

# PLAYS FOR EXPORT

CHRIS DEARDEN

OLIVER TAPLIN IN HIS BOOK *Comic Angels* provides an admirably succinct discussion of the cultural climate in the Greek cities of Magna Graecia in the final years of the fifth and the early years of the fourth century B.C. and of the production of Athenian tragedy and comedy within them. This paper seeks to flesh out some of the matters he discusses and add some new points in an attempt to clarify the mechanism. The matter is of some concern, firstly, because it marks the beginning of the process by which theatre became big business throughout the Mediterranean world and leads very rapidly to tours of star actors and the lucrative contracts that the Artists of Dionysus secured for the performance of drama throughout that world. Secondly, the export of drama led, arguably, to the shape of drama (especially comedy) being altered to fit the new audiences' tastes.<sup>1</sup>

## I. PLAYS IN ATHENS

We start with Athens and the process of play production there. The broad outline of the process is well known even if the details are still subject to debate. Basically, for City Dionysia and Lenaia, we have a credible and cohesive account of the process from the point at which the *choregoi* were named (in the month following the previous festival), to the choosing by the eponymous archon of the poets who were to be "granted a chorus," to the celebration of the *proagon* at which the competing poets mounted a platform with their actors and chorus (garlanded, but not wearing costumes), to the competitive performance itself and the elaborate judging mechanism to identify winning play and actor. Crucial to the process were two matters; the competitive spirit in which the process was conducted and the role of the *choregos*. His principal responsibility was to pay for the equipping and training of the chorus—tragic (and satyric), comic, or dithyrambic—but he also needed to select his poet from the archon's list (and presumably negotiate with him), find a flute player, choose the chorus members and find both a trainer for them and a place to rehearse, pay for the costumes and accessories, as well as for extra actors (if required) or secondary choruses.<sup>2</sup> So the organisational and financial underpinning of the theatrical performances lay with the individual *choregos*, whose willingness to undertake the burden was usually a source of civic pride. In Athens, this liturgy was state assigned: it cannot have been such overseas unless dramatic festivals were already established. It is not unthinkable, however, that a rich citizen might have undertaken the financial burdens for his own city out of a sense of civic pride.

<sup>1</sup> Slater 1995.

<sup>2</sup> For the details, see Csapo and Slater 1995: 139–157.

A line of argument has been developed over the last few years that successfully relates dramatic performances in Athens to civic ideology.<sup>3</sup> While the case has been cogently made, some of the more extreme proponents have almost reached the point of implying that theatrical performances are so tightly tied to Athenian civic ideology that they are unthinkable elsewhere. This is clearly to carry the argument too far; the plays could be, and were, successfully transferred to different contexts and traditions where the civic ideology might well be alien to that of Athens.

The practices at the deme theatres in Athens and Attica (insofar as we understand them) are perhaps a better guide to the processes underlying play production in Magna Graecia by visiting troupes of actors. The support systems used for the City Dionysia seem also to have been used for the smaller deme theatres to judge from the number of statue bases (largely of the fourth century, it is true) which record honours granted to *choregoi*.<sup>4</sup> However, it is also clear that *synchoregia* seems to have been much more common in the deme theatres—of the twenty-two *choregia* attested in deme theatres, ten involve *synchoregia*<sup>5</sup>—and sometimes took on the character of a family sponsorship, which gets us closer to what must have been necessary for a touring company overseas. We have two examples of *synchoregia* where three people were involved, thus spreading the load significantly; one of them involves a father and two sons—a possible prototype of actor troupes. Other possibilities are to assume that, from the start, the richest members of the state were the only ones involved at the Athenian end in the financing and organisation of plays for export, or, as above, that a citizen of the foreign city exhibited his civic pride by underwriting the costs or the city itself did so.

What plays were being produced at the festivals? Aelian<sup>6</sup> records the oft-quoted story of Socrates' visit to the Peiraeus to see Euripidean tragedy—though the Peiraeus festival may have had a status closer to that of the main festivals in Athens since central government in Athens seems to have had a direct interest in its organisation.<sup>7</sup> From Thorikos we hear of Democharides (comic playwright) and Demochares (tragic playwright) being victorious;<sup>8</sup> from Eleusis, that Aristophanes and Sophocles were *didaskaloi* (in the last years of the fifth century) and presumably, therefore, directed their own works;<sup>9</sup> and from Kollytos

<sup>3</sup> See especially Zeitlin and Winkler 1990.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., IG II<sup>2</sup> 3096, recording Timosthenes' and Kleostratos' victories as *choregoi* in the Dionysia at Aigilia in the fourth century; IG II<sup>2</sup> 3109, recording Megacles' victory in the Dionysia at Rhamnous; IG II<sup>2</sup> 3097: Demosthenes' victory at the Dionysia in Paiania as *choregos* for tragedy; see Csapo and Slater 1995: 121–132; Slater 1995: 31, n. 6. On rural liturgies, see also Whitehead 1986. In 406/5 B.C., of course, a *synchoregia* operated at the Dionysia in Athens.

<sup>5</sup> Csapo and Slater 1995: 124, nos. 50C, 50E.

<sup>6</sup> Var. Hist. 2.13

<sup>7</sup> Arist. Ath. Pol. 54.8; Csapo and Slater 1995: 124, no. 49A; see also 124–125, nos. 49B, D–F, H.

<sup>8</sup> Thorikos VIII, no. 76; Csapo and Slater 1995: 127, no. 50 bis C.

<sup>9</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3090; Csapo and Slater 1995: no. 52A.

we have Demosthenes' ridicule of Aeschines for his fall during a performance of an *Oenomaus* in the period (probably) 370–360 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Hesychius adds the information that the play was Sophocles' *Oenomaus*. Finally, at the Dionysia in Acharnae in the fourth century there is a possible reference to an otherwise unknown comic poet named Speuseades.<sup>11</sup>

The inference is that the plays of the major tragic and comic poets were in production in the deme theatres in the late fifth and the fourth centuries along with plays by playwrights of whom we know little. We may surmise that the more famous playwrights were putting on repeat performances after initially presenting the plays at the more glamorous festivals but even this we cannot be sure of.<sup>12</sup> Young playwrights must have required both a venue to flex their dramatic muscles before launching into the main festivals and a means of building a reputation before an archon might be moved to grant them one of the few choruses at a major competition. Such a process may lie behind some of the more obscure names we meet at the deme theatres. Equally, a touring company might be persuaded to take with it a play of a relatively unknown playwright provided it had sufficient plays in its repertoire to guarantee its share of "hits." Unfortunately, we know nothing of the process by which the text of a play became the property of anyone other than the original author (if indeed they became anyone's property), so that speculation about it is not particularly helpful.<sup>13</sup>

Three other points derive from the evidence of the deme theatres. Firstly, *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3090 implies that Sophocles and Aristophanes directed their own plays at Eleusis, whether first run or not. We do not know if it was the invariable practice for the major playwrights to be involved in the production of their own plays at deme theatres. The suspicion must be that it was not, both because the playwrights would have been hard-pressed writing plays and producing them at the major festivals and because we have evidence in the case of Aristophanes of his deputising the task of production to others, even at the major festivals, without any apparent difficulty. In doing that, he may well have been following a practice well-established for local productions, though it might also be argued

<sup>10</sup> Dem. *De cor.* 180; Csapo and Slater 1995: 120–130, no. 53A.

<sup>11</sup> *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3106; Csapo and Slater 1995: 131, no. 54B.

<sup>12</sup> Taplin (1993: 5) argues, for example, that Ar. *Nub.* 518–526 may imply that Aristophanes did not guarantee that every new play would be put on in Athens first. If he is right that there is a significant reference behind the line, it may well be that Aristophanes is distinguishing between a full audience of Athenians (and others) at the Dionysia rather than an audience of locals at a deme theatre. It should be noted, however, that Eur. *Andr.* is said by the scholiast not to have been performed at Athens.

<sup>13</sup> Green (1994: 4) notes that there was no real concept of intellectual property: an idea could be used and reused. Family ownership of texts, however, may have been the norm, which would account for posthumous productions of plays by famous tragedians being put on by younger relatives (Soph. *OC*, Eur. *Bacch.*, for example). One recalls the later tradition of playwrights (or producers) passing off plays as being by Plautus, thereby helping to guarantee an audience (Aul. Gell. *NA* 3.3). I am not aware of any similar evidence (or prejudice) for the Greek theatre at this date.

that a young playwright might want to associate his play with a reputable producer as a mechanism for catching the archon's eye when it came to "granting a chorus." What happened in the case of plays to be staged overseas, we can only guess. On occasion, the playwright may well have supervised rehearsals in Athens prior to the group's departure. There is no evidence one way or the other.<sup>14</sup>

More positively, it seems to have been common in the deme theatres to have provided less than the full complement of dramatic performances that a major festival entailed. So, Thorikos, Kollytos, and probably Ikarion offered only tragedy and comedy; Aixone, Rhamnous, and Anagyros only comedy; Paiania only tragedy.<sup>15</sup> The ability to envisage a festival (or simply a performance) that involved only tragedy or comedy might well have been crucial in the process of exporting plays (both for providers and recipients), although the competitive element still remains important. The final point is that of timing. There was an apparent ability to be flexible about festival dates to ensure that there were no clashes of theatrical fixtures. Even though all the rural festivals in Attica took place in the month Poseideon, they seem to have been sufficiently coordinated that Glaukon in his debate with Socrates (Pl. *Resp.* 475d) can envisage theatre enthusiasts visiting all the Dionysia one after another in both cities and towns.<sup>16</sup> Certainly this flexibility may have been important in exporting drama, especially as the winter season of the rural festivals was not normally part of the sailing season. At least in the early years of the exporting of plays, one would have expected the best actors to wish to be around Athens for the main festival season, when the greatest rewards were to be won. Evidence for competition between plays in Magna Graecia is meagre but the competitive spirit was so strong amongst the Greeks that it is unlikely that it was totally lacking in the West.

