

# Theatricality Beyond the Theater. Staging Public Life in the Hellenistic World\*

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ἑωρακῶς πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ πράγματα  
τραγωδῖαν ὄντα καὶ σκηνογραφῖαν

## 1. Life as a stage in Hellenistic thought

The story goes that moments before his death Augustus turned to his friends, asked them if he had played his part in the drama of life (*mimum vitae*) well, and – quoting a comic epilogue – invited them to greet his exit with applause<sup>1</sup>. This comparison of a dying person to an actor who leaves the stage is one of the many similies ancient theater has bequeathed to the post-classical world<sup>2</sup>. On a philosophical level, this simile indicates that life is a stage<sup>3</sup> on which humans act out the parts in a play composed by powers beyond their control. For modern sociology and anthropology the playwrights of the drama of life are societies; they generate symbolic actions and roles which each member

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<sup>1</sup> Suet., Oct. 99 ed. Ailloud: *capillum sibi comi ac malas labantes corrigi praecepit et admissos amicos percontatus, ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse adiecit et clausulam* εἰ δέ τι / ἔχοι καλῶς, τῷ παιγνίῳ δότε κρότον / καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε; cf. Cass. Dio 56,30,4. On Augustus' last words see most recently Voutiras 1995: 69 (with bibliography).

<sup>2</sup> On this motif see Voutiras 1995: 68-70; cf. Kokolakis 1976: 182f. See also below § 10 on the perception of a funeral as a theatrical exodus.

<sup>3</sup> A useful collection of ancient references to this idea: Kokolakis 1960. Cf., e.g., Burns 1972: 8-10; Pollitt 1986: 6; Voutiras 1995: 69.

learns to perform or recognize<sup>4</sup>. Hellenistic thought, on the other hand, recognized the directors of the 'play of life' in superhuman forces, the gods or Tyche. Already as early as the 3rd century the Cynic Teles (quoting Bion) described Tyche as a tragic poet who designs different (social) roles for humans – the poor man and the king, the exile and the beggar, etc.; the good man has to play the part assigned to him by Tyche (δεῖ ὡσπερ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ὑποκριτὴν ὅ τι ἂν ὁ ποιητῆς περιθῆῃ πρόσωπον τοῦτο ἀγωνίζεσθαι καλῶς)<sup>5</sup>. This idea was anything but confined to the Cynics. The Stoics (e.g., Epiktetos) regarded the divinity as poet and director of the play of life<sup>6</sup>. The dramatic simile of life was applied by Hellenistic historians as well. Polybios presented the conflict between the two sons of king Philip V in the last years of his life as a drama staged by Tyche<sup>7</sup>; and Diodoros – quoting what Demades purportedly had said to Philip II – declared Tyche a play-producer who had assigned Philip to play the part of Agamemnon in the drama of his life<sup>8</sup>.

The perception of life as a drama and the diffusion of other dramatic similes in Greek thought are directly related to the increasing popularity of theatrical performances, first in classical Athens, later in the Hellenistic world. Public performances inevitably had a strong impact on the mentality of contemporary people. Plato had already realized this<sup>9</sup>, and recent research has, indeed, made clear that the important position theater had acquired in Athens by the end of the 5th century BC increased the expectation of the Athenians that they would experience performances and spectacles outside the context of theatrical productions, in the assembly or in the court<sup>10</sup>. It did not escape Thucydides' notice that in the city which had given birth to theater public life increasingly resembled a spectacle<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Turner 1974, esp. 23-59 (on the notion of 'social drama'); cf. Burns 1972, esp. 11, 36-39, 121-143; Ober-Strauss 1990: 245-250 (classical Athens).

<sup>5</sup> Teles, *Περὶ αὐταρκείας*: 5, 2-7 Hense; cf. *Περὶ περιστάσεων*: 52, 2-6 Hense.

<sup>6</sup> *Enchir.* 17: 464,10-11 ed. Schenkl: μέμνησο ὅτι ὑποκριτῆς εἶ δράματος, οἷου ἂν θέλῃ ὁ διδάσκαλος; *Diatr. fragm.* 11: τὸ περιτεθὲν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου πρόσωπον; see Kokolakis 1976: 179f.

<sup>7</sup> Polyb. 23,10,12 and 16: τρίτον δ' ἡ τύχη δρᾶμα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπεισῆγαγεν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς... καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς νεῖκος ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις ἕξεκαύθη, τῆς τύχης ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβάζουσης ἐπὶ σκηνῆν ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ τὰς τούτων συμφορὰς. Walbank (1938: 59-68) has made plausible that Polybios presented Philip, in the last years of his life, as a tragic hero. For Tyche as play-producer in Polybios see also 11,5,8; 29,19,2; cf. Walbank 1979: 233. On the role of Tyche in Polybios' work, in general: Walbank 1957: 16-26; Sacks 1981: 136-140.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. 16,87,2: τῆς τύχης σοι περιθείσης πρόσωπον Ἀγαμέμνονος αὐτὸς οὐκ αἰχύνῃ πράττων ἔργα Θεοῦτου.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, *Res p.* II-III 377 a-402 a, X 603 a-608 b; cf. Green 1994: 2. Cf. below § 3 on similar thoughts expressed by Plutarch.

<sup>10</sup> Ober 1989, esp. 158, 174-177, 221-226, 306-311; Ober-Strauss 1990: 238, 256-258; Rehm 1992: 3-5; Slater 1995: 143-146, 153f.

<sup>11</sup> Thuc. 3,38,4; cf. Ober 1989: 154 with note 123; Slater 1995: 145.

A century later, the ubiquitous experience of theatrical performances not only had made the application of more sophisticated theatrical elements in public life possible, but it had also made the Greeks more sensitive to their effects. It has long been observed that a 'theatrical mentality'<sup>12</sup> characterizes many aspects of Hellenistic life. Besides the perception of life as a spectacle in contemporary philosophy, Hellenistic literature often adopted a theatrical vocabulary to describe the most different situations of life<sup>13</sup>. A sense for dramatic changes is predominant in historiography, not only in the 'tragic history' of a Douris or a Phylarchos<sup>14</sup>; even the greatest critic of 'tragic history', Polybios, could not remain indifferent to the *peripeteias* in the life of individuals and in the life of states. In a speech, which he put into the mouth of Philip V, he even mentions drama along with mythology and history as a source of moral instruction<sup>15</sup>. Hellenistic art is also theatrical, with the architect's "fondness for dramatic settings and for surprising mysterious inner spaces" and, in the words of J. J. Pollitt, the "exaggeratedly massive, tension-filled bodily forms and pathetic facial expressions that seem to echo the masks of tragic drama"<sup>16</sup>.

The impact of theatrical performances in Hellenistic times clearly went far beyond the momentary thrill and joy they offered to audiences. This paper is dedicated to one aspect of this phenomenon, to the theatricality of public life.

<sup>12</sup> This is the term used by Pollitt 1986: 4. Cf. Hesberg 1989: 61 with further bibliography (on art).

<sup>13</sup> I single out only a few words related to the theater which are used by Polybios to describe different situations: ἐκθεατρῖζω (3,91,10; 5,15,2; 11,8,7; fr. 141), ἐκτραγωδῶ (6,15,7; 6,56,8), ὑπόκρισις (35,2,13); cf. περιπέτεια (1,13,11; 3,85,9; 3,97,8; 5,75,5; 6,2,5; 9,12,6; 16,6,9; 20,5,6; 32,8,4; 38,9,2) and ὑπόθεσις (see below note 50). On *peripeteia* in Polybios see below note 15. On the theatrical similes in Polybios see Wunderer 1909: 52-55; cf. Foucault 1972: 31, 231, 233. On the theatrical vocabulary used by Plutarch see Di Gregorio 1976: 168-173.

<sup>14</sup> On 'tragic history' see Walbank 1955 and 1960; Strasburger 1966: 78-85; Meister 1975: 94-108 (on Phylarchos), 109-126 (short history of research and bibliography); Sacks 1981: 144-170. Walbank (1960) has shown, however, that this term is inappropriate, since the link between tragedy and history is a fundamental affinity going back to the beginnings of both genres.

<sup>15</sup> Polyb. 23,11,1: δεῖ μὴ μόνον ἀναγινώσκειν τὰς τραγωδίας καὶ τοὺς μύθους καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γινώσκειν καὶ συνεπιστάνειν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος; cf. Walbank 1979: 234 (with an interesting parallel in Herodian. 3,13,3). See also above note 7. On the instructive value of the *peripeteias* of others (αἱ τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν περιπέτεια) cf., e.g., Polyb. 1,1,2; 1,35,7; cf. Walbank 1938: 64. On *peripeteia* in Polybios see also Sacks 1981: 132-144. On Polybios' criticism to Douris and Phylarchos see Walbank 1938: 56f.; Meister 1975: 109-126; Sacks 1981: 144-170.

<sup>16</sup> Pollitt 1986: 7; cf. Hesberg 1994: 33, 54-64 (private architecture); Zanker 1995a: 91-189 (particularly on the tension-filled representations of thinkers).

## 2. Defining 'theatricality'

The term 'theatricality' is used here in the relatively narrow sense which underlines the strictly *theatrical* elements of theatricality<sup>17</sup>, as they emerge from ancient perceptions of theater, actors, and acting. Ancient authors usually regard as integral parts of theatrical acting delivery, masks, costumes, and body-language, and as its effect illusion and deception<sup>18</sup>. As theatricality I understand the effort of individuals or groups to construct an image of themselves which is at least in part deceiving, because it either is in contrast to reality or because it exaggerates or partly distorts reality. As theatricality I understand, furthermore, the effort to gain control over the emotions and the thoughts of others, to provoke specific reactions, such as, sorrow, pity, anger, fear, admiration, or respect<sup>19</sup>. To achieve these two aims, that is, to construct an illusion and to control the emotions and thoughts of others, a variety of means of verbal and non-verbal communication may be applied: a carefully composed text, a particular costume, images and mechanical devices, the selection of the space where the 'performance' takes place, the control of the voice – its volume, tone, stability, and flexibility – body-language – pose, gestures, movement of the feet –, facial expressions, the choice of the timing<sup>20</sup>.

Theatricality in a more general sense is calculated, pretentious, or exaggerated behavior, as opposed to natural behavior and spontaneity<sup>21</sup>. In this sense theatricality need not be related to the theater. 'Theatrical behavior' underlies many ceremonies and rituals of ordinary life in any society, whether it knows organized theatrical productions or not.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For this reason it differs substantially from, e.g., Bartsch's (1994: 10-12) understanding of theatricality, which places in the foreground "an unequal distribution of power between participants in any human interaction" which "invariably introduces an element of acting into the behavior of at least one of the participants" (p. 10).

<sup>18</sup> See, e.g., Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 221 Theiler = Diod. 37,12,2; Epict., *Diatr.* 1,24,18; 1,29,41; 2,9,19; Plut., *Demetr.* 18 and 44; Lucian., *Gallus* (22) 26; *Icaromen.* (24) 29; *Apolog.* (65) 5; *Navigium* (73) 46.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Burns 1972: 33: " 'Theatricality' in ordinary life consists in the resort to this special grammar of composed behaviour; it is when we suspect that behaviour is being composed according to this grammar of rhetorical and authenticating conventions that we regard it as theatrical. We feel that we are in the presence of some action which has been devised to transmit beliefs attitudes and feelings of a kind that the 'composer' wishes us to have"; cf. *ibid.* 13: "Theatricality is not therefore a mode of behaviour or expression, but attaches to any kind of behaviour perceived and interpreted by others and described (mentally or explicitly) in theatrical terms. These others are more aware of the symbolic than of the instrumental aspect of any behaviour which they feel that they can describe as theatrical". Already Quintilian (*Inst. orat.* 11,3,2) observed that the rhetorical performance aimed at controlling not the thoughts, but the emotions of the audience.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of conventions of performance, both in theatrical production and in the rituals of social life, see Burns 1972, esp. 28-97.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Burns 1972: 4, 12.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., the examples of theatrical behavior ("scenes of unreality in the midst of reality") given by Burns 1972: 20: demonstrations, exchanges of gifts, the ritual transformations of identity for entry into hospital, prison, the armed forces, or a new job, rituals of political process and

And if we associate with theatricality, in this more general sense, any staged, ritualized behavior which produces signals aiming at releasing the appropriate response from their addressees, humans are not the only animals who apply a 'theatrical' behavior, as ethological research has demonstrated<sup>23</sup>.

In Greek social life theatricality, in the more general sense, certainly predates classical theater. We may recognize it in the Geometric representations of funerals; it is obvious in Homeric passages which show the interdependence of conventional posture and social standing<sup>24</sup>. Long before the establishment of dramatic festivals in Athens Solon had persuaded the Athenians to renew the war against Megara for the possession of Salamis by engineering a dramatic scene in Athens: Wearing a cap on his head and pretending to be mad, he recited elegiac verses in which he declared himself a herald from lovely Salamis<sup>25</sup>. The story goes that some time later Peisistratos, regained power through a 'theatrical device', by dressing a tall woman in Athena's armour (σκεύασαντες πανοπλίη), putting her on a chariot, getting her to pose in the appropriate manner (προσδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φαίνεσθαι), and creating the illusion that he was being brought to Athens by the city's goddess<sup>26</sup>. The historicity of this device, often disputed in the past, has been convincingly established by W. R. Connor, who has demonstrated that this event is rooted within Greek culture<sup>27</sup>. Naturally, the introduction of theatrical production in 6th century Athens changed things substantially. The more common and more elaborate theatrical performances became, the more studied and skilful was the performative dimension of Athenian political life. Dramatic fictions and staged behavior were integral parts of the Athenians, political culture as W. R. Connor, J. Ober, and B.S. Strauss have recently pointed out<sup>28</sup>.

If theatricality, or aspects of theatricality, were present in Greek public life before the beginning of the Hellenistic Age, what changes did the Hellenistic Age bring? Did it simply bring a quantitative change, making theatrical elements more common, or can we detect deeper changes? In this paper I will try to identify theatricality, as I defined it above, in two areas: (a) in the rising importance of delivery (ὑπόκρισις) in political rhetoric and (b) in the perception of the statesman as an actor, of his public appearance as

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sexual behavior. For further discussion see Turner 1969; Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1979 (on the ethological perspective); Schechner 1985, esp. 3-33; Herzfeld 1985, *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1979; cf. Turner 1969; Fehling 1974: 7-38; Schechner 1977.

<sup>24</sup> For funerary rituals as performance see esp. Alexiou 1974; Danforth 1982 (modern Greece); cf. Rehm 1992: 7f.; for Geometric Greece see, e.g., Morris 1987, esp. 29-54; for staged funerals in late classical and Hellenistic Greece see below notes 130-131; for the interdependence of conventional posture and social standing in ancient Greece see Bremmer 1991.

<sup>25</sup> Plut., *Solon* 8-10; see Else 1957: 35f., who aptly calls this episode "the beginning of what we might almost call the histrionic period of Athenian history".

<sup>26</sup> Herod. 1,60,4-5.

<sup>27</sup> Connor 1987: 42-47; cf. Else 1957: 35-37.

<sup>28</sup> Connor 1987 (archaic Athens); Strauss 1985 (ritual elements in the return of the democrats in Athens in 404 BC and in the meetings of the popular assembly); Ober 1989, esp. 152-155, 174-177, 221-226 ('dramatic fiction' in the court and in the assembly); cf. also above note 10.

a staged performance, and of his life as a drama. It will be argued that Hellenistic theatricality is not a literary invention of contemporary authors, but a distinctive feature of life in the Hellenistic urban centers, closely connected with the popularity of theatrical performances in the Hellenistic world; it will also be suggested that theatricality in public life is part of the transformation of the Hellenistic city into a society of 'onlookers'.

