (1954), 50; D. B. Thompson, *Archaeology*, xiii (1960), 234.

<sup>4</sup> Young, *Hesperia*, xx (1951), 202; Travlos, *Poleodomikē Exelixis*, p. 68, fig. 34. (In the *Trinummus*, 194, etc., Lesbionicus inhabits a *posticulum* of the house which he has sold; this is like the separate establishment in the larger house west of the Areiopagos). Bath tub: Agora P 21960, Talcott and Sparkes, *Pots and Pans*, fig. 50; Boulter, *Hesperia*, xxii (1953), 98-9. Cf. *Olynthus*, xii, pl. 30/2.

and the courtyard); one of these, next the passage, was a separate establishment, shop or workshop, as it had a separate front door and no connection with the rest of the house; the house proper had nine rooms opening off the courtyard; the largest was presumably the *andron*, the men's room; the next largest was the room where the women did their spinning and weaving, because spindle whorls and loom weights were found in quantity on the floor; a small room was shown by its drainage system to have been a bathroom (a terracotta bath-tub of the mid-fifth century has been found in the Agora); it is probable that the bedrooms were upstairs.

This house, with some details added from later houses,<sup>1</sup> is a guide to the kind of house which Menander expects his audience to imagine. At the beginning of the *Samia* Demeas describes his movements in some detail. After going to the market with Parmenon (or at least dispatching Parmenon to the market), he ordered his household to do the cleaning and cooking and make preparations for the wedding. There was some confusion and the baby was lying on a bench howling. The women asked for meal, water, oil, and charcoal. Demeas went into the storeroom. While he was there, an old woman came down from upstairs into the room in front of the storeroom: "it is in fact the loom-room (*histeon*), and through it are the stairs and the storeroom". The old woman said they ought to wash the baby. A girl ran in from outside and told the old woman that her

<sup>1</sup> Dystos: Wiegand, *A.M.* xxiv (1899), 464; Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, p. 298, fig. 123; Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, p. 298, fig. 123.

Olynthos: D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, vols. viii, x, xii (particularly Mylonas, pp. 369 ff. on kitchens and bathrooms); Wycherley, *How the Greeks built their cities*, p. 24, fig. 5; p. 188, fig. 47; Lawrence, *op. cit.* p. 242, figs. 136-7; Richter, *Greek Art*, p. 42, fig. 45.

Priene: Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 285 ff. (kitchens, p. 291; bathrooms, p. 292); Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 299, fig. 124; Lawrence *op. cit.* p. 246, fig. 124. Some very interesting fourth-century houses in Kolophon are described by Holland, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 91 ff.

Delos: Chamonard, *Délos*, viii, xiv; Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 300, pl. 22; Lawrence *op. cit.* p. 247, fig. 140; Rumpf *J.d.l.* 1 (1935), 1 ff. (very important on relation of House of the Masks with Vitruvius). (A very elaborate house is imagined by Tranio in the *Mostellaria*, 755 ff., 817 ff.)

On the parts of the house described in comedy Dalman, *De aedibus scaenicis comoediae novae*, Leipzig, 1929, is extremely useful.

mistress (Chrysis) was calling her. Demeas came out of the storeroom, and as he passed on his way to the front door saw Chrysis with the baby.

The house plan is clear. The door from the street opens into a courtyard, where at the end Demeas sees Chrysis with the baby. Demeas gives his orders in the loom-room. This is probably the largest room in the women's part of the house, as it is in the house west of the Areiopagos and in the house at Dystos (if rightly identified). This is the room where the girl did her weaving in the *Heautontimoroumenos* (fr. 129-30) and the *Heros* (38). In Demeas' house the store-room opens out of it and the staircase goes up from it to another storey; the arrangement is not unlike the house at Dystos in Euboea, but that has a second small court with doors to the staircase and the storeroom.

In Demeas' house also the men and the women must have had separate rooms in which to eat. This arrangement of men's and women's dining rooms opening off the courtyard is clear in the *Perikeiromene*. We hear a certain amount about Myrrhine's house; Daos goes in and reports to Moschion that Glykera has washed and is seated and that Myrrhine is preparing a meal for them (115 ff.). Moschion decides to go in himself and later recounts what happened (287): "as soon as I got in, I did none of the things I usually do; I did not go in to my mother; I did not call out any of the household. But I went into the *oikos* and lay down all by myself. I sent Daos in to tell my mother this much only, that I had arrived." Dalman is surely right in reading in line 290 ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἐλθὼν and explaining *oikos* as the men's dining room. Moschion goes into the courtyard and then into the men's dining room, which opens off it; Myrrhine and Glykera are in the women's dining room, the room where the three women of the *Synaristosai* drink their wine (fr. 385) and which is mentioned in three other fragments (fr. 653, 694, 806). Even in Knemon's house in the *Dyskolos* the courtyard separates, as well as uniting, the men's and the women's quarters; in the pitcher scene his daughter does not seem to know that he has already returned (193).

Knemon's famous well was probably in the courtyard, where he also kept animals (584). He was too mean either to provide an

extra bucket (*kados*)<sup>1</sup> or a new rope when the old rope was rotten or a special hook to get the bucket out when it fell in (*harpage*).<sup>2</sup> So the old woman Simike lost the bucket when the rope broke (190), and dropped the mattock down the well when she was trying to get the bucket out with it (576). Knemon was also too mean to provide his well with a terracotta well-head, which we know from many houses in the Agora<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere; nothing, therefore, prevents him falling in when he tries to rescue the bucket and the mattock (626). Naturally he would not have the more elaborate kind of counterweighted bucket-lifter to which Sostratos compares the upward and downward movement of his body as he wields the unaccustomed mattock: ὡσπερ τὰ κηλώνειά με μόλις ἀνακύπτουτ', εἶθ' ὄλω τῷ σώματι πάλιν κατακύπτουτ'. This well machinery too is illustrated on vases.<sup>4</sup> The well in the courtyard was conveniently placed to supply the needs of the house, including the need for water to mix with the wine at the symposion: so a single line fragment runs ποτήριον, τράπεζαν, ἀρπάγην, κάδον (fr. 657).

