JOHN RICHARD GREEN

ZEUS ON A SEE-SAW. A COMIC SCENE FROM PAESTUM

ABSTRACT: A Paestan vase that has recently come to light carries a remarkable scene from comedy: Zeus cavorting on a see-saw with a potential lover. The article explores possible interpretations including the costume and masks of the participants, the use of a see-saw in antiquity and its relevance in the context of a comedy, the presence and style of Zeus in comedy, the identity of the female character and the style in which she is presented, and then the likely date-range of the original of this play.

A SPLENDID PAESTAN VASE (Figs 1a-c) has recently come to my attention and its new owner kindly allows me to publish it.[1] It is attributable to Asteas, the leader of the Paestan school of vase-painting, and it has one of his best and most lively representations of comedy.[2]

The obverse has two figures on a seesaw in front of a bush with a male mask hanging in the background, above, between wreaths. The male figure on the left is stage-naked; he has long, curling hair and a polos on his head. He is therefore probably divine but in the absence of other identifying elements it is perhaps not obvious which. On the other hand the mask is al-

1. Ht. 34.5cm. It appeared with Artemide Kunstauktionen (Vienna), *Antiquities 1* (December 2012) no. 78. It had earlier been in a private collection since the 1960s.
2. On Asteas, see in the first instance A.D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum* (London 1987) 62-135. Since then there have been studies on individual aspects and vases, e.g. A. Pontrandolfo, "Dioniso e personaggi fliacici nelle immagini pestane", *Ostraka* 9, 2000, 117-134; M. Cipriani et al., *Il cratere di Assteas con Europa sul toro* (Paestum 2009); E. Simon, "Ein neuer signierter Kelchkrater des Asteas", *NumAnt-Cl* 31, 2002, 115-127; *ead.*, "The Paestan Painter Asteas", in: C. Marconi (ed.), *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies. Proceedings of the Conference sponsored by The Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23-24 March 2002* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 25, Leiden 2004) 113-122; A. Piqueux, "La céramique figurée paestane: un exemple de peinture italiote à figures rouges", *Histoire antique* 26, juillet-août 2006, 38-49; Denoyelle and Iozzo, *Céramique d'Italie* (2009) 185-188; Denoyelle, *Céramique grecque de Paestum* (2011) 32-36

most certainly G, in which case it should be Zeus.[3] It is slightly balding, with straggly hair and beard, and a large nose. Other versions both in vase-paintings and terracotta figurines often show it with large ears, but not in this case. Large ears were a sign of stupidity but, as we shall see, he was not being particularly stupid in this case, or so it would seem. We may compare other examples: the Attic of about 400 BC in Ferrara (Fig. 2); the Sicilian of ca 380-360 BC in Madrid, on which he carries his thunderbolt (Fig. 3); the Paestan in the Vatican, also by Asteas (Fig. 4).[4]

As commonly in Paestan, in a tradition inherited from Sicilian, the seams of the sleeves and leggings of the body-stocking are marked in added white. The painter has shown them on the inside of the character's left arm but on the outside of his lower right arm — by contrast with the upper arm: it is an indication that the markings have already become decorative rather than realistic. White is also used on the polos (with a yellow wash over, as on the seam of the leggings), to mark the eyes and eyelids, and for his footwear. (The last have some shading in yellow.) The shoes and the polos have markings over the white in black glaze. The actor's tunic is shown in purple-red, a convention originating in its probably being of soft leather. The breasts are marked, as regularly in Sicilian and, continuing that, Paestan; sometimes also in Apulian. They are emphasised too in Sicilian terracotta figurines of comic actors. Within the tunic there is noticeable padding on belly and backside, and there is a large, thick phallos attached at the front. We should also note that the tip of the phallos was left unpainted, as was a circle on the belly which must be a misplaced navel: it occurs in a similar position on the Hermes and the

3. There is a lively treatment of representations of Zeus in comic scenes by J.S. Rusten, "'The Odeion on His Head': Costume and Identity in Cratinus' *Thracian Women* fr. 23, and Cratinus' Techniques of Political Satire", in: G.W.M. Harrison and V. Liapis (eds), *Performance in Greek and Roman Theatre* (Leiden 2013) 279-290. I had delineated and made some comments on the mask-type in "Smart and Stupid. The Evolution of Some Masks and Characters in Fourth-Century Comedy", in J. Davidson and A. Pomeroy (eds.), *Theatres of Action. Papers for Chris Dearden (Prudentia* Suppl. Auckland 2003) 118–32, esp. 124-30. There is now a useful article that includes Mask G by A. Piqueux, "Typologie des masques et caractérisation des personnages dans la Comédie Moyenne. Étude de quelques masques de vieillards", in: B. Le Guen and S. Milanezi (eds), L*'appareil scénique dans les spectacles de l'Antiquité* (Paris 2013) 51-83. I have not seen M. Pellegrino, "Degradazioni 'carnevalesche' dell'immagine di Zeus nella commedia attica antica", in: P. Sisto and P. Totaro (eds), *La maschera e il potere* (Putignano-Bari 2014) 27ff.

4. Respectively Ferrara inv. 29307, from Spina (Valle Treba), Rusten (see the last note) 287 fig. 7; Madrid 11026, Rusten 283 fig. 1 ; Vatican inv. 17106 (U 19), Rusten, *Birth of Comedy* (Baltimore 2011) 438 (ill.).

Fig. 1a-b Paestan red-figure bell-krater attributed to Asteas, Vienna, priv. coll.

Fig. 1 c Paestan red-figure bell-krater attributed to Asteas, Vienna, priv. coll. Scene from Comedy.

Fig. 2 Attic red-figure stemmed plate, Ferrara inv. 29307, from Spina (Valle Treba). Mask G: Zeus. Courtesy Valentino Nizzo.

Fig. 3 Sicilian red-figure calyx-krater, Madrid inv. 11026, detail. Mask G: Zeus.

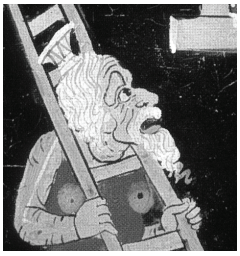

Fig. 4 Paestan red-figure bell-krater, Vatican inv. 17106, detail. Mask G: Zeus. Courtesy Antonio Paolucci and Rosanna Di Pinto.

Zeus on the Vatican krater where the two of them are depicted approaching a woman's window.[5]

The figure opposite him, in the role of a woman, wears a decorated chiton and white footwear with yellow wash over. She is stocky and has the appearance of a housewife: she has mask T (the mask of a housewife) with a band around the head towards the front, a snub nose and heavy lips.[6] The use of added white for the face and its contrast with the actor's neck and hands makes it abundantly clear that it is a mask.[7] This figure too has heavy padding, and the navel is again marked. We see the top of the actor's body-tunic in the zone of purple-red at the figure's neck. It is interesting that the chiton is diaphanous, the sort of drapery sometimes employed for Aphrodite and for hetairai. It is reasonable to suppose that this is a deliberate comic contrast, a female that Zeus sees as sexy and attractive whereas the audience can see that she is not. Both figures have their hands clasped and forward as they exercise their skills on the see-saw.