### 3. The theater as the stage of public life

Theaters increasingly dominate the architectural outfit of cities already from the middle of the 4th century BC. In many cities the theater, built primarily for theatrical performances, was one of the few public constructions which could accommodate large numbers of people, and consequently it soon became the multifunctional locus of various public activities. The theaters did not only host dramatic festivals, but also lectures, concerts, performances of various entertainers, other cultural activities, and festivals.<sup>29</sup> And since most cities lacked a separate *ekklesiasterion*, regular and irregular meetings of the assembly were also held in theaters<sup>30</sup>. The literary sources in particular clearly indicate that the theater was the meeting place of the people par excellence. When Plutarch praises the Spartiates for having neither halls nor any other kind of building for their assembly and explains that "when those who have come together gaze during the assembly upon statues and paintings, or *proscenias* of theaters, or extravagantly decorated roofs of council halls, they become foolish, vain, and empty-headed", he takes for granted that the common environment of an assembly is precisely the theater<sup>31</sup>. In his exhortation to the Athenians in 88 BC, as narrated by Poseidonios, the statesman Athenion identified theater and *ekklesia*.<sup>32</sup> The theater was the place where the *demos* assembled spontaneously whenever an important event might occur: after the liberation of Sikyon (251/50 BC) and Korinth (243 BC) by Aratos or after the return of the Athenian statesman Athenion from Asia Minor at the outset of the First Mithridatic War (88 BC) the theaters were thronged with people who were in suspense because of uncertain rumours or because of the expectation of important announcements<sup>33</sup>. The theater was

<sup>29</sup> Lectures/recitations: e.g., *I.Delos* 1506 = Chaniotis 1988a: 340 E 58; performances of entertainers: Blümner 1918: 9, 23; celebrations of royal weddings: Diod. 16,93,1 (Kleopatra, 336 BC); Plut., *Arat.* 17 (Nikaia and Demetrios in Korinth); festivals: see below note 149.

<sup>30</sup> Kolb 1981: 88-99; Hansen - Fischer-Hansen 1995: 48-53; cf. *ibid.* 53-76 on the resemblance between theaters and *ekklesiasteria* (cf. below note 160).

<sup>31</sup> Plut., *Lyc.* 6: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τούτων τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἤγον. οὔτε παστάδων οὐσῶν οὔτε ἄλλης τινὸς κατασκευῆς. οὐθὲν γὰρ ᾤετο ταῦτα πρὸς εὐβουλίαν εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ βλάπτειν. φλυαρῶδεις ἀπεργαζόμεναι καὶ χαύνους φρονήματι κενῶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν συμπορευομένων ὅταν εἰς ἀγάλματα καὶ γραφὰς ἢ προσκῆνια θεάτρων ἢ στέγας βουλευτηρίων ἡσκημένας περιπτῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντες ἀποβλέπωσι.

<sup>32</sup> Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 247 Theiler = Athen. V 213 d: μὴ περιδωμεν... τὸ δὲ θέατρον ἀνεκκλησιάστον.

<sup>33</sup> Liberation of Sikyon: Plut., *Arat.* 8: καὶ συνδραμόντων πανταχόθεν, ἡμέρα μὲν ὑπέλαμπεν ἤδη καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἦν ὄχλου μεστόν. ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἀδηλον αἰωρουμένων φήμην καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἰδῶτων ὑπὲρ τῶν πραττομένων, πρὶν γε

the place where the citizens listened to the announcement of honors of kings, local benefactors, or foreign friends<sup>34</sup>, participated in political trials, or even watched executions<sup>35</sup>.

Since public life took place, to a great extent, in the theater it is not so surprising that the expectations of the assembled *demos* approached the expectations of the audience of a theatrical performance (see above notes 10 and 28). Already Plutarch (see above note 31) was conscious of the effect that a particular place where the assembly met might (and did) have on the participants. As William J. Slater (1995, 145) has put it, "politics were increasingly dramatized by being held in a venue which was associated primarily with entertainment". Interestingly enough, when Hellenistic and later authors point to theatrical elements in the appearance of a public figure (a statesman or a king), we notice that in most cases they place this event in a theater: the deceptive speech delivered by Philip V to the Macedonian army, the dramatic escape of Nikias in Engyon, the entrance of a false messenger into an assembly of the Achaean league at Sikyon, the appearance of Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens, and the application of a mechanical device to honour Mithridates in Pergamon (see below notes 60, 82, 83, 96, 119). Even if the historicity of some of these incidents is uncertain, the explicit references to theatrical elements in the works of contemporary authors, particularly Douris (a probable source for Plutarch's biography of Demetrios)<sup>36</sup>, Polybios, Poseidonios, and Diodoros, clearly shows that Hellenistic public life was perceived as a show, for which the appropriate place was the theater, and, conversely, that the setting of public life in the theater transformed it into a show.

This interdependence between the theatrical setting and the theatrical character of public life becomes clear in three anecdotes narrated in Plutarch's biography of Timoleon. The events described here take place in Sicilian theaters just a few years before Alexander's reign (ca. 344-337 BC). Hippon, the tyrant of Messene, was captured by his people (ca. 344 BC) and brought to the theater (*Tim.* 34), where his punishment was staged as a spectacle. The Messenians did not neglect to bring their children from the schools to watch (καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλείων ὡς ἐπὶ θέαμα κάλλιστον τὴν τοῦ τυράννου τιμωρίαν ἀγαγόντες εἰς θέατρον). A similar spectacle took place in Syracuse, to whose theater the tyrant of Katane Mamerkos was brought (*ibid.*). When he came before the people he attempted to give a performance, by reciting a speech

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δὴ προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ εἶπεν ὡς Ἄρατος ὁ Κλεινίου παρακαλεῖ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Liberation of Korinth: Plut., *Arat.* 23: ἐπεὶ δ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐδόκει πάντ' ἔχειν. κατέβαινεν (sc. Ἄρατος) εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. πλήθους ἀπείρου συρρέοντος ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς τε ὄψεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν λόγων οἷς ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους. Election of Athenion: Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 247 Theiler = Athen. V 213 e: καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἶλοντο τὸν Ἀθηνίωνα στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων.

34 E.g., *I.Ephesos* 1405, 1408, 1410, 1440, 1452, 1453; *I.Lasos* 43, 73; *I.Kalchedon* 1, 2; *I.Priene* 63; *I.Smyrna* 578.

35 Trials: Plut., *Phoc.* 34. Executions: Plut., *Timol.* 34; Polyb. 15, 30-33. For the performance of executions as spectacles in imperial times see Potter 1993; cf. Slater 1995: 146-148.

36 Sweet 1951; cf. Di Gregorio 1976: 167 note 75.

composed by him a long time before. He was received, however, with noise and clamour by the audience and immediately changed the role. Casting off his mantle in a theatrical gesture (ρίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον) he ran across the theater (διὰ μέσου τοῦ θεάτρου) and dashed his head against one of the stone steps, hoping to kill himself; his theatrical attempt failed, however, and he was executed later. These narratives culminate in the passage where Plutarch describes the staging of the assemblies in the theater of Syracuse (*Tim.* 38): “Moreover, the proceedings in their assemblies afforded a noble spectacle (καλὴν... ὄψιν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ παρεῖχε), since, while they decided other matters by themselves, for the more important deliberations they summoned him [Timoleon]. Then he would proceed to the theatre carried through the market place on a mule-car; and when the vehicle in which he sat was brought in, the people would greet him with one voice and call him by name, and he, after returning their greetings and allowing some time for their felicitations and praises (ἀντασπασάμενος καὶ χρόνον τινὰ δοῦς ταῖς εὐφημαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις; cf. below note 53), would then listen carefully to the matter under debate and pronounce opinion. And when his opinion had been adopted, his retainers would conduct his car back again through the theatre, and the citizens, after sending him on his way with shouts of applause (βοῆ καὶ κρότω προπέμψαντες), would proceed at once to transact the rest of the public business by themselves (translated by B. Perrin)”. Timoleon’s appearance is a carefully staged performance, with a *parodos* and an *exodos*, interaction between the performer and the audience, acclamations, and calculated pauses.

#### 4. The significance of delivery in Hellenistic public oratory

In this setting, the protagonists of Hellenistic public life, naturally, resembled actors on a stage<sup>37</sup>. The statesman had to win the favor of a loud and demanding audience like an actor; and in order to achieve this, he depended on the same elaborate skills as the actor: a good script, voice control, and application of the appropriate gestures. Already Demosthenes is said to have attempted to develop these skills. After an unsuccessful performance in the assembly, he was told by the actor Andronikos “that his words were excellent but that his delivery (τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως) was deficient”. When Andronikos delivered the same speech Demosthenes immediately recognized the difference and put himself in the actor’s hands. “Therefore when someone asked him what was of prime importance in oratory, he replied ‘Delivery’ (ὑπόκρισις), and what was second, ‘Delivery’, and third, ‘Delivery’”<sup>38</sup>. Demosthenes is also said to have paid the actor Neoptolemos 10,000 drachmas to teach him to speak whole paragraphs without taking

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Ober 1989: 154f. (4th century Athens).

<sup>38</sup> [Plut.], *Mor.* 845 a-b; on Andronikos see Stephanis 1988: n° 179. On these anecdotes about Demosthenes, which possibly go back to the late 4th century, cf. Graf 1991: 48 with note 36. On the importance of delivery in rhetorical theory, from Aristotle to Quintilian, see Sonkowsky 1959 (who has made plausible that techniques of delivery were vitally involved in the process of composition of orations, anticipating their public presentation); Graf 1991 (particularly on gestures, on Quintilian’s account on *actio*, and on the differences between theatrical and rhetorical delivery).



breath<sup>39</sup>. The occasional references to statesmen who refused to use the actors' skills, as Hyperides, who used to speak ἀνευ ὑποκρίσεως<sup>40</sup>, confirm this picture; and the repeated exhortation of the authors of rhetorical treatises to public orators to avoid the gestures of actors makes sense only if the influence of the art of acting in political oratory was significant and some demarcation between the two disciplines had to be made. This was necessary in order to protect the public figure from the actors' bad reputation<sup>41</sup>. Quintilian still recommended training by professional actors and sport instructors to future orators, so that they would be able to make full use of body, voice, and facial expressions<sup>42</sup>.

Unfortunately the script of Theophrastos *Περὶ ὑποκρίσεως* does not survive, but the treatise *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and the works of Cicero and Quintilian give us an impression of the common practices in delivery (ὑπόκρισις, *actio, pronuntiatio*), mainly in late Republican and early Imperial Rome; the repeated references to Greek orators (e.g., Demosthenes and Kleon) and the use of Greek terms shows that the rhetorical habits they discuss apply, at least in part, to Greece as well. The instructors of oratory treat among other things the control of voice and body suitable to the subject matter (*sermo corporis, eloquentia corporis*)<sup>43</sup>, recommending the proper use of the garment<sup>44</sup>, the use of pauses which keep the voice strong and give the audience the chance to reflect on the speech<sup>45</sup>, and the use of postures and gestures appropriate for various occasions<sup>46</sup>: e.g., leaning

<sup>39</sup> [Plut.], *Mor.* 844 f; on Neoptolemos see Stephanis 1988: n° 1797. According to Plut., *Demosth.* 7 Demosthenes was instructed by the actor Satyros; cf. Ober 1989: 114. On Satyros see Stephanis 1988: n° 2241. On the training of orators through acting instructors (*phonaskoi, doctores scaenici*) see Rosa 1989: 263; Graf 1991: 40, 50 with note 44; see also below note 42. On dramatic elements in classical oratory see Ober-Strauss 1990: 255-258 (Andokides' oration on the mysteries). On actors with political or diplomatic activities in 4th century Athens (Aischines, Aristodemos, Neoptolemos) see Ober 1989: 154f.

<sup>40</sup> [Plut.], *Mor.* 850 ab; cf. Demosthenes' view that statesmen should be judged by their opinions and not by their voices, as actors: [Plut.], *Mor.* 848 b.

<sup>41</sup> E.g., *Rhet. ad Her.* 3,15,26 (*ne aut histriones*); Quint., *Inst. or.* 1,11,3. Further sources and discussion of the difference between rhetorical and theatrical delivery in Graf 1991: 39, 43, 48-51. On the importance of gestures in acting see Taplin 1988: 15, 58-76; cf. also the recent iconographical studies of Neiiendam (1992, esp. 57-62) and Green (1994, *passim*). Cf. Plaut., *Mil. gl.* 200-215, where the movement and the gestures of Palaestrio are described in detail (cf. Graf 1991: 49).

<sup>42</sup> Quint., *Inst. orat.* 1,11,4-14; cf. Cic., *De oratore* 1,128: *in oratore... vox tragoedorum, gestus paene summorum actorum est requirendus*, cf. Graf 1991: 37, 40.

<sup>43</sup> Graf 1991: 37. On the use of the voice see Krumbacher 1920 (good collection of sources); see also Lienard-Lukinovich 1979 (on Aristotle); Rosa 1989 (on Quintilian). On body language and gestures in Roman oratory see Graf 1991.

<sup>44</sup> Quint., *Inst. orat.* 11,3,138-149; cf. Graf 1991: 44. On the use of the garment in acting see, e.g., Green 1994: 36 fig. 2.14. Cf. below note 57.

<sup>45</sup> *Rhet. ad Her.* 3,12,22: *intervalla vocem confirmant... auditori spatium cogitandi reliquunt*. On the importance of pauses cf. below note 53.

<sup>46</sup> See Maier-Eichhorn 1989; Graf 1991 (with bibliography); cf., e.g., Lienard-Lukinovich 1979 (on Aristotle).

towards the audience when giving advice, slapping the thighs or beating the head in more emphatic moments, putting the right foot slightly forward, or pressing the clenched fist to the breast to express regret or anger<sup>47</sup>. It is exactly the same use of voice and body which makes an actor successful. Poseidonios mentions similar elements, the pause (κατὰ τὴν σιωπὴν) and movement of the body (καθ' ὅποιον σώματος ἐπιστροφὴν) among the skills of the buffoon Saunio<sup>48</sup>. Of course, delivery developed to more elaborate forms in imperial times, when orators in their perorations, just like actors, raised the pitch of their voice and approached song<sup>49</sup>.

In Hellenistic times political oratory was often perceived as a carefully staged dramatic performance, as we may infer from Hellenistic historiography, especially from Poseidonios, for whom theatricality in public life exercised an unparalleled fascination (see notes 48, 51, 75, 76, 81, 82, 93, and 104), and also from Polybios. The latter describes the great success of the Achaean politician Kritolaos (147 BC) in the assembly of the Achaeans in theatrical terms as the success of an actor who has received the subject (ὑπόθεσις) he has been hoping for and gains the favour of the audience (θεάτρου συνενθουσιῶντος)<sup>50</sup>. In one of the few lengthier fragments of Poseidonios' history we find a characteristic description of a political oration as an acting performance<sup>51</sup>: It is a speech delivered by Athenion, an Athenian statesman and supporter of Mithridates (88 BC). Athenion ascends the tribune, stands there in silence, and turns his head all around in order to view his audience (περιβλέψας κυκληδὸν τὸ πλῆθος). Then, before

47 See, e.g., *Rhet. ad Her.* 3,15,26 (*paululum corpus a cervicibus demitemus*) and 27 (*pedis dexteri rara supplausione... feminis plangore et capitis ictu*); Quint., *Inst. or.* 11,3,104 (*compressam etiam manum in paenitentia vel ira pectori admovemus*). On the gestures suggested by Quintilian see the bibliography in notes 41 and 43.

48 Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 221 Theiler = Diod. 37,12,2: οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐκίνει γέλωτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ καθ' ὅποιον σώματος ἐπιστροφὴν ἅπαντας ἔποιε τοὺς θεωμένους μειδιᾶν.

