# A Social and Economic History of the Theatre to 300 BC

## Volume II: Theatre beyond Athens

This is the second volume of *A Social and Economic History of the Theatre to 300 BC* and focuses exclusively on theatre culture in Attica (Rural Dionysia) and the rest of the Greek world. It presents and discusses in detail all the documentary and material evidence for theatre culture and dramatic production from the first two centuries of theatre history, namely the period ca. 500 to ca. 300 BC. The traditional assumption is laid to rest that theatre was an exclusively or primarily Athenian institution, with the inclusion of all sources of information for theatrical performances in twenty-three deme sites and over one hundred and twenty independent Greek (and some non-Greek) cities. All texts are translated and made accessible to non-specialists and specialists alike. The volume will be a fundamental work of reference for all classicists and theatre historians interested in ancient theatre and its wider historical contexts.

**Eric Csapo** is Professor of Classics and **Peter Wilson** is William Ritchie Professor of Classics in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Sydney. They are leading experts on the early history of the theatre. Since 2005 they have collaborated closely on a three-volume work, *A Social and Economic History of the Theatre to 300 BC,* which will substantially alter our understanding of the ancient theatre from its origin to the Early Hellenistic period. Volume 2, *Theatre Beyond Athens*, is the first to be published, with two further volumes soon to follow. They co-edited *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC* (2014) and are authors of *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theatre* (Csapo, 2010) and *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia* (Wilson, Cambridge 2000).

# A Social and Economic History of the Theatre to 300 BC

## VOLUME II

## Theatre beyond Athens: Documents with Translation and Commentary

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521765572
DOI: 10.1017/9781139023931



First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*
Names: Csapo, Eric, author. | Wilson, Peter, 1964– author.
Title: A social and economic history of the theatre to 300 BC.
Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, [2019] | Includes bibliographical references and index. Contents: – v. 2. Theatre beyond Athens: documents with translation and commentary / Eric Csapo, University of Sydney ; Peter Wilson, University of Sydney.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019020561 | ISBN 9780521765572 (alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Theater – Greece – History – To 500. | Greek drama – History and criticism.
Classification: LCC PA3201.A2 S63 2019 | DDC 792.0938–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019020561

ISBN 978-0-521-76557-2 Hardback

To MM and JSS

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# Preface

*Theatre beyond Athens* is the second volume of *A Social and Economic History of the Theatre to 300 BC* and the first to be published. Volume 1 collects the evidence for the Athenian theatre festivals. Volume 3 deals with the people who participated in or patronised theatre. *Theatre beyond Athens* for the first time systematically collects and discusses the evidence for theatre outside the city of Athens from the Late Archaic to the Early Hellenistic period (ca. 500–ca. 300). Part III presents what is known of theatre culture in Attica and Part IV examines theatre culture in the central and eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea.

For Volumes 1 and 3 we were able to build on a substratum of scholarly research reaching back to the early nineteenth century. By contrast, until recently the contents of this volume were a matter of general disinterest and neglect. The Rural Dionysia attracted some attention from religious and regional histories, but virtually none from historians of literature, drama or theatre, except perhaps in the search for fossilised clues about the origins of drama in the Dionysian 'vegetation rites' of the Attic countryside. If rural Attica was pictured as theatre's remote past, theatre outside of Athens was its remote future. A great deal of evidence was ignored, suppressed or otherwise dismissed to preserve the vision that theatre for most of the fifth and fourth century was purely or essentially Athenian. The purpose of this volume is to make that evidence known and explore its implications.