Use of the see-saw in antiquity must have been tricky. It was used not by seated figures such as we are accustomed to, but by standing figures who jumped up and down, often quite vigorously, as here. We have no evidence for the width of the plank but neither here nor elsewhere is there any evidence that is was made of two or more planks placed side-by-side, so it is unlikely that it was any wider than the trunk of a well-grown tree such as one might have found in Greece or Sicily. A further hazard must have been that the plank could slip about. Here it sits on an H-shaped support, so that its lateral movement was to some degree limited. Other examples have no such

5. The only other such phallos I can recall in Paestan occurs on a bell-krater decorated by Python that was recently on the Freiburg market: Galerie G. Puhze inv. 4352. On that vase the actor is depicted in procession with Dionysos (i.e. not in a comic scene) and at the same time performing the *oklasma*, a dance which could in a comedy have been regarded as every bit as outrageous as the see-saw incident here. The vase was formerly with Heidi Vollmoeller in Zurich, and later with Galerie Kunst der Antike in Vienna.
6. On married women in depictions of comedy, see my comments in "Two Phaedras: Euripides and Aristophanes?", in: S.D. Olson (ed.), A*ncient Comedy and Reception. Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Henderson* (Berlin – Boston 2013) 94-131.
7. The use of white for females seen outside the house is well known. Two recent articles on the subject are B.M. Thomas, "Constraints and Contradictions: Whiteness and Femininity in Ancient Greece", in: L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (Swansea 2002) 1-16, and A. Grand-Clément, "Blancheur et altérité: le corps des femmes et des vieillards en Grèce ancienne", *Corps* 3, 2007, 33-39. On the (to us) frightening use of white lead, see E. Welcomme, P. Walter, E. Van Elslande and G. Tsoucaris, "Investigation of White Pigments used as Make Up during the Greco-Roman Period", *Applied Physics A, Materials, Science and Processing* 2006, 551-556.

restraint. In practice there must have been a lot of accidents. We shall return to issues of its use in a moment.

The bush shown growing in centre-field emphasises that the scene is set outdoors, and the wreath shown hanging above suggests a sanctuary. Then there is a man's mask hanging above. It has a wreath in white with yellow wash over, like the ivy-wreaths to each side, and white for the suspension string above and below the mask, and the white of the eye. The mask is that of a mature male, a citizen as distinct from a slave. The types were similar throughout Middle Comedy, but master would have been distinguished from slave by his clothing and by the fact that his hair was usually better groomed rather than unkempt and bristly.[8]

The reverse of the vase has two wreathed youths in conversation. They wear enveloping himatia and have footwear; they carry sticks.[9] The left one appears to offer eggs to the one on the right, perhaps carrying a funerary connotation as often in Paestan vase-painting.

It is worth looking at other examples of the see-saw, if only to establish the contexts of their use. Depictions are not common in Greek vase-painting although most of those that do exist have been listed often enough. The primary discussion has remained the treatment by Beazley in his publication of the example in Boston in 1964, but there has been a very useful further treatment by Olmos in the context of a scene on a vase in Madrid. Marina Castoldi has also made some recent comments.[10]

Beazley commented that "the name of the seesaw plank, and of the game, was probably *πέτευρον* (see Housman on Manilius 5, 439), Latin *peteurum* and *petaurum*, although the words may also have had a wider significance". He then added: "Prof. Spyridakis has kindly provided me with a list of modern Greek words for seesaw, which I transcribe. *δραμπάλα, τραμπάλα, κούνια* in many districts, *ἀπότζι* (Naxos), *κάργα* (Karpathos), *ὄπαλα* (Thera), *ζαγκουβάνα* (Chaldia Pontou), *τσουντσουβάνα* (Kotyora Pontou), *γκούλιαρος*

8. Compare the hair of the slave on Asteas' calyx-krater in Berlin (F 3044): it stands almost upright on top of the head. See for example B. Knittlmayer and W.D. Heilmeyer (eds), *Die Antikensammlung: Altes Museum, Pergamonmuseum* (Berlin 1998) 85-6 no. 43 (colour ill.); *Greek Vases. Gods, Heroes and Mortals* (Berlin 2010) 122 no. 62 (colour ill.).
9. In an interesting recent article, M. Langner argues that this conventional decoration reflects a deliberate echo of Athenian practice: "Mantle-Figures and the Athenianization of Late Classical Imagery", in: S. Schierup and B. Bundgaard Rasmussen (eds), *Red-Figure Pottery in its Ancient Setting. Acts of the International Colloquium ... Copenhagen, November 5-6, 2009* (Aarhus 2012) 11-20.
10. "L'altalena: un gioco, un rito, una festa", in: A.C. Mori, C. Lambrugo and F. Slavazzi (eds), *L'Infanzia e il Gioco nel Mondo Antico. Materiali della Collezione Sambon di Milano* (Milan 2012) 37-43. She gives more attention to swings.

and *ζύγκαρος* (= *ζύγαρος*?) (Epirus), *τριζ(γ)ύρα* and *ζυοτήρι* (= *ζυγοτήρι*) (Cyprus), *ζυγόγυρος* (Rhodes).' The *ζυγο*-words are appropriate, whether one thinks of a 'yoke' or rather of 'the beam of a balance', and one feels that they might be derived from ancient Greek."

For ease of reference I provide a list of relevant vases in roughly chronological order.[11] The references are selective:

1. Fig. 5. Attic red-figure cup. Rome, Villa Giulia 64224, from Vulci. 'Imitation of Euergides Painter' (Paralipomena 330; Beazley Archive 352430); ca 510 BC.

Monkeys on a see-saw.

G. Riccioni, M. Falconi Amorelli, *La Tomba della Panatenaica di Vulci*, (Quaderni di Villa Giulia 3, Rome, 1968) 39-41, no. 24 (= *Scritti Riccioni* [Bologna 2000] 205-207 no. 24); M. Torelli, "Gli spettacoli conviviali di età classica. Documenti archeologici su possibili fatti genetici e sviluppi", in: *Spettacoli conviviali dall'antichità classica alle corti italiane del '400. Atti del VII Convegno di Studio*, Viterbo, 27-30 Maggio 1982 (Viterbo 1983) 51-64, esp. 61 with fig. 5; H.A.G. Brijder, *Apen op het toneel?: ikonologische interpretatie van voorstellingen op Griekse vazen uit de zesde eeuw v. Chr.* (Amsterdam 1986); *id.*, "Apish Performances in the 6th Cent. BC", in: J. Christiansen and T. Melander (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, Copenhagen, August 31 – September 4 1987 (Copenhagen 1988) 62-70 with 62 fig. 1; *CAH. Plates to Vol. IV* (1988), no. 202; A. Schafer, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposium* (Mainz 1997) 60-61, pl. 26.3; C. Greenlaw, *The Representation of Monkeys in the Art and Thought of Mediterranean Cultures* (BAR international series, 2192, Oxford 2011) 71 fig. 98; M. Torelli, *ΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ | SIGNIFICARE. Scritti vari di ermeneutica archeologica* (ed. A. Sciarma, Pisa 2012) 390, figs 2-3; F. Lissarrague, *La cité des satyres. Une anthropologie ludique (Athènes, VIe-Ve siècle avant J.-C.)* (Paris 2013) 125 fig. 104.

11. I do not include the mug by the Eretria Painter, now Malibu 86.AE.243, *CVA* (7) pl. 369, 1-4 (with earlier refs), since the angled ground-line does not seem to represent one side of a see-saw: cf. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler* (Kerameus, 6, Mainz 1988) 298-299, 353 no. 294, pl. 186a. Neer in the *CVA* does not raise the issue. It was taken as a see-saw scene by von Bothmer in *BMMA* 27:10, June 1969, 425-436 with fig. 15.

