

A Portrait of the Artist I

Theater-Realistic Art in Athens, 500–330 BC

This chapter aims to demonstrate the existence of an iconography of theater and actors in fifth-century BC Athens. The claim would not have surprised anyone thirty years ago, but many archaeologists and art historians, nourished on the binarist theories fashionable in the Cold War Era, are directing reductive methods and exclusionist rhetoric to the construction of boundaries between art and its “Other” (variously identified as “texts,” “history,” or “reality”). In 2003, for example, Jocelyn Penny Small published a book called *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text* where, in constructing a vision of two solitudes that live side by side but never mix, she states categorically “that contemporary Attic vase painters did not base their representations on . . . plays.”¹ Yet she omits mention of nearly all of the material I consider important to this discussion. The book offers a kind of blunderbuss deconstruction of every possible link between the plastic arts and other forms of cultural expression. Its premise that art is a fully self-contained and autonomous activity has a certain appeal for classical archaeologists who teach in departments of Archaeology or Fine Arts and do not want to oblige their students to learn Greek or read ancient literature. But this is only the hard end of a vision I wish to render more supple. Even Oliver Taplin, who has not the least sympathy with this kind of intellectual isolationism, tends in his *Comic Angels* to underestimate the importance of theatrical subjects in Attic (as opposed to West Greek) vasepainting.

Some other contemporary historians of ancient art dismiss both the possibility that an object of art could reflect the influence of the theater and the possibility that, if such an influence did exist, it might be useful to any who might wish to learn something about performance or about the ancient reception of theater. I refer to the tendency on the part of historians of Greek art to insist upon the absence or near-total absence of subjects with historical or realistic content as opposed to mythological or mythologized content. It was not all that long ago that art historians like E. H. Gombrich contrasted the mythically oriented images and narratives of the Near East with the “antimythical” vision of the Greeks.² Greek art served as the foundation of Western realism. This was

progressivist and orientalist, it is true. But the reaction on the part of scholars like Gloria Ferrari is no less categorical. She maintains that all Greek vasepainting is essentially mythical.³ For many vasepaintings this is largely true. Even scenes of everyday and apparently contemporary life (“genre scenes”) are usually still linked in some way with the mythical imagination. For example, scenes of hoplite battle generally show heroic nudity or military tactics more suited to the world of Homer than to the world of the artist; scenes showing women preening or spinning might have inscriptions that label the principal figure “Helen.” Many apparently realistic scenes can thus gesture compulsively toward the archetypal world of myth. But the reductive claim that attempts to take all vasepainting out of the reach of history can only be maintained by distorting the meanings of “myth” and “history” well beyond recognition. “Myth” must be extended to include the decidedly more ambiguous category of “ritual” to embrace scenes of sport, sacrifice, or choral dance, and even “social rituals” like scenes of the symposium or the hunt. “History” must be contracted to exclude all of the above. But even if “myth” remains a universal norm in the representational arts (and I am far from being convinced that it is), there are exceptions. Indeed the majority of art historians would, I think, balk at the notion that all ancients painted with the same brush. Himmelmann in particular has studied the development of realism in the treatment of several subjects, comic scenes among them (by realism I mean the choice of specific, historic or everyday life scenes that are familiar to the artists and their patrons and treated in such a way as to offer the impression of the familiarity of lived experience).⁴ But even Himmelmann excluded much of the evidence relating to theater and largely ignored tragedy. More recently Steinhart has explored with admirable subtlety the interaction between art and mimetic performances, although with a primary focus on non-theatrical mimesis.⁵ In this chapter we take a close look at the phenomenon of theater-realism: it is a very minor theme in Attic art, but even if it is exceptional, it is important, and deserves a place both in art history and in theater history. In doing this I claim no originality except in the details of my presentation: many scholars have discussed this theme, both great archaeologists such as Erika Simon and Richard Green, and great theater historians such as T. B. L. Webster and Oliver Taplin (all of them notable and successful transgressors of the boundaries of their discipline).

Depicting Myth

Over the course of the fifth century tragedy became “the most familiar and popular way in which hundreds of thousands of Greeks came to know the great myths.”⁶ The validity of this claim (the words are Oliver Taplin’s) is supported

by the way tragedy influenced the choice and treatment of mythical scenes in (fifth-century) Attic and (fourth-century) West Greek vasepainting. For Athens it is (in the fourth century) richly confirmed by the frequency of distinctly tragic elements in literary allusions to myth.⁷ Yet despite the huge popularity of tragedy and despite its impact upon the way myths are represented, very few Attic vasepaintings depict (or even evoke) tragic performance, so few in fact that the paradox has become a celebrated mystery.⁸

The paradox is all the greater considering that the fifth century was the great age of both Athenian drama and Athenian red figure. Indeed both tragedy and vasepainting are uniquely well-preserved – far better than any other genres of art in this period – with thirty-three complete plays and nearly a hundred thousand vases. Moreover, even those who insist that Attic red figure pottery renders its subjects in an essentially mythical form cannot deny that it draws them from nearly every facet of social life. There are at best five surviving Attic pots or fragments that can be said to depict tragedy in performance. Tragic performance is even harder to find in West Greek pottery. Of some twenty thousand known vasepaintings, as many as 450 can be reasonably argued to show influence of tragedy – but of these no more than two could be said unambiguously to “show tragedy.”⁹

An early fourth-century Attic vase may serve us as an example of the general practice (see FIGURE 1.1).¹⁰ The subject is an incident in the life of the mythological hero Telephus. Not yet the practiced sailors that they would one day become, the Greeks messed up their first expedition to Troy. They landed in Mysia by mistake and, without bothering to check their position, immediately began to lay waste to the territory. The king of Mysia, Telephus, drove them out again but was wounded by Achilles. Realizing their mistake, the Greeks returned home. Telephus’ wound began to fester and the oracle of Apollo told him that “the wounder would heal.” So Telephus went to Argos, where the Greek chiefs were meeting to plan a second attempt on Troy. They interpreted the oracle to mean that rust from Achilles’ spear would heal Telephus and in return Telephus agreed to guide the expedition to Troy. This was the general outline of the myth before Euripides sensationalized it in a tragedy of 438 BC. Euripides turned Telephus’ encounter with the Greek chiefs into a hostage-taking incident: Telephus infiltrated the war council disguised as a beggar, but when he was exposed as an enemy infiltrator, he grabbed Agamemnon’s infant son, jumped on an altar, and threatened the baby with his sword. The Greek chiefs were in this way forced to negotiate with Telephus, but the outcome was the generally the same as the pre-Euripidean version of the myth. The Greeks arranged for the healing of Telephus’ wound and Telephus in turn agreed to act as navigator for the second expedition to Troy (which did end up in the right place). It is the climactic hostage-taking incident invented by Euripides that we see in FIGURE 1.1: Telephus, center, kneels on



Figure 1.1 Attic red-figured calyx krater, c.400–375 BC, Berlin Antikensammlung 3974. ©bpk Berlin 2009.

the altar threatening the baby; Agamemnon in the upper right reacts at first with ill-considered aggression.

Euripides' tragedy not only invented the hostage scene and turned it into the climactic moment in the story of Telephus, but it also created the visual archetype that would emblemize the play for all later antiquity. There can be no doubt that the climax of Euripides' *Telephus* was staged in precisely this way: it is parodied through precisely these visual clues (with a little, but not much verbal reinforcement) in the *Acharnians* and the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes.¹¹ The precise configuration that we find at the center of this scene – a man kneeling on an altar and threatening a baby with a sword – reappears on no less than fifteen fourth-century West Greek pots (not to mention Etruscan art), to the near exclusion of all other episodes from Telephus' life, precisely because of the impact of Euripides' tragedy.¹² A man kneeling on an altar and threatening a baby with a sword could only signal the story of Telephus in both comedy and in art because thousands of Greeks had seen the same combination of visual signals in a theatrical performance of the play.

There are perhaps other minor *theatrical* features in the composition. For example, it could be argued that the women who register an emotional reaction by running to the left and right on the margins of the scene are at least functionally reminiscent of a chorus, or that the contrastingly placid presence of Apollo, hovering above the action (upper left), recalls a fragment of the play in which Telephus calls upon Apollo, or indeed recalls the generally placid and benign indifference of the gods, as expressed in tragedy's more anthropocentric universe. Yet despite all this and despite the scene's total dependence upon the plot of Euripides' tragedy, this is no illustration of tragedy, but of *myth*.

Depicting Choruses

By contrast with the mythologizing norm of theater-influenced vasepaintings, for which the Telephus vase might serve as an example, four Attic vases reveal varying degrees of the opposite of the mythologizing vision, namely realistic details of tragic performance that intrude upon and undermine any merely mythological conception of a scene. All are choral and thereby perhaps susceptible to being categorized as ritual and hence quasi-mythical in the broad and dilute sense urged by those who insist that all vasepainting is cut from mythical cloth. But this would not do justice to the details of our vases, of which two at least are decidedly more focussed upon a theatrical performance than upon any possible myth or myth-like subject.

Before we examine the tragic paintings, however, something must be said to excuse my reluctance to look at vasepaintings depicting satyrs in pursuit of the question of theater-realism. Many vases are (I think rightly) suspected of being in some way connected with satyrplay.¹³ The problem is in proving a connection with theater. Satyrs have too strong a connection with music and dance in the Greek mythic imagination, on the one hand, and with choruses of men performing as satyrs in Dionysian processions, on the other, to allow us to insist upon the usual indices of dramatic performance, namely pipers, choral groupings or suggestions of mask and costume. Even if all these markers were present they would not suffice to prove any specific connection with satyrplay as opposed to mythic and cultic forms of satyr performance. And yet, it is necessary to say, if only in passing, that satyr vases can nevertheless reveal a realism that is inconsistent with purely mythical imagery. For example, a vase by the Leningrad Painter is for good reasons, frequently related to satyrplay.¹⁴ Signs of performance include the presence of a human piper, the use of loincloths with erect phalloi, called *perizomata*, lines at the wrist and ankles indicating the body-tights worn by all ancient actors, as well as mask-like features (bug-eyes, double-lines marking the hair-line at the back of the three-quarter mask), and

even a certain amount of co-ordination in the satyrs' movements. Nevertheless nothing permits us to insist that it shows a dramatic performance. At best we can insist that, if these are in some sense mythical satyrs, they are satyrs drawn after the manner and appearance of men who perform as satyrs.