49 Plut., *Mor.* 623 b. Cf. the bibliography in notes 38, 41, 43, and 46.

50 Polyb. 38,12,7: ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος, ὥσπερ κατ' εὐχὴν ὑποθέσεως ἐπειλημμένος καὶ θεάτρου συνενθουσιῶντος καὶ παρεστηκότος τὰς διανοίας... Slightly different Walbank's (1979, 706) translation: "having obtained the theme for ranting that he prayed for". The theatrical context makes, however, clear, that here the word ὑπόθεσις alludes to the actor's role. On theatrical similes in Polybios see above note 15.

51 Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 247 Theiler = *FrGrHist.* 87 F 36 § 50-51 = Athen. V 212 f-213 c: ἀναβάς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα... στὰς ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ περιβλέψας κυκληδὸν τὸ πλῆθος, ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψας ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφη 'τὰ πράγματα μὲν με βιάζεται καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον ἀπαγγέλλειν ἃ οἶδα, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς περιστάσεως ἐμποδίζει με'. ἀθρόως δ' ἐπιβοησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν περιστώτων θαρρεῖν καὶ λέγειν, 'λέγω τοίνυν' ἔφη 'τὰ μηδέποτε ἐλπισθέντα...' μικρὸν δ' ἐπισχῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἔασας τοὺς πολλοὺς συλλαλήσαι περὶ τῶν παραδόξως προηγγελμένων τρίσας τε τὸ μέτωπον 'τί οὖν' εἶπε 'συμβουλεύω...' Cf. Reinhardt 1953: 636-638 on Poseidonios' irony in the description of this event. '

starting with his oration, he looks up (ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψας)<sup>52</sup>. At the beginning of his speech he shows reluctance to speak freely, since the unexpected and astonishing situation (τὸ παράδοξον) prohibits him. He continues his speech only after the audience urges him to do so (ἐπιβοησάντων ... θαρρεῖν). He starts again, focusing always on the surprising nature of the news he brings (τὰ μηδέποτε ἔλπισθέντα). After a few sentences he pauses (μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν), on purpose, in order to give the audience the opportunity to cheer him for the surprising news (περὶ τῶν παραδόξως προηγγελμένων)<sup>53</sup>. Before Athenion proceeds, he scratches his forehead (τρίψας τε τὸ μέτωπον), a rather vulgar indication of thoughtfulness<sup>54</sup>. It should be noted here that the tenor of Athenion's speech, particularly his concentration on dramatic, i.e., unexpected and astonishing, elements recalls the tenor of some contemporary decrees, which are a still unexploited source of information for Hellenistic political oratory<sup>55</sup>.

A further example is taken from Polybios<sup>56</sup>. It is his narrative of how Agathokles announced the death of Ptolemy IV to the army (204 BC): He summoned a meeting of

<sup>52</sup> On the importance of the eyes in rhetorical delivery cf. Cic., *De oratore* 3,222; Quint., *Inst. rhet.* 11,3,75-79.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Plut., *Timol.* 38: Timoleon pauses in order to give the assembled Syracusans the opportunity to applause him. To court applause by silence was a common practice, disapproved, however, by Quintilian (*Inst. orat.* 11,3,121). On the effect of pauses cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* 3,12,22: *intervalla vocem confirmant... auditori spatium cogitandi reliquunt*; see also above note 48 on the use of pauses (σιωπή) by the actor Saunio.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* 3,15,27 (*capitis ictu*). On conventions in the representation of the thinker in Hellenistic art see Zanker 1995a: 91-189; for gestures see esp. 91-93 fig. 51-52, 99 fig. 54b, 102-107 fig. 57-59, 138 fig. 77, 183-186 fig. 101-103.

<sup>55</sup> This subject will be discussed in more detail in my projected book *Spectacle and Performance in the Hellenistic City*. Three characteristic examples are the honorific decree of Chersonesos for Diophantos (*IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 353, late 2nd cent. BC) with a suspenseful description of the enemy attacks and Diophantos' heroic achievements (for some preliminary remarks see Chaniotis 1987), the Ephesian decree concerning the 1st Mithridatic War (*I.Ephesos* 86/85 BC), which underlines the dramatic situation (e.g., ll. 7ff: *προκαταλαβόμενος τὰς προκειμένας ἡμῶν πόλεις ἀ/πάτη*), ἐκράτησεν καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως καταπληξάμενος / [τῶι] τε πλήθει τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τῶι ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς κτλ.), and the decree of Stratonikeia (*I.Stratonikeia* 10, ca. 43 BC), which narrates with sensational details Labienus' attack on the sanctuary of Zeus Panamaros and the miraculous rescue of the besieged Stratonikeis (see Roussel 1931). For the importance of suspense cf. also Plut., *Demetr.* 17: The envoy sent by Demetrios Poliorketes to announce his victory over Ptolemy in Salamis first kept Antigonos and the assembled crowd in suspense about the outcome of the battle: *ἀποκρινομένου δὲ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδενί, βάδην δὲ καὶ συνεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ μετὰ πολλῆς σιωπῆς προϊόντος, ἐκπλαγεῖς κομιδῇ καὶ μηκέτι καρτερῶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήντησε, πολλοῦ παραπέμποντος ἤδη τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ὄχλου καὶ συντρέχοντος ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον. ὡς οὖν ἔγγυς ἦλθεν, ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν ἀνεβόησε μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ κτλ.* On this story cf. Hesberg 1996: 94.

<sup>56</sup> Polyb. 15,26,1-3: *καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ὑπεκρίνετο τὸν οὐ δυνάμενον εἰπεῖν ἂ βούλεται διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιφερομένων δακρῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πλεονακίς*

the Macedonians and appeared there together with his sister Agathokleia, a dancer and mistress of the deceased king, and the young Ptolemy V. "At first he pretended (ὑπεκρίνεται) that he could not say what he wished owing to the abundance of the tears that choked him, but after wiping his eyes many times with his chlamys [use of the garment]<sup>57</sup> and subduing the outburst, he took the child in his arms [a gesture] and exclaimed, "Take the child whom his father on his death-bed placed in the arms of this woman", pointing to his sister [another gesture]..." (translated by W. R. Paton). Agathokles' appearance resembles a dramatic gesture, engaging careful use of voice, dress, facial expressions, gestures, and movements.

On several other occasions Polybios uses a theatrical vocabulary when he refers to speeches<sup>58</sup>. The speech delivered by the Aitolian Alexandros during the negotiations between Flaminius and Philip (198 BC) is characterized as 'theatrical'<sup>59</sup>; Philip dissembles (ὑποκριθείς) before an assembly of the Macedonians – incidentally in a theater<sup>60</sup>; after all, the first quality of a commander, according to the historian, is his ability to conceal his thoughts<sup>61</sup>. Polybios points to the bold oratory of Apelles, a member

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ἀπομάττων τῆ χλαμύδι κατεκράτησε τῆς ἐπιφορᾶς, βασιτάσας τὸ παιδίον "λάβετε" ἔφη "τοῦτον. ὄν ὁ πατήρ ἀποθνήσκων εἰς μὲν τὰς ἀγκάλας ἔδωκε ταύτην" δειξάς τὴν ἀδελφὴν "παρακατέθετο δ' εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν, ὧ ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες, πίστιν..."

- 57 Cf. the weeping slave in the New York Group of terracotta figurines of actors (Green 1994: 35 fig. 2.13). For the theatrical use of the garment see also Theophr., *Char.* 2,3: the flatterer stuffs the corner of his cloak in his mouth as if he could not hold his merriment (ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνάμενος τὸν γέλωτα κατασχεῖν).
- 58 Cf. above note 13. Cf. Polybios' interest in the facial expressions and the movements of Philip V, when he describes a dialogue between the Macedonian king, Flaminius, and representatives of Aitolia (Polyb. 18,4,4-7,6): (4,4) ἐπιστραφεῖς... ἔφησεν ... (4,5) αὐθις δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστρέψας... φησίν (7,6) ὑπομειδιάσας σαρδάνιον ἀπεισιώπησε. Cf. Polyb. 18,23,2 on Flaminius' address to his army before the battle at Kyros Kephalaí: ἐναργῶς γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἔλεγε. For Polybios' interest in rhetoric see Wiedemann 1990.
- 59 Polyb. 18,4,1: Αἰτωλικὸν ἔφη καὶ θεατρικὸν διατεθεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον λόγον. Cf. Walbank 1967: 556: "This may be a faithful version of Philip's words, and not mere Polybian abuse."
- 60 Polyb. 5,25,4-5: ὁ Φίλιππος ἦκε μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου θέων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τὰ μὲν παρεκάλει, τὰ δ' ἐπέπληττε πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. θορύβου δ' ὄντος καὶ πολλῆς ἀκρισίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν οἰομένων δεῖν ἀγειν καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς αἰτίους, τῶν δὲ διαλύεσθαι καὶ μηδεὶ μνησικακεῖν. τότε μὲν ὑποκριθεὶς ὡς πεπεισμένος καὶ παρακαλέσας πάντας ἐπανῆλθε, σαφῶς μὲν εἰδῶς τοὺς ἀρχηγούς τῆς κινήσεως γεγονότας, οὐ προσποιηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν.
- 61 Polyb. 9,13,2: "The first and foremost requisite is to keep silence, and never either from joy if some unexpected hope shall present itself, or from fear, or from familiarity with or affection for certain persons, to reveal one's design to anyone unconcerned in it, but to communicate it only to those without whom it cannot be put in execution, and even to these not earlier than

of the Macedonian nobility and one of the guardians of Philip<sup>62</sup>; he describes Apelles' coming to Korinth as a dramatic entry<sup>63</sup>, and points to the performative qualities in the appearance of the envoys of the Aravaeae in the senate (151 BC), who assumed a humble and submissive attitude in their speech (κατὰ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν), without, however, concealing their true feelings<sup>64</sup>.

The evidence concerning the performative qualities of public speeches in the Hellenistic age is mainly of an anecdotal nature. Anecdotes are, however, a reflection – admittedly a distorted reflection – of reality. They show that public speeches were perceived by contemporary authors, especially Polybios and Poseidonios, as closely associated with theatrical performances. This impression is confirmed not only by the – slightly later – rhetorical treatises, but also by other evidence on the theatricality of public life (§ 11). The assumption that the theatrical behavior described by contemporary authors is not their invention but the reality can be corroborated further by the fact that both Polybios and Poseidonios criticize it. Poseidonios' description of Athenion is the caricature of a vulgar demagogue: Athenion applies the vulgar gesture of scratching the head; he is not wearing properly, but dragging his luxurious cloak (χλαμύδα λαμπρὰν ἐπισύρων, cf. § 8); he courts applause with his pauses, exactly as the demagogues castigated by Quintilian (note 53). Polybios invests always a negative meaning in words such as τραγικός, θεατρικός, and ἐκθεατρίζω, and his description of Agathokles' burst into tears bears a strong resemblance to the performance of a comic actor<sup>65</sup>. What Polybios and Poseidonios are mocking are not fictitious characters, but typical statesmen.

This does not mean, of course, that all statesmen adopted the theatrical behavior of an Athenion, an Apelles, or an Agathokles. The contrast of these literary accounts with the visual evidence on Hellenistic public figures is quite revealing about the different types of studied behavior applied by different representatives of public life in order to construct the desirable image. The 'Mantelstatuen' offer a characteristic example<sup>66</sup>: The orderly draped cloaks, the avoidance of luxury, and the unmoved arms, usually covered by the cloak – quite different from Athenion's dress and gesticulation –, evoke self-control and reservation<sup>67</sup>; even when the arms are freed from the cloaks' drapery and are projected

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when the need of their services renders it imperative. And we must keep not only our tongue tied but even more so our minds" (translated by W.R. Paton).

<sup>62</sup> Polyb. 4,85,2: ἔλεγε τὰ προειρημένα τολμηρῶς καὶ καταπληκτικῶς.

<sup>63</sup> Polyb. 5,26,9: γενομένης δὲ τῆς εισόδου τραγικῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπαντησάντων ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατιωτῶν.

<sup>64</sup> Polyb: 35,2,13: κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις ὑποπεπτωκότεως καὶ ταπεινῶς, τῇ γε μὴν προαιρέσει [ὡς] διέφαινον οὐκ εἰκούση τοῖς ὄλοις οὐδ' ἥττωμένη.

<sup>65</sup> On Polybios' vocabulary see notes 13, 59, 63; cf. Plutarch's use of these words (notes 116 and 130). On Agathokles' tears see above note 57. For the criticism of other authors on theatrical behavior see notes 40, 41, 72. Cf. above note 31 (inappropriateness of theaters as meeting places of the assembly).

<sup>66</sup> On this material see Lewerentz 1993; on the ideas transmitted by these images see Zanker 1995b: 254-258.

<sup>67</sup> Zanker 1995b: 254f., 267f. fig. 5-9.

forward, to indicate energy and strain, they avoid the passionate gesticulation of the demagogues and underline self-control<sup>68</sup>. Contemporary portraits encapsulate in their facial expressions the vigour and the strenuousness with which the good citizen carried out toilsome civic duties<sup>69</sup>. These representations of virtuous citizens in proper dress and with facial expressions indicating exhaustion after their demanding efforts for public welfare bring to mind the advice given by Quintilian to orators: they should demonstrate their exhaustion, by letting their dress fall in careless disorder and their *toga* slip loose, by streaming with sweat, and showing signs of fatigue, thus signaling that they had spared no strength for the interest of their clients<sup>70</sup>. The images of the self-controlled and committed citizens may differ from Athenion's appearance, but nevertheless they embody artificial and staged behavior.

##### 5. The statesman as performer: different costumes for different roles

A very important element of theatricality in the public appearances of Hellenistic statesmen was the choice of clothes, not simply as a symbol of authority (such as, *e.g.*, the diadem)<sup>71</sup> or as means of self-representation, but as means of provoking specific reactions and gaining control of the feelings of the spectators. Since the 'costume' was perceived as a fundamental feature of the actor, we should not be surprised if Plutarch's description of Demetrios Poliorketes' wardrobe is introduced with the words *τραγωδία μεγάλη*: "And there was in truth much of the tragic / dramatic (*τραγωδία μεγάλη*) about Demetrios, who not only had an extravagant array of cloaks and head-gear – double-mitred *kausiai* and purple robes shot with gold, but also equipped his feet with gold-embroidered shoes of the richest purple felt. And there was one cloak which was long in the weaving for him, a magnificent work, a representation of the world and of the heavenly bodies"<sup>72</sup>.

The careful choice and change of clothes (*ἔσθῆς, διασκευή*) is an essential part of the preparation not only of an actor, but also of a statesman eager to control his public

<sup>68</sup> Zanker 1995b: 255f., 268 fig. 10-12.

<sup>69</sup> Zanker 1995b: 258-260, 270 fig. 16-21; these ideas are expressed in contemporary honorific decrees as well: see Wörrle 1995.

<sup>70</sup> Quint., *Inst. or.* 11,3,147; Graf 1991: 44. I can not help but quote an account of how Harry Treleaven assisted George Bush in his congressional campaign in Houston (quoted by Bush 1972: 34): "Over and over again, on every television screen in Houston George Bush was seen with his coat slung over his shoulders; his sleeves rolled up; walking the streets of his district; grinning, gripping, letting the voter know he cared. About what was never made clear".

<sup>71</sup> On the diadem see Ritter 1965.

