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TRAGEDY PERFORMANCES
OUTSIDE ATHENS IN THE LATE FIFTH
AND THE FOURTH CENTURIES BC

HELSINKI 2014

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I. Introduction

ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἰαμβεῖ' ἐκ Φοῖνικός ἐστιν Εὐριπίδου· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμ' οὐδεπώποτ' οὔτε
Θεόδωρος οὔτ' Ἀριστόδημος ὑπεκρίναντο, οἷς οὔτος τὰ τρίτα λέγων διετέλεσεν, ἀλλὰ
Μόλων ἠγωνίζετο καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν ὑποκριτῶν. Ἀντιγόνην δὲ Σοφοκλέους
πολλάκις μὲν Θεόδωρος, πολλάκις δ' Ἀριστόδημος ὑποκέρκρται.
(Dem. 19.24)

We know that Aeschylus produced his *Aetnaeae* and *Persae* in Sicily and that Euripides presented his *Archelaus* in Macedonia.¹ It is also a known fact that, at the end of the fifth century and during the fourth century BC, both tragedies and comedies were performed in the demes of Attica at the Rural Dionysia.² Furthermore, it is clear from material and literary evidence that during the fourth century BC theatres were built in all major Greek cities and that many well-known poets and actors of the fourth century were non-Athenians.³ We also know that in the fourth century BC, the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were revived and reproduced at the City Dionysia in Athens (the first known reperformance was in 386 BC, with regular performances by 341 BC).

What we do not know is: 1) which individual tragedies were performed outside Athens, 2) when the spread of tragic performances began on a wide scale, 3) where, in which cities and on what kind of occasions, tragedies were performed, and 4) how the arrangements for tragic performances outside Athens were carried out in practice.

The goal of this study is to answer most of the above-mentioned questions. To my knowledge, no study of this kind has been completed so far.⁴ Question four will be answered only partially, since adequate elaboration of it would require a separate study of its own. Use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* in the staging of tragedies performed outside Athens is discussed in Chapter V, and some of the arrangements of some dramatic performances outside Athens are discussed in Chapter III, but questions – such as who paid the salaries of the choruses? how fast and how far did the actors travel? what kind of stage props did they bring with them? what kind of stuff was recruited locally? were the tragedies performed in competitions with other tragedies or were they performed individually? – are left unanswered.⁵ Comedy and satyr plays (even though they are, of course, discussed when necessary) and the spread of performances of comedy outside Athens have also been deemed beyond the scope of this study because they have been addressed adequately elsewhere.⁶

¹ For discussion on the *Aetnaeae*, see P. 79–82. For *Persae*, see P. 82–86. For *Archelaus*, see P. 87–89.

² For discussion on the Rural Dionysia, see P. 91–98.

³ For theatre buildings, see P. 72–78. For the non-Athenian poets and actors, see P. 123–124.

⁴ Many scholars, however, such as Hall 2007; Taplin 2007a; and Csapo 2010a (esp. in ch. 3); touch upon some sectors of my study.

⁵ See Taplin 2012, 236–246, for some hypothetical answers to some of these questions.

⁶ See Taplin 1993; and Dearden 1988; 1990a; 1990b; 1995.

Sources of evidence and earlier research

Several aspects of this study have been investigated and discussed in numerous articles, monographs, and other publications. I mention here only some major publications which form the fundamental basis for my study, shorter studies are dealt with later, in connection with individual plays, authors, vase painters, theatre buildings, etc.

Documentary and literary sources

Inscriptions give us a lot of useful information about plays, actors, and the authors of the plays. Inscriptions are also a valuable source for festivals organized in cities outside Athens and for the activities of the so-called *Technitai* of Dionysus. In addition, inscriptions can provide information about theatre buildings that have not yet been attested by archaeology. Inscriptions and other literary evidence relating to the Great Dionysia and the Lenaea festivals are collected and discussed in *DFA*², Mette, and *CAD*.⁷ Inscriptions and other literary and archaeological evidence concerning the Rural Dionysia and the demes of Attica have been collected and discussed in *DFA*², Whitehead, Moretti, Csapo, and Jones.⁸ Inscriptions concerning theatre buildings are collected by Frederiksen.⁹

The number of occurrences of a tragedy in papyri can tell us something about its later popularity and perhaps about its revivals and reproductions. We can calculate roughly that there are some fourteen (with the probable addition of five more) fifth-century tragedies which occur in third-century-BC papyri (see P. 15–16). We shall see later in this study that quite a few of those tragedies have also been connected with several South Italian and Attic fourth-century-BC vases, and many of those tragedies also contain actors' interpolations and are parodied or quoted by Aristophanes (and other comedians). Papyri are important as evidence because they also complete our knowledge of the lost plays. There are several collective studies on tragic papyri, but nowadays the online databases are much more convenient to use.¹⁰

Although there are many cases in which the evidential value of some scholia have either been proven wrong or at least fallen under suspicion, scholia and hypotheses may still be useful sources for information about the contents of the lost tragedies and about the first performances or revivals of plays. All the relevant scholia and hypotheses will be discussed in Chapters II, III, and IV in connection with the tragedies.

Within the corpus of ancient literature, there are several anecdotes about different kinds of performances by individual actors and one-off festivals organized by Alexander the Great. All the relevant passages will be discussed in Chapters II, III, and IV.

⁷ *DFA*², 101–125; Mette 1977, 83–147, and *passim*; *CAD*, 103–121, 132–138, and *passim*.

⁸ *DFA*², 42–56; Whitehead 1986; *CAD*, 124–132, and *passim*; Moretti 2001; Csapo 2004; Jones 2004.

⁹ Frederiksen 2002, 97–105.

¹⁰ See Pack 1965; Austin 1968; Carden 1974; Bouquiaux-Simon and Mertens 1992; Luppe 1997; *CEDOPAL*, Mertens-Pack³ online Database (<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm>); and *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>). See also Xanthakis-Karamanos 1995.

Vase paintings

The complex relationship between vase paintings and plays has been quite a popular subject for scholars during the last decades. Almost simultaneously, in 1986 and 1987, Csapo and Taplin each published an article on an Apulian bell-krater by the Schiller Painter, Würzburg, Wagner Mus. H 5697 (dating to *c.*370 BC, see Fig. 5), with both scholars claiming that the vase presents the parody of Euripides' *Telephus* in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae* (689–759).¹¹ Taplin continued the same theme in his highly influential *Comic Angels*.¹² Long before Csapo and Taplin, however, Webster had already suggested in 1948 that the so-called phlyax vases might be connected to Athenian old and/or middle comedy.¹³

Connections between vase paintings and tragedies are much more problematic than connections between vase paintings and comedies. Nevertheless, several scholars have eagerly connected numerous individual vases with plenty of individual tragedies. In 1971, Trendall and Webster published a very well-known study (*IGD*) in which they discussed in detail over one-hundred Attic and South Italian vases, which they connected to the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (and also to some other tragedians). Some years later, Kossatz-Deissmann discussed sixty-one South Italian vases connected to the plays of Aeschylus.¹⁴ Connecting tragedies with vases that depict mythological scenes is not a new idea. Already in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Vogel, Huddilston, Engelmann, and Séchan had dealt with this issue.¹⁵ In addition to these studies, numerous articles have been published.¹⁶ Many articles in collections, *LIMC* for example, and editions of fragmentary plays, such as *TrGF*, and many editions of complete plays also discuss this topic.¹⁷ Last – but not least – in this long series of studies is one by Taplin.¹⁸ Of course, publications by Trendall and Cambitoglou form the fundamental basis for all studies of South Italian vases.¹⁹

Regarding the vase paintings, my aim in this study is simply to try to recognize the possible influence of actual theatre performances on the vase paintings. I shall call vases with tragic scenes (or 'mythological narratives') by the collective term 'tragedy related vases' and the so-called 'phlyax vases' (or vases with comic scenes) by the collective term 'comedy related vases'.

Tragedies

Texts of tragedies can contain information about their later popularity. In 1994, Easterling pointed out some internal traces, within the surviving texts, which might indicate that they

¹¹ Csapo 1986; Taplin 1987.

¹² Taplin 1993.

¹³ Webster 1948, 15–27.

¹⁴ Kossatz-Daissmann 1978.

¹⁵ Vogel 1886; Huddilston 1898; Engelmann 1900; Séchan 1926.

¹⁶ See e.g. Oakley 1991; Giuliani 1996 (see esp. pp. 72–75, for 'philodramatic' vs 'iconocentric' approach); Giuliani 2001 (esp. pp. 22–27, for 'narrative versus allegorical meaning'); and Morelli 2001. See also Green 1985; 1991a; 1991b; 1995; 1996; 1999; 2001.

¹⁷ E.g. Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1997; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004; and Jouan and van Looy 1998; 2000; 2002.

¹⁸ Taplin 2007a.

¹⁹ *LCS*; *RVSIS*; *RVAp* I–II; *RVAp* Suppl. 1–2.3; *RVPa*.

were perhaps produced outside Athens.²⁰ Five years later Taplin called this phenomenon by the name ‘localization’ and added some more excerpts from the tragedies to the conversation.²¹ This theory – that there are some ‘localizing’ verses, which were written to please possible audiences outside Athens, in the texts of tragedies – is fascinating, but one has to admit that the authority of these verses as evidence for possible revivals of old plays outside Athens remains weak. (The only strong case hangs on the odd and anachronistic references to Sicily and South Italy in Eur. *Tro.* 220–229, see P. 52–53).

All extant tragedies are more or less interpolated and one explanation for some of these interpolations is that actors altered the texts of the revived old tragedies.²² Actors’ interpolations may thus give us some hints as to the revivals of some tragedies, at least those produced in Athens and perhaps also outside Athens, although it must be admitted that there is a lot of speculation involved in using actors’ interpolations as evidence. Numerous actors’ interpolations are suggested and explained in editions and commentaries of the extant tragedies.

Intertextual evidence

Comedies may reveal something about the reperformances of old tragedies in Athens. For instance, Aristophanes parodies, quotes verses from, or alludes to (approximately) eighteen plays of Aeschylus, who died some thirty years before Aristophanes started his career. We may rightfully ask whether the audience of Aristophanes had seen some of the ridiculed plays in recent reproductions (see P. 58–66). There is some intertextual material within the texts of tragedies too. I shall discuss all relevant cases in Chapters II, III and IV.

For the texts of the extant comedies I have used the editions in the Oxford Classical Texts and Teubner series. These editions also include discussion on the dates of the plays. Harriot and Rau have studied and discussed Aristophanes’ use of both parody and the tragic texts.²³ Revermann’s study on the competence of theatre audiences and editions of Aristophanes’ plays with commentaries by Sommerstein have also been useful.²⁴

Just like parodies and quotations in comedies, other literary quotations and allusions may also give us information about the reproductions of tragedies. Plato and Aristotle, as well as several other ancient authors, cite or imitate verses from, or allude to the texts of the tragedians. The question that needs to be asked is, had the authors of the literary quotations and allusions seen reproductions of the plays in question or did they perhaps refer to them mainly on the basis of text copies?

In addition to Plato and Aristotle, there are also some direct quotations and cases of imitations and referencing in political and forensic oratory, and, of course, numerous quotations, parodies, imitations, and translations into Latin of Greek tragedies made by ancient authors throughout the centuries. These are collected, commented on, and discussed in numerous editions of the texts.

²⁰ Easterling 1994, 73–80.

²¹ Taplin 1999, 43–48.

²² See Page, *passim*; Barrett 1966², 46; Mastronarde 1984, 42; Hutchinson 1985, xliii and 211; and Willink 1986, lxiii and 231.

²³ Harriot 1962; Rau 1967.

²⁴ Revermann 2006b; Sommerstein 1990; 1994; 1996; 1998; and 2001.

Theatre buildings

Archaeological remains of the theatre buildings reveal possible venues for (re)performances of the plays. Numbers, dates, and locations of Greek theatres have been studied and discussed collectively by, for example, Anti, Mitens, Rossetto and Sartorio, Isler, Frederiksen and Baçe.²⁵ Csapo has combined the textual evidence with the architectural evidence into a table that shows twenty-three certain, ten probable, and twenty-nine possible venues for drama from c.440 to c.340 BC.²⁶ Frederiksen has counted that, all in all, there are 306 Greek theatres dating up to the second century AD.²⁷ The sheer number of theatre buildings clearly shows that there were plenty of suitable spaces for tragedies to be performed outside Athens. In this study, I am, of course, interested only in the theatres that have been dated to before the end of the fourth century BC.