The case for iconographic theater-realism must be made on the strength of tragic and comic performance, which have no existence apart from theater. From the first half of the fifth century we have two vases that may depict tragic choruses. Although they offer no hints at masks, they declare their theatricality through such details as the presence of pipers and identically dressed chorusmen in a narrative context.¹⁵ One of these is a pelike in Berlin that shows, on each side, a dancing maenad accompanied by a piper.¹⁶ Even if the piper signals a performance, there is nonetheless nothing to distinguish this maenad from any other. One could say that the painter bypasses the performer and refers us directly to the mythic maenad he represents.

The second is an Attic hydria surviving in only six fragments.¹⁷ The vase originally showed a piper and at least seven to nine members of a chorus, dressed as Persians, dancing around a pyre upon which sits a man who is usually thought to be Croesus. The pot was made a few years after the battle of Plataea, a brief period in which tragedians, notably Aeschylus (*Persians*) and Phrynichus (*The Capture of Miletus, Phoenician Women*), flirted with historical rather than mythological subjects. For a few decades, when Athens believed it had experienced events of mythic proportions, there was a vogue, paradoxically, for something approaching history in the theater. Cyrus sacked Sardis in 546 BC and so the story of Croesus being nearly burned on the pyre is in some sense "historical," though the history is to our eyes heavily mythologized. Its treatment in art might also have been mythologized. Interestingly it was not – or at least not fully. The piper is a clear allusion to performance and the fact that the costumes of the dancing Persians are nearly identical signals a chorus. The two preserved faces, however, have no attributes that suggest a mask and their mouths are closed. Here again the artist seems to focus on the characters that the masks represent and not on the performers. But for all that, the theater-realism of the vase is no more compromised than the integrity of any possible mythical conceptualization of the image. We are betwixt and between.

The case for realism is decidedly better on a column krater in Basel (see FIGURE 1.2).¹⁸ It dates to the first decade of the fifth century and is probably our earliest evidence of tragedy. On it three ranks and two files of young men dance in rectangular formation. This is surely a synecdoche for three files and four ranks, the distinctive and possibly normal formation of the tragic chorus.¹⁹ The depiction of a full tragic chorus of twelve would have been visually confusing and awkward on the limited space provided by the pot's surface. The choreuts are costumed as soldiers but are not really soldiers: they wear diadems rather



Figure 1.2 Attic red-figured column krater, Mannerist style, 500–490 BC, Basel BS 415. Courtesy, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Photo: Claire Niggli.

than helmets, dance rather than march, and carry no weapons. A series of Os emerge from their mouths in added red paint (not visible in FIGURE 1.2) to show that they are singing. They approach the *orchestra's* central altar, behind which rises a smaller figure who is presumably an actor. This may be one of the many “ghost-raising” scenes which were especially popular in early tragedy.²⁰

Masks are richly suggested. The faces of the choreuts (and to some extent the actor) are all alike: they have wide eyes, gaping mouths, jutting chins, and chin-lines that extend, unusually, right up to the hair-line. And since ancient masks covered the entire head as well as the face, we should also notice the unnatural hair-line position of the diadems, and the highly unusual strand by strand rendering of the hair.²¹ The painter seems to have taken pains to suggest that there is something unnatural, something artificial, about these heads. Even the breast-plates, on closer examination, appear not to be breastplates, but frilled, sleeveless tops (not part of the normal Greek vestimentary repertoire) with patterns that are similar enough to suggest the near-uniformity of dramatic choral costume. No detail could justify the relegation of this image to mythic fantasy, unless



Figure 1.3 Attic red-figured column krater fragment, 430–420 BC, Kiev, Museum of the Academy of Sciences.

(and this is perhaps the fatal admission) it is the absence of lines at the wrists and ankles of the choreuts to mark the body-tights that appear normally to have been worn by both actors and choreuts, at least in drama later in the century.

In 2002 the publication of a fragment of a vasepainting from Olbia gave us the first image that renders tragic performers with unambiguous realism (see FIGURE 1.3).²² The fragment belongs to an Attic bell krater produced in about 425 BC. On either side of a piper and his boy assistant dances a tragic choreut whose mask and costume are depicted with scrupulous realism. The faces of the masks are overpainted with added white in an effort to contrast the (conventionally white) female flesh of the characters with the darker skin of the nape and neck of the male performer under the female mask. The reproduction is unfortunately of poor quality, but it appears to me also that the lines of the sleeves of the choreuts' body-tights are also visible. The piper too appears in all his theater paraphernalia. The piper's harness (*phorbeia*) is rendered in detail and, rarer still, his assistant, who stands by holding his pipe case (*sybene*) to which is attached at the top the reedcase (*glottokomeion*) containing the extra mouthpieces and reeds required for modulating the music. One can see the top of one of the mouthpieces held in the assistant's hand above the break. Froning in her publication mistakes this for the boy's thumb(s) and concludes that he is clapping to keep time (whence Revermann takes the notion that this may be a rehearsal).²³ But this is not a



Figure 1.4 Attic red-figured calyx krater, c.425 BC, formerly Malibu 82.AE.83. Courtesy, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Department of Archaeology, Italy. All rights reserved.

natural way to clap (it is both ineffectual as it deadens the sound and quite painful – try it!). But it is no thumb. Compare the detail with the detail of the small piper’s assistant in Dioskourides’ mosaic of the *Theophoroumene* who also holds the same equipment (below, FIGURE 5.7). This is unprecedented theater-realism in Attic art, and it is not just the manner of rendering details of costume that has changed. The fragment also reveals a significantly different conception of its subject matter. The earlier mythological vases gave us at least small hints about what story was being told. Here we know only that the tragedy had a chorus of young women, but this was true of the majority of tragedies at this date. I suspect that we would know nothing more specific even if the whole scene were preserved. It is precisely the lack of anything that could be linked to narrative, either mythical or dramatic, that is astonishing. For the first time the art shows us a performance, pure and simple, without even a hint at the story behind the performance, let alone the myth behind the story.

The earliest vasepaintings to show scenes of comedy are probably also choral. Two extraordinary vasepaintings depict what appears to be a comic chorus dressed as fighting cocks (FIGURES 1.4 and 1.5).²⁴ There can be no serious doubt



Figure 1.5 Attic red-figured pelike, c.425 BC, Atlanta 2008.4.1. Courtesy, Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University.

that their subject is a costumed performance of some kind. Pipers appear on both vases (there is one on the reverse of FIGURE 1.5), and the posture of the birdmen clearly indicates some form of dance. That the artist saw costumed figures and not some mythological birdmen is clear from the detailing of the costume. One can, for example, see the lines demarcating the “shorts” which hold the tail and phallus, or the details of the strings which tie on the phallic spurs (note in particular the left cock’s left ankle on FIGURE 1.4). But what genre of performance is it?

The calyx krater (FIGURE 1.4) has been known since 1985, but the pelike (FIGURE 1.5) was unknown before 2008, and so the controversies that have raged over the identity of the performers has not until now had the benefit of what is obviously a second artistic rendition of the same performance. The calyx krater has been said to represent a comic chorus, comic actors, a non-dramatic procession, and a satyrplay. Of all these explanations, the suggestion that it represents a satyrplay is, though most persistent, the easiest to dismiss. The hypothesis is based entirely upon a comparison of the “shorts” worn by the actors, with erect

phallus and tail attached, including the typical decorative motif of the eyespot and “wagonwheel,” that are otherwise known from representations of satyrs (compare below, FIGURE 1.9).²⁵ But this hypothesis must be rejected for the simple reason that there exists no satyrplay without a satyrchorus and indeed satyrs are the one constant and indispensable feature of satyrplay. A satyrplay without real satyrs is unthinkable. The “shorts” must be regarded as the standard costume-designer’s response to the requirement of supporting an erect phallus and a tail: it does occasionally appear on creatures other than satyrs.²⁶ A further hypothesis argues that our scene is from a comedy in which a chorus of satyrs is transformed (during the course of the drama) into cocks.²⁷ But this rather messy hypothesis is also without foundation: though we do have comedies with choruses of satyrs, we have no play, comedy, or satyrplay in which satyrs are transformed into beasts of any other species.²⁸

Another line of investigation suggests that these vases are not dramatic at all, but represent costumed figures from a Dionysian procession. Attic vasepainting from 560 to 480 BC preserves about twenty choruses of men costumed as animals or costumed men riding animals, most often accompanied by a piper.²⁹ This group of vasepaintings cannot be directly related to drama and certainly not comedy “as we know it,” since they come to an end at about the time of the first productions of comedy in Athens, traditionally (though not securely) dated to 486 BC. The human characters are also for the most part unmasked and few of them show any sign of the usual comic costume. What they do seem to show is processional movement (interspersed with occasional round dances) and though many scholars refer to this group of vasepaintings as “comic,” “pre-comic” or “protocomic” vases, they are more safely classified as “*komos* vases” (a *komos*, in literature of the Classical period, is a usually drunken choral procession, frequently involving costumes and musicians, and closely, though not exclusively, associated with Dionysus).³⁰ The preponderance of dolphin riders among the *komos* vases helps confirm that these vases are related to Dionysus: dolphins are closely associated with cultic dithyramb, a Dionysian processional song that before the end of the sixth century took the form of a *komos*. One of the dolphin-rider vases indeed shows ostrich riders on the obverse led by a man in a satyr mask (in Attic art of this period satyrs are unambiguously creatures of Dionysus and one must conclude that the procession is Dionysian).³¹ At first sight FIGURES 1.4 and 1.5 might seem to belong to this *komos* series (which does include two examples of men dressed as cocks).³²

There are, however, serious obstacles to viewing FIGURES 1.4 and 1.5 as part of this series. First there is a gap of about half a century between the end of the series of processions of animals and animal riders. The closest parallels after 480 BC are with the depiction of dramatic choruses. Secondly, the *komos* vase’s style of presentation is different: in that genre the dancers move in the same direction with

identical movements; but here the cocks on the calyx krater (FIGURE 1.4) face each other and assume different postures (they appear to be facing off for a fight). A much nearer comparison is offered by the tragic chorus on FIGURE 1.3, where the choreuts on either side of the piper adopt different postures (perhaps phases of the same dance). The pipers accompanying the cock dancers are also more conspicuous and more elaborately dressed than we find on the komos vases. The dress of the piper on FIGURE 1.4 is comparable in its elaboration to the costume worn by Pronomos (FIGURE 1.9, below), while the costume of the piper on the reverse of FIGURE 1.5, though the standard eye-spot decoration of theatrical pipers (cf. FIGURES 1.2 and 1.3), is considerably more ornate and formal than that worn by pipers on the *komos* vases.³³ We might add that the fact that two vases, certainly by different hands (note the differences in the rendering of minor details of the costume on FIGURES 1.4 and 1.5), produce dancers in identical costume (but very different poses) suggests that the performance was something more memorable and conspicuous than one among many choruses from a Dionysian Parade.