This desire to export plays and for actors to travel derives, presumably, from the increasing professionalisation of the acting profession subsequent to the institution of the actor's competitions (at the Dionysia in 449 B.C. and at the Lenaea around 432 B.C.). The increasing prestige of actors in the fourth century, the rewards they might win,<sup>17</sup> and the lucrative contracts they might undertake is

<sup>14</sup>For the interesting suggestion that references in Eur. *Tro.* 187 ff. (esp. 220–229) may imply that the play was to be performed in Sicily and South Italy, see Easterling 1994. She suggests that the reference to "Sicilian sea" in Eur. *El.* 1347–53 and the untraditional setting of the *Cyclops* by Mt Etna should be seen in the same light. She notes also that the *Melanippe in Chains* was set in Metapontum and the *Aeolus* presumably in Lipari. We might envisage Euripides directing, in Athens, the rehearsals for such a production prior to the actors' departure.

<sup>15</sup>Csapo and Slater 1995: 122. At the Peiraeus, Eleusis, and possibly Acharnae, the full range of dithyramb, tragedy, and comedy seem to have been offered. The marble votive relief from Ikario, Attica (Athens NM 4531; Green 1994: fig. 3.19) possibly illustrates, in its second row, comic rather than satyric masks. If so, the relief may commemorate a festival performance which included all three genres.

<sup>16</sup>If the reading κατὰ πόλεις is correct, then the implication may be that the practice was known outside Attica. I am indebted to Professor Easterling for drawing my attention to this point.

<sup>17</sup>Csapo and Slater 1995: 231–238.

well known. The development of “a career in acting” only became possible with the increased opportunities for practising the art outside Athens and the growth in acceptance of the idea that theatre was a measure of culture. That it soon took hold is clear from Plato’s comments at *Law*s 817a–b where he implies that travelling actors are commonplace. He argues that such a group will want to know whether they are allowed into his putative state, whether they can bring in their poetry, and whether they can act. Plato’s reply to them is that the authors of the new constitution are, in fact, actors of the truest of tragedies. So they will not let the other actors set up their stage in the agora beside the stage that represents the political life of the community until the two groups have competed with their respective songs before the rulers. Then, if the newcomers’ words are consistent with, or better than, the utterances of the state, they will be “granted a chorus.”

While the statement is only metaphorical, Plato seems to envisage a procedure whereby the troupes would apply to perform, but, if successful, would become part of the normal Athenian state procedure for dramatic productions. Whatever the precise details Plato envisaged, it is clear that he regarded wandering troupes of actors as a normal part of Athenian life. The point is emphasised by his reference in *Laches* 183a, where he suggests that any tragic poet worth his salt makes straight for Athens (and the chief festivals) because it is there that the rewards are to be won: he does not spend his time touring round with his show in a circuit of the outlying towns of Attica.<sup>18</sup> The dramatic date for the *Laches* is ca 420 B.C. though it was written around 360 B.C.; the *Law*s is probably to be dated around the middle of the fourth century. We may consider that 420 B.C. is rather early to accept touring groups of actors in Athens as commonplace, but the early years of the fourth century would not be unthinkable for the sight to become increasingly familiar.

## II. PLAYS OVERSEAS

We turn then to the overseas performances. In theory, there are three main ways in which plays could have reached Magna Graecia:

- (i) by the simple sending of a text with the expectation that local actors and chorus would produce it and without any input into its production from the author except possibly in written form (hence possibly some of the textual notes such as that at *Ar. Thesm.* 277: “the temple is pushed forward”);
- (ii) by a troupe of actors touring with a play or plays (that they had perhaps performed first in Athens under the direction of the playwright) and recruiting a chorus locally and training them in the requirements of the play on the spot (time-consuming but a lesser risk than taking a chorus of whatever size and finding your plays are not popular). I assume here that there was a ready

<sup>18</sup>The precise meaning of his sentence is not clear. Taplin (1993: 91) argues that the phraseology cannot be taken to refer to the deme theatres: if it does not, it is not at all clear what its meaning is.

supply of trained local youths (whether ephebes or not) capable of performing in a chorus.

(iii) by a troupe of actors touring together with a chorus.

Each of these possibilities is examined in detail below, though it should be noted that they are not mutually exclusive since different practices may have been followed on different occasions.

### *i) Sending a Text*

There is plenty of evidence to show that texts (not necessarily of drama) were available at the end of the fifth century B.C. and to show that, even earlier, this method of transmitting texts for public performance was widely practised.<sup>19</sup> Pindar for example, frequently delivers a text (and its accompanying music?) to his patron and presumably expects the recipient to organise, and have trained, the chorus necessary for the celebration envisaged by the poem.<sup>20</sup> Many of the examples relate to Sicily and, often, to the tyrants or their families where there were the resources to ensure success for the subsequent performances. Even without the support of the tyrants, we tend to underrate the skills available to a would-be producer of a drama, in a community which was still essentially oral and musical, when it came to taking part in a performance and in judging its success.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the transition from the oral to the literary world seems to come about through rhetoricians and their need to work out a speech in detail. Since formal oratory and orators originate in Magna Graecia (Gorgias of Leontini went to Athens in 427 B.C.), it is reasonable to argue that the viability of literary texts was liable to be stronger in the West.

In Syracuse, the plays of Epicharmus and those of his successors Phormis and Deinilochus had been performed, as far as we can tell, throughout the fifth century, so that the skills essential for, at least, comic performance were present and well practised.<sup>22</sup> The anecdote concerning the freeing of Athenian prisoners after the Sicilian disaster points specifically to the choruses of Euripides as the

<sup>19</sup> See Aesch. *Suppl.* 946–949; Pind. *Ol.* 1; Ar. *Ran.* 52–54, 1105–18; Turner 1980. Pind. *Pyth.* 10, the earliest epinikion (498 B.C.), anticipates performance in Thessaly by a local choir. It remains true, however, that most ancients were acquainted with drama through oral tradition and performance. The singing of choral lyrics and monodies at symposia seems to have become common at the end of the fifth century: see Ar. *Eq.* 526–530, *Nub.* 1353–72; Ephippus *Twins*, PCG F 16. For a good discussion, see Green 1994: 2–6. On the early history of scripts/texts, see Pöhlmann 1988.

<sup>20</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 6.87–100; *Isthm.* 2.47–48; *Pyth.* 2.67–69; 3.68–79; *Nem.* 3.76–80; fr. 124 a, b; see also Bacchylides 5.10–14; fr. 20b, fr. 20c. See further Herington 1985: esp. 189–191; compare also the process with the poet involved, on which see Gentili 1988: 20–21.

<sup>21</sup> See Herington 1985 and Gentili 1988 *passim*. The songs of Cratinus were fashionable at parties according to Ar. *Eq.* 529, but it is noticeable that the youth in Ar. *Nub.* 1371 sings a *rhesis* when asked for a song.

<sup>22</sup> This presumes that the plays of Epicharmus required a chorus. Taplin (1993: 56) is inclined to believe they did not and neither did those of Rhinthon later. The only real evidence for Epicharmus is the plural titles of the plays and the tradition that comedy grew from an original choral performance so that *a priori* one might have expected a choral element in his plays. Irrespective of this evidence,

passage to freedom and whatever the authenticity of the story, it was clearly widely believed that it was not an inappropriate story to preserve. It is not clear, however, that a dramatic tradition can be attributed to other areas in Magna Graecia before the end of the fifth century B.C. The vase-painting evidence for its beginnings we shall look at shortly.

As far as texts are concerned, there are a number of other anecdotes which suggest a flourishing trade in texts back and forth across to mainland Greece. The *Mimes* of Sophron were in vogue in Magna Graecia probably in the last years of the fifth century and Sophron's son Xenarchus continued the tradition of writing mime at the court of Dionysius I in the first half of the fourth century. Plato was so attracted by Sophron's works that he is reported to have brought a text of them back with him to Athens with which he introduced them to the Athenian public and to have slept with the text under his pillow.<sup>23</sup> Of a similar period is the story, mentioned in the *Life of Aristophanes*, of movements of texts in the opposite direction. Dionysius I is recorded as asking Plato for insight into Athens; the philosopher is said to have sent back to him a text of the plays of Aristophanes to peruse. The story is unlikely to be true *per se*, but it was clearly thought to be feasible.

We may conclude that the transmission of texts to Magna Graecia to enable plays to be produced locally is by no means impossible. Success would have required local actors, *aulos*-players, chorus, producer/directors, mask-makers, etc., but there is plenty of evidence to suggest that performers of various kinds were available whose skills might be harnessed to a dramatic production.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, if it is argued that the bringing in of troupes of actors from Athens is the more likely mode of performance, at least initially (and the fashion in costume and mask seems to confirm that was the process since the terracotta figurines which depict costume and mask seem to have been imported from Athens), it was not long before Sicilian vase painters, the predecessors of the Paestan school, were distinguishing their comic actors from those painted in other fabrics by the stripes down their thighs.<sup>25</sup> Clearly, we are dealing here with local groups performing

---

Taplin (1993: 2) makes the general comment that "it would be surprising if Athenian tragedy were not performed there [Syracuse] between Aischylos and the dramatic ambitions of Dionysios, who bought the writing equipment of Aischylos (or Euripides!) . . . ." I am sure he is right—and that implies the presence of people trained in undertaking dramatic choruses, above and beyond the general skill level that might be expected in an aristocratic population.

<sup>23</sup> *Suda* s.v. Sophron; Diog. Laert. 3.8; Quint. 1.10.17.

<sup>24</sup> Plut. *Phocion* 30, referring to the period 350–319 B.C., records an Athenian law aimed at preventing foreigners from being a member of a chorus in Athens. The evidence echoes the account in ps.-Andoc. *Alc.* 20–21, referring to 417/6 B.C., and Dem. *Meid.* 14–18, on 348 B.C., which deal with incidents of supposed foreigners in choruses (Csapo and Slater 1995: 358, nos. 295–297). All the examples point to the expertise in choral performance of foreigners.