Architectural features of the theatre buildings (i.e. the form of the orchestra, the size of the scene building, the capacity of the auditorium etc.) have been discussed in several articles and monographs.²⁸

Other studies closely related to this study

Individual actors have been studied by O'Connor, Ghiron-Bistagne, Sutton, and Stephanis.²⁹ Two separate studies on the *Technitae* of Dionysus have been published by Le Guen and Anizieri respectively.³⁰ Tragedies of the fourth century BC and Hellenistic drama have been studied by Xanthakis-Karamanaos and Sifakis.³¹ Reconstructions of fragmentary plays are numerous.³²

Stagecraft (i.e. entrances and exits of the actors, use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* etc.) has been studied and discussed, for instance, by Hourmouziades, Dale, Dearden, Taplin, Seale, Halleran, Rehm, Mastronarde, Newiger, and Pöhlmann.³³ The lost comedies and the followers of Aristophanes have also been studied in several books, articles, editions, and collections.³⁴

²⁵ Anti 1947; Mitens 1988; *TGR* I–III; Isler 1997; Frederiksen 2002; and Baçe 2004. Earlier studies on individual theatres are referred to in these publications.

²⁶ Csapo 2010a, 102. The table is reproduced on P. 72.

²⁷ Frederiksen 2002. There is a distinct chart on p. 93.

²⁸ E.g. see Pickard-Cambridge 1968²; Bieber 1971⁴; Gogos 1984; Wiles 1997; Revermann 1999, 25–28; Frederiksen 2000, 135–175; and Moretti 1999/2000, 377–398.

²⁹ O'Connor, 1908; Ghiron-Bistagne 1976; Sutton 1987, 9–26; and Stephanis 1988. See also Easterling and Hall 2002.

³⁰ Le Guen 2001a; and Aneziri 2003. See also Le Guen 2001b, 261–298; Lightfoot 2002, 209–224; and Aneziri 2006, 217–236.

³¹ Sifakis 1967; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980.

³² E.g. see Pearson 1917; Séchan 1926; Weir Smyth 1926; Bates 1930; Bates 1940; Mette 1963; Webster 1967; Kiso 1984; Sutton 1984; Lloyd-Jones 1996; Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1997; Jouan and van Looy 1998; 2000; 2002; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004; Sommerstein, Fitzpatrick, and Talboy 2006; and Sommerstein and Talboy 2012. These are all collections which deal with several plays at the same time. Individual plays are, of course, also discussed in numerous monographs and articles.

³³ Hourmouziades 1965; Dale 1969, 119–129, 259–271; Dearden 1976; Taplin 1977; Seale 1982; Halleran 1985; Rehm 1988, 263–307; Mastronarde 1990, 247–294; Newiger 1990, 33–42; Pöhlmann 1995, 155–164. All these studies deal with several plays. Naturally, stagecraft is also discussed in numerous editions of individual plays and in commentaries on them.

³⁴ See e.g. Webster 1953; *PCG* series; Harvey and Wilkins 2002; and Olson 2007.

In this study, I am interested in individual actors, stagecraft of tragedies and the other genres³⁵ of theatre only if they reveal something about possible revivals of tragedies (in Athens) and productions of tragedies outside Athens.

Problems with the evidence

A great deal of important evidence for this study is either fragmentary or involves a lot of speculation. Therefore some of the conclusions of this study will remain conjectural. Different types of sources and the credibility of the evidence shall be discussed in detail in the next Chapter, only some significant problems are mentioned here.

Firstly, it is essential to ask, how trustworthy are literary anecdotes on playwrights, actors, and performances, for example, the *Lives* of the poets and the scholia? Some ‘facts’ that are mentioned in the *Lives* may be pure invention and there are several cases in which a scholiast has been shown to be wrong.³⁶ Secondly, sometimes there are problems among ancient documentary and literary sources in identifying individual plays, and in separating some plays from others that have a similar title (e.g. titles such as *Iphigenia* and *Iphigenia in Aulis/Tauris*; *Achilles* and *Achilles Thersitoctonus*; *Alcmaeon* and *Alcmaeon through Psophis/Corinth*; *Oedipus* and *Oedipus in Colonus*; *Philoctetes* and *Philoctetes at Lemnos/Troy*; *Thyestes* and *Thyestes in Sicyon*).³⁷ Thirdly, since we cannot fully trust the texts of the ancient authors, we must ask ourselves if we can even trust the studies of modern scholars. Between modern studies, there are sometimes gaps of several decades in the dates of plays, vases, inscriptions and theatres.³⁸ It must also be kept in mind that some vases can be forgeries.³⁹ The big question that needs to be asked is, which investigation and whose date is the most credible one?

Finally, when handling very fragmentary evidence, ‘the danger of a vicious circle is obvious’.⁴⁰ Reconstruction of fragmentary plays is often based on too few fragments and on too many suppositions and pure guesswork. A classic case of circular reasoning may be as follows: 1) there is a vase X portraying some gods and heroic figures, and this vase somehow seems to be related to theatre; 2) some of the figures depicted on vase X are known to have appeared in a lost tragedy Y. Thus we conclude that: 1) vase X and tragedy Y are somehow related; and 2) all the figures shown on vase X must have appeared in tragedy Y. Consequently, we might further conclude that a god Z, shown on the vase, must have spoken the prologue of tragedy Y or must have appeared as a *deus*

³⁵ For Sicilian comedy, pantomime, and Phlyax comedy, see Dearden 1988; 1990a; and *PCG* I. For dancers and comedy in Sparta, Corinth, Boeotia and Megara, see Webster 1956, 128–144; and Simon 1982a, 16, and 30.

³⁶ For critical comments on the trustworthiness of the *Lives*, see Lefkowitz 1978; and 1981. For some scholiasts’ mistakes, see P. 17.

³⁷ For some examples of this problem, see P. 14, 17–19, 68–69, and 196.

³⁸ For example, an Attic/Faliscan volute-krater (V 206 in App. II), Melbourne D 87/1969 (formerly in the Pulzky collection), is dated variously to 420–400 or 380–350 BC, and a Lucanian nestoris (V 172 in App. II), Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Mus. 1842, is dated variously to 400–375 or 380–360 BC. For discussion on the dates of theatres, see P. 73–74.

³⁹ For a reminder about vase forgery, see Robinson 2004, 212, who writes: ‘Paolucci believed, in 1996, that the number of faked South Italian pots entering the market exceeded the number of genuine ones. Yet little work has been done on this subject, and one wonders how firm are the foundations upon which we build all our arguments’.

⁴⁰ As Giuliani 1996, 73 reminds us.

ex machina in tragedy Y, and a nurse shown on vase X must have had a significant role in tragedy Y. Since all the details on vase X and in our reconstruction of tragedy Y match perfectly, vase X must be a tragedy related vase.⁴¹

Research methods and the structure of this study

My method in this study is simply to go through all the relevant sources, draw conclusions, and suggest new proposals on the basis of the evidence. I shall argue that a lot of tragedies were performed outside Athens in the fourth century BC and I am going to show that there is plenty of material to back up my argument. All the relevant evidence is accessible. It comes from both archaeological and textual sources and, although it is sporadic and fragmentary, it is still possible to draw some conclusions based upon it.

As shall be seen later in this study, my main argument is that the tragedies for which there is plenty of diverse evidence from many different sources (inscriptions, papyri, remarks and anecdotes by ancient authors, vases, localization and actors' interpolations, parody by Aristophanes and other comedians, citations and allusions by Plato and Aristotle, etc.), are tragedies that were very probably exported outside Athens. I shall take up and discuss twenty-two tragedies as examples that were very probably performed outside Athens.

Furthermore, I am going to suggest that, in addition to these twenty-two tragedies, some thirty-five others were probably or possibly performed outside Athens as well. Different kinds of evidence also exist for these thirty-five plays, but not from as many sources as those tragedies that I have classed as very probably being exported plays.

I am also going to discuss possible venues for the performances of the exported plays and I shall argue that tragedies were exported all over the Greek world. In addition, I shall also discuss and suggest a probable date for the start of the exportation of tragedies on a wider scale.

Some interesting questions that arise in the course of my research are left unanswered because they would require independent research that cannot be included in this study. These questions shall be raised in the text regardless, and I hope to be able to answer them in the future.

The different kinds of evidence are discussed in Chapter II. Chapter III of this study examines all the known theatre performances outside Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens are dealt with in Chapter IV and conclusions are drawn in Chapter V. Tragedies that were probably or possibly performed outside Athens are listed and discussed briefly in Appendix I. All tragedy related vases, of which I am aware, are collected in Appendix II and all the discussed tragedies with all the relevant evidence concerning them are compiled into a table in Appendix III.

Before discussing the evidence, I shall finish the Introduction with a few words on the survival and loss of the plays. The following numbers are probably well-known facts to all students and scholars of Greek drama, but I believe they are still worth mentioning here.

We can calculate roughly that within the span of a hundred years, let us say between 440 BC and 340 BC, there were 900 tragedies (i.e. 100 years x 3 authors x 3

plays) performed at the City Dionysia alone. And if we add the 400 tragedies (i.e. 100 x 2 x 2) presented at the Lenaea, we reach the number of 1,300 tragedies. If we further add the 300 satyr plays (i.e. 100 x 3 x 1) and the 500 comedies (i.e. 100 x 5 x 1) presented at the Dionysia, as well as the 500 comedies (i.e. 100 x 5 x 1) presented at the Lenaea, we reach the number of 2,600 plays!⁴²

Furthermore, we know that Aeschylus wrote at least 83 plays, Sophocles either 123 or 130 plays and Euripides as many as 92 plays.⁴³ Of the fourth-century authors, Astydamos II, Theodectes, and Carcinus II, each produced c.240, 50, and 160 plays respectively.⁴⁴

In 1926, Séchan calculated that, of the 386 then-known titles of tragedies, fifty-six of the same name had been written by two separate authors; sixteen by three; twelve by four;⁴⁵ five by five;⁴⁶ three by six;⁴⁷ two by seven,⁴⁸ and one title (*Oedipus*) by twelve separate authors.⁴⁹ From the editions of *TGF* and *TrGF* we can now calculate that at least 15 Greek authors wrote a tragic *Oedipus*⁵⁰ and at least 13 authors wrote a tragic *Medea*.⁵¹

⁴¹ There is a long tradition of reconstructing fragmentary plays by combining literary fragments and vase-paintings. E.g. see Vogel 1886; Huddilston 1899; Engelmann 1900; Séchan 1926; Bates 1930; Webster 1967. For some fine discussions on reconstructions of the fragmentary plays on the basis of much later authors, esp. Hyginus and Apollodorus, see Huys 1996; 1997a; and 1997b.

⁴² I am of course aware of the changes in the number of plays presented at the Dionysia and the Lenaea. E.g. during the Peloponnesian war, there were only three comedies presented at the Dionysia, instead of the usual five (see *CAD*, 107); in 363 BC, three tragic poets competed at the Lenaea, instead of the usual two (see *SEG* 26.203; Camp 1971, 302–307; Mette 1977, 147, III D 1 col. 6; *TrGF* II, 325, sub Did A 2b adde; *DFA*², 359–360; *CAD*, 136–137, no. III.75.); in 340 BC, the tragic poets at the Dionysia offered only two tragedies each, instead of the usual three (for discussion on the performances in 340 BC, see P. 13–14). I have not taken these changes into account in this calculation. Neither have I included the performances of old tragedies, old comedies, and old satyr plays in the number. For the present purpose of estimating the number of lost plays, it is enough to use the rough figures.

⁴³ Of the 83 known plays by Aeschylus, 73 are mentioned in the Medicean manuscript; see e.g. Weir Smyth 1926, 375–377; Mette 1963, 236–237; and *TrGF* III, 58–59. Sophocles' *Vita* (*TrGF* IV, T 1) claims that Sophocles wrote 130 plays and the *Suda* (*TrGF* IV, T 2) states that he produced 123 plays. Of the lost plays by Sophocles, 115 titles are known and together with the seven extant ones we reach a number of 122. For discussion of the number of plays written by Sophocles, see Radt 1991, 81–83; and Lloyd-Jones 1996, 1–9. For the number of plays written by Euripides, see Jouan and van Looy 1998, xxii–xxiv. The Alexandrians knew the titles of 92 and possessed copies of 78 plays by Euripides, of which *Peirithous*, *Rhadamanthys* and *Tennes* were considered spurious. According to the *Suda*, Euripides offered 22 productions. This number of productions would mean 88 plays (66 tragedies and 22 satyr plays). It is problematic that only eight titles of Euripides' satyr plays are known (plus the pro-satyr *Alcestis*, see P. 130–132).

⁴⁴ For Astydamos I, see *TrGF* I 59 T 1 (= *Suda* α 4264) and for Astydamos II, see *TrGF* I 60 T 1 (= *Suda* α 4265). In the *Suda*, father and son have been mixed up and probably the figure of 240 plays includes plays by both of them. For Theodectes, see *TrGF* I 72 T 1 (= *Suda* θ 138). For Carcinus II, see *TrGF* I 70 T 1 (= *Suda* κ 394).