The Kiev fragment (FIGURE 1.3) is the nearest parallel in time and style of presentation for our cock-men, though in this case the subject matter is obviously comic in some sense. If the vases do commemorate a comic performance, it is probably not a comedy we can identify. Richard Green first identified this scene on the calyx krater as a depiction of the chorus of Aristophanes' *Birds* (the pelike was not known until 2008). But there is a growing consensus that the calyx krater is too early for *Birds*, and this seems to be confirmed by the style of the pelike as well.³⁴ Moreover, the fact that these birds are fighting cocks and that cocks (or any other domesticated bird) do not appear in the chorus of *Birds* is an insuperable obstacle.³⁵ It has been suggested that they are not choreuts but actors on the strength of an ancient scholiast that tells us that the Just and Unjust Arguments in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (first produced in 424 BC) appeared as fighting cocks.³⁶ But both the dating and the very recently discovered pelike tell against such a connection with *Clouds*. While the calyx krater (FIGURE 1.4) seemed to focus on an aggressive interaction between the cocks, as would suit the debate in *Clouds*, the pelike (FIGURE 1.5) presents only a single figure, making it clear that the painter did not feel a focus upon a confrontation was necessary to evoke the performance to which the vase alludes. A single figure better represents the notional unity of a chorus than the division between antagonists of a comic agon. The pelike (and hence also the calyx krater) should therefore refer to a chorus and most probably a comic chorus.

Choregic Art

The earliest vases to depict theatrical performance in a realistic style all take the chorus for their subject. It is not until about 430 BC that Attic painters take any



Figure 1.6 Attic marble relief fragments, c.340 BC, Athens, Agora Museum S1025 + S1586. Courtesy, Agora Excavations, The American School of Classical Studies

interest in actors. But before we examine vasepaintings with actors, it will be helpful to contextualize this choral art.

Scenes of dramatic choruses appear in other media besides vasepainting. Two fourth-century marble reliefs survive that take for their subject the entry (*parodos*) or perhaps the exit (*exodos*) of a comic chorus.³⁷ The reliefs, found in the Athenian agora, served as bases for monuments erected to celebrate victories in the dramatic competitions in Athens somewhere around 340 BC (FIGURE 1.6). These monuments were erected by the choregoi, wealthy Athenian citizens, who were appointed to sponsor the training and equipping of a chorus for a festival competition. It was the choregos, as representative of the chorus, who actually received the prize awarded to the best production in each genre category on behalf of the chorus and the trainer of the chorus (in the fifth century usually the poet). The choregos is thereby obliged to memorialize the victory by erecting a monument on behalf of his chorus and, to be sure, himself, in or near the sanctuary of the god at whose festival the chorus performed. When one evokes the image of a choregic monument, one normally thinks of the grand monuments, like the Lysikrates monument that still stands in Athens, built to carry the tripods that served as prizes for victory in the dithyrambic competitions of the City Dionysia. The monuments erected to commemorate a victory in drama at the City Dionysia were much simpler.³⁸ Most commonly they took a form shared by several other types of victory monuments (for some types of athletic victories, for example): a base which held a pillar or column which in turn supported a relief or painting. The base as well as the relief or painting of such monuments could be decorated with imagery relevant to the commemoration. This is the case with the reliefs from the Agora. Both reliefs show highly realistic details, including mask and the belly-and-buttock padding typical of comic costume. In both, the comic chorus dances in formation. And in one case (FIGURE 1.6), we have the remains of pipers (the same or

similar scenes were replicated on the four sides of the monument base). A fragmentary chous, produced a little earlier than the Agora reliefs, offers a very similar scene and exemplifies the Athenian vasepainter's habit of copying or adapting imagery from choregic monuments (other examples are discussed below).³⁹

We also have surviving examples of the principal reliefs held by such choregic monuments (and we may safely assume that the imagery of choregic paintings was much the same as the imagery of choregic reliefs). The surprising thing is that, unlike the two base fragments that survive, none of these principal reliefs shows a scene of drama in performance. Is this by chance?

What the principal reliefs do show is no less interesting for our purposes. There are four main varieties of images. One variety, which is not strictly relevant to our purposes, is a relief that simply shows masks and alludes to an alternative type of choregic dedication, which is the dedication of the masks used by the chorus (and the actors?) in the sanctuary of Dionysus.⁴⁰ A second type of image shows choreuts approaching, often with sacrifice, the altar of Dionysus, or Dionysus himself, who in any case stands behind his altar to receive the offering. Scenes of this type are commonly referred to as "adoration scenes" after an analogous schema in Christian art. A third variety shows Dionysus reclining on a dining couch often with a woman at his feet and, beside the couch, a wine steward who draws wine from a large jar. The woman may hold a mask or there might be masks affixed to the wall. This schema is traditionally and still frequently mislabelled as "Totenmahl" but would better be called a monoposias scene (after its main feature, a man or god on a couch drinking alone). The most common type of choregic relief, beginning, it appears, in the last decade of the fifth century, is a combination of the adoration and monoposias scheme in which a group of choreuts, usually holding their masks, approaches the couch where Dionysus lies drinking, usually beside a female companion.

A relief from Peiraeus, dating to about 400 BC is a fine example of the mixed adoration-monoposias variety (FIGURE 1.7).⁴¹ It shows three figures in costume, one wearing a mask and two carrying their mask in their hands as they approach a couch upon which reclines Dionysus. The female figure at Dionysus' feet wears a fawnskin, like a maenad, and is labeled with a name ending in -IA, evidently an abstract noun for a personified abstraction. Playfulness (*Paidia*) and Tragedy (*Tragoidia*) have been suggested, but there are many other possibilities. She does not, like many others, hold a mask. The wine steward has also been omitted.

The relief is commonly referred to as the "Actors' Relief," but there should be no doubt that the three figures carrying masks are choreuts: the costumes are nearly identical (the condition of the masks does not allow any judgement about their similarity) and they carry large tambourine-like instruments, called



Figure 1.7 Marble relief from Peiraeus, c.400 BC, Athens NM 1500. Courtesy, German Archaeological Institute. DAI-Neg.-No. D-DAI-ATH-NM 610.

tympana, to show that they are involved in the production of music. The length of their costumes and the belt high above the waist shows that they play female roles. The *tympana* show that they are a Dionysiac chorus, probably bacchantes. The choreute on the left wears his mask (it is all but obliterated, but traces remain) and also postures and shakes his *tympanon* as if merging with his role.⁴²

Just as vasepainters might imitate the imagery of the reliefs on the base of choregic monuments (as in the case of the fragmentary chous, mentioned above), so we have many that seem to develop or extract from the imagery of the principal reliefs of such monuments. The adoration schema is, for example, played with by one of our earliest vases depicting tragic choreutes.

From about 490 BC we have a hydria by the Pan Painter showing, on the left, two chorusmen (FIGURE 1.8). Their faces are identical, suggesting masks, and their costumes nearly so. We can tell that they are not real soldiers, because, although they wear clothing suggestive of military corselets, they have wreaths in their hair and no other armour, just as on the Basel krater (FIGURE 1.2).⁴³ The choreutes, apparently awestruck and shy, are firmly led by Hermes. The reason for their timid awe is the imposing presence of Dionysus to whom Hermes is about to introduce them. Dionysus “makes an expressive gesture of greeting and welcome as he steps forward to meet them, right arm outstretched.”⁴⁴ Green interprets the scene as a subtle commentary on drama and early literacy. In my view, however, Hermes is here, not for any connection he may have with education or



Figure 1.8 Attic red-figured hydria, Pan Painter, 490–480 BC, Hermitage B 201 (St. 1538). Courtesy, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

writing, but as the bringer of luck and success in competitions, Hermes *Enagonios* (= “Hermes Who Manifests Himself In Competition”), a manifestation of Hermes who is mentioned in several Athenian victory dedications.⁴⁵ Moreover, the tablets Hermes carries are not, I think, the script of the tragedy, as Green argues, but the wax tablets judges used to register their votes at musical and dramatic competitions.⁴⁶ If this is right, the Pan Painter is giving creative expression to an idea implicit in many votive reliefs celebrating victories in choral music: mortal worshippers, elevated by victory, approach the god who is most frequently engaged in sympotic activity.⁴⁷ The image on the Pan Painter’s hydria, through the shyness of the choreutes and the expansively welcoming gesture of the god, gives a more purely epinician touch to the usual “adoration” type.

“Adoration” votives focussed upon the victory sacrifice. The sacrifice of the victorious choregos and his chorus was conceived differently from ordinary sacrifice. Though dramatic choruses, unlike dithyrambic or “circular” choruses, won no prize, like a tripod, destined to serve as a dedication, they did, like circular choruses, win animals for sacrifice to Dionysus.⁴⁸ These animals were sacrificed by the choregos and the chorus in the sanctuary of Dionysus adjacent the theater immediately after the victory at a celebration technically designated by the term *epinikia*.⁴⁹ Victory was thus imagined as conferring the right to enter the sanctuary of Dionysus to sacrifice and feast with the god.⁵⁰ In Aristophanic comedy the *epinikia* are conceived as an invitation to dine at the premises of the priest of Dionysus and in the presence of the god.⁵¹ The Pan Painter seems to

share a similar conception of dramatic choral victory, as not merely a sacrifice in which the god makes an epiphany, but a celebratory banquet at which the god receives the victorious chorus, choregos and poets as his personal guests.

The Pan Painter adds a motif from the iconography of the Introduction of Heracles. Heracles in Greek myth, poetry and art is the archetypal victor.⁵² From the victory rituals of athletes at the Panhellenic games, Attic art developed a distinct iconography for the portrayal of Heracles' ascent to Olympus. Its symbolic structure borrowed two moments from the ritual of *eiselas*, the home-coming parade of the victorious athlete riding home in a chariot to be received by his family and friends.⁵³ Over a hundred Archaic and Classical Attic vase-paintings show Heracles, upon completion of a life assimilated to athletic struggle in a prize competition – upon the successful completion of many *athloi* (which in Greek means “contests,” not “labors”) – making his final ascent to Olympus in a chariot driven by Victory (*Nike*) or Athena to the house of his father. Often we see Olympian gods emerging to receive him. Other artifacts show the final stage in the journey where the hero is “introduced” (literally for the first time), usually by Hermes or Athena, to his father Zeus and other members of his divine family.⁵⁴ On a typical example of the type we see Athena leading Heracles, hand on wrist, towards Zeus who extends his hand to greet his son.⁵⁵ The Pan Painter here (FIGURE 1.8) seems to make a relatively small but significant adjustment to the “adoration” pattern of choregic iconography by deploying the “introduction” schema in order to suggest the victorious chorus' transport to the immortal glory and godlike state of Dionysian victory. In the Pan Painter's “Introduction” Dionysus makes the same welcoming gesture to the victorious choreuts as Zeus to Heracles, while Hermes retains his characteristic role as guide and go-between.