2. Fig. 6. Attic red-figure column-krater fragments. Boston 10.191. Leningrad Painter (*ARV*² 569, 49, *Addenda*² 261; Beazley Archive 206537); about 470-460 BC.

Two girls on a see-saw in an orchard.

L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts,* Boston, iii (London 1964) 48-49 no. 149 (with earlier refs); A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (second ed. by J. Gould and D.M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, reissued 1988) fig. 40; Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975) fig. 322; J. Bazant, *Les citoyens sur les vases athéniens* (Prague 1985) pl. 26, 43; E. Böhr and W. Martini (eds), *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei, Festschrift fur Konrad Schauenburg* (Mainz 1986) 109, pl. 18, 2 (R. Olmos); J. Neils and J.H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece* (New Haven 2003) no. 82 (colour ill., with additional refs).

3. Fig. 7a-b. Attic red-figure hydria. Madrid, Museo Arq. Nacional 11128, from Apulia. Dwarf Painter (*ARV*² 1011, 17; *Addenda*² 314; Beazley Archive 214155); ca 440-430 BC.

Two young women on a see-saw, an Eros flying between them with a sash above the pivot-point.

F. Inghirami, *Pitture di vasi etruschi*, iii, (second ed., Florence 1855) pl. 298; G. Leroux, *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de Madrid* (Bordeaux 1912) pl. 29, 2; *CVA* (2) pl. 6 (89), 1; R. Olmos, "Archedike und Hapalina: Hetären auf einer Wippe", in Böhr and Martini (eds), *Festschrift Schauenburg* (Mainz 1986) 107-113; S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman* (London 2002) 154, fig. 4.17.

4. Fig. 8a-b. Attic red-figure hydria. Athens 1178 (CC1247), from Attica. Painter of Athens 1454 (*ARV*² 1179, 5; Beazley Archive 215620); ca 430-420 BC.

Two girls on a see-saw; two women watching.

F.A.G. Beck, *An Album of Greek Education* (Sydney 1975) 48 no. 291 pl. 57; A. Greifenhagen, *Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekannten griechischen Vasen* (SB Munich 1976, Heft 3) 46-49 no. 24 and fig. 40.

5. Fig. 9. Attic red-figure stemless cup. New York, coll. Iris C. Love. Co-

Fig. 5 Attic red-figure cup, Rome, Villa Giulia inv. 64224, from Vulci. Monkeys on a see-saw. Courtesy Maria Laura Falsini.

Fig. 6 Attic red-figure column-krater fragments, Boston 10.191a. Two girls on a see-saw in an orchard. Courtesy Marta Fodor and the Museum of Fine Arts, Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund and Museum purchase with funds donated by contribution.

Fig. 7a Attic red-figure hydria, Madrid inv. 11128, from Apulia. Two young women on a see-saw and an Eros. Photo: Alberto Rivas Rodríguez, courtesy Javier Rodrigo del Blanco.

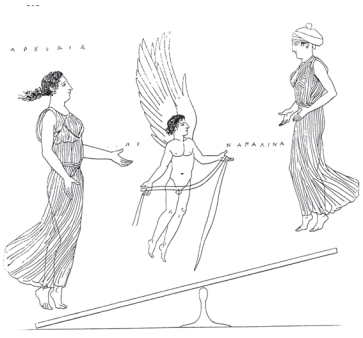

Fig. 7b After a drawing by R. Gargiulius in Olmos.

Fig. 8a Attic red-figure hydria, Athens 1178 (CC1247), from Attica. Two girls on a see-saw; two women watching. Courtesy Alexandra Christopoulou and Stavros Paspalas. © Hellenic Ministry of Cultura and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 8b After Greifenhagen Fig. 40.

Fig. 9 Attic red-figure stemless cup, New York, priv. coll. Young woman on a see-saw. After von Bothmer.

drus Painter (*ARV*² 1271, 38 bis; Beazley Archive 217429); ca 430 BC.
In the tondo, young woman on one half of a see-saw.
D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections: catalogue of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, December 17, 1959–February 28, 1960* (New York 1961) 64 no. 250, pl. 82; A. Avramidou, *The Codrus Painter, Iconography and Reception of Athenian Vases in the Age of Pericles* (Madison 2011) 65, 88 no. 9, 175, pl. 72.

6. Fig. 10. Fragment of Attic red-figure bell-krater. Athens, Agora P 20157, from Athens, Agora. (Beazley Archive 29704). Possibly of the second quarter of the fourth century BC.
The fragment preserves a girl as if in the air from a see-saw.
M.B. Moore, *The Athenian Agora xxx: Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery* (Princeton 1997) 212 no. 491, pl. 54.
From a relatively small bell-krater.

7. Fig. 11a-b. Lucanian red-figure bell-krater. Metaponto 324335, from Metaponto. About 400 BC.
Two Erotes on a see-saw holding a sash.
K. Schauenburg, "Erotenspiele", *AWelt* 7, 1976, 43, and 50 fig. 20.
Formerly in the museum in Reggio Calabria but now returned.

8. Fig. 12. Sicilian red-figure calyx-krater. Syracuse 47039, from Canicattini Bagni. Group of Catania 4292 (LCS 592, 46; Beazley Archive 9003782); ca 340-330 BC.
Comic scene: young woman with tambourine and slave on a see-saw with (actor as) papposilenos in centre.
CVA IV E, pll. 3-4; *Dioniso* 5, 1935/36, 199-25, figs 1-5 (Cultrera); G. Pugliese Carratelli et al., *Sikanie* (Milan 1985) fig. 293 (colour); A. Griffiths (ed.), *Stage Directions. Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of Eric Handley* (BICS Suppl. 66, London 1995) pl. 9b (Green); G.M. Bacci and U. Spigo (eds), *Prosopon-Persona. Testimonianze del Teatro Antico in Sicilia* (Lipari 2002) 22 fig. 4a-b and 31 (colour ills); L. Todisco, *Teatro e spettacolo in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia* (Milan 2002) pl. 26, 2.
Cultrera describes the circumstances of the vase's discovery.

9. Fig. 13. Tarentine Gnathia pelike. Once New York, market. Perhaps attributable to the Rose Painter; ca 330 BC.
Two Nikai on a see-saw.
Hesperia Art Auctions Ltd (New York), Sale Cat., 27 November 1990, no. 41 (colour ill.).

10. Fig. 14. Gnathia pelike. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 591. Matera Painter? About 320 BC.
Two Erotes on a see-saw.
K. Schauenburg, "Erotenspiele", *AWelt* 7, 1976, 43, fig. 22; W. Hornbostel (ed.), *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern: die Antikensammlung Walter Kropatscheck* (Mainz 1980) 370 no. 318 (Schauenburg); *LIMC* iii (1986) s.v. Eros 765; J. Raeder (ed.), *Antikensammlung Kunsthalle Kiel* (Munich 1987) 111 (ill.).

This is not the place to develop a full discussion of the Euergides Painter's colleague's vase (no. 1, Fig. 5), or of this scene in particular. Some scholars have seen the figures as actors and as wearing monkey-masks, but this is not easy to accept.[12] There is no hint that these young-looking figures are wearing masks or indeed any kind of comic costume. Torelli (1983) is right to compare monkeys with satyrs conceptually, and his observation suggests the best way to look at them.[13] As, on the other side of the cup, a satyr sits on a rock and plays the syrinx for a trio of splendid goats to dance to, so on this side we are in another amusing dream-world in which monkeys also imitate humans, under the infuence of the gift of Dionysos (note the rhyton and the outsize skyphos). Lissarrague has shown how in the ancient world (as indeed in the modern) alchohol could tempt people to test the limits of their ability to balance[14], and what better way than the risky ancient see-saw?