The kitchen is only mentioned in the *Samia* (76), where the cook asks whether the kitchen is roofed. The difference is perhaps between a kitchen open to the air and a kitchen with a roof and chimney. Kitchens have been identified at Olynthos and elsewhere, and their equipment is known from the Agora. The cook in the *Samia* asks whether the household has enough crockery (75) and later (150) is afraid that Demeas in his rage will trample on the casseroles (*lopades*). The casseroles are evidently the cook's own property; the cook in the *Dyskolos* (520) has also brought his casserole with him and decides to use it after his disastrous attempts to borrow a *lebetion* (456) or a *chytrogaulos*

<sup>1</sup> *Kados* is a round jar with two side handles. It may be of pottery or bronze. It is fully discussed by D. A. Amyx in *Hesperia*, xxvii (1958), 187 f. with pl. 47. Cf. Talcott and Sparkes, *Pots and Pans*, figs. 27, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Harpage* is defined as "the hook by which we get pots out of wells". Cf. frs. 180, 657, and the verb in fr. 269.

<sup>3</sup> On well-heads see Mabel Lang, *Hesperia*, xviii (1949), 115 f.; Talcott and Sparkes, *op. cit.* fig. 29. A very fine terracotta well-head and lining in Plato's Academy, Daux, *B.C.H.* lxxxiv (1960), 644.

<sup>4</sup> *Keloneia*. Illustrated on Attic black-figure pelike, Berlin inv. 3228 (Pfuhl fig. 276; D. von Bothmer, *J.H.S.* lxxi (1951), 43, no. 42) and red-figure bell-krazer, Tübingen E 105 (inv. 1343); Zschietzschmann *Hellas and Rome*, fig. 228.

(505) from Knemon. These are evidently pots which the hired cook expects his employer to have or to borrow from the neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

Greek houses as we have seen might either have the street door opening direct into the courtyard or there might be an intervening passage with a further door at the end. In one fragment of Menander (fr. 592) a woman is told that her loquacity makes her cross the appointed boundary for the wife: "for a free woman the doorway of the courtyard is the appointed limit of the house. To go further and to run into the street still shouting is shameless." This house evidently has a door between the courtyard and the passage which leads to the front door.

In the papyrus texts of Menander there are about forty-five occasions on which a character enters the house without the door being mentioned and about forty-five occasions on which a character leaves the house without the door being mentioned. But on four occasions a character bangs (*κόπτειν*) on the door before he goes into the house and on ten occasions he or she shouts to slaves in the house to open the door. Thus when Menander wants to emphasize the fact that the door is a front door, a character going in bangs on it and/or calls to a slave to open it. There are twelve places where Menander wants to emphasize an exit; he has two formulae for this, one with *ψοφείν* and one with *πλήσσειν*. With *ψοφείν*, either "the door makes a noise", or "the person who is going to come out has made a noise", or "the person who is going to come out makes a noise with the door" or "has made a noise with the door". The noise is apprehended by the person on the stage *before* the door opens. Similarly with the other formula: either "someone has struck the door" or "someone about to come out has struck the door". The striking is the evidence on which the person on the stage decides that someone is going to come out.

But what is the "noise" (*ψοφείν*) and what is the "striking" (*πέπληχεν*) and is it the courtyard door or the front door? The

<sup>1</sup> Similar questions by a cook, *Phasma*, fr. 1. Kitchens: Dalman, *op. cit.* p. 61. Kitchen equipment: Talcott and Sparkes, *Pots and Pans*, figs. 33-46; Amyx, *Hesperia*, xxvii (1958), 199 (Lebes), 211 (Chytra), 229 (eschara). For smoke driving the slave out, cf. Ar. *Plutus*, 821, Men. *Dyskolos*, 547 (cf. fr. 65).

“noise” may be the noise of the hinges or may be the noise of the “striking”. The “striking” is more difficult. Various interpretations have been offered.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most satisfactory solution is suggested by a passage in Homer’s *Odyssey* (21, 49): “so loud roared the fair doors, struck by the key”, *θύρετρα πληγέντα κληῖδι*. The interpretation there is not in doubt; the key struck the bolt back to release the door. If Homer can say “doors struck by the key”, Menander can say “someone has struck the door”, when he means “I hear someone shooting back the bolt”.

In the fragment quoted above (fr. 592) the lady who is being criticized has pursued someone with abuse through the courtyard door and out of the front door, and we must assume a house plan with a passage between the courtyard and the front door. In the *Samia* the other house plan with the front door opening directly into the courtyard is equally certain, and this is probably the plan which Menander normally assumes as providing the minimum division between inside and outside. The door is the front door and it normally leads directly from the street into the courtyard. Thus, though this is narrative and not what the audience sees, in the *Perikeiromene* (31), when Glykera sends her servant out, Moschion can rush up from the street and kiss her.

