

THREE PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF DRAMA

W. J. SLATER

I. THE SARAPIEIA OF TANAGRA

THE LONG INSCRIPTION describing the festival of the Sarapieia at Tanagra has been described by Sifakis with justice as "our most interesting case."¹ Sifakis was using the original edition of the full text published by Christou² in 1956, after its missing portion had been found. Almost immediately corrections were offered.³ The second (and third) version of the standard work on the dramatic festivals of Athens⁴ disappointingly says only that: "Some of the figures must be wrongly read; otherwise we should have reproduced it here" [=1968, repeated 1988]. All of the figures had been correctly read in 1966 by Calvet and Roesch,⁵ who had also identified the errors of the mason. As a result one can observe that, contrary to Christou's suspicion, the complex accounting for the expenses of the festival is accurate. Gossage⁶ has made it probable by a critical study of the prosopography of the artists listed that the inscription dates from before rather than after the sack of Athens by Sulla. Of the festival itself we know little more. The inscription is a unique witness to Hellenistic dramatic festivals, and in what follows an attempt is made to bring out some of the considerable problems it poses for the history of the theatre.

The following works will be cited by author's name or author's name and abbreviated title: M. Calvet and P. Roesch, "Les Sarapieia de Tanagra," *RA* (1966) 297-332; Pierre Ginestet, *Les Organisations de la jeunesse dans l'Occident romain* (Brussels 1991, Coll. *Latomus* 213); H. Leppin, *Histrionen* (Bonn 1992); H. J. Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen* (Berlin 1977); G. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sotéria de Delphes* (Brussels 1977, Acad. Royale de Belge, Mémoires de la classe des lettres, 2^e série 63.1); A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, rev. by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1968², 1988³); G. M. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama* (London 1967); W. J. Slater, "Orchestopala," *ZPE* 84 (1990) 215-220; W. L. Westermann, "The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe," *JEA* 10 (1924) 134-144; M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest in Kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Munich 1988, *Vestigia* 39).

¹Sifakis 117.

²Ch. Christou, "Peri ta Sarapieia tes Tanagras," *ArchEph* (1956) 34-72.

³SEG XIX 335; Koumanoudes, "Remarques prosopographiques sur une inscription béotienne," *RPhil* 35 (1961) 106-108; J. and L. Robert, *BullEp* (1961) no. 336.

⁴Pickard-Cambridge 295, n. 5.

⁵Calvet and Roesch 297-332.

⁶A. G. Gossage, "The Comparative Chronology of Inscriptions Relating to Boiotian Festivals in the First Half of the First Century B.C.," *BSA* 70 (1975) 115-134, especially 127 ff., with corrections by P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes* (Paris 1982) 188-193.

Elsewhere,⁷ on the basis of the work of Calvet and Roesch, I have tried to demonstrate that the prizes are in a very specific mathematical relationship, and that this in turn explains the payment to the goldsmith for the construction of the 16 crowns, and indeed the complexity and uniqueness of the inscription. The agonothete, trying to obtain gold, was only able to obtain 69 gold coins, probably Lysimacheioi or Philippeioi at the Attic weight of 8.6 grams,⁸ for the manufacture of the 16 crowns, and our inscription records the extraordinary details of the goldsmith's solution to the problem of their manufacture, since the ratio between the four levels of prizes was required to be 1:2:3. The goldsmith managed to keep 61 coins whole but had to subdivide others into eighths in order to meet the requirements of the agonothete. The end result was recorded in stone for the managers of the festival funds and thereby provides us with the most detailed surviving account of a festival's finances.

The inscription is important, as Sifakis saw, for the completeness of its description. We learn that of the 12 second prizes offered, three were not given out, because they were *anagonista*—a unique application of the word; in a normal victor list second prizes are never in any case recorded, though no-shows can be indicated by a number of phrases like ἀπεγράφω.⁹ Here the competitions in new comedy, aulody, and kitharody failed to attract a second competitor. One third of the contests where there was a second prize were not in fact competitions at all. Nonetheless, there were competitions in old tragedy (e.g., Euripides), old comedy (e.g., Menander, or our "New Comedy"), new (i.e., original) tragedy, new comedy, and satyrplay, which is certainly new also. The crowns in drama had these values:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|---|
| 1st class | 168 3/4 dr. | actor/director of old tragedy |
| 2nd class | 135 dr. | poet of new tragedy, poet of new comedy, actor/director of old comedy |
| 3rd class | 112 1/2 dr. | |
| 4th class | 101 1/4 dr. | poet of satyrplay, actor of new tragedy, actor of new comedy |

The overall list of competitions bears close similarity to that of several other festivals in Boeotia, where *satyrographos* is sometimes found in the place of "poet of satyrs," even, e.g., at Thespieae in the Mouseia 250 years

⁷W. J. Slater, "Making Crowns for the Sarapieia," *RA* (1991) 277–280.

⁸My thanks to Prof. D. Mannsperger of Tübingen for discussing the possibilities with me and showing me examples. The coins have the dimensions of an American quarter.

⁹L. Robert, "Catalogue agonistique des Romaia de Xanthos," *RA* (1978) 277–290, at 277 f., esp. 282–284 = *OMS* VII 686 ff. Note that in note 15 the figures should be *SIG*³ 1073 for 686, and *BullEp* (1962) for (1963).

later.¹⁰ The comparison shows that "poet of satyrs" in the Sarapieia is a poet of a new—which in this article means always brand-new as opposed to "New" or "Old"—satyrplay, and that no old satyrplay was performed there. As is to be expected, the satyrplay is poorly rewarded, and the actor is not named nor is a prize awarded for satyrplay actor.¹¹ In fact very seldom is a poet of "new satyrs,"¹² as opposed to simply "satyrs" ever recorded, and we are to assume, as usual, that satyrplays are always new unless otherwise specified.

After listing the victors in the usual Boeotian manner, the inscription repeats the list again for financial reasons, giving the second prizes in silver and values of the crowns in gold. Then follows the subject of the first question in this paper: the interesting and unique list of all other direct expenditures,¹³ though not apparently of all indirect costs.¹⁴ I give the text of Calvet and Roesch, lines 43–47 with one supplement removed:

ἱματιομίσθη [ἄττικοῦ ΣΛ]
τοῖς τραγικοῖς καὶ σατύροις ἄττικοῦ P· καὶ κωμικοῖς σὺν χοροδιδα[σκάλ...(.)]
[ἄτ]τικοῦ M· χοροδιδασκάλοις τοῖς διδάξασι τὰς καινὰς τραγ[ωδίας καὶ]
[το]ύς σατύρους ἄττικοῦ N· καὶ αὐληταῖς τοῖς τὴν τραγωδίαν[αὐλήσ-]
[σιν ἄ]ττικοῦ KH καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἄττικοῦ IB· vac.

I translate:

For a costumer [230]¹⁵ Attic <silver drachmas>. For the tragic <?> and satyrs 100 Attic <silver drachmas> and for the comic <?> along with their chorus-

¹⁰SEG III 334.51. The full Hellenistic lists are given by Gossage (above, n. 6). Useful comparisons and further bibliography are to be found in Wörle 29–258, where on 235 the "fünfstufige Hierarchie" of the Sarapieia should be corrected to "vierstufige."

¹¹If one ignores the *technitai* lists, an actor of satyrplay is honoured, so far as I know, in Teos: LeBas-Waddington, *Voyage* 91, 92, while C. P. Jones, "The Bacchants of Pontus," *EMC* 9 (1990) 53–63, cites Mette p. 55, l. 4 (= Mette's C3.26–27) for a Tarentine actor of satyrplay at the Charitesia of Orchomenos (*IG* VII.3197; first century B.C.); this is noteworthy since it proves beyond doubt that there was a principal actor and that he was not the same person as the playwright in the new satyrplay of the period.

¹²At the Heraia of Samos in the second century B.C. there is recorded old tragedy, and, after an interval, new tragedy, new comedy, and new satyrplay together: G. Dunst, "Die Siegerliste der samischen Heraia," *ZPE* 1 (1967) 225–239, which renders obsolete the old version of Michel.

¹³I give the version of Calvet and Roesch. This is translated also by Sifakis (118) and commented upon briefly by Calvet and Roesch (322).

¹⁴As Calvet and Roesch observe, the final part of the inscription, which preserves an accounting of the foundation funds, notes that an architect is paid 20 dr., and a very large payment is made to the *phylai* without explanation.

¹⁵This figure was established ingeniously by Calvet and Roesch. It is certainly correct, since it is the only figure which we do not know or cannot immediately establish. Since we know the total expenditure, the figure can be deduced accordingly.

director(s?) 50 Attic <silver drachmas>. For the chorus-directors who directed the new tragedies and satyrs 50; for the fluteplayers who [played for?] the tragedy 28; and for the comic <presumably fluteplayers> 12 Attic <silver drachmas>.