Adoration reliefs in choregic art are probably the ultimate inspiration for the many “genre scenes” that typically show choreuts in costume, but holding their masks, or showing other signs of being “off-stage.” Although the Peiraeus relief (FIGURE 1.7), of around 400 BC, is the earliest actual relief on which we find the motif, Scholl has conjectured that a mid fifth-century BC monument served as the original for an Early Imperial marble showing the remains of a hand and arm holding a satyr-mask.⁵⁶ The relaxed pose and the appearance of conversation that we find on the left, “adoration,” side of the Peiraeus relief, where the second choreut has turned back away from the god and towards the last choreut in line, is closely paralleled in other adoration reliefs of fourth-century BC date.⁵⁷ But this type of scene must have appeared in choregic art much earlier, as Scholl suggests, because there survive eleven whole or fragmentary Attic vases with so-called “genre scenes” in which choreuts hold masks in their hands and sometimes face another choreut as if in conversation: seven depict tragic choreuts, three depict satyric choreuts, and one comic choreuts.⁵⁸

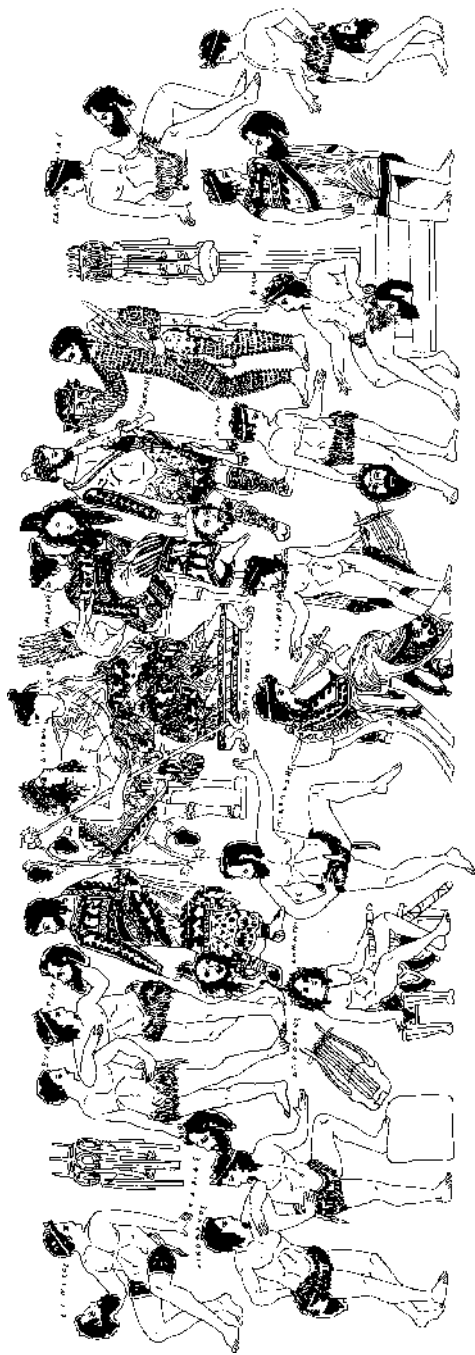


Figure 1.9 Attic red-figured volute krater, Pronomos Painter (name vase), c.400 bc, Naples NM 81673. Drawing by E. Malton.

All have at least one unmasked choreut, but several also contain a masked choreut, who, like the last choreut in the Peiraeus relief, wears a mask and dances or at least adopts a stance appropriate to the role he played in the drama. Minor variations exist, as in a comic scene in Heidelberg where the dancing choreut is just beginning to take off his mask, or as in a tragic scene in Boston where the unmasked choreut is seen dressing (suggesting a “before,” rather than an “after” picture). The important point is that when a figure puts on a mask he also puts on the mythical or narrative illusion that the mask creates. In all of these scenes the masks and costumes are depicted in highly realistic detail. The artists play with the contrast between realism and illusion: the juxtaposition of a masked choreut who appears to be possessed by his mask to an unmasked choreut who appears to be very much part of our world is sufficiently common and deliberate that we must regard it as a major theme in choregic art. Unlike choreuts, actors in Attic art are never seen unmasked and are also never so free of the mythical or narrative illusion.

The most inspired adaptation of choregic art appears in the vasepainting of the end of the fifth century, just shortly after the mixed adoration-monoposias imagery begins to appear on reliefs. The Pronomos vase (FIGURE 1.9), the most famous theatrical vase of antiquity, is a notable example of creative play with the imagery of mixed adoration-monoposias reliefs.⁵⁹ Produced around 400 BC, it depicts the cast of a satyrplay celebrating victory in the sanctuary of Dionysus. On the upper band the god Dionysus reclines on a couch in the monoposias pose, accompanied by two females, one who (as on a monoposias relief in Cagliari) sits at the foot of the god’s couch and holds a mask in her hand.⁶⁰ But as on the relief from Peiraeus (FIGURE 1.7) choreuts stand, for the most part, mask in hand in the presence of the god. Also present are the choregos, the chorus trainer, the piper and three figures dressed in the costume of actors, all (but the dancing satyr and the piper) adopting the stance of performers relaxing in the sanctuary after a hard-won victory. The sanctuary is indicated by the choregic monuments with tripods depicted underneath the handles which also serve to reinforce the theme of victory in a musical contest.

The combination of compositional types makes for a rather strange-looking scene: the cast of a satyrplay lounge lazily about the sanctuary of Dionysus while the god, who pays them no attention (nor indeed they him), drinks all alone with his girlfriend on his couch. Its paradoxical appearance is the result of the painter’s sticking rather close to two different choregic models while adapting them to his own ends. The god as monoposias appears here with the same divine insouciance that we find in scenes of the monoposias type. But the choreuts of the adoration-type motif, who were normally depicted as a train of worshippers approaching the god, now invade the god’s space, dispersed as they are throughout the sanctuary. The artist has converted the standard imagery of

victory into a composition that focuses more decidedly upon the theme of repose after a difficult struggle. The choreuts are no longer there, as in the adoration scenes, to perform sacrifice. There is no longer any suggestion of sacrifice. The choreuts are there because they have won the right to share the god's joyful tranquility. And yet it is important that the choreuts appear more or less as they do in adoration scenes, standing for the most part, and in conversation with one another, because choreuts holding masks standing beside one another in relaxed conversation recalls the established imagery of choral victory and because the idea of victory is thematically very important to this composition. The point might have been lost if the world of the god and the dramatists were fully merged into one great symposium scene.

The major motifs of the adoration type scenes are all present. The choreuts wear their costumes and carry their masks. They are grouped in pairs facing one another as if in conversation, many of them seeming to turn back, in the direction opposed to that of their gait, to face their conversation partner, as if they were still in a line (as they would be if the adoration format were strictly followed). As in the Peiraeus relief and many of the genre scenes, there is one choreut (and only one) who escapes the realistic style in which his fellows are depicted. Here it is the choreut labeled Nikoleos just to the left of the centrally seated piper. He does not hold, but wears his mask and, consequently, like the other masked choreuts in choregic art, he does not stand conversing with his fellow choreuts, but dances like a satyr and for all appearances becomes one. Perhaps by yielding to the mythical illusion in one case the artists mean to underscore the theatrical realism of the others: beside what appears to be a satyr or a bacchant we have performers who only sometimes pretend to be satyrs or maenads.

There are other mythical as well as illusionistic details on the vase that contrast sharply with its general theater-realism. The most obvious mythical detail is the presence, top center, of Dionysus (labeled) embracing a female figure (unlabeled) and a winged "Desire" (labeled) to her right. A still more effective contrast between the real world of Dionysus' theatrical choreuts and the mythical world of Dionysus' choruses of satyrs and maenads emerges when one looks at the other side of the vase.⁶¹ There Dionysus, his female companion (surely Ariadne) and Desire move briskly accompanied by four real satyrs and two maenads: these satyrs are distinguished from the satyrplay choreuts by their dance and the absence of any trace of costume, namely the satyr-shorts (*perizomata*) with the phallos and tails that are the typical costume of satyrplay satyrs.

The Pronomos vase shows all the people who contributed to the victory of the performance: the chorus, the choregos, the piper, the poet in his capacity of chorus trainer, and even the actors. The presence of actors is particularly interesting, but the subject of the vasepainting is nonetheless principally choral and choregic

in conception. The choregos was almost exclusively concerned with the chorus and the personnel hired to instruct the chorus. He probably had little, if any, contact with the actors before the competition. (Selected and paid by the archon, a city official who organized the festival, the actors in drama competed for a prize entirely separate from the prize for the best production for which the chorus and choregos competed.) It is sometimes said that the actors have a privileged place on the Pronomos vase, immediately beside (or in one case on) the couch of the god. But this is not so much a “privileged” as a “mythical space.” Almost all the human figures on the vase have names inscribed beside them, and these are real personal names. The choreuts, the chorus trainer (a.k.a. poet), the choregos, and the piper all have the names of performers. But the actors have no such inscribed names, with the exception of the actor in the Heracles costume, who is labeled “Heracles.” Of all the labeled characters on the vase he is the only one labeled with the name of his mask and not with the name of the man who carries the mask. Indeed, all three actors lack not only their own names but even their own faces. The facial features of all three actors simply reproduce those of their masks. Furthermore, in the case of the actor at the end of Dionysus’ couch, the actor not only lacks his own name and face, but his gender as well. As the mask is female, so the “actor” appears as a female. The only masculine trait he retains is the dark color of his skin, which is dark like the skin of the other male characters, but it contrasts with the color of his mask, with the color of the flesh of the real woman in Dionysus’ embrace, and with the color of the Desire beside him, which are all rendered in white paint as female and childish flesh were conventionally depicted. In contrast to the choreuts and all those involved with the chorus, the actors are, as real individuals, insignificant, but as mythical characters, fully present. At this level too, realism is played off against illusionism, and theatrical performance against its mythical narrative. But significantly, the performance-realistic style is reserved for the chorus and its supporting personnel.