<sup>25</sup> For the earliest example of the stripes, see now the NYN painter's calyx-krater in Lipari (from Tomb 2515) depicting a symposium scene containing a small phylax actor with large phallus and stripes down the thighs on his legs.

comedies and local vase purchasers who preferred to see their paintings with the local form of comic dress portrayed. Equally it is clear that the terracotta makers were not slow to modify their Athenian models to fit local conditions.<sup>26</sup>

## ii) *Troupes of Actors*

The standard pattern for an acting troupe in the fourth century seems to have been a group of three—a *protagonistes*, who also acted as business manager for the group, the *deuteronistes* (who might also be a member of the family—given how frequently both writing of drama and acting seems to have run in families, this would hardly be surprising),<sup>27</sup> and the *tritagonistes*—a term which could also be used to mean third-rate though this can hardly have been the case in most troupes since many of the smaller parts would be expected to fall to such a person.<sup>28</sup> Here again, one might expect to find the young actor seeking experience. The fact that actors either performed tragedy or comedy but not both (at least before the end of the Hellenistic period) hardly requires comment but has considerable implications for overseas touring.<sup>29</sup> We have no evidence whether an *aulos*-player and/or mask-maker were standard in such a troupe, nor whether there might not have been a single chorus member, or a nucleus of choreuts who might be supplemented by locals.<sup>30</sup>

The history of such touring groups of actors is enhanced by the inscriptional evidence for the Artists of Dionysus. It is possible that our earliest reference to them is about 330 B.C. in Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1405a23) where he speaks of actors describing themselves as “artists.” More probably, the earliest reliable sources for the Artists in Athens are not to be dated before 279/8 B.C. Much of the evidence is considerably later and of a date when the theatrical world had changed significantly; in particular the Macedonian kings had been responsible for a massive sponsorship of performers on an international scale, which meant that the market for drama had increased immeasurably. It is, however, possible to get some indication of what troupes of actors might have been like, with the caveat that the contracts for the Artists of Dionysus were normally for the celebration of a whole festival with contests for pipers, singers to the pipes, lyre players, singers to the lyre, epic poets as well as tragic and comic poets, actors, dancers, chorus directors, and the like, a group, which, in the case of Delos in 105 B.C., amounted to some 350 persons.<sup>31</sup>

In the early stages, we must be dealing with a much less sophisticated process. Many of the problems of the Artists, however, must have been shared with

<sup>26</sup> See Webster 1978: 4; Green 1994: 69.

<sup>27</sup> On family trees of actors/playwrights see Sutton 1987: 9–26; Easterling 1993: 559–569; Green 1994: 13.

<sup>28</sup> For the hierarchical terminology, see Csapo and Slater 1995: 222–223 and 230, nos. 20–22.

<sup>29</sup> See Pl. *Resp.* 395a; cf. *Symp.* 223d; Csapo and Slater 1995: 231, no. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Menander fr. 153 K-T with its suggestion that not all the chorus were singers.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Csapo and Slater 1995: 248–249, no. 43B and Stephanis 1988.



their less well-organised counterparts in the last years of the fifth century B.C.—problems like finance and how to secure it, the dangers of travel, reception by overseas audiences, what repertoire to take, the numbers required for an adequate performance within the financial constraints, and the status and protection of the troupe. In the middle of the third century in Delphi, the records suggest a variety of troupes were presenting plays.<sup>32</sup> Tragedies were played by one or two troupes of three actors each, a *didaskalos*, and an aulos-player; comedies usually by two or three troupes of a similar composition. The records give the name of seven or eight comic choreuts who seem to have been shared by all the comic troupes—less than surprising at a time when the importance of the comic chorus had been considerably reduced. There is no sign of a tragic chorus in the inscriptions, though possibly men from the dithyrambic chorus may have supplied the necessary expertise. In the second century B.C., Iasos in Asia Minor, gripped by difficult economic conditions, sought help from the Artists of Dionysus in order to celebrate a festival. The Artists obliged, but the numbers they sent seem to have been a minimum designed to supplement the city's own efforts—they sent two pipers, two tragedians, two comedians, a singer to the lyre, and a lyre player.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, even at this date, there is some evidence to suggest that tragedy might be put on outside a particular festival in the honours awarded to Nikon of Megalopolis in ca 165 B.C. for the performance he and his company dedicated to Apollo.<sup>34</sup>

The Athenian evidence we have already considered. But did the desire for a tour in Magna Graecia come from the troupe itself, or, rather, from an invitation by an overseas city to participate in a festival? And if there was a visiting troupe, did it tour beyond its initial engagement? There is meagre evidence to answer these questions but it is worth exploring what we do know.

When Hieron of Syracuse founded the city of Aitnai in 476/5, Aeschylus celebrated the foundation with a new play.<sup>35</sup> The play was the *Aitnaiai*, a local drama therefore, and, if the hypothesis is correctly attributed to it, one whose form was novel<sup>36</sup> in that it consisted of five parts (acts?) each set in a different place—Etna, Xutia, Etna again, Leontini, and finally Syracuse. It is difficult to know what inference to draw from this. It may have been the lack of the traditional Athenian dramatic framework that encouraged Aeschylus to experiment with the form of the play; certainly it seems to have concentrated on the city whose foundation it celebrated.<sup>37</sup> Whether Aeschylus brought a

<sup>32</sup> Sifakis 1967: 72–74.

<sup>33</sup> Csapo and Slater 1995: 252–253, no. 45. On Iasos, see especially Migeotte 1992 and 1993; Crowther 1990 and 1995. Basic to all discussion is Blümel 1985.

<sup>34</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 659; Sifakis 97.

<sup>35</sup> *Vita Aeschyli* 9.

<sup>36</sup> See *P. Oxy.* 2257, fr. i: the novel form caused the author of the hypothesis to offer his own justification for it by seeking imperfect parallels for its varied settings in the scene change in Aesch. *Eumenides* and in the Sophoclean satyr play *The Lovers of Achilles*.

<sup>37</sup> It has been argued that the reference to the Palikoi and the explanation of their name occurred in that part of the play set in Leontini, the location of the sanctuary of the Palikoi: see Fraenkel 1954.

troupe of actors with him to act in the play, whether he acted in it himself and used local chorus members as seems probable (making the reasonable assumption the play had a chorus)<sup>38</sup> we do not know: it is likely that he filled the role of *didaskalos* for the production. Given the backing of a tyrant with strong propagandist aims, it seems unlikely that Aeschylus would have been worried about resources to pay for the financing of a troupe or training a chorus. The *Life*, however, does not record an invitation from the tyrant to Aeschylus to put on a play, merely that Aeschylus left Athens for reasons which were the subject of speculation, and wrote the tragedy. It is worth noting that the play was associated with the founding of the city rather than with a genuine dramatic festival.<sup>39</sup>

That the production was successful (and it is unlikely it would have been anything else with the backing of Hieron) is implied by the story that Aeschylus subsequently produced his *Persians* in Syracuse, a play that certainly did require a chorus.<sup>40</sup> We are specifically told that Hieron requested this play and presumably financed it: again we cannot know who performed in it but can guess that there was probably local input. Aeschylus' presence in Sicily for this production and his subsequent time in Gela prior to his death must have had an effect on dramatic performance in Sicily which led to the situation recorded in the anecdote concerning the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse already mentioned. Comedy, under the tutelage of Epicharmus, and subsequently of Phormis and Deinilochus, was also presumably thriving in Syracuse. In short, a dramatic tradition was beginning to build there in a way that we do not know of elsewhere except in Athens, though, admittedly, we know little about the organisation of any dramatic festivals.<sup>41</sup>

Coupled with this is the development of the theatre at Syracuse which is fifth century in origin (whatever the debates about the precise form at that date and whether any trace is preserved).<sup>42</sup> What we lack for Syracuse (and indeed for elsewhere in Magna Graecia) is knowledge of the organisation of the theatre and its festivals, competitions etc. The closest we come is the fragment of Epicharmus which states, "it lies on the knees of the five judges" (fr. 229 K). This suggests an organisational structure similar to that in Athens or, at least, an expected reappearance of the competitive element so characteristic a part of Athenian

<sup>38</sup> It is implied (though not proven) by its plural title. Unfortunately, the title of the play, being variously recorded, is disputed, so that the plural title is not guaranteed—Macrobius, for example, refers to the play as the *Aetna* (Saturn. 5.19.24).

<sup>39</sup> In his introduction to his edition of Aeschylus, Mazon (1976) suggested that as Pindar wrote *Pythian* 1 in 470 to celebrate the setting up of Deinomenes, Hieron's son, as tyrant, that would have been a suitable time for the performance of the *Aitnaiai*. Podlecki (1966) has argued, correctly in my view, that the *Vita* gives the date of the founding of the city as the occasion of the play: the *Vita* may be wrong, but it is the only evidence we have. On Aeschylus in Sicily, see Bock 1958; Cataudella 1963; Herington 1967; Griffith 1978.

<sup>40</sup> *Vita Aeschyli* 18.

<sup>41</sup> See Easterling 1994.

<sup>42</sup> Pollaco 1981 and 1990; Mitens 1988: 116–120; Courtois 1989: 28.

drama. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing if that is what Epicharmus refers to.<sup>43</sup>

A troupe sailing to Magna Graecia at the end of the fifth century might be expected to consist of three actors (either comic or tragic), and probably an *aulos*-player as a minimum, all eager to exploit any opportunities to earn a living. This small group was responsible, between them, for the business arrangements, the play production including the establishment of the venue, rehearsing the actors, the training of a local chorus, the making of the masks (unless these were standard ones taken from Athens rather than dedicated after a performance, as the evidence is now tending to suggest),<sup>44</sup> as well as the advertising of the performance in a city which may well have had no previous theatrical performance, and establishing an itinerary, if, as seems likely, the visit was to take in more than one town. Admittedly, some of these tasks may have been undertaken by the city itself, especially if this were an official invitation to perform. It is not unthinkable that a city (or a local agent?) might have put together a chorus and started to train them before the arrival of the actors (having had a prior text?).<sup>45</sup> If city or agent were not earlier involved, the task seems a heavy one for such a small group and the time involved in putting together a performance considerable, even granted the ability to take on reasonably expert chorus men from the local community.

### *iii) Actors plus Chorus*

The integral part that a chorus continued to play in tragedy and comedy at the end of the fifth century means that the presentation of Athenian plays in Magna Graecia would have required their presence even if we are to assume they appeared on a much reduced scale compared with a performance in Athens. We have seen the minimal chorus levels that the Artists provided. This was at a time when the choral parts of contemporary tragedy and comedy had been much reduced, but when classical tragedy was still very much in the repertoire.<sup>46</sup> We have suggested above that travelling without a chorus must have involved a troupe in considerable, but not impossible, effort to achieve an acceptable standard of performance. This would have been more pronounced if a local *aulos*-player had also to be recruited.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 659b5 speaks of judging in the context of Mousike, which might well include drama.

<sup>44</sup> See Green 1994: 46, 78–79.

<sup>45</sup> See Taplin 1993: 90; cf. Slater 1995.