Sifakis,¹⁶ whose book remains the standard work on Hellenistic drama, comments: "This record of Sarapieia proves the participation of the chorus in every sort of drama, old and new, at the beginning of the first century." Even if this is to mean only the participation as an *entr'acte* in all genres, the inscription would be the only definite evidence of this, and, since the question of the chorus is one of the most obscure in the history of ancient drama, it would be of paramount importance. But clearly it does not tell us about old satyrplay at all, since that was not performed; and are we correct in assuming that it tells us even that the other five classes of drama had choruses? I think not.

Two major problems arise as soon as we look closely at the details. The "tragic <?> and satyrs" who are the main expenditures are likely to be the same people, since they are paid in a lump. But there is no parallel for οἱ τραγικοί meaning anything else but "tragic poets," a meaning that is out of the question here. They are not said to be τραγωδοί, a word reserved in this inscription as elsewhere for the protagonist—and presumably also director—of the old tragedy, and the plural could include their *synagonistai*. Philology does not therefore help us to define what is meant by οἱ τραγικοί, but at least we can assume that these groups of tragic and comic personnel cannot include those who are later listed as getting payments, viz., the tragic and satyric chorus-directors and flute-players. But then we wonder at the second problem, why chorus-directors are paid as part of the comic group, but not as part of the tragic group.

What else can satyrs in this context be but the satyr chorus? And that in turn suggests that the *tragikoi* are tragic chorus-men. But since the only satyrplay was new, that in turn strongly suggests, but does not completely prove, that the tragic chorus-men are also for new tragedy. The first item on the list, then, is probably the chorus who performed for the new satyrplay and the new tragedy.

What could the chorus have done? We could imagine that these chorus-men danced or sang interludes, since they were in no position to practise special steps or music for *all* the visiting tragedians, whose dramas they could not know till just before the performance. The tragic poet of new drama who won was from Athens,¹⁷ the second place was won by someone

¹⁶Sifakis 118; note that an article is omitted accidentally in his Greek text.

¹⁷The tragic poet Asklepiades of Athens is well known, and a distinguished citizen of Athens (cf. Calvet and Roesch 326–327); he wins here also the overall competition, which, *pace* Calvet and Roesch, should be considered a separate contest. The inscription makes him once a Theban, but this is an error of the engraver, and should be so noted s.v.

from Italy! We could not expect that *all* the competing poets and their work would be known to them in advance. Yet it is certain that the professionals were supplemented from the local resources;¹⁸ in fact two of the winners are related to the agonothete; the same might be true of chorus-members, and, as a referee reminds me, professionals can get up a role in even the few days before the performance. We cannot, therefore, make easy assumptions about the chorus' role. On the other hand one should not expect that many more performers showed up than we find listed, if several of the main competitions went without a second contestant. On the whole, therefore, the payment of a tragic chorus for new tragedy and satyrplay, however it was obtained, seems a reasonable hypothesis.

Why then, one may ask, are they not simply called "tragic chorus-men"? The answer is easy: nowhere, with an exception to be dealt with below, do we hear of "*tragikoi choreutai*" in all the inscriptional material assembled by Stephanes,¹⁹ while we do hear of artists who are called *komikoi choreutai* or even *satyrikoi choreutai*. This cannot just be a lacuna in our information: the only explanation is that tragic chorus-men, who certainly existed as *choreutai*, called themselves just that: they could have just possibly called themselves *tragoidoi*, as they may be already in the Varkiza list from the late fifth century,²⁰ or *synagonistai*, or as here uniquely *tragikoi*; in any

TGF 1 no. 140. The Athenian coins naming him seem to me to be dated by Thompson far too high, and D. M. Lewis's dating is much to be preferred here: see Sifakis 26. Stephanes's *Dionysiakoi Technitai* (Herakleion 1988) excludes poets from its lists, even when they are members of the guild.

¹⁸The Euboean decree concerning the *technitai* (below, n. 25) speaks of the hiring of choruses and must mean professionals, though Stephanes ([below, n. 25] 527) thinks that they are "amateur inhabitants of the cities of Euboea"; I shall deal with this inscription elsewhere. Eric Csapo points out to me that satyrplay poses a special problem: he writes: "But it is very hard to imagine a satyrplay in which the satyrs only perform *embolima*. Perhaps it is significant here that the *satyrographos* here is a local talent and no prizes are awarded for satyr acting. Could it be that the whole production of satyr play, at least at the smaller festivals, was local talent? Then the tragic chorus was likely to be local hacks; amateurs could do little damage to the tragedies if their interaction with the actors was minimal."

¹⁹Stephanes (above, n. 17) 564 ff. The large number of chorus-men listed are all dithyrambic or choral chorus-men. Some could obviously have danced tragedy. Those whom Stephanes lists as tragic chorus-men are not so called in inscriptions or even in texts: "... from the latter part of the third century onwards ... there is no certain mention of tragic choreutai ..." says *Dramatic Festivals* ([above, n. 4] 233), rightly. They are wrong to suggest, however, that "there is no clear evidence for the existence of a satyric chorus in later periods" (236).

²⁰TGF I DID B3; *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*³ 361; Mette, *Urkunden* (above, n. 11) 73 = IIE 1,3; cf. P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1976) 119 f. But as Eric Csapo reminds me, the inscription by no means proves or even suggests that chorus-men are meant. *Dramatic Festivals*³ (127) says that the plural of *tragoidoi* "is regularly used of the members of the tragic ... chorus from

case they are concealed from us in the documents. Such a confusion of nomenclature has troubling consequences.

The obvious alternative is that the *tragikoi*, or the *komikoi*, could include not only chorus-men but also *synagonistai*, and indeed be equivalent to the entire troupes of actors. There is, as was said, no parallel at all for the use of οἱ τραγικοί, unqualified, as meaning anything but poets, and even Kleainetos, ὁ τραγικός according to Alexis, called a *chorodidaskalos* by Isokrates, is certainly a poet.²¹ But support comes from the fact that the word *komikoi* is used at least once by Alexis (fr. 103 K-A) to mean actors as a group. Yet such an interpretation here would be contrary to the usual custom, since the actors proper went in troupes of three, the *tragoedus* proper and his two *synagonists*, who as we learn from the Delphic decree for Nikon of Megalopolis,²² when mentioned at all, are called οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ and share in the victory of the protagonist, who employs them under contract. Again, to include all chorus-men and all actors and their employers from different troupes together in one financial payment would be unparalleled. Nonetheless this alternative should be kept in mind.

Fortunately, support for our thesis that only the chorus-men are meant by the term *tragikoi* comes from the next group on the list: "*komikoi* and the chorus-director[s]," which at least strongly suggests, without proving, that the *komikoi* are chorus-men. One cannot be sure of Christou's supplement χοροδιδασκάλοις which is accepted by Calvet and Roesch, because if the chorus only performed for the one new comedy that was in fact performed, then only one chorus-director would be required. The supplement would only be certain if we knew without doubt that the old comedy also had a chorus and chorus-director; and we do not know this, though we might have

Aristophanes onwards." But no evidence is given. J. B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Acting* (Chicago 1908) 23 ff., says: "the Attic writers of the fourth and fifth centuries employed *tragoidoi* and *komoidoi* when they had in mind . . . only or chiefly the members of the chorus." But all the evidence he cites is the common phrase "to be choregus to the *tragoidoi*." This is not conclusive, since, as he himself says, the words "were often used for the dramatic performance." There is perhaps no clear example of *tragoidoi* meaning only the chorus-men. A. Dihle, *Der Prolog der "Bacchen" und die antike Ueberlieferungsphase des Euripides-Textes* (Heidelberg 1981) 31, refers to OGIS 51, where no such phrase exists; W. Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *GRBS* 7 (1966) 87-121, at n. 11, makes a better case.

²¹TGF I 84, not in Stephanes's list. Pamphilos the *tragikos* (Aristot. fr. 450-451 Gigon) is possibly a painter or even a general; he is decorated with a question mark at TGF I no. 51.

²²SIG³ 659.10 with Dittenberger's note. For the use of *tragoidos* representing all three actors see Stephanes (below, n. 25) 524. In SIG³ 690.18 (Naechtergael pp. 493-494 with no comment 373) at the Delphic winter Soteria we have a group of one *komoidos*, 2 *synagonistai*, and 4 *choreutai komoidou*, where it is notable that the chorus-men specifically belong to the chief comedian as part of his troupe, to distinguish them from the small choruses of boys and men listed earlier. For artists' contracts see the Egyptian examples listed in the works in n. 32 below.

expected it in a re-enactment of Menandrian comedy. Yet even in this we may be wrong. Plautine comedy could be more related to Menandrian old comedy than new, in the sense that by 200 B.C. even Menander could have been treated by the actors as they did old tragedy and have lost its largely irrelevant chorus, and even acquired sung dialogue as *cantica*, though I am not aware that any evidence exists for this. On the other hand, we now know that new comedy, as we see it here, continued to have a chorus; we can at least conclude that the comedy of Plautus and Terence differed markedly from later Greek new comedy in this regard.

