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THEATRE AND MUSIC IN CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC MACEDONIA*

ABSTRACT: This article aims to examine theatrical practice and music events in Macedonia (within the geographical boundaries of the kingdom until the Roman conquest) based on literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence. The general conclusion is that, besides local music and dance genres, which were directly connected to the religious ceremonies and the cult life of the kingdom, theatrical, literary and musical performances were held following Athenian practice. Especially, during the late Classical and early Hellenistic period, testimonies abound of musical and dramatic competitions in the context of festivals or victory celebrations, mostly due to royal policy. Performances of Euripides' tragedies and New Comedy plays are widespread; musicians and actors of various specialties, poets and encomium writers, mimes, buffoons, dancers and other "paratheatrical" artists, show off their skills to all the large Greek-speaking cities and offer entertainment at symposia or feasts, at private or public gatherings.

WERE THERE DRAMATIC or musical performances in Ancient Macedonia? What kinds of local public shows did exist? In the following study, we attempt to answer these questions and to recreate the picture of theatrical practice and cultural activity in Macedonia, within the geographical boundaries of the kingdom until the Roman conquest. In particular, shows and musical events (*θεάματα* and *ἀκροάματα*) are recorded, in which artists of all specialties participate: *rhapsodes* and poets (epic, tragic, comic, dithyrambic), actors (tragedians, comedians, tragic and comic *synagonists*), and other theatre artists (chorus-men, chorus-trainers), musicians (*auletes* and *kitharists*), singers (*aulodes*, *kitharodes*, *parodists*), heralds, trumpeters,

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and various "paratheatrical" artists, i.e. mimes, dancers, buffoons, conjurers, jugglers, acrobats and others. This presentation does not include cult and mystery rituals, athletic competitions, horse and chariot races, torch-races, or gymnasium events; it does so only to the degree that they present opportunities or settings for shows with music, singing, dancing, or recitation.

I. THE OLDEST EVIDENCE

It is not known whether local forms of literature and performing arts had been developed in Macedonia, but we assume that there had been local music and dance genres, which were directly connected to the religious ceremonies and the cult life of the kingdom. Also, there must have been some kinds of spectacles or recitals in the context of cult rituals, which were either rooted in the area or had been imposed on the people's collective consciousness due to initiatives of the royal house of Argeads. It is these kinds of dramatic and musical events and the occasion of their use that we are attempting to detect through mostly later sources, since sufficient literary and archaeological evidence does not survive until the end of the Geometrical period — when colonies are founded in Chalcidice and Thrace, and commercial and cultural communication is established between Macedonians and Athenians and other southern Greeks.

The oldest relevant monument is dated back to the Neolithic period: two bone *auloi*, one of which is almost entirely intact, were found inside disposal pits in the location Toumpa Kremasti Koilada, in Kozani. Shells, animal bones, fragments of figurines and seals were found in these pits, a fact which allows us to conjecture the use of the *aulos* as an instrument of musical accompaniment to worship rituals.[1] Our hypothesis is corroborated by the large number of vessels found in various depositories in the area, which are interpreted as outdoor worship places, where perhaps offerings were made "for the protection of livestock and crops".[2]

A traditional ritual to *aulos* accompaniment was the *καρπαία*, a Macedonian war dance (*μακεδονικὴ ὄρχησις*), which was also danced by two Thessaly tribes, the Magnetes and the Aenianians. According to Xenophon, it was

1. In Macedonia again, in a grave in the northern cemetery of Pydna, a double *aulos* was found, dated to the 4th century BC — a very important find in the field of musical instruments; Andrikou et. al. (2004) fig. 67 and Psaroudakes (2008).
2. See Chondrogianni-Metoki (2001) 407 with fig. 1.

a robust show with two dancers (*An.* 6.1.7).[3] The dancers act out the roles of farmer and robber, and clash in full armour, in order to win the prize (*κάρπωσις*) of a pair of oxen: the first dancer imitates the farmer, who sows his field with the oxen, worriedly and anxiously looking around him as if in fear; when the second dancer, the robber, attacks him, the farmer grabs his weapons, which he had left aside; the battle continues for a while and ends either with the robber's victory, who ties up the farmer and steals his oxen, or with the victory of the farmer, who captures the robber, ties him onto the oxen's yoke and leaves.[4]