The Pronomos vase is not the only vase of this period to make free play with choregic motifs. Several vasepaintings datable between 410 and 380 BC, most of them by painters closely associated with the Pronomos Painter, include Dionysus, usually reclining, in his sanctuary and accompanied by female figures or other members of his thiasos. They develop the implied comparison and contrast we find on the Peiraeus relief (FIGURE 1.7) between the dramatic chorus, evidently costumed as bacchantes, and the mythical thiasos of Dionysus, represented by the god himself and the female at the end of his couch wearing a fawnskin and dressed as a maenad. On the Pronomos vase, for example, we have satyr choreuts in the sanctuary of Dionysus on what is traditionally recognized as the “front” of the vase (FIGURE 1.9) and mythical satyrs running and dancing in the wild with Dionysus on the “back.” On three other vases, all close to the Pronomos Painter, and all of about 400 BC, we have scenes of real satyrs

and choreuts mixing freely in the sanctuary of Dionysus, while the god himself reclines, twice on a couch, and in one case embracing a female figure.⁶² By placing mythical Dionysian dancers beside victorious dramatic choreuts choregic art implied the choreuts' elevation to membership in the Dionysian thiasos. The Pronomos Painter plays with this figure of choregic art: he puts Dionysus' mythical and theatrical choruses in juxtaposed but clearly separated spaces on front and back of the vase. The associates of the Pronomos Painter, through indiscriminately mixing mythical and real dancers, develop the metaphor into a dull equation that loses its poignancy because it also flattens the pointed contrast between mythical and real, divine and mortal.

The image of choreuts relaxing after a dramatic victory is an appropriate subject for choregic art. It is certainly present in the Peiraeus relief (FIGURE 1.7). We saw that the motif was adapted by eleven vasepaintings dating from 470 to 350 BC, and this allowed us to conjecture the existence of the motif on choregic paintings or sculptures.⁶³ A series of sculptures, the first earlier or contemporary with the Peiraeus relief and the Pronomos vase, also extracts the figure holding the mask. These are not, however, from victory monuments, but from tombstones. Four Attic funerary monuments present the image of a young (beardless) man who is reasonably taken to symbolize the person buried in the tomb. Three of these show the youth holding a female mask and in two cases (not enough of the third is preserved to tell) also wearing female costume.⁶⁴ As in the case of the Peiraeus relief, scholarship has traditionally regarded these figures as actors or poets. The artistic context we have been examining makes it far more likely that these figures, albeit solitary, are to be taken as choreuts. Statistical probability, indeed, urges us to read them this way. The numbers of Classical Attic tombstones that remain is relatively small and their survival random. It is far more likely that indications of theatrical connections refer to choreutic service than service as an actor or poet. It is, in fact, almost impossible to imagine that any healthy Athenian male ever managed to escape choreutic service at least once in his life.⁶⁵ Much more important than the fact of chorus duty, however, are the symbolic values associated with chorus duty: cultivation, civic responsibility, and piety.

There is also an eschatological link between participation in the chorus of the god of theater and participation in the chorus of the god of the mysteries and the afterlife.⁶⁶ This explains the use of choral vases as grave goods (that is how most of them survived) as well as the use of choreutic imagery on funerary stelae. Images of actors and poets would soon acquire some of this eschatological symbolism (as we will see), but in Athens in the fifth century the eschatological symbolism of theatrical performance is concentrated on the image of the choreut. It is not until early Hellenistic times that we can say with assurance that scenes of figures holding masks (always seated and usually surrounded by others,

or by papyrus rolls) were used to mark the graves of poets.⁶⁷ The earliest possible rendering of the type of the dramatic poet with a mask is the seated and bearded figure accompanied by two masks on the Lyme Park relief of about 360 BC.⁶⁸ But the identification of this figure with a poet is far from certain. He is associated with a plurality of masks (here two), as poets often are in the Hellenistic sculptures. Though this may seem to indicate a poet rather than a choreut (who needs only one mask) it is hardly reassuring that both masks (to my eyes at least) appear to represent the same character.⁶⁹ In Hellenistic sculptures and paintings the poets always have different masks, representing the different characters who interact in their compositions.

Depicting Actors

Attic art does have a few scenes of performing actors. They are, however, very different from the art in the choregic style that we have just examined. First, Classical Attic artifacts that take actors as their subjects are much less numerous than artifacts that focus upon the chorus or choreuts. Secondly, if we can trust the available remains, actors first appear in Attic art around 430 BC, a good deal later (by sixty years) than the first dramatic choruses. Thirdly – a most curious fact – all remaining scenes focussed on actors (i.e. excluding actors incidental to choral scenes) appear only on vases, and all of these vases, with a single exception, are a form of winejug called a *chous* (plural *choes*). Choes are normally small and simply decorated: a demotic art in contrast with the art of the large sympotic vases upon which the choral scenes appear.

The *chous* is a ritual vase associated with drinking contests that took place on the second day (notably called *Choes*) of the Anthesteria (a festival lasting three days in the winter month of Anthesterion, roughly February). The subjects of choes are often Dionysian, doubtless a reflection of the fact that Dionysus is the sovereign deity of the Anthesteria. But the subjects are not limited to activities that take place at this festival. They notoriously include illustrations of competitions performed at other festivals.⁷⁰ To take an example close to our present investigation, there are many examples of choes (and related forms of winejug) that reproduce the image of a winged Victory or an Eros who carries ribbons toward a prize tripod to decorate it (a common practice in celebration of a dithyrambic victory), perhaps the most common motif of reliefs on choregic monuments constructed to hold prize tripods.⁷¹ And yet there was no dithyrambic competition at the Anthesteria. So, though we have the isolated testimony of a biographical work falsely ascribed to Plutarch that Lycurgus some time between 338 and 326 BC revived a comic competition that had fallen into neglect at the Anthesteria, it is probably wrong to assume that comic actors on

our choes refer to the comic competitions that Lycurgus later “revived.”⁷² There is evidence to suggest that the original “choruses” that were notionally revived at the Anthesteria belong to a period long before comedy became a recognisable genre.⁷³ Noteworthy, however, is the fact that almost all the images related to drama on choes are comic. This may have something to do with another intriguing fact about the imagery on choes. It also frequently relates to childhood and childish play and typically show children performing ritual or festive roles, possibly because important rites of passage for young children also took place on the day called Choes.⁷⁴ Children are especially common on a group of miniature choes produced between 420 and 390 BC.

Comic actors appear to provide a linkage between the realm of Dionysian ritual and child's play, but so, often, do grotesque figures, and it is sometimes very difficult to say if a subject is comic or not. How, for example, does one measure the importance for our question of a late fifth-century chous fragment from the Athenian agora that shows a grotesquely ugly aulete and most of the trunk of a naked male body with a large paunch and a large penis?⁷⁵ Between the figures is an apparently ritual object that resembles a long pole with a cross bar near the top fixed in a base which is shrouded in ivy. The same object appears once in a choral scene and once in a processional scene.⁷⁶ Here the fact that the aulete's features are distorted shows that we have a ritual scene produced in a grotesque style and no representation of comedy. The decisive criterion is that the painter, even if he does show us something laughable, does not in fact show us anything artificial.

In other cases the presence of comic costume is not in doubt. On a miniature chous of about 400 BC we see, along with two children, a figure who wears a padded comic bodysuit (*somation*) fitted with a very large phallus and clearly wearing a mask, though the mask type is not easily recognizable.⁷⁷ A somewhat earlier chous shows, from right to left, a dog, a boy (?) masked and dressed in comic costume running with a stick, and a boy running with a cake.⁷⁸ But even if the costumes are those of actors, these scenes are almost certainly not images of actors. The figures have the same dimensions as the other children on the vases, and one would more confidently claim that we have here the images of children who play the role of actors playing the role of comic characters. The same applies to a miniature chous found on the shore of the Black Sea.⁷⁹ The chous shows five children, all unmasked, but each either carrying a comic mask or at least juxtaposed to one. They are dressed as adults in the service of Dionysus: from left to right we have a figure who might be dressed as a choregos (?), a figure whose dress and phallus stick suggest he impersonates an entertainer from the Dionysian Parade (or *Pompe*), two figures who wear the *somation* and phallus of comic actors, and a fifth figure whose dress is much like the first figure, but who carries a single stick, which is often taken to be an aulos (musical pipe).⁸⁰ All the masks



Figure 1.10 Attic red-figured chous, Painter of the Perseus Dance (name vase), c.420 bc, Athens BΣ 518. Drawing by E. Malyon.

are masks of comic actors (not choreuts).⁸¹ If there is any trace of a choregic formula here, it is limited to the fact that each of the figures (except the last) holds his mask in his hand so that one can see the performer beneath, but these performers are neither choreuts nor actors but clearly children.

Images of children playing the part of actors would seem to presuppose an iconography of the actor. Four vasepaintings make this supposition a certainty. The oldest is from a fragmentary cup.⁸² One fragment shows the right side of a torso wearing a comic body suit (*somation*). Moore dates it to 450–440 bc, but *MMC* to 430 bc, which is more in line with the iconographic comparanda. It is not impossible that the figure is intended to be a comic choreut, possibly of the sort with mask in hand, but this is unlikely. Though choreuts did, apparently, wear the comic *somation* under their costumes, we have no example of a chorus that danced naked and, as the *somation* with no further overlay represents “stage-nakedness,” this figure is very likely to be an actor. Moreover, as the figure is not on a chous but on a cup, we have pretty certainly the actor himself (our very first) and not a child impersonating an actor.

The earliest scene of a comic actor in a performance context is on a chous of about 420 bc (FIGURE 1.10).⁸³ Perhaps the most interesting – certainly the most unusual – of all Attic representations of drama, it is also one of the most damaged.

It is here presented in a reconstructed drawing.⁸⁴ This is the only Attic vase to show a stage or an audience and the first to focus upon a performing actor (the diminutive figure behind the altar on the Basel krater, FIGURE 1.2, probably an actor, is marginal to the choral scene). Worried by its unique subject matter, its poor condition, and its inaccessibility, scholarship has attempted to ignore or downplay its importance to theater iconography, either by assigning the performance to a non-theatrical genre (mime, pantomime, farce or freak-show) or by denying that it is a theatrical performance altogether (private performance, rehearsal, murder trial).⁸⁵ Albeit unique, the main features of the vasepainting are not unparalleled (something that definitely cannot be said for the fanciful scenarios scholars have dreamt up in an attempt to defuse the vase's importance to theater history).