Then the list picks up what we now realize that we missed, viz., the chorus-directors for the tragedies and satyrs, since such chorus-directors had been mentioned as extra to but along with the group *komikoi*. The inscription is fortunately specific that they are—somewhat surprisingly—chorus-directors of new tragedy and that they acted as directors of the entire dramas. This suggests that our thesis—that the *tragikoi* were the chorus-men for new tragedy and satyrplay—was correct, and in addition that no “old tragedy” choruses were to be considered, for there is now no room for them in the payments. This general picture at which we have arrived would fit excellently with the evidence of the Soteria at Delphi, where a single comic chorus of seven served for several comedies, but there is no mention at all of a tragic chorus.²³ “The most relevant piece of evidence that emerges from this list is the absence of a genuine tragic chorus,” is the latest conclusion on the Soteria lists.²⁴ The solitary inscriptional example cited for tragic chorus-men is the extraordinary line (31) in the inscription from Chalcis IG XII 9.207, from ca 290 B.C. or soon after, governing the hiring of artists and the provision of the clothing for different groups of performers: ...]ίαν καὶ τοὺς χοροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τραγωιδῶν τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς τὰ ἱμάτια νέα πα/[ρέχειν.

Despite the recent detailed examination by Stephanes, himself a pupil of Sifakis, of the now even less legible stone, this passage remains both too lacunose and possibly corrupt to bear the weight of such an interpretation,²⁵

²³ The evidence is now assembled in detail by Nachtergaele 304 ff. The comic chorus-men are called *choreutai komikoi*, while the actors are *komoidoi*, and the tragic actors are *tragoidoi*.

²⁴ B. Gentili, *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World* (Amsterdam 1979, London Studies in Classical Philology 2) 23. Sifakis (116) had, following previous scholars, come to the desperate conclusion, rejected by Nachtergaele (313), that the dithyrambic chorus-men could serve as tragic chorus-men also. Here in our inscription there are no dithyrambs in this festival for Sarapis. The solitary *komikos* registered at SIG³ 698.29 is in fact a comic *chorodidaskalos*, as L. Robert showed; see Stephanes (above, n. 17) no. 836. But Sifakis (168 ff.) gives some useful examples of the versatility of late Hellenistic artists.

²⁵ This fragmentary passage (IG XII 9.207.29–32) on which Sifakis based his argument has been examined by his pupil Stephanes in the course of a long and important article (*EpistEpThess* 22 [1984] 499–564, cf. the summary in *SEG* XXXIV 896). The line

and the difficulty of punctuating simply after τραγωιδῶν is obvious. Stephanes suggests a correction to τοῖς <δὲ>, but this represents only the minimum grammatical change necessary. To make no finer point, if the [?tragedians] are to provide fresh clothes for the "actors," we should have then a completely unbelievable combination of choruses of "tragedians," but "actors" as *synagonistai*; and there are other difficulties, which suggest that we need more profound correction. "Tragedian" elsewhere in the Chalcis inscription means the chief actor/director who undertakes to appear along with his supporting actors. The same inscription does record the hiring of three choruses of boys and men as well as three tragedians—i.e., tragic troupes, but we cannot be sure how or if they are to be related, in view of the gaps in the text. If the prestigious old tragedy was the tragic genre represented by the inscription at Delphi—and we know that old tragedy sometimes was performed there²⁶—the Delphic parallel would be absolute, in that no chorus was wanted for old tragedy, while it was apparently required for new tragedy.²⁷

This is a hypothesis worth pursuing. As far as I know, there is no good evidence that "old tragedy"—in the sense of a tragedy of classical times reperformed at a Hellenistic festival—had a chorus. Every mention of a chorus could be attributed to "new tragedy." The notorious case of Satyros of Samos, who put on a "song with chorus 'Dionysos' and a lyre-performance from the *Bacchae* of Euripides" in the stadium at Delphi in 194 B.C. is irrelevant, since Satyros was a flute-player: he was presumably acting as a *choraules*.²⁸ Another story is told by Plutarch,²⁹ about the head of Crassus used as a prop by the tragic actor Jason of Tralles, called oddly a *hypokrites* not a *tragoidos*, at the Parthian celebrations after the defeat at Carrhae. This story is historically incredible, for the coincidence that the actor was singing a passage in probably the only Greek drama where a head is about to be delivered—"the bit about Agaue," says Plutarch—just as Crassus' head was delivered, smacks of the worst kind of dramatized history. Plutarch's story is important chiefly in that he is describing a performance he regards as possible: Jason is depicted with a chorus close by, and Plutarch, who calls

in question, of which at least 20 letters are missing at the beginning, is discussed by Stephanes (533–535). Gentili ([above, n. 24] 25) quotes the line without question, though Wilamowitz had commented: "interpungere verba non sum ausus."

²⁶ SIG³ 1080 at the Soteria. Though it is not relevant to my argument, I do not see that Dihle ([above, n. 20] 32) is justified in arguing that this actor performed only excerpts from old tragedy since he has two *synagonistae*.

²⁷ There is an unnoticed parallel between the Chalcis decree and the Soteria inscriptions. In both places it is assumed that there are to be three tragic troupes and four comic troupes in competition.

²⁸ See the works cited by Gentili ([above, n. 24] 27).

²⁹ Plut. *Crassus* 33.2, cf. Dihle ([above, n. 20] 34), who argues for a soloist with a chorus.

the whole thing perhaps sarcastically by the Roman term *exodion*, is clearly thinking of solo singing of excerpts including lyric passages from Euripides, with a chorus backing the masked actor in the choral *amoibaia*. But this is not in any case depicted as a public performance; in private dinner theatre, especially in the remote Persian desert, any adaptation whatsoever was possible. We must in general distinguish what was allowable within the strict framework of Greek competition from the unending variety of musical spectacles and *akroamata* available to the ancient listener.

On the other hand, we seem to have in "new tragedy" with its chorus a type of drama that is not really expected at this time. A tragic or satyric poet arrives with a script, and is provided by the agonothete with a chorus and a choral director who is said by the inscription to "teach the new tragedies and satyrs," which sounds on the face of it as if he is responsible for the entire directing. Somehow, actors are acquired for the play, and these may win individual prizes; this does not of course prove that they could not be included in the bulk payments as well. We can also be reasonably sure that the new tragic poets do not normally act in their own plays, since we should expect that somewhere a winning poet would also be a winning actor; no example of this is known to me, and the winning actor is always someone other than the poet. Indeed we must then ask: what does the new tragic poet do besides writing the play, since the choral-director directs the play and its chorus? He is there apparently only in the hope of picking up a prize for his work. But how can the actor and his colleagues be drilled in a new play with chorus, unless this has all been organized beforehand? The existence of this "new tragedy" is not in doubt, even if we know little about it, but the practical problems associated with it are startling.

Perhaps then we can look at this puzzle from another angle, with the Chalcis decree concerning the *technitai* in mind. Some expenditures which we should expect, are not visible in this inscription: we should, e.g., expect that at this period maintenance expenses—*siteresion*—would be paid to visiting artists, though these are of course never mentioned in normal victory lists. The cities of Euboea in the first half of the third century were prepared to pay 1 1/2 dr. a day to all visiting artists for the five days before every contest and for 10 days for the directors of drama, but some group is to be paid a lump sum of 20 drachmae for the cyclic choruses.³⁰ (The same inscription, incidentally, immediately before this [lines 21–22], provides what might have been the closest parallel to the lump payment for performers, could we but supplement convincingly: . . . διδόναι δὲ πάλιν ἐκάστην νομίσματος Δημητρείου αὐλητῇ δραχμὰς ἑξακοσίας, τραγωιδῶ[ι . . . ca 24 letters] ὡν ἀγῶνι Η, κω[μ]οιδοῖς ΗΗΗΗ, ἱματιομίσθαι ΗΗΗ. But since I do not accept Stephanes's interpretation of it, I leave the passage for a later dis-

³⁰ IG XII 9.207 (*Dramatic Festivals of Athens*² 306,24) + SEG XXXIV 896.

cussion.) At the Artemisia of Eretria in the same century the rate was a drachma a day for five days before the *proagon* until the date of the actual contest; there first, second, and third prizes were awarded also to thymelic artists. At Delos the choral *auletai* were awarded *siteresia* in a lump sum in addition to a *choregema* (management fee?) and a colossal payment of 1500 dr., though the prize is only 60 dr.³¹ This practice must have been much more common than we now see,³² and was customary also with the athletic games. At the Sebastia of Naples in Augustan times the athletes were paid a drachma a day for 30 days prior to the games but this was raised in the days before the contest.³³ Obviously it is not normally in the interests of a city or an agonothete to advertise to any but the contestants or the taxpayers that contestants must be paid in order to come. These specific maintenance payments are not visible in the accounting of the Sarapieia which follows; indeed the figures we have studied are all round numbers, a fact which suggests not payments to individuals on a *per diem* basis, but rather to groups according to a previous agreement. We should assume that if there was a maintenance agreement for the scenic artists at all, it must be buried in the accounting.