Testimonials survive from the Hellenistic period regarding an annual military celebration (*ἑορτὴ Μακεδόνων*), the *Ξανθικὰ* or *Ξανδικά*, in honour of a martial deity, Xanthos or Xandos; its basic characteristics were army purification rituals and mimetic rituals.[5] The rites started in the morning: the body of a dog was divided in the middle, and the two halves were pegged on two wooden posts, placed on opposite sides of a road; the parade of Macedonians in full armour went through this symbolic gate-passage. At the head of the procession, chosen men carried the illustrious weapons of previous kings; the king with his heirs followed, the officials, and, finally, the other military units. Subsequently, two chosen groups of the then-purified army performed a mock battle under the sounds of trumpets. After the sacrifices and the established rituals for the purification of the army with military processions and demonstrations, the meat from the sacrificed animals was shared around, and the feasts and drinking lasted all night long. This description of the *Xandika* of 182 BC (Liv. 40.6-7) leads us to believe that they constituted a regular spring gathering, which took place before the beginning of the military campaigns, during the month *Xandikos*, with the participations of all armed Macedonians.[6] We do not know whether this was

3. Cf. Hsch. *κ* 863, Ath. 1.15F-16A, Phot. *κ* 133.7.
4. The *τελεσιὰς* was another Macedonian weapon dance; see below p. 42. Whether there could be a connection between these war dances and ritual events of adolescence is open to conjecture. For a good survey of the evidence pertaining to religious ceremonies initiating the beginning of adulthood, and "rites of passage" generally, in Macedonia (and in many other Greek regions as well, e.g. Sparta and Thessaly), see Hatzopoulos (1994), especially 42-43, 55-61, 113-119.
5. Plb. 23.10.17, Hsch. *ξ* 11; cf. Liv. 40.6-7, *Suda ε* 1093, *δ* 546. On the form and worship of Xandos, as an epithet of Apollo, see Kalléris (1954-1976) I, 237, and Chrysostomou (1993-1994) 196-197; as an epithet of Hercules, see Hatzopoulos (1994) 89-92; as a Macedonian hero, see Goukowsky (2009) ch. 3.
6. See Hammond and Griffith (1979) 150-166 and Hammond (1982) 86. From the descriptions in Livius, we deduce that *Xandika* were similar to the Aetolian *Panaitolika*,

a Thessalian custom, transferred to Macedonia when Philip II conquered Thessaly, or a traditional celebration that the Macedonian kingdom had in common with many Greek areas, especially Thessaly and Sparta.[7]

During the Hellenistic period, the Macedonian king carried out the *Ἑταιρίδεια* (Ath. 13.572D-E, 10.446D), a celebration supposedly established by Jason and the Argonauts, and celebrated by the Magnetes in Thessaly in honour of Zeus as the "patron of the *hetairoi*" (*Ἑταιρεῖος*).[8] The military and social institution of the *hetairoi* is mentioned for the first time in the 5th century BC, but dates even further back into the past.[9] It is a plausible assumption that the celebrations connected to "the king's companions" had been handed down through the generations.[10] Moreover, the name *Δῖος* of the first month of the year, as well as the legendary descent of the Macedonian kings from Hercules, a son of Zeus, denote that the worship of the Olympian Zeus belonged to the traditional cults of the Macedonian people. Nevertheless, no more details survive regarding the celebration of the *Hetairideia* or the rituals which accompanied the sacrifices in honour of Zeus at the beginning of the year.

The worship of the Muses in Pieria also seems extremely old and widespread. Tradition has it that the Muses were invited to a musical competition in the Helicon by the daughters of Pieros, king of Pieria and Emathia; the contest between the choruses of mortals and immortals ended in the victory of the Muses, who transformed the girls into birds, and thus prevailed in the areas where their power had been doubted.[11] The Olympian and Pierides Muses are mentioned by epic and lyric poets already since the Archaic period.[12] In any case, the oldest references to rituals with shows and musical events in

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which took place in different areas every year and were simultaneously a celebration gathering and the commencement of the military campaign season; see Hatzopoulos (1996) I, 276, 319-321, with further references.

7. For more information regarding the celebrations of the *Xandika* see Chrysostomou (1993-1994), especially 194-201, where similar celebrations in Thessaly, Sparta, and other Greek areas are mentioned.
8. See Hammond (1989) 54-55 and Papazoglou (1982) 204.
9. On the institution of the *hetairoi* see Kalléris (1954-1976) I, 171-179, Hammond and Griffith (1979) 395-400, and Hammond (1989) 140-147.
10. The *Hetairideia* were presumably meant "to strengthen the ties of comradeship" between the Macedonian king and his *hetairoi*; Mari (2011) 456.
11. Ant.Lib. 9.1-3 (an epitome of Nicander's lost mythological epic *Heteroeumena*), Ov. *Met.* 5.642-678. Pimpleia, Leibethra, and Helicon are some of the Macedonian place names transposed to Boeotia, along with the worship of the Muses; see Bonanno-Aravantinou (1999).
12. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.491 (Olympian); Hes. *Th.* 25 (Olympian), *Sc.* 206 (Pierides), but also *Th.* 1 (Heliconian); Sapph. fr. 103 L-P (Pierides); Sol. fr. 13 West (Pierides).

