

*Rivalry between Centre and Periphery in the Theatre
Industry of the Fourth Century BC*

Part 1 (lecture): *The Social, Political and Economic
Dimension*

Part 2 (seminar/focus item): *The Ideological Dimension*
Eric Csapo (Cambridge University)

Friday September 22 2023, 1- 4 pm
Collaborative Digital Research Space (CDRS), UTM
***Maanjiwe Nendamowinan* #3230**

The seminar session will begin at 1:10.

This is an in-person event, but there is online access as well:

Link: <https://utoronto.zoom.us/j/83223416234>

Meeting ID: 832 2341 6234

Passcode: 849441

Abstract

The first half of the lecture offers an overview of the rate and character of the expansion of the theatre industry in the fifth and fourth centuries BC from Athens to the rest of Greece (and beyond). The second half offers a variety of evidence for fierce competition for performers in the fourth century that led to major structural changes adopted by the Athenian Dionysia to minimise damage in the event of no-shows. Some of this expansion fits easily into a classic centre-periphery model, but with a reversal of some vectors of influence when, in the fourth century, the periphery begins to exert pressure on the centre.

Focus Item (attached below)

The seminar will examine the ideological dimension of the competition of festivals for limited resources. Athens felt a need to bolster the prestige of its festival by promulgating myths of the Attic invention of drama and Dionysian music generally. Several other cities staked their own claims and disputed the prestige of origins. We have not many traces of this debate, which reached a high degree of intensity in the 330s BC, but more than generally recognised. Three important texts will be precirculated, then, at the seminar, placed into historical context before being opened to discussion. The material throws light on the discursive context of an interurban competition that created many of the myths about the origins of drama that still dominate many histories of the early theatre in modern scholarship.

Rivalry between the Centre and Periphery of the Theatre Industry in the Fourth Century BC:

PART 2: The Ideological Dimension

FOCUS ITEM 1: The Debate over Origins

Aristotle *Poetics* 1448a28-b1. Date: 330s. Text after Tarán:

ὄθεν καὶ δράματα καλεῖσθαι τινες αὐτὰ φασιν, ὅτι μιμοῦνται δρῶντας. διὸ καὶ ^{a30} ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγωδίας καὶ τῆς κωμωδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς - τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμωδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οἱ τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς πολλῶν πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος· καὶ τῆς τραγωδίας ἔνιοι ^{a35} τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ - ποιούμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σημείον· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δήμους, ὡς κωμωδοὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως· ^{b1} καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ μὲν δρᾶν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ πράττειν προσαγορεύειν.

That is why some say they are also called dramas (*dramata*), because they imitate men in action (*drontas*). And, for this reason, ^{a30} the Dorians make rival claims both to tragedy and to comedy – in the case of comedy the Megarians here, on the grounds that it came into being at the time of their democracy, and those from Sicily, because the poet Epicharmus, who was much earlier than Chionides or Magnes, came from there. In addition, some ^{a35} of the Peloponnesians claim tragedy – they use the names as evidence. They say they call their outlying settlements ‘villages’ (*komai*), whereas the Athenians call them ‘demes’ (*demoi*), supposing that comedians (*komoidoi*) are not named from carousing (*komazein*), but from the wandering about the villages of men who have been slighted from the city. ^{b1} Also for ‘doing’ they say *dran*, while the Athenians say *prattein*.

Anonymous Cramer I, *On Comedy* (Koster XIb 3–26). There are several versions of this tale (closest in detail and expression are: Anon. *On Comedy* Koster IV; EM 764.13–24 Koster XVI; Koster XVIIIb 1–29). Text: Koster.

τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδικούμενοί τινες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι πολιτῶν καὶ θέλοντες ἐλέγχειν αὐτοὺς κατήεσαν ⁵ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ νυκτὸς καθευδόντων πάντων παριόντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγυῖας ἔλεγον ἀνωνύμως τὰς βλαβὰς, ἃς ἔπασχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τοιαῦτα λέγοντες· ἐνταῦθα μένει τις τάδε καὶ τάδε ποιῶν τισι τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ οὐ μετρίως βλαβὰς ἐπιφέρων αὐτοῖς, ὥστε τοὺς γειννιῶντας ἀκούοντας ἡμέρας γινομένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγειν, ἃ νύκτωρ παρὰ τῶν ¹⁰ γεωργῶν ἤκουσαν. ἐπονείδιστον δὲ ἦν τοῦτο τῶν ἀδικούντων, ὥστε καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ἀδικούντων τὸ τοιοῦτο διορθώσεως γέγονεν αἴτιον αἰσχυνομένοις τὴν ὕβριν· ὄθεν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἔδοξεν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν γεγονέναι τὸ ἐγχείρημα τῶν ἀγροίκων καὶ ἀναζητήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασαν καὶ ἐπὶ θεάτρου τοῦτο ποιεῖν. οἱ δὲ δειλιῶντες τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐμφανῶς τρύγα περιχρίοντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὄψεις ¹⁵ οὕτως εἰσήεσαν· ὄθεν κάκ τούτου μᾶλλον τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐλεγχομένων ἐπὶ θεάτρου συστολή τῶν ἀδικιῶν ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐκ τούτου μεγάλης ἀπήλαυσεν ὠφελείας, ποιητὰς ἔταξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κωμωδεῖν, οὓς ἂν βούλωνται ἀκωλύτως. πρῶτον οὖν Σουσαρίων τις τῆς ἐμμέτρου κωμωδίας γέγονεν ἀρχηγός· οὗ τὰ μὲν ποιήματα λήθη κατενεμήθη, δύο δὲ ἢ τρεῖς ἴαμβοι ²⁰ ἐπὶ μνήμῃ φέρονται τούτου· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι· ἀκούετε λέξιν· Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε·
κακὸν γυναῖκες, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ δημόται,
οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἄνευ κακοῦ.

ἀρχὴν οὖν λαβόντος τοῦ πράγματος πολλοὶ γεγόνασι κωμικοὶ ἐλέγχοντες τοὺς ²⁵ κακῶς βιοῦντας καὶ ἀδικίας χαίροντας, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὠφέλουσιν κοινῇ τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Long ago in the villages (*komai*) some men who were wronged by the citizens in Athens and wishing to expose them went down ⁵ in the city and when at night all were sleeping they presented themselves in the streets and began without mentioning names to describe the harms which they suffered at their hands, saying this: 'Here lives someone who is doing this and that to some of the farmers and inflicting no small harm upon them.' As a result the listening neighbours when day came discussed with one another the things they heard from the farmers during the night. ¹⁰ This became a cause of reproach to the wrongdoer, with the result that this kind of action became the cause of atonement by many of the wrongdoers when they felt shame for their arrogant behaviour. As a result the people of the city decided that the enterprise of the country people had brought a benefit and they sought them out and forced them to do this in the theatre. The latter, afraid to do this openly, covered their faces with wine lees (*tryges*), ¹⁵ and entered the theatre in this way. And so, as a result, as more and more of the wrongdoers were exposed in the theatre, there was a cessation of injustices. As the city had enjoyed a great benefit from this, they thereafter ordered poets to compose mockeries (or 'comedies') against whomever they wished with impunity. So a certain Susarion first became the founder of versified comedy. His poems have by chance been consigned to oblivion, but two or three iambic verses ²⁰ of his are transmitted in memory. They are: 'Oyez the saying! So speaks Susarion: Women are an evil thing, but nonetheless, demesmen, it is not possible to have a home without evil.' Once the thing had a start many comic composers arose to expose those ²⁵ who led wicked lives and delighted in wrongdoing. And from that time they conferred a public benefit on the constitution of Athens.

FOCUS ITEMS 2: Traces of Phanodemus' Account of the Origins of Dionysian Music

Philochorus *Atthis*, FGrH 328 5b (= Athen. 2.7, 38c-d), **5a** (= Athen. 15.48, 693d-e). Date: 270s. Text: Jacoby.