The stage door is firmly established as the front door of the stage house, and yet in the *Synaristosai* (fr. 385) the women are drinking their wine on the stage, although in reality the party would take place right inside, in the women’s dining room. Inside and outside have got mixed up in this scene. In classical tragedy and Old Comedy the single door and the presence of the chorus made it inevitable that the area in front of the stage door was sometimes an area outside the house and sometimes an area inside. The *ekkyklema*, which marked a scene as being inside, was only used for tableaux—the dead bodies of Agamemnon and Cassandra, or Euripides with his sofa and tragic wardrobe. For other scenes, Haimon persuading Kreon or Iokasta persuading

<sup>1</sup> See Radermacher, *Aristophanes Frösche*, p. 228; Beare, *Roman Stage*<sup>2</sup>, p. 277. The comedy part of the tomb painting at Cyrene of the late second century A.D. (Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, fig. 120; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 785) has a young man outside a door, who says ἀλλ’ ἐψόφηκε(ν) ἡ θύρα: πρ[οέρ]χεται αὐτός.



Oidipous, the audience had to imagine that they were inside rather than outside. Menander inherited the convention, and the three-door façade, which established the stage as a street and had its own considerable dramatic advantages, was as compelling as the continuous presence of the chorus had been, in causing the convention to persist: the front doors proclaimed clearly that the stage was a street, and yet Menander could not dispense with inside scenes. I shall, however, attempt to show that Menander mitigated this confusion of inside and outside in two ways. First, an inside scene is never played outside unless one of the characters participating has either arrived from elsewhere or is going elsewhere, and thereby establishes his connection with the street and with places outside. Secondly, part of the background may sometimes represent the inside of a house rather than the outside of a house.

The first mitigation can be shown in some examples. The drinking party in the *Synaristosai* consists of "Gymnasium", who is the mistress of the house, and "Selenium" and her mother, who have come to call; they have come from outside. In the *Dyskolos* most of the action naturally takes place outside, between the two houses and the shrine, and Menander, as we have seen, took full advantage of their stage propinquity. One scene, however, is surely an inside scene. Knemon, rescued from the well by Gorgias, dripping and unable to stand without help, makes his dispositions before his anticipated death. Yet he is carried out of his front door to do it. Some mitigation of the unreality may be felt in the fact that his wife has to be fetched across from Gorgias' house to hear him (698). Thus outside and inside are connected.

In the *Epitrepontes* (510 f.) nothing is more unnatural than that Smikrines and his daughter should discuss the infidelities of her husband in the street, and the scene would naturally take place in the women's quarters, which her father as a close relative could legitimately visit. But Smikrines is going back to fetch Pamphile's old nurse in the hope of persuading *Pamphile* to come home, and the intimate conversation can therefore legitimately be played as an extended farewell scene on the doorstep, a farewell which lasts for little less than 150 lines. Granted the stage

convention Menander proceeds to use it as a reality : Charisios, who is in the adjoining house of Chairestratos, put his head round its front door and listened to the conversation (563). In real life overhearing through a thin party-wall from the men's quarters in one house to the women's quarters in the next might be possible (the pervious party wall plays its part in the *Phasma* and in the *Miles*), but it is simpler to suppose that Menander is simply exploiting the stage convention and getting in addition the dramatic effect of Charisios looking through the door while his wife defends him against her father. At the end of the scene he goes in again, while Pamphile (most improperly according to Greek manners) remains outside lamenting her lot, until Habrotonon (unseen by Charisios because of the separation of men's and women's quarters) comes out with the baby : probably *προῆλθον* should be read in 537.

Earlier in the same play a good deal happens in the street which would in reality have taken place in the courtyard of Chairestratos' house. We cannot tell what justification Chairestratos had for being outside his house at the end of the first act, but we observe that Smikrines arrives and goes into Charisios' house. In the second act (206) the only justification for Onesimos coming out of the front door to complain of the cook is that Syriskos is going into Chairestratos' house and therefore what would naturally be a courtyard conversation becomes a doorway conversation. Similarly the courtyard scene at the beginning of the third act (Onesimos and Habrotonon have both escaped from the men's dining room) can be played outside, because Syriskos is on his way to the city (286) and later Smikrines arrives from the city (407). His presence then justifies the cook, Chairestratos, and Simmias airing their troubles in the street instead of the courtyard, and Menander takes advantage of their presence to bring Smikrines up to date with the news.

In the *Perikeiromene* (301 f.) the scene between Pataikos and Glykera has the same sort of intimacy as the scene between Smikrines and Pamphile in the *Epitrepontes*, but again it is played before the front door. As the beginning is lost, it is not certain whether Pataikos paid his call at the end of the preceding act and is now leaving, or whether Glykera comes out to him when he

visits her. In any case the fact that he comes from another house justifies the setting of the scene at the house-door.<sup>1</sup> As the scene plays outside, Doris has to be called out to go into Polemon's house for the recognition tokens (328), and when she comes back with them in the fifteen lines lost between lines 337-8, the recognition itself is effected outside. In order to overhear the recital of recognition tokens Moschion must also come outside or at least listen through the door. (The actor who has played Doris is free to play Moschion, as soon as he has re-entered Myrrhine's house as Doris; Doris can come out of Polemon's house at the end or even before the end of the first line of the gap, give the robe to Glykera and go straight into Myrrhine's house; the actor can change clothes in the space of seven lines or so—a quicker change is needed for Knemon's daughter to become Pyrrhias in the first act of the *Dyskolos*<sup>2</sup> and re-enter as Moschion two or three lines before the end of the gap, if as seems probable, fr. 720 immediately precedes line 338.) As the text stands, Moschion gives no reason for coming and he may have entered silently like Gorgias early in the last act of the *Dyskolos*,<sup>3</sup> but it is quite reasonable that he should want to find Glykera and solve the doubts which his asides express (345 etc.). As by stage convention Glykera is in the street, he has to pursue her into the street. This whole long sequence which should be played indoors, in the courtyard if not in the women's part of the house, is only justified as a street scene because Pataikos has come from outside.