<sup>72</sup> Plut., *Demetr.* 41: ἦν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς τραγωδία μεγάλη περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον. οὐ μόνον ἀμπεχόμενον καὶ διαδούμενον περιττῶς καυσίαις διμήτροις καὶ χρυσοπαρῦφοις ἀλουργίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκ πορφύρας ἀκράτου συμπεπιλημένης χρυσοβαφεῖς πεπονημένον ἐμβάδας. ἦν δέ τις ὑφαινομένη χλαμὺς αὐτῷ πολλὴν χρόνον. ἔργον ὑπερήφανον, εἰκασμα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένων. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 33f.; Pollitt 1986: 6. This remark may go back to Douris, who was particularly interested in Demetrios' wardrobe and described his cloak (*FrGrHist* 76 F 14): see Sweet 1951: 180.

image. Hellenistic authors never get tired of pointing to the outfit of public figures, the effect their garments had on spectators, or the close interconnection between the change of the costume and the change of the image of a statesman. Already in the outset of the Hellenistic age, Douris, a characteristic representative of 'tragic history', paid a lot of attention in his *Makedonika* to the outfit of statesmen and its intended effect<sup>73</sup>. Besides his description of Demetrios Poliorketes' wardrobe (note 72), he called attention to the make-up used by Demetrios of Phaleron so that he would seem merry and pleasant (F 10: ἠβούλετο γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἰλαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἡδύς φαίνεσθαι). Douris' teacher, Theophrastos, had already observed the calculated use of costume and hairstyle in the theatricality of everyday life, when he describes the behavior of the man of petty ambitions and the supporter of oligarchy<sup>74</sup>. Poseidonios points to the extravagant clothes of Battakes, priest of Kybele at Pessinous, which left a strong impression on the Romans (102 BC)<sup>75</sup>. He also describes in detail the garments Athenion wore when he returned to Athens and the implements used in the procession which brought him into the city<sup>76</sup>. Polybios criticizes the generals of the Achaeans for their care for their retinues and their dress and their exhibition of dandyism<sup>77</sup>, contrasting their behavior with the unpretentious appearance of Philopoemen (11,10,3: κατὰ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν σίτησιν ἀφελῆς καὶ λιτὸς ἦν...). The numerous anecdotes about the way Hellenistic kings changed their clothes in order to construct the fiction of the moderate and affable ruler will be discussed later (§ 8).

Readers of Attic forensic speeches know that the defendants often appeared in court in a particular costume in order to provoke the pity of the jurors<sup>78</sup>. Hellenistic statesmen

<sup>73</sup> For the interest of Douris in costumes see Sweet 1951: 179 with note 32: *FrGrHist* 76 F 10, 12, 14, 50, 60. Ostentation is, of course, not unknown in classical Athens: see, e.g., Ober 1989: 206-208. For its importance in archaic societies see Ampolo 1984. On the significantly increased interest in garments in the Hellenistic age see Schneider 1969: 23-42; cf. Alföldi 1934: 16.

<sup>74</sup> Theophr., *Char.* 21,8 (καὶ πομπεύσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἵππέων... ἀναβαλόμενος δὲ θοιμάτιον ἐν τοῖς μύσῳσι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν); 21,11 (παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον); 21,12 (πλειστάκις δὲ ἀποκείρασθαι καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας λευκοὺς ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια δὲ χρηστὰ μεταβάλλεσθαι); 26,4 (καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξιδῶν τὸ ἱμάτιον μεμελημένως ἀναβεβλημένος καὶ μέσην κουρὰν κεκαρμένους καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένους).

<sup>75</sup> Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 200 Theiler = Diod. 36,13,1: ἐφόρει δὲ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐξηλλαγμένην καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθων οὐκ ἐπιχωρομένην χρυσοῦν τε γὰρ στέφανον εἶχεν ὑπερμεγέθει καὶ στολὴν ἀνθίην διαχρυσον, βασιλικὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιφαίνουσαν.

<sup>76</sup> Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 247 Theiler = *FrGrHist* 87 F 36 § 49 = Athen. V 212 c: ...ὁ παρέγγραφος Ῥαθηναίων εἰς Ῥαθήνας ἐπ' ἀργυρόποδος κατακομίζεται φορεῖται καὶ πορφυρῶν στρωμάτων... (212 δε) ἐξῆει χλαμύδα λαμπρὰν ἐπισύρων καὶ περικείμενος δακτύλιον χρυσοῦ ἐγγεγλυμμένην ἔχοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου εἰκόνα.

<sup>77</sup> Polyb. 11,8,5-6: ἐσπούδαζον γὰρ τὰς ἀκολουθίας καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας διαφερόντως, καὶ τις ἦν περὶ τοὺς πλείστους καλλωπισμὸς, ὑπερέχων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν ὄπλων δ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἐποιοῦντο λόγον.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Slater 1995: 144.

did not hesitate at all to adopt similar costumes for the same purpose. Prusias II, king of Bithynia, dressed himself as a *libertus* when he visited Rome in 167/6. He shaved his head, took the costume (διασκευή) of the *liberti*, and performed the appropriate gestures for his role<sup>79</sup>. The tyrant of Kibyra Moagetes staged his appearance to Gnaeus Manlius Vulso (192 BC) in a similar way in order to prevent the devastation of his land<sup>80</sup>: "the tyrant came out with his friends dressed and escorted in the simplest and most unassuming manner, and in a submissive speech, bewailing his own powerlessness and the weakness of the towns subject to him, begged Manlius to accept the 15 talents" (translated by W. R. Paton). Moagetes was quite successful and finally paid 100 talents, instead of the 500 demanded by Vulso. Poseidonios narrates similar stories about Romans<sup>81</sup>.

## 6. Staging political schemes

A story narrated by Poseidonios, one of our best sources for Hellenistic theatricality, shows another aspect of the acting and staging abilities of contemporary statesmen. The story goes that Nikias, one of the leading men at Engyon in Sicily, was urging his fellow citizens to go over to the Romans during the Second Punic War (ca. 212 BC). Knowing that his enemies were planning to arrest him and deliver him to the Carthaginians, he gave the following performance during the assembly – which, of course, met in the city's theater: "But just as they were ready to arrest him, an assembly of the citizens was held,

<sup>79</sup> Polyb. 30,18: κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦλθε καὶ Προυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην... ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν. πρεσβευτῶν παραγεγυῶτων Ῥωμαϊκῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐξυρημένος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ πιλίον ἔχων (λευκόν) καὶ τήβενναν καὶ καλικίουσ ἀπήντα τοῦτοις, καὶ καθόλου τοιαύτη διασκευῇ κεχρημένος οἷαν ἔχουσιν οἱ προσφάτως ἠλευθερωμένοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, οὓς καλοῦσι λιβέρτους... τότε δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν (γενόμενος) τὴν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, στὰς κατὰ τὸ θύρετρον ἀντίος τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ καθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας προσεκύνησε τὸν οὐδὸν καὶ τοὺς καθημένους, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος "χαίρετε, θεοὶ σωτῆρες", ὑπερβολὴν καταλιπὼν ἀνανδρίας κτλ...; cf. Diod. 31,15,2: τὸ τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἀπέθετο κτλ...; Liv. 45,44,4-20. Cf. Hesberg 1996: 94.

<sup>80</sup> Polyb. 21,34,10: εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαύριον ἐξῆλθεν μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὁ τύραννος κατὰ τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην προστασίαν λιτὸς καὶ ταπεινός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπολογισμοῖς κατολοφυρόμενος τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὧν ἐπῆρχε πόλεων, καὶ (πρὸς τοῦτοις) ἤξιον προσδέξασθαι τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα τὸν Γνάιον.

<sup>81</sup> Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 208 Theiler = Diod. 36,15,2 (Saturninus): κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἀκληρούντων ἔλεον, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν πολυτελεῖ κατέθετο, πιναρὰν δὲ μεταμφισιάμενος καὶ κόμην καὶ πώγωνα τρέφων περιήει εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλους, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τὰ γόνατα πίπτων, τοῖς δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφύμενος ἐδέϊτο καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καθικέτευε βοηθῆσαι τοῖς ἀκληρήμασι; Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 209 Theiler = Diod. 36,16,1 (the son of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus): κόμην ὑποτρέφων καὶ πώγωνα καὶ πιναρὰν ἔχων ἐσθῆτα περιήει κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν, δεόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων προσπίπτων τοῖς ἐκάστου γόνασιν ἠτέϊτο τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κάθοδον. Cf. Slater 1995: 144 with two other cases: App., *Bell. civ.* 2,15 (Cicero) and 2,24 (Pompey).



and here Nikias, right in the midst of some advice that he was giving to the people, suddenly threw himself upon the ground, and after a little while, amid the silence and consternation which naturally prevailed, lifted his head, turned it about, and spoke in a low and trembling voice, little by little raising and sharpening its tones. And when he saw the whole audience (τὸ θέατρον) struck dumb with horror, he tore off his mantle, rent his tunic, and leaping up half naked, ran towards the exit from the theater, crying out that he was pursued by the Mothers [the local goddesses of Engyon]. No man venturing to lay hands upon him or even to come in his way, out of superstitious fear, but all avoiding him, he ran out to the gate of the city, freely using all the cries and gestures that would become a man possessed and crazed" (translated by B. Perrin)<sup>82</sup>.

A performance saved also the cause of the party of the Achaean politicians Andronidas and Kallikrates, who were supporting a reconciliation between Ptolemy VIII and Antiochos IV (169/68 BC). When they noticed that their arguments had no impact upon the assembly – which again was meeting in a theater, in Sikyon –, they applied a theatrical contrivance (ἐπεισιγάγον μηχανήν). A false messenger appeared suddenly in the theater claiming to bear a letter from Quintus Marcius Philippus, in which the Roman consul begged the Achaeans to follow the Roman policy in attempting to make peace between the kings. Polybios, who was an eye-witness to this event, did not fail to notice the sudden – we would say 'dramatic' – turn the case took, when the unexpected message arrived, almost like a *deus ex machina*<sup>83</sup>. In these narratives public life appears the subject of careful staging<sup>84</sup>.

### 7. Staging the reception of the king

Since the affability of the king belonged to the ideals of Hellenistic monarchy, the public appearances of kings, in audiences, in the theater, in festivals, or in cruises on their extravagant ships, became the matter of careful consideration, in the search for a balance between affability and remoteness<sup>85</sup>. For this reason theatricality is more obvious in the

<sup>82</sup> Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 93 a Theiler = Plut., *Marcell.* 20: ...ἐξαίφνης ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἡσυχίας σὺν ἐκπλήξει γενομένης, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας καὶ περινευγκῶν ὑποτρόμφω φωνῇ καὶ βαρεῖα, κατὰ μικρὸν συντείνων καὶ παροξύνων τὸν ἦχον, ὡς ἑώρα φρίκη καὶ σιωπῇ κατεχόμενον τὸ θέατρον, ἀπορρίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ περιρρηξάμενος τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ἡμίγυμνος ἀναπηδήσας ἔθεε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ θεάτρου, βοῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ματέρων ἐλαύνεσθαι... ἔξεδραμεν, οὔτε φωνῆς τινος οὔτε κινήσεως πρεπιούσης δαιμονῶντι καὶ παραφρονοῦντι φεισάμενος.

<sup>83</sup> Polyb. 29,25; cf. Slater 1995: 145: "We note immediately how the theatrical messenger speech of Euripidean drama has become a historical messenger speech. I imagine in fact that they must have hired an actor for the part, and the audience enjoyed the real life drama".

<sup>84</sup> It should be noted here, that not only the success, but also the failure of a political scheme could be expressed in theatrical terms: see, e.g., Plut., *Lys.* 26 (on the failure of Lysandros' attempts to change the Spartan constitution): ἔξεπέσε τοῦ δράματος ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀτολμῖα τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ συνεργῶν ἐνός.

<sup>85</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 33-35; Schmitt 1991, esp. 85f.; Weber 1993: 70-72; Hesberg 1996, passim; Funck 1996, esp. 47 (near Eastern prototypes for distance and ceremonial appearance

calculated public appearances of rulers (see also below § 8), and, as a matter of fact, it is recommended by the author of a treatise *Περὶ βασιλείας* quoted by Stobaios and attributed to Diotogenes. Diotogenes characterizes ideal kingship as "an imitation of the gods" (θεομίμῶν ἐντὶ πρᾶγμα βασιλεία)<sup>86</sup> and recommends that the monarch set himself apart from human failings and astonish the onlookers (ὥστε τῶς ποταυγασμένως αὐτὸν κατακοσμηθῆμεν καταπεπλαγμένως) by his staged appearances and studied pose (καττὰν ὄψιν..., καττὰ κίναςιν καὶ καττὰ θέσιν τῷ σώματος)<sup>87</sup>. According to an anecdote narrated by Plutarch, Antigonos Gonatas tried to alienate Aratos from Ptolemy III by reminding him that all the impressive power of the Ptolemaic king was the result of careful play-acting and painted scenery (πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ πράγματα τραγωδίαν ὄντα καὶ σκηνογραφίαν)<sup>88</sup>. There can be little doubt that the Hellenistic kings were following in this respect the example of Alexander, a great master in the dramatic staging of his private and public life, – a subject that cannot be discussed here.

The most significant and best documented staged public event is the royal *adventus*, the entrance of kings into cities, their greeting by the population, the celebration of their presence as a religious event. The civic magistrates were responsible for the staging of these events, the arrangement of processions<sup>89</sup>, the escorting of the honored person, the array of the magistrates on both sides of the city gate, the participation of the people in their best dress, as well as the participation of actors. These arrangements occasionally became the object of decrees. The content of the Athenian decree concerning the

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of the king). The ceremonies in Imperial Rome may be rooted, in part, in Hellenistic practices: see Alföldi 1934, *passim*, esp. 33, 46f., 51, 88f. For the presence of the king at festivals see Hesberg 1987: 66-71; Hesberg 1989: 62-66, 80-82; Weber 1993: 165-183, 329f.; Hesberg 1996: 87, 93f. On audiences in the palace: Hesberg 1996: 94. On appearances in the theater: Hesberg 1996: 93 (Philip II, Alexander, Demetrios Poliorketes). On the role of royal ships for the communication between king and people: Hesberg 1996: 88f.; cf. Pfrommer 1996.

<sup>86</sup> Stob. 4,7,62 (p. 42,17-43,9 Delatte).

<sup>87</sup> Stob. 4,7,62 (p. 45,10-11 Delatte): συνεγγίζοντα δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐ δι' ὑπεραφανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετᾶς ἀνυπέβριστατον, τοιαύταν αὐτῶ ἐπιτρέπησαν καὶ προστασίαν ἀμφιβαλλόμενον καὶ καττὰ ὄψιν καὶ καττῶς λογισμῶς καὶ καττὰ ἐνθυμήματα καὶ καττὸ ἦθος τᾶς ψυχᾶς καὶ καττὰς πράξεως καὶ καττὰ κίναςιν καὶ καττὰ θέσιν τοῦ σώματος, ὥστε τῶς ποταυγασμένως αὐτὸν κατακοσμηθῆμεν καταπεπλαγμένως αἰδοῖ καὶ σωφροσύνη διαθέσει τε τῆ περὶ τῶν ἐπιτρέπησαν. The date of this treatise is not certain (Hellenistic, 2nd, or 3rd cent. AD): see Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 34 with note 13 (with further bibliography). The ideas expressed have, however, Hellenistic parallels: Delatte 1942: 266-270.

<sup>88</sup> Plut., *Arat.* 15: πρότερον γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑπερεώρα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων καὶ τὸν Αἰγυπτίον εθαύμαζε πλοῦτον, ἐλέφαντας καὶ στόλους καὶ αὐλὰς ἀκούων, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σκηνὴν ἐωρακῶς πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ πράγματα τραγωδίαν ὄντα καὶ σκηνογραφίαν ὅλος ἡμῖν προσκεχώρηκεν; cf. Hesberg 1996: 95.