The works of the Euergides Painter himself often exhibit a sense of humour, whether through a young man up-ending himself into a vat, a dog scratching itself, or the Bousiris story.[15] It is surely this wry view of life that

12. Principally Brijder and, following him, Schäfer and Greenlaw, but already Torelli who made a good point about the contrast between the two sides of the vase, the musical goats on the other side looking towards serious drama (tragedy) and this towards the comic.
13. See also his "L'immaginario greco dell'oltremare. La *lekythos* eponima del Pittore della Megera, Pausania I, 23, 5-6 e Pitecusa", in: *ΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ / SIGNIFICARE: scritti vari di ermeneutica archeologica* (ed. A. Schiarma, Pisa 2012) 385-391 (reprinted from *AION* 16, 1994, 117-125).
14. *Un flot d'images. Une esthétique du banquet grec* (Paris 1987) 66-82.
15. See P. Rouillard, "Le peintre d'Euergidès", *RevArch* 1975, 31-60; he demonstrates

Fig. 10 Fragment of Attic red-figure bell-krater, Athens, Agora P 20157, from Athens, Agora. Girl jumping (on a see-saw). American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations. Courtesy, Jan Jordan and Craig Mauzy.

Fig. 11a-b Lucanian red-figure bell-krater, Metaponto inv. 324335, from Metaponto. Two Erotes on a see-saw and holding a sash. Courtesy of the Soprintendenza dei Beni Culturali for the Basilicata.

Fig. 12 Sicilian red-figure calyx-krater, Syracuse inv. 47039, from Canicattini Bagni. Comic scene with slave and woman as maenad on a see-saw; Papposilenos piping in the centre. Su concessione dell'Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia. Courtesy Angela Maria Manenti.

Fig. 13 Tarentine Gnathia pelike, once New York, market. Two Nikai on a see-saw. After Hesperia Art Sale catalogue.

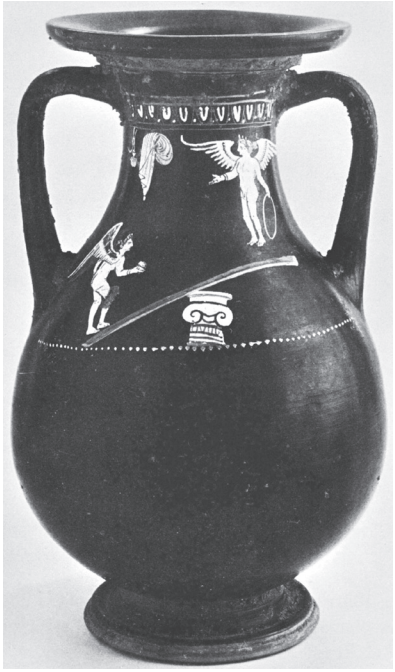

Fig. 14 Gnathia pelike, Kiel, Kunsthalle B 591. Two Erotes on a see-saw. After Hornbostel.

prompted the drawing on this vase. The painter has emphasised the way in which the monkeys wave their arms up and down to try to maintain their balance. There are four of them, two towards each end of the beam. The fifth figure stands at the balance-point which we shall see becomes a popular idea with vase-painters. It is not easy to be sure if the object he stands on is a rather flattened tree-trunk or a suitable rock, as might be more appropriate for monkeys. The plank itself is very long and is made to look extremely unstable.

With reference to the other side of the vase, we may note in passing that just as goats in the world of the god are often given faces that approach the human or satyric in appearance, so here the vase-painter has given them faces that are not unlike those of the monkeys, or the monkeys are given faces that look like those of the goats. Lissarrague has made useful initial comments on goats in performance as well as on the similarity their faces to those of satyrs and men.[16] It would be worth pursuing the issue further, but it is a complex topic, not least where the Theseus Painter and his colleagues were concerned. This theme of their participation in the world of satyrs and humans, especially in the context of performances and choruses, was particularly popular in the later years of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth. It would not be easy to distinguish ritual beliefs from the simply humorous, if indeed such a distinction is valid.

An indication that playing on a see-saw could be a makeshift activity occurs also on the Boston fragments, no. 2 (Fig. 6), of a generation or more later, on which there is a fruit-tree shown immediately beyond the game. The see-saw itself is simple: a plank of wood reinforced by a short thinner piece in the centre and resting over a log on the end of which the painter has suggested tree-rings. The young women are shown as wearing chitons only, thus suggesting that they are somewhere secluded or private, not open to the male gaze. As Beazley pointed out, the one on the left has very fine, elaborate dress, decorated not only with dots above the waist, an arc-like pattern at the hem, and a dotted vertical band, but on the skirt with a zone of winged horses. Her hair is neatly dressed and is confined with ribbons at the back. It is a hairstyle fashionable at this period.[17] Her companion is somewhat more

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well the limits of the painter's powers of invention. There are also useful comments on the painter and his circle by K.M. Lynch in her *The Symposium in Context. Pottery from a Late Archaic House near the Athenian Agora* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 46, Princeton 2011) 85.

16. *La cité des satyres* (Paris 2013) 114-121.

17. E.B. Harrison, "Hellenic Identity and Athenian Identity in the Fifth Century B.C.", in: S.J. Barnes and W.S. Melion (eds), *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Washington 1989) 41-61, esp. p. 53, noted that on the Parthenon

simply dressed, and it is a pity that we cannot see her hair. Beazley noted that she must have had a scarf tied round her head, one end of which can just be made out at breast-level near the edge of the fragment. I suspect that the figure on the left is special and that she may have been identified as a young woman known from myth (as it were, a Nausicaa). She is certainly not generic.

The scene immediately brings to mind the name vase of the Orchard Painter, and for a number of reasons including the apple-tree.[18] The two women at the outer edges of that scene wear himatia over their chitons and they are taller than the young women in the centre who are actually doing the picking. They are of supervisory status, and their hairstyle is different. It matches that of the woman on the left here.

It will be worth asking ourselves if the more important figure is regularly shown on the left in these see-saw scenes. It is often so in battle-scenes for example.

Frieze maidens wore their back hair long, while married women appearing in public bound their hair up and covered it with a sakkos or the like.