When we look for signs of hiring practices, it is indeed difficult to avoid the impression that, as in Euboea, the dramatic and choral side of this festival especially must have been organized well in advance. Poet and chief actor with his *synagonistai* must have come to an agreement about their performance long before appearing at the Sarapieia; likewise the masks and *himatia* must have been available, for the costumer too is hired in advance in the Chalcis decree. The powerful *technitai* organization must be chiefly if not entirely involved in the supply of these items and performers at one time. How else could the figures be agreed for the amount paid by the agonothete to the choruses and their directors, essential, as we see, for the direction of the new tragedies and satyrplays? The round figures do suggest a block payment to a group or groups who had been hired under these conditions well in advance. Nonetheless, unsettling questions remain: who, for example, paid for the actors of new satyrplay, none of whom on this occasion merited a prize? The answer must be that either the poet or the chief *tragoidos* paid them, or that they are included in the lump sum. But since we have no idea what this "new satyrplay" looked like, no further decision is possible.

³¹ *IDelos* 399A 49–52. Cf. Sifakis 31.

³² But the Egyptian papyri show that it was normal to hire actors and actresses by the day, irrespective of prizes, with a *siteresion*, while an impresario could contract with a player for a year: Westermann 134–144; B. Adams, *Paramone und verwandte Texte: Studien zum Dienstvertrag im Rechte der Papyri* (Berlin 1964, *Neue Kölner Rechtswissenschaftliche Abh.* 35) 166 ff.

³³ *IOlympia* 56.13–15 with commentary.

I have attempted to cast doubt on some of Sifakis's conclusions, well aware that my own conclusions are more negative and uncertain than I should wish, and simply represent a pragmatic reading of the evidence. It would have been gratifying if we could have extracted from this important inscription more clarity about the role of the chorus in Hellenistic times. The opposite is true. But it does strongly suggest that old tragedy on this occasion had no chorus. It may have consisted of arias cobbled from Euripides' iambics.³⁴ As Sifakis rightly says, "the little evidence . . . indicates that what happened at one place did not happen at others"; yet it is at least worth arguing that what distinguished old tragedy from new tragedy for the purposes of the strict festival categories is that it did not have a chorus at all; the actors sang and acted. The references³⁵ to *tragoidoi* with a chorus that are known from imperial times could refer then to the category "new tragedy" or to something like the performance put on by Jason; these references prove that the chorus and actor sometimes sing lines together, something impossible in old tragedy proper. But when musicians like Satyrus and Jason could turn the dialogue of the *Bacchae* into choral song, anything was possible outside the conventions of festivals, and Roman genres as we have seen were different from those of Greek competition.

The Sarapieia posed as a competition for reasons of prestige, even when some of the contests had only one performer, despite the availability of second prizes. The terms were clearly not attractive enough. The role played by the actors' union in the organization of this as of other festivals was certainly important but always likely to be obscure, if the officials involved did not wish to acknowledge the financial bargaining that preceded the contests. For example, the foundation³⁶ of two private individuals at Corcyra in the second century B.C. specifies that three fluteplayers, three tragedians, and three comedians are to be hired for the competition of the Dionysia, and they are to be given a maintenance allowance also. That would certainly not appear on a victor list, but even there we note the omission of the artists' support staff. For the inscriptions of Iasos show how all the artists selected by the guild of the *technitai* to be sent to the festival there are to be provided with their *hyperesia*—support staff³⁷—by the guild itself.

³⁴W. E. H. Cockle, "The Odes of Epagathus the Choral Flautist," in *Proceedings of the XIV Congress of Papyrology: Oxford 23rd–31st July 1974* (London 1975) 59–65 with further bibliography; Dihle (above, n. 20) 31 ff.

³⁵Lucilius Anth. Pal. 11.11; Epict. Diss. 3.14.1; Plut. Mor. 63a, etc.

³⁶IG IX.1 694, 76 ff.; B. Laum, *Stiftungen* (Leipzig 1914) 2.1 ff.

³⁷This seems to be a technical term even for the *synagonistae* of the *tragoedi*. The principal text is given by Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*³ 318, no. 11 (= W. Blümel [ed.], *Inschr. v. Iasos* [Cologne 1985] 1.152, lines 17 and 37), with which we can compare the support staff for the *technitai* at the festival in Andania (SIG³ 736.98, cf. Lucian *Salt*. 26 for a pantomime).

II. THE BACCHIC PYRRICHE

The popularity of satyr play in Hellenistic times and under the Empire is a surprise, and explanations are lacking. In what follows I wish to make a suggestion about a related puzzle. Athenaeus³⁸ makes the remarkable assertion that in his day, which could be the time of his authority Aristocles in 100 B.C., the old and honourable Greek war dance, which had been a central feature of the Panathenaia, had died out in its original form save in Sparta³⁹—an assertion that seems to be quite untrue—and had otherwise developed into a Dionysiac dance:

The *pyrriche* of our times is rather Dionysiac in character and is less violent (ἐπιεικεστέρα) than the ancient kind. For the dancers carry Bacchic wands in place of spears; they hurl also at one another stalks of fennel, they carry torches and dance the story of Dionysus and India, or again the stories of Pentheus. The loveliest melodies in highpitched strains are to be assigned to the *pyrriche* Another name for the *pyrriche* is *cheironomia*.

In an equally puzzling passage Plutarch tells us that in his time the *pyrriche* had become a well known method of removing unwanted members of society by cremating them:

Yet some there are no wiser than little children, who see criminals in the amphitheatre clad often in tunics of cloth of gold and purple mantles, wearing chaplets and dancing the *pyrriche*, and are struck with awe and wonderment, supposing them supremely happy, till the moment when before their eyes the criminals are stabbed and scourged and that flowery and sumptuous apparel bursts into flames. (*De sera* 554)

L. Robert⁴⁰ noticed that Plutarch had an apparently schizophrenic attitude towards this spectacle, since he praises the *pyrriche* and also condemns it: e.g., Plutarch writes:

³⁸Athenaeus 14.631a; recent literature on the *pyrriche* in D. Camporeale, "La danza armata in Etruria," *MEFRA* 99 (1987) 1–42, esp. n. 49; Greek vases are listed by F. Brommer, "Antike Tänze," *AA* (1989) 483–494, at 489–490. C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig 1890) 237, gives the older references; other references on the passage in question are collected by Wehrli on Aristoxenus fr. 103, who warns rightly that Aristoxenos' long-lived theories may have distorted the facts. He had his own reasons for saying that the *pyrriche* is like the satyric dance. The odd remark (629 f.) that the *pyrriche* is a ludicrous dance can only derive from its satyric connection; at Plutarch *Sulla* 13.3 *pyrrichizon* seems to equal "play the fool," i.e., behave like a satyr. The fact that elephants and camels played at it is irrelevant.

³⁹The *pyrriche* is recorded in a number of Greek cities as a regular part of a festival in Hellenistic times, notably at Pagai (*IG* VII 190) and Eretria (*IG* XII 9.236–237) as well as several places in Asia, e.g., Teos (*CIG* 3089–90), cf. D. Knoepfler, "Sur les traces de l'Artemision d'Amarynthos près d'Érétrie," *CRAI* (1988) 382–421.

⁴⁰L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Amsterdam 1971, originally 1940) 249.

My brother Lamprias . . . was chosen [sc. judge of the dancing]; for he danced the *pyrriche* convincingly and was superior to the boys in the wrestling schools in cheironomy. (*Quaest. Conv.* 9.15.1, 747.)

It is obvious that the *pyrriche* and the related skill of *cheironomia* meant different things even at the same period in history. The *pyrriche* was a civic war dance as it had always been at Athens, a military and gymnasium callisthenic exercise and competition for boys and men, a spectacle of mass dancing which could involve executions, and a theatre performance of solo pantomimic gymnastics. These are all comprehensible developments. But why should it be Bacchic?

Satyrs are involved in *pyrriche* as early as the fifth century,⁴¹ just as they are involved in the theatre in many other athletic situations in which they have no business. It could be argued therefore that from this small beginning *pyrriche* developed a special Bacchic connotation, in addition to its existence as a war-dance. But this is not in itself particularly persuasive. There is a hint in Plato in a corrupt passage that war dances could be Bacchic ritual:

All the dancing that is of the Bacchic kind and of the followers of those (dances) which they imitate, as they say, calling them drunken, Nymphs and Pans and Sileni and Satyrs, when they execute rites of purification and initiation, all this kind of dancing cannot be easily defined as peaceful or warlike or anything else.⁴²

But this is no more than a hint. On the basis of the dramatic records from Athens satyrplay in the theatre went into decline after its initial replacement by the likes of the *Alkestis* of Euripides, and returned about a century later, after which it can be traced into the second century A.D. in the inscriptions of Boeotia. *Pyrriche* is equally long-lived, and occurs on some of the last agonistic inscriptions from Asia Minor, both as a solo—see below—and as collective dance. Philostratus can describe the Ephesians of the first century A.D. as devoted to *pyrrichai* and implies strongly that at the Anthesteria the Athenians of the time were also addicted to Bacchic *pyrrichai*.⁴³ This is not in itself surprising, since *pyrrichistai* occur in the fifth and fourth centuries meaning *pyrriche* in the same way as *tragoidoi* or *komoidoi* mean

⁴¹J. C. Poursat, "Les Représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique," *BCH* (1968) 550–615, at 583–586, cf. E. Simon, "Satyrspielbilder aus der Zeit des Aischylos" in B. Seidensticker (ed.), *Satyrspiel* (Darmstadt 1989) 362–403, at 362 ff., esp. 371.

