

The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia

This book is the first major study of the means wby which the classical Athenians organised and funded their many festival choruses. It explores the mechanics of the institution by which a minority of rich citizens were required to arrange and pay for a festival chorus, including choruses for tragic and comic drama, and situates this duty within the range of occasions for élite leadership in Athens' elaborate festival calendar. Peter Wilson goes on to show the importance of the *khoregia* to our understanding of the workings of Athenian democracy itself, and to demonstrate the degree to which the institution was itself a highly performative occasion, an opportunity for élite display in the democratic environment. The post-classical history of the *khoregia* and its appearance in a wide range of other Greek communities are also examined.

PETER WILSON is currently a Research Fellow in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Warwick.



The Athenian Institution of the *Khoregia*

The Chorus, the City and the Stage

Peter Wilson

University of Warwick





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011–4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 2000

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press

First published 2000 First paperback edition 2003

Typeset in Bembo $10\frac{1}{2}/12$ [SE]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 521 55070 X hardback ISBN 0 521 54213 8 paperback



> For my parents τί φίλτερον κεδνῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς;



Contents

	List of illustrations	page x
	Preface	xiii
	List of abbreviations	xiv
	Introduction	I
Part I	THE INSTITUTION	
	1 Private wealth for public performance	ΙΙ
	A cultural revolution?	12
	Festival leitourgiai	21
	Serving Dionysos: the City Dionysia	21
	Processional leitourgiai: place and service in the city	25
	The Lenaia	27
	Anthesteria	32
	Service for Apollo	32
	Dancing for Hephaistos and Prometheus?	35
	Panathenaia	36
	Other services	43
	An 'international' khoregia	44
	'Whoever honours the gods best with khoroi are the best in war'	46
	2 Organisation and operation	50
	The city and its khoregoi	50
	Appointment	51
	After nomination	57
	Poets, patrons and the polis	61
	The tasks of the khoregos	71

vii



CONTENTS

	In the khoregeion	71
	Recruitment	75
	Civic purity	80
	Training	81
	Materials of performance	86
	The politics of khoregic extravagance	89
	Dithyramb, tragedy, comedy: comparative expenditure	93
	Before the agones: proagon and procession	95
	Judgement	98
	Epinikian practice	102
Part II	THE KHOREGIA IN ACTION: Social performance and symbolic practice	
	3 Aristocratic style	109
	The figure of the dramatic khoregos	109
	Leading a khoros	ΙΙΙ
	Death in the didaskaleion	116
	Khoregic prestige	120
	Khoregic patronage	123
	Khoregos, koryphaios?	130
	Khoregic performance	136
	4 Khoregia and democracy	144
	Competition, victory, transgression: the power and politics of choral leadership	144
	Alkibiades, khoregos 'to the envy of my fellow-citizens'	148
	Khoregic curses	155
	The theatre of conflict	156
	Khoregic power	168
	Phyletic honours	171
	The leitourgist and the demos	172
	The demos as oppressor?	184
	The 'love of honour': a history of conflict	187
	Tragic ambitions	194
	5 Monumentalising victory	198
	The politics of tripods	199
	The rhetoric of tripods	201
	Choral memorials	206
	The street of tripods	209

viii



CONTENTS

	Inscribing victory	214
	The early period	216
	'They name the place after certain temples, rather large for the purpose to which they are put'	219
	Oligarchic extravagance	226
	Dramatic memorials	236
	Remembering Dionysos in the demes	244
	The khoregos in ceramic	252
Part III	BEYOND CLASSICAL ATHENS	
	6 Challenge, change, diffusion	265
	The end of democracy and the 'khoregia of the demos'	270
	The Athenian revival	276
	The khoregia beyond Attike	279
	Appendices	
	ı 'Tripodes'	303
	2 Thargelian and other dedications	304
	3 Dithyramb in the demes	305
	4 The date of the reform of the khoregia	307
	5 Khoroi and the Tekhnitai	308
	6 Further evidence for choral contests	309
	Notes	311
	Bibliography	395
	General index	421
	Index of passages	428
	Epigraphic index	433