The other mitigation of the unreality of playing interior scenes in the street is the use of backgrounds which suggest interiors rather than exteriors. There are two pieces of evidence, one is the curtain on the Naples comedy relief<sup>4</sup> and the other is

<sup>1</sup> In the short gap between 318/9 the sequence of thought must be: *Pataikos*, "This cutting off your hair may have been unforgivable, but he really loved you and he gave you beautiful clothes which he showed me". *Glykera*, "O but they are my own. I got them as recognition tokens". On the whole scene see *Studies in Menander*, pp. 12 f. (For Doris' part cf. the rather similar scene in *Amphitruo*, 770.)

<sup>2</sup> *Dyskolos*, 212-14, cf. BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, XLII (1959-60), 507.

<sup>3</sup> Note that *Perikeiromene*, 395-6 is exactly paralleled by *Dyskolos* 822-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, p. 245, n. 1.

the tympanon hanging from a garland on the mosaic from the Santangelo collection. As comic scenery the curtain was not new. Aristotle<sup>1</sup> speaks of "a choregos of comedy introducing purple in the *parodos*, like the people at Megara": the ancient commentator explains this as a *parapetasma* or curtain, and probably the *parodos* means here the way up to the central door, the background. Thus a curtain was known as a background for middle comedy at Athens and Megara. Possibly the curious curving lines on either side of the stage on the late fifth-century Attic oenochoe<sup>2</sup> with the comic Perseus also represent a curtain; it is difficult to explain them otherwise.

No one hung up elaborate textiles outside their houses, and the curtain must suggest an internal decoration. It is natural then to ask next what Menander himself tells us about elaborate textiles. Ordinary garments do not concern us here, but it must always be remembered that the ancient Greek garment was basically a rectangular piece of cloth and therefore the same kind of cloth could according to its size be chiton, himation, rug, carpet, or hanging. The clothes in which or with which a baby was exposed were often elaborate. The baby in the *Epitrepointes* (228) had a purple *pteryx*, which according to Pollux is half a chiton.<sup>3</sup> Pataikos in the *Perikeiromene* (338 f.) gave the children what his wife had woven before she died in giving them birth; Moschion had a purple belt with a chorus of girls on it, a transparent *chlanidion*, and a golden headband; Glykera had a *xystis* (if the supplement is right) with a stag and a winged horse. Two other fragments certainly belong to recognition textiles and the first of them has been ascribed to this passage: "a hippocamp" (fr. 720) and "a Nereid on a dolphin" (fr. 715). Similar decorations can be seen on the elaborate himations and chitons worn by heroes and heroines on vases from the middle of the fifth century: to give a single example, the Hesione on the

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *N.E.* 1123 a 23; *G.T.P.* 20; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb etc.*<sup>2</sup>, 180 ff.; Breitholtz, *Dorische Farce*, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Athens, Vlastos collection. Trendall *Phlyax Vases* no. 1; *G.T.P.* no. B 1, pl. 14; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux VII, 62. Cf. Ghoran papyrus 1, line 42, Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, I, no. 66; fr. 667 is also probably a description of an elaborate recognition garment; also *Antinoopolis Papyri*, I, no. 15 r.

Pronomos vase<sup>1</sup> has both a chorus of maidens and hippocamps on her chiton. We know them also from the few surviving textiles: lions on the fifth-century fragment from Koropi in Attica and griffins on the early Hellenistic textiles from Mongolia.<sup>2</sup> (In these the designs are outlined in gold or silver thread and this technique is presumably indicated by *katastikton* in Menander, fr. 856.) The marble robe of Damophon's Despoina at Lycosura with sea-monsters, Nikai, dancers, and wave-pattern shows the same tradition in the second century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The Greeks called them barbarian textiles. The Athenians probably knew such textiles, woven all over with patterns and scenes, first in quantity from the time of the Persian wars.<sup>4</sup> There was expert weaving in Anatolia and Syria and purple dye was Phoenician. But the designs, as we know them, were Greek. When Xouthos sacrificed to Apollo and gave a feast to his new-found son, Ion, Ion built a wooden banquetting chamber and decorated the ceiling with a textile representing the heavenly bodies and the walls with other "weavings of barbarians, well-oared ships facing Greek ships, and men half-beast, and deer-hunts on horseback, and the chase of fierce lions" (1159 ff.). Euripides is thinking of fifth-century temple dedications, like the fifteen-cubit purple himation which Alkisthenes the Sybarite dedicated to Hera Lakinia; Professor D. S. Robertson<sup>5</sup> made out the design from the corrupt description of pseudo-Aristotle: "in the centre six Greek gods, along the top a fringe of Scythians, along the bottom a fringe of Persians, at one end Alkisthenes, at

<sup>1</sup> Beazley, *A.R.V.* 849/1; Pickard-Cambridge *Festivals*, fig. 28; *Dithyramb etc.*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 13; Bieber *History*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 31-33; *G.T.P.* no. A 9; Furtwängler-Reichhold, iii, p. 136, with good discussion of patterns including "comb pattern" and "island pattern", cf. fr. 86. Cf., in general, on elaborate textiles of this type F. von Lorentz, *R.M.* lii (1937) 165 ff.; A. Rumpf, *J.E.A.* xxxviii (1952), 73 (with further references); W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, xxv (1956), 246.