<sup>46</sup> Green (1994: 30, 34) has shown that it was not until the last years of the fifth century that vase painters or their clientele were willing to envisage comedy as other than a choral performance. In referring to comedy in the fourth century, Slater (1995: 41–42, n. 36) states: "I suspect there were some performances with chorus in the cities of Magna Graecia but they are likely to have been the exceptions rather than the rule." See also Rothwell 1995; Hunter 1979.

<sup>47</sup> The fragments of an Attic krater of ca 400 B.C., found in Taranto, depict chorus women (*ARV* 1338; Taplin 1993: fig. 7.120). They are elaborately dressed and hold up their masks: they are accompanied by an *aulos*-player who may be female, though the fragmentary state of the vase makes that unclear. The presence of a bowl, chest, altar, and pillar suggests an interior setting and

Did troupes travel with accompanying chorus? We have one good example to show that they well might. Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, competed and won at the Lenaia in Athens in 367 B.C. We are told that it was a chorus member who sped off home to Syracuse after the victory to announce the news to the tyrant. Clearly the tyrant made no mistake that his chorus was well trained and integrated into the play as a whole before they left. Here, however, we are dealing with both a tyrant, whose resources doubtless well outstripped those of others, and the author of the play who had a professional interest in the success of his own work. The example, therefore, may be untypical—but we are told that he had competed a number of times previously so that the sending of a full complement of actors, flute player, and chorus may well have been a fairly regular occurrence.

The decline in the importance of the chorus in the fourth century may well have eased the difficulties that a visiting troupe faced; indeed, the argument has been reversed to suggest that it was the internationalisation of the drama market that was the catalyst for the decline of the chorus. This may well be the case, though revivals of classical tragedy were always going to require a choral presence and such revivals seem to be not uncommon to judge by the illustrations of the vases of the Darius and Underworld Painters in the latter part of the fourth century.<sup>48</sup> Nor did the ability of foreigners to act as chorusmen decline, if the law forbidding their use in Athenian choruses was still in active use as suggested by Plutarch (*Phocion* 30).<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, it would not be clear from vase-painting evidence from Magna Graecia that a chorus was ever required for tragedy or comedy (with the possible exception of the “*choregos*” vase for comedy discussed below) though it clearly is for satyr play. But this may say more about where the emphasis of tragedy and comedy lies in the fourth century and how a vase-purchaser viewed a theatrical scene on a vase than what the realities of actual play production were.

### III. WHY AND HOW DID THE EXPORT TRADE BEGIN?

We can only speculate on what caused the visits to start but the example of Aeschylus suggests that foundations of cities might well have been the catalyst. Thurii, founded in 446/5 as a Panhellenic colony but with an initial strong Athenian basis, must be a very strong candidate for an initial visit by Athenian actors (and probably chorus) where the financial and logistic problems of the visit

---

a scene of dedication of masks together with a party after a successful performance. Green (private correspondence) points out to me (on this and the Pronomos vase) that we need to be careful in assessing why an ancient purchaser wanted a vase—it may simply have been the depiction of the sanctuary of Dionysus that caught his eye.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, Euripides *Rhesus* on *RVAp* supp. 2 18/17a; Sophocles *Trachiniae* on *LCS* supp. 3 275 46f; *Andromeda* on *RVAp* 18/58; *Melanippe the Wise* on *RVAp* supp. 2 18/283d etc., though it is not necessarily clear that these are all representations of plays by fifth-century tragedians: see Green 1994: 55. Many of the themes must have been reworked by other playwrights. See now on the *Rhesus*, Giuliani 1996.

<sup>49</sup> See above, n. 24.

could be successfully resolved through the city's sponsorship. If that is correct, it was purely fortuitous that the same colony was probably responsible for the arrival of Athenian potters who either themselves, but certainly through their successors, were responsible for interpreting the scenes they saw in the theatre for their vase purchasers and providing us with a rich (if much disputed) source of knowledge about that dramatic tradition. Indeed, it was probably because that theatrical tradition was so new that Magna Graecia could embrace it so eagerly and associate the high artistry of tragedy and the exuberance of comedy with Dionysus and his significance as a god, and link that with the main rituals of human life and mortality such as weddings and especially funerals.<sup>50</sup>

To the east of Thurii, Heracleia (Policoro) was founded in 432 B.C. by Tarentum, a city which itself had a strong reputation for interest in the theatre. Both cities seem to have become centres for pottery making with the local potters showing an early interest in drama. Between the two lies Metapontum, which early in the fourth century, if not in the last years of the fifth, boasted a theatre as well as the pottery kilns from which have come also drama-centred vases in the Lucanian fabric.<sup>51</sup> It is becoming clearer that there was a good deal of interchange between painters working in the Apulian and Lucanian fabrics at this early stage of development of the pottery trade and, at least in respect of their dramatically inspired vases, they should probably be treated as a group.<sup>52</sup> Trade routes also suggest that this area would have been the first in Magna Graecia to receive visiting troupes of actors. We have noted already the distinction between troupes who might perform tragedy as against comedy. The vase painting evidence suggests that it was tragedy that was introduced first, though admittedly this may say more about the preferences of vase buyers and what they were ready to purchase than about the realities of what was performed.

On the human side, two other possible motives are relevant. One, as we have seen, was the growing sense of the acting "profession" with the consequent complementary needs of keeping in training and earning sufficient to survive. This must have made it attractive to look outside Athens for opportunities to work. Syracuse, as noted, seems to have had a developing theatrical tradition and might well have been eyed as a good place to earn revenue. It is curious that the earliest links we can trace are with non-Attic cities (with the possible exception of Thurii—technically a Panhellenic colony) in the Doric-speaking west. Aeschylus

<sup>50</sup> See Taplin 1993: 27 and 11, n. 32, quoting Sourvinou-Inwood. See also Green 1994: 56: "The importance of theatre to its audience is underlined by the way that the themes of tragedies, and particularly the great moments, seem to have become points of reference in their lives and so on into their rituals, not least at those points of emotional crisis such as a death of a member of the family."

<sup>51</sup> On the theatre, see Mertens 1982; Mitens 1988: 140–144; Courtois 1989: 42–44. On the early history of vase painting in the area, see *RVAp*, *LCS*, *RVSIS*, and, for the connection with drama, Trendall 1991. Work of the Anabates Painter and the Creusa and Dolon Painters was found in the kilns—the latter two painted scenes from drama.

<sup>52</sup> See *RVSIS* 55–59.

must have prepared the ground for this some thirty years before by his successful forays in the area. Equally, the move of Euripides (and possibly Agathon) to the court of Archelaus in Macedon must have opened eyes to the universal appeal of drama, though the move into the West was already well under way by this time.<sup>53</sup> The second motive lies in the number of people who must have travelled to Athens and seen plays there (though again one might have thought predominantly of representatives of Athenian allies) or at the very least have heard about the success of drama at the festivals and sought to establish high culture in their own cities. Magna Graecia was responsible, of course, for the development of the art of rhetoric and its export to Athens; that had a major effect on the development of tragedy in the fourth century and doubtless aided its popularity in the Greek West.

Nevertheless, it is curious that when enmity between Athens and the Dorian world was at its height, Attic drama still seems to have been exported and that to mainly Dorian colonies. If Thurii did play a major role in the establishment of the trade in drama, then it may be that other cities of Magna Graecia saw the presentation of drama as a sign of a culturally-aware city and that view was not felt to conflict with the military environment. Certainly that is the impression that the story of the Athenian prisoners in Syracuse gives, and that at a time when the military tensions must have been at their highest. Syracuse itself, as we have seen, had its own theatrical tradition and may well have helped established drama as a culturally non-partisan event. Nor am I aware of evidence to suggest that itinerant sophists, rhapsodes etc. were prevented from visiting Doric or Athenian cities by the Peloponnesian War or that festivals with athletic or musical contests had difficulties in attracting participants in whatever city they were held. It would seem that cultural activities were seen as separate from the political and military realities of the day.

#### IV. PLAYS PRODUCED IN MAGNA GRAECIA

We must now consider what evidence the vases offer regarding the plays that were produced in Magna Graecia. In doing so, it is necessary to stress, as is noted by all commentators, that vase painters do not aim to produce an exact illustration of what was presented on the tragic stage. For comedy, those same artists seem to have been willing to give a more realistic view of a theatrical setting.<sup>54</sup> Further, we need to take into account the whole context of the vase, its intended use, and the totality of the illustrations on it, if we are to interpret it successfully. That implies a conservative approach to the material. But in that regard, it should be

<sup>53</sup> On Euripides, see Kovacs 1994: 1.11, 3.12–13, 4.20, 5.9, 61–62; on Agathon, see Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 83; Pl. *Symp.* 172c.

<sup>54</sup> The vases of the Cappodaro Painter seem to be closer to the approach adopted by contemporary painters of comedy: *LCS* supp. 3 276, 98a = Taplin 1993: fig. 6.112; *LCS* 601, 98 = Taplin 1993: fig. 6.111.

noted that we are very dependent on the survival of dramatic texts to provide us with clues to interpretation—the acceptance of the “Heracleidae” vase (see below) as deriving from Euripides’ play and, to a lesser extent, the Medea vases depend on the survival of the texts and our ability to match detail in the text with illustrations on the vase to provide confirmation that the vases are inspired by theatre performance. Given the loss of so much dramatic material, our chances of identifying theatre performance are enormously reduced.

In the period 425–400 B.C. a series of vases depict mythical themes that may be dramatically inspired. Scenes from the myth of Bellerophon/Sthenobolia feature prominently with the Gravina and Hearst Painters producing vases in the 420s and the Ariadne Painter painting two around 405. Of these, only the Gravina Painter’s vase shows any substantial link with the Euripidean play since in it Bellerophon, having slain the Chimaera, induced Sthenobolia to climb on Pegasus’ back and the winged horse then threw her off into the sea near Melos.<sup>55</sup> This moment is portrayed on the vase presumably since it encapsulates the decisive event, even though that event must have been reported by messenger or god in the stage production. The most we can say, therefore, is that the vase incorporates the Euripidean version. An earlier moment in the same theme is caught by the Ariadne Painter in his depiction of Bellerophon receiving from Proitos the fateful letter that sends him on his journeys—a popular theme in later vase painting.<sup>56</sup> Beyond the presence of an *aedicula* on the vase—sometimes used to indicate a stage scene—there is nothing to directly link this scene with drama, though the reverse of the vase depicts the desertion by Theseus of the sleeping Ariadne, again the theme of a Euripidean play.