Illustrations

I	Base of khoregic monument for tragedy and comedy (Lenaia), from the Athenian Agora: Onesippos' herm. Athens, Inscr. Agora 1	
	7168	page 30
2	Remains of the khoregic monument of Atarbos (for <i>pyrrhikhe</i> and (?) dithyramb). Athens, Akropolis Museum 1338	39
3	Late Archaic Attic wine-cup (kylix) with images of choral training. Metropolitan Museum, New York 27.74	74
4	Attic red-figured bell-krater with (?) dithyrambic <i>khoros</i> : Copenhagen 13817. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, National Museum, Denmark	70
5	The 'Pronomos' vase: Attic red-figured volute-krater c. 400 B.C. from Ruvo, Puglia. Naples, Museo Nazionale 3240 inv. no. 81673	78
6	Base of khoregic monument for tragedy from Varkiza (the deme Anagyrous?). Athens, Epigraphic Museum 13180	132
7	Fragment of a (?) khoregic relief with an adult male in <i>himation</i> and tripod. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2995	208
8	Fragment of a khoregic $(?)$ monument – a relief with an adult male in long <i>himation</i> and a small, bearded satyr seizing $(?)$ a large tripod by its base. Athens, National Museum 1490	208
9	Plan of the theatre and sanctuary of Dionysos in Athens (after Korres (1988))	210
0	Athenian Akropolis and environs, indicating the course of the Street of Tripods (after Kazamiakes (1994))	211
Ι	The khoregic monument of Lysikrates: the design of Stuart and Revet (1762)	t 220
2	The khoregic monument of Lysikrates: the reconstruction of Amandry (1976)	7 223
3	The khoregic monument of Lysikrates: the reconstruction of Bauer (1977)	224

X



ILLUSTRATIONS

14	The khoregic monument of Lysikrates: the frieze (after Ehrhardt (1993))	225
15	The khoregic monument of Nikias: the reconstructed plan of Dinsmoor (1910)	228
16	The khoregic monument of Nikias: the reconstruction of Dinsmoor (1910)	229
17	The khoregic monument of Thrasyllos: its current state. Photograph courtesy of Barbara Kowalzig	230
18	The khoregic monument of Thrasyllos: the drawing of Stuart and Revett (1787)	232
19	The khoregic monument of Thrasyllos: the reconstruction of Welter (1938)	233
20	The khoregic monument of Thrasyllos: its place in the upper region of the theatre of Dionysos. Photograph courtesy of Barbara Kowalzig	234
21	Remains of a khoregic monument for <i>pyrrhikhe</i> and ? drama: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3854 (front and right-hand side)	237
22	Monument from the Attic deme Aixone honouring two <i>khoregoi</i> for comedy at the local Dionysia: Athens, Epigraphic Museum	239
23	Fragment of an Attic volute-krater with masks and column-capitals in a Dionysiac environment: Samothrace 65.1041	240
24	Remains of a theatrical khoregic monument: fragment of relief carving from the Attic deme Ikarion. Athens, National Museum 4531	241
25	The semicircular khoregic monument of Hagnias, Xanthippos and Xanthides from the Attic deme Ikarion. Reconstruction after Biers and Boyd (1982)	250
26	Attic krater with victorious <i>lampadephoroi</i> of the <i>phyle</i> Antiokhis. British Museum 98.7–16.6 (drawing after Froeher (1898))	254
27	Attic neck-amphora with khoregic tripod being dressed with (?) ribbons by a (?) Nike and the inscription 'The <i>phyle</i> Akamantis was victorious' and 'Glaukon kalos' on the steps of the base. British	
28	Museum E298 Fragmentary Attic skyphos (drinking cup) with (?) khoregic tripod:	255
29	reconstruction after Amandry (1976) (design of I. Athanasiadou) Attic hydria with performing satyrs and <i>auletes</i> , watched by a (?)	255
-/	khoregos. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 03.788	258
30	Attic volute-krater with dancing satyrs, <i>auletes</i> and (?) <i>khoregos</i> . Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina 3031; photograph courtesy of Hirmer Verlag Munich	259
3 I	The 'Khoregoi' vase: Apulian red-figured bell-krater c. 400 B.C.	-39
	J. P. Getty Museum, Malibu 96.AE.29	259