honour of the Muses are attributed to the reign of Archelaus, during the celebrations of the *Olympia* festival. In the Classical period, it is also attested that the *Θούριδες* Muses,[13] followers of Apollo or Dionysus, were worshiped by the Macedonian royal house as patrons of shows and letters — it is, however, not known with what kind of rituals.[14]

Pieria has been an area with great musical tradition, where Orpheus had been active. The legendary musician, of Thracian origin, was born in Pimpleia and buried in Libethra.[15] Many springs and memorials were dedicated to Orpheus, and mystic rites were celebrated in his honour in Macedonia (cf. Plut. *Alex*. 14.8). The Derveni papyrus —whether an allegorical commentary on an Orphic theogony in hexameters or a treatise about rituals and Orphism, written in the second half of the 4th century BC— gives an overview of ritual practices included in Orphic cult. The ritual acts involved the liberation of caged birds, libations and offerings, accompanied by recitations of incantations (*ἐπῳδαί*); besides these, a poem was recited that explained "a 'history of the world' in which the ritual acquires its mythical foundation".[16] The Orphic priests (*magoi*) performed the initiation rituals in the presence of initiates (*mystai*) who also participated.

In addition, the royal family conducted the daily traditional rituals and sacrifices, prominent among which was the Dionysiac cult; Macedonians had one day in the year dedicated to Dionysus (*ἡμέραν ἱερὰν τοῦ Διονύσου*), and the kings never failed to sacrifice to the god during his celebration, to perform sacrifices, and to participate in revels with their *hetairoi* in honour of the god (Arr. *Anab.* 4.8.1).[17] Archaeological finds confirm that the Dionysiac cult was especially widespread: the form of Dionysus adorns depictions on

13. The name *Θούριδες* probably comes from the name *Θεωρίδες*, which was attributed to the attendants of Apollo; Apollo had also been worshiped as *Θεώριος* or *Θεάριος* — *Θούριος* in Boeotia (see Hsch. *θ* 664, *π* 2258; cf. Phot. *π* 429.12).
14. The earliest evidence of the worship of the *Thourides* Muses is an epigram dedicated to them by Eurydice, wife of king Amyntas III (Plut. *Mor.* 14B-C). The Muses had a prominent role in the iconography of the royal monuments: cf. e.g. a Muse playing the *kithara*, from the assembly of the gods on the narrow frieze of Philip II's couch; Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2005) fig. 56. On the worship of the Muses in Macedonia see Kalléris (1954-1976) I, 184-185, 248-253, II, 537-538.
15. Str. 7a.1.17-18, 10.3.17, Paus. 9.30.9. On the death and burial of Orpheus in Macedonia see Gartziou-Tatti (1999) with references.
16. Bernabé (2011) chapter 2, 5.1. On the rites described in the Derveni papyrus see Ferrari (2011) and Bernabé (2011) with references.
17. Cf. Arr. *Anab.* 4.9.5, 5.2.6, 5.2.7. Athenaeus states that, during the absence of Alexander III from Macedonia, Olympias carried out the royal duties, which included the traditional sacrifices in honour of Dionysus (14.659F-660A). The variety of local

tombs and funerary vases, in homes, in theatres, and worship places.[18] Dionysus and his followers, Sileni and maenads, are often depicted in scenes of ecstasy or dance,[19] such as in works of metallurgy of the 4th century BC from the tombs of Aigai and Derveni,[20] as well as in finds from Pella, Aigai, Amphipolis, Aiane in Kozani,[21] and the greater Thessalonike area,[22] before the founding of the city, the oldest of which date back to the 5th century BC.[23]

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epithets of the god is another indication of the importance and the peculiarities of his cult in Macedonia; see Hatzopoulos (1994) 73-87 and Mari (2011) 461.