On the left, two figures seated in wooden chairs (*klismoi*) watch a stage performance. The front row seating of the later, stone "Lycurgan" theater in Athens imitates the form of these wooden chairs, probably in allusion to the earlier practice of placing such chairs at the edge of the *orchestra* for celebrity seating (*prohedria*). The first of the spectators is bearded, muffled in a cloak, and wears a garland, apparently of laurel. The other is beardless and his (?) hair is banded by a ribbon; he turns to face the bearded man. The bearded figure is paralleled in Attic pottery from 450 to 420 BC by several seated and garlanded men who often (but not invariably) carry the long staff of judges and umpires and watch musicians perform on a low platform (*bema*).⁸⁶ The transference of this schema from a musical to a stage performance is a natural if creative step. Perhaps a specific identity was intended for these two figures (judges? choregos and poet? Dionysus and Ariadne?), but they function, in any case, as a synecdoche for the audience.

On the right side of the vase a ladder with three rungs leads up from the level of the *orchestra* to a low stage. If unique in Attic art, both ladder and stage are amply paralleled in West Greek comic vasepainting beginning as little as two decades after the production of this vase.⁸⁷ On top of the stage we see a performer who carries the sickle and magic bag that are the standard attributes of the mythical hero Perseus. A line on the performer's raised right wrist (and probably at the right ankle) gives a clear indication that he wears the body tights that are standard and invariable costume for theater performers and which represent "stage-nakedness."⁸⁸ In addition his stance emphasizes his "looped" phallus, a familiar manner of arranging this feature of comic costume.⁸⁹ There can be no doubt that a comic actor is intended (the chorus only performs in the *orchestra*: in this image both chorus and *orchestra* are elided in order to focus on the interplay between actor and audience).

Despite all these details, scholars have remained skeptical about the Perseus actor. They declare themselves unsatisfied with the dimension of his phallus

(it seems too small for comedy) and his stomach seems to offer no trace of the padding that normally indicates the comic *somation*. His head seems large enough with respect to his body that many are content to suppose him a dwarf, but for others it is too small to indicate a mask. And though his mouth is open, it is not as wide open as many seem to expect for a representation of a comic mask. But perhaps this is because Attic vasepainters have not yet developed a standard idiom for representing masks, oversized comic phalloi, and padding.⁹⁰ I suspect rather, though it may come down to the same thing, that this Attic vasepainter is still to some extent depicting the story behind the performance. Along with the comic actor we see the mythical hero Perseus that he represents. And although his head is larger than those of his audience, and the unusual strand by strand representation of his hair draws attention to its artificiality, as well as its mussiness, Perseus is represented by no mask, but by a heroically handsome face, with features untouched by the distortions we would expect to find on a comic mask.

The situation is just the opposite on an Attic chous of c.410 BC that depicts a comic Heracles and a snub-nosed Victory together in a chariot pulled by four centaurs.⁹¹ In front of the centaurs is a man (Iolaus?) who dances in front of the centaurs as if to suggest that he is leading the team. This figure is “stage-naked” because he clearly wears comic tights (there are lines at the wrists and ankles and an abundance of wrinkles on his legs). He also has a phallus that would satisfy the most theater-skeptical viewer (though his belly is not more pronounced than was Perseus’). But, apart from these costume details, there is nothing to signify a comic production. On the contrary, the centaurs, although caricatured, are presented as real centaurs, not pantomime horse-men as we might have expected to see in a comedy. Just possibly the vase gives us a somewhat mythicized scene from a comic production featuring Heracles and a chorus of centaurs.

More probably, the subject of Heracles in a victory chariot gives us a parody of epinician painting. The vase draws directly upon the imagery of the Ascension of Heracles and indirectly upon the homecoming rituals of athletic victors.⁹² I argued above that the “introduction” imagery was directly borrowed from Heracles iconography in the Pan Painter’s vase celebrating a choral victory in tragedy (FIGURE 1.8). Several passages in Archaic Greek literature make it clear that the chariot imagery was directly applied to victors in musical contests. Simonides dedicated a painting or relief upon which an epigram boasted that upon winning a life total of fifty-six victories in the circular chorus he “stepped onto the brilliant chariot of Victory.”⁹³ Pindar makes reference to himself or other poets mounting the chariot of the Muses.⁹⁴ A (probably early fifth-century) choregic epigram, describes the choregos for a circular chorus being “borne about in the chariot of the Graces.”⁹⁵ It is possible, therefore, that the image of

the comic Heracles in the chariot of Victory plays with generic imagery from choregic victory monuments: the rare depiction of a choregic painting mounted in Dionysus' sanctuary in FIGURE 5.5, below (just behind Dionysus), consists of nothing more than a winged Victory driving a chariot. In the case of the comic chous, it could be argued that no specific comic production lies behind the image, but that it is a vasepainter's fantasy of a mythical scene in comic dress (though possibly a mythical scene selected for its association with victory and specifically a comic victory). Nonetheless, the painting does render realistic production details in its depiction of comic costume, most particularly in the comically distorted faces and the indication of comic tights and a phallus on the centaur who leads the chariot. Moreover Heracles' face is indistinguishable from the type of the comic Heracles we find in vasepainting and terracotta figurines (some only a decade later than this vase). However, even if much in the painting is due to painterly elaboration, one cannot discount the possibility that it alludes to a specific comedy in which Heracles tamed a chorus of centaurs. Nicochares produced a comedy called *Heracles Choregos* at about this date.

The very best connection with a known comedy comes from a crudely painted winejug (*oinochoe*) fragments of about 410 BC, with two labeled figures in comic costume (FIGURE 1.11).⁹⁶ Preserved is “..onysos” which can certainly be restored as “Dionysos,” left, and “Phor” which can with high probability be restored as “Phormio,” right. The oinochoe almost certainly shows a scene from *Taxiarchoi*, a comedy by Eupolis, first produced in Athens probably around 415 BC, in which we are told that Dionysus “learns from Phormio the ways of generals and wars.”⁹⁷ Much of the play's humor derives from the contrast between Dionysus, who in comedy is usually portrayed as soft, lazy, and effeminate, and Phormio, an Athenian general with a reputation for being an old-fashioned disciplinarian (in the play he proclaims that his nickname is “Ares”). The fragments preserve, among other things, lessons that Dionysus receives in holding a shield, making camp, living in squalor, dining on olives and raw onions, and rowing. Phormio's posture on the oinochoe suggests a lesson in oarsmanship. We have a fragment from the play with the complaint “hey you at the bow, will you stop splashing us?” and, if the speaker is Dionysus, it might be delivered at a moment very close to that here represented.⁹⁸ On the oinochoe, enough of “Dionysus” survives to suggest the standard comic body suit with breast, belly and buttock padding, and the large head and gaping mouth hint at a mask, but generally speaking, as the original publication notes, “an accurate portrayal of a comic actor does not seem to have been intended.”⁹⁹ Indeed, the painting is fast and crude and nothing very accurate was intended. But the contours suffice to show that a comic figure is meant.

Within the last decade of the fifth century Athens begins to produce the first terracotta figurines of comic actors. These were probably intended primarily for sale to foreign tourists attending the Athenian Dionysia and are found widely

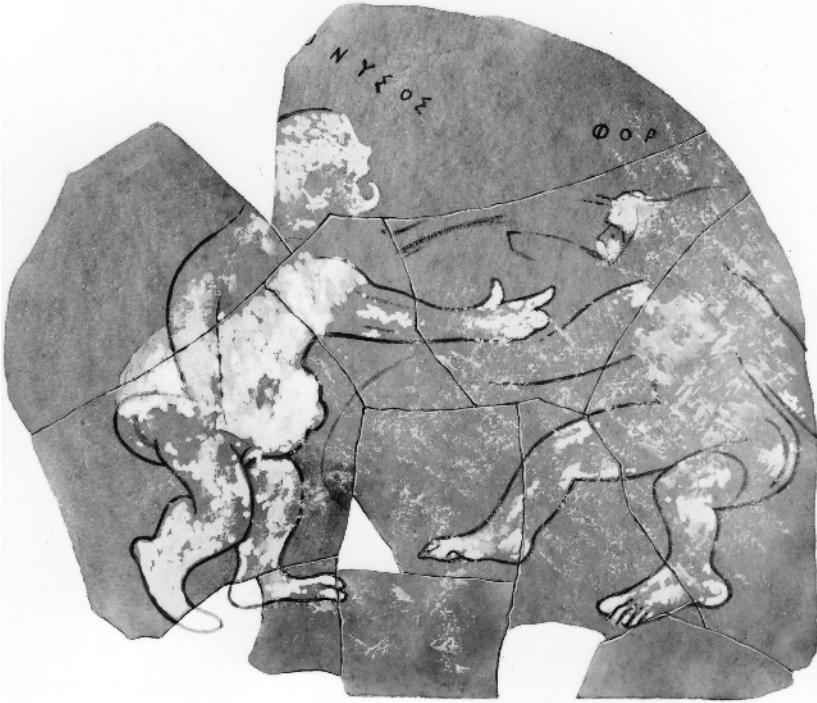


Figure 1.11 Attic polychrome oinochoe, c.400 BC, Agora P23985. Drawing by Piet de Jong. Courtesy, Agora Excavations, The American School of Classical Studies.

dispersed throughout the Greek world.¹⁰⁰ The few (only four) that can be assigned a fifth-century date, however, were all found in Athens.¹⁰¹ The production of figurines increases significantly at a time when Attic vasepainting is in decline and the export of Attic vases comes to an end. From the first quarter of the fourth century there survive at least twenty-six different bronze and terracotta figurine types of comic actors, which survive in hundreds of copies, and reproduce the masks, costumes and gestures of comic actors with uncompromised realism – and all apparently are the work of a single Athenian coroplast.¹⁰² Statuettes of satyrs and silens with indications of costume also begin to be produced at the same time, but apart from these the terracotta production is entirely concerned with actors, not choreuts.¹⁰³ No tragic figurine is datable before the Hellenistic period and when tragic figurines do appear they are also exclusively actors. Early fourth-century BC Athens also saw the manufacture of representations of comic masks.¹⁰⁴ Except in the case of stone sculpture, which either comes from a choregic dedication or imitates the choral subjects of choregic dedications, all representations of comic masks are actors' masks.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

Attic art has some subjects that can be treated with uncompromised realism. Among them theater scenes have an important, indeed privileged, place. They begin with choral scenes, a reflection of the fact that for these subjects vasepainters took their inspiration from the art of choregic monuments, which are above all designed to commemorate the victory of a chorus. Commemorative dedications of this sort are a very likely source for the development of realistic images of theatrical performance. The function of a dedication is to commemorate a specific victory by specific people in the contemporary world. It may play with the dramatic illusion or may emphasize the performers' service to the god Dionysus through pictorial analogies between the chorus and Dionysus' mythical thiasos, but it is nonetheless the performers, not the drama's heroes, that are the chief object of interest.