⁴⁵ These titles are: *Andromeda*, *Erigona*, *Helena*, *Hercules*, *Meleager*, *Oeneus*, *Palamedes*, *Pentheus*, *Phoenix*, *Phrixus*, *Tantalus*, and *Teucer*. It must be noted here that an *Iphigenia* was written by three individual authors and in addition to these plays, there are, of course, the two *Iphigenia* plays by Euripides, i.e. the *IA* and the *IT*.

⁴⁶ These titles are: *Alcmena*, *Bacchae*, *Ixion*, *Mysoe*, and *Orestes*.

⁴⁷ These titles are: *Alcmaeon*, *Philoctetes*, and *Telephus*. In addition to Séchan's calculation, there is, of course, Sophocles' extant *Philoctetes*.

⁴⁸ These titles are: *Achilles* and *Thyestes*. According to *TGF*, an *Achilles* was written by Iophon, Aristarchus of Tegea, Carcinus II, Astydamos II, Euaretus, Cleophon, and Diogenes of Sinope. According to *TGF*, a *Thyestes* was written by Agathon, Apollodorus, Carcinus II, Chaeremon, Cleophon, Diogenes of Sinope, and Euripides.

⁴⁹ Séchan 1926, 532.

When Aristotle claims in his *Poetics* (1453a17–22) that *νῦν δὲ περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας αἰ κάλλιστα τραγωδία συντίθενται, οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμέονα καὶ Οἰδίπουν καὶ Ὀρέστην καὶ Μελέαγρον καὶ Θυέστην καὶ Τήλεφον*, he surely knows what he is talking about. The titles that he mentions are the most popular ones. We know that a tragic *Alcmaeon* was written by eight individual authors,⁵² an *Oedipus* by fifteen,⁵³ an *Orestes* by six,⁵⁴ a *Meleager* by five,⁵⁵ a *Thyestes* by nine,⁵⁶ and a *Telephus* by seven individual authors.⁵⁷ It is truly tragic to compare the total number of plays which Aristotle saw or otherwise knew about to the seven tragedies by Aeschylus and Sophocles respectively, and 18 tragedies plus one satyr play by Euripides that we have left today.⁵⁸

Keeping these figures in mind, it is clear that, when we see, for example, a vase which shows Medea killing her children or a vase which depicts Atreus being murdered by Thyestes or Telephus kneeling at an altar and threatening the life of young Orestes with a sword, the obvious question we need to ask is, whose *Medea*, *Thyestes* or *Telephus* is the vase reflecting?

⁵⁰ These authors are: Sophocles (*OT* and *OC*); an anonymous author (*TrGF* II, 15, F 8); Achaeus I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 124, F 30–31); Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 287–288); Carcinus II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 212, F 1f); Diogenes of Sinope, C4 (*TrGF* I, 253, T 1–2, F 1f); Euripides (*TrGF* V, 569–583, F 539a–557, see also Collard 2005, 57–62); Nicomachus of Athens, C5 (*TrGF* I, 154, T 1); Nicomachus of Troas, C3 (*TrGF* I, 286, F 7); Philocles I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 139, T 1); Philocles II/Timocles, C4 (*TrGF* I, Did A 2a), won the second prize at Dionysia in 340 (Neoptolemus acted); Theodectes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 232, F 4); and Xenocles I (*TrGF* I, 153, F 1), who won at the Dionysia in 415 BC with *Oedipus*, *Lycaeon*, *Bacchae*, and a satyric *Athamas*. In addition to these, there were two separate *Oedipus* plays by Lycophron, C3 (*TrGF* I, 274, T 3), and an *Oedipodeia* by Meletus II, c.399 BC (*TrGF* I, 188, F 1).

⁵¹ These authors are: Euripides; an anonymous author (*TGF*² 838); a second anonymous author (*TrGF* II, 201–202, F 701); Biotus, date unknown (*TrGF* I, 309, F 1); Carcinus II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 212, F 1e); Dicaeogenes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 191, F 1a); Diogenes of Athens, C5 (*TrGF* I, 184, T 1); Diogenes of Sinope, C4 (*TrGF* I, 253, T 1, 255, F 1e); Euripides II, C5 (*TrGF* I, 94, T 1); Neophron, C5 (*TrGF* I, 92–94, T 1–3, F 1–3); Melanthius I, C5 (*TrGF* I, 137, T 4a); Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 347); and Theodorides (*TrGF* II, 325, Did A 2b addenda), who won the second prize at Lenaea in 363 with a *Medea* and a *Phaethon* (in which Androsthene acted).

⁵² These authors are: Agathon, C5 (*TrGF* I, 161, F 2); Astydamos II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 200, F 1b–1c); Euaretus, C4 (*TrGF* I, 251, T 2); Nicomachus, C3 (*TrGF* I, 285, T 1); Sophocles, C5 (*TrGF* IV, 129–130, F 108–110); Theodectes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 230–231, F 1a–2); Timotheus (*JG* II² 3091, see my discussion on P. 11–12), and Euripides who wrote two plays about Alcmaeon, i.e. *A. at Corinth* and *A. at Psophis* (*TrGF* V, 206–218, F 65–87a).

⁵³ See n. 50 above.

⁵⁴ These authors are: Euripides; an anonymous author? (*TrGF* 17, F 8c), who won the second prize at Lenaea before 363 BC; Euripides II, C5 (*TrGF* I, 94, T 1); Carcinus II, C4 (*TrGF* I, 213, F 1g); Theodectes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 232, F 5); and Aphaeus, C4 (*TrGF* I, 239, F 1 = Did A 2a), who was third at the Great Dionysia in 341 BC (Athenodorus acted).

⁵⁵ These authors are: Euripides (*TrGF* V, 554–568, F 515–539); an anonymous author? (*TrGF* II, F 625, 632); Antiphon, C4 (*TrGF* I, 195, F 1b); Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 345–347, F 401–406); and Sosiphanes, C4 (*TrGF* I, 261, F 1).

⁵⁶ In addition to the seven authors mentioned in note 48 above are: Diogenes of Athens, C51 (*TrGF* I, 184, T 1), and Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 162–163 and *TrGF* IV, 239–246), who probably wrote three plays about Thyestes (an *Atreus* and a *Thyestes* and a *Thyestes in Sicyon* or *Thyestes I* and II and a *Thyestes in Sicyon*, see P. 196–198).

⁵⁷ These authors are: Aeschylus (*TrGF* III, 343–346, F 238–240); Agathon, C5 (*TrGF* I, 162–163, F 4); Cleophon, C4 (*TrGF* I, 246, T 1); Iophon, C5 (*TrGF* I, 132, T 1a); Moschion, C3 (*TrGF* I, 264, F 2); Sophocles (*TrGF* IV, 434); and Euripides (*TrGF* V, 680–718, F 696–727c).

⁵⁸ The question of the authorship of *Prometheus Bound* is not an issue here. Neither is the question of the authorship of *Rhesus*.

V. Conclusions

οἱ δὲ Ταραντῖνοι Διονύσια ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ διακορεῖς οἴνου τὸ δειλῆς καθήμενοι
(Cass. Dio 9.39.5)

Violence is one of the most fun things to watch.
(Quentin Tarantino)

After having surveyed all the different kinds of evidence in Chapters II and III, I discussed twenty-two tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens in Chapter IV. In addition, I list thirty-five more tragedies in Appendix I that, I suggest, were probably or possibly performed outside Athens as well. It is quite certain that the *Aetnaeae* of Aeschylus was performed in Sicily (probably in Syracuse) around 470 BC, and that his *Persae* was first performed in Athens in 472 BC and then reperformed in Sicily (probably in Syracuse), probably around 470 BC, and that Euripides' *Archelaus* was performed in Macedonia during the reign of Archelaus (but the exact place and date of the performance is not known).

Furthermore, we have direct or indirect evidence for theatrical activity in twenty-two demes of Attica (a Dionysia in fifteen, dramatic performances in eleven, theatre buildings in at least twelve demes) and we even know some titles of some of the plays that were performed at the Rural Dionysia. There is also archaeological, epigraphic and/or literary evidence for approximately one hundred theatres (that date to before 300 BC) on mainland Greece, on the Greek islands and in Asia Minor, and in South Italy and Sicily.

Many ancient authors testify that Alexander the Great spent a lot of money on festivals, theatrical contests, and dramatic performances to which he invited the most famous actors of his time, and there are also several anecdotes about many famous fourth-century-BC actors, such as Aeschines, Athenodorus, Neoptolemus, Theodorus, and Thettalus, who performed in several places outside Athens and quoted tragic verses on various occasions.

I further suggest that, in addition to the sixty tragedies that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly (re)performed outside Athens, there must have been many other tragedies (about which we know nothing) that were also performed outside Athens.

Some tragedians and their tragedies

In addition to Aeschylus, another Athenian tragic poet, who is said to have visited Sicily (and died there), is Phrynichus, and Morgan raises the possibility that Phrynichus' *Phoenissae* was performed in Syracuse.¹ Phrynichus most probably won the first prize in Athens in 476 BC with this play that dramatized the battle of Salamis and Aeschylus is said to have modelled his *Persae* on Phrynichus' tragedy.² The known titles of Phrynichus'

¹ Morgan 2012, 49. For Phrynichus in Sicily, see *TrGF* I, 70, T 6.

² See *TrGF* I, 69–70, T 4, and T 5 (= hypothesis to Aeschylus' *Persae*).

tragedies are Αιγύπτιοι, Ἀκταίων, Ἄλκηστις, Ἄνταϊος/Λίβυες, Δίκαιοι/Πέρσαι/Σύνθωκοι, Δαναΐδες, Μιλήτου Ἄλωσις, Πλευρώνιοι, Τάνταλος, and Φοινίσσαι.³ Unfortunately, we have no evidence whatsoever that any of these tragedies were ever performed in Sicily.

It could also be claimed that (all) the tragedies of Dionysius I were at some point produced in Syracuse.⁴ Dionysius I, who subjugated the whole of eastern Sicily and was also active on several occasions in southern Italy, founded the city of Tyndaris in north-eastern Sicily in 396 BC.⁵ I suggest that, in addition to supposed performances of Dionysius' tragedies in Syracuse, Dionysius may also have had his tragedies presented at Tyndaris, perhaps at the inaugural festivities of the city's foundation (assuming that there ever was such an occasion; cf. Hieron and the founding of Aetna, P. 79–80). The known titles of Dionysius' plays are Ἄδωνις, Ἄλκμήνη, Ἔκτορος λύτρα, Λήδα, and Λιμός (a satyr play).⁶ I propose that some of these plays and some other plays written by the tyrant (of which we know nothing) must have been performed in Sicily.

Quite probably also some tragedies of Carcinus II were produced in Sicily (in premieres or in revivals). Carcinus (who lived c.420/410 – before 341/40 BC) is said to have often visited Sicily; he spent some time at the court of Dionysius I (until the return of Dion to Syracuse, i.e. 357/6 BC) and presumably he received the citizenship of Acragas.⁷ The known titles of Carcinus' tragedies are Ἀερόπη/Θυέστης, Αἴας, Ἀλόπη, Ἀμφιάραος, Ἀχιλλεὺς, Μήδεια, Οἰδίπους, Ὀρέστης, Σεμέλη, and Τυρώ.⁸ Dearden writes: 'It is not known whether all, or indeed any, of these were actually produced in Sicily, but at least one fragment deals with Demeter's search for her lost daughter and ties it to the fields of Aetna, suggesting that he had an eye to a local audience'.⁹ Also a tragedian by the name of Antiphon spent some time in Sicily where he was put to death by Dionysius I because he had criticized either his tyranny or his tragedies.¹⁰ In my opinion, it is perfectly probable that some of the tragedies of Antiphon were produced in Syracuse (the only known titles are Ἀνδρομάχη, Ἰάσων, and Μελέαγρος).¹¹

Plutarch mentions that Mamercus, the tyrant of Aetna around 340 BC (who was crucified in Syracuse by the order of Timoleon), also saw himself as a great writer of poems and tragedies (Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 31.1: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάμερκος, ἐπὶ τῷ ποιήματα γράφειν καὶ τραγωδίας μέγα φρονῶν). If Mamercus did write any tragedies, I see no reason why he would not have had his tragedies also performed at Aetna. Unfortunately, no titles of Mamercus' tragedies are known.

³ See *TrGF I*, 69–79, F 1–24.

⁴ See P. 135 (with n. 76) for my comments on his *Alcmena*.

⁵ Diod. Sic. 14.78.6. The city was named after the Tyndaridae, a Messenian version of the Dioscuri.

⁶ See *TrGF I*, 242–246, F 1–3a. For some discussion on the nature of Dionysius' literary work, see Sanders 1987, 31, n. 7.

⁷ For Carcinus II's visits to Sicily, see Diod. Sic. 5.5.1; and Diog. Laert. 2.63. The *Suda* article on Carcinus (κ 394 = *TrGF I*, 210, T 1) claims that there was also a Carcinus of Acragas who was a tragic poet, but this probably means that the Athenian Carcinus II at some point of his life received the citizenship of Acragas, see e.g. 'Carcinus', in Brill's New Pauly, Brill Online, <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/carcinus-e609190>>.