<sup>2</sup> Koropi: *Illustrated London News*, 1954, p. 114; Richter, *Greek Art*, fig. 495. Mongolia: Boroffka, *die Antike*, iii (1927), 64 ff., pl. 8; Schaefer, *A.J.A.* xlvii (1943), 266 f.

<sup>3</sup> Athens, N. M. Winter, *K.i.B.*<sup>2</sup>, 373/4; E. A. Gardner, *Handbook Gr. Sculpt.* II, 402, fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hdt., IX, 82; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 938.

<sup>5</sup> D. S. Robertson, *J.H.S.* lix (1939), 136, on Pseudo-Aristotle, *de miris auscult.*, 96, 838a; cf. P. Jacobsthal, *J.H.S.* lviii (1938) 205 ff.

the other end Sybaris." Ion only uses textiles as an awning and as wall decoration, but the "Assyrian *parapetasma*" of Antiochos in the temple of Zeus at Olympia<sup>1</sup> was used on the floor. The magnificent banqueting tent of Ptolemy Philadelphos in the early third century had textiles as awnings, curtains, and carpets.<sup>2</sup>

Between garments and dedications comes the class of textiles which interests us most, the textiles of the wealthy Greek home. Friedrich von Lorentz<sup>3</sup> has shown in detail that the patterns of late fifth-century textiles are repeated in fourth-century mosaics, particularly from Olynthos but also from other places in the Greek world. Mosaic floors become, of course, much more common in the Hellenistic age but still the old patterns continue with new ones. Particularly interesting because of its repetition of motives which we have been discussing is the mosaic from Olynthos with Nereids riding on hippocamps when they bring Achilles his arms.<sup>4</sup> These mosaics are found almost exclusively in the men's dining rooms. They are copies of textiles which might be found hanging on the walls. Even wealthy Greeks did not (like Ptolemy Philadelphos) put elaborate textiles on the floor; it would be disastrous economically and the precedent set by Agamemnon was not encouraging. But they might have textiles on their dining room walls, and painted copies of such textiles are found in late fourth-century tombs in Egypt and South Russia.<sup>5</sup>

A curtain forms the background to a pair reclining on a couch on a late Hellenistic relief from Teos<sup>6</sup> and to the comic poet in

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, V, xii, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Athenaeus, V, 196a to 197c. F. Studniczka, *Abh. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* XXX, no. 2, Leipzig, 1914. The awning: 196b-c. Curtains: 196c. Garments: 196e-f. Carpets: 197a-b, as interpreted by F. von Lorentz, *op. cit.* p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* pp. 165 ff.; cf. D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, xii. 322 f.

<sup>4</sup> Olynthus, House A VI 1: *Olynthus*, v. 1 ff., pl. 2; Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, p. 123, pl. 39/5.

<sup>5</sup> For a general account of textiles in Hellenistic Egypt and contemporary painted copies of them see M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, i. 377 f.; iii. 1412. For South Russia, M. Rostovtzeff, *J.H.S.* xxxix (1919), 148 with *Ancient Decorative Painting*, pl. 15. The very lovely floral frieze from a tomb dated about 340 (*loc. cit.* pl. 7, 3) probably also reproduces a textile as very similar florals occur on contemporary Apulian and Gnathia vases and on a mosaic from Epidamnos (Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, p. 139, fig. 16).

<sup>6</sup> Studniczka, *loc. cit.* 131; E. Pfuhl, *J.d.L.*, 20 (1905), 123.

the late Hellenistic reliefs wrongly called "visit to Icarus".<sup>1</sup> Fourth-century vases,<sup>2</sup> Attic and South Italian, sometimes show a curtain looped up above the couches in a symposion scene, whether the curtain is looped up because the painter wants a clear background for his figures or whether the curtain occupied the door-wall and was looped up to make service easier, it is perhaps impossible to say.

Menander himself gives evidence for the use of textiles in symposia. What Getas and the cook demand from Knemon, when they take vengeance on him at the end of the *Dyskolos* (914 ff.), is the equipment for a feast and symposion: their demands in order are a *lebes*, a *skapnos*, seven "tripods", and twelve tables, nine rugs, a barbarian woven curtain a hundred feet long, and a large bronze mixing bowl. We can consider the rest of the equipment later; what interests us here is the elaborate curtain (*parapetasma*) as part of the symposion equipment. Another fragment (fr. 684) gives a hanging (*aulaia*) in a list which includes ivory (presumably for couches), wine, and myrrh, and another (fr. 24) gives Persian garments and purple rugs with elaborate and valuable cups. The evidence is clear that elaborate hangings decorated the *andron*, where the men held their feasts and symposia. If then an elaborate hanging is used as a stage decoration that section of the stage is indicated as an *andron* and the drunk youth of the Naples relief is taking part in a symposion.

The same interpretation, decoration of the *andron*, can be given for the mosaic from the Santangelo collection,<sup>3</sup> where in the background a tympanon hangs from an ivy garland. The original of the Santangelo mosaic can be dated with some probability to Menander's life-time. This background too has an ancestry in the Middle Comedy scenes on south Italian vases where the background is decorated with phialai or bucranes.<sup>4</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> E.g. British Museum, 2190, Bieber, *Hell. Sc.*, fig. 655-7; Webster, *M.N.C.*, no. A.S. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Attic: Leningrad St. 1174; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, no. 72, pl. 27/4. Campanian: AV group: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 4029 (Masner 471); Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, p. 68, fig. 89; Pfuhl, fig. 802; Beazley, *J.H.S.* lxiii (1943), 78, no. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I, p. 247, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, p. 247, n. 2.