In this volume there is little connection with the great tradition of ancient theatre history that leads from Wilhelm Becker's *Charicles* of 1840, through Albert Müller's magisterial *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* of 1886, up to the second edition of Arthur Pickard-Cambridge's *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* of 1968. This tradition practised and promulgated the extreme Athenocentrism that marks theatre history up to the very end of the twentieth century. The idea of writing Classical theatre history outside Athens was a provocative idea up to and even long after Pat Easterling's seminal study of 1994 'Euripides Outside Athens: A Speculative Note', which in turn inspired Oliver Taplin's groundbreaking 1999 essay 'Spreading the Word through Performance'. The major landmarks are all much more recent: David Carter's collection of 2010, *Why Athens?*, challenged traditional Athenocentricity in the study of tragedy; Kate Bosher's *Theater Outside Athens* of 2012 was the first ever collection of essays on Archaic and Classical theatre in the Greek West. Since 2014 the spread of theatre has become a major focus of scholarly research: that year saw the publication of Vahtikhari's *Tragedy Performances Outside Athens in the Late Fifth and Fourth Centuries*, and important essays by Moloney on theatre in Macedon, by Braund and Hall on theatre in the Black Sea, and by Robinson on theatre in native Peucetia, all collected in the volume *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC*. Without attempting to give an exhaustive scholarly background (for which see the introduction to *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC*, and Csapo and Wilson 2015), but

only to give an impression of how rapidly this field is developing, we should note that as we write this Edmund Stewart's *Greek Tragedy on the Move* has just been published, Hans Peter Isler's *Antike Theaterbauten: Ein Handbuch* and Anne Duncan's *Tyranny and Theater in the Ancient World* are in press, and David Braund, Edith Hall and Rosie Wyles' *Greek Theatre and Performance Culture around the Ancient Black Sea* is in preparation. Scholarship in this area is evolving so quickly that we found it a full-time occupation just to keep up with developments related to our topic.

This volume differs from the above-mentioned in scope and comprehensiveness. With the exception of the survey in Csapo and Wilson 2015, those books and essays were confined to specific regions, to the history of tragic production, or to the history of theatre architecture. This volume includes all regions that have produced certain or plausible evidence for theatre culture within our timeframe. Our definition of theatre culture is also broad. We include evidence not only of all genres of dramatic performance, but also the lyric choral genres that were known officially as 'men's' and 'boys'' choruses, and more popularly as 'circular choruses' and 'dithyrambs'. In order to avoid adopting and perpetuating an Athenocentric model of theatre culture, we have also investigated and discussed all known theatres for which there is evidence of any kind of musical, choral or representational performance of any sort. We attempt to give a full account of the character of theatre culture in each region, so far as the evidence permits. At the same time we have tried to identify broader regional and transregional trends. Though we hope we do this well enough, our aim in this volume is not just to prove that Classical theatre, so far from being exclusively Athenian, cannot even be said to be securely Greek. Our more ambitious goal is to lay a foundation for the institutional history of theatre in its own right. The lodestar of this project was always the larger question of the how, when, what and why of theatre's first spread through the Mediterranean and beyond. The received account struggles with the contradiction of a Classical theatre exclusively in, by and for Athens, instantly replaced by an equally static vision of a Hellenistic theatre that is ubiquitously Greek. We hope to replace that with an account of a much more nuanced and fluid process. Without it, we feel, theatre history is not really possible.

If this second volume owes less than the others to Pickard-Cambridge, it adheres no less than they to his guiding principle 'to keep as closely as possible to the evidence, and to state the evidence fully enough to enable the reader to judge for himself the value of the conclusions drawn from it' (Preface, First Edition of *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*). We aspire not only to allow our readers to give informed consent, but to give them the wherewithal to disagree with our conclusions. We have therefore been more scrupulous even than Pickard-Cambridge in presenting the evidence. While Pickard-Cambridge often included the Greek or Latin texts only in brief footnotes or appendices, we place them in full citation (with relevant context) at the very beginning of each discussion. This is true not only of texts but, as far as cost permitted, we have included in the same sections images of important artefacts or site plans. In the case of texts we have taken care to make use of the newest or most reliable editions, but in many cases we have also exercised editorial judgement, and provided in a critical apparatus any alternative readings that might be of theatre-historical consequence. In many cases, we have been able to view by autopsy inscriptions, artefacts or important sites. Unlike Pickard-Cambridge we offer a full translation, not only

to make ancient theatre history available to a much broader audience, but also to draw attention to nuances of language, arrangement or punctuation that may affect interpretation. At times we have included evidence that we believe wrongly contributed to conclusions absorbed by the scholarly tradition, so that our readership can pass its own judgement on the evidence's irrelevance. In this way we attempt to give as close an impression as possible of the nature and limitations of the evidence itself before embarking on a discussion of its historical value.