Φιλόχορος δὲ φησιν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Ἀθηναίων βασιλέα μαθόντα παρὰ Διονύσου τὴν τοῦ οἴνου κρᾶσιν πρῶτον κεράσαι. διὸ καὶ ὀρθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτω πίνοντας, πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου καμπτομένους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰδρῦσασθαι βωμὸν Ὀρθοῦ Διονύσου ἐν τῷ τῶν ὠρῶν ἱερῶν· αὗται γὰρ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν ἐκτρέφουσι. πλησίον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς Νύμφαις βωμὸν ἔδειμεν, ὑπόμνημα τοῖς χρωμένοις τῆς κράσεως ποιούμενος· καὶ γὰρ Διονύσου τροφοὶ αἱ Νύμφαι λέγονται. καὶ θέσμιον ἔθετο προσφέρεσθαι μετὰ τὰ σιτία <πᾶσιν> ἄκρατον μόνον ὅσον γεύσασθαι, δεῖγμα τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη κεκραμένον, ὅποσον ἕκαστος βούλεται· προσεπιλέγειν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς Σωτῆρος ὄνομα διδαχῆς καὶ μνήμης ἕνεκα τῶν πινόντων, ὅτι οὕτω πίνοντες ἀσφαλῶς σωθήσονται.

Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀτθίδος καὶ θέσμιον φησὶν ἐτέθη τότε προσφέρεσθαι μετὰ τὰ σιτία πᾶσιν ἀκράτου μὲν ὅσον γεῦμα καὶ δεῖγμα τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη κεκραμένον. διὸ καὶ τροφῶν τοῦ Διονύσου τὰς νύμφας ὀνομασθῆναι.

Philochorus says that Amphictyon the King of Athens first learned from Dionysus how to mix wine with water. Drinking in this way men therefore stood upright, when formerly they were bent over by drinking unmixed wine, and as a result they founded the altar of Upright Dionysus in the Sanctuary of the Seasons – the Seasons because they foster the fruit of the vine. Near it he (Amphictyon) also built an altar to the nymphs, thus creating a memorial to serve as a reminder to those who consume wine. Indeed the nymphs are called 'the nurses of Dionysus'. And he established the ritual that all partake of no more than a taste of unmixed wine after a meal, a sign of the power of the Good God, but thereafter each could partake of as much mixed wine as he wished. And they also gave it (viz. the wine) the name of 'Zeus the Preserver' as a lesson and reminder to drinkers that only by drinking safely in this way would they be saved.

Philochorus in the second book of the *Atthis* says that a ritual was then established that all partake after a meal of no more unmixed wine than offers a taste and demonstration of the power of the Good God, and after that it is mixed. Because of this the nymphs are called 'the nurses of Dionysus'.

Phanodemus *FGrH* 325 F 12 (= Athen. 11.465a). Date: 330s. Text: close to Jones *BNJ*.

Φανόδημος δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν φησι τοῦ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου τὸ γλεῦκος φέροντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν πίθων τῷ θεῷ κινᾶναι, εἶτ' αὐτοὺς προσφέρεισθαι· ὅθεν καὶ Λιμναῖον κληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον, ὅτι μιχθὲν τὸ γλεῦκος τῷ ὕδατι τότε πρῶτον ἐπόθη κεκραμένον· διόπερ ὀνομασθῆναι τὰς πηγὰς νύμφας καὶ τιθήνας τοῦ Διονύσου, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον αὐξάνει τὸ ὕδωρ κινᾶμενον. ἠσθέντες οὖν τῇ κράσει ἐν ᾧδαῖς ἔμελλον τὸν Διόνυσον, χορεύοντες καὶ ἀνακαλοῦντες Εὐάνθη καὶ Διθύραμβον καὶ Βακχευτὰν καὶ Βρόμιον.

Phanodemus says that the Athenians, carrying the new wine from the pithoi to the temple of Dionysus in the Marshes, mixed it for the god and then began to partake of it themselves. For this reason, Dionysus also acquired the name 'Limnaios' ('in the Marshes'), because then, after they had mingled the new wine with the water, mixed wine was drunk for the first time. The springs were named 'nymphs' and 'nurses of Dionysus' because water brings increase to the wine when mixed with it. And so, overjoyed by the mixed wine, they began to celebrate Dionysus in songs while dancing in choruses and invoking (Dionysus as) Euanthes and Dithyrambos and Bakcheutas and Bromios.