These vases are in the Apulian fabric though their place of production is unknown. In the Lucanian fabric an Aiolos by the Amykos Painter depicts a blind Makareus, a Canake who lies dead on a couch as a result of suicide, an angry Aeolus, a mourning wife and a group of sons and daughters.<sup>57</sup> Without the text of the play, there is insufficient evidence to ensure stage inspiration, nor, unfortunately, are two vases by the Chequer Painter in the Campanian fabric, (one showing an unarmed Pentheus (?) being attacked by two maenads, the other depicting two maenads, one carrying a human head) sufficiently precise for us to tie them to the Euripidean text.<sup>58</sup> We can only note that the myth was popular

<sup>55</sup> *RVAp* 2/2 pl. 8.3, made in Taranto, but found at Gravina. The Hearst Painter’s vase 1/49 shows Bellerophon either delivering the letter to Iobates, or receiving it from Proitos; his other, 1/40, shows Bellerophon on Pegasus.

<sup>56</sup> *RVAp* 1/104; cf. *RVP* 2/134; *RVAp* 18/64a; supp. 2 18/65d; supp. 1 18/288a; *LCS* 326, 746 etc. The Ariadne Painter’s other vase is *RVAp* 1/107 showing Bellerophon attacking the Chimaera. For the *aedicula*, cf., for example, the Sarpedon Painter’s vase of Sarpedon’s body conveyed by Sleep and Death: *RVAp* 7/1; *IGD* III 1,17; *LIMC* VII p. 697 14.

<sup>57</sup> *LCS* 45 221. In Euripides’ play, Pentheus is dressed as a woman before he goes to spy on the maenads; there is no evidence of female dress here, though its presence might well have confused the vase purchaser in his identification of the characters involved. In most illustrations of the Pentheus scene, Pentheus is depicted as armed.

<sup>58</sup> *LCS* 198 9; 199 14.

in Southern Italy about the time that Euripides was writing a play on the theme in Greece. This, if nothing else, adds credence to the context in which the story of the release of the Athenian prisoners in Syracuse is set. Two Phineus vases by the Hearst and Amykos Painters add to the mythical material but display no clear links with a theatrical production.<sup>59</sup>

Two Sophoclean themes are suggested by vases from this early group. The Sisyphus Painter shows Perseus clasping the hand of a white-haired Cepheus to confirm that Andromeda should be given in marriage to him.<sup>60</sup> To the left a youth is binding Andromeda to a lopped tree—indicative of stage inspiration and of the Sophoclean version of the story. Theatrical inspiration for the illustration is a clear possibility here at a date about 420 B.C.<sup>61</sup> The second scene shows a bearded man with a sceptre approached by a male in long chiton, a woman wearing a diadem whose arm is held by a second youth, naked but for a cloak, but armed, and to right a satyr on a rock. The scene has been taken to be of Sophocles *Antigone* (though the significance of the satyr is unclear), but neither the identity of the scene nor the clarity of its link with drama allow weight to be placed on it.<sup>62</sup>

From the early period, therefore, we can be reasonably certain only of a production of Sophocles *Andromeda*. Around 400 B.C., as Taplin and others have noted, two plays of Euripides, the *Heracleidae* and the *Medea*, can be assumed to have been performed in the area around Tarentum. The Policoro Painter, based in Heracleia, produced vases with illustrations of both plays. (The significant details—the snake-drawn chariot in the case of the *Medea*, the child clutching the robe in the *Heracleidae*—provide the needed confirmation.)<sup>63</sup> The Cleveland Painter from a similar date adds a further version of the *Medea* (again with snake drawn chariot), which he associates on the reverse of the vase with a scene of Telephus.<sup>64</sup> The Policoro Painter adds an Antiope that is not clearly stage-inspired (though it may be argued that Euripides was responsible for creating the Dirce story, in which case the stage links are strong) and the Sarpedon

<sup>59</sup> *RVAp* 1/44 Hearst Painter (Apulian); *LCS* 47, 243 Amykos Painter (Lucanian).

<sup>60</sup> *LCS* 57, 285; pl. 26.2, 27.2; *LIMC* VII p. 697 13.

<sup>61</sup> *RVAp* supp. 2 1/90a. The theme of tying of Andromeda to a lopped tree reappears in the second half of the fourth century with the Darius Painter (*RVAp* 18/58, 18/65) and the Underworld Painter (*RVAp* 18/306).

<sup>62</sup> *RVAp* 1/18; *LIMC* I p. 824 22.

<sup>63</sup> *LCS* 58, 286; *IGD* III 3, 34; Taplin 1993: 2.103 (*Medea*): *LCS* 55, 283 and supp. 3 p. 19; *IGD* III 3, 20; Taplin 1993: 2.104 (*Heracleidae*). See also *LCS* supp. 3 20, 291a; *LIMC* I p. 430; *IGD* III, 3, 21 by the PKP group. It should be noted that the detail of the snakes drawing the chariot is derived from the scholiastic notes rather than directly from the text itself. It is unfortunate that there is no findspot for the Berlin *Heracleidae* vase. It looks as if two vase-painters may have attended either the same or subsequent performances of the play, though the details the two artists present vary (youthful herald; cf. Policoro Painter) in a manner which may reflect production details rather than vase-painter's whim.

<sup>64</sup> *LIMC* VI p. 391 36. It should be noted that the dead children are depicted on the altar, not on the chariot; only the vase purchaser who has seen the play can understand the full significance of it. See Taplin 1993: 17 and figs. 1.101 and 1.102.



theme, which may be.<sup>65</sup> An Ixion by the Schwerin Painter<sup>66</sup> and an Alkmene<sup>67</sup> and Theseus by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysus are further candidates for dramatic inspiration from the areas of Lucania and Tarentum but provide no clear evidence of it.

To these should be added a series of vases which illustrate various aspects of the Agamemnon/Aegisthus/Orestes theme: Orestes on the altar between two Furies and clinging to a statue of Athene (Hearst Painter, *RVAp* 1/32), a similar scene but without the statue (Chequer Painter, *LCS* 200 21 from Leontini), Orestes and Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon, with Pylades to the left and a woman with *cista* to the right (Sisyphus Painter, *RVAp* 1/97 from Gravina), and an unusual scene of the death of Aegisthus.<sup>68</sup> All of these date before 400 B.C., but none have explicit theatrical connections. In the first twenty years of the next century there are a further ten vases, mainly focussing on the theme of Orestes meeting Electra at the tomb of their dead father—a theme well-suited to vases intended for graves.<sup>69</sup> There are two versions of Orestes at Delphi.<sup>70</sup> On one of them, a bell krater by the Tarporley Painter,<sup>71</sup> Orestes is being purified by Apollo at Delphi using the blood of a pig as referred to by Aeschylus (*Eum.* 283). Here there is a clear suggestion of a theatrical link. A possible death of Aegisthus, with Orestes and a Fury, is depicted in the Lucanian fabric.<sup>72</sup> Only two of this group of vases (*RVAp* 2/7 and 7/3) have findspots recorded: they are Ruvo and Tarentum respectively.

#### CONCLUSION

To sum up, we have evidence for the end of the fifth century and the first years of the fourth century for performances of Euripides *Medea* and *Heracleidae*, of Sophocles *Andromeda*, and, less clearly, of Aeschylus *Eumenides* and possibly his *Europa* (or a *Europa/Sarpedon* play) and Euripides *Telephus*. More remotely,

<sup>65</sup> *LCS* 58 288 pl. 27.4: for the Antiope scene; cf. *LCS* 203 27 by the Dirke Painter (now *RVP* 1/2 since he has been recognised as having a Sicilian phase before his Campanian one), which does have stage connections, but is probably some ten years later.

<sup>66</sup> *LCS* supp. 3 26, 351b: this is paralleled by the fragmentary *skyphos* from the kiln at Metaponto, *LCS* supp. 3 64, D64, which is to be dated a little later.

<sup>67</sup> Most of the South Italian versions of the Alkmene theme concentrate on the quenching of the flames of the pyre on which the heroine sits: note *LCS* supp. 1 102; *LCS* 231 36; *LCS* supp. 3 123 147b; *RVP* 2/339. In the Painter of Birth of Dionysus' version, *RVAp* 2/11, Alkmene is on the pyre with Amphytrio approaching hesitantly from the right (name inscribed), Zeus' thunderbolt in front of him. Above is Eros between a seated figure (Zeus?) and Hermes (the prologue figure?).

<sup>68</sup> *LCS* supp. 3 21, 302 by the Vaste Painter; Moret 1975: pl. 92.1.

<sup>69</sup> *RVAp* p. 436 2/14a; 7/3 (from Taranto); *RVP* 1/1 (Syracuse, from the Fusco cemetery); *LCS* 109 567, 115 597; it should be noted that the "*choregos* vase" (see below) has also been seen as related to a production of the *Oresteia*, see Green 1994: 47. See also Kossatz-Deissmann 1978; Prag 1985.

<sup>70</sup> *RVAp* 2/7 from Ruvo; *RVAp* supp. 2 3/4a by the Tarporley Painter.

<sup>71</sup> *RVAp* supp. 2 3/4a.

<sup>72</sup> *LCS* 113 584.

the myths of Antiope, Ixion, Alkmene, Agamemnon/Orestes, Theseus, Antigone (?), Aiolos, and Pentheus all caught the attention of one or more vase painters and the interest may have been aroused through a dramatic production, though not necessarily so. Where findspots are recorded for these vases (Policoro, Taranto, Gravina, Canosa, Ugento), the majority, but not all, are connected with the area between Thurii and Taranto. Three come from Sicily, the Chequer Painter's version of Pentheus (from Centuripe), and his death of Aegisthus (from Leontini), as well as the slightly later Dirce Painter's version of the Antiope (from Palazzuolo). These all suggest that Syracusan theatre may have been exerting a significant influence.

While we need to be conservative in the way that we use this material, it is surprising in the light of the vagaries of preservation of both texts and vases how much we can identify with actual productions and how much, while possibly inspired by myth rather than drama, does link with myths that we know were being used by dramatists in Athens at this time.