In the twelve years we have spent on this volume we have acquired an enormous intellectual debt to colleagues for advice, information and help acquiring resources of all kinds. We are grateful to Delphine Ackermann, Sophie Agelidis, Emmanuela Bakola, Anna Banfi, Kirsten Bedigan, Alastair Blanshard, Maria Grazia Branciforti, Alexander Cambitoglou, Tom Carpenter, John Colarusso, Thomas Coward, Jaime Curbera, Alessia Dimartino, Amanda Dusting, Federico Favi, Patrick Finglass, Rune Frederiksen, Daniele Fusi, Vincent Gabrielsen, Marco Germani, Laura Gianvittorio, Francesco Guizzi, Elisabeth Günther, Klaus Hallof, Johanna Hanink, Sally Humphreys, Richard Hunter, Lucy Jackson, Fotini Karassava-Tsilingiri, Annette Kelaher, Denis Knoepfler, Anna Lamari, Stephen Lambert, Angelike Lampaki, Robin Lane Fox, Brigitte Le Guen, John Ma, Alessandra Manieri, Clemente Marconi, Giovanni Marginesu, Hallie Marshall, Toph Marshall, Maria Martinelli, Angelos Matthaiou, Bernadette McCall, Archibald McKenzie, Beatrice McLoughlin, Ian McPhee, Raimund Merker, Silvia Milanezi, Benjamin Millis, Giuseppina Monterosso, Jean-Charles Moretti, Glenn Most, Yannis Nakas, Sebastiana Nervegna, Douglas Olson, Massimiliano Ornaghi, Robin Osborne, Alessandro Pagliara, Elodie Paillard, Giorgos Papadopoulos, Zozi Papadopoulou, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Robert Parker, Stavros Paspalas, Spyros Petrounakos, Alexa Piqueux, Maria Platonos-Yiota, David Pritchard, Bodil Rasmussen, Ted Robinson, David Roselli, Jeffery Rusten, Maria Salta, Gerry Schaus, Scott Scullion, David Sider, Michael Silk, William Slater, George Steinhauer, Edmund Stewart, Jelle Stoop, Daniela Summa, Kazuhiro Takeuchi, Davide Tanasi, Oliver Taplin, Mario Telò, Stephen Tracy, Monique Trédé, Vesa Vahtikari, John Whitehouse, Hector Williams, Bill Zewadski, Denis Zhuralev and Bernhard Zimmermann. Very special thanks for constant and unfailing advice and support are owed to Hans Goette, Dick Green, Andrew Hartwig and Meg Miller. We would like to acknowledge the aid of the following institutions for material resources and support: Australian Research Council, Centre for Classical and Near Eastern Studies of Australia, Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens, Deutsches Archäologische Institut both in Berlin and Athens, Loeb Classical Library Foundation, Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, Ian Potter Foundation, Nicholas Anthony Aroney Research Fund, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Sydney, School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry of the University of Sydney, Inscriptiones Graecae, Clare Hall College and Pembroke College in Cambridge, Institute of Classical Studies in London, All Souls College, Corpus Christi College, New College, Worcester College in Oxford, the Institute of Advanced Studies of the University of Freiburg (FRIAS), and the directors and staff of the National Museum and the Epigraphical Museum in Athens. We thank Michael Sharp for his patient support throughout this process, and Sarah Starkey and Malcolm Todd for the care they took converting our typescript into a book.

# Cross-References and Conventions

## Cross-References

The internal cross-references are always given in boldface and follow the sequence: **I Ai 1a**, i.e. roman numeral in upper case > capital letter > roman numeral in lower case > numeral > lower case letter. These elements refer to: Part, Section, Segment (where appropriate), Subsegment (where appropriate) and Document. While all elements follow the same sequence not all parts of the sequence appear in every reference. To avoid such lengthy cross-references as much as possible, we abbreviate where the cross-referenced item is in the same Part and abbreviate more radically where the cross-reference is in the same Segment or Subsegment.