⁴²Plato *Leges* 815c; Jones (above, n. 11) cites the principal bibliography and collects some similar information from later times; some recent additions are cited by Slater (219).

⁴³Philostratus V.A. 4.2; Kokolakis, "Pantomimus and the Treatise *Peri Orcheseos* (*De Saltatione*)," *Platon* 10 (1959) 3–56, at 29, makes the correct deductions: ancient ritual is accommodated to new fashion.

tragedy or comedy.⁴⁴ *Pyrriche* was essentially a dramatic activity, and was accompanied with singing.

There are a number of references in literature to this connection of Bacchus with the *pyrriche*. Pausanias says that Silenos was called Pyrrichos in Sparta,⁴⁵ precisely the place where the *pyrriche* was supposed to preserve its original form. Aristoxenos claimed that the dance was derived from a Spartan called Pyrrichios.⁴⁶ Nonnos in his rambling *Dionysiaka*, which preserves such valuable details of local cult,⁴⁷ describes Pyrrichos as organizer of the triumph of Dionysus in the east.⁴⁸ He is, not surprisingly, Πύρριχον ὀρχηστήρα φιλοσμαράγιο βοείης (13.40), and the first of the heroic champions whom he summons are the Satyrs—not a reputation that satyrs normally enjoyed. Pyrrichos is chief of the Corybants (14.34), and he is imitated in his dancing by Mimas, and many of the other fighters at the end of book 28. Lucian⁴⁹ tells us that it was by the exercise of the art of dancing—he does not mention the *pyrriche*—that Dionysus and his satyrs overcame the Etruscans, Indians, and Lydians, who were “danced under,” just as he also calls Silenos the *syntagmatarches*, i.e., commander of the satyric band in Dionysus’ service.⁵⁰ In a much discussed passage Fabius Pictor⁵¹ describes the *pompa circensis* of the original *ludi romani* of 496 B.C.:

The dress of the dancers was purple tunics held in with brass belts and swords hung beside them and spears shorter than the usual, while the men had brass helmets with conspicuous crests and wings. One man led each chorus and led off the dance movements for the rest, being the first to illustrate the warlike and emphatic gestures, in proceusmatic rhythms for the most part. [This was like a Hellenic *pyrriche*, comments Dionysius.] After the armed dances, the choruses

⁴⁴E.g., Lysias 21.1.7, 21.4.5. So too Plut. *Otho* 6.1, *Alexander* 71.3.

⁴⁵Pausanias 3.25.2.7 ff.; there and at 3.21.7 he lists the town in Sparta called Pyrrichos.

⁴⁶Aristoxenos fr. 103 Wehrli. Various other aetiologies were canvassed.

⁴⁷See the valuable chapter “Dionysus and his World,” in G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 1990) at 41 ff.

⁴⁸Especially 13.35 ff., 14.33, 28.292.

⁴⁹Lucian *Salt.* 22. Kokolakis ([above, n. 43] 10) calls attention to Lucian’s emphasis on warlike qualities of dancing gods.

⁵⁰Kokolakis ([above, n. 43] 24), comparing Plautus *Bacch.* 2 and *Pseudol.* 19. Lucian (*Salt.* 9) tells us that it was Neoptolemus’ dancing that overthrew Troy.

⁵¹*FGrHist* 809 F 13b, 26 ff. cited by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.72.5, who comments on his source. See P. Lebrecht Schmidt, “*Postquam ludus in artem paulatim verterat: Varro und die frühgeschichte des römischen Theaters*,” in G. Vogt-Spira (ed.), *Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode im frühen Rom* (Tübingen 1989, *Scripta oralia* 12) 77–134, esp. 93; J. P. Morel, “*La iuventus romaine et les origines du théâtre romain*,” *REL* 47 (1969) 208–252; J. P. Néraudau, *La Jeunesse dans la littérature et les institutions de la Rome républicaine* (Paris 1979), esp. 239; T. P. Wiseman, “*Satyrs at Rome?*,” *JRS* 78 (1988) 1–13; P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, “*Pyrricharii*,” *P&P* 134 (1970) 328–338, in a useful survey of literature on *pyrriche*, accepts perhaps too readily that Pictor’s description is of a Greek event, a view repeated in *Gladiatorum paria* (Rome 1980) 87.

of *satyristai* came in procession [imitating the Hellenic *sikynnis*, adds Dionysius]. Their costume was wooly tunics, and garlands of all kinds of flowers, and they had loincloths of goatskins and tufts of hair standing on their heads, and so on; they made jokes and imitated the serious movements, turning them into ribaldry.

Here at least the Roman equivalents of pyrrhic dancing and Bacchic dancing are separate but connected in the procession, the serious dancing linked to the satyric parody, the whole comprising one coherent ritual. We should see in these dances an earlier Roman or Etruscan form of dancing rather than accept Dionysius' interpretation of a borrowing from Hellenistic Greece, even though that would not be in itself unlikely: certainly a hitherto unknown form of Greek Bacchic dancing by pyrrichists could come to Rome from Bithynia in the time of Julius Caesar and was popular in early imperial times;⁵² and satyrs could have come with the Etruscans and the constant influence from Southern Italy. But there is no need to think that the Romans were not just as capable of a mixture of military dancing and komastic activity in the third century as they later were,⁵³ and the dances of the *Salii* are referred to as *pyrrichae* in Greek (Plutarch *Numa* 7).

I offer the suggestion that another passage in Plutarch gives us a clue to the growth of the Dionysiac *pyrriche* (Plutarch *Alexander* 71.2; cf. 47.3). In his *Life of Alexander* he tells us that the departing Macedonians called the young Persians whom Alexander had trained "his young pyrrichists with whom he could conquer the world"; they are probably the children of the Greek soldiers and Persian women.⁵⁴ Here is precisely the motif we require to explain the rise of the Bacchic *pyrriche*, whose major theme according to Athenaeus was the conquest of India. The old and popular triumph of Dionysus was equated with the triumph of Alexander over the East. As part of this mythical and widespread propaganda, the *pyrriche* acquires new significance by appearing as the triumph of the soldiers of Bacchus, the satyrs, who were as we saw already in existence in art and on the Greek stage, as well as in Roman processions. Such a performance

⁵²Slater, "Orchestopala," 219; Jones (above, n. 11) 60 ff. The Greeks from Pontos still dance a vigorous dance called a pyrrhic to this day, as my student Zographia Welch informs me.

⁵³Impressive evidence is assembled by G. Wille, *Musica Romana* (Amsterdam 1967) 187-202.

⁵⁴Arr. *Anab.* 7.12. The antiquity of the triumphal invasion of the east by Dionysus is much debated, since the oldest passage recording it is found in the prologue to Euripides' *Bacchae*. After that there is nothing in art or literature until the Alexander historians, when the theme becomes so popular in literature and art that Eratosthenes (Str. 15.1.7) could protest against the growth of these legends. The excision of the passage in Euripides by Dihle (above, n. 20) as an actor's interpolation has run into stiff criticism, e.g., by H. Erbse, *Studien zum Prolog der Euripideischen Tragödie* (Berlin 1984) 91-92 and 295-296. But until the theme is studied fully from the standpoint of both art and literature, suspicion must hang over the Euripidean passage.

could then become, of course, a most suitable theme for Roman triumphs. Elephants were first harnessed to a wagon, as Pliny says,⁵⁵ on the occasion of Pompey's triumph over Africa, *quod prius India victa triumphante Libero patre memoratur*. The elephants were unable to pass through the triumphal arch on that occasion, but were at another unspecified time able to do an amusing *pyrriche*.

Obviously the triumph of Dionysus can be construed as a massed dance of satyrs, with, as Athenaeus reports, thyrsi and torches used as weapons, and, as with pantomimes, grandiose and colourful costumes.⁵⁶ It is easy from this to see how the *pyrriche* can then both accommodate the *argumenta*⁵⁷ by which *noxii* or *noxiae* could be amusingly despatched, and be linked to animal shows. Plutarch's example, mentioned above, can then be reconstructed as a battle between the victorious satyrs with their thyrsi and their all too real torches⁵⁸ and the ultimately incinerated *noxii* in their *tunicae molestae*. I do not see why we should not equate these performers with the *pyrricharii* who are normally thought to be gladiators.⁵⁹ The triumph of Dionysus has taken a further step forward in the theatre, or rather amphitheatre.