However, of those plays that we can identify with most certainty as having been produced in Magna Graecia, it is interesting that none of the originals date later than 430 B.C.<sup>73</sup> That would suggest that touring troupes were not, at this stage, presenting new tragedies recently premiered in Athens, but preferred reworked versions of the great tragedians, either rehearsed for the particular trip to the West or, possibly, building on re-runs of the plays at the deme festivals in Athens. Even granted the difficulty of precisely dating the vases (and the plays), it is clear that we are dealing with plays that already had a reputation. (If we assume that it is Aeschylus *Eumenides* that is illustrated on the Tarporley Painter's vase [*RVAp* supp. 2 3/4a], we may recall that there is good reason to believe that the Oresteian trilogy had been revived in Athens shortly before Aristophanes *Clouds* was produced in the late 420s B.C.) We should observe that this conclusion runs counter, at least to some extent, to the implication to be taken from the story of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse, where the supposition has always been that it was the latest productions at Athens that were the real target of interest rather than plays some ten or more years old. There would be no problem, however, in supposing both that actors typically toured plays that already had an established reputation and that western audiences were eager to hear the latest plays.

Where the mythical themes are less clearly identified with an actual production in Magna Graecia, the dates of the vases and the Athenian play productions are, seemingly, much more closely aligned. So the hypothetical dates of the *Aiolos* (before 423 B.C.), *Theseus* and *Stbeneboia* (before 422 B.C.), *Ixion* (422–417 B.C.), *Antiope* (411–409 B.C.), and *Bacchae* (405 B.C.?) all lie within the period of production of the vases.<sup>74</sup> Of course, it may be that the reawakened interest in

<sup>73</sup> The dates of the plays are as follows (hypothetical dates in brackets): *Medea* 431, *Telephus* 438, *Heracleidae* (430), Sophocles *Andromeda* (mid-fifth century), and Aeschylus *Eumenides* 458 B.C.

<sup>74</sup> All these date are a matter of dispute; I have here followed the dating of Webster 1967.

these themes stems from the new plays in Athens and it was that, rather than actual productions in Magna Graecia, which inspired the local vase painters in their work in these instances. As noted above, an avid desire to know what was happening in Athens, rather than necessarily to see contemporaneous productions, would still make sense of the Athenian prisoner story.

In Athens tragedy was associated with satyr play, but that close genre connection cannot be illustrated from vases in Magna Graecia, since the vases, with one exception, depict only satyr play. The puzzling Attic vase named after Pronomos, with its illustration of the cast of a satyr play, plus its poet (Demetrios) and its musicians, all standing in the presence of Dionysus and Ariadne, found its way to Ruvo indicating that some rich citizen of that town had very strong interest in the production of satyr play.<sup>75</sup> Was the vase exported second hand—or did our citizen visit Athens (as many citizens of Magna Graecia must have done), see a satyr play, which took his fancy, and have a permanent record of the occasion made to export to his home?<sup>76</sup> Alternatively, rather than commemorating a performance *per se*, did the purchaser have a copy made of a votive painting (perhaps in the temple of Dionysus)? If so, this might explain the inconsistency in the naming of the characters and their number. Whatever the explanation, he, and others like him, may well have been instrumental in establishing the milieu in which drama in Magna Graecia could flourish.

Satyr play on locally made vases appears early, about 430 B.C., with a Lucanian vase by the Pisticci Painter.<sup>77</sup> The scene is seemingly associated with the *Sphyrakopoi* of Sophocles. It depicts a satyr with raised hammer and a goddess (Pandora?) emerging from the ground. It is difficult to imagine this scene being other than stage-inspired, but whether as part of a trilogy of tragic plays or from a single play is unclear. Also in the Lucanian fabric, the Cyclops Painter depicts a scene “difficult to divorce from our one surviving satyr play, the *Cyclops* of Euripides,” in Trendall’s words.<sup>78</sup> Euripides’ play seems likely to have been first performed in 408/7 B.C., though the dating is a matter of some dispute; the vase must be earlier than that, so we may have here a performance of Euripides’ satyr play previous to its presentation in Athens. The link of the subject matter with Sicily may be important here though, as noted, our vase was painted in Lucania and found at Pisticci. It would be an example, however, of a play that had not yet become a classic being performed and illustrated. If this is Euripides’ play, and it

<sup>75</sup> *ARV* 1336. I. One must assume this is a dedication-cum-party after a successful performance—as portrayed on the “chorus-women” vase in Taranto (see above, n. 47). It might be argued that this vase could be indicative of tragedy as well, in that the same cast would have performed the tragedies.

<sup>76</sup> Webster (*IGD* 2.1 p. 29) suggests the secondhand market; Trendall (1991: 152) argues for a specific commission. If the latter, the owner was so enthralled by the performance that he had the names of the chorusmen collected and included, as Eric Handley reminds me.

<sup>77</sup> *LCS* 14 1; *IGD* 2.10. It has been persuasively argued that the satyrs on vases, which depict scenes falling outside the scope of normal satyr activity, are likely to be theatrically inspired; see Green 1994: 39 and bibliography there.

<sup>78</sup> Trendall 1991: 160.

was performed first in Magna Graecia, then clearly the willingness to experiment in Magna Graecia that we have already seen in Aeschylus *Aitnaiai* (and which may have been repeated in the *Persians*, if, as has been suggested, that play was produced in Sicily before its presentation in Athens) continued to the end of the fifth century. Euripides wrote the *Bacchae* at the court of King Archelaus with the presumed intention of presenting it there, as he had the *Archelaus*; this provides a similar example of a non-Athenian first performance.<sup>79</sup>

The vase noted above as an exception is the Apulian bell-krater in Milan depicting a scene from a satyr play (Herakles holding up the world while satyrs steal his weapons) coupled with a scene of comedy ("the cake eaters") on its other side.<sup>80</sup> Both on the one vase suggests that the plays were seen together. Do we envisage a festival at which a troupe of both tragic actors (including satyr play in their presentation) and comic actors performed? Or was it possible for comic actors to perform a satyr play on occasion? As Green has recently pointed out, the padding and phallus of the comic actor gives him a pose which declares him to be outside the boundaries of "good taste" and that is emphasised by the mask.<sup>81</sup> The same reasoning might be applied to the satyrs (though their "otherness" from the world of the polis and civilization seems to be what is emphasised) and it may be that the actor of one might migrate to the other. In fact, satyr plays, on the evidence of vase-painting, seem to have rapidly lost favour in Magna Graecia and ceased to be part of the dramatic repertoire: perhaps, more accurately, they lost their appeal to purchasers of vases and, therefore, ceased to appear on them.<sup>82</sup>

That Athenian comedy was exported to Magna Graecia and performed there formed the basis of Taplin's arguments in *Comic Angels*. The Würzburg Telephus vase<sup>83</sup> can hardly be other than a version of a scene from Aristophanes

<sup>79</sup> Seaford (1984: 48) dates the play probably to 408 B.C. Euripides died 407/6 B.C. and probably went to Macedon and the court of King Archelaus a couple of years before his death, though Lefkowitz (1981: 88–104) seems to deny any historicity to the *Life of Euripides*. On the dating of the *Cyclops*, see Hose 1995: 198–203, dating the play to 420 B.C.

<sup>80</sup> *RVAp* supp. 2 1/123; *IGD* 2.13; Taplin 1993: 12.5, dated 400–380 B.C. See Turner 1976, which may be relevant to this scene.

<sup>81</sup> Green in a paper delivered in Cambridge, 6 May 1997. The poet Demetrios, whose name appears on the Pronomos vase, was perhaps the same person as the poet of comedy of whom we know. If so, then possibly the boundaries between the genre were breaking down rapidly in the early fourth century and comic actors might well take on a satyr play. For the "otherness" of satyrs in drama, see the Tarporley Painter's portrayal of three chorus men: *RVAp* 3/15; *IGD* 2.2.

<sup>82</sup> Satyr-play continued to be written as we know from the production by Python (a Sicilian) of one on the banks of the Hydaspes where Alexander the Great sought to entertain his troops. Further, the mosaic in Naples showing preparation for a satyr play looks to go back to a fourth- or third-century B.C. original (Bieber 1961: fig. 36). The number of actors shown as *papposilanoi* on Paestan vases in the third quarter of the fourth century is considerable; there is also the general popularity of satyr masks in Hellenistic and Roman art and there are satyrs attested in inscriptions. All suggest that the public were still keen on some form of satyr play.

<sup>83</sup> *RVAp* 4/4a; Taplin 1993: fig. 11.4. See also Csapo 1986. For the extensive bibliography on this vase, see Taplin 1993. Green (1994: 37) argues on the basis of the terracotta evidence that

*Thesmophoriazousae* restaged some forty years after its original production (the vase is dated to the 370s B.C.).<sup>84</sup> It seems to be compelling evidence of the validity of his argument for the export of plays, though a case could be made for its being simply a famous scene put on in Tarentum without reference to the complete play. We do not know when the performances of famous scenes from tragedy or comedy first became popular, but certainly a performance consisting only of a scene would overcome the problem of Athenian political or social content in a play as a whole. Doubtless the practice of excerpting was encouraged by the development of the messenger's speech in late Euripidean tragedy and given strength by fourth-century tragic practices with their emphasis on *tour-de-force* performances. If we assume the illustration implies the complete play, the catalyst for its revival in Magna Graecia is not known—possibly a production of the *Telephos*, the *Helen*, or the *Andromeda* of Euripides as all those plays are parodied in Aristophanes' play, though that may well have required some co-ordination between troupes of tragic and comic actors.<sup>85</sup> The acceptance of the Würzburg vase as evidence for Aristophanic comedy in Magna Graecia has opened the way for the acceptance of a number of other vases, long suspected to have Attic origins, as exports from Attica—the New York "goose" vase (ca 400 B.C.) with its apparent Attic iambic line (and its parallel vase from Boston which suggests a revival of that play in the 370s),<sup>86</sup> the Phrynis-Pyronides vase (mid-fourth century) which seems to refer to a musical controversy in Athens, the Milan "cake-eaters" vase discussed above for its satyr play reverse, and the recently published "*choregos*" vase by the same hand as the Milan vase.<sup>87</sup>

---

Aristophanes' plays may have been somewhat old-fashioned, or what survives is a very particular selection of his plays. In either case, while Attic comedy might well be represented in Magna Graecia, we might expect Aristophanes to be relatively rare. The Tarentines, at least, seem to have been willing to put up with a fair amount of Athenian comedy. Green wonders whether they found the Athenian flavour attractive in itself and compares Terence's later use of Greek titles.

<sup>84</sup> For the date of the original production of the *Thesmophoriazousae*, see Sommerstein 1977, arguing that the *Lysistrata* was written for the Lenaea of 411 B.C. and the *Thesmophoriazousae* for the Dionysia of the same year.