18. The cult of Dionysus along with other mystery and orgiastic cults must have existed in the lands of Macedonia since very ancient times; see Papazoglou (1982) 204. On the cults in Macedonia see Pantermalis (1977) 331-342; especially on the cult of Dionysus in Macedonia see Chatzinikolaou (2007) 169-180 with bibliography; on the associations of the Dionysiac cult see Skourellos (2002) 35-64.
19. In general, depictions of the Dionysiac *thiasos* are especially beloved since the end of the 6th century BC and onwards; see Schöne (1987) and Fahlbusch (2004).
20. In a scene on the Derveni krater maenads are depicted dancing in a state of ecstasy (330 BC); Vokotopoulou (1997) 265-266. In Aigai, in a relief from the decoration on the "couch of the Prince", a young *aulos*-playing satyr is leading Dionysus and his companion to revelry (310 BC); Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2005) fig. 81. The legs of "Meda's couch" are decorated with revellers who dance and sing; Kottaridi (2013) 300.
21. A dancing maenad, flanked by satyrs, is depicted in a black-figure oinochoe from Aiane, the product of a local workshop (early 5th century BC); Karamitrou-Mentesidi (1989) 63 fig. 28. Maenads, dancers, and *aulos*-players are depicted on a gold foil diadem found in a cemetery of Amphipolis (c. 330 BC); Andrikou et al. (2004) no. 145. On an Attic red-figure krater from Aigai young Dionysus along with a young Silenus are enjoying the orgiastic dance of the maenads, who are whirling around beating *tympana* and waving thyrsi (c. 350 BC); Kottaridi (2013) 98-99. According to West (1992) 124-125 n. 212, the *tympanon* —"a shallow frame drum or tambour of modest size"— appears almost exclusively in connection with orgiastic cults such as those of Dionysus Baccheus and the Great Mother; cf. figurines of the Great Mother holding the *tympanon* from Aigai and Olynthus, e.g. Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2005) fig. 32 and Andronicos (1993) fig. 58.
22. Dionysus appears on Hellenistic coins and monuments of the city; see Bakalakis (1953-1954) 226-227 and (1983) 36 n. 18. Furthermore, the Dionysian is one of the four tribes of Thessalonike recorded in the inscriptions (*φυλὴ Διονσιάς*: *IG* X 2.1 185, *IG* X 2.2 112). Among others, a votive epigraph of the city to Dionysus is dated to 2nd century BC; and there is adequate epigraphic testimony from the end of the Hellenistic period for the official worship of the god (*IG* X.2.1 5; cf. *IG* X.2.1 3, 4, 7); see Voutiras (1986) 352-354 and (1993) 256-257. According to Bakalakis (1983) 35 ff., even the name "*Θέρμη*" of the settlement, which was the base of the city's growth, might originate not from the hot baths of the area, but from the "*Θερμαῖος δαίμων*", in honour of whom processional rituals were performed once a year.
23. E.g. a number of Attic vases with Dionysiac scenes are dated to the late 6th or early 5th century BC: from Karabournaki (Thessalonike, Archaeological Museum [henceforth: AM] 2883), from the cemetery of Aghia Paraskevi (AM 13433, 14294, 9652, 9398), etc.

Fig. 1. Dionysus, young and beardless, along with a young Silenus are enjoying the orgiastic dance of the maenads, in an Attic red-figure krater from Aigai (mid-4th century BC); Kottaridi (2013) 98-99.

Many of these depictions emphasise the connection of the god with symposia and the theatre, e.g. in Pella and Olynthus (4th century BC), Philippi and Dion (Roman Era).[24]

The cult of Hercules, Asclepius, and Apollo had also been traditional, with sacrifices, rituals, and festivals being held in their honour, such as the *Apellaia* or the *Asclepieia*, in Beroia and Moryllus in the Hellenistic period,[25]

24. The image of Dionysus was an appropriate decorative theme on the mosaic floors that graced the banquet halls in Pella, e.g., and in Olynthus; Poulakakis (2012) 687-688 fig. 14 and 683-685 fig. 1, 3. In Dion, many depictions of Dionysus survive in places of worship and symposia from Roman times to late antiquity. Of these, two mosaics stand out: in the so-called "Villa of Dionysus", within a square panel the god is depicted crowned with a wreath, holding a thyrsus and a horn, while six smaller panels show theatrical masks and frame the main panel on the top and bottom; in another building a maenad is depicted performing a dance move and holding a *tympanon*; Pantermalis (1988) 181-188. In Philippi the relief decoration on the south portico of the theatre (of Roman times) depicts the myth of the persecution and triumph of the Dionysiac cult; in one of the scenes, four maenads are depicted dancing in a state of ecstatic frenzy; Karadedos and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (2001b) 96, 102-104, and (2003) 102-103.

25. On the *Apellaia* see Kalléris (1954-1976) I, 100, II, 558-559. The cult of Apollo seems to have been widespread in the wider area in the Classical period, as the god is depicted on coins from Olynthus (with his symbol, the lyre, on the back), but also on the first golden Macedonian coins, minted during the reign of Philip II; see Westermark (1988) 100 and Poulios (1993) 95 no. 28-29, 97 no. 34. On the introduction and propagation of the Asclepius cult in Macedonia see Voutiras (1993) 256-262 and Hatzopou-

or the royal sacrifices to Hercules *Πατρῷος* in Aigai.[26] No testimonies survive to document the role of music and events in the religious ceremonies. Yet, a terracotta figurine of a female dancer from Thessalonike (middle of the 3rd century BC) highlights our lack of knowledge regarding the performing enactments included in cult rituals: the movement of the dancer is possibly connected with a dance in the context of cult rites in honour of Demeter or Aphrodite.[27] We also know that the sacrifices to the gods, except for the sharing of the meat of the sacrificial animals and the wine-drinking, also included the announcement of the libations with a trumpet and the *paean* (Arr. *Anab.* 7.11.8-9). According to Arrian, the *paean* could sometimes be a short ritualistic exclamation or invocation and other times it could be a song, chanted by all the participants in the sacrifice together (*Anab.* 7.24.4; cf. Ath. 12.538F).