The roman numeral in upper case refers to the major divisions of the work: they are the six Parts, two Parts per each Volume.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Volume 1: | **I** | Dionysia | **II** | Other Theatre Festivals |
| Volume 2: | **III** | Attica | **IV** | Beyond Attica |
| Volume 3: | **V** | Performers | **VI** | Political Patrons |

As mentioned, this first element is only given if the reference is to a different Part. If, therefore, the reference begins with a capital letter it is to a different Section of the same Part. The Sections are deme locations in Part **III**, but larger regions in Part **IV**. The last three elements of the cross-reference are used only as required. Thus **III X** refers to the one document that we have from Sphettos, but **III Yi** is the first of several documents from Thorikos. Within Part **III** these documents will be referenced simply as **X** and **Yi**. Where there is only one document as at Sphettos, **X** may refer also to the commentary.

The Sections of Part **IV** are regional subdivisions.

**A** West Greece (Italy and Sicily)
**B** Megarid, Isthmus and Peloponnese
**C** Central Greece (Mainland, Ionian Islands, Macedon, Thrace)
**D** Aegean Islands
**E** Asia Minor (including Cyprus)
**F** Black Sea (including Hellespont, Propontis, Bosporus)
**G** Africa

A reference to **IV D** is to the Section Introduction or the whole Section. The lower case roman numeral marks a Segment that is usually a specific location (though one location can sometimes be broken into several Segments). As above we have used further subdivision only where necessary. **IV Div** takes you immediately to the one document we have for theatre in Cos, but the first document for the more amply attested Rhodes is **IV Dxi**

**1**. As above the **IV** is omitted where the cross-reference is to the same Part. Within each subsection (e.g. **Dxi**) the documents are internally referenced by the numeral. In this volume further subdivision by lower case letter almost never occurs. The system is easier in practice than this detailed explanation makes it sound.

The abbreviations we use for Greek authors are those found in *A Greek–English Lexicon* by G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised by H. S. Jones (Oxford 1996). Exceptions were made for the plays of Aristophanes that can be translated with an English monosyllable (*Knights*, *Wasps*, *Clouds*, *Peace*, *Birds*, *Wealth*) and the *Laws* and *Republic* (abbreviated *Rep.*) of Plato. For Latin authors we use the abbreviations in *Der Kleine Pauly, Lexikon der Antike* (Stuttgart 1964). Journal abbreviations are those used by the *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000) 10–24, supplemented where necessary by the abbreviations used in *L'Année Philologique*. Other abbreviations are given at the beginning of the Bibliography at the back of this volume.

## Conventions

All dates are BC except where indicated otherwise or where blatantly obvious. We have only added BC for dates in the last decade of the ancient era (9–1 BC) in the belief that such redundancy is helpful for signalling that the single digits stand for year-dates.

The names of ancient Greek persons and places well enough known to receive a heading in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford 1996), are spelled as they appear in that work. Less well known names are transliterated according to more standard modern conventions (κ = k, χ = ch, υ = y). Thus 'Socrates' is the famous philosopher, but 'Sokrates' is a less famous man of the same name. There are a very few exceptions to this rule: Odeion (not Odeum), Thorikos (not Thoricus), and Taras (not Tarentum).

We capitalise the first letter of some words to indicate their use as a proper name referring to a famous location, practice or institution in Athens, but use lower case elsewhere. This will prove more helpful in Volumes 1 and 3, but we felt bound to be consistent with this practice even in this volume. Thus 'Theatre (of Dionysus)' is the theatre building in Athens, but 'theatre' is a building elsewhere; 'Sanctuary (of Dionysus)' is the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus in Athens, but 'sanctuary' is any other sacred precinct; 'Proagon' is the ceremony in Athens, but 'proagon' is the equivalent elsewhere; 'Parade' is the Dionysian *pompe* in Athens, but 'parade' is the equivalent elsewhere.