<sup>85</sup> In the period after the Policoro Painter's vase (discussed above) we have the Bari Telephos vase (with half-open door suggesting a stage production), *LCS* supp. 2 165, 416d, a Lucanian bell-krater dated 400–375 B.C. (Taplin 1993: fig. 3.105), which may be our catalyst. Beyond that, an Attic (possibly Boeotian) red-figure krater in Berlin is dated to 400–375 B.C., while the Faliscan calyx-krater in Boston by the Nazzano Painter is dated ca 370 B.C. It derives presumably from a South-Italian version: again the half-open door and costume may well suggest stage-inspiration. For these see *LIMC* VII,2 p. 866 55, *LIMC* I, s.v. Agamemnon 18; *IGD* 3.47 and 49; the Andromeda theme is illustrated by the Creusa Painter, *LCS* 90, 452 at about this time; by the Cassandra Painter in Campanian (*LCS* 227, 8), which looks like the Euripidean version of the theme with the heroine tied to a rock; and by the Felton Painter (again a rock) *RVAp* 7/70 (from Taranto).

<sup>86</sup> *RVAp* 3/7; *PV* 84; Taplin 1993: fig. 10.2; cf. the Boston vase: Taplin 1993: fig. 11.3. The details of all these vases can be gained from the excellent discussion in Taplin 1993.

<sup>87</sup> Phrynis-Pyronides vase: *RVP* 2/19—a Paestan vase by Asteas: Taplin 1993: fig. 16.16; Milan "cake-eaters" vase: *RVAp* supp. 2 1/123; Taplin 1993: fig. 12.5; *IGD* 2.13; "*choregos*" vase: *RVAp*

This latter vase remains a problem. The labelling of the two characters "*choregos*" virtually guarantees that the play is Athenian; the discussion has been over whether the two are leaders of two semi-choruses (Taplin's preferred solution) and why, if so, they are depicted on the stage and as clearly phallic.<sup>88</sup> I wonder rather whether this is not a self-referential play about the system of production in the theatre. Are these two *choregoi* competing for the right to produce the play of a particular playwright and conducting some kind of auction for this right?<sup>89</sup> The slave (or presumed slave, Pyrrhias) would then be officiating as some kind of unofficial auctioneer. As this is comedy, the playwright is presented not in his own right, but in the person of the chief character from his play—in this case Aegisthus.<sup>90</sup> In want of other evidence, there is no way of reaching certainty in the matter but such an explanation would save us from having to explain members of the chorus present on-stage.

It seems likely that the majority of these vases were painted at Tarentum (though the Milan "cake-eaters" vase was found at Ruvo), which again suggests that it was this area that enjoyed the initial impact of imported drama. The so-called phylax vases disappear from Apulian vase-painting soon after the middle of the fourth century apart from the occasional mask on a Dionysiac or symposium scene.<sup>91</sup> The Phrynis-Pyronides painting, noted earlier, comes from the Paestan tradition of vase-painters and shows the actors in their characteristic striped tights. The earliest vases from that tradition come from the Sicilian forerunners to Paestan—a phylax Zeus with thunderbolt, a phylax slave named Sikon—and give no indication of a link with Athens. They may well be local plays.<sup>92</sup> The amusing "Heracles at Delphi," one of the later vases of this group (380–360 B.C.) picks up a theme which was very popular in Attic vase-painting—the refusal of Apollo

---

supp. 2 1/124; Taplin 1993: fig. 9.1. Green (1994: 70) notes the following statistics for phylax vases: five Lucanian (Metapontine), one hundred and seven Tarentine, forty-two Paestan, sixteen Sicilian, seventeen Campanian, one Olympian, three Corinthian, the great mass of which date to the second quarter of the fourth century.

<sup>88</sup> The vase is now in the Getty Museum, Malibu 96.AE.29. For a colour illustration, see Malibu 1994: 125–128, no. 56. There is an excellent discussion of the vase by Schmidt (1993); see also Green 1994: 46–47. The vase raises again the secondary issue of whether the chorus were, or could be, phallic. On this, see the vigorous debate about the so-called "Getty Birds": Taplin 1993: 101–104 (Appendix 1) and Green 1994: 29–30.

<sup>89</sup> For the kinds of difficulties a *choregos* might have to put up with further down the track in a production, see Dem. *Meid.* 14–18, 58–61; Csapo and Slater 1995: 153–155.

<sup>90</sup> I note in passing that it is not clear why it should be a slave who is so engaged, nor why "Aegisthus" is not masked; though, if he were wearing a tragic mask, it might well melt into his face in accordance with contemporary representational conventions.

<sup>91</sup> I have continued to use the familiar name though I am convinced we should be referring rather to "Comedy Vases" and expecting a mixture of illustrations of local drama and imported Attic comedy on them. From the period 400–375 B.C. and from Apulia come the following phylax vases: *PV* 21, 24, 25, 45, 61, 62, 67, 74, 84, 93, 106, 146.

<sup>92</sup> *RVP* 1/6 (Zeus) Dirce Painter, very early fourth century; *RVP* 1/77 (Sikon) Sikon Painter, possibly Campanian, early years of fourth century. Possibly relevant to Sikon, is *Ar. Aiolosikon*.

to purify Heracles for the murder of Linus and the hero's seizure of the sacred tripod—but treats it in a thoroughly tongue-in-cheek manner whose origin may, or may not, be local.<sup>93</sup> Lucanian vase painting illustrates the punishment of a slave at an early date<sup>94</sup>—a theme popular in Attic comedy but probably universal in appeal—while the Dolon Painter, at Metapontum (ca 380 B.C.) produced three different scenes of phlyax comedy, unfortunately all now in fragments, one of which may be a phlyax version of the Ixion story judging from a fragment of a wheel on which the actor seems to be bound.<sup>95</sup> However, once the centre of production moved from Metapontum about 375 B.C., scenes of comedy rarely reappear in the fabric. The links with local theatre in Metapontum and Tarentum seem to have been rapidly lost and/or the local population had little interest in drama.<sup>96</sup> This point needs to be constantly borne in mind. Drama was a phenomenon highly valued in places like Tarentum, Metapontum, Syracuse, and (later) Paestum and presumably in those cities that boasted theatres—Rhegium, Locri, Thurii, Elea, and the like—but overall the veneer of drama seems to have been thin in Magna Graecia.<sup>97</sup>

Athenian comedy was certainly being exported to the West and seems to have been lively, and greatly appreciated, to judge by the response of the vase-painters to it. The visiting troupes seem to have done a good job in stimulating in the local market both an interest in drama and the desire to purchase mementos of it whether painted on vases or in terracotta. That stimulus also soon led to the appearance of local playwrights and actors whose successful careers we can trace in Athens in the fourth century B.C.: in comedy Alexis of Thurii (of whom we have 130 authentic titles of his, putative, 245 plays<sup>98</sup> and whose success was in Athens but who surely benefitted from his early interest and training in comedy presumably in Thurii) and Philemon, probably born in Syracuse but also making his reputation in Athens. In tragedy, we know of Dionysius I, Antiphon (put to death by Dionysius), Sosiphanes (who wrote some seventy-three tragedies and won victories seven times in Athens), Achaëus II (who won at the Lenaea in ca 356 B.C.), and Carcinus II (of Akragas?) (who may be Athenian but had very strong connections with Sicily). Actors from the area also made their names rapidly: Aristodemus of Metapontum won honours in the Lenaea at Athens as a tragic actor about 385 B.C. and in the Dionysia about five years later.<sup>99</sup> Archias

<sup>93</sup> *RVP* 1/105 (originally classified as by Asteas, see *PV* 32).

<sup>94</sup> *LCS* 43 212, *PV* 75 dated before 400 B.C.

<sup>95</sup> *LCS* supp. 3 63 D51b, 64 D63, D64. See also above, n. 51.

<sup>96</sup> See Green 1986. There is little interest shown in phlyax comedy by Campanian painters despite the proximity of Paestum.

<sup>97</sup> On the dating of these theatres, see Mitens 1988 and Courtois 1989 *ad loc.* It should be noted that theatre masks remained highly popular, and accurately presented, on Gnathia vases into the early part of the third century B.C.

<sup>98</sup> The *Suda* records the 245 titles—more plays than can have been put on in Athens. On Alexis' output and career, see Arnott 1996: 3–33; Taplin 1993: 94. It has been argued that some of Alexis' plays may have been composed for staging in Magna Graecia: see Blume 1978: 109.

<sup>99</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325; see further Ghiron-Bistagne 1976.

of Thurii, again a tragic actor, was successful at the Lenaea in 329 B.C. In the following century Ariston of Syracuse and Drakon of Tarentum were also in the forefront of their profession.<sup>100</sup>

The success of the early actors suggests that the tradition of theatre and its professionalisation was established early. Unfortunately, little remains of these theatres to give us any idea of what they were like or, indeed, when they became permanent. The earliest theatres are those at Metapontum, Tarentum (though no trace of this has been found), Rhegium, and later Locri and Elea in Southern Italy. In Sicily, Syracuse is by far the earliest, Catane possibly fifth century in origin, then Monte Iato, Heracleia Minoa, and Morgantina in the middle of the fourth century.<sup>101</sup> The phlyax vases show what are often referred to as "temporary stages," though it is not clear why a wooden stage should be regarded as temporary *per se*. In fact, the phlyax vases are relatively consistent in their depictions of stages and probably reflect the realities of the contemporary theatres. The stages on the "*choregos*" vase, the New York and Boston "goose" vase, the Milan "cake-eaters" vase, and the British Museum "Cheiron" vase are all very similar in style, substantial, and in all likelihood permanent.<sup>102</sup>

As regards the festivals at which the plays were performed, we are similarly in the dark. On the vases, the connection with Dionysus is paramount, be it as god of theatre or wine or for his connections with death. Indeed, the combination of all three provided a potent symbol to the purchasers of vases. Other gods had dramatic festivals dedicated to them in other parts of the world—Apollo, for example, at Delphi and Delos. The Karneia Painter's vase in Taranto, so named because of a pillar on the vase inscribed Karneios which is assumed to refer to the Doric festival held towards the end of August in Sparta and her colonies and dedicated to Apollo, shows Perseus with gorgon's head surrounded by dancing satyrs on its upper register and the *kalathiskos* dance on its lower. If the two registers can be connected, then we have evidence for drama connected with Apollo: the reverse depicts Dionysus wearing what appear to be the boots of the tragic actor.<sup>103</sup> Beyond that, it is difficult to go.