In conclusion, the oldest evidence suggests that there had been local spectacles and local music and dance genres in the context of cult rituals or military celebrations of the Macedonian kingdom; they had much in common with war dances and mimetic events included in initiation or mystic rituals in many other Greek areas.

II. DURING THE REIGN OF ARCHELAUS

In the Classical period, all the information we have on the political, social, and cultural life of the Macedonian people are directly related to the royal house and the figure of the king.

The oldest evidence dates from the first half of the 5th century BC, the time of the reign of Alexander I, named "the Philhellene", because he pursued the systematic communication of his people with southern Greek culture.[28] In the

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los (1996) I, 153-154; on the *Asclepieia* in Beroia and Moryllus see Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 63-67 n. 4-8; on the *Asclepieia* in Thasos and Philippi see Salviat (1958) 251-252.

26. The inscription ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΙΩΙ (Andronicos [2004] 38) confirms the testimonies by the ancient historians that that Macedonian family recognised Hercules as their ancestor (Hdt. 8.137-138, Thuc. 2.99), since the Argeads claimed their descent from the kings of Argos, whose legendary ancestor was Temenus, Hercules' great-great-grandson. On the Argeads' worship of Hercules see Hammond and Griffith (1979) 150-166, and Hammond (1989) 221.
27. Thessalonike AM 9838; see Andrikou et. al. (2004) no. 151.
28. According to the ancient historians (e.g. Hdt. 5.22), Alexander I traced the descent of the Macedonian royal house to Peloponnesian Argos, which resulted in the official recognition of his Greekness and his acceptance in the Olympic Games (possibly in 496 BC).

Fig. 2. A terracotta figurine of a female dancer from Thessalonike (mid-3rd century BC, Thessalonike AM 9838). Photo by Nikos Dionysopoulos (Institute for Mediterranean Studies).

symposia he held in his court, he invited famous artists to participate. Among them, Pindar used to be an illustrious guest for a time — in the beginning of the 5th century BC, the great choral poet travelled to many cities and visited the courts of tyrants and aristocratic houses in Sicily, Aegina, Thessaly, and elsewhere. One of the fragments that survive of his epinicians or encomiastic choral songs is the encomium he had written for the Macedonian king, on the occasion of his participation in the Olympic Games, whom he compared to Alexander, son of Priam and descendant of Dardanus (fr. 120-121 Sn-M). It is plausible to assume that Pindar's ode in honour of the king was performed in the Macedonian court. The same is possibly true for Bacchylides of Ceos, who addressed an encomium to the "son of the famous, proud Amyntas" (fr. 20b Sn-M). Alexander I's politics were continued by his heir, Perdiccas II: the *kitharode* and innovative dithyramb writer Melanippides of Melos spent the last years of his life (he died during the reign of Archelaus) and performed his works in Perdiccas' court (*Suda* μ 454).

We lack any other evidence of literary performances in Macedonia. An indication that the Homeric poems were probably known comes from a Classical grave in Aiane:[29] a gilded silver sheet is depicting the seated figure of the Cyclops Polyphemus facing two sheep with men tied beneath them. The artist was presumably familiar with the famous scene from the "Cyclopeia", regarding Odysseus and his companions leaving the cave; or, at least, he had in mind a popular decorative theme on vases of the period.[30]

Essentially, the genealogy myths on the origins of the royal family from Argos and the Heraclidae attest to the cultural kinship of the Macedonians to the Dorian tribes which is recorded by the ancient historians (see Hdt. 1.56.3 and 8.43.1, where the Macedonian nation is characterised as "*δωριικόν*"). On the Dorian origin of the Macedonians, as is mentioned by Herodotus and Thucydides, see Hatzopoulos (2011) 55-57. On the dismissal of the tale as propaganda on the part of Alexander I see Adams (2003) 205-206 with references.

29. These lozenge-shaped sheets of gold or silver, the so-called *epistomia*, covered the mouths of the deceased; Karamitrou-Mentesidi (2011) 106.

30. On the escape from Polyphemus's cave, the second most popular scene from the *Odyssey* depicted on Athenian vases of the 6th and early 5th century (the first being the scene

The testimonies on the introduction of cultural practices from South Greece into the Macedonian kingdom multiply during the reign of Archelaus (413-399 BC), who is acknowledged as the creator of an impressive centre in Pella, where the adoption of Athenian culture is obvious, as well as the attempt to compete in glamour and display of wealth with the older tyrannical courts, e.g. Hieron I's and Dionysius I's of Syracuse.[31] It is said that the palace was adorned with works by Zeuxis of Heraclea in South Italy, and that poets and artists held a prominent position in Archelaus' court, including the epic poet Choerilus of Samos, the musician Timotheus of Miletus, as well as the tragic poets Euripides, Agathon, Crateuas, and Arribaeus.[32]