⁸ See *TrGF I*, 210–215, F 1–11. All in all, Carcinus II is said to have written as many as 160 plays, and achieved 11 victories at the Dionysia, with the first victory before 372 BC. Perhaps it is worth noting here that both the father of Carcinus II, Xenocles I, and his grandfather, Carcinus I, were tragic poets. For Xenocles I, see *TrGF I*, 151–153. For Carcinus I, see *TrGF I*, 128–131.

⁹ Dearden 1990, 239. The fragment to which Dearden refers is *TrGF I*, 213–214, F 5.

¹⁰ See *TrGF I*, 193–194, T 2–6.

¹¹ See *TrGF I*, 194–196, F 1–6.

Some painters and their vases

When discussing the South Italian, tragedy related vases some painters come up again and again. The (Apulian) Darius Painter painted as many as fifty-seven of the vases listed in Appendix II. His vases have been related to the following tragedies (I exclude the vases that are attributed to the circle of the Darius Painter): *Adonis* (by Dionysius I), *Aetnaeae* (by Aeschylus), *Ajax* (by Sophocles), *Ajax Locrus* (by Sophocles), *Alcmaeon in Psophis/Corinth* (by Euripides), *Alcmena* (by Euripides), *Andromeda* (by Sophocles or Euripides), *Antigone* (by Euripides or Astydamos), *Antiope* (by Euripides), *Bacchae* (by Euripides), *Chrysippus* (by Euripides), *Creousa* (by Sophocles) or *Ion* (by Euripides), *Cretes* (by Euripides), *Edonoe* (by Aeschylus), *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), *Meleager* (by Euripides), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), *Hypsipyle* (by Euripides), *Medea* (by Euripides or an anonymous author), *Niobe* (by Aeschylus), *Niobe* (by an anonymous author), *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles or Euripides), *Persae* (by an anonymous author), *Phoenix* (by Euripides), *Phrixus A/B* (by Euripides), *Protesilaus* (by Euripides), *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author), *Stheneboea* (by Euripides), *Thyestes in Sicyon* (by Sophocles), *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus), and ten vases are related to unknown tragedies.

We see that quite a number of the above-mentioned tragedies, to which the Darius Painter's vases have been related, are plays that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens. I suggest that the Darius Painter must have witnessed numerous performances of tragedies. This is not a new suggestion, since already in 1983 Trendall and Cambitoglou wrote about the Darius Painter in the following way (underlining is my own):

It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that some of his vases on which are depicted myths that provided the themes of various Greek tragedies may not also have drawn their inspiration from a performance of the actual drama, especially as the characters usually wear the elaborate costumes associated with the stage. They give us not so much a direct representation of a scene from the play – in which we might expect the actual stage to be shown and the figures to be masked – as the painter's visual impression of the drama as a whole, with the principal characters, those deities who may be involved, directly or indirectly, and perhaps even the speakers of the epilogue, which brought the play to a conclusion and often foretold the future developments.¹²

A curious thing (which I cannot explain, maybe it is just a coincidence) about the Darius Painter is that, although well over 100 vases in Appendix II are related either to Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* or to his *Eumenides* (both of which were almost certainly performed in Magna Graecia in the fourth century BC), none of the Darius Painter's vases has been related to either of these two tragedies.

In addition to the Darius Painter, at least the Paestan Painter Asteas, the Sicilian Dirce Painter, the Apulian Ilioupersis Painter, the Campanian Ixion Painter, the Apulian Lycurgus Painter, and the Apulian Tarporley Painter must have witnessed actual dramatic performances. If someone were to claim that, for example, Asteas or the Tarporley

¹² *RVAp* Suppl 2.1, 145.

Painter never witnessed any actual performances of tragedies (in Sicily and in Tarentum respectively), he or she would need a very strong argument in order to convince me.¹³ Worth mentioning is also the fact that quite a number of the above-mentioned artists painted comedy related vases as well (plus vases that have been related to satyr plays and vases that depict actors' masks).¹⁴

Asteas' vases (either signed by him, or attributed to him by scholars) that are included in Appendix II have been related to the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, *Europa/Cares*; Euripides' *Phrixus A/B*, *Stheneboea*, and *Telephus*; and to a *Hercules furens* (by an anonymous author). The Dirce Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*; Euripides' *Antiope* and *Philoctetes*, and to *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author). The Ilioupersis Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Europa/Cares*, Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* and *Thyestes (I/II)*, and to Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Dictys*, *Medea*, and *IT*. The Ixion Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, and *Psychostasia*; Euripides' *Hippolytus*, *IT*, *Ixion*, *Medea*, *Oeneus* (or Sophocles' *Electra* or *Thyestes I or II*), *Phoenissae*, and *Telephus*; and to Euripides' or Sophocles' *Andromeda* and *Oenomaus*. The Lycurgus Painter's vases have been related to Aeschylus' *Edonoe*, *Eumenides*, and *Toxotides*; Sophocles' *Trachiniae*; Euripides' *Hypsipyle*, *Ion*, *Medea*, *Meleager*; to *Oenomaus* (either by Sophocles or Euripides); *Rhesus* (by an anonymous author); and to an unknown tragedy. The Tarporley Painter's vases have been related to the *Choephoroe* and to the *Eumenides* (both by Aeschylus).

Again we see that a number of the tragedies, to which the above-mentioned painters' vases have been related, have already been discussed in this study as tragedies that were either very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens. I suggest that almost all 'mythological vases' by the above-mentioned painters may actually be 'tragedy related vases', and therefore indirect evidence for the performances of tragedies in Magna Graecia.

There are a few more vases by some of the above-mentioned painters (plus some vases by other painters), which have not yet been discussed in this study (VV 586–619 in App. I). I suggest that all these vases are in some way reflecting performances of unknown tragedies, but because so many tragedies have been lost, we simply are not able to interpret these vases. Trendall, when discussing briefly the South Italian tragedy related vases, suggests: 'many do not correspond at all closely with extant dramas and may well reflect 4th-century-BC plays by writers like Astydamos'.¹⁵ Trendall's suggestion sounds reasonable. Numerous South Italian vases with mythological scenes may actually be related to performances of lost tragedies (written by fourth-century-BC authors).¹⁶

¹³ For my discussion on Asteas, see P. 49–50, and for my discussion on the Tarporley Painter, see P. 161.

¹⁴ For some comedy related vases (and vases depicting masks of actors) by the Tarporley Painter, see Pl. IX.1 and Pl. XII.2. For the comedy related vases by Asteas, see Figs. 4, 9, 18, and Pl. III.1. For two kalix-kraters by the Darius Painter that both depict a comic mask (with Dionysus, satyrs, and maenads), see Green 1995, pl. 6a–b, and 6c. There is also a dinos (Taranto 8925, from Canosa, *RVAp*, 506, no. 106, pl. 182, 6), and a small fragment (Geneva, Jacques Chamay coll., *RVAp*, 506, no. 107, pl. 181, 6; Aellen Cambitoglou, and Chamay 1986, 171–171) by the Darius Painter that both depict female masks. For a comic vase by the Dirce Painter, see Green 2012, 319, no. 46 (calyx-krater, Madrid 11026). I suggest that a volute-krater by the Lycurgus Painter, depicting Boreas and Oreithyia in company of a papposilenos (*RV SIS*, no. 149) may be related to an unknown satyr play.

¹⁵ Trendall 1990a, 228.

Provenances of the vases, and possible venues for the performance of tragedy in Sicily and Magna Graecia

The five main fabrics of Italiot red-figured vases are Apulian (over 10,000 vases altogether), Campanian (4,000), Paestan (2,000), Lucanian (1,500), and Sicilian (over 1,000 vases) fabrics.¹⁷ There were workshops for producing the Apulian vases in Tarentum (where the Tarporley Painter worked) and possibly also in Canosa (where the Darius Painter may have worked for a while), and the Lucanian vases were manufactured in Metapontum and probably also in Heraclea (modern Policoro).¹⁸ The Campanian vases were produced in the workshops located in Capua (where, for example, the Ixion Painter worked) and in Cumae; the Paestan painters (such as Asteas and Python) worked in Paestum, and in Sicily vases were produced in Syracuse (where the Dirce Painter worked) and around Mt. Etna (possibly at Centuripe); there was also a workshop on Lipari.¹⁹

When discussing the fabrics and provenances of the South Italian red-figured vases, it is good to keep in mind that the pioneers of the Apulian and the Lucanian schools probably either came from Athens or were trained there,²⁰ and that some Paestan and Campanian painters had emigrated from Sicily.²¹ In addition, some individual painters may have worked in two or even three separate workshops or areas during their career; for example, the Lucanian Sydney Painter, the Campanian Laghetto Painter, and the Campanian Caivano Painter worked for a while at Paestum;²² the Lucanian Dolon Painter worked in Tarentum with the Tarporley Painter.²³ The Darius Painter worked at Tarentum and perhaps also, at least for a period of time, in Canosa;²⁴ the Apulian Patera Painter may

¹⁶ Some estimations of the number of lost tragedies were given in the Introduction, P. 8. E.g. a loutrophoros by the Darius Painter depicting Leukon and Amphithea (Aellen, Cambitoglou and Chamay 1986, 124–135) may be related to a lost tragedy about which we know nothing.

¹⁷ See e.g. *RVSIS*, 7; Todisco 2003, 100ff; and Taplin 2007a, 15–20.

¹⁸ See MacDonald 1981, 159–160; *RVAp* I, xlvi; *RVSIS*, 17; and Trendall 1990a, 217–218. For a good discussion on Apulian vases (workshops, provenances, imagery), see Carpenter 2009, 27–38, who writes (on p. 30): ‘For more than half a century, most scholars have assumed that Apulian vases were produced in Taranto; however, there is still no solid archaeological evidence supporting this assumption’.

¹⁹ See MacDonald 1981, 161; and *RVSIS*, 157, 196; 239–240.

²⁰ See MacDonald 1981, 160 (for some references); and *RVSIS*, 17: ‘At first such vases are so closely modelled upon Attic prototypes that it seems likely that the artists responsible for them had either been trained in Athens or were immigrants from that city, seeking other outlets for their skills.’

²¹ Asteas moved from Sicily to Paestum around 360 BC, see *RVPa*, 18, 55, and 62. The Chequer Painter probably moved from Sicily to Campania, see Padgett *et al.* 1992, 187–188.

²² *RVPa*, 19: ‘[the] Sydney Painter may have worked for a time in Paestum ... it may well be the case that some Campanian vase-painters actually worked for a time in Paestum.’ *RVSIS*, 59: ‘[the] Sydney Painter, who seems originally to have been of provincial Lucanian of origin ... Later on he may have moved to Paestum, since several of his vases, both in red-figure and in applied red have been found at that site.’ *RVSIS*, 160: ‘Several vases by the Laghetto and Caivano Painters have been found at Paestum – but it now seems better to regard them as Campanians (cf. the use of the bail-amphora), but not to exclude the possibility that either or both might have worked at Paestum for a time’.

²³ *RVSIS*, 55: ‘We should also note their extremely close connection with some of the contemporary Apulian vase-painters of the “Plain” style, especially the Tarporley Painter, and his school. This is particularly clear in certain vases by the Dolon Painter, and it looks as if for a time he might actually have worked along with the Tarporley Painter, one of whose vases was found near Metaponto’. *RVSIS* 57: ‘and the fact that no fragments of vases from this period were found at Metaponto might indicate that he was at that time actually employed in the Tarporley workshop in Taranto’.

²⁴ See *RVAp* II, 483–484.

have worked in Tarentum, Ruvo and Canosa.²⁵ Some originally Apulian painters also settled in Paestum.²⁶

The South Italian red-figured vases were not made for export, i.e. they were ‘local pots for local people’.²⁷ The top-ten find-spots of the South Italian, tragedy related vases listed in App. I are: Ruvo, 56 vases; Taranto, 19 vases; Canosa, 18 vases; Paestum, 14 vases; Capua, 12 vases; Lipari, 9 vases; Policoro, 8 vases; Anzi; 7 vases; Ceglie, 7 vases, and Nola, 7 vases.²⁸

Let us now, one more time, put things on the map. We may start by combining our information about the Greek theatres in Sicily and Magna Graecia (see Fig. 21) with our information about the locations of the workshops for the production of the vases and the top-ten find-spots of the tragedy related vases. We may also add on the same map our information about the actors and authors of tragedies and comedies who either were from Sicily or Magna Graecia, or visited Sicily/died there (see P. 123–124). As a result we get the following map (see Pl. XVII.1).