18. New York 07.286.74, G.M.A. Richter and L.F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1936) no. 87 pl. 91; S. Pfisterer-Haas, "Frauen im Obstgarten. Zur Deutung eines Motivs im Zusammenhang mit Grab und Heiligtum", in: B. Schmaltz and M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposions in Kiel vom 24.-28.9.2001* (Münster 2003) pl. 37, 1; Beazley Archive 205877; *ARV*[2] 523, 1; *Addenda*[2] 254. On the meaning conveyed by setting young women in an orchard, see L. Frey-Asche, "Polla men kydonia mala", in: H. Büsing and F. Hiller (eds), *Bathron. Beiträge zur Architektur und verwandten Künsten: für Heinrich Drerup zu seinem 80. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken 1988) 135-140; Pfisterer-Haas, *op.cit.*, 93-95, and "Mädchen und Frauen im Obstgarten und beim Ballspiel. Untersuchungen zu zwei vorhochzeitlichen Motiven und zur Liebessymbolik des Apfels auf Vasen archaischer und klassischer Zeit", *Ath. Mitt* 118, 2003, 139-159. Note also H.M. Fracchia, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 5, 1972, 103-111, and A. Kosmopoulou, *AJA* 102, 1998, 537-540. The scene with young women holding branches bearing fruit on a neck-amphora once in Berlin should also be kept in mind here, despite Beazley's description of them as 'women at work': F 1841, *ABV* 320, 6 (Three-Line Group); Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* i, pl. 74; *Dokumentation der Verluste, V.1, Skulpturen, Vasen, Elfenbein und Knochen, Goldschmuck, Gemmen und Kameen* (Berlin 2005) 117, F 1841; Beazley Archive 301677. One also remembers the Locrian reliefs: H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz 1968) type 45 (with 161 fig. 6) and types 46/47 (with 160 fig. 5); and more recently V. Meirano, "Vegetali ed alimenti sui pinakes locresi. Nuove interpretazioni", *Orizzonti* 4, 2003, 155-167. Apples symbolise a woman's breasts in Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1199; *Eccl.* 903; *Lys.* 155 and Scholl. *ad locc.*; also Cratinus fr. 40K. See A.R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature", *HSCP* 72, 1968, 147-181 (which effectively replaces Foster's article in *HSCP* 10, 1899, 39-55). See also the fragments in the British Museum, 1888.6–1.603 (E 436.1), from Naukratis, A. Villing *et al.*, *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt* (London 2014) PV 0283.

The tree is an important element on the Boston fragments. In terms of the composition, it emphasises the point of balance of the see-saw and it helps create a symmetry between the two halves of the scene as a whole, as well as between the two young women.[19] There is a way, too, in which landscape elements are used to reflect the humans, and so here the tree with its ripe fruit, quite likely apples, is used to prompt the viewer's consideration of the young women, to enhance the reading of their physical ripening.[20]

The hydria in Madrid, no. 3 (Fig. 7), has had illuminating discussion from Olmos and so we can deal with it quickly. It must have been painted in the third quarter of the fifth century. As Olmos demonstrated, the women, Archedike and Hapalina, are hetairai and this helps explain the presence of Eros in the centre, in the balancing position. He carries a sash with which to reward the winner, the one who can stand the pace longest. In these scenes there is always an element of friendly competition, of challenge.

We may also observe that on this vase we see for the first time what must be a purpose-built see-saw. The drawing makes the support look better-finished than it is in the photograph, but it must even so be a manufactured rather than a found object. The plank is much longer on the vase than it is in the drawing.

No. 4 (Fig. 8a-b) is attributed to the Painter of Athens 1454 and it extends the tradition of the Boston krater and the Madrid hydria. Two teenage girls jump rather wildly if nonetheless elegantly at each end of the see-saw while two older women stand between and supervise, again creating a point of balance. One of these women holds a mirror, and as the only extraneous object in the scene, it should carry meaning: one wonders if the profession of the women on the Madrid vase is repeated here.[21] The extravagance of their gestures leads one to suspect so too.

The interior of the cup in New York (no. 5. Fig. 9) attributed to the Codrus Painter shows a little less than half of such a scene and it therefore gives us no context. The young woman is dressed in a chiton and bare-armed; her hair is pulled back from her face but loose behind, like that of Archedike on the Madrid hydria (no. 3) and the girls on the Athens vase (no. 4).

19. See L. Chazalon, "L'arbre et le paysage dans la céramique attique archaïque à figures noires et à figures rouges", *AION* 17, 1995, 103-131.
20. Cf. Chazalon, *op.cit.*, 126: 'la nature est perçue comme le miroir (déformant parfois) des sentiments humains. Retrouve-t-on dans les images un tel mimétisme?"
21. On the use of mirrors, see recently M. Menichetti, "La specchio nello spazio femminile. Tra rito e mito", in: S. Estienne & al. (eds), *Image et religion dans l'antiquité greco-romaine. Actes du colloque de Rome, 11-13 décembre 2003* (Paris 2008) 217-230, with earlier refs.

Her arms are bent forward by the waist in a way that seems to have become fairly standard for those jumping up and down while keeping their balance. The important point, however, is that the purchaser of the vase must have been expected to recognise what the scene was about, to recognise that the inclined reserved line represented a see-saw, and, since it was in a drinking vessel, to be found below the wine, to appreciate the sort of girl represented, in an action to be associated with her emerging physical maturity.

The only other Attic piece known to me is from some way into the fourth century and is a small fragment from a bell-krater (no. 6, Fig. 10). Scholars from Beazley onwards have surely been correct to recognise here a girl bouncing in the air over a see-saw, her hair streaming behind her. The fragment is from the far right of the scene, by the handle (the beginning of its root just visible at the extreme right of the fragment), up towards the lip. Although it is crudely done, the girl is given an elaborate chiton (and one should note that she has chiton only, like a number of others we have looked at).

Our remaining examples are from South Italy and Sicily. They have a wider range of participants that seem to take for granted the erotic connotations of what we have seen in Athens. The earliest known, a Lucanian (Metapontine) bell-krater (no. 7, Fig. 11) that must belong about 400 BC or just a little later, makes such an association explicit with its pair of Erotes on a see-saw. They hold each end of a sash; presumably it will go to whichever of them is successful. From the composition one would expect that it is again the one on the left, as well as from the fact that he appears to be making off with the sash. (The see-saw itself is still of the simple kind, a plank laid across what may be a log or else a suitable rock.) That a Metapontine vase-painter should make explicit what had been implicit in Attic should hardly surprise, but it is important to our interpretation if only for this reason.[22] After this vase there is a gap until a cluster of examples in the third quarter of the century, but the pattern seems to have been set.

It is worth noting that this vase is now back in Metaponto where it was found, after a long sojourn in the museum of Reggio Calabria.[23] It was illustrated by Schauenburg in his article 'Erotenspiele', but with a poor photograph. It is illustrated here from fresh photographs, for which I am very grateful to Professor De Siena. The surface of the vase is somewhat worn and some of the detail is no longer clear. The placing of the scene on the vase is

22. See M. Denoyelle, "Spina: un avant-poste de la céramique italiote en Étrurie padane?', in: A. Tsingarida and D. Viviers (eds), *Pottery Markets in the Ancient Greek World (8th–1st Centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles 19-21 June 2008* (Brussels 2013) 203-211.

23. Its presence in Metaponto was brought to my attention by Francesca Silvestrelli.

a little awkward and too far to the left, perhaps giving undue emphasis to the Eros on the right.

No. 8 (Syracuse 47039, Fig. 12) shows vigorous action in a stage performance of a kind parallel to that on our Paestan vase. A comic slave bounces into the air with his legs tucked under him and his hands held out in front for balance. He too has a purple-red body-tunic and phallos, a white exomis over it although the paint is very worn and all detail of it is lost. There is a pale yellow-brown wash on his sleeves and leggings. The hetaira on the other end is on tiptoe and behaves in a more 'ladylike' fashion, even if her arms are stage-naked, something which is hardly proper and at the same time helps identify her profession. Why she has a tympanon must have been known to the prospective purchaser of the vase, as must the presence of the papposilenos standing on the pivot-assembly. There can be no doubt that he is part of the action since, as Olmos pointed out, he played the aulos-pipes: the white in which they were drawn is missing (as is that from the face of the girl's mask). His hands show the pipes' position and the music must have emphasised the rhythm of their working of the see-saw, just as it could be used for men marching. His presence and the fact that the hetaira seems to have taken on the role of a maenad suggest that the play must have involved some sort of Dionysiac situation, whether or not one could speak of mythological comedy. One could speculate that within the play the slave is playing the role of a precocious version of the infant Dionysos who had been put into the care of a papposilenos and nymphs, but that would be no more than a possibility at best. By this date mythological comedy was in any case largely out of fashion, although one could argue that the play was an older one by the date of the performance.