On Arribaeus, the earliest Macedonian tragic poet whose name has reached us, and the Thessalian Crateuas no other testimonies survive. Perhaps they did not participate in contests in Athens, where dramatists gained renown. Euripides spent the last years of his life in Pella: he went there after 408 BC and remained until 406 BC, the year of his death. According to ancient sources, he was highly esteemed in the court of Archelaus, participated in royal symposia and enjoyed the company of the royal *hetairoi* (Satyr. *Vit.Eur.* 39.18-23).[33] The tragic poet Agathon was in Macedonia at the same time as Euripides, that is, after 408 BC, possibly until 400 BC.[34]

Euripides expressed his gratitude towards the hospitable king with the trilogy *Archelaus*, *Temenos* and *Temenidae*, which derived its plot from the myth of the return of the Heraclidae, thus glorifying the king's mythic

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of the blinding of Polyphemus), see Schefold (1993) 336-338 and (1978) 262-262.

31. See Hammond and Griffith (1979) 139-140, 148-150. According to Borza (1993) 237-238, the growth of Pella was not only a political and military change, but also an important cultural statement and an expression of power towards other elite Macedonian families. On Greek tyrants as patrons of poets see Csapo (2010) 172 with references.
32. *Suda* ε 3695 and χ 594; Plut. *Mor.* 177A-B; Ael. *VH* 13.4; Ath. 8.345D.
33. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1311B31, Plut. *Mor.* 177A-B. He must not have, however, assumed an active role in administration, as stated in the *Vita Euripidis* (2.17). In the *Vita* and in the *Suda*, several fictions regarding the death of the great tragedian are mentioned. As for the place of his burial, it is said that Archelaus had Euripides buried in Pella (*Suda* ε 3695; cf. *AP* 7.44), while others knew of a tomb at the Arethousa travelling station (Plut. *Lyc.* 31.3); perhaps there was a cenotaph on the road to Piraeus, with an epigram, which is mentioned in the *Vita* (2.26-32). According to literary tradition, the Macedonians did not allow the Athenians to transfer Euripides' remains to Attica, because they thought him their own citizen and one of the king' Companions (*AP* 7.51, Gell. 15.20).
34. Several anecdotes on Euripides' participation in Archelaus' symposia survive; cf. Ael. *VH* 13.4, 2.21. On Agathon's stay in Macedonia see also Pl. *Smp.* 172A-C, Ar. *Ra.* 84.

ancestors. The poet must have invented both the person of Archelaus (ancestor to the Macedonian king, son of Temenus and, therefore, descendant of Hercules) and the plot of the play:[35]

> Persecuted by his brothers, Archelaus went to Thrace, helped king Kisseus rid himself from his enemies, and in return asked to marry his daughter; in the end, he escaped the trap set by the king and, following the god Apollo's indications, he arrived in Macedonia led by a goat, where he founded the town of Aigai.

Euripides' stay in Macedonia is thought to have decisively impacted the writing of one of his masterpieces, the *Bacchae*. It was in Macedonia, the argument goes, that he came in contact with much more primitive forms of ecstatic worship than Athens could have offered. *Bacchae* along with *Iphigeneia at Aulis* and *Alcmaeon in Corinth* were performed after the poet's death in the *City Dionysia* and gave him victory for the fifth time.[36]

In which Macedonian contexts did Euripides and the other invited dramatists, poets, and musicians from South Greece demonstrate their art? At the opulent royal symposia, we assume — a widespread form of entertainment of the wealthy class during the 5th century BC.[37] These banquets will have included, depending on the occasion, spectacles and musical events, following Athenian practice.[38] It is rather certain that the royal family and the fam-

35. The plot can be recomposed based on the summary by Hyginus (*Fab.* 219) and the surviving fragments of the play (nos. 1-38 Austin); see Lesky (1972) 471-472, Harder (1985) and Moloney (2014) 237-240.
36. According to the ancient Scholia on Aristophanes (*Ra.* 67), the poet's son presented the plays, while according to the *Suda* (*ε* 3695) it was his namesake nephew.
37. Imported banqueting vessels as well as bronze and silver products of Macedonian metalwork of the 4th century BC, with decorations of exceptional quality, found in the tombs at Aigai, testify to the luxury of Macedonian symposia; see e.g. Kottaridi (2013) 79, 244-245. On the architectural setting of Macedonian symposia see Tomlinson (1970).
38. Attic comic poets offer a picture of the entertainment at the symposia of the Classical period: the symposiasts used to listen to (female) *aulos*-players or *kitharodes* and to sing popular songs, e.g. by Simonides or Cratinus, or to recite tragic verse, e.g. by Euripides (Ar. *Eq.* 526-530, *Nu.* 1353-1378; cf. Plut. *Lys.* 15.3). Sometimes the symposia included dramatic recitations by actors or other performances by professional entertainers (Ephipp. fr. 16 K-A; cf. *θεάματα καὶ ἀκροάματα*: Xen. *Smp.* 2.2). For an example of an actor performing at the royal Macedonian symposia see below p. 19. On *theamata* and *akroamata* at the Athenian symposia see Murray (1990), West (1992) 26-27 and Csapo

ilies of the king's *hetairoi* showed a special interest in the music, literature, and art of the South Greeks.[39]