we ask where this kind of decoration comes from, the answer must again be from the inside and not from the outside of Greek houses. As far as I know, we have no evidence for any external decoration of Greek private houses in the fourth or early third century. We have, however, enough evidence to establish painted decoration for the *andron* in the fourth century and later. The usual scheme was blocks of plain colour separated by narrow bands, flat, sunk, or raised. This has been found in Kolophon, Olynthos, and elsewhere, and it leads on to the first Pompeian style. But one house in Olynthos has garlands rendered in red against a white background, and elsewhere traces of nails were found on which actual wreaths could be hung.<sup>1</sup> The insides of elaborate tombs are valid evidence for the decoration of contemporary houses. A tomb of about 320 B.C. at Pantikapaion<sup>2</sup> has above the blocks of colour a painted frieze of wreaths, *tainiai*, and alabastra hanging from nails; the *tainiai* are elaborately painted in yellow, red, and white. (The Early Hellenistic tomb at Sidi Gaber with its painted garland above a couch has already been quoted.<sup>3</sup> Another at Ezbet el Mahouf<sup>4</sup> has painted garlands above the door. All these belong to Menander's life-time.)

To see that this kind of decoration belongs particularly, if not exclusively, to the *andron* we have only to look at symposion scenes on vases. Three early fifth-century cups of Duris<sup>5</sup> show cups, jugs, and phialai hanging on the wall behind the drinkers. Late in the fifth century a carefully drawn wreath hangs in the background of a symposion by the Dinos painter.<sup>6</sup> The fourth

<sup>1</sup> D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, viii. 301 on Olynthos B. 1.-5 and in general pp. 291 ff. Kolophon: Holland, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rostovtzeff, *J.H.S.* xxxix (1939), 148, pl. 6/1; *Ancient Decorative Painting*, pls. 26-28; Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, p. 164, pl. 57/3. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 142 dates two pelikai (his nos. 498, 501) found in the grave to 330/20 B.C. The validity of arguing from tombs to houses is shown by comparing Rostovtzeff, pl. 31 (tomb) with pl. 38 (house) = *J.H.S.* xxxix (1939), pl. 6/2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 247, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Adriani, *Ann. Mus. Gr. Rom.* iii (1935-9), 88. Dated by pottery including unguentaria, cf. *M.N.C.* no. E.T. 2 and 3.

<sup>5</sup> Beazley, *A.R.V.* 283/50, British Museum E 49, Studniczka, op. cit. fig. 38; *A.R.V.* 284/51, Vatican, Pfuhl, fig. 469; Nogara, *J.H.S.* lxxi (1951), 131, fig. 4; *A.R.V.* 284/54, Florence 3922, Pfuhl, fig. 464; Jacobsthal, op. cit. p. 58, fig. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Palermo, Beazley, *A.R.V.* 790/6; Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, A5; Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, fig. 252.



century Attic bell-krater<sup>1</sup> which we have already quoted for the curtain rolled up above the drinkers also has a wreath and phiale hanging on the wall. Thus it is clear that the painted garlands on the walls of houses and tombs are a translation of the real wreaths, phialai, etc., which hung on the walls of the *andron* during the symposion.

Garlands, tympana, phialai, and alabastra suggest the *andron* and the symposion. Such decoration of the panels of the stage-building, like the parapetasma, brings the *andron* outside or converts a section of the stage into the *andron*. Its direct relevance is therefore limited to symposion scenes: Smikrines and Pamphile would not discuss their private affairs in the *andron*, but at least the background, in contrast to the door, would suggest the inside of the house instead of the street. Actual drinking scenes are rare. The opening scene of the *Synaristosai* (fr. 385) stands alone in Menander, but the tradition of hetairai drinking together goes back to Pherekrates' *Korianno* in the fifth century: <sup>2</sup> hetairai could well drink against a background so decorated. A single fragment of Menander (fr. 319) is evidence for a man drinking on the stage: "Now drink, now get your *hybris* over." "There! It's over." But three fragments of Diphilos attest men drinking on the stage.<sup>3</sup> Eating on the stage is not, as far as I know, found in our fragments of New Comedy, but in Old Comedy Dikaiopolis gives the Megarian "pigs" some figs to eat (*Ach.* 805) and in Middle Comedy the Obeliaphoroi of Ephippos must at least have carried their enormous cake across the stage, as we see them on an Attic vase of the late fifth century and an Apulian vase of the early fourth century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 265, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pherekrates, frs. 67-70. Middle Comedy: Antiphanes, fr. 163. For New Comedy, cf. also *Pap. Hibeh*, II, 55c recto, attributed to the *Misogynes* by Barnes.

<sup>3</sup> Diphilos, frs. 20, 58, 69. Probably also Anaxandrides, fr. 1; certainly Alexis, fr. 226. Menander, fr. 670 and *Misoumenos*, fr. 8 should also be considered in this connection. (Cf. also Plautus, *Most.* 308, 395 f.; *Persa* 765 ff.; *Stich.* 683 ff.)

<sup>4</sup> Attic: Agora P 23907, Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 12; Crosby, *Hesperia*, xxiv (1955), 80, pl. 35b, 36a; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 209. Apulian: Leningrad, inv. W 2074, Trendall, op. cit. no. 32; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 511. Cf. also the "eaters of dainties" Philotimides, Charis, Xanthias (before a background with a hanging oenochoe), Trendall, no. 42, pl. 2; Bieber, fig. 509.