I suggest that several Attic tragedies that were first produced in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC (in premieres or in revivals) were performed also in Sicily and in Magna Graecia in the fourth century BC, most probably at least in Syracuse, Tarentum, Metapontum, Heraclea, Thurii, and Lipari. Other cities, which may have hosted dramatic performances, are Aetna, Gela, and Acragas in Sicily, and Rhegium and Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy. I base my suggestion of the following evidence.

Syracuse: several tragic and comic authors either were from Syracuse or visited the city. There was already a theatre in Syracuse in the fifth century BC and some vases that definitely reflect actual dramatic performances were manufactured there.

Tarentum: The famous vase fragment depicting a tragic actor with his mask (see Fig. 12) is even alone sufficient evidence to prove that tragedies were certainly performed at Tarentum around the mid-fourth century BC. Several tragedy related vases were manufactured in Tarentum and several vases have also been found at the site. Vases that have been found at Taranto have been related to the following tragedies: *Alcmena* (by Euripides), *Andromeda* (by Sophocles and Euripides) 2 vases, *Bassarae* (by Aeschylus) 2 vases, *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Hypsipyle* (by Euripides), *Lacaenae* (by Sophocles), *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides) 2 vases, *Phryges/Hectoros lutra* (by Aeschylus), *Stheneboea* (by Euripides), *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus) 2 vases, unknown tragedies (by Anon.) 3 vases. Although no remains of a Greek theatre have been found in Taranto, there is literary evidence that there was a theatre in the city in the third century BC (Cass. Dio 9.39.5 tells us that the Tarentines were celebrating a Dionysia at their theatre one afternoon in 272

²⁵ *RVSIS*, 94. See also Todisco 2012, 270 (with notes 174–177), for references and comments about some other painters.

²⁶ See Wonder 2002, 50.

²⁷ As it is expressed in Walsh 2009, 267. See also Trendall 1990a, 219: ‘South Italian vases are seldom found far from the area in which they were manufactured and were hardly ever exported overseas – less than 1 per cent of the extant total has come to light outside Magna Graecia’; and Taplin 2007a, 15: ‘Almost all of these, something like ninety-nine percent, were found in the areas of production; in other words, they were primarily made not for export but for local consumption’.

²⁸ The provenance is known, or presumed, in 283 cases out of 619 vases listed in App. I. Carpenter reminds us of the fact that Trendall’s inclusion of provenance for vases in *RVAp* could sometimes be haphazard and a recorded provenance can be found for many of the vases listed in his catalogues without one.

BC and were sitting there satiated with wine when they saw that a Roman admiral by the name of Lucius Valerius was sailing towards their city). Also worth mentioning is that Rhinton and Livius Andronicus were from Tarentum (and Ennius was educated there).²⁹

Metapontum: there is a fourth-century-BC theatre at Metapontum and the workshops of the Pisticci Painter, the Amycus Painter, the Creusa Painter, and the Dolon Painter were located there. The famous tragic actor Aristodemus was from Metapontum.

Heraclea: several surely tragedy related vases have been found in Policoro (ancient Heraclea).³⁰ At least the Policoro Painter, whose vases have been related to, for example, Euripides' *Medea* (V 391 in App. I), may have also worked there. The Policoro vases have been connected to the following tragedies: *Antiope* (by Euripides), *Danaëdes* (by Aeschylus), *Erectheus* (by Euripides), *Eriphyle* (by Anon.), *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Medea* (by Euripides), and *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides).

Thurii: a fourth-century tragedian called Patrocles and a contemporary comedian Alexis, as well as the tragic actor Archias, were all from Thurii. There is a nearby fourth-century theatre in modern Castiglione di Paludi. Also worth noting is that the river Crathis which runs through the city is mentioned in the only secure case of the phenomenon of localization (Eur. *Tro.* 220–229, see P. 52–53).

Lipari: Lipari is among the top-ten find-spots of tragedy related vases and vases were also manufactured there. In addition, several fourth-century theatrical terracotta figurines and masks have been found there.³¹ The Lipari vases have been related to *Alcmena* (by Euripides), *Antiope* (by Euripides) 2 vases, *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), *Philoctetes* (by Euripides), *Trachiniai* (by Sophocles), and to unknown tragedies (3 vases). Perhaps worth mentioning is that Euripides' *Aeolus* and Aristophanes' *Aeolosicon* where set on the island (for *Aeolus*, see App. I, P. 229).

Aetna, Gela, Acragas, Rhegium and Locri Epizephyrii: there was a theatre in Aetna; Aeschylus may have produced his *Aetnaeae* there. Python (the author of the satyric *Agon*, see P. 106–107) and Mamercus were from Aetna. Aeschylus died in Gela (and there may have been dramatic performances related to his hero cult there, see P. 86) and a comic author called Apollodorus was from there. Empedocles was from Acragas and Carcinus II may have visited the city (see above). There is also a fourth-century theatre in Acragas,³² as well as in Rhegium and in Locri Epizephyrii.

Ruvo and Canosa are by far the most frequently mentioned provenances of the vases. As many as fifty-six vases listed in Appendix I have been found at Ruvo. They have been related to the following tragedies: *Aegeus* (by Euripides); *Aegyptioe* (by Aeschylus); *Aeolus* (by Euripides); *Ajax Locrus* (by Sophocles), 2 vases; *Alcmaeon in Psophis/Corinth* by Euripides; *Andromache* (by Euripides); *Andromeda* (by Sophocles or Euripides); *Antigone* (by Euripides or Astydamos); *Bacchae* (by Euripides), 3 vases; *Callisto* (by

²⁹ See e.g. Warmington 1936, xviii.

³⁰ For the Policoro vases, see *RVSIS*, 22: 'one wonders whether the set from the Policoro tomb might not have been specially commissioned for someone who had a particular fondness for Euripidean drama or had possibly been himself an actor.' Taplin 2012, 230–236, discusses the vases found at Policoro in 1963, he writes (p. 236): 'The vases add up to a good case for the activity of performances of tragedy, especially of Euripides, in Heraclea before 390 BC, maybe even within Euripides' lifetime'.

³¹ See Bernabo-Brea 2001; and Hughes 2012, 68–69.

³² According to Marconi 2012, 189, table 9.1.

Aeschylus); *Chrysippus* (by Euripides); *Edonoe* (by Aeschylus), 3 vases; *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), 5 vases; *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus); *Heracleidae* (by Euripides); *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), 2 vases; *Hypsipyle* (by Euripides), 3 vases; *Iphigenia Taurica* (by Euripides), 3 vases; *Ixion* (by Euripides); *Lacaenae* (by Sophocles), 2 vases; *Medea* (by Euripides); *Meleager* (by Euripides); *Niobe* (by Aeschylus); *Niobe* (by Sophocles); *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles or Euripides), 8 vases; *Phineus* (by Aeschylus); *Phryges/Hectoros Iutra* (by Aeschylus); *Rhesus* (by Anon.); *Stheneboea* (by Euripides); *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus); *Tereus* (by Sophocles); *Trachiniai* (by Sophocles), 2 vases; Unknown tragedy (by Anon.), 4 vases.

The vases found at Canosa have been related to the following tragedies: *Adonis* (by Dionysius); *Aeolus* (by Euripides); *Andromeda* (by Sophocles and Euripides), 2 vases; *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus); *Edonoe* (by Aeschylus); *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), 3 vases; *Hector* (by Astydamos); *Heracleidae* (by Euripides); *Medea* (by Anon.); *Meleager* (by Euripides); *Niobe* (by Aeschylus), 2 vases; *Oedipus Tyrannus* (by Sophocles); *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides); *Persae* (by Anon.); *Rhesus* (by Anon.); *Phrixus A/B* (by Euripides); *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus).

Quite a number of tragedy related vases have been found at Ceglie. They have been connected with *Achilles Thersitoctonus* (by Chaeremon), *Aetnaeae* (by Aeschylus), *Andromache* (by Euripides), *Antigone* (by Euripides or Astydamos), *Chrysippus* (by Euripides), *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), *Europa/Cares* (by Aeschylus), *Heracleidae* (by Euripides), *Hippolytus* (by Euripides), *Melanippos/Merops* (by Anon.), and *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus).

No remains of Greek theatres have been found at Ruvo, Canosa, and Ceglie, and (at least the majority of) people living at those sites in the fourth century BC were not native speakers of the Greek language.³³ The question of whether tragedies written in Greek were performed at the indigenous sites of Daunia and Peucetia has recently been discussed by Taplin and by Todisco. Taplin suggests that at least some people from Ruvo and Canosa knew Greek and that they may have witnessed theatre performances by visiting the regional Greek cities or by having hosted travelling players for themselves; Todisco, on the other hand, suggests that the painters of the mythological vases explained the details of the vases to the purchasers.³⁴ In my opinion, the huge number of tragedy related vases found at Ruvo and Canosa clearly suggests that at least some people living at these sites must have been familiar with the stories behind the paintings and, I believe that they most probably knew the stories illustrated in the vase paintings by having witnessed dramatic performances (either in their own home towns or in the Greek cities).³⁵ Even if the residents of Canosa and Ruvo never actually saw any theatre performances, quite a lot of the vases found at these sites can still be used as evidence for dramatic performances in Magna Graecia, since the vases were painted by artists who had worked at Tarentum and Metapontum, where tragedies definitely were staged.

³³ In comparison, it may be noted that in Sicily, five out of twelve Greek theatres are located in the area of Punic eparchy (as Vassallo 2012, 224, mentions).

³⁴ Taplin 2012, 250; Todisco 2012, 270–271.

³⁵ Perhaps worth mentioning here is that the famous ‘Noraretteblo’ vase (see P. 50 and Pl. IX.1) was found in Ruvo. Carpenter 2009, 34, who notes that a stage appears on six of the eight kraters (depicting comic actors) found at Italic sites suggests that: ‘If comedies were performed at Ruvo and Bari and Bitonto, tragedies, too, may have been produced there – a possibility that needs to be seriously considered’.

As regards the Campanian and Paestan vases, it can be noted here that vases found in Capua have been related to: *Alcmena* (by Euripides); *Andromeda* (by Sophocles and Euripides); *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), 4 vases; *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus); *Hippolytus* (by Euripides); *Iphigenia Taurica* (by Euripides); *Ixion* (by Euripides); *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and Euripides); *Stheneboea* (by Euripides); and to an unknown tragedy (by Anon.). Vases found at Cumae have been related to: *Ixion* (by Euripides); *Medea* (by Euripides); and *Telephus* (by Euripides). Vases found at Paestum have been related to *Choephoroe* (by Aeschylus), 3 vases; *Eumenides* (by Aeschylus), 2 vases; *Hercules furens* (by Anon.); *Hippolytus* (by Euripides); *Oeneus* (by Euripides); *Phrixus A/B* (by Euripides); *Supplices* (by Aeschylus); *Telephus* (by Euripides); *Toxotides* (by Aeschylus), 2 vases; and to an unknown tragedy. As already mentioned, at least some of the Campanian and Paestan vases may actually reflect (re)performances of tragedies in Sicily (since some Campanian and Paestan painters were emigrants from Sicily).

It is worth noting here that there are some sites and areas that have not yet been studied at all (or they are only mentioned briefly in some studies), such as Olbia and some other Black Sea sites.³⁶

Date of the spread of tragedy performances outside Athens

In addition to the probable performances of tragedies in Syracuse, Tarentum, Metapontum, Heraclea, Thurii, and Lipari, we now know that tragedies were also performed in the fourth century BC in at least nine demes of Attica (Anagyrus, Collytus, Eleusis, Halae Aexonides, Icarium, Paeania, Piraeus, and Thoricus, as well as in Salamis, see P. 91–98), and in Pherae, Dion/Aegae, Tyre, and Abdera (see P. 18–19, 101–105, 119–120). It seems that dramatic performances spread first into the demes of Attica (excluding Aeschylus' visits to Sicily) and then to Magna Graecia and to Macedonia. When looking at Table 4, together with Figs. 21–23, it seems pretty safe to say that theatre had spread all over the Greek world by 350 BC.³⁷ Slightly before 350 BC, Dionysius I won the competition at Lenaea with his *Hectoros lutra* (in 367 BC, see App. I, P. 245); Jason of Pherae (who ruled in 369–358 BC) burst into tears in the theatre (see P. 18–19); tragedians Carcinus II and Antiphon visited Sicily (see P. 200); Theodectes visited Halicarnassus (in 353/2 BC, see P. 117–118). It cannot just be a coincidence that several famous tragic actors, such as Aeschines, Athenodorus, Neoptolemus, Theodorus, and Thettalus, were active around 350 BC and that the majority of the South Italian tragedy related vases are dated to around 350 BC, or slightly later (e.g. the Darius Painter's vases are usually dated to 340–330 BC).