According to later literary testimonies, the two Athenian tragic poets participated in a Macedonian religious festival (*πανήγυρις*) at Dion, named *Ὀλύμπια*. Macedonians gathered there to offer sacrifices to local deities, Zeus and the Muses, and to participate in contests held in their honour. We do not know whether Euripides and Agathon competed against each other in the same scenic contest (*σκηνικὸς ἀγών*), i.e. in a dramatic competition modelled on the Athenian *Dionysia*. No other information survives, either, regarding the periodicity of the *Olympia* festival and their programme during the Classical period. Finally, we lack evidence about the space in which these events took place. It is assumed that the Dion theatre was built at the end of the 5th century BC, although the oldest surviving construction phase is early Hellenistic.[40]

All available sources mention Archelaus as the founder of the *Olympia* festival at Dion. According to Diodorus Siculus, Archelaus was the first to found the scenic contests at Dion, the Macedonian sacred city, in honour of Zeus and the Muses (17.16.3-4):[41]

> *θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς συνετέλεσεν* [sc. *Ἀλέξανδρος*] *ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας Διὶ καὶ Μούσαις, οὓς Ἀρχέλαος ὁ προβασιλεύσας πρῶτος κατέδειξε.*

Dio Chrysostomus (2.2-3) also qualifies as "ancient" (*ἀρχαῖον*) the Olympic contest (*τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων*) organised by Philip II with his son Alexander after the battle of Chaeronea. It is possible that Archelaus chose Dion (a *πόλισμα*, according to Thucydides, 4.78.6) as a contest centre with Greek-wide scope, because it already was a centre of the worship of Zeus and

(2010) 171-172. There are many depictions of symposium scenes on Attic vases and some of them were found in Macedonia; cf. e.g. a symposium scene on a red-figure Attic oinochoe of the late Classical period found in the necropolis of Aigai, where a reclining reveller enjoys the presence of the female *aulos*-player (Kottaridi [2013] 81).

39. According to Moloney (2014) 248, "culture was key at court; it represented one of the criteria by which social prestige and position was determined among the king's company".

40. See Karadedos (1986) 325-340 and (1994) 157-165. On the technical equipment of the theatre for the carrying out of performances see Karadedos (2007) 381-390.

41. Cf. the ancient scholiast on Demosthenes: *τὰ Ὀλύμπια δὲ πρῶτος Ἀρχέλαος ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας κατέδειξεν. ἤγετο δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα, ὥς φασιν, ἡμέρας ἰσαρίθμους ταῖς Μούσαις* (19.383 Dilts).

the Muses — even before the Peloponnesian Olympic Games (which were held in 776 BC for the first time). After all, archaeological findings to this day suggest that Dion may have been one of the wealthiest Macedonian cities with religious activity in the late Classical period.[42] It is equally possible that there had been old local sacrifices and celebrations in honour of Zeus, either at Dion or at Aigai, which Archelaus reorganised at Dion.[43]

Overall, Archelaus adopted Athenian culture as a symbol of his reign, following the policies of his predecessors Alexander I and Perdiccas II: he held symposia with famous Athenian poets as his guests, who recognised the king as their patron; and he established festivals with scenic performances and contests, competing in glamour and display of power with the centres of South Greece and the other tyrannical courts.

III. DURING THE REIGN OF PHILIP II

In the first half of the 4th century BC, the testimonies on theatrical and musical events in Macedonia are indirect or occasional. They concern either spectacles during royal symposia or musical performances following Athenian practice.

Especially interesting is a fragmentary epigram from a funerary monument in Aigai (end of 5th or beginning of 4th century BC), which preserves the words *ναῶν εὐστύλων*. The phrase is attested elsewhere only in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (128-129) — the epigram writer may have quoted Euripides.[44]

Another testimony concerns the death of Alexander II: the king was murdered in 368 BC, during the performance of the Macedonian military dance (*στρατιωτικὴ ὄρχησις*) called *τελεσιάς* (Ath. 629D). The *telesias* was a symbolic enactment of a fight practiced by arm-bearing men — which made the murderers' task easier. It is said to have been named after a certain Telesias,

42. An inscription, which records the alliance between Philip II and the Chalcidian cities in 357/6 BC, stipulates that the treaty be published at the temple of Zeus in Dion, and thus attests Dion's importance, at least during the late Classical period (*Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 2). See Mari (1998) 153-165 and Xydopoulos (2006) 101, arguing against the theory (mainly by Borza [1993] 241 and Badian [1982] 35) that the Macedonian king had established the *Olympia* festival at Dion, because he had not been allowed to participate in the Olympic Games.