There is perhaps more to be said about the solo dancing of the *pyrriche* in Asia.⁶⁰ Certainly, confusion arises from the fact that as with the torch races⁶¹ one victor could be proclaimed when several teams had participated, as is now clear.⁶² Nonetheless an inscription from Tripolis in Lydia restored by Robert⁶³ does suggest a solo artist as victor. As Kokolakis

⁵⁵HN 8.5; O. Weippert, *Alexander-Imitatio und römische Politik in republikanischer Zeit* (diss., Würzburg, Augsburg 1972) 70.

⁵⁶Fronto Ep. ad Marcum 1.5.4, p. 9,2 van den Hout. Bacchus was not surprisingly one of the favourite themes of Roman pantomime from the beginning, and was apparently a speciality of Pylades: *Anth. Pal.* 16.290, cf. 289; 11.248.

⁵⁷*inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam* ... (Suet. Nero 12.2), with the useful commentary of K. Coleman, "Fatal Charades," *JRS* 80 (1990) 44-73, esp. 68-70; she translates "among the plots," correctly, in my view, and does not discuss the alternative translation "between the plots."

⁵⁸I am reminded of the torches or burning *caducei* or whatever they were used frequently upon the *damnati*: see George Ville, *La Gladiature en Occident* (Paris 1981, BEFAR 245) 378.

⁵⁹See the excellent surveys by Sabbatini Tumolesi (above, n. 51).

⁶⁰See Slater, "Orchestopala."

⁶¹This old problem is now definitely solved by the Iulius Demosthenes inscription of Oenoanda: Wörle 220-226, esp. 221 on the problem of "Abgrenzung zwischen Einzel- und Mannschaftswettkämpfen."

⁶²J. C. Poursat, "Une Base signée du Musée national d'Athènes: Pyrrichistes victorieux," *BCH* (1967) 102-110; *Bullep* (1968) 216. Robert had intended to publish this himself, cf. the next note.

⁶³L. Robert, "Épitaque de Tripolis de Lydie," *Hellenica* 1 (Limoges 1940) 149-153: "un de ces danseurs principaux de la pyrrhique" (152).

says, "pyrrichists performed not only in duels or within orchestric ensembles but as soloists as well against an imaginary opponent."⁶⁴ In view of the fact that Athenaeus and Plutarch explicitly link *pyrriche* and the dance *cheironomia*, one has to consider the possibility that the solo *χειρονόμος* mentioned in a third-century A.D. inscription from Didyma⁶⁵ is really a type of athletic pyrrichist in the wider sense, like Plutarch's brother Lamprias; for the inscription goes on to list his victories as *πύκτης* in the gymnasium as a boy, and in major festivals; one would assume that this is real boxing, but is it a form of pantomime, as *pale* also could be? Likewise we cannot assume that *pyrriche* always requires armament; sometimes at least one only needed to pretend to be armed. Then our callisthenic boxer will be similar to the exponents of *orchestopala* and other dancing exercises of the gymnasium, which had become suitable for the stage. This connection of athletic dancing and the stage is the subject of the third question to be asked.

III. PANTOMIME RIOTS

E. J. Jory, in one of his many valuable contributions to the history of drama, has posed again one of the most puzzling questions of the Roman theatre.⁶⁶ Why were there pantomime riots? The great riots of 14 and 15 A.D. were the precursors of many, and as Alan Cameron⁶⁷ has pointed out, these riots started not in the circus or the amphitheatre but in the theatre, and with pantomimes, not gladiators. At the same time, in 15 A.D. the Senate introduced limits on expenditures for pantomimes. Indeed, the theatre seems to have infected the circus, and not the other way round. That can be easily explained by the fact that pantomimes, or rather spectacles involving pantomimes, played also in the circus, doubtless in the intervals

⁶⁴Kokolakis (above, n. 45) 22, citing *inter alia* Plut. *Quaest. Con.* 9.15.2; Libanius *Pro salt.* 113. E. K. Borthwick, "Trojan Leap and Pyrrhic Dance in Euripides' *Andromache* 1129-41," *JHS* 87 (1967) 18-23: "actual weapons might be dispensed with and represented instead by mimetic movements in the performance of armed dancing" (21).

⁶⁵L. Robert, "Inscriptions de Didymes et de Milet," *Hellenica* 11/12 (Paris 1960) 440-489, at 441 on *Didyma* no. 179, but with an error in the transcription; Robert compares the *pyrriche* and *skiamachia* and *akrocheirismos*, and provides further bibliography. I do not accept, however, that the artist started at four years old, as Harder and apparently Robert thought; he was in a gymnasium, and no Greek gymnasium began at four years.

⁶⁶E. J. Jory, "The Early Pantomime Riots" in Ann Moffat (ed.), *MAISTOR: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra 1984) 57-66; cf. *id.*, "The Literary Evidence for the Beginnings of Imperial Pantomime," *BICS* 28 (1981) 147-161; M. A. Cavallaro, *Spese e spettacoli* (Bonn 1984) 128 ff., who points to the impact of the financial policies of Tiberius, after the death of Augustus.

⁶⁷A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976) 223-224; cf. H. Jürgens, *Pompa diaboli* (Stuttgart 1972) 194-198, for a survey with bibliography of the later western claque and riots.

between races. The Blues and Greens had their own mimes and pantomimes attached to them, so that we can understand all too well how the circus factions later became involved. Nonetheless, as far as we know, the factions of the theatre were during the first century independent of the circus. The pantomime factions must be explained in their own right.

It is easy enough to eliminate alternative sources of factions. Mimes could certainly rise to favoured positions in the imperial household, as they had done in Sulla's time, and there is no reason not to believe Josephus' story that he was introduced to Poppaea's household by one of her mimes, his fellow countryman Halityros.⁶⁸ But mime, though politically potent, did not allow its practitioners in the early empire to rise very high, although they could achieve the decurionate later.⁶⁹ Gladiators too could certainly become very popular and attract a following, but their status was also too low, and their lifespan perhaps too uncertain to allow of the construction of longterm political support groups. The pantomimes, on the other hand, enjoyed imperial support from the beginning, enjoyed the personal friendship of senators and knights, contributed greatly to the joys of imperial patronage, had the prestige of "dancing tragedy," and are recorded as being intimates of emperors from the time of Pylades and Bathyllus. They more than all others, as soloists could build up a following of an extent to be a nuisance to the authorities. Somehow—an important fact rightly stressed by Jory,⁷⁰—despite being denied admission to the regular dramatic competitions, they were able to win competitions from the time of Augustus.⁷¹

But it still remains a puzzle that precisely the Nureyevs of antiquity could generate such violence. We have some difficulty in envisioning how the music accompanying a rendition of tragedy, let alone the notoriously bad libretti, or the *lascivia*, could create a riot; we have no evidence that pantomimes at this period—later it was different—could make the political points that were expected of mimes. Jory, after an exemplary collection of the evidence, opts for an explanation in terms of "the competitive nature of the performance" (64), "the passions aroused among the spectators" (63) and the personal nature of the competition, "the new emphasis on the individual performer" (66). No one who has seen an opera in Italy will deny

⁶⁸Leppin 247.

⁶⁹Leppin (91–107) gives a most useful survey of the honours given to artists in the West; these are rare before the second century A.D.

⁷⁰E. J. Jory, "Publilius Syrus and the Element of Competition in the Theatre of the Republic," in Nicholas Horsfall (ed.), *Vir Bonus Discendi Peritus: Studies in Celebration of Otto Skutsch's Eightieth Birthday BICS Suppl. 51* (1988) 73–81.

⁷¹Jory, "Pantomime Riots" (above, n. 66) 64. Festival competitions for pantomimes are recorded only after Lucius Verus in the East, but could have been earlier in Italy, e.g., at the Sebasta in Neapolis, though as yet there is no certainty. For the status of gladiators, see H. Aigner, "Zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung von Henkern, Gladiatoren und Berufssportlern" in I. Weiler (ed.), *Soziale Randgruppen und Aussenseiter im Altertum* (Graz 1988) 201–220. For the Demostheneia, see Wörrle 251 ff.

that the enthusiasm for music will create scenes of excitement, and all that Jory says is true, and confirmed, as C. P. Jones reminds me, by the Alexandrians' wild behaviour described by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 32.41–42). But we are dealing with more than the usual excitement: the rioters of 15 A.D., according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.77), killed a centurion and several soldiers, and a meeting of the Senate had to be called again. The desperate cure, often repeated, was to banish the pantomimes and their supporters.