No. 9 (Fig. 13), once with Hesperia Art in New York and later with Fujita in Tokyo, is a very fine example of Gnathia pottery even though the decoration has suffered some wear. The scene has two attractive young Nikai using a see-saw. They are apparently topless but have elaborately-decorated skirts. Their wings are long and elegant. As the conventional bushes to each side indicate, the setting is at least semi-rural and/or a sanctuary. The figures must recall the element of competition we have noted elsewhere in these scenes. The see-saw itself is remarkable in that it is one of the only two shown with a fixed pivot. It is a specially-constructed one, not a plank laid across a casual object, and it is in fact similar in design to the one on the calyx-krater in Syracuse of much the same date.

No. 10 (Fig. 14), the pelike once in a private collection in Hamburg, is a little later than no. 9, and the Erotes are shown as young. One of them carries a hoop and the other a ball, and objects shown as hanging in the background

(clothing, aryballos and strigil) also have implications for their age and emergence from childhood to young adulthood.[24] Implicit again is the notion that this sort of activity is linked to Erotes and their style. The vase belongs to a stylistic group that has links with the Materano. The use of a flat-topped Ionic capital as the balance point is surely a pleasant touch rather than in any way naturalistic.

Whatever thoughts may have lain behind the use of a see-saw in one's personal life in the later fifth and the fourth centuries, it is clear that in contemporary vase-painting it was increasingly presented as having erotic connotations, and more explicitly so over time. In the composition of the scenes as well as in subject-matter there is also a suggestion that it included a competitive element that was seen as quickening the sexual charge as part of the display of physical skill. It could be thought of as running in parallel with the growing popularity of scenes of Erotes wrestling with each other; they must share the same mindset. One also has the impression that, doubtless within limits, women came to be perceived as potentially enjoying the challenge as much as men. I see no evidence of this in the Attic series where one can read the material as typically male voyeuristic. With the exception of the Madrid hydria, the vessels that carry these scenes are all symposion vessels;[25] and the fact that the stemless cup in New York (no. 5) is a quotation rather than a full depiction, demonstrates the strength of the message conveyed as well as the fact that it must have been readily understood.

Once we come to the South Italian series, the Lucanian bell-krater no. 7 (Fig. 11) involves Erotes from the very beginning. At the same time it is interesting that, in Apulia, the pelike as a shape regularly, though not exclusively, seems to have carried scenes that related to women. The numbers are small however: two of our three vases from South Italy are pelikai. One has Nikai, the other has Erotes.

It is within this broader context that one should read the scenes from Comedy. On the vase from Canicattini Bagni (no. 8, Fig. 12), the slave has an interest in the hetaira-maenad; and in providing the music as well as by his role in the centre, the Papposilenos is aiding and abetting them. It must have been a wonderful performance on stage however the story-line was manipulated so as to bring it about.

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24. The chubby, putto kind of Eros has not yet been introduced: it appears just a few years after this. On the transition from childhood to young adulthood in terms of male erotic behaviour, see recently A. Burnett, "Brothels, Boys, and the Athenian Adonia", *Arethusa* 45:2, 2012, 177-194.
25. One could of course invent arguments for the use of a hydria, whether or not they involved its export to Apulia.

Our Paestan vase (Fig. 1b) must also derive from a comedy played in Sicily even if we cannot know in an absolute sense whether the original script was Sicilian or Athenian. Sicily was where Asteas had his experience of theatre. As I have noted elsewhere, there is no compelling evidence of theatre performance in Paestum, and if one follows Asteas' and Python's depictions of comic scenes, they became more and more removed from contemporary stage practice with the passage of time.[26] This example, on the other hand, is from relatively early in the sequence and it seems to preserve a lively memory of actual performance, even if Zeus' phallos seems to have been exaggerated, perhaps as a way of expressing his character on this occasion.

In this case, as in others we have examined, the bush or emerging young tree in the centre is placed there to emphasise the point of balance between the two figures. This is surely the vase-painter's contribution rather than a stage prop and not atypical as a way of building up the narrative.[27] Zeus is the dominant figure, the one driving the story, and so he is on the left facing right, the one leaping into the air first. This is natural enough given that in Greek art generally the action moves from left to right, as it also developed in writing script. The woman for her part, even though she prepares for the game by the placing of her hands, stands absolutely stolidly on the board. This is what helps make it funny.

Other elements introduced by the vase-painter are the two wreaths above, and the mask. The wreaths should indicate that the dialogue and action told the vase-painter that the setting was a sanctuary, and this is how he came to use the bush at the central balancing point of the scene — they were commonly used to help define the countryside and sanctuaries in particular.[28] One could of course find masks hanging as dedications in sanctuaries that housed theatre performance, and while that may have served as an elementary reason here, in practice vase-painters often included the mask of another key character in the play depicted.

So what do we have? We certainly have Zeus on a love adventure, doing his best to excite a married woman.[29] As I suggested earlier, Zeus could be

26. See my comments in "Comic Vases in South Italy. Continuity and Innovation in the Development of a Figurative Language", in K. Bosher (ed.), *Theater Outside Athens. Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy* (Cambridge 2012) 289-342.
27. On the addition of context by the vase-painter, see the last note.
28. See my notes in R. Green and M. Edwards (eds), *Images and Texts. Papers in Honour of Professor Eric Handley* (forthcoming).
29. There is an excellent overview of Zeus' love adventures in comedy in the context of a broader examination of love-patterns in Comedy by I.M. Konstantakos, "Towards a Literary History of Comic Love", *Classica et Mediaevalia* 53, 2002, 141-171.

blind to realities as part of his stupidity on the comic stage, thinking a woman attractive when the audience could plainly see that she was not.[30] In this case she is given highly-decorated, diaphanous clothing of a kind normally associated with sexy, attractive females. This is not simply a conceit developed by the vase-painters. At much the same period we find it mentioned for example in Euboulos' play *Nannion* with reference to the ranks of prostitutes seen lining the street in Athens and displaying their bodies through their dresses against the sunlight[31]:

> *ἐξὸν θεωρήσαντι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον*
> *γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας,*
> *ἐν λεπτοπήνοις ὑμέσιν ἑστώσας, οἵας*
> *Ἠριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας,*
> *μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν...*

We see Aphrodite dressed in such a way, and raising her arms behind her head so as to show off her body, in the well-known scene (Fig. 15) illustrating the theme of Euripides' *Hippolytos* on a roughly contemporary vase, an Apulian (probably Tarentine) calyx-krater in the British Museum.[32] One could point to other examples. We can be fairly sure that the handling of the woman's costume on our vase reflects they way it was done on stage when

30. Compare the Apulian bell-krater in the Getty on which Zeus rushes on stage from a distance towards what he will find is a singularly unattractive woman: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.113, *Passion for Antiquities* 131-135 no. 58 (colour ill.); *BICS* 45, 2001, 48 fig. 8 (Green); *Rusten, Birth of Comedy 437 (ill.);* K. Bosher (ed.), *Theater outside Athens* (2012) 310 fig. 14.11 (Green); G.W.M. Harrison and V. Liapis (eds), *Performance in Greek and Roman Theatre* (Leiden 2013) 284 fig. 3 (Rusten); *RVAp* Suppl.ii, Postscript 564, no. 10/46a (Cotugno Painter). On what made a woman attractive to the male eye, see the collection of sources by R. Cameranesi, "L'attrazione sessuale nella commedia attica antica", *QUCC* 55, 1987, 37-47.