<sup>89</sup> Habicht 1970: 147, 152f.; cf. Alföldi 1934: 88f. (Hellenistic prototypes in the *adventus* of the Roman emperor).

reception of Attalos I in Athens (April 200 BC) can be inferred from Polybios' report<sup>90</sup>: "The demos of the Athenians, as it was informed about his approaching arrival, issued a most generous decree concerning the reception and the entertainment of the king... Next day he went up to Athens in great state accompanied by the Romans and the magistrates of the Athenians. For not only all persons holding office with the horsemen, but all the citizens with their children and wives went out to meet them. And when they joined them there was such a demonstration on the part of the people of their affection for the Romans and still more for Attalos that nothing could have exceeded it in heartiness. As he entered the Dipylon they drew up the priests and priestesses on either side of the road; after this they opened all the temples and brought victims up to all the altars asking him to offer sacrifices...". The staging of this event by the Athenians (participation of magistrates and cavalrymen, arrangement of the procession, attendance by all the citizens and their families, opening of the temples) finds close parallels in Hellenistic decrees concerning the staging of civic festivals<sup>91</sup>, particularly in the decree of Pergamon concerning the welcome of Attalos III, returning from a victorious campaign<sup>92</sup>: "When he [the king] arrives in our city, each one of the *stephanephoroi* of the twelve gods and of king Eumenes shall wear a wreath; the priests and the priestesses shall open the temples of the gods and, burning incense, they shall speak the following prayer: 'May king Attalos Philometor and Euergetes be given rescue, victory, power, both [in peace?] and in war, both in offensive and in defensive wars, and may his kingship be maintained for ever unharmed, with all security'. The aforementioned priests and priestesses, the generals, the magistrates, the *hieronikai*, having [---], the *gymnasiarchos* with the ephebes and the young

<sup>90</sup> Polyb. 16,25,3-7: ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος γνοὺς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ μεγαλομερῶς ἐψηφισατο περὶ τῆς ἀπαντήσεως καὶ τῆς ὄλης ἀποδοχῆς τοῦ βασιλέως... (5) τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον ἅμα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρχουσιν ἀνέβαινεν εἰς ἄστν μετὰ μεγάλης προστασίας· οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπήντων αὐτοῖς. ὥς δὲ συνέμιξαν, τοιαύτη παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντησιν φιλανθρωπία πρὸς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Ἀτταλον, ὥσθ' ὑπερβολὴν μὴ καταλιπεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσήει κατὰ τὸ Δίπυλον, ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους παρέστησαν τὰς ἱερέας καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντας μὲν τοὺς ναοὺς ἀνέωξαν, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι θύματα τοῖς βωμοῖς παραστήσαντες ἤξιωσαν αὐτὸν θῦσαι...

<sup>91</sup> On the participation of the magistrates, in a particular order, see Chaniotis 1995: 157 with note 77. On the participation of horsemen see, e.g., *LSCG* 93 ll. 6-7 (*Asklepieia, Eretria*, 4th/3rd cent.); *SEG* XXXII 456 l. 10 (*Ptoia, Akraiphia*, late 3rd cent.); cf. Chaniotis 1995: 157 note 85. For the participation of all the citizens, with their wives and children (πάντες οἱ πολῖται μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν) see Chaniotis 1995: 157 note 79. For the opening of the temples (τοὺς ναοὺς ἀνέωξαν) see, e.g., *LSAM* 15 ll. 42-44 (celebration for the treaty between Elaia and Rome, Elaia, 129 BC); *I.Magnesia* 80 l. 14 (announcement of the festival of Artemis Leukophryene, Antiocheia in Persis, 208/7); cf. Robert 1933: 519-522; Sokolowski 1955: 21; Chaniotis 1995: 156 note 68.

<sup>92</sup> *I.Pergamon* 246 (*SEG* XXXIV 1251); on this text see Nock 1930: 22f; Robert 1987: 460-489, 522-535. M. Fränkel (*I.Pergamon*, pp. 157-159) has observed the similarity between this inscription and the report of Polybios on the reception of Attalos I.

men, and the *paidonomos* with the boys, and the citizens [and their wives and their children?], and all the residents shall meet him wearing bright garments and garlands, etc."

These royal events were occasionally imitated by civic statesmen, as we may infer from Poseidonios' report on Athenion's reception in Athens, when he returned from a mission to Mithridates in 88 BC<sup>93</sup>. The entrance of the Athenian statesman was a spectacle (συνέτρεχον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι θεαταί, συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς τὴν θέαν ταύτην). Athenion was carried on a silver sedan-chair covered with purple sheets. He dragged a heavy bright cloak (χλαμύδα λαμπρὰν ἐπισύρων) and wore a golden ring, engraved with a portrait of the king of Pontos<sup>94</sup>. Men, women, and children attended the procession. The *Technitai* greeted him, as a messenger of New Dionysos (Mithridates), and invited him to their precinct<sup>95</sup>.

### 8. The staging of royal appearances

Kings and members of royal families oftentimes staged their appearances themselves. A characteristic example is the carefully staged appearance of Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens<sup>96</sup>. In 294 BC he captured Athens and ordered the Athenians to assemble in the theatre. He fenced the stage-building round with armed men, and encompassed the stage itself with his body-guards. After these arrangements, and while the Athenians were puzzled about these developments, Demetrios finally appeared through one of the upper

<sup>93</sup> Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 247 Theiler = *FrGrHist* 87 F 36 §§ 49-51 = Athen. V 212 b-e: ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦς μακρὰς καὶ φορεῖον ἀργυρόπουν. ἀλλ' εἰσῆεν ἦδη, καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέχυτο· συνέτρεχον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι θεαταὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς τύχης θαυμάζοντες, εἰ ὁ παρέγγραφος Ἀθηνίων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπ' ἀργυρόποδος κατακομίζεται φορεῖου καὶ πορφυρῶν στρωμάτων... συνέτρεχον οὖν πρὸς τὴν θέαν ταύτην ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, παῖδες τὰ κάλλιστα προσδοκῶντες παρὰ Μιθριδάτου... συνῆντησαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ νέου Διονύσου καλοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτην εὐχὰς τε καὶ σπονδὰς.. ἀφ' ἧς (sc. οἰκίας) ἐξῆι χλαμύδα λαμπρὰν ἐπισύρων καὶ περικέμενος δακτύλιον χρυσοῦ ἐγγεγλυμμένην ἔχοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου εἰκόνα. προεπόμπειον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφέπειοντο θεράποντες πολλοί. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τῶν τεχνιτῶν θυσίαι τε ἐπετελοῦντο ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀθηνίωνος παρουσίᾳ καὶ μετὰ κήρυκος προαναφωνήσεως σπονδαί.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Polyb. 15,31,9: Aristomenes, a follower of the regent Agathokles in the Ptolemaic court (204/3 BC), wore a ring with an engraved portrait of Agathokles.

<sup>95</sup> On the Athenian *synodos* of *Technitai* see the contribution of Éric Perrin in this volume; on their precinct in Athens see Aneziri 1997: Appendix I.

<sup>96</sup> Plut., *Demetr.* 34: εἰσελθὼν ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ κελεύσας εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀθροισθῆναι πάντας, ὄπλοις μὲν συνέφραξε τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ δορυφόροις τὸ λογεῖον περιέλαβεν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς, ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοί, διὰ τῶν ἄνω παρόδων, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου πέρας ἐποιήσατο τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ τόνου φωνῆς καὶ ῥημάτων πικρίας φησάμενος, ἔλαφρῶς δὲ καὶ φιλικῶς μεμψάμενος αὐτὸς διηλλάσσετο. Cf. Pollitt 1986: 6; Slater 1995: 150. On Douris as a possible source of Plutarch see Sweet 1951: 180.

side-entrances like a tragic actor (αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς, ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοί, διὰ τῶν ἄνω παρόδων). The Athenians were now frightened more than ever and Demetrios was in full control of their emotions. Soon their fears proved unjustified. With the choice of the right tone of voice and with the selection of the proper words (καὶ γὰρ τόνου φωνῆς καὶ ῥημάτων πικρίας φεισάμενος...) Demetrios won over the Athenians.

When two of the sons of Attalos I (the later Attalos II and either Philetairos or Athenaios) visited Kyzikos (ca. 185/4 BC), the native city of their mother Apollonis, they staged their visit as a reminiscence of the most famous 'virtuous sons' of Greek history, Kleobis and Biton. Placing their mother between them and holding both her hands (ἄγοντες γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν μέσῃ αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα) they walked all around the sanctuaries of the city followed by their servants. "The spectators (οἱ θεώμενοι) approved of the young men and held them worthy; remembering the deeds of Kleobis and Biton, they compared their conduct to this..."<sup>97</sup>.

Numerous anecdotes about Hellenistic rulers demonstrate how they constructed a desirable public image by selecting their escorts (sometimes actors or other entertainers), changing their dress, and playing a role. Antiochos IV is said to have joined common people in their revel playing musical instruments<sup>98</sup>. According to Polybios, the same king played different roles in different costumes: "Often he would lay aside his royal robes, and putting on a *toga* he would walk up and down the market-place as though he were canvassing for votes; with some he shook hands, while others he embraced and invited to cast their vote for him, sometimes for the office of *agoranomos*, sometimes for that of *demarchos*"<sup>99</sup>. At the end of the great festival he had organized in Daphne (166 BC)<sup>100</sup>, the king was brought in by the mimes entirely wrapped up (κεκαλυμμένος), and deposited on the ground as though he were one of the performers. There he danced naked and acted with the clowns (ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν)<sup>101</sup>. Similar stories

<sup>97</sup> Polyb. 22,20,5-7: ἄγοντες γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν μέσῃ αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα περιήσαν τὰ θ' ἱερά καὶ τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ θεώμενοι μεγάλως τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀπεδέχοντο καὶ κατηξίου καὶ μνημονεύοντες τῶν περὶ τῶν Κλεόβιν καὶ Βίτων ἀσυνέκρινον τὰς αἰρέσεις αὐτῶν κτλ. On this event see Walbank 1979: 211f.

<sup>98</sup> Polyb. 26,1,4 (= Athen. 10, 439 a); cf. Diod. 29,32.

<sup>99</sup> Polyb. 26,1,5 (cf. Athen. 10, 439 a): πολλακίς δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐσθῆτα τήβενναν ἀναλαβὼν περιήει κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀρχαιρεισιάζων καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούμενος, τοὺς δὲ καὶ περιπτύσσων παρεκάλει φέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ψῆφον, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀγορανόμος γένηται, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὡς δήμαρχος; cf. Diod. 29,32; Hesberg 1996: 94f.

<sup>100</sup> On the historical context and the message this celebration sent see Bunge 1976 (celebration of the undefeatable troops, prelude of the planned expedition to the East, and celebration of the ninth jubilee of Antiochos' rule).

<sup>101</sup> Athen. V 195 ef: περιήει... ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων. προϊούσης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη κεχωρισμένων, ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσφέρετο ὄλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο ὡς εἰς ὧν δῆτα

are told about Agathokles, the Sicilian ruler of the late 4th century, and Philip V. In his drinking parties Agathokles used to put off the pomp of his tyranny and to show himself more humble than the ordinary citizens; "being by nature also a buffoon and a mimic, not even in the meetings of the assembly did he abstain from jeering at those who were present and from portraying certain of them, so that the common people would often break out into laughter as if they were watching one of the impersonators or conjurers"<sup>102</sup>. When Philip V visited Argos during the First Macedonian War (209 BC) "he laid aside his diadem and purple robe, wishing to produce the impression that he was on a level with others and a lenient and popular prince"<sup>103</sup>. Philip used his dress as a costume in which he could play a role and provoke a deceiving image. Two other Hellenistic kings were also notorious for their performing skills, the marionette-player Antiochos IX<sup>104</sup>, who was fond of all kinds of mechanical devices, and Ptolemy XII, *auletes* and *magodos*<sup>105</sup>. Of course all these cases are extreme, and were understood as such by contemporaries<sup>106</sup>.

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- τῶν μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀναπηδήσας γυμνὸς ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν, ὥστε πάντας αἰσχυνομένους φεύγειν.
- 102 Diod. 20,63,1-2: ἀπετίθετο δ' ἐν τοῖς πότισι τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἀξίωμα καὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἰδιωτῶν ταπεινότερον ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδείκνυε... (2) ὑπάρχων δὲ καὶ φύσει γελωτοποιὸς καὶ μῖμος οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπέιχετο τοῦ σκώπτειν τοὺς καθημένους καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν εἰκάζειν, ὥστε τὸ πλῆθος πολλάκις εἰς γέλωτα ἐκτρέπεσθαι, καθάπερ τινὰ τῶν ἠθολόγων ἢ θαυματοποιῶν θεωροῦντας.
- 103 Polyb. 10,26,1-2: Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων μετὰ τὸ ἐκτελέσαι τὸν τῶν Νεμέων ἀγῶνα αὐθις εἰς Ἄργος ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὸ μὲν διάδημα καὶ τὴν πορφύρα ἀπέθετο, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἴσον τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πρᾶθόν τινα καὶ δημοτικὸν ὑπογράφειν. ὅσῳ δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα δημοτικωτέραν περιετίθετο, τοσοῦτ' αὖ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐλάμβανε μείζω καὶ μοναρχικωτέραν. Cf. below Plutarch's description of Demetrios Poliorketes (note 128).
- 104 Poseid., *Hist. fr.* 181 Theiler = Diod. 34/35,34,1: ἔχαιρε γὰρ μίμοις καὶ προδεικταῖς καὶ καθόλου πᾶσι τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐπιτηδεύματα μανθάνειν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ἐπετίθουσε δὲ καὶ νευροσπαστεῖν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κινεῖν ζῶα πενταπῆχρα κατάργυρα καὶ κατάχρυσα καὶ ἕτερα πλεονα τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα. Cf. Stephanis 1988: n° 213.
- 105 Strab. 17,1,11 C 796: ἄπαντες μὲν οὖν οἱ μετὰ τὸν τρίτον Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένοι χεῖρον ἐπολιτεύσαντο, χειρίστα δ' ὁ τέταρτος καὶ ἕβδομος καὶ ὕστατος ὁ Αὐλητῆς, ὃς χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης ἀσελγείας χοραυλεῖν ἤσκησε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γε ἐσεμνύετο τοσοῦτον, ὥστ' οὐκ ὠκνεῖ συντελεῖν ἀγῶνας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, εἰς οὓς παρῆει διαμηλλισόμενος τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς; cf. Athen. V 206 d: οὐκ ἀνδρὸς γενομένου ἀλλ' αὐλητοῦ καὶ μάγου [οἱ μαγῶδοῦ]. Cf. Stephanis 1988: n° 2162.
- 106 Cf., e.g., (on Antiochos IV) Diod. 29,32: ἐνεσπῆσατο βίον παράλογον καὶ ἀσυνήθη τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι... τινὲς δὲ μανίαν αὐτοῦ κατεγίνωσκον; Athen. V 195 f: ὥστε πάντας αἰσχυνομένους φεύγειν. Cf. above note 105 on Ptolemy XII.