Tragedy, comedy, and, to a lesser extent, satyr play are all clearly part of the dramatic tradition of the West and owe much to the stimulation provided by the

<sup>100</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325 fr. q; see also Livy 24.24 on Ariston; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325 fr. u on Archias; *IG* XI 108, line 18 and *SGDI* 2464, line 50 on Drakon.

<sup>101</sup> The dating of the theatres is much disputed: see Mitens 1988 and Courtois 1989: *ad loc.*

<sup>102</sup> Not identical: the New York and Boston vases and the Milan "cake-eaters" lack steps up to the stage—though this may simply be the vase painter leaving out unnecessary details, while the Boston "goose" vase and the BM vase have no doors depicted (though they are implied on the BM vase). For a thorough discussion on the stages, and convincing argument that they were not temporary, see Hughes 1996. The stage on the Bari "Pipers vase," *RVAp* 15/28, has been regarded as temporary because it has a tree apparently built into the stage. Hughes (1996: 98) notes that, apart from the tree, the stage is one of the most elaborate on an extant vase and suggests that the tree may have been a stage property; see also Csapo 1994: 53. I am inclined to agree, though a lopped tree would have been more usual as a stage property (see above, n. 61).

<sup>103</sup> Karneia Painter's vase, *LCS* 55 280, from Ceglie del Campo.



export of plays from Athens. But this is not to deny a flourishing local trade in drama. It seems *a priori* unlikely that all the comedy that was seen in the West was Attic in origin, since we know there had been a flourishing tradition of local comedy in Syracuse and evidence that it was still being written down to the end of the fifth century. Further, we know that local tragedy was certainly being written and produced in the fourth century alongside the imported Athenian plays. Vase painting and coroplastic tradition point to purchasers wanting products that reflected local tradition. If the originals came from Athens, they were soon modified to fit local taste and practice.

Drama seems to have established itself rapidly in Magna Graecia and its success was no small element in that growing wave of enthusiasm for matters theatrical that became so characteristic a part of the Hellenistic world. I have sought to give a plausible shape to the initial impulse for drama in Southern Italy and Sicily, the development that followed, and an idea of the plays that were performed. Further archaeological evidence will no doubt expand the picture and show the process to have been a good deal more complex than I have demonstrated.<sup>104</sup>

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS  
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON  
P.O. Box 600  
WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arnott, W. G. 1996. *Alexis: The Fragments*. Cambridge.  
 Bieber, M. 1961. *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*<sup>2</sup>. Princeton.  
 Blume, H.-D. 1978. *Einführung in das antike Theaterwesen*. Darmstadt.  
 Blümel, W. 1985. *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 28.1–2. Bonn.  
 Bock, M. 1958. "Aischylos und Akragas," *Gymnasium* 65: 402–450.  
 Cataudella, Q. 1963. "Eschilo in Sicilia," *Dioniso* 37: 5–24.  
 Courtois, C. 1989. *Le Bâtiment de scène des théâtres d'Italie et de Sicile*. Archaeologica Transatlantica 8. Rhode Island and Louvain.  
 Crowther, C. 1990. "Iasos in the Second Century. 2: The Chronology of the Theatre Lists," *BICS* 37: 143–151.  
 ——— 1995. "The Chronology of the Iasian Theatre Lists: Again," *Chiron* 25: 225–234.  
 Csapo, E. 1986. "A Note on the Würzburg Bell-Crater H5697 (Telephus Travestitus)," *Phoenix* 40: 379–392.  
 ——— 1994. Review article on Taplin 1993. *EMC/CV* n.s. 13: 51–58.

<sup>104</sup>I am grateful to Pat Easterling, Eric Handley, and Richard Green, who read an earlier draft of this paper and made many helpful suggestions and challenged some of its assumptions. The anonymous readers for *Phoenix* also provided much useful comment. The paper is much better for their assistance, but they are not to be held responsible for its resultant content. I am grateful also to Victoria University for a period of leave in which to work on this material and to Clare Hall, Cambridge for the award of a Fellowship.

- and W. J. Slater. 1995. *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor.
- Dobrov, G. W. ed. 1995. *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy*. Atlanta.
- Easterling, P. E. 1993. "The End of an Era? Tragedy in the Early Fourth Century," in A. H. Sommerstein *et al.* (eds.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis: Papers from the Greek Drama Conference, Nottingham 18–20 July 1990*. Bari. 559–569.
- 1994. "Euripides Outside Athens: A Speculative Note," *ICS* 19: 73–80.
- Fraenkel, E. 1954. "Vermutungen zum Aetna-Festspiel des Aeschylus," *Eranos* 52: 61–75.
- Gentili, B. 1988. *Poetry and Its Public in Ancient Greece*. Baltimore and London.
- Ghiron-Bistagne, P. 1976. *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique*. Paris.
- Giuliani, L. 1996. "Rhesus between Dream and Death: On the Relation of Image to Literature in Apulian Vase-Painting," *BICS* 41: 71–86.
- Green 1985. "A Representation of the *Birds* of Aristophanes," in *Greek Vases in the J. P. Getty Museum* 2. Malibu, Cal. 95–118.
- 1986. "The Beaulieu Painter and Provincial Apulia at the End of the Fourth Century B.C.," in E. Böhr *et al.* (eds.), *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg*. Mainz. 181–195.
- 1994. *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*. London.
- Griffith, M. 1978. "Aeschylus, Sicily and Prometheus" in R. Dawe *et al.* (eds.), *Dionysiaca: Nine Studies in Greek Poetry*. Cambridge. 105–139.
- Herington, C. J. 1967. "Aeschylus in Sicily," *JHS* 87: 74–85.
- 1985. *Poetry into Drama*. Berkeley.
- Hose, M. 1995. *Drama und Gesellschaft. Studien zur dramatischen Produktion in Athen am Ende des 5 Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart.
- Hughes, A. 1996. "Comic Stages in Magna Graecia: The Evidence of the Vases," *Theatre Research International* 21.2: 95–108.
- Hunter, R. L. 1979. "The Comic Chorus in the Fourth Century," *ZPE* 36: 23–28.
- IGD = Trendall, A. D. and T. B. L. Webster. 1971. *Illustrations of Greek Drama*. London.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1978. *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen*. Mainz.
- Kovacs, D. 1994. *Euripidea. Mnemosyne* 132. Leiden and New York.
- LCS = Trendall, A. D. 1967. *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford, with Supp. 1 (*BICS* Supp. 26, 1970), 2 (*BICS* Supp. 31, 1973), 3 (*BICS* Supp. 41, 1983).
- Lefkowitz, M. R. 1981. *The Lives of the Greek Poets*. Baltimore.
- Malibu 1994 = *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Laurence Fleischman*. Malibu, Cal.
- Mazon, P. ed. 1976. *Eschyle*. Paris.
- Mertens, D. 1982. "Metaponto: il teatro-ekklesiasterion, I," *BdA* 16: 1–57.
- Migeotte, L. 1992. *Les Souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*. Geneva and Quebec.
- 1993. "De la liturgie à la contribution obligatoire: Le Financement des Dionysies et des travaux du théâtre à Iasos au II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.," *Chiron* 23: 267–294.
- Mitens, K. 1988. *Teatri greci e teatri ispirati all'architettura greca in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale*. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 13. Rome.
- Moret, J.-M. 1975. *Ilioupersis*. Geneva.
- Podlecki, A. J. 1966. *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy*. Ann Arbor.

- Pöhlmann, E. 1988. "Zur Frühgeschichte der Überlieferung griechischer Bühnendichtung und Bühnenmusik," in *id.*, *Beiträge zur antiken und neueren Musikgeschichte*. Frankfurt. 55–66.
- Pollaco, L. *et al.* 1981. *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* 1. Rimini.
- 1990. *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* 2. Padua.
- Prag, A. J. N. W. 1985. *The Oresteia: Iconographic and Narrative Tradition*. Warminster.
- PV = Trendall, A. D. 1967. *Phlyax Vases*<sup>2</sup>. *BICS* Supp 19. London.
- Rothwell, K. S. Jr. 1995. "The Continuity of the Chorus in Fourth Century Attic Comedy," in Dobrov 1995: 99–118.
- RVAp = Trendall, A. D. 1978, 1982 *Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*. Oxford, with Supp. 1 (*BICS* Supp. 42, 1983), 2 (*BICS* Supp. 60, 1991).
- RVP = Trendall, A. D. 1987. *The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum*. Rome.
- RVSIS = Trendall, A. D. 1989. *Red Figured Vases of South Italy and Sicily*. London.
- Schmidt, M. 1993. "Tracce del teatro comico attico nella Magna Grecia," in *Vitae Mimae. Forme e funzioni del teatro comico greco e latino*. Incontri del Dipartimento di Scienze dell' Antichità dell' Università de Pavia 6. Como. 27–41.
- Seaford, R. 1984. *Euripides' Cyclops*. Oxford.
- Sifakis, G. 1967. *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama*. London.
- Slater, N. 1995. "The Fabrication of Comic Illusion," in Dobrov 1995: 29–45.
- Sommerstein, A. H. 1977. "Aristophanes and the Events of 411," *JHS* 97: 112–126.
- Stephanis, I. 1988. *Dionysiakoi Technitai*. Herakleion.
- Sutton, D. F. 1987. "The Theatrical Families of Athens," *AJP* 108: 9–26.
- Taplin, O. 1993. *Comic Angels*. Oxford.
- Trendall, A. D. 1991. "Farce and Tragedy in South Italian Vase Painting," in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey (eds.), *Looking at Greek Vases*. Cambridge. 151–182.
- Turner, E. G. 1976. "Papyrus Bodmer xxviii: A Satyr Play on the Confrontation of Heracles and Atlas," *MusHelv* 33: 1–23.
- 1980. *Greek Papyri*. Oxford.
- Webster, T. B. L. 1967. *The Tragedies of Euripides*. London.
- 1978. *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*<sup>3</sup>. Rev. J. R. Green. *BICS* Supp. 39. London.
- Whitehead, D. 1986. "Festival Liturgies in Thorikos," *ZPE* 62: 213–220.
- Zeitlin F. and J. Winkler (eds.). 1990. *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* Princeton.