³⁶ Taplin pointed this question out in his preliminary examination report of this dissertation and referred to his own article (Taplin 2012, 216, n. 1), in which Olbia and Phanagoria are mentioned as examples of sites from which some theatre-related vases have been found (and in which articles by Burn 2010 and Csapo 2010b are referred to). Csapo 2010b, 97–98, fig. 7.10, briefly discusses a fragment of an Attic Bell-krater from Olbia, Kiev, Museum of the Academy of Sciences, 430/420 BC, which probably illustrates tragedy in performance (see also P. 48, n. 148). Burn 2010, 16 (fig. 3.5), mentions a fragmentary krater found at Baksy near Kerch when discussing vases attributed to the Pronomos Painter or his circle. There may also have been a Greek theatre in Olbia (and in some other sites around the Black sea), see Fig. 31, P. 115.

³⁷ Csapo 2010a, 103, counts (by 340 BC): 'twenty-three festivals offering dramatic performances in the Greek world and as many as fifty-five for which the evidence survives to show a strong likelihood of drama'.

So it is quite certain that tragedies were performed all over the Greek world in 350 BC, but the spread of theatre (and Attic drama)³⁸ must, of course, have begun some decades earlier. Euripides' *Archelaus* was performed in Macedonia probably around 408–407 BC and several vases imply that some tragedies (e.g. Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*, *Eumenides*, and *Niobe*; Sophocles' *Ajax loclus*; and Euripides' *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Medea*, and *Telephus*) were very probably performed in the Greek west already at the transition from the fifth to the fourth century BC, and (according to Polyaneus) actors Callippides and Nicostratus were performing (something in a theatre) in the area of Aeolis in 399 BC (see P. 116–117). So, I suggest that maybe we can place the date that the spread of theatre (on a wider scale) began at around 400 BC. Strictly speaking, the spread was initiated with Aeschylus' first visit to Sicily in c.470 BC, but the process must have taken place gradually.

Myth cycles and themes of tragedies that were performed outside Athens

If we accept that Attic (and local) tragedies were (re)performed in Magna Graecia and in Sicily throughout the fourth (and in some cases already in the fifth) century BC, several further questions arise. What kind of tragedies did the audiences in Magna Graecia (and also elsewhere, such as in Macedonia) see? What kind of stories were in favour, and from which myth cycles were the plots of the tragedies drawn? What kinds of arrangements were required for the staging of the plays?

When we take into account the three tragedies – Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* and *Persae*, and Euripides' *Archelaus* – that were certainly performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter III), the twenty-two tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter IV), and the thirty-five tragedies that were probably or possibly performed outside Athens as well (listed in App. I), we can tentatively form some statistics about the themes, myth cycles, and staging of the plays, and about the popularity of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides as compared to the fourth-century-BC tragedians.

I use here the same division of the myth cycles that Radt uses for the plays of Sophocles.³⁹ The myth cycles are abbreviated in the following way: Argon. = Argonauts; Att. = Attic myth cycle; Dion. = Dionysus; Her. = Heracles; Min. = Minos; Per. = Perseus; Tant. = Tantalidae; Tel. = Telephus; Theb. = Theban myth cycle; Tro. = Trojan myth cycle; Unc. = Unclear; and Var. = *Varia*.

The myth cycles of the tragedies that actually or very probably were performed outside Athens may briefly be listed as follows: *Aetnaeae* (Var.); *Archelaus* (Var.); *Achilles Thersitoctonus* (Tro.); *Ajax Locrus* (Tro.); *Alcestis* (Her.); *Alcmena* (Her.); *Andromeda* (Per.); *Antigone* (Theb.); *Antiope* (Theb.); *Bacchae* (Dion.); *Choephoroe* (Tro.); *Eumenides* (Tro.); *Hecuba* (Tro.); *Hercules furens* (Her.); *Hippolytus* (Att.); *Iphigenia Taurica* (Tro.); *Medea* (Argon.); *Niobe* (Tant.); *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Theb.); *Oenomaus*

³⁸ Attic drama did not appear in a vacuum. Obviously there must have existed some other (local) forms of performance in many places where Attic drama was exported (ritual drama, local comedy, dance, etc.).

³⁹ Radt 1991, 81–105.

(Tant.); *Orestes* (Tro.); *Persae* (Att.); *Stheneboea* (Var.); *Telephus* (Tel./Tro.); *Thyestes in Sicyon* (Tant.).⁴⁰

The myth cycles of the tragedies which were probably or possibly performed outside Athens may be listed as follows: *Aegeus* (Att.); *Aeolus* (Var.); *Ajax* (Tro.); *Andromache* (Tro.); *Bassarae* (Dion.); *Callisto* (Var.); *Chrysippus* (Tant.); *Cresphontes* (Var.); *Cretes* (Min.); *Dictys* (Per.); *Edonoe* (Dion.); *Europa/Cares* (Tro.); *Eriphyle* (Theb.); *Heracleidae* (Att.); *Hypsipyle* (Theb.); *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (Tro.); *Ixion* (Var.); *Lacaenae* (Tro.); *Melanippe Sophe* (Var.); *Meleager* (Var.); *Oedipus Coloneus* (Att.); *Oeneus* (Var.); *Parthenopaeus* (Theb.); *Philoctetes* (Tro.); *Phineus* (Argon.); *Phoenissae* (Theb.); *Phoenix* (Var.); *Phrixus A/B* (Var.); *Phryges/Hectoros lutra* (Tro.); *Prometheus Lyomenos* (Var.); *Rhesus* (Tro.); *Theseus* (Att.); *Tereus* (Att.); *Toxotides* (Var.); *Troades* (Tro.).

All in all, as many as seventeen tragedies (out of the 3 + 22 + 35 = 60 tragedies) belong to the Trojan myth cycle (this figure includes Aesch. *Cho.* and *Eum.*, and Eur. *IA*, *IT*, and *Or.*, although Agamemnon and his children are also descendants of Tantalus via Atreus; Euripides' *Telephus* is also included in this figure), and fourteen tragedies belong to the category of *Varia*. The Theban myth cycle, and the Attic myth cycle both include seven tragedies (Aesch. *Pers.*, and Eur. *Heracl.* are counted among the Attic myths). The figures for the rest of the myth cycles are as follows: Tantalidae, four tragedies; Dionysus, three; Heracles, three; Perseus, two; Argonautae, two; and Minos, one tragedy.

Bremer has studied the use of the different myth cycles in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. His table is worth reproducing here:

Table 5. Use of myth cycles in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (after Bremer 1991, 57).

	Aeschylus	Sophocles	Euripides	A + S + E
Trojan myth	21	45	16	83
Theban myth	7	6	7	20
Attic myth	6	10	11	27
Other myths	46	61	44	150
Sum total	80	122	78	280

We see that the Trojan myth cycle was by far the most favoured one, and that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides did not specifically favour Attic myths in their tragedies (only about ten per cent of their tragedies were based on Attic myths). We can next compare the figures counted by Bremer with the figures counted in this study:

⁴⁰ The satyric *Agen* by Python (see P. 106–107) and the *Mausolus* by Theodectes (see P. 117–118), although they were performed outside Athens, are not taken into account here.

Table 6. Use of myth cycles in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and in the tragedies that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens.

	A + S + E all plays	tragedies performed outside Athens
Trojan myth cycle	83 (29.7%)	17 (28.3%)
Theban myth cycle	20 (7.1%)	7 (12.3%)
Attic myth cycle	27 (9.6%)	7 (12.3%)
Tantalidae		4
Dionysus		3
Heracles		3
Perseus		2
Argonauts		2
Minos		1
Varia	150 (53.6%)	14
Sum total	280	60

We can see that the figures are approximately the same. The trend of favouring the Trojan myth cycle occurred already in Athens in the fifth century BC and my study shows that tragedies which were based on myths connected with the Trojan myth cycle were still in fashion in the fourth century BC, also outside Athens.

Almost all the most important Homeric heroes had a cult/cults in Magna Graecia. The cults in Tarentum of the Atreidae, Tydeidae, Aeacidae, Laertidae, Agamemnonidae, and of Achilles are recorded in the Aristotelian corpus:

Ἐν Τάραντι ἐναγίζεῖν κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους φασὶν Ἀτρεΐδαις καὶ Τυδεΐδαις καὶ Αἰακίδαις καὶ Λαερτιάδαις, καὶ Ἀγαμεμνονίδαις δὲ χωρὶς θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἰδίᾳ, ἐν ἣ νόμιμον εἶναι ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ γεύσασθαι τῶν ἐκείνους θυομένων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀχλλέως νεῶς παρ' αὐτοῖς.

([Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 840a6–11)

A little bit further along in the same text ([Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 840a15–16), it is mentioned that Philoctetes was worshipped in Sybaris (i.e. Thurii). The lesser Ajax, son of Oeleus, had a cult in Locri Epizephyrii, and Diomedes was the chief hero of Metapontum.⁴¹ So it is not hard to imagine that the people living in the Greek cities of Magna Graecia would have liked to see tragedies in which the above-mentioned epic heroes appeared.⁴²

⁴¹ See Farnell 1921, 290, 293, 340–341.

⁴² Regarding other heroes/demigods that were popular in Magna Graecia and Sicily, it must be mentioned that the Dioscuri were worshipped in the Dorian colonies, Acragas, Syracuse, Selinus, and Tyndaris, and also in Locri Epizephyrii and Tarentum, and there is evidence for a cult of Heracles at least in Agyrium, Camarina, Gela, Heraclea, Heraclea Minoa, and Rhegium, see Farnell 1921, 132–139, 222.

Regarding the themes of the plays, the following list is not meant to be an exhaustive one. I just want to bring up and point out some themes that seem to have been much favoured in the tragedies that were performed outside Athens. The classification is my own, although some definitions are either drawn from, or at least inspired by the studies of Lattimore, Burnett, and Belfiore.⁴³

Family strife (violent acts, actual or threatened, against a blood relative or a relative through marriage) occurs in almost every tragedy: Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (mother vs son, mother vs daughter, matricide); Sophocles' and Euripides' *Oenomaus* (father vs suitor of his daughter); *Tereus* (husband vs wife, mother vs son, infanticide, cannibalism); Euripides' *Aegeus* (stepmother vs son); *Aeolus* (father vs pregnant daughter); *Alcmena* (husband vs wife); *Andromache* (wife vs concubine); *Antiope* (father vs pregnant daughter); *Hercules furens* (husband vs wife, father vs children, infanticide); *Hippolytus* (stepmother vs son, father vs son); *Medea* (wife vs husband, mother vs children, wife vs new wife, infanticide); *Melanippe sophe* (father vs pregnant daughter); *Meleager* (mother vs son); *Oeneus* (brother vs brother); *Phoenissae* (brother vs brother, fratricide); *Phoenix* (stepmother vs son, father vs son); *Eriphyle* by an anonymous author (husband vs wife).

There is sexual violence, perversion, or abstaining from sex in the following tragedies: Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (incest), *Tereus* (rape), *Thyestes in Sicyon* (rape, incest); Euripides' *Aeolus* (incest), *Chrysippus* (pederasty), *Cretes* (bestiality), *Hippolytus* (abstaining).

Sacrifice and self-sacrifice (intended or actual), suicide and self-harm occur in the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Thressae* (suicide); Sophocles' *Ajax* (suicide); *Antigone* (suicide); *Oedipus Tyrannus* (suicide, self-blinding); Euripides' *Aeolus* (suicide); *Andromeda* (sacrifice); *Chrysippus* (suicide?); *Hecabe* (sacrifice); *Heracleidae* (suicide); *Hippolytus* (suicide); *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (sacrifice); *Phoenissae* (suicide).

Human vengeance and divine punishment are among the themes of the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Callisto*, *Choephoroe*, *Edonoe*, *Niobe*, *Prometheus Lyomenos*; and *Toxotides*; Sophocles' *Thyestes in Sicyon*, and *Tereus*; and Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, *Cresphontes*, *Cretes*, *Hippolytus*, *Hercules furens*, *Ixion*, *Medea*, and *Orestes*.

Patterns of return and/or rescue (or escape) can be seen in the plots of the following tragedies: Euripides' *Aegeus*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Cresphontes*, *Dictys*, *Hypsipyle*, *Hercules furens*, and *Iphigenia Taurica*.

Supplicity, philoxenia, and honouring the dead are among the central themes of the following tragedies: Aeschylus' *Phryges/Hectoros lutra*; Sophocles' *Antigone*, and *Oedipus Coloneus*; Euripides' *Andromache*, and *Heracleidae*; and Chaeremon's *Achilleus Thersitoctonus*.

After this short list it should be noted that the themes of tragedies that were performed outside Athens do not seem to differ from the themes of those that were performed in Athens.

⁴³ Lattimore 1965; Burnett 1971; Burnett 1998; Belfiore 2000.