From the early Hellenistic period on rulers were occasionally celebrated as New Dionysoi<sup>107</sup>. Their assimilation with the god of theater, naturally, introduced theatrical elements into their public appearances, such as the employment of actors and the use of costumes<sup>108</sup>. Demetrios Poliorketes imitated (μιμούμενος) Dionysos, exchanging – as Herodian puts it – the symbols of royal power with the Dionysiac costume, ivy-wreath and *thyrsos*, and employing actors to play the part of his ithyphallic followers<sup>109</sup>. Marc Antony was greeted in Ephesos (41 BC) as *Neos Dionysos*, by (professional?) dancers and singers, impersonating maenads, satyrs, and Pans, dressed in the appropriate costumes (δισεσκευασμένοι).<sup>110</sup> In Athens (38 BC?) he had a Bacchic grotto constructed above the theater where he reclined dressed as Dionysos; his friends impersonated, in the appropriate costumes, the god's mythological followers (cf. τύμπανα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοδαπά ἄλλ' ἀθύρματα Διονυσιακὰ ἐξαρτήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων), while artists invited from Italy provided the entertainment (λειτουργούντων αὐτῶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντων ἄκροαμάτων)<sup>111</sup>. Only a few years earlier (41 BC) Kleopatra had impressed Marc Antony in Tarsos, appearing as Aphrodite, on an extravagantly decorated ship, followed by attendants impersonating Erotes, Nereids, and Graces<sup>112</sup>. The crowds on the banks of the river Kaunos watched the spectacle (ἐπὶ τῆν

- <sup>107</sup> See, e.g., Delatte 1942: 137f. Demetrios Poliorketes: Habicht 1970: 50-55; Connor 1989: 19f.; Green 1994: 95. Ptolemy IV: Pfrommer 1996: 97. Mithridates VI: see above, note 93. Marc Antony: Kienast 1993: 194f.
- <sup>108</sup> Köhler 1996: 128 (with reference to Demetrios, Antony, and Kleopatra). For men dressed as gods in archaic and classical Greece see Connor 1987: 45.
- <sup>109</sup> Herodian. 1,3,3: Ἀντίγονος δὲ Διόνυσον πάντα μιμούμενος καὶ κισσὸν μὲν περιτιθεὶς τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀντὶ καυσίας καὶ διαδήματος Μακεδονικοῦ, θύρσον δὲ ἀντὶ σκῆπτρου φέρων; Herodian refers to Antigonos, but he means Demetrios; cf. Plut., *Demetr.* 2,3; Diod. 20,92,4; Köhler 1996: 128.
- <sup>110</sup> Plut., *Anton.* 24: εἰς γοῦν Ἐφεσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ, γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς Βάκχας, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πᾶνας ἡγούντο δισεσκευασμένοι, κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρσων καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἢ πόλιν ἢν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων Χαριδότην καὶ Μειλίχιον; cf. Vell. Paterc. 2,82,4; Pelling 1988: 179f.; Köhler 1996: 128.
- <sup>111</sup> Sokrates *FrGrHist* 192 F 2 = Athen. IV 148 bc: ἱστορεῖ (sc. Sokrates) δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν Ἀθήναις μετὰ ταῦτα διατρίψαντα περίοπτον ὑπὲρ τὸ θέατρον κατασκευάσαντα σχεδίαν χλωρᾷ πειπουκασμένην ὕλην, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Βακχικῶν ἀντρῶν γίνεται, ταύτης τύμπανα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοδαπά ἄλλ' ἀθύρματα Διονυσιακὰ ἐξαρτήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ κατακλινόμενον μεθύσκεσθαι, λειτουργούντων αὐτῶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντων ἄκροαμάτων συνηθοισμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τῶν Πανελλήνων. Kienast 1993: 194f. dates the event described by Sokrates in 38 and associates it, convincingly, with the festival Antonicia Panathenaia.
- <sup>112</sup> Plut., *Anton.* 26: ὥστε πλεῖν ἀνὰ τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν ἐν πορθμείῳ χρυσοπρῦμνῳ, τῶν μὲν ἰστίων ἀλουργῶν ἐκπεπετασμένων, τῆς δὲ εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐλὸν ἅμα σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συνηρμοσμένον. αὐτὴ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοπάστῳ, κεκοσμημένην γραφικῶς ὥσπερ Ἀφροδίτη, παῖδες δὲ τοῖς γραφικοῖς Ἔρῳσιν εἰκασμένοι

θέαν). Even the rowers contributed to the performance, making their silver oars follow – as a kind of chorus – the tunes of the musical instruments (τῆς δὲ εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐλὸν ἅμα σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συνηρμοσμένον)<sup>113</sup>. On other occasions Kleopatra appeared dressed as Isis<sup>114</sup>. Both Antony and Kleopatra appeared as *Neos Dionysos* and *Nea Isis* respectively in the triumphal parade through Alexandria in 34 BC.<sup>115</sup> A few days later Antony bestowed royal titles upon Kleopatra's children, in a spectacle which Plutarch explicitly characterizes as 'theatrical' (τραγικὴν)<sup>116</sup> and in which costumes played an important role: Kleopatra appeared robed again as Isis, Alexandros Helios was dressed like an Achaemenid monarch, Ptolemy Philadelphos as a Macedonian king.

In these royal events the same elements recur: costumes, musical accompaniment, careful preparation of the setting, employment of actors. Actors were also employed in festivals organized by Hellenistic kings, the most famous example being the procession organized by Ptolemy II in Alexandria (275/4 BC?) with obvious Dionysiac elements<sup>117</sup>. Actors, dressed in colourful and luxurious costumes, impersonated Satyrs and *Silenoï*, as well as abstract ideas, such as the Year, the Penteteris, and the Four Seasons; the poet Philiskos, priest of Dionysos and head of the local *Techmitōn synodos*, and all the Dionysiac *Techmitai* were followed by impersonators of the Mimallones, the Bassarai, the Lydian women, Satyrs trading on grapes and singing a vintage song, and other Satyrs and *Silenoï*; women impersonated captives from India and the Ionian cities freed from Persian rule; even the persons responsible for order were dressed as *Silenoï*.

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παρ' ἐκάτερον ἐστῶτες ἐρρίπιζον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδες αἱ καλλιστεύουσαι Νηρηίδων ἔχουσαι καὶ Χαρίτων στολάς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἶαξιν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. ὁδοὶ δὲ θαυμασταὶ τὰς ὄχθας ἀπὸ θυμιαμάτων πολλῶν κατεῖχον. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρωμάρτου ἐκατέρωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. Cf. Pelling 1988: 186-189 (also on the problem of historicity); Köhler 1996: 128; Pfrommer 1996: 96-99 (similarity with the ship of Ptolemy IV).

<sup>113</sup> This recalls the description of Demetrios' funeral, in which the oars resemble a dramatic chorus: see below note 130; cf. Pelling 1988: 188.

<sup>114</sup> Plut., *Anton.* 54: Κλεοπάτρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰς πλῆθος ἐξιοῦσα στολὴν [ἐτέραν] ἱερὰν Ἴσιδος ἐλάμβανε καὶ νέα Ἴσις ἐχρημάτιζε. Cf. Dio Cass. 50,5,3.

<sup>115</sup> Vell. Pat. 2,82,4; Cass. Dio 50,5,3.

<sup>116</sup> Plut., *Anton.* 54: ἐμισήθη δὲ (sc. Marc Antony) καὶ διὰ τὴν διανέμησιν ἦν ἐποίησατο τοῖς τέκνοις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τραγικὴν καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ μισορρώμιον φανεῖσαν...

<sup>117</sup> Kallixenos *FrGrHist* 627 = Athen. V, particularly 197 e-198 b, 198 e, 199 ab, 200 e, 201 a, 201 e; on the procession see the discussions by Dunand 1981; Rice 1983, esp. 45-110; Hesberg 1987: 50-52; Hesberg 1989: 63-65; Coarelli 1990; Weber: 174f., 343f.; Green 1994: 94f.; Köhler 1996: 35-45. On the (still controversial) date: Foertmeyer 1988; Köhler 1996: 36. On the prominent role of Dionysos for the dynastic ideology of the Ptolemies see most recently Weber 1993: 343-346 (with bibliography).



### 9. Use of mechanical devices

Closely related to the world of the theater are also references to mechanical devices used on these occasions<sup>118</sup>. The Pergamenes applied a spectacular device to honor Mithridates (88 BC)<sup>119</sup>. In the theater, where they had assembled, they set up a machinery of some kind (ἐκ τιῶν ὀργάνων) which could lower a statue of Nike, holding a crown in her hand which could then be placed on the king's head. However, when the statue was being lowered towards Mithridates, it broke to pieces just as Nike was about to touch his head, and the crown went tumbling from her hand to the ground in the midst of the theater (κατὰ τοῦ θεάτρου) and was shattered. A similar device was used (this time successfully), a few years later (ca. 75 BC), during a symposium in honor of Caecilius Metellus<sup>120</sup>.

The use of such devices is also attested in Rome. The most interesting case, closely related to stage-machines used in ancient theater, is the presentation of an image of Caesar, after his assassination<sup>121</sup>: "Somebody raised above the bier an image of Caesar himself made of wax. The body itself, as it lay on its back on the couch, could not be seen. The image was turned round and round by a mechanical device, showing the twenty-three wounds that had been dealt to him so brutally on all parts of the body and on the face".

Already in the early Hellenistic period Demetrios of Phaleron had a mechanical snail constructed in Athens, which was moved by machinery; it went before his procession – again in the theater – during the Great Dionysia of the year 309/8, spitting out saliva<sup>122</sup>. The interest of Hellenistic rulers in machinery is demonstrated also by an apocryphal

118 The following examples are taken from the studies of Hesberg (1987) and Köhler (1996: 97-99) on αὐτόματα; cf. Austin 1959, 17f. On stage-machines see most recently Mastrorade 1990; Newiger 1990; cf. Schneider 1969: 241; Hesberg 1987: 61.

119 Plut., *Sulla* 11: λέγεται... Νίκην στεφανηφόρον καθιεμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Περγαμηνῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τιῶν ὀργάνων ἀνωθεν ὅσον οὐπω τῆς κεφαλῆς ψάουσαν συντριβῆναι, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐκπεσόντα κατὰ τοῦ θεάτρου φέρεσθαι χαμᾶζε διαθρυπτόμενον, ὥστε φρίκην μὲν τῷ δήμῳ, ἀθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν Μιθριδάτῃ παρασχεῖν. Cf. Hölscher 1967: 39 note 202, 62, 143 note 898; Hesberg 1987: 61; Köhler 1996: 98. Balsdon 1951: 2 with note 18 assumes that *Sulla's Commentarii Rerum Gestarum* were Plutarch's source.

120 Plut., *Sert.* 22: καὶ Νικαὶ πεποημένοι δι' ὀργάνων ἐπιδρόμων χρύσεια τρόπαια καὶ στεφάνους διαφέρουσαι κατήγοντο. Cf. Hölscher 1967: 143 note 898; Hesberg 1987: 61; Köhler 1996: 98.

121 App., *Bell. civ.* 2,147: ... ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὑπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντη, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ὤφθησαν ἀνά τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνά τὸ πρόσωπον θηρικῶδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γενόμεναι. Cf. Hesberg 1987: 67; Köhler 1996: 98f.

122 Polyb. 12,13,11: κοχλίας αὐτομάτως βαδίζων προηγῆτο τῆς πομπῆς αὐτῶ, σίαλον ἀναπτύων, σὺν δὲ τούτοις ὄνοι διεπέμποντο διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου. On this event see Walbank 1967: 358f.; cf. Hesberg 1987: 52; Köhler 1996: 98; for parallels see Austin 1959: 17f.; for a reconstruction of this device see Rehm 1937; for the use of similar devices during the great procession in Alexandria see Köhler 1996: 97f.

story about the 'Iron Maiden' of the Spartan king Nabis<sup>123</sup>. Nabis had a machine constructed, the image of a woman richly dressed, looking exactly like Nabis' wife. Both her arms and hands as well as her breasts were covered with iron nails concealed under her dress. When someone refused to offer him money Nabis brought the image in. When the man offered her his hand, Nabis made the woman rise from her chair and embrace his victim; operating the device by means of certain strings, Nabis made the man, thus embraced and pierced by the nails, promise him anything and everything.

#### 10. The Hellenistic ruler as actor: the case of Demetrios Poliorketes

Considering all this evidence it is not surprising that the assimilation of the ruler with the actor is a central element in Plutarch's biography of a most characteristic Hellenistic king, Demetrios Poliorketes<sup>124</sup>. It should be noted, here, that Plutarch's portraiture of Demetrios and his theatricality relied heavily on Hellenistic sources, most probably Douris (see above note 36). When Demetrios (as the other diadochs as well) changed his behavior as soon as he received the diadem, he is compared with the tragic actors who "adapt to their costumes their gait, voice, posture at table, and manner of addressing others"<sup>125</sup>. Plutarch comments further that the diadochs assumed (ὑποκρίνοιντο) Alexander's majesty and pomp like actors on a stage (ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς)<sup>126</sup>. Demetrios' change of fortune is described as a movement from the comic to the tragic stage<sup>127</sup>. When Demetrios realizes that his case is lost "he went to his tent, and, as if he had been an actor and not a real king, put on a dark cloak in place of his stage-robes of royalty, and stole away unnoticed"<sup>128</sup>. Plutarch describes Demetrios' situation after his defeat quoting passages from Sophokles' *Menelaos* and Euripides' *Bacchae*<sup>129</sup>. His

123 Polyb. 13,7,2-11. Cf. Walbank 1967: 420f.; Hesberg 1987: 58 (literary *topos* about wicked tyrant). Further examples of mechanical devices: Hesberg 1987; Köhler 1996: 98. For the interest of Antiochos IX in mechanical devices see above note 104.

124 Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1982: 33f.; Pollitt 1986: 6f.; Hesberg 1989: 77.

125 Plut., *Demetr.* 18: τοῦτο δὲ οὐ προσθήκην ὀνόματος καὶ σχήματος ἐξαλλαγὴν εἶχε μόνον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκίνησε καὶ τὰς γνώμας ἐπῆρε καὶ τοῖς βίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμίλαις αὐτῶν ὄγκον ἐνεποίησε καὶ βαρύτητα. καθάπερ τραγικῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἅμα τῇ σκευῇ συμμεταβαλλόντων καὶ βάδισμα καὶ φωνὴν καὶ κατὰκλισην καὶ προσαγόρευσην.

126 Plut., *Demetr.* 41: ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ (sc. Pygthos) τῶν βασιλέων εἰδῶλον ἐνορῶτο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τόλμης, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, καὶ μάλιστα Δημήτριος, ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ βάρος ὑποκρίνοιντο καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός.

127 Plut., *Demetr.* 28: τὴν δὲ διήγησιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ κωμικῆς σκηνῆς πάλιν εἰς τραγικὴν μετάγουσιν αἱ τύχαι καὶ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρός.

128 Plut., *Demetr.* 44: καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ σκηνὴν, ὥσπερ οὐ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ὑποκριτῆς, μεταμφιέννυται χλαμύδα φαίαν ἀντὶ τῆς τραγικῆς ἐκείνης, καὶ διαλαθὼν ὑπεχώρησεν.

129 Plut., *Demetr.* 45: ἦν οὖν ὁ Σοφοκλέους Μενέλαος εἰκόνα ταῖς αὐτοῦ τύχαις παρατίθεισιν... καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἐν Θήβαις τοιοῦτον θεασάμενος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς Εὐριπίδου στίχοις οὐκ ἀηδῶς... Schneider (1967: 19-21) has pointed to the fact that Euripidean drama served as a model of interpretation of human suffering in the Hellenistic age. Cf. Sweet 1951: 180 (on Douris' interest in Euripides).

funeral is staged by his son Antigonos Doson as a theatrical performance (ἔσχε... τραγικὴν τινα καὶ θεατρικὴν διάθεσιν)<sup>130</sup>. The urn, covered with symbols of royalty (purple cloak and diadem), was placed on the greatest ship; armed men were arrayed around the urn, other men in funerary dress accompanied the procession of ships, which approached different harbours. The most celebrated *auletes* of the time was playing a solemn melody; and "to this melody the oars kept perfect time, and their splashing, like funeral beatings of the breast, answered to the cadences of the flute-tones". The oars of the ships assumed here, in a way, the role of a tragic chorus<sup>131</sup>. Finally, his *vita* is closed with the words "and now that the Macedonian drama has been performed, let us introduce the Roman<sup>132</sup>".