31. Euboulos fr. 67 (= Athenaeus 13.568F). The translation after Henderson in J. Rusten (ed.), *The Birth of Comedy: Texts, Documents, and Art from Athenian Comic Competitions, 486-280* (Baltimore 2011) 475.

32. London 1870.7–10.2 (F 272), from Anzi. E. Bielefeld, *Zur griechischen Vasenmalerei des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Halle 1952), fig. 45; A.D. Trendall, *South Italian Vase Painting* (London 1966), colour pl. A; IGD III.3, 24; D. Williams, *Greek Vases* (London 1985), p. 61 fig. 69 (colour); A.D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (London 1989), fig. 195; *LIMC* vii, Phaidra *11; *RVAp* ii, 480–1 no. 18/14, pl. 171.1–3: Laodamia Painter. Ca. 350–340 BC. I discuss the scene more fully in "Two Phaedras: Euripides and Aristophanes?", in: S.D. Olson (ed.), *Ancient Comedy and Reception. Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Henderson* (Berlin–Boston 2013) 94-131, esp. 112-115 with figs 14-15.

Asteas once saw it, and that that in turn reflected a tradition set in place at the original performance under the supervision of the poet as stage-director.

Fig. 15 Apulian red-figure calyx-krater, London 1870.7–10.2, from Anzi, detail. To right, Aphrodite in diaphanous clothing. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In Athens, in life as well as on the comic stage, such dressing was of course not restricted only to hetairai. Married women could dress up in this way too, to attract their husbands at an appropriate moment, an activity that Aristophanes had fairly recently exploited for example in *Lysistrata* as a feature in the excited planning by Lysistrata and Kalonike at lines 42-53. There we have mention of diaphanous dresses (*τὰ διαφανῆ χιτώνια*, 48), and 'Kimmerian' clothing (*Κιμμερικὸν ἐνδύσομαι*, 52) which seems to have been another way of describing much the same thing. Certainly the dress worn by our female could be described as an *orthostadion* (45), a beltless shift that would doubtless have made a woman with an attractive body look even more attractive as well as potentially accessible, but which here reveals the realities of the padded, dressed-up male underneath. One can say nothing of colour here, which is a pity given its importance in this sort of context: yellow would be typical. One would expect that the footwear of the woman on our vase could be described as *περιβαρίδες* (*Lysistrata* 45, 48, 53).[33]

33. For a woman's unsuccessful attempt to dress up for her husband, see Xenophon, *Oec.* X, 12-13. For broader aspects of clothing, see the good summary of the situation by L.L. Lovén, "Textile Production, Female Work and Social Values in Athenian Vase Painting", in: A.-L. Schallin (ed.), *Perspectives on Ancient Greece: Papers in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Swedish Institute at Athens* (*Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*, Series in 8, 22, Stockholm 2013) 135-151; also C. Brøns, "Kult og klæder – Textile i de græske helligdomme", *Sfinx* 35:1, 2012, 13-17. Specialised, high-quality fabrics were of course imported although it is hard to say how much impact they had on how much of the population: G. Labarre, "Les métiers du textile en Grèce ancienne", *Topoi* 8, 1998, 791-814. See Cleland's remarks on the dedications of fine fabrics in sanctuaries: "The Semiosis of Description: Some reflections on fabric

This is one level of the comic staging. At the same time, she is not just any female Zeus has come across when on the rampage. She is a housewife. (One remembers that in Comedy, the characters of myth were reduced to a human level.) Zeus' two most famous involvements with the wives of others were with Leda, the wife of Tyndareus of Sparta, and with Alkmene, the wife of Amphitryon in Thebes. There is no hint of swans here, though we know of two examples of Leda on the comic stage, from Euboulos and from Sophilos.[34] The fragments of the former, *Λάκωνες ἢ Λήδα* (frr. 60-63 K-A), contain nothing very helpful on the nature of the play but it may well have concerned the egg rather than its conception. Compare the well-known bell-krater in Bari which has a scene from comedy that involved surprise on splitting open an egg, in a comic tradition that may well belong in parallel to the discovery of the ram-like figure in a basket on the bell-krater in the Getty.[35] Nothing is preserved of Sophilos' version.

The Alkmene story, on the other hand, had several versions in comedy. The most famous one came to be that which ended up in the hands of Plautus, but as I hope I recently demonstrated elsewhere, we have that on another vase, and it has no see-saw scene.[36] Instead it involves the clever, tense dialogue between Amphitryon and Xanthias at a stopping point on their journey as they were approaching Thebes, a key scene also for Amphitruo and Sosia in Plautus' version. That play belongs in the late phase of Middle Comedy as it

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and colour in the Brauron Inventories", in: L. Cleland, M. Harlow and Ll. Llewellyn-Jones (eds), *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2005, 87-95, and *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues. Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation* (*BAR* International Series 1428, Oxford 2005). Compare for more normal (or ideal) wifely dress, H. Bectarte, "Le costume de l'épouse dans l'art funéraire attique de l'époque classique", in: L. Bodiou, V. Mehl, J. Oulhen, F. Prost and J. Wilgaux (eds), *Chemin faisant : mythes, cultes et société en Grèce ancienne : mélanges en l'honneur de Pierre Brulé* (Rennes 2009) 235-248. For a broader discussion of women's dress and what it could be thought to signify, see F. Gherchanoc, "Beauté, ordre et désordre vestimentaires féminins en Grèce ancienne", *Clio* 36, 2012, 19-42.

34. A swan would in any case have caused considerable difficulties in staging.

35. Bari 3899, from Bari, e.g. Bieber, *Denkmäler* 145 no. 110, pl. 80b; E.M. De Juliis, I *Musei Archeologici della provincia di Bari* (Bari 1983) 27 fig. 36 (colour); *LIMC* iv, Helene *5; *Magna Grecia* III, 279 fig. 333 (Gigante); Taplin, *Comic Angels* pl. 19, no. 20; *BICS* 45, 2001, 48 fig. 7 (Green); Hart, *Art Theater* 119 no. 56; *RVAp* i, 148 no. 6/96 (Dijon Painter), ca 380-370BC. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.112, e.g. *Passion for Antiquities* 129-131 no. 57 (colour ill.); A. Kossatz-Deissmann, "Medeas Widderzauber als Phlyakenparodie", *GVGetty* 6, 2000, 187-204, fig. 1a-b; Revermann, *Comic Business* (2006) pl. 13; *Rusten*, *Birth of Comedy 442 (ill.); RVAp* i, 96, no. 4/224a (Rainone Painter), ca 370-360 BC.