The background adorned with the equipment of the *symposion* is not only the right background for eating and drinking on the stage but also reminds the audience of the setting in which the feasting and drinking prepared or reported will take place or has taken place. The background is traditional and the descriptions of eating and drinking are also traditional. Long descriptions of food are no longer found in Menander, and sometimes we imagine that we can see him varying a traditional idea to make it come alive. But a great deal of the tradition survives and in each of the four well-preserved plays the stages in the feast are also stages in the action of the play. Preparation, eating, drinking are an imagined sequence, which at given moments irrupts into the seen action. The sequence can be roughly summarized as purchasing (including hire of cook and provision of sacrificial animal); preparations at home including baskets, cakes, etc.; libation, and slaughter of the animal; eating the animal; the symposion. For each item in this sequence instances in Menander and parallels from earlier comedy can be quoted.<sup>1</sup> Let us look, however, for a moment at this sequence as a kind of off-stage clock by which the on-stage action is measured.

In the *Epitrepontes* the cook arrives with Onesimos at the beginning of the play. Late in the second act (206) Onesimos complains that he is so slow that they have not yet got as far as the symposion. In the third act (258) Habrotonon says that Charisios will not even allow her to sit down beside him, so that by then the meal has begun; and later (436) the cook complains that they have all scattered outside, so that the meal was not finished when Habrotonon went in and claimed to be the mother of the baby. The *Perikeiromene* is rather more complicated, partly because less continuous text survives. After the formal prologue (52) Sosias announces that "lunch" is being made for Polemon and his friends have gathered to console him. We have

<sup>1</sup> For earlier comedy see *Studies in Menander*, p. 141, n. 1, p. 163, n. 2; *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*, pp. 65 f. For the sequence of preparations, cf. Aristophanes, *Peace* 868 to end of play; in Menander, *Georgos* 7, 40; frs. 100, 208-9, 264, 269, 397, 451. Cf. also *Hibeh* II, no. 181; *Ox. Pap.* 11 (Schroeder no. 5, Page no. 62). Libation: *Kolax* fr. 1. Symposion: *Theoph.* fr. 3, 4; *Kolax* fr. 2; *Misoumenos* fr. 8; frs. 2, 24, 67, 133, 216, 239-40, 275, 292, 411, 437, 443, 670, 741, 858, 921.

to assume that they and the cook and the flute-girl Habrotonon have arrived in Pataikos' house under cover, as it were, of the formal prologue. In the third act the friends and the cook and the flute-girl form the army which leaves Pataikos' house to attack Myrrhine's house and is dismissed into Polemon's house (226). Only in the fifth act (417), when Polemon knows that Glykera has recovered her parents, does he give orders for the cook to sacrifice the pig; Doris asks "what about the basket?" Polemon answers: "We can do that later." The sequence is being hurried here so that the play can end with a feast of rejoicing. In the *Samia* Demeas has sent Parmenon to the market to get provisions and hire a cook and Nikeratos has gone to market before our text starts. Our text starts at the beginning of the next act with Demeas' description of the preparations in the house. Parmenon arrives with his basket and the cook. The slave with his basket is a traditional part of marketing scenes; here Demeas is too concerned with his suspicions of Chrysis to discuss the prices of the purchase in the traditional way.<sup>1</sup> Nikeratos' arrival with his sheep is also traditional,<sup>2</sup> but the extreme scragginess of the sheep may be an individual touch for this play to emphasize the buyer's poverty; again the subject is dropped because Nikeratos sees Chrysis weeping outside the door. Probably another cook scene came in the gap at the beginning of the next act. By the next act Parmenon can report that the wine is being mixed and the incense is being kindled (328): the wine is presumably being mixed for the libation before the sheep is killed. If the fragment "Bring the incense, and you put on the fire, Tryphe" really belongs to the *Samia*, the incense is presumably brought to the altar on the stage very soon after the end of our text. The stage altar becomes the altar of the courtyard.

<sup>1</sup> See references, p. 268, n. 1. The slave with the basket, e.g. Attic terracotta before 350 B.C. *Monuments Illustrating Middle Comedy* (= *M.M.C.*), no. A.T. 12; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 86; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 189, 243; *G.T.P.* no. B 11e. Cf. also Menander, fr. 352; *Georgos* 35 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes is already playing on this idea when the Megarian in the *Acharnians* brings on his daughters dressed up as pigs. Cf. Attic terracottas before 350 B.C., *M.M.C.* nos. A.T. 55-7; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 139; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 145; *G.T.P.* no. B 24; Lazaridis, *Pelina Eidolia Abderon*, pl. 2, no. A 3.

In these plays the meal sequence is a piece of background, a clock at which the audience is occasionally asked to look. In the *Dyskolos* it is more important. The preparations take a new form because this is not a sacrificial meal in a house on the stage but a sacrifice to Pan brought to the Nymphaion. Instead of the purchasing scenes Menander gives us the arrival of Getas and Sikon (393 f.); instead of preparations in the house, the procession at the beginning of Act III and preparations in the Nymphaion. Getas and Sikon here are traditional figures.<sup>1</sup> The porter who walks behind his master laden with his bedding has become the slave who carries the rugs so that the family may recline comfortably. Sikon the cook has a highly individual sheep round his shoulders, a sheep which knows how to make life difficult for its purchaser.