### 11. Civic festivals as staged spectacles

The evidence presented so far is almost exclusively literary, and this raises, naturally, the question of historicity. Were these staged appearances of public figures an invention of historians, sensitive to issues of theatricality or interested in adding a dramatic dimension to their works? This may, indeed, have been the case with Douris, who is charged by Plutarch with inventing such theatrical details, as the engagement of musicians and actors or the fastidious decoration of the warships, in his account of Alkibiades' return to Athens in 408 BC<sup>133</sup>. But even if Douris' report on Alkibiades is anachronistic, does this permit us to assume that he dramatized his accounts of *contemporary* theatricality too? Or were the theatrical appearances of statesmen a common phenomenon in the Hellenistic world?

<sup>130</sup> Plut., *Demetr.* 53: ἔσχε μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ τραγικὴν τινα καὶ θεατρικὴν διάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἀντιγόνου, ὡς ἦσθετο τὰ λείψανα κομιζόμενα, πάσαις ἀναχθεῖς ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπὶ νήσων ἀπήνησθε· καὶ δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν μέγιστην τῶν ναυαρχιδῶν ἔθετο τὴν ὑδρίαν χρυσήλατον οὔσαν. αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἷς προσεῖχον. τοῦτο μὲν στεφάνου ἐπέφερον τῇ ὑδρίᾳ, τοῦτο δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν σχήματι πενθίμῳ συνθάψοντας καὶ συμπαραπέμψοντας ἀπέστειλλον. εἰς δὲ Κόρινθον τοῦ στόλου καταπλέοντος ἢ τε κάλιπς ἐκ πρύμνης περιφανῆς ἑωρᾶτο πορφύρα βασιλικὴ καὶ διαδήματι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ παρειαίχθεισαν ἐν ὄπλοις νεανίσκοι δορυφοροῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν τότε αὐλητῶν ἔλλογιμώτατος Ξενοφάντος ἐγγὺς καθεζόμενος προσήμλει τῶν μελῶν τὸ ἱερώτατον· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς εἰρεσίας ἀναφερομένης μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ τινος, ἀπήνητα ψόφος, ὥσπερ ἐν κοπετῶ, ταῖς τῶν αὐλημάτων περιόδοις. Ὁν Xenophantos see Stephanis 1988: n° 1911.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. above note 113 the similar description of Kleopatras's procession in the river Kydnos. Strong theatricality characterized already the funerals staged by Dionysios II of Syracuse for his father (Philistos *FrGrHist* 556 F 40; cf. below note 177) and by Alexander for Hephaestion (Diod. 17,115,4; cf. Hesberg 1987: 64f.); cf. Plut., *Pelop.* 34 (Pelopidas); *Timol.* 39 (Timoleon). The archaeological evidence confirms the literary *ekphraseis* see Hesberg 1989: 67-69 (Nikokreon's *tumulus* in Salamis). For staged public funerals in imperial times see, e.g., Reynolds-Rouechet 1992.

<sup>132</sup> Plut., *Demetr.* 53: διηγωνισμένου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ δράματος ὥρα τὸ Ῥωμακτὸν ἐπεισαγαγεῖν.

<sup>133</sup> Douris *FrGrHist* 76 F 70 = Plut., *Alkib.* 32; cf. Sweet 1951: 179.

Corroborative evidence for the latter assumption comes from the epigraphic evidence which concerns Hellenistic festivals. The relevant inscriptions reveal the same tendency towards a careful staging of civic festivals, as I have attempted to show in a previous article<sup>134</sup>. That every procession, every festival, every ritual requires orchestration is a truism, and several pre-Hellenistic festivals, such as, the Great *Panathenaia* in Athens or the procession of the *molpoi* from Miletos to Didyma<sup>135</sup> were carefully arranged in their details. What is new in the Hellenistic period is, however, the greater attention given by the contemporary *leges sacrae* to stage directions. While the classical *leges sacrae* are eloquent only on questions of rituals (selection, number, gender, kind, colour, and price of sacrificial animals, persons responsible for the rituals, funding, etc.), the Hellenistic sacred laws, particularly those concerning new or reorganized festivals, place the orchestration, especially the arrangement of the procession, into the foreground<sup>136</sup>: the cleaning of processional roads, the purchase of implements (especially objects carried during the procession), the timing and the setting of the procession, the dress of the magistrates and the population, the timing of the various rituals, the sequence of the sacrificial animals, the participation of horsemen, the musical accompaniment, the arrangement of the participants into groups according to tribes, age-classes, hierarchy, prestige, or duties, and the supervision of this strict order. Almost nothing is left to the spontaneity of the participants.

This picture is confirmed by the *narratio* of the relevant decrees, *i.e.*, that part in which the purpose of the decree is explained, and by the honorific decrees for persons responsible for the successful organization of festivals. These decrees place the beauty of the processions (κάλλος, εὐταξία, εὐκοσμία, ἐπιφάνεια, χάρις) into the foreground<sup>137</sup>. Everything aims at pleasing the senses of an *audience*, from the colourful procession, the decoration of the statues, the selected sacrificial animals, to the musical accompaniment, the burning of incense, the sacrifice, and the banquet. The responsible magistrates are honoured because they offered a beautiful *spectacle*<sup>138</sup>.

Spectacles require spectators. However, the Hellenistic decrees which concern festivals urge everyone, young and old, citizens and foreigners, men and women, to participate actively, that is, to dress appropriately, to follow the procession, and to attend the sacrifice<sup>139</sup>. This is not necessarily a contradiction, since the spectators are often an

<sup>134</sup> Chaniotis 1995; cf. now Köhler 1996, esp. 31f., 74-87, 97-104, 117-153.

<sup>135</sup> *LSAM* 50.

<sup>136</sup> Chaniotis 1995: 154-160. Characteristic examples are the *lex sacra* concerning the festivals *Eisisteria* (on the birthday of Artemis) in Magnesia on the Maeander (*LSAM* 33 A), the *Homonoia*-festival in Antiocheia on the Pyramos (*LSAM* 81), the reception of Attalos III in Pergamon (I. *Pergamon* 246), or the celebration of the mysteries of the Great Gods at Andania (*LSCG* 65).

<sup>137</sup> Chaniotis 1995: 158f. with notes 98-101; cf. Köhler 1996: 117-121.

<sup>138</sup> Chaniotis 1995: 159 with notes 102-106. For the fact that people talked about what was shown to them in festivals see, *e.g.*, Theophr., *Char.* 3.4 (about the size of a torch set up at the mysteries by Damippos).

<sup>139</sup> Chaniotis 1995: 157 with note 79.

integral part of the spectacle<sup>140</sup>. We have, further, to assume that ancient festivals had passive spectators as well, because not everyone followed the invitation of the decrees and, more importantly, because the festivals attracted many visitors from neighbouring communities, who came, quite naturally, as spectators and not as active participants.<sup>141</sup> But in addition to these two factors, at least some of the Hellenistic festivals, particularly those organized by kings, imply a stronger dichotomy between 'performers' and spectators than before, as Jens Köhler has recently demonstrated<sup>142</sup>: barricades were used to separate spectators from active participants in the procession<sup>143</sup>, professional actors and musicians were employed, and mercenary troops replaced the parades of citizens<sup>144</sup>.

The assembled spectators could also be engaged in the event, but as passive receptors of the spectacle<sup>145</sup>. They were sprinkled with scented oil by women in Daphne;<sup>146</sup> at the procession of the Ptolemaicia they caught the pigeons, ring-doves, and turtle-doves which flew forth from a cart and were equipped with nooses tied to their feet so that they could be easily caught by the spectators<sup>147</sup>. In Alexandria the population was invited into the palace on the occasion of the Adonis-festival; in Theocritus' *Adoniazousai* one woman says to her friend: "I want you to come with me to call on our high and mighty king Ptolemy to see (θασόμεναι) the Adonis. I hear the Queen's getting up something quite splendid this year<sup>148</sup>". These women went there not as participants, but as spectators of a show staged by the queen.

These events, extravagantly staged by Hellenistic kings, inevitably influenced festivals organized by local benefactors. Civic festivals already included in archaic times performances by groups of the citizen-body, such as, choruses, which had prepared themselves in order to offer entertainment to the rest of the citizens. Therefore, we should not be surprised if (the local historian?) Polykrates explicitly calls the Spartan Hyakinthia a spectacle (θέα ποικίλη) and reports that some of the festivities, including a procession

140 Burns 1972: 26; Schechner 1985: 14-16; Green 1994: 8-10; Köhler 1996: 147. For classical drama see, e.g., Longo 1990; Rehm 1992: 20-30; cf. Bain 1977: 185-207 (on audience address in New Comedy).

141 Köhler 1996: 151.

142 Köhler 1996: 147-153; cf. Dunand 1981: 27.

143 Köhler 1996: 147. On the troops responsible for order cf. Dunand 1981: 27; Chaniotis 1995: 157 with note 83.

144 Köhler 1996: 148-150.

145 Köhler 1996: 150-153.

146 Athen. V 195 b.

147 Athen. V 200 c; Köhler 1996: 150.

148 Theocr. 15, 21-24: ἀλλ' ἴθι, τῶμπέχονον καὶ τὰν περονατρίδα λάτρευ. / βᾶμες τῷ βασιλῆος ἐς ἀφνειῷ Πτολεμαίῳ / θασόμεναι τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀκούω χρῆμα καλὸν τι / κοσμεῖν τὰν βασιλίσσαν; 78-79: ...τὰ ποικίλα πρᾶτον εὐθησον. / λεπτά καὶ ὡς χαριεντά: θεῶν περονάματα φασεῖς; 84-86: αὐτὸς δ' ὡς θαπτὸς ἐπ' ἀργυρέῳ κατάκειται / κλισμῶ, πρᾶτον Ἴουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων. / ὁ τριφιλητος Ἄδωνις, ὁ κῆν Ἀχέροντι φιληθεῖς. Cf. Hesberg 1987: 70; Hesberg 1989: 62f.; Hesberg 1996: 93f.; Köhler 1996: 150. On the Adonis festival in Alexandria see most recently Weber 1993: 170f., 284.

of boys riding horses, took place in the theater<sup>149</sup>, in front of an audience. The situation is quite different, however, in a decree of the Macedonian city Kalindoia (1 AD) honoring a local benefactor for the organisation of a procession. The procession is called "artful / colourful" (ποικίλη) and "worth seeing" (ἀξιόθεατος)<sup>150</sup>, which clearly shows that the citizens were primarily spectators of their own festival. This impression is confirmed by the vocabulary used in the same decree, which places spectacle (θέα), entertainment (ἀπάτη), and pleasure (διάχυσις τῆς ψυχῆς) in the foreground<sup>151</sup>.

The transformation of festivals into staged spectacles was not only influenced by the interest of royalty and local aristocracy in self-representation. Another important factor is the influence of mystery cults, in which the element of ritual drama always played an important part. R. Merkelbach has paid great attention to this element<sup>152</sup> and has shown it likely that the initiation ceremonies included ritual dramas in which the priests impersonated gods<sup>153</sup>. Of course, the impersonation of gods by priests, an essential theatrical element of worship, is well attested in earlier Greek religion as well<sup>154</sup>; but from Hellenistic times on several references in literary sources and papyri indicate that stage-devices, similar to those used in the theater, were applied in mystery cults, to present flying gods, lightning, and thunder, or give the astounded audience the impression that an earthquake was taking place<sup>155</sup>.

## 12. Hellenistic theatricality: public life in cities of onlookers

The examples I have presented here, without claiming to have collected even a representative part of the evidence, suffice to show that Hellenistic authors, or later authors drawing from Hellenistic sources, often perceived and presented public events as spectacles. The 'theatrical mentality' which J. J. Pollitt has recognized in the Hellenistic age, in general, applies to public life, in particular: "The theater in all ages has always

149 Polykrates *FrGrHist* 588 F 1 = Athen. IV 139 de: τῆ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται θέα ποικίλη καὶ πανηγυρις ἀξιόλογος καὶ μεγάλη... ἄλλοι (sc. παῖδες) δ' ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένων τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται. On this part of the *Hyakinthia* see Petterson 1992: 10f., 26. A theater existed in Sparta already in the 5th cent.: Kolb 1981: 79-81, who assumes (ibid. 80) that this procession of the *Hyakinthia* actually took place in the agora. The festivities for the wedding of Kleopatra (338 BC) included a procession in the theater: Diod. 16,92,5.

150 *SEG* 35, 744 ll. 20-22: καὶ τῆ[υ] / ἐπὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως πομπῆν ποικίλην καὶ ἀξιόθ[έατον] / σκευάσας.

151 *SEG* 35, 744 l. 25: [---] τὴν θέαν καὶ τὴν ἀπά[την] [καὶ τὴν διά]χυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς. On the meaning of ἀπάτη (enjoyment) see Robert 1960.

152 Merkelbach 1995: 55, 114, 153-155, 159f., 172f., 175f., 178-181, 348f., 373, 390, 406. For 'cult-theater' in imperial times see, e.g., MacMullen 1981: 18-27.

153 Cf. Plut., *De Iside* 27 [*Mor.* 361 d]: ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις ἀναμειξάσα τελεταῖς εἰκόνας καὶ ὑπονοίας καὶ μιμήματα τῶν τότε παθημάτων, εὐσεβείας ὁμοῦ διδασκαλία καὶ παραμύθιον ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναίξιν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἐχομένοις ὁμοίω καθωσίωσεν.

154 Deubner 1960: 107-109.

155 Merkelbach 1995: 149, 159f., 178-181, 195; cf. Hesberg 1987: 66.

served to provide a reflection of, or analogue of life, but in the Hellenistic period one gets the impression that life was sometimes seen as a reflection of the theater<sup>156</sup>. The question arises, of course, if public life was only *seen* as theatrical or if it *was* theatrical.

We have seen that the largest part of the sources which attest theatrical elements in political oratory and in public appearances of statesmen is of an anecdotal nature. It is quite probable that Hellenistic authors, especially Douris and Poseidonios (§ 3-4), were keen to underline dramatic elements in their narratives. But even if the accounts in literary sources cannot always be taken at face value, their conformity with what we may infer (a) from rhetorical treatises on the increasing importance of delivery in political oratory (§ 4), (b) from the documentary evidence on the staging of Hellenistic festivals (§ 11), (c) from contemporary art (§§ 1 and 5), and (d) from the criticism exercised by Hellenistic authors on theatrical behavior in public life, particularly in connection with the manipulation of the masses (§ 4), leads to the assumption that theatricality in Hellenistic public life is not an invention or a stylistic feature of contemporary literature. It is safe to assume that political oratory increasingly resembled dramatic performance, that not only historians but also statesmen paid greater attention to costumes, gestures, facial expressions, and voice control, that actors and stage-devices were employed in festivities organized by statesmen and kings, and that the public appearances of kings and orators were as carefully studied and staged as the appearances of actors.

Naturally, the question arises whether theatricality is a *distinctive* feature of Hellenistic public life, an *innovation* which distinguishes it from the public life, say, of the archaic or the classical period. An answer to this question is aggravated by the fact that we see the public life of earlier periods primarily through the eyes of texts written either by Attic authors or authors who lived in Athens. Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, the orators, the comic poets, Plato, and Aristotle composed their works, at least in part, in a city where theatrical performances had a long tradition. Their works are written for an audience which had been exposed to the art of theater for generations. The public life they describe is, basically, the public life of citizens whose response to statesmen was inevitably influenced by their experiences as members of theatrical audiences<sup>157</sup>. Consequently, the indisputable presence of 'theatricality' in our classical Attic sources may reflect the situation only in Athens and thus distort the general picture. We cannot assume that nothing changed in the Hellenistic world in this respect, only because theatricality prevailed, in the court and the assembly, already in classical Athens (or a few other large urban centers, such as Syracuse).