A single cause is normally insufficient to explain a theatre riot; a number of factors, some difficult to quantify and understand, will come together to create a mass reaction, which can be at the same time the result of clever manipulation.⁷² It is well known that the Senate, as Tacitus recounts, came to the following conclusions, among others: no senator was to enter the houses of the pantomimes; if they—the pantomimes—came out, Roman knights were not to gather round, nor were their performances to be followed except in the theatre; and the praetors were to be authorized to punish with exile any disorder among the spectators. It is apparent from this that the trouble arose to some extent from the popularity of the pantomimes with the ruling classes, who frequented their houses; and one has to imagine the Senate reproving some of its own members. This establishes a link between the pantomimes and certain of the wealthy, whom we may justifiably consider to be among the supporters of the factions.⁷³ When we turn to Dio's account of the same incident (*Dio* 57.14.10), we find it explicitly attested that Drusus, Tiberius' son "was so friendly with the pantomimes that they rioted and did not come to order even under the laws that Tiberius brought in to control them." Drusus, however, was consul precisely in the year 15,⁷⁴ when he was younger than 30; indeed two or three years before the riots he had been *princeps iuventutis*. It would be easy to think of causes arising from the tension between him and Germanicus in these years.

We have here, I believe, without a doubt one of the chief reasons for the pantomime riots, viz., the close connections between numbers of wealthy

⁷²T. Bollinger, *Theatralis licentia* (diss., Basel 1969) still remains the best summary of the evidence. I have learnt a great deal from reading Marc Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in Georgian London* (Oxford 1992). The great Covent Garden Theatre riots injured nobody, while the Astor Palace riots in New York in 1849 killed 31. It is worth noting that "the late Georgian era saw the rise of the pantomime" (176). The Covent Garden Theatre, seating 3000, was thought too large for stage plays. The reason for the riots, which were carefully orchestrated, was ostensibly price increases, but Baer shows that things were far more complex.

⁷³Factions existed called Paridiani and Anicetiani, doubtless to be equated with Tacitus' *collegia contra leges* (*Ann.* 14.17): J. L. Franklin, "Pantomimists at Pompeii: Actius Anicetus and His Troupe," *AJP* 108 (1987) 95–107. Ginestet (141) notes of the patrons of *iuvenes*: "ils se recrutaient parmi les plus riches ou les plus influents personnages de la Cité."

⁷⁴As noted by Jory, "Pantomime Riots" (above, n. 66) 62.

men—mostly young men—of the ruling classes and the *clagues* of the professional pantomimes. Of course, the sons of the wealthy themselves did not by themselves cause riots; it was the *clagues* that enjoyed their support that tended to cause riots; and later too, the integration of pantomimes with the circus factions may have created very different social patterns in the *clagues*. My limited aim here is to attempt to explain only the early rise of riots in connection with pantomimes at Rome. Thus it is regrettable that our best parallel comes in the well known ruling of the jurist Callistratus⁷⁵ in the early third century:

Some, who call themselves vulgarly “young people,” [*qui volgo se iuvenes appellant*] are in certain cities in the habit of participating in the turbulent *acclamationes* of the mob. If they have not committed anything worse and have not been previously warned by the authority, they are sent off with a beating or else the spectacles are forbidden them.

It still has to be discovered exactly why the wealthy youth could have had such close connections with the pantomimes that their supporters became such a threat within thirty years of the arrival of mass pantomime in Rome. In fact, Pylades was allegedly first exiled in 18 B.C.⁷⁶—and soon recalled—which suggests even earlier problems.

Here I believe the truth was seen in an article by J. P. Morel,⁷⁷ discussing an inscription from Lepcis in the time of Caracalla. He showed that the pantomimes and the *iuvenes* shared a common training which produced a natural link between them. This is apparent first in the dance exercises discussed above, which at least in theory the pantomimes practised strictly as professionals and instructors while the wealthy were required to remain amateurs. A second link existed in the public presentations, either such as

⁷⁵*Digest* 48.19.28.3. M. Vanzetti, “*Iuvenes turbolenti*,” *Labeo* 20 (1974) 77–81, argues that the text means: “coloro che usualmente (e impropriamente) chiamano se stessi *iuvenes*” and not as is normally translated: “coloro che comunemente sono chiamati *iuvenes*,” and therefore that these youths are in fact not really *iuvenes*. She opts for: “membri di gruppi irregolari e di fazioni sportive, i quali con gli antichi sodalizi avessero in comune ben poco.” Apuleius *Met.* 11.18 refers to *vesana factio nobilissimum iuvenum*.

⁷⁶Suet. *Aug.* 45; Jory, “Pantomime Riots” (above, n. 66) 58; V. Rotolo, *Il Pantomimo* (Palermo 1957) 51.

⁷⁷J. P. Morel, “*Pantomimus allectus inter iuvenes*,” in J. Bibauw (ed.), *Hommages à Marcel Renard* (Bruxelles 1969, Coll. *Latomus* 102) 2.525–535; cf. *id.*, “Sur quelques aspects de la jeunesse à Rome,” in A. Balland et al. (eds.), *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine: Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon* (Paris 1978, Collection de l'École française à Rome 27) 663–683; and “*La iuventus romaine*” (above, n. 51). It has to be said that we have no inscriptional information of any value for the *iuventus* associations of Rome, and very little for the Republic. Ginestet's book is a necessary antidote to previous talk of the history of these organizations. I use *iuvenes* here much as one would talk of Greek *neoi*, without any necessary suggestion of political organization; and Livy seems to me to do the same.

the *Troiae lusus* of the *iuvenes*,⁷⁸ where they would need to display military skills, or other processions or performances, such as the Lupercalia. In both cases gymnastic training would require professional help,⁷⁹ and *cheironomy* and *skiamachia* and callisthenic dancing would precisely be normal gymnasium skills. It will then be a natural development of these liaisons, as Morel suggested, when we find in two inscriptions from the end of the second century the imperial pantomimes being accepted into the ranks of the *iuvenes*. But this originated long before the standard complaints of Seneca and others that the youth preferred dancing.⁸⁰

Much has been written about the *iuvenes* and the related *collegia*,⁸¹ though these as institutions may have nothing directly to do with the phenomenon discussed here.⁸² Georges Ville⁸³ dealt with the problem of the *Iuvenalia* and the practices of aristocratic youth in regard to the gladiatorial fights and *venationes* with which the inscriptions sometimes connect them. Ville rightly describes these as "*skiomachies gladiatoriennes*," and a prize example is Titus in the theatre of Riate⁸⁴: ... καίτοι τοῦ Τίτου ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεανίσκων παιδιαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ σκιαμαχῆσαντός ποτε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλιηνὸν ὄπλοις.

But one must also observe that, as Suetonius tells us, the young Titus also had remarkably close relations with the pantomime artists:

Some of Titus' favourite boyfriends, though they were such skilful dancers that they later became stage stars, he not only ceased to cherish any longer but even to witness their public performances. (Suet. *Titus* 7.3)

⁷⁸The *Troiae lusus* is combined with the *pyrriche* at Herodian 4.2.19. A pantomime of the fall of Troy is mentioned by Manilius 5.484 ff. Borthwick (above, n. 64) 20 cites Servius on Aen. 5.602, who quotes Suetonius for the *lusus Troiae* being a *pyrriche*.

⁷⁹Jerome *In Isaiah* 2.3.16 tells us that one learns beautiful movements from the house pantomime.

⁸⁰Leppin (63, n. 12) collects passages.

⁸¹Most recently the field is surveyed by Ginestet; cf. Leppin, 143 ff. Neither M. Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth* (Amsterdam 1991) or E. Eyben, *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome* (London 1993) adds to the facts here.

⁸²Ginestet (156) shows that the evidence for serious connection of the *iuvenes* with the games is very limited, though he emphasises the existence of pre-imperial organizations of young men.

⁸³Ville (above, n. 58) 267, cf. also 216–220 and 372. The major step in identifying the activities of the *iuvenes* was made by M. Rostowzew, *Römische Bleitessarae* (Leipzig 1905) 59–93. Since interest in the *collegia* is focused on the inscriptions and on Augustus' alleged reform, there is very little that can be said with safety about the republican development and origins of the *collegia*, as D. Ladage points out ("Collegia Iuvenum—Ausbildung einer municipalen Elite?," *Chiron* 9 [1979] 319–346, esp. 322). It is not necessary for my argument here that *iuvenes* are organized as a legal or even delimited social unit, especially in the absence of a gymnasium. Nor were they in the ruling of Callistratus, apparently.