36. See above, n. 28.

does away with the violent action and striking staging with a variety of props typical of Old and earlier Middle Comedy in favour of verbal characterisation.[37] Earlier than that we seem to know of two others, the *Nyx makra* of Plato comicus and Archippos' *Amphitryon*. There has been debate about the relevance of *Nyx makra*, but as Konstantakos has pointed out recently, the fragments that preserve mention of lanterns and night activity suggest that at least key parts of the action took place at night, and the lengthened night engineered by Zeus for his frolic with Alkmene was notorious in antiquity.[38] Plato seems to have been adept at mythological parody.[39] On the other hand it would be hard to fit our scene into nocturnal activity, both on grounds of common sense and from the fact that, given the conditions of ancient performance, the playwright-director had to indicate night in full sunshine by the use of torches or lamps. The vase surely depicts what was taken as the key scene that characterised the play in the popular imagination.

Of Archippos' version, we have only meagre fragments that neither favour nor hinder a link with our vase. The Amphitryon story was quite likely popular in the earlier part of the fourth century. Sophocles had dealt with the theme and there was a varied range of treatments on Attic vases of the fifth century, but then Euripides' *Alkmene* became a compelling inspiration for vase-painters in the course of the fourth century, concentrating on the woman rather than her husband, and exploiting the imagined detail of her sitting on the altar with logs piled up around, ready for burning, but saved by Zeus' downpour of rain.[40]

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37. R. Tordoff, "Actors' Properties in Ancient Greek Drama: An Overview", in: G.W.M. Harrison & V. Liapis (eds.), *Performance in Greek and Roman Theatre* (Leiden 2013) 89-110, provides a good examination. There is of course more to be said from the visual evidence.
38. I.M. Konstantakos, "Towards a Literary History of Comic Love", *C&M* 53, 2002, 142-172, esp. 161-2. See also recently S. Pirrotta, *Plato comicus. Die fragmentarischen Komödien, ein Kommentar* (Berlin 2009) 196-204. For earlier discussions of the Amphitryon story on the Greek stage, see L.R. Shero, "Alcmena and Amphitryon in Ancient and Modern Drama", *TAPA* 87, 1956, 192-238; E. Stärk, "Die Geschichte des Amphitryonstoffes vor Plautus", *RhM* 125, 1982, 275-303.
39. Rosen points out that roughly a third of his known plays seem to fall into this category: "Plato Comicus and the Evolution of Greek Comedy", in: G. Dobrov (ed.), *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy* (Atlanta 1995) 119-137, esp. 123.
40. *LIMC* i, s.v. Alkmene e.g. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and Suppl. 1. For a selection and fuller discussion, see Taplin, *Pots & Plays* 170-174. Note however that the Entella fragment does not show Alkmene but some other woman in a night scene in comedy: *Annali Pisa* 22:4, 1992, 979-983 (De Cesare), *AntK* 46, 2003, 56-71 (Schmidt); Taplin, *Pots & Plays* 263 no. 106 (ill.)..

This kind of topic was too grand for Comedy which exploited mythological themes by dragging them down to human level, and usually a low human level that exploited detail that would normally be regarded as banal, as we see in the handling of Alkmene here.

In the context of our vase we may, however, be able to push things along a little further. A recent article by Susan Deacy makes the interesting argument that describing Zeus as the 'master rapist' is simplistic, too often set as one of the "narratives of impending sexual unions between persons whose inequality is expressed in terms of the interacting binaries of male/female, adult/youthful, and —sometimes— divine/mortal".[41] In examining the story and depictions of Zeus and Europa she points out that the encounter takes place in a flowery meadow where she and her companions play, indeed disport themselves. In the imagination, the meadow is in any case a place of sexual allure, charged by its untilled character and of course the scent and beauty of the flowers — like the girls themselves.[42] It is a setting often inhabited by Eros. Many of the depictions show Europa not only attracted to the Bull, but interacting by stroking it head and looking at it in what one might decribe as a longing fashion. That is, Europa plays her part in the encounter; she is not passive.[43] The other young women, by contrast, generally pay no attention.

The case with see-saws is more obvious: it takes two to play. Not only that, but we have seen that they are used regularly by Erotes. And then we

41. "From 'Flowery Tales' to 'Heroic Rapes': Virginal Subjectivity in the Mythological Meadow", *Arethusa* 46:3, 2013, 395-413

42. See my own comments on some aspects of all this in "Tragedy and the Spectacle of the Mind: Messenger Speeches, Actors, Narrative, and Audience Imagination in Fourth-Century Vase-Painting," in: B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (eds.), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Studies in the History of Art 56, National Gallery of Art, Symposium Papers XXXIV, Washington 1999) 36–63.

43. If I were writing at greater length, I would attempt to add something on the development of the motif (and therefore perceived attitudes) through time. On Europa, see also M. Robertson in *LIMC* iv; C. Pouzadoux, "L'invention des images dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle: entre peintres et commanditaires", in: M. Denoyelle, E. Lippolis, M. Mazzei and C. Pouzadoux (eds), *La céramique apulienne. Bilan et perspectives. Actes de la Table Ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome en collaboration avec la Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia et le Centre Jean Bérard de Naples (Naples, Centre Jean Bérard, 30 novembre - 2 décembre 2000)* (Naples 2005) 187-199; M.C. Peeters, "L'évolution du mythe d'Europe dans l'iconographie grecque et romaine des VIIe-VIe s. avant aux Ve-VIe s. de notre ère: de la «déesse au taureau» au rapt et du rapt au consentement", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 35, 2009, 61-82. For earlier periods, see F. Silvestrelli, "Il ratto di Europa tra settimo e quinto secolo a.C.: dall'iconografia all'iconologia", *Ostraka* 7, 1998, 159-198.

saw that they are often put in an orchard-like setting: Deacy already quoted Sappho fragment 2 L-P, for the meadow "where there is a lovely grove of apples". That is, one can make out a good case for supposing that the author of our play gave Alkmene a rather more active role than we normally assume her to have played, challenging Zeus in the sex-game, being a naughty woman while her husband was out of town.

This would of course have been all the funnier if she is staged, as it is clear she is, as unattractive to mortal men — of which those in the audience could be regarded as typical. At the same time she could be portrayed as a 'normal' female who could not be trusted once a man was out of the house. It would of course have been interesting to know how her husband was treated in the play, and the degree to which he was treated as a fool. The mask shown hanging in the background of the vase is that of a mature male, and if we are right about the identification of the figures on the see-saw, it is surely the mask of Amphitryon.

In this respect it is interesting that in Plautus' version, and presumably, since it is vital to the drama, also in the Greek original, Alkmene was deceived into thinking that Zeus was in fact her husband, as part of a broader plot of mistaken identities. Those poets thus avoided such an issue of behaviour while the man of the house was away, even if, one might guess, conscious that it had been handled differently by one or more of their predecessors. This is another aspect of that play that brought it nearer to New Comedy, not confronting the male fears over the paternity of one's children.[44]

Our play is very different, still close to Old Comedy, basing a great deal of its humour in physical activity and in pointing up the crudeness of its costume. It would be difficult to see it as having been written beyond the first quarter of the fourth century.[45]

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY
richard.green@sydney.edu.au

44. On the other hand such plays as *Samia* are based on this anxiety.

45. The article by I.M. Konstantakos, "Από τον μύθο στο γέλιο: Θαυμαστά μοτίβα και κωμικές στρατηγικές στη μυθολογική κωμωδία", in: M. Tamiolaki (ed.), *Κωμικός στέφανος: Νέες τάσεις στην έρευνα της αρχαίας ελληνικής κωμωδίας* (Rethymno 2014) 75-102, appeared after this article was completed.