Use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* in the exported tragedies

Antiphanes (who lived c.408/5–c.324/1 BC) claims in his comedy entitled *Poesis* that the tragedians turn to the use of the *mechane* when they have nothing more to say:

ἔπειθ' ὅταν μὴδὲν δύνωντ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι,
κομιδῆ δ' ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν,
αἴρουσιν ὡσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν,
καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοισιν ἀποχρώντως ἔχει
(*PCG* II, 418, F 189.13–16)

To many other fourth-century-BC authors it was clear that the epiphanies of the intervening gods at the ends of tragedies were staged with the use of the *mechane*.⁴⁴ Aristophanes' comedies (*Ach.* 427f, *Pax* 79–178, *Av.* 1196, *Thesm.* 1090–1134) are secure evidence for the use of the *mechane* in Athens in the late fifth century BC (giving a *terminus ante quem* of 425 BC), and announcements expose its use in some of the tragedies by Euripides (*Andr.* 1226–1230, *El.* 1222–1235, *HF.* 815–873, *Ion* 1549–1552, *Rhes.* 886–889), but the device was probably never used by Aeschylus.⁴⁵

Same facts apply also to the use of the *ekkyklema*. Aristophanes' comedies (*Ach.* 407–479, *Pax* 287ff, *Thesm.* 95–265) prove that the device was in use in Athens in the late fifth century BC and provide a *terminus ante quem* of 425 BC, its use is announced in some tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides (*Soph. Aj.* 344, *Soph. El.* 1453ff; *Eur. Hipp.* 808, and *Eur. HF* 1028ff), but it was probably not yet invented in Aeschylus' lifetime.⁴⁶

Keeping in mind that scholars have suggested the use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* in every possible scene, even in scenes which could as well have been staged without these devices, we may calculate some statistics about the staging of tragedies that were performed outside Athens. All in all, the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* (as well as chariots, the so-called 'Charon's steps', and a thunder machine) may have been used in the staging of the following tragedies. (I have divided the list into categories based on the probability of the play having been performed outside Athens.)⁴⁷

Known performances outside Athens: Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* (*mechane*, Charon's steps?), Euripides' *Archelaus* (*mechane*), Aeschylus' *Persae* (chariot, Charon's steps?).

Tragedies which were very probably performed outside Athens: Chaeremon's *Achilles Thersitoctonus* (*mechane*?), Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Alcestis* (*ekkyklema*?), Euripides' *Alcmena* (*mechane*?), Euripides' *Andromeda* (*ekkyklema*?, *mechane*), Sophocles' *Antigone* (*ekkyklema*), Astydamas' *Antigone*

⁴⁴ See e.g. Pl. *Cra.* 425d; and Arist. *Poet.* 1454a36–b5. For more references, see Taplin 1977, 444, n. 5; Mastronarde 1990, 289–290; and *CAD*, 268–270.

⁴⁵ See Taplin 1977, 443–447; and Mastronarde 1990, 268–272. Taplin claims (on p. 444) that 'the device was not, so far as we know, ever used by Aeschylus'. Mastronarde (on p. 270) believes that the *mechane* was used for Oceanus in *PV*, 'but this pushes its use back at least to the 450s only if Aeschylus is accepted as the author, so this instance is too controversial to be helpful'. For references for speculations about the use of the *mechane* in Aeschylus' fragmentary plays, see Mastronarde 1990, 288–289, n. 20 (e.g. Lyssa in *Phryges*, Thetis? in *Hoplion crisis*, Thetis? in *Myrmidones*, and Artemis?, in *Toxotides*).

⁴⁶ See Taplin 1977, 442–443; and Newiger 1990, 39–42.

⁴⁷ All suggestions by individual scholars have been taken into account here. References are given in Chapters III and IV and in Appendix I in connection with the individual tragedies. See also Appendix III.

(*mechane?*), Euripides' *Antiope* (*ekkyklema?*, *mechane?*), Euripides' *Bacchae* (thunder machine?, *mechane?*), Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (*ekkyklema?*), Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (chariot, *mechane?*), Euripides' *Hecuba* (*mechane?*, *ekkyklema?*), Euripides' *Hercules furens* (*mechane*, *ekkyklema*), Euripides' *Hippolytus* (*ekkyklema?*, *mechane?*), Euripides' *Iphigenia Taurica* (*mechane?*), Euripides' *Medea* (*mechane*), Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (*ekkyklema?*), Sophocles' *Oenomaus* (chariot?), Euripides' *Oenomaus* (chariot?), Euripides' *Orestes* (*ekkyklema?*, chariot, *mechane*), Euripides' *Stheneboea* (*mechane?*, *ekkyklema?*).

Tragedies which were probably or possibly performed outside Athens: Euripides' *Aeolus* (*ekkyklema?*, *mechane?*), Euripides' *Cretes* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Cresphontes* (*ekkyklema?*, *mechane?*), Sophocles' *Ajax* (*mechane?*, *ekkyklema*), Euripides' *Andromache* (*mechane*), Aeschylus' *Europa/Cares* (*mechane?*), Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (*mechane?*), Euripides' *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (chariot, *mechane?*), Euripides' *Ixion* (*ekkyklema?*), Euripides' *Melanippe Sophe* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Meleager* (*mechane*), Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* (thunder machine), Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Philoctetes* (*mechane?*), Aeschylus' *Phineus* (*mechane?*, *ekkyklema?*), Euripides' *Phrixus A/B* (*mechane?*), *Rhesus* (*ekkyklema?*, *mechane*), Sophocles' *Tereus* (*mechane*), Euripides' *Theseus* (*mechane?*), Aeschylus' *Toxotides* (*mechane?*), Euripides' *Troades* (*ekkyklema?*, chariot, *mechane?*).

A quick count based on the lists above gives us the following figures: the *mechane* may have been used in the staging of thirty-six tragedies and the *ekkyklema* in the staging of eighteen tragedies. Chariots were probably used in the performances of seven tragedies and some sort of a thunder machine was used in the performances of two tragedies. The so-called 'Charon's steps' may have been used in two tragedies.

We can see that the *mechane* was an especially popular device. It may have been used in the staging of over half the tragedies that were produced outside Athens. Discussion on the use of the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* is also related to the question of the nature of the theatres in which tragedies were performed outside Athens. All the fine devices that were used in the staging of plays in Athens (or in Syracuse) may not have been at the disposal of the actors in temporary wooden theatres in some smaller cities. It is possible (and even probable) that the staging of the reperformances outside Athens differed from the staging of the premieres in Athens. I fully agree with Mastronarde who writes:

If a playwright determined that a god should appear on high, he may have planned to use the crane in the Theater of Dionysus but been quite prepared to have the same words performed elsewhere with the actor simply stepping forth on the roof.⁴⁸

Although it must be noted here that, if the *mechane* and the *ekkyklema* could be constructed in Athens, I see no reason why such devices could not have been constructed, for example, in Sicily or in Macedonia.

The texts of the plays were altered for various reasons when the plays were revived. The prologues of several plays are interpolated and some actors, such as Theodorus, who

⁴⁸ Mastronarde 1990, 253. Mastronarde (p. 259–260) discusses five possible ways of having an entrance on the roof: 1) trapdoor, 2) staircase type A (external, unconcealed), 3) staircase type B (internal, top concealed), 4) staircase type C (external, top concealed), and 5) crane.

is said to have wanted to appear in front of the spectators before any of the other actors, probably altered the prologues of the plays (see P. 56–57). It is also quite possible that the endings of the revived tragedies were in some cases altered by the actors, possibly because the fourth-century audience liked to witness the *mechane* in action. The supposed cases of the use of the *mechane* or the *ekkyklema* in the tragedies of Aeschylus may thus be related to revivals, not to the premieres.

How did the classics become classics?

When discussing the survival of tragedies, Easterling writes (underlining is my own):

It is hardly conceivable that any complete tragedies from the early days could have survived to be transmitted to the Middle Ages and beyond through the performance tradition alone. Clearly some works acquired canonical status, and out of the thousands of new plays produced from the fifth century onwards a (fluctuating) selection became classics with a book life of their own. The popularity of particular plays must have been influenced by their familiarity in the repertoire, and the demand for the texts must have been related to the demand for revivals, but it is hard to see the transmission of whole plays continuing as it did without the interventions of scholars.⁴⁹

Regarding the whole process of how the extant plays survived to modern times, there are some important questions that need to be asked here: how did the classics become classics? Who made the ‘decision’ of which plays survived and which plays were lost (the actors, the theatre audience, the reading public, the scholars/copyists)? Why are the extant plays extant?

I suggest that one reason for the survival of the extant tragedies is that they were never forgotten because they were constantly revived and reperformed in the fourth and third centuries BC. The first choice was made by the sons/grandsons/relatives of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (who revived their fathers’/grandfathers’/uncle’s tragedies in Athens, see P. 80, with n. 12, and P. 85) and then by the actors (such as Theodorus, Neoptolemus, and Thettalus, who also performed outside Athens), then later, in the process of copying and commenting on the texts, by scholars (who decided which tragedies to copy and to comment on). It is obvious that the actors had to take the tastes of their audience into account when deciding what tragedies to perform, whereas the Alexandrian and the Byzantine scholars could make their choice more freely.

If the tragedies (and comedies) that were most often quoted by ancient rhetoricians, historians, lexicographers, and compilers of anthologies were quoted because they were ‘classics’ (as opposed to those plays becoming ‘classics’ because they were quoted so often), then the number of surviving fragments of individual tragedies in the texts of later authors may tell us something about the reperformances of individual tragedies. Equally, if classics became classics because they were revived and performed again and again and if the Roman tragedians chose to adapt these ‘classics’ over all the other tragedies at their disposal (unless, of course, the ‘classics’ were the only plays that were at their disposal),

⁴⁹ Easterling 1997, 224–225.

then the titles and fragments of the Roman tragedians may also have some value for our discussion.

It cannot be merely a coincidence that almost all the extant plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are on my lists of tragedies that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens. Admittedly, one could (rightly) argue at this point that many vases have been related to the extant plays simply because we know so much more about the extant plays than about the lost plays. So a vase depicting, let us say, Hippolytus or Medea is usually automatically connected with the corresponding Euripidean play by modern scholars. But if we take a look at Appendix III, we see that, in addition to the vases, there is plenty of other evidence as well for the supposed reperformances of the most popular plays, such as Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus*, *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Medea*, and *Orestes*.

I realize the danger of circular reasoning in my argumentation here and I admit that it could be argued (again rightly) that there are naturally many more possible actors' interpolations and localizations in the texts of the extant plays, simply because we only have fragments left of the lost tragedies. But what about Aristotle, Aristophanes, other ancient authors, and the remains of the texts in papyri?

Aristotle's favourite tragedies, at least in light of the evidence that we have (see P. 69) were Euripides' *Iphigenia Taurica* and *Medea*, and Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and the most parodied tragedies by Aristophanes were Aeschylus' *Myrmidones* and Euripides' *Telephus*, *Hippolytus*, *Bellerophon*, *Alcestis*, *Helena*, and *Andromeda* (see Tables 1–3). We also know that at least Euripides' *Medea*, *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Iphigenia Taurica* and perhaps also his *Hippolytus*, and Sophocles' *Antigone* and perhaps also his *Oedipus Coloneus* were quoted or parodied by the fourth-century-BC comedians (see P. 61).

With respect to the number of surviving papyri, the top-five tragedies are Euripides' *Phoenissae*, *Orestes*, *Medea*, *Andromache*, and *Bacchae* (see P. 15–16). Again, it must be admitted that some fragmentary lines in the papyri have been identified and related to the extant tragedies simply because we have the texts that we have – lines from lost tragedies cannot be identified in the same way – and, equally, some Aristophanic parodies have been detected because we have the texts that we have – no doubt parodies of lost tragedies exist but remain undetected.

If we take a look at the column labelled 'Actors' in Appendix III, we see that the tragedies with which the fourth-century-BC actors Aeschines, Neoptolemus, Polus, and Theodorus have been connected (with any certainty) are Sophocles' *Antigone*, *Electra*, *Oenomaus*, and Euripides' *IT*, and *Phoenix*.