Even if we make allowance for the fact that theatricality is, in one or another form, an inherent feature of social life in general (§ 2), the Hellenistic source material presents us with references to theatrical elements in a quantity and diversity which is unknown in earlier periods – even in Athens. Theatricality in the perception, in the representation, and – as I believe – in the reality of public life can, indeed, be seen as a distinctive feature of the Hellenistic age, at least in the great urban centers.

156 Pollitt 1986: 4.

157 Ober 1989, esp. 152-155, 174-177, 221-226 (particularly on the role of 'dramatic fiction' in the court and in the assembly). See also above notes 10 and 28.

This calls for an explanation. The increasing popularity and the ubiquity of theatrical performances account at least in part for the elaboration of theatricality in public life. Theatricality and theatrical production share a lot of things, such as the use of a script, an elaborate setting, advanced acting skills, the use of costumes, and the smart application of stage-machinery. As professional specialization advanced<sup>158</sup> and the refinement of theatrical skills reached an unprecedented level, ambitious statesmen and kings could draw on this 'know-how' for their staged appearances. And they were probably expected to do so. Theatrical inventiveness could only nourish the desire of audiences, – audiences in the broadest sense of the word, *i.e.*, in the assembly, in the court, in the market place, in the festival – for novel and unexpected effects<sup>159</sup>. Since public life took place to a great extent in theaters (cf. § 3) – or for that matter in constructions with very similar spatial organization<sup>160</sup> –, the intrusion of theatrical elements in public life was inevitable.

Although Hellenistic theater undoubtedly contributed to Hellenistic theatricality, it would be misleading to see it as its cause. Both the popularity of theatrical performances and the theatricality of public life seem to be expressions of the same development, of an unprecedented (in these dimensions) desire for spectacles. This is not the impression of a modern scholar; it is the observation of a certain alert traveller in Hellenistic Greece, known as Herakleides of Crete: in his description of Athens he gives an account of what must have impressed any visitor of the city in the 3rd century BC: "festivals of all sorts; intellectual enjoyment and recreation through all sorts of philosophers; many opportunities for leisure; *spectacles without interruption*<sup>161</sup>". Already at the beginning of the century another keen observer of Athenian life, Theophrastos, had made the theater the setting which permitted him to study typical characters. His continual references to theatrical performances and other forms of public entertainment<sup>162</sup> show that the regular attendance of spectacles had become as much a part of Athenian everyday life as the visit to the barber's shop, the market, the assembly, and the court, – or as the visit to movies, concerts, museums, and tourist sights, or the watching of TV in the modern world. This applies to some extent to other Hellenistic urban centers as well. Never before in Greek history were so many new festivals established as in the three centuries which follow the death of Alexander; never before did so many and different public celebrations take place, – old and new religious festivals, commemorative anniversaries, inaugurations of public buildings, weddings, receptions of kings, thanks-giving sacrifices, birthdays of kings and

158 On *criteria* which permit us to recognize professional specialization in Hellenistic theater see some preliminary remarks in Chaniotis 1990.

159 This has been pointed out by Slater (1995: 143-148, 153f.) in connection with the theatricality of justice; cf. Hesberg 1996: 94 on the influence of the theater on appearances and audiences of kings.

160 See Hansen - Fischer-Hansen 1995: 53-76 (classical and Hellenistic *ekklesiasteria*); cf. Ober 1989: 152 (for classical Athens).

161 Herakleides 1,1 ed. Pfister: ἑορταὶ παντοδαπαὶ: φιλοσόφων παντοδαπῶν ψυχῆς ἀπάται καὶ ἀνάπαυσις: σχολαὶ πολλαὶ: θεαὶ συνεχεῖς. On this passage see Robert 1960: 8 (notion of ἀπάτη); Fittschen 1995: 57 with note 17, 59, 63-69.

162 Theophr., *Charact.* 2,11; 6,3-4; 7,9; 9,5; 11,3; 14,4; 21,13; 21,16; 22,2; 30,6; 30,14.



benefactors, gymnasium competitions, etc.<sup>163</sup>. Public lectures given by intellectuals (ἐπιδείξεις, ἀκροάσεις) are another form of spectacle – again, unknown in this frequency and variety in earlier periods<sup>164</sup>. And if one could not be satisfied with these public shows, he could find redress in theatrical performances and other forms of entertainment at private dinner parties.<sup>165</sup>

When reading contemporary texts one gets the impression that festivals and sanctuaries had almost been transformed from spaces of religious experience into objects of aesthetic delight. The women in Theokritos' *Adoniazousai* visit the palace in Alexandria primarily to *watch* what the queen had prepared for the festival (θασόμεναι: § 11) and to admire the palace's luxurious decoration. In Herodas' 4th mime (Ἀσκληπιῶ ἀνατιθέσθαι καὶ θυσιάζουσαι) Kynno's and Kokkale's visit to the temple of Asklepios to offer a sacrifice (ll. 1-20, 79-95) develops into sightseeing and enjoyment of the sculptural decoration (ll. 20-40, 55-78)<sup>166</sup>. In the same way religious processions become the object not only of visual gratification (ἀξιιοθέατος: § 11), but also of literary description – again, for the first time in Greek literary history<sup>167</sup>. The delight and wonder we observe in the descriptions of works of art in Kallixeinos of Rhodes or Herodas must have been shared by the lost representatives of a flourishing literary genre, the descriptions of dedications in cities and sanctuaries<sup>168</sup>.

If the Hellenistic world offered an abundance of things to be seen and to be wondered at, such as spectacular public monuments, impressive dedications in sanctuaries, richly decorated facades of private houses, extravagant royal ships, mobile works of art, a luxurious public architecture, public processions and funerals<sup>169</sup>, it is not only because they served the self-representation of kings, cities, and elites, but also because the Hellenistic people "liked to watch" (to use Mr. Gardiner's expression in Jerzy Kosinski's *Being There*). What a 'performer' – in the most general sense of the word – offers and what his receptors demand are connected in a dynamic interplay: an innovative

<sup>163</sup> Chaniotis 1995: 148-150, 164-168.

<sup>164</sup> E.g., Guarducci 1927/29 (poets); Chaniotis 1988a: 365-382 (historians); Jouanna 1992: 109-124 (physicians). Lectures and other performances during diplomatic missions: Chaniotis 1988b.

<sup>165</sup> For the latter see Jones 1991.

<sup>166</sup> See, e.g., l. 23, 35, 56: οὐχ ὄρης; l. 27: ὄρη; l. 39f.: ἔπευ, φίλη, μοι καὶ καλὸν τί σοι δειξῶ / πρῆγμ' οἶον οὐχ ὄρηκας ἐξ ὅτευ ζῶεις.

<sup>167</sup> Kallixeinos of Rhodes, *FrGrHist* 627 F 2; Athen. V 194 c-195 c. Cf. the similar interest in the description of funerals (notes 130-131).

<sup>168</sup> E.g., Heliodoros of Athens *FrGrHist* 373: Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι ἀναθημάτων, Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι τριπόδων; Alketas, *FrGrHist* 405 F 1: Περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων; cf. the 'Lindian Anagraphe' (*FrGrHist* = Chaniotis 1988a: 52-57 T 13) and the description of dedications in the Heraion of Samos in the histories of Leon of Samos (*FrGrHist* 540 T 1 = Chaniotis 1988a: 308f. E 16).

<sup>169</sup> On royal ships (Ptolemy IV, Kleopatra) see Hesberg 1996: 88f.; Pfrommer 1996. On the theatrical quality ("Inszenierung") of private architecture, esp. from the 2nd century on, see Hesberg 1994: 33; cf. *ibid.* 54-64 ("Architektur der Fassaden"), 97-100 (figurative architectural ornaments). On mobile works of art and mechanical devices see Hesberg 1987.

performance may create new tastes, which in their turn generate the desire and the continual demand for more elaborate and complex performances. Hellenistic spectacles may very well have been the medium by which kings legitimized their rule, benefactors increased their popularity, and cities demonstrated a sense of civic pride<sup>170</sup>. Likewise they may even have been a device of the elites to distract attention away from pressing social problems. As Herakleides of Crete bluntly put it: "Because of the spectacles and entertainments in the city [Athens], the common people have no experience of hunger, as they are made to forget about food" (translated by M. M. Austin)<sup>171</sup>. But whatever factors may have contributed to the wide diffusion of shows, from the moment spectacles and visual wonders conquered the minds and the taste of Hellenistic urban populations, life could not be the same again. The Hellenistic cities had become cities of onlookers.

This rise of a 'culture of onlookers' manifests itself in various manners, in religion, in art, in intellectual life, and in politics. Lost in the masses of the great urban centers the individual was an onlooker of rituals, sacrifices, and processions, which sometimes did not take place in the streets with his participation, but in the theater or the stadium. From an integral part of civic life, they had gradually developed into spectacles, for which oftentimes professional actors, dancers, and musicians had to be engaged. The individual was an onlooker of cultural activities, in the theater, in the agora, in the gymnasium. In a period of high specialization in the performing arts he went to the theater not to admire his own son as member of a chorus or his neighbour as an actor, but to applaud the foreign professional. And in the assembly, or in other public events (e.g., reception of kings or benefactors, trials, etc.) he was an onlooker as well, even when he was actively engaged in the spectacle. He had become accustomed to perceive public life as a performance and a spectacle; consequently, he expected the protagonists of public life to respond to this perception.

It goes without saying that this development is particularly clear in public life, with the increasingly prominent position of 'protagonists': kings, 'professional' generals, specialized orators, wealthy benefactors, and other representatives of urban elites<sup>172</sup>. It is true that the prominent role of a few statesmen is already attested in pre-Hellenistic times<sup>173</sup> and that the *demos* was anything but passive in the Hellenistic age, during which in every city the assembly met more often than before and discussed the issues at least with the same intensity and pathos as in the classical period<sup>174</sup>. Given the established

<sup>170</sup> Royal propaganda: e.g., Hesberg 1987: 63, 66-70. Civic pride: Chaniotis 1995: 160-163.

<sup>171</sup> Herakleides 1,2 ed. Pfister: ἔστι δὲ ταῖς μὲν θεαῖς ἢ πόλιν καὶ σχολαῖς τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἀνεπαίσθητος λιμοῦ. λήθην ἐμποιοῦσα τῆς τῶν σίτων προσφορᾶς.

<sup>172</sup> This socio-political development has often been characterized as a 'regime of the notables' in recent research. See esp. Veyne 1976: 110-118, 201-209 ("régime des notables"); cf. Gehrke 1990: 68f., 181f. ("Aristokratisierung", "Heraustreten der Honoratiorenschichten"); Quass 1993 ("Honoratiorenschichten"). But see now the cautious remarks of Habicht 1995 against the idea of a monopolization of power by a "Honoratiorenschicht". On the importance of the benefactors see Veyne 1976: 228-271; Quass 1993: 196-210; cf. the modifications and the chronological differentiation by Gauthier 1985.

<sup>173</sup> See most recently Ober 1989, esp. 11-17, 53-103, 112-118 (classical Athens).

<sup>174</sup> On the function of the assembly in the Hellenistic age see Quass 1993: 353-373.

constitutional status of the assembly in the cities – as opposed to the actual, but not legal, preponderance of the elites –, the Hellenistic statesmen had to rely on delicate skills of performance in order to manipulate the masses in the assembly and to preserve the fiction of the rule of the people. The kings' role in the fragile balance of power between the monarchic aspirations and the pretensions of urban populations (in Greek *poleis* and in capitals) was quite similar. The kings had to construct an image of supremacy which would legitimize their rule and at the same time respect the fiction of civic autonomy<sup>175</sup>.

The complex problems posed by the relations between masses and elites were not new in the Hellenistic age, but they had become more intense: the gap between the protagonists of public life and the common people in the great urban centers was continually widening. This dichotomy in public life – between elite and masses – could now be perceived and expressed with terms borrowed from the world of the theater, as the interaction of performers and receptors. Ancient thought could describe the part played in public life by a prominent individual in a variety of ways, for example, by comparing the political leader with the captain of a ship, the charioteer, the shepherd, the physician,<sup>176</sup> or the actor. If the perception of the statesman as an actor and of public life as a stage, attested sporadically in the 4th century<sup>177</sup>, had become a widespread *topos* in the Hellenistic age<sup>178</sup>, it is because public life was theatrical and subject to careful staging and skillful performance. An anecdote about Demosthenes' death epitomizes this development<sup>179</sup>: Demosthenes is said to have had a dream the night before his suicide. He

175 On the fragile balance of power between king and polis see Orth 1977. On the role of the population of the capital see Fraser 1972: vol. I, 93-132, esp. 106-132. On the importance of theatricality for the legitimacy of royal power see Hesberg 1989 and 1996.

176 See, e.g., Plat., *Res p.* I, 342 d-343 b; Polyb. 12,27,9; Stob. 4,7,61 (p. 264,8-11 Hense).

177 An early direct attestation is Philistos' description of Dionysios' funeral in 367/6 BC (*FrGrHist* 556 F 40 b), if Plutarch's words (*Pelop.* 34: οἷον τραγωδίας μεγάλης τῆς τυραννίδος ἐξέδιδον θεατρικὸν γινόμενον) reflect the original wording of Philistos.

178 See above § 10 and notes 7, 8, 50, 84, and 96. See also Diod. 32,15,4 (on Andriskos' revolt): ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὴν τοῦ δράματος συντέλειαν πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν; Plut., *Lysand.* 23 (on the relation between Lysandros and king Agesilaos): ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν παραγενομένων πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι συνήθως βραχέα καὶ σπανίως διελέγοντο, τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς πρόσθεν ὀμιλίας οἱ τε φίλοι θεραπεύοντες οἱ τε ὑποπτοὶ δεδοκότες ἐφοίτων ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρηκολούθουν, οἷον ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις ἐπεικῶς συμβαίνει περὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς, τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλου τινὸς ἢ θεράπροντος ἐπεκείμενον πρόσωπον εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ πρωταγωνιστεῖν, τὸν δὲ διάδημα καὶ σκήπτρον φοροῦντα μηδὲ ἀκούεσθαι φθεγγόμενον; *ibid.* 25: ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ μηχανὴν αἴρων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας, λόγια πυθόχρηστα καὶ χρησμούς συντείθει καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν; Plut., *Mor.* 337 de (Meleagros puts Arhidaios on the Macedonian throne): ἀγωνιστῆ γὰρ ἡγεμονίας ὑποκριτῆν ἐπέσιθαγε (sc. Meleagros), μᾶλλον δ' ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ διάδημα κωφὸν διεξῆλθε τῆς οἰκουμένης. On the theatrical vocabulary and similes in Plutarch see Di Gregorio 1976: 168-173.

179 Plut., *Demosth.* 29: ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐτύγχανεν ὄψιν ἑωρακῶς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλλόκοτον. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ τραγωδίαν ὑποκρινόμενος, εὐημερῶν δὲ καὶ κατέχων τὸ θέατρον ἐνδεία

saw himself as a tragic actor contending with his prosecutor Archias for the prize. Demosthenes won the favour of the audience, but what cost him the victory was his lack of costumes and stage decoration.

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παρασκευῆς καὶ χορηγίας κρατεῖσθαι. Cf. above, notes 84 (the failure of a political scheme is expressed with theatrical terms), 130, 132, and 177 (the funeral of a king is the last act of a drama).

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