⁸⁴Dio 66.15, cited by scholars since Rostowzew (above, n. 83) 85, n. 3

This was apparently unusual enough to be recorded by Suetonius. Titus would normally have been expected to continue these friendships. An emperor like Nero simply never outgrew his youth. This example may act as a model for the activities of the *iuvenes*, whether of the municipal elite or of the capital. They play at the exercises which are the same as those of the professionals—*skiamachia* and *cheironomia*, leading up to various kinds of *pyrriche*. These are the common means of training for amateurs and professionals in developing skills in fighting, hunting, and elegant movement. But of course these are the training methods for pantomimes as well.⁸⁵ Lucian⁸⁶ equates *palaestra* and pantomime *cheironomia* in the festivals; but the connection of theatre ballet and gymnasium exercise is much older. In the Republic we know from a chance remark of Macrobius⁸⁷ about the *ludus saltatorius* of freeborn children and the *staticuli* of the upper class youth. Cicero twice asserts that the *histrion* will be assisted by working out at *palaestra*,⁸⁸ and he makes it clear that *palaestra* lends a skilled rhythm to its devotees which one can immediately observe in ball players who possess it (*De orat.* 1.73; *Orator* 22); in his time then one could admire the results of such training in the youth. Strabo and Horace both show that the youth of Rome worked out in the Campus Martius with ball playing and *palaestra*.⁸⁹ What *palaestra* meant we can learn from Dio Chrysostom (32.44): when the Alexandrians smear themselves with olive oil, he sneers, "Some start running, some throw others down, others put up their hands and fight

⁸⁵Libanius *Pro salt.* 64.104 (cf. Cyprian *Ep.* 2) tells us that pantomime training began with a *paidotribes*, and gives us a description of the acrobatic gymnastics required. A. Müller, "Das Bühnenwesen in der Zeit von Constantin d.gr. bis Justinian," *NJbb* 23 (1909) 36–55, at 45, cites Nonnus *Dion.* 19.261 ff.; Claudian *In Eutrop.* 2.358 ff.; Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 23.268 for the pantomime somersault called *rotatus*. L. Robert often drew attention to the Greek terms for the movements of pantomimes—the *muliebres motus* of the church fathers (W. Weismann, *Kirche und Schauspiel* [Würzburg 1972] 75–76)—and showed how words like *kinesis*, *eurhythmia*, *syntonia*, *lygismos* derived from the gymnasium are used to describe the pantomimes: see the bibliography in L. Robert, "Amulettes grecques," *JS* (1981) 1–44, esp. 37–44 = *OMS* 7.499–506. See discussion by M. Dickie (below, n. 98).

⁸⁶Lucian *Salt.* 75, and the chapters following, esp. 78: "pantomime does not differ from *enagonia cheironomia* . . ."

⁸⁷*Sat.* 3.14.7: *inter duo bella Punica ingenui, quid dicam ingenui, filii senatorum in ludum saltatorium commeabant et illic crotala gestantes saltare discebant*. This is followed by a quotation from Scipio Africanus Minor, *ORF* fr. 30 Malcovati, which suggests some exaggeration by Macrobius, and a quotation from Cato *ORF* fr. 114–115 (. . . *staticulos dat*); its importance for the theatrical *iuvenes* of the Republic has been emphasised by Schmidt, "*Postquam ludus* . . ." (above, n. 53) 93–94.

⁸⁸Cicero *Orator* 14; and especially *De orat.* 3.83: *negarem posse eum (histrionem) satisfacere in gestu, nisi palaestram, nisi saltare didicisset*.

⁸⁹*Str.* 5.3.8; Horace *Odes* 1.8.4. Agrippa, when he built the first gymnasium at the edge of the Campus Martius and introduced the Aqua Virgo, was only filling a need that had been long felt.

nobody at all, others are punched." These shadow boxers, explains Dio elsewhere, are "those ignoble athletes, who make a nuisance of themselves in the *palaestrae* and gymnasia by practising *cheironomia* and "wrestling," but do not go into the stadium, scorning the sun and blows" (Dio Chrys. 32.20). Elegant callisthenics and dance exercises in the gymnasium were perhaps a Greek custom, but the Roman youth had discovered them by the late Republic.

It is only in this context that we can begin to understand why so much energy had to be expended by Roman lawgivers to prevent the sons of the upper orders appearing publicly in the arena or on the stage,⁹⁰ while at the same time trying to ensure that professional performers remained *infames*. Their sons did so because it would be a natural extension of their training, by which they could, if they were gifted and motivated, acquire fame and fortune.

Morel and others have shown that the connection of *iuvenes* with the theatre is attested early in the Republic by an analysis of the well known passage in Livy 7.2 about the origins of the Roman theatre.⁹¹ J. P. Thuillier and J. R. Jannot⁹² have shown how dancing and music were a very important part of Etruscan athletic and military exercise. Wille has in turn demonstrated the devotion to dancing by the Roman elite in Republican times, not excepting the rituals of the *Salii* and other sacred colleges.⁹³ In view of the evidence he adduces, it ought not to be said that "by the end of the Republic the craze for dancing had gripped even the highest circles at Rome."⁹⁴ It had always been there in certain forms, though it now took

⁹⁰ A prize exhibit is the decree of the Senate from Larinum, B. Levick, "The *senatus consultum* from Larinum," *JRS* 73 (1983) 97–115, revised with an extensive and important commentary by W. D. Lebek, "Das SC der Tabula Larinas," *ZPE* 85 (1991) 41–70, and "Standeswürde und Berufsverbot unter Tiberius: Das SC der Tabula Larinas," *ZPE* 81 (1990) 37–96. The date is 19 A.D. We know that the legislation of 11 A.D. mentioned was, like so much else, ineffective.

⁹¹ Livy 7.2, cf. Val. Max. 2.4.4; Cluvius Rufus *HRR* fr. 4: the historicity of much of this muddled account has been suspected (e.g., by W. Beare, *Roman Stage*³ [New York 1963] 16–23), but unjustly; cf. the articles of Morel and P. L. Schmidt (above, n. 51), who demonstrates that the source is Varro.

⁹² J. P. Thuillier, *Les Jeux athlétiques dans la civilisation étrusque* (Paris 1985); J. R. Jannot, "De l'agôn au geste rituel. L'Exemple de la boxe étrusque," *AC* 54 (1985) 66–75; see also above, n. 38.

⁹³ Günther Wille, *Musica Romana* (Amsterdam 1967) 187–202 on "Der Tanz im römischen Leben," even if some of the passages he adduces do not provide proof, as observed by Leppin (142, n. 38).

⁹⁴ J. K. Newman, *Roman Catullus and the Modification of Alexandrian Sensibility* (Hildesheim 1990) 355. I should merely argue that it is more traditionally Roman than Newman allows: "its origins [sc., the origins of the craze for dancing] are to be sought in Asia Minor" (355), is not true for dancing, for mime, and perhaps not even for pantomime in a general sense either. Our evidence is distorted, as Wille emphasized,

more public shape, partly under the influence of what we should now call the entertainment industry, both in the new permanent theatre and—probably more important—the private dinner theatre of the wealthy. Here certainly the Greek East could provide models. My emphasis, and it is no more, has been on the role played by athletic exercises in Rome itself, because in the standard studies of the *iuventus* or the theatre the role of the omnipresent dance exercises is insufficiently emphasized.⁹⁵ To be aware of the quantity and quality of dancing that was normal among the Roman youth,⁹⁶ as in the gymnasiums of Greece, is to appreciate that the scene was set for factions and riots, when dancing and its virtuosos were elevated to centre stage by Augustus' theatre industry, and when the *iuvenes* could assert their solidarity in the theatre.⁹⁷ Their training had been in origin paramilitary, and that was not entirely forgotten in the late Republic; but more important, it was undoubtedly productive of that bonding which is associated with young men's athletic associations. Only when we read this back into the ancient sources, can we begin to understand why the supporters of "rhythmic dancing" could become hooligans.⁹⁸

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
MCMMASTER UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, ONTARIO L8S 4M2

by the class prejudice of our Roman sources against "professional" dancing, cf. Leppin 142 ff.

⁹⁵G. Pfister, in a useful survey of "Die römische *iuventus*" in H. Ueberhorst, *Geschichte der Leibesübungen* 2 (Berlin 1978) 250–279, does not find space for callisthenic exercises, though she lists Morel's work in her comprehensive bibliography. Note that the *iuvenes* probably caused the riot in the amphitheatre in Pompei in 59 A.D.; cf. her note 149 (p. 276).

⁹⁶Cf. Cic. *Off.* 130: *nam et palaestrici motus sunt saepe odiosiores et histrionum gestus ineptiis non vacant.*

⁹⁷*CIL* XIII 3708 from Trier in two fragments: *locus* and *iuvēn* Ladage (above, n. 83) 329 demands *loca*, but not I think justifiably. Cf. E. Rawson, "Discrimina Ordinum," *BSR* 55 (1987) 88–114, esp. 85 on the Vestals' *locum* in *theatro*.

⁹⁸After this article was finished, Matthew Dickie kindly allowed me to see two drafts of the exhaustive study of *palaestritae* referred to in this article; he also from a different angle emphasizes the social importance of the callisthenic exercises of the gymnasium, and I believe that his evidence complements the thesis proposed here, and allows me to be brief. This article has also benefited from the scrutiny of E. Csapo, G. M. Paul, C. P. Jones, and a learned and very generous referee for this journal; all have corrected me on a number of points, modified my earlier deplorable enthusiasm for my own conclusions, and do not necessarily agree with anything I maintain here. I have dealt in greater detail with the riots of 14/15 A.D. in article to appear in *CA* (1993).