Himmelman signaled the importance of votive art in the development of Greek pictorial realism.¹⁰⁶ I hope to have indicated that choregic art was one of the most productive of all votive forms in this process. Choregic art took a greater interest in depicting a chorus as real citizens (sometimes, as in the case of the Pronomos vase inscribing real names beside them) than as the anonymous mythical or fictional group of people or creatures evoked by a dramatic narrative. But the choregos commissioned the monument not just to commemorate the contribution of individual choreuts. He commemorated his own contribution. For this reason choregic art had a special interest in not just the performers but the performance. It certainly suited the choregos to display his contribution in realistic detail: the costumes he commissioned, the dancers he paid to train, the dances for which he paid, the trainers he paid, the pipers he paid, and all the other personnel directly involved with the chorus, even (it would appear from the evidence of FIGURE 1.3) the piper's assistant.¹⁰⁷ All of these might appear in choregic art and all were susceptible to treatment in a realistic style that might at times approach the quality of a visual inventory of choregic outlay. Actors on the other hand had little or no direct share either in the chorus' victory or the choregos' largesse and are present, if at all, only indirectly, and with nothing approaching the realism with which Attic art treats the chorus and its attributes.

Attic vasepainting has no interest in actors before about 430 BC, at a time when theatrical realism in the depiction of choral scenes is in its fullest maturity. Representations of actors are admittedly rare (considerably rarer even than the surviving representations of choral subjects) but they do exist. Though scenes with actors are produced in the same realistic (or in some cases quasi-realistic) idiom as choral scenes, this fact should not blind us to their very

different background and significance. Choral scenes appear primarily in marble reliefs or the free-standing paintings of choregic dedications, and then only secondarily on vases, but for the most part large vases created for the symposium. Actors, by contrast, appear only on small vessels, particularly choes and the rather roughly produced polychrome oinochoe of FIGURE 1.11, or in terracotta figurines, which were also very inexpensive. On the one hand, we have expensive upmarket products that have imagery that is choral, elaborate, and shows a very clear preference for the higher status genres of tragedy and satyr-play. On the other hand, we have distinctly downmarket vessels which show actors and are exclusively comic. While the choes do occasionally also draw upon choregic subjects and motifs, the larger vessels never display actors except, if at all, as mere adjuncts to the representation of a choral performance.

The reason for the subject preference of the larger sympotic vessels is not difficult to guess. Choral imagery's association with choregic art gave it the proper sociological status for vases intended for use at drinking parties whose secondary purpose was to display the wealth of the house. Choral motifs had snob-appeal because they alluded to the activities and lifestyle of the choregic classes, a lifestyle that had no less appeal because few if any of the consumers of ceramic sympotic vessels could actually afford it. Choes by contrast are not designed for showing off. They are inexpensive and designed for private use (people who attended the drinking parties at the Anthesteria were required to bring their own choes and, unlike ordinary symposia, wine was not shared). Theirs is a much more demotic art, designed for use at popular festivals (just as figurines probably served as souvenirs of the Dionysia). We do have several choes that draw upon choregic art: the painters of choes showed no reluctance to draw upon high-status Dionysian imagery.¹⁰⁸ But – and this is the significant thing – the imagery was not in any way limited to high-status subjects. Comedy evidently suited the hilarity appropriate to day two of the Anthesteria. However, the choice of actors, as opposed to choral subjects, and realistic depictions of actors, as opposed to the narrative or mythical characters they represent, shows a popular interest, for the first time, in the men behind the masks, and an awareness of their skills. The emphasis is not upon the artistic illusion, but upon the art that produces the illusion, and not for any commemorative purpose, but from delight in the actor's art.

Notes

- 1 Small 2003.52, cf. Small 2005.
- 2 Gombrich 1960, ch. 4.
- 3 Ferrari 2003; cf. Ferrari 2002, though with a heavy dose of (post)structuralism's real-world phobia (on which see Eagleton 1996; Csapo 2005.276–90).

- 4 For a deeper understanding of the artistic and literary style implied by “realism,” I have found the writings of Raymond Williams most useful, esp. Williams 1977, Williams 1976.216–20. The term is, of course, at home in Western cultural production of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and applied only by a partial and imprecise, but nonetheless helpful, analogy to ancient art and drama (see further Chapter 4, where some of the limitations are explored). Both the style and many of the social, economic and ideological conditions that gave rise to modern realism are anticipated in antiquity, but this is not the place to pursue this question. Himmelman 1994 sees a general dropping off in artistic realism from the mid fifth century until the Early Hellenistic period, but notes that the tradition persists in some quarters, and particularly in comedy-related artifacts (1994.19). The observation is in part determined by Himmelman’s focus on low life, vulgarity and ugliness as the most conspicuous manifestations of realism. The fact that deformity and ugliness no longer function as a marker of low sociological status in serious art is surely due to the more democratic ideology of the late fifth to late fourth centuries, when even handworkers could portray themselves as gentlemen (Himmelman 1994.29). It is paralleled in dramatic writing and acting styles and is not inconsistent with the growth of other aspects of realism (see Chapter 4).
- 5 Steinhart 2004.
- 6 *P&P* 7.
- 7 Wilson 1996.
- 8 See esp. Green 1991; Taplin 1997; Förtsch 1997.
- 9 *P&P* 15.
- 10 Attic red-figured calyx krater, c.400–375 BC, Berlin Antikensammlung 3974, *P&P* 206 no. 75.
- 11 See Chapter 2, pp. 55, 65.
- 12 For discussion of the tragedy’s climactic scene, see Preiser 2000.89–92, 99–109. For the two pre-Euripidean depictions, see Csapo 1990. For depictions of different episode of the Telephus myth, not related to Euripides’ play, see Preiser 2000.98, 109–15; *P&P* 210–11.
- 13 See in particular Hedreen 2007.
- 14 Attic red-figured hydria, Leningrad Painter, 475–450 BC, Boston MFA 03.788, *MTS* AV 14.
- 15 Munich 1871 inv. 6025, a black-figured lekythos, is sometimes included in this group, but has not even a piper: it shows young men kneeling in a line with uniform gestures of lamentation in front of an unusual pillar with a human head, perhaps an icon.
- 16 Attic red-figured pelike, c.460 BC; Berlin 3223 (*MTS* AV 15).
- 17 Attic red-figured hydria fragments by Leningrad Painter, c.460 BC, Corinth T620 + T1144, *MTS* AV 13. Most recently discussed by Miller 2004.
- 18 Attic RF column krater in the Mannerist Style, c.500–490 BC, Basel BS 415.
- 19 On this question, see Csapo 2008.280–4.
- 20 Taplin 1977.447–8.

- 21 I thank Margaret Miller for this observation. Compare the Anavyssos chous with the Perseus dancer (FIGURE 1.10), where, as here, special attention is given to the hair as part of a deliberate attempt to make the heads look artificial (i.e. masklike).
- 22 Froning 2002.72, fig. 88; *P&P* 30, fig. 9.
- 23 Froning 2002.72; Revermann 2006a.87–8, n. 64.
- 24 The first, an Attic red-figured calyx krater, once Malibu 82.AE.83, has now been returned to Italy by the Getty Museum. It was first published by Green 1985 and has been much discussed since then (see following notes). The second, an Attic red-figured pelike, Atlanta 2008.4.1, was first mentioned in print in *Burlington Magazine* Jan. 2008.
- 25 There are good reasons why cocks in Greek art are sometimes ithyphallic and they have nothing to do with satyromorphism: see Csapo 1993b.
- 26 See Krumeich 1999.54 n. 56.
- 27 The theory has been spun out of a suggestion in Taplin 1993.104 that Taplin himself characterised as “very far-fetched.” It is pursued by Revermann 2006a.218–19; Rothwell 2007.57–8; Bakola forthcoming.
- 28 Comedies with satyr choruses: Storey 2005.
- 29 Studied by Green 1985a.
- 30 Green 1985a, Förtsch 1997, and others refer to them as “comic,” “precomic” or “protocomic.” For their connection with the *komos*, see Csapo 2003.86–90; Rusten 2006; Csapo and Miller 2007b.22–4; Hedreen 2007.161–3, 185–7; Seaford 2007.380; Csapo 2006/7. Rothwell 2006 rightly stresses the importance of the *komos* but is wrong to associate the *komos* exclusively with the aristocratic symposium.
- 31 Boston MFA 20.18; see Csapo 2008.
- 32 See esp. Steinhart 2004.22; Rothwell 2007.52–8.
- 33 Cf. Berlin 3223 and discussion in Rusten forthcoming.
- 34 Green 1985a dated the vase to c.415 BC (Aristophanes’ *Birds* was first produced 414 BC). Most experts I have consulted would date the vase at least a decade earlier, and German scholars would update it by two decades or more (cf. Himmelmann 1994.124 “deutlich früher;” Krumeich 1999.42, n. 8 “um 450/440 v. Chr.,” Steinhart 2004.22 “um 440/30 v. Chr.”).
- 35 See Taplin 1993.102.
- 36 As suggested by Taplin 1987 and Csapo 1993.
- 37 Marble reliefs: Athens, Agora Museum S1025 + S1586 + S2586 (*SEG* 28.213, *MMC*³ 118–19 AS 3); Agora S2098 (*MMC*³ AS 4).
- 38 For details, see Csapo forthcoming A.
- 39 Attic red-figured chous fragments, Benaki 30895: Pingliatoglou 1992; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, figs. 208–9; Froning 2002.89, fig. 123.
- 40 See Csapo forthcoming A, for a more detailed typology of choregic reliefs.
- 41 Athens NM 1500, *MTS* AS 1. The problems posed by the relief are discussed in detail by Csapo forthcoming A.
- 42 Micheli 1998.3 has detected traces of a mask on the leftmost choreut’s head.
- 43 St. Petersburg B 201 (St. 1538); Schmidt 1967; Green 1995a.
- 44 Green 1995a.77.