Preface

This book began as part of a Cambridge Ph.D., and developed into its very different current form at the University of Warwick, after two years of productively distracting teaching at University College, Oxford. Pembroke College Cambridge assisted my initial research and New Hall allowed me to further it in a sympathetic environment by electing me to a Junior Research Fellowship. My colleagues at Warwick have been supportive in its final stages.

It is a real honour and pleasure to be able at last to thank the many people from whose help and encouragement I profited along the way. First among these is Simon Goldhill, whose intellectual energy was vital in the early stages of my research and who has always been ready with encouragement and insightful advice. In Cambridge, Eric Handley and Richard Hunter were generous with their time and learning. So too, well beyond the call of duty, were my two examiners, Pat Easterling and Paul Cartledge. Theirs is a model of scholarly *arete* one would truly wish to follow. In Oxford Oliver Taplin's constant support and interest in things khoregic have been invaluable, as has his friendship. Many people responded to parts of this work in draft form and as seminar papers. My thanks to them all; and in particular, for their amicable discussions and criticisms, to David Konstan, Nicole Loraux, Christopher Pelling and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. On matters democratic I have benefited more than it shows from my dialogue with Josh Ober.

Pauline Hire and Linda Woodward have been diligent and understanding editorial guides to an inexperienced author.

Thanks of a different sort go to Chris Clark, James Mackenzie and, in particular, Vanessa Smith; and above all to my parents, to whom I dedicate this book with much love.



Abbreviations

- ARV² J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters, 2nd edn, Oxford 1963.
- D–K Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, H. Diels and W. Kranz, 7th edn, 3 vols., Berlin 1951–4.
- DTA Defixionum Tabellae, ed. A. Audolent, Paris 1904.
- FGrH F. Jacoby (ed.), Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Berlin/Leiden 1923-58.
- IEG Iambi et Elegi Graeci, 2 vols., ed. M. L. West, Oxford 1971.
- IG Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin, 1913- .
- IK Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Bonn 1972- .
- IvO Inschriften von Olympia, eds. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, Bonn 1896.
- K-A R. Kassel and C. Austin, Poetae Comici Graeci, Berlin/New York 1983-
- LGPN A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, eds. P. Fraser, E. Matthews, M. Osborne, S. Byrne, Oxford 1987— .
- M-L R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the Fifth Century B.C., Oxford 1969.
- MMC³ T. B. L. Webster, Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy, 3rd edn, rev. J. Green, BICS Supp. 39, London 1978.
- MTS² T. B. L. Webster, Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play, 2nd edn, BICS Supp. 20, London 1967.
- Paralip. J. D. Beazley, Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase Painters, 2nd edn, Oxford 1971.
- PMG Poetae Melici Graeci, ed. D. L. Page, Oxford, 1962.
- PMGF Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. 1, ed. M. Davies, Oxford
- RVApSuppl.11 A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Supplement 11 (BICS Suppl. no. 60, 1991, publ. 1992).
- SGD D. Jordan, 'A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora', *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–97.
- Sn–M Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis, post B. Snell, ed. H. Maehler, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1992.
- TrGF 1 Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. 1: Didascaliae Tragicae, Catalogi Tragicorum et Tragoediarum Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum, ed. B. Snell, corrected and augmented R. Kannicht, Göttingen 1986.



ABBREVIATIONS

- TrGF 2 Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. 2: Fragmenta Adespota, Testimonia Volumini 1 Addenda, Indices ad Volumina 1 et 2, eds. R. Kannicht and B. Snell, Göttingen 1981.
- TrGF 3 Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. 3: Aeschylus, ed. S. Radt, Göttingen 1985.
- TrGF 4 Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, vol. 4: Sophocles, ed. S. Radt, Göttingen 1977.