The procession, which arrives at the beginning of Act III (430), consists of Sostratos' wife and sister, certainly two maids (one of them Plangon), the flute girl Parthenis, at least two slaves (Donax and Syros). Pictures of processions<sup>2</sup> suggest that the maids had baskets on their heads which contained the sacrificial knife, sacrificial grain, incense, perhaps also the jug with the burning coals; the two slaves, if we may so understand Knemon (448), carry wine jars and couches (the wooden framework for the rugs with which Getas was loaded).<sup>3</sup> The maids are told to prepare the baskets, the lustral water, and the cakes (440, cf. *Sam.* 6 f.). Then comes the borrowing scene. Before the end of the act the sheep has been killed and cut up, and Getas is

<sup>1</sup> On the porter figure, cf. Xanthias in the *Frogs* (but he has been put on a donkey); Attic terracotta, *M.M.C.* no. *A.T.* 3; *Hesperia*, xxix (1960), 266; Apulian vases, Trendall *Phlyax Vases*, nos. 16, 68; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 483, 519. Later: *M.N.C.* no. *M.T.* 2, Pickard-Cambridge *Festivals*, fig. 110; Bieber *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 153. On the man carrying an animal cf. above p. 269, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly the Corinthian amphoriskos in Oslo (Ethnographic Museum, no. 6909) published with commentary by S. Eitrem, *Arch. Eph.* 1954, p. 26. These baskets (kanâ) are presumably like the flat baskets often seen on white lekythoi, e.g. Pfuhl fig. 529; cf. Amyx, *Hesperia*, xxvii (1958), 267. Such baskets are also carried on their heads by comic slaves, *M.M.C.*, *AT* 41, Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 139.

<sup>3</sup> *Stannia* according to Amyx, *Hesperia*, xxvii (1958), 190 are small-sized amphorai. For a boy carrying the framework of a couch, cf. Oxford 282, pelike by Pan ptr., *A.R.V.* 364/43; *C.V.* pl. 19, 1; Richter, *Greek Art*, fig. 486, and the satyrs on red-figure hydria, Boston 03,788; Beazley, *Hesperia*, xxiv (1955), 310.

driven out of the shrine (or rather kitchen) by the smoke (548). The libation, for which Sikon demands silence at the beginning of the fourth act (622), is the libation before the meal, not the libation before the sacrifice. Again, as in the *Samia*, the stage altar is used for this libation: Sikon's entrance is needed to contrast with Simike's entrance, announcing that her master has fallen into the well, and for the ensuing dialogue and monologue. There is still some of the sheep left for Kallippides when he arrives at the end of the fourth act (780).

The fifth act continues the sequence to the symposion with separate parties for the women and the men (855). The ending in iambic tetrameters recited to the flute is extremely interesting. Menander has combined two traditional themes, the beating up of the rich old man by two thugs<sup>1</sup> and the symposion. The cook's revenge on Knemon links the ending with the rest of the play, and the objects that Sikon and Getas demand are the equipment for a rich feast or symposion, about which the audience loved to hear. *Lebes* and *skapfos* are cooking pots, a large round pot for boiling and a shallower bowl.<sup>2</sup> They then demand seven tripods and twelve tables. Greek tables were commonly three-legged and rarely four-legged, but both kinds were called *trapezai*; they are tables with rectangular tops, large enough for two. *Tripodes* in the fourth century were small round tables for one.<sup>3</sup> They then demand nine rugs (to put on the couches) and the woven barbarian curtain which we have already discussed. Finally they ask for a large bronze mixing bowl.<sup>4</sup>

Then Sikon and Getas change from making demands to describing the symposion which is actually in progress, the mixing of the wine, the circling of the cup, the dance of the two maids; this is one of the few occasions when we can see one of the numerous comic descriptions of symposia in its context.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*, pp. 69 f., 160, and particularly the Paestan kalyx-krater by Asteas, Berlin F 3044, Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, no. 70; *G.T.P.* no. B 61; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 508.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Amyx, *Hesperia*, xxvii (1958), 199, 231.

<sup>3</sup> On tables generally, cf. Studniczka, *op. cit.* p. 124; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, xxv (1956), 241.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Hellenistic bronze krater: Naples 73098. Lamb, *Greek Bronzes*, pl. 82b; Pernice, *Hell. Kunst in Pompeii*, iv. 38, pl. 11.

Finally they try to force the old man to dance and have him carried inside, while they take wreaths and torches and conclude the play. For all this the background with painted symposion equipment would be extremely suitable.

There is a minimum of dancing at the end of the *Dyskolos*, but the early second-century mosaic in Delos<sup>1</sup> shows a slave wearing a wreath as he dances to a flute-player, who is seated on a rock. The wreaths and torches of the *Dyskolos* are traditional: actors and chorus dance off at the end of the play in Old Comedy.<sup>2</sup> But in New Comedy the chorus are reduced to singing interludes between the acts: nevertheless they too belong to the world of the symposion; they are the party of drunks which roams the streets when the symposion has broken up.<sup>3</sup> They too can dance and sing before the symposion background.

We must therefore suppose that two or more of the panels in the comic scenery of the Lykourgos theatre were decorated with garlands and other symposion equipment. Part of the scenery, therefore, represented the inside of a house; the doors and windows represented the outside of a house; for a country play some panels gave landscape. The elements contradicted each other but together formed a new stage reality which the poet could exploit. He was a long way from the realism of the modern producer, but the different elements were sufficient to stimulate the audience's imagination so that they could realize his words.

<sup>1</sup> *M.N.C.* no. D.M. 2; Chamonard, *Delos*, xiv, pls. 4-7; *G.T.P.*, p. 154. Cf. the dancing slaves on Graeco-Roman gems, *M.N.C.* nos. U.J. 11, 14, and earlier phlyax vases, Trendall nos. 116, 127. (The dancing at the end of the *Dyskolos* suggests that Plautus *Stichus* 735 is Menander.)

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Ekklesiazousai*: cf. the Attic bell krater, Heidelberg B 134, Trendall, *Phlyax Vases* no. 7; *G.T.P.*, no. B 9; Bieber, *History*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 208.

<sup>3</sup> *Dysk.* 230; *Epitr.* 33; *Perik.* 71.