- 45 IG I³ 840; IG II² 3023; IG II² 3089; IG II² 4572.
- 46 As earlier suggested by Schmidt 1967. Voting tablets are clearly attested for Athens by Lysias 4.3, for Sicily in the fifth century by Epicharmus (*PCG* 1 F 237), and for Euboea in the fourth century by *IG XII* 9, 207 etc. (Le Guen 2001a, vol. 1, no. 1, l. 34). Epicharmus' expression "the decision rests on the knees of five judges" implies the use of tablets: it is difficult to see why the judges' knees should be evoked unless the voting tablets normally rested upon them (see Chapter 3, p. 97). Cf. Aelian *VH* 2.13. It is probably voting tablets rather than crowns (or money bags) that appear on the table of the judges representing the Rural Dionysia on the image for Poseideon on the Calendar Frieze of the Little Metropolitan in Athens (Simon 1983.101, pl. 3.3). An Etruscan relief from Chiusi appears to show a scribe with a writing tablet (*grammateion*) standing beside the judges' tribune: Thuillier 1985. 139–40, fig. 52; Colonna 1976.187–8 (I thank J.-P. Thuillier for this reference).
- 47 Csapo forthcoming A.
- 48 Burkert 1966.93–102.
- 49 Plato in the *Symposium* is careful to distinguish the victory celebration for personal friends at Agathon's house from the *epinikia* which took place the night before in which Agathon and his choreuts gave sacrifice (173a6, 174a7). For the epinician feast in general, see Wilson 2000.102–3.
- 50 There appears to be no specific literary reference to the *epinikia* taking place in the Temple of Dionysus, but this almost certainly follows from the normal practice of athletic victors offering sacrifice at the site of victory, even if banquets are later offered in their own homes: Buhmann 1975.55–6; Wilson 2000.348 n. 250. Aristodemos' description of the *epinikia* in Plato's *Symposium* (see previous note) shows that it took place in a large, public space in which other dramatic victors, their friends and well-wishers were present (note that at the end of Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen*, lines 1141–2, Praxagora's maid invites the spectators and the judges to join the feast). Aristodemos complains that he was frightened by the size of the crowd (*ochlos*) at the *epinikia* (174a 7), and Agathon complains that he looked for him in vain in order to to invite him to a private (and less boisterous) victory party at this own home on the following day (174e).
- 51 Ar. *Ach.* 1087, with Olson 2002.335, and *Frogs* 297, with Dover 1968.230; Biles 2007.32–5. For the general metatheatrical play between Aristophanic comedy and the *epinikia*: see Revermann 2006a.113–18; Biles 2007; Wilson 2007a.
- 52 See Golden 1998.141–75; Csapo 2005.304–9.
- 53 For the *eiselasis*, see Buhmann 1975; Slater 1984; Kurke 1993. Eiselastic imagery seems to have appeared on dedications for musical victories as well, see below, pp. 27–8.
- 54 Boardman 1990.
- 55 Attic black-figured cup, by the Phrynos Painter, c.560, London B 424, *ABV* 168.
- 56 Scholl 2000 discussing Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3306. His suggestion that it is a dedication by an actor or a poet is highly unlikely: see Green 2008.181. Cf. Sande 1992 on the "Motya youth."

57 Cf. also the Attic relief, Louvre Ma 756 which is thought by some to represent dithyrambic choreuts, but is just as likely to be a dramatic monument (closely related in style to the probably dramatic relief from Sphettos, Athens NM 2400, with which it is probably contemporary): see the discussion in Csapo forthcoming A.

58 **Tragedy.**

1. Attic red-figured *oinochoe* fragments, Near Hermonax, c.470 BC, Agora P 11810, *MTS AV 9*, Moore 1997.232, no. 623; Froning 2002.72, fig. 89.
2. Attic red-figured bell krater, 460–450 BC, Ferrara T 173C, *MTS AV 9* and pl. 1a, Pickard-Cambridge 1968, fig. 33.
3. Attic red-figured pelike, Phiale Painter, c.450 BC, Boston MFA 98.883–11, *MTS AV 20*, Pickard-Cambridge 1968, fig. 34.
4. Attic red-figured volute krater fr., c.400 BC, Swiss Private Collection, Froning 2002.84, fig. 112.
5. Attic red-figured bell krater fr., 375–350 BC, Agora P 24828, *MTS AV 38* and pl. 1b, Pickard-Cambridge 1968, fig. 52.
6. Attic volute krater fr., Near Pronomos Painter, c.400 BC, Würzburg H 4781, Froning 2002.73, figs. 90–1.
7. Attic red-figured pelike, Circle of the Pronomos Painter, c.400 BC, Barcelona 33, *MTS AV 36*, Csapo forthcoming A.

Satyrplay.

8. Attic red-figured *oinochoe* or chous fr., c.430 BC, Agora P 32970, Camp 1999.257, fig. 2.
9. Attic volute krater, Pronomos Painter, c.400 BC, Naples NM 81673, *MTS AV 25*.
10. Attic cup fr., Dresden Albertinum AB 473, 390–380 BC, Froning 2002.83, fig. 110.

Comedy.

11. Attic red-figured bell krater, Heidelberg B 134, 390–370 BC, Pickard-Cambridge 1968, fig. 85.

59 No. 9 in the list in the previous note. Taplin and Wyles forthcoming is devoted to this vase.

60 Attic relief, Cagliari MN 10918, fourth century BC. See Csapo forthcoming A.

61 Excellent discussion of iconographic contrasts between ritual and mythical choruses by Hedreen 2007.

62 Fragmentary Attic red-figured volute krater, c.400 BC, Near the Pronomos Painter, Samothrace 65.104E +, Dinsmoor 1992; fragmentary Attic red-figured pelike, c.400 BC, Circle of the Pronomos Painter, Barcelona 33, *MTS AV 36*; Attic bell krater, c.400 BC, Ferrara T161C. All three vases are illustrated and discussed in Csapo forthcoming A.

63 See above, note 58.

64 Peiraeus Museum, later fifth century BC, from Salamis. Clairmont 1993.1.233–4 no. 1.075; Scholl 1995, fig. 14; Steinhauer 2001.301 fig. 447. Base for a funerary lekythos, from Vari, Athens, NM 4498, 380–370 BC; Vierneisel and Scholl 2002, fig. 15. Fragmentary marble grave relief, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1939, 330–320 BC; *MTS² AS 4*.

65 Revermann 2006b.

- 66 Explored in Csapo 2008 and Csapo forthcoming A.
- 67 The reliefs are studied by Micheli 1998, though she does not distinguish between actors and choreuts.
- 68 Rather surprisingly, the poet's beard was trimmed in the late fourth century BC; see Scholl 1995.
- 69 *MMC* regards the masks as different (AS 1).
- 70 Rumpf 1961.
- 71 See Csapo forthcoming A.
- 72 [Plut.] *X orat.* 841, which seems to draw upon Philochorus *Atthis*, written about 261 BC (cf. schol. Ar. *Ran.* 218). The Lycurgan revival is only otherwise mentioned by Diog. Laert. 3.56; Philostr. VA 4.21. The evidence for a spectacle at the Chytroi is collected by Hamilton 1992.38–42.
- 73 Callim. *Hekale* fr. 85 Hollis; cf. Parker 2005.297.
- 74 Parker 2005.297–301.
- 75 Agora P 15116c, Moore 1997.238, no. 675, pl. 72.
- 76 On a bell krater by the Kleophon Painter (Copenhagen 13817) and in a processional scene with children on a chous in New York (MMA 24.97.34). I doubt that it is intended to be a kottabos stand, as argued by Reilly 1994, or an agricultural implement as argued, among others, by Vatin 2004.40.
- 77 Athens NM 17752. *MMC AV* 9 recognizes the mask as a standard Old Man mask (E).
- 78 Attic red-figured chous, c.420–410 BC, Louvre CA 2938, *MMC AV* 5.
- 79 Attic red-figured miniature chous, Class of Athens 1227, c.400 BC, Hermitage Φα 1869.47, *MMC AV* 8; Rusten forthcoming.
- 80 Compare the dress of the choregos (?) who stands beside his tripod on the Attic red-figured chous, Class of Athens 1268, c.415–400 BC, Louvre N2703 ED 73, van Hoorn 1951 nr. 836 fig. 142.
- 81 As shown by Rusten forthcoming.
- 82 Fragment of an Attic red-figured cup, possibly Painter of London E 777, c.430 BC, Agora P 10798a, *MMC AV* 3, Moore 1997.326 no. 1449.
- 83 Attic chous, Painter of the Perseus Dance (name vase), c.420 BC, Athens BΣ 518, *MMC AV* 4.
- 84 Malyon's reconstruction (FIGURE 1.10) is based on photographs and the drawing by Gilléron *films*, whose accuracy of detail has been vindicated in a recent study of the chous by Hughes 2006.
- 85 Literature reviewed in Hughes 2006.
- 86 Hughes 2006.427–8; relevant illustrations collected and discussed by Shapiro 1992.
- 87 Hughes 2006. 421–3. See Chapter 2 below.
- 88 The details are confirmed by Hughes 2006.425.
- 89 Hughes 2006.425.
- 90 Padding seems slight on the cup fragment, Agora P 10798a, discussed above; cf. Green 1991.31.
- 91 Attic red-figured chous, Louvre N3408, *MMC AV* 6.

- 92 See above, p. 17.
- 93 Simonides 27 P = 145 Bergk, *AnthPal* 6.213.
- 94 *P. P.* 10.65; *I.* 2.2, cf. *I.* 8.62.
- 95 *Palatine Anthology* 13.28. See Wilson 2000.120–3.
- 96 Attic polychrome oinochoe, Athens, c.410 BC, Agora P 23985, *MMC AV* 14.
- 97 Σ Arist. *Peace* 348. See Storey 2003.246–60 for discussion of the date and contents of the play.
- 98 *PCG F* 268.50–1.
- 99 Crosby 1955.8.
- 100 Wilson 2008.117–18, who compares souvenirs sold at the Great Panathenaia, especially the “pseudo-Panathenaic” amphorae which appear at precisely this period: see Shear 2001.432–51.
- 101 *MMC AT* 1–4: Agora T 1468 and 1575; Agora T 3507, same type as Louve CA 376; Agora T 3070. Nicholls 1995.470 dates the earliest to 405 BC.
- 102 Green 1991.32; Himmelmann 1994.125–35.
- 103 *MTS AT* 1–3.
- 104 *MMC AT* 4, 31–4. Attic tragic masks are much later, although earlier fourth-century examples are produced outside of Athens: *MMC AB* 1, *AT* 6–8; Bernabò Brea 1995; Todisco 2002.102–3.
- 105 Marble reliefs with masks: Athens, NM 1750, *MTS*² 34, *AS* 5 (375–350 BC); Athens, NM 4531, *SEG* 32 [1982] 248 (350–308 BC); Athens NM 382, *MTS AS* 27 (Imperial imitation). See further, Csapo forthcoming A.
- 106 Himmelmann 1994.9, 23–7.
- 107 The expense of the piper seems to have been assumed at least initially by the choregos (see Wilson 2000.69), though this may have changed sometime before 348 BC (as suggested by the allotment of pipers by the archon attested by Dem. 21.13–14).
- 108 See above, notes 39, 71, 83 and 91.