The same tragedies (and actors) pop up again and again when discussing the different kinds of evidence. As an example, we can take a look at the following excerpt from the text of Plutarch, who discusses the costs of organizing dramatic performances and cites a Spartan who claims that the Athenians have spent more money upon dramatic preparations than in wars against the barbarians:

καὶ σκευὰς καὶ προσωπεῖα καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ μηχανὰς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς περιάκτους καὶ τρίποδας ἐπινικίους κομίζοντες· τραγικοὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑποκριταὶ [καὶ] Νικόστρατοι καὶ Καλλιπίδαὶ καὶ Μηνίσκοι καὶ Θεόδωροι καὶ Πῶλοι συνίτωσαν, ὥσπερ γυναικὸς πολυτελοῦς τῆς τραγωδίας κομμοῦται καὶ διφοφόροι, μᾶλλον δ' ὡς ἀγαμάτων ἐγκαυσταὶ καὶ χρυσωταὶ καὶ βαφεῖς παρακολουθοῦντες· σκευῶν δὲ καὶ προσώπων καὶ ξυστίδων ἀλουργῶν καὶ μηχανῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ χοροποιῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δυσπραγμάτευτος λαὸς καὶ χορηγία πολυτελής

παρασκευαζέσθω. πρὸς ἅ Λάκων ἀνὴρ ἀποβλέψας οὐ κακῶς εἶπεν, ὡς ἄμαρτάνουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδίαν καταναλίσκοντες, τουτέστι μεγάλων ἀποστόλων δαπάνας καὶ στρατευμάτων ἐφόδια καταχορηγοῦντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον. ἂν γὰρ ἐκλογισθῆ | τῶν δραμάτων ἕκαστον ὅσου κατέστη, πλεόν ἀνηλωκῶς φανεῖται ὁ δῆμος εἰς Βάκχας καὶ Φοινίσσας καὶ Οἰδίποδας καὶ Ἀντιγόνην καὶ τὰ Μηδείας κακὰ καὶ Ἡλέκτρας, ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνάλωσεν.
(Plut. *Mor.* 348e–349b)

We see that Plutarch mentions the names of some of the most famous actors (Nicostratus, Callippides, Mynniscus, Theodorus, and Polus), and takes the *Bacchae*, *Phoenissae*, *OT* (or *OC?*), *Antigone*, *Medea*, and *Electra* as examples of tragedies. Suetonius, in turn, describes the performances of the emperor Nero with the following words:

tragoedias quoque cantavit personatus heroum deorumque, item heroidum ac dearum, personis effectis ad similitudinem oris sui et feminae, prout quamque diligeret. inter cetera cantavit Canachen parturientem, Oresten matricidam, Oedipodem excaecatam, Herculem insanum.
(Suet. *Nero* 21.3)

The repertoire of Nero is already familiar to us; the emperor sang about ‘Canace in Labour’ (cf. Euripides’ *Aeolus*, App. I, P. 229), ‘Orestes’ matricide’ (cf. Aeschylus’ *Choephoroe*), ‘The Blinded Oedipus’ (cf. Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus*), and ‘Heracles’ madness’ (cf. Euripides’ *Hercules furens*).⁵⁰

One may also compare the list of Seneca’s extant tragedies (and his Greek models) with my lists of the plays that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens: *Hercules* (*OCD*, 97: ‘based generally on the *Hercules furens* of Euripides’); *Troades* (*OCD*: ‘combining the sacrificial plot-elements from Euripides’ *Troades* and *Hecuba*’); *Phoenissae* (*OCD*: ‘[recalls] both Sophocles’ *OC* and Euripides’ *Phoenissae*’); *Medea* (*OCD*: ‘close in action and characterization to Euripides’ *Medea*’); *Phaedra* (*OCD*: ‘the Euripidean myth, but with a Phaedra more shameless and more repentant than in the *Hippolytus Stephanephorus*’); *Oedipus* (*OCD*: ‘close in action to Sophocles’ play’); *Agamemnon* (*OCD*: ‘unlike Aeschylus’ play’); *Thyestes* (*OCD*: ‘no known model’); *Hercules Oetaeus* (probably not written by Seneca); and *Octavia* (not written by Seneca). Once again, the same old ‘classics’ (Soph. *OC*, and *OT*; Eur. *HF*, *Hec.*, *Med.*, *Phoen.*, and *Tro.*) pop out.

What, then, about the extant plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to which no (or only a few) vases have been related and to which no famous actors have been connected, and the texts of which contain only a few actors’ interpolations and no localizations? Euripides’ *Electra* and Sophocles’ *Electra* were already mentioned in Chapter IV in connection with Aeschylus’ *Choephoroe* (P. 155–156), and I suggest that perhaps at least Sophocles’ *Electra* was possibly reperformed outside Athens. The following extant plays have not yet been discussed in this study: Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, *Septem contra Thebas*, and *Supplices*; Sophocles’ *Philoctetes* and *Trachiniae*; and

⁵⁰ Webster 1967, 158–159, suggests that what Nero ‘sang’ must have been messenger speeches about the blinded Oedipus and mad Heracles and the prologue from Euripides’ *Aeolus*.

Euripides' *Helena*, *Ion*, and *Supplices* (and his satyric *Cyclops*).⁵¹ We may wonder whether these plays have survived because they too were repeatedly performed in the fourth and third centuries BC.

All the above-mentioned extant plays (except Euripides' *Cyclops*⁵²) are included in Appendix III in order for us to be able to compare them with the tragedies that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly reperformed outside Athens. When looking at Appendix III, I cautiously suggest that possibly at least Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and *Septem contra Thebas*, Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, and Euripides' *Helena* and *Ion* may also have been revived and performed outside Athens in the fourth century BC. The text of Euripides' *Supplices* (Ἰκετίδες) may have survived purely by chance (it is among the 'alphabetical plays' of Euripides).

Popularity of Euripides

One cannot help but notice the fact that all ten of Euripides' 'chosen tragedies' (as opposed to his 'alphabetical' plays that begin with the letters E, H, I, and K, see P. 55), i.e. *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Rhesus*, *Troades*, and *Bacchae* are among the tragedies that were very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens.

The following two tables that draw their statistics from Plutarch's quotations and Stobaeus' extracts clearly show Euripides' superior popularity (as compared to the popularity of the other tragedians) in the centuries following the classical era.

Table 7. Plutarch's quotations from the lost tragedies (after Kannicht 1997, 70).

Minor tragedians	20
Aeschylus	34
Sophocles	72
Euripides	173

⁵¹ For discussion on some actors' interpolations in the text of the *Agamemnon*, see Fraenkel 1950 III, app. C. (especially p. 815), and app. D (especially p. 826). For vases related to the play, see VV 28–29 in App. II. For a vase related to Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, see V 496 in App. II. For vases related to Aeschylus' *Supplices*, see VV 530–531 in App. II. For Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, see App. I, P. 242. For vases related to Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, see VV 576–581 in App. II. For actors interpolations in the text of Euripides' *Helena*, and for ancient testimonia regarding the play, see Kannicht 1969 I, 82–87. For vases related to the play, see VV 312–314 in App. II. For a list of quotations from and imitations of the text of Euripides' *Ion* (including Euripides' own plays), see Biehl 1979, app. II. For vases related to the play, see VV 534–535 in App. II. For a discussion on quotations from, paraphrases and imitation of the text of Euripides' *Supplices*, see Collard 1975 I, 39–41.

⁵² I have determined satyr plays to be beyond the scope of this study, but I hope to be able to discuss the *Cyclops* and some other satyr plays as well more elaborately in the near future. There is a Lucanian kalyx-krater by the Cyclops Painter, London, BM 1947,0714.18, 415–405 BC (Huddilston 1898, 141–144, fig. 22; *MTSP*², 157; *LCS*, 27, no. 85, pl. 8,1-2; *IGD*, II, 11; *LIMC* VI, Kyklops, kyklopes 27*; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl. Polyphemos I, 24*; *RVSIS*, 19, no. 9; Allan 2001, 71, fig. 2), which is most probably related to Euripides' *Cyclops* and thus suggests that the play was reperformed in Magna Graecia almost immediately after its premiere in Athens. There might also be some Sicilian localization in the text of the play, see P. 53.

Table 8. Extracts from the tragedians, Menander, and Homer in Stobaeus (after Kannicht 1997, 70).

Critias	2
Aristarchus	2
Astydamas II	3
Dionysius I	5
Carcinus II	6
Agathon	8
Chaeremon	15
Aeschylus	30
Homer	100
Sophocles	200
Menander	310
Euripides	740

Euripides' dominance is undisputed also within the tragedies discussed in this study. If we take into account the three tragedies that were definitely performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter III), the twenty-two tragedies that were very probably performed outside Athens (discussed in Chapter IV), and the thirty-five tragedies that were probably or possibly performed outside Athens (listed in Appendix I), we get the following figures for Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and the minor tragedians:

Table 9. Tragedies by individual tragedians that were certainly, very probably, probably, or possibly performed outside Athens.

	Certainly	Very probably	Probably	Possibly	In total
Aeschylus	2	3	2	6	13
Sophocles		5	1	4	10
Euripides	1	14	6	14	35
Astydamas II		1			1
Chaeremon		1			1
Anon.			1	2	3
	3	24 ⁵³	10	26 ⁵⁴	63

Euripides is also proved by far the most popular tragic author after the classical era in the light of the documentary and the literary evidence.⁵⁵ There is a famous anecdote about some Athenian prisoners of war who were released from Sicily because they knew

⁵³ Two separate tragedies entitled *Antigone* (by Sophocles and by Astydamas II), and two tragedies entitled *Oenomaus* (by Sophocles and by Euripides) are included in this figure.

⁵⁴ Two separate tragedies entitled *Philoctetes* (by Sophocles and by Euripides) are included in this figure.

⁵⁵ For a fine discussion on the popularity of Euripides in the fourth century BC, see Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 28–34. Easterling 1993, 567, notes (when discussing the popularity of Euripides in the fourth century): 'It was his plays, now, which formed the main body of works in the light of which, and in reaction to which, contemporary dramatists conducted their own experiments. Would Menander's use of 'old' tragedy have been so creative if the plays had had no continuing life in performance?'

Euripides' poetry by heart,⁵⁶ and Dionysius I is said to have purchased Euripides' harp, writing tablet, and stylus from the poet's heirs after his death and dedicated them in the sanctuary of the Muses.⁵⁷ Jason of Pherae (369–358 BC), in turn, was most probably watching a Euripidean tragedy (*Troades*, *Hecuba*, or *Cresphontes*) when he suddenly burst into tears (see P. 18–19), and Euripides' tragedies were presented as old tragedies at the Dionysia of Athens in three consecutive years (see P. 13–14) in 341 (*Orestes*), 340 (*IT* or *IA*), and 339 BC (title lost). Euripides is also undisputed champion in the number of tragic papyri (*Leuven Database of Ancient Books* gives 216 occurrences for Euripides, 52 occurrences for Sophocles, 48 occurrences for Aeschylus; and *CEDOPAL, Mertens-Pack³ online Database* gives 170 occurrences for Euripides, 36 occurrences for Sophocles, and 32 occurrences for Aeschylus, see P. 15–16).

Regarding the archaeological evidence, in 1971 (*IGD*, 1), Trendall and Webster counted eighty-nine fifth-century illustrations and fifty-eight fourth-century illustrations (and a handful later) for the dramas of Aeschylus; fifty-seven fifth-century illustrations and twenty-nine fourth-century illustrations (and 7 later) for the dramas of Sophocles; and twenty-nine fifth-century illustrations, 111 fourth-century illustrations, and seventy-three third-second century illustrations (and also 73 later) for the dramas of Euripides. A quick count from Appendix II gives the following figures: 233 vases related to the tragedies of Aeschylus; 70 vases related to the tragedies of Sophocles; 269 vases related to the tragedies of Euripides; 54 vases related to the tragedies of the minor tragedians or to unknown tragedies.⁵⁸

Lastly, we may wonder what plays a man in Abydos thought he was watching when he spent many days in theatre, in a state of madness, watching some imaginary actors acting, and afterwards said that he had had the time of his life (supposedly in the late fourth century BC, when the following text was written):

Λέγεται δέ τινα ἐν Ἀβύδῳ παρακόψαντα τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας θεωρεῖν, ὡς ὑποκρινομένων τινῶν, καὶ ἐπισημαίνεσθαι· καὶ ὡς κατέστη τῆς παρακοπῆς, ἔφησεν ἐκείνον αὐτῷ τὸν χρόνον ἡδίστα βεβιωῦσθαι.⁵⁹

[Arist.] *Mir. Ausc.* 31 (832b17–21).

I suggest that perhaps he imagined he was watching some Euripidean tragedies, which probably included matricide, patricide, fratricide, incest, rape, and cannibalism, possibly some of the tragedies to which Aristotle refers in his *Poetics* (1453a17–22) – tragedies about Alcmaeon, Oedipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes, and Telephus.

⁵⁶ Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 29.2–3 = *CAD*, I.9B = Kovacs 1994a, 123–124, T 92.

⁵⁷ *Vit. Eur.* 27 = *TrGF* V, T III.4 = *TrGF* I, 241, T 10.

⁵⁸ These are only rough figures, since some vases are related to two, or even three, different tragedies. I have also divided the number of the *Oenomaus* vases (29) between Sophocles (15) and Euripides (14).

⁵⁹ I spent the years 2007–2010 in Athens, working at the Finnish Institute at Athens. Mostly my work there was related to other things than to this study, but occasionally I had a chance to think about all the lost tragedies, and to sit for a while (and watch some imaginary performances) in some remote, abandoned, and long ago forgotten theatres (that were perhaps excavated some decades ago and then again forgotten). I think I can honestly say that the years 2007–2010, together with the years 2011–2013 (which I spent in Helsinki writing this dissertation) have (so far) been the best time of my life.