43. On the sacrifices in honour of Zeus at Aigai see Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.1-2. More on the *Olympia* festival and the surviving testimonies are included in the detailed article of Mari (1998), especially 143-153 n. 3. On the celebration at later times see below pp. 46, 60, 72.

44. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1996) 110-112.

who first danced it, holding weapons in his hands (*μεθ' ὅπλων τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν ἐκείνου ὀρχησαμένου*, Ath. 630A).[45]

In this period we also have the first systematic tours by great actors and musicians; the artists of Dionysus are established in Athens or in the major Panhellenic competitions, and give performances or participate in contests and festivals in the entire Hellenic world. An illustrious example is the innovative *kitharist* and *kitharode* Stratonicus of Athens (Ath. 8.347F-352C): in the years between 400-350 BC he toured in Pella, in southern Greek colonies in Thrace (Abdera, Maroneia, Aenus) and in almost the entire Greek-speaking world (e.g. Sicyon, Corinth, Byzantium, Assos, Ephesus, Rhodes, Cyprus, Syracuse).[46] Many archaeological finds in Macedonian and Chalcidician areas confirm that music and other performing arts must have been part of the everyday life, at least of the elite society: the iconography of vases, imported mostly from Athens, includes dancers, comastes dancing to *aulos* accompaniment, female figures holding a *barbitos* and a *plektron*, a chorus of young girls, etc. In a funerary relief from Potidaea in Chalcidice (c. 390 BC), a young man is depicted frontally holding a lyre with his left hand; in this case, the lyre is interpreted as a symbol of culture and social prestige.[47]

During the reign of Philip II (359-336 BC), when Macedonia rises to a position of political and military dominance in Greece, there is an increase in testimonies on shows and competitions held in the king's court, during campaigns, or on the occasion of victory celebrations and weddings.

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45. According to Hesychius τ 412, it was performed with swords (*ἢ μετὰ ξίφους ὄρχησις, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὑρόντος Τελεσίου*). It seems to have had much in common with another armed dance (*ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις*), the *pyrrhiche* or *pyrrhic* dance; Poll. 4.99.2-3; cf. Pl. *Lg.* 815A, 816B. On *pyrrhiche*, an armed dance included in the competitions of the the *Panathenaea*, see Ceccarelli (1998) with references.
46. For evidence and bibliography regarding the activities of Dionysiac artists (*διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*) see Stephanis (1988).
47. A Chiot kalyx from the cemetery of Aghia Paraskevi depicts dancing men (early 6th century BC, Thessalonike AM 9330); an Attic skyphos from the greater area of Thessalonike depicts *comastes* dancing to *aulos* accompaniment (c. 500 BC, AM 7894); cf. also an Attic kylix (c. 560 BC, AM 3042). A chorus of young girls adorns a pyxis from Nea Kallikrateia (c. 400 BC, AM 9169). On an Attic krater, a female figure (perhaps a Muse or a maenad) is holding a *barbitos* and a *plektron* (c. 460 BC, AM 14.328); to about the same age dates another Attic krater from the greater Thessalonike area which depicts a female figure holding a *barbitos* and a *plektron*, and a girl dancing (AM 18836). On the *barbitos*, a long-armed lyre, see West (1992) 56-58. On the funerary relief from Potidaea see Stephanidou-Tiberiou (1980) 47-51 and Goulaki-Voutira (2012) 583, 854-855.

The wealth of Macedonia attracts to the land a large number of politicians, scientists, philosophers and historians, poets and artists — among whom the musicians and actors hold a prominent position in the royal court. Renowned artists, who are active in Athens in the middle of the 4th century BC, such as Xenocleides and the tragic actor Thettalus, participate in celebration events in Macedonia and gain the trust and hospitality of Philip and young Alexander (Dem. 19.331; Plut. *Alex.* 10.2-3).[48]

Furthermore, thanks to the recognised status which their profession ensures them (i.e. the privileges of freedom of travel and immunity from hostile action), they take on political missions as emissaries from or to the Macedonian king: e.g. the tragic actors Neoptolemus of Scyros and Aristodemus of Metapontum, after they were richly rewarded by Philip for the performances they gave in Macedonia, became ambassadors of the king to the Athenians;[49] Aristodemus served as an Athenian ambassador to the Macedonian king after the conquest of Olynthus, because Philip appreciated his art (Aeschin. 2.15-16: *διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς τέχνης*). Indeed, when Aristodemus was found in breach of contract, because he failed to appear for performances he had received an advance for, the Athenians mediated on his behalf with the cities concerned and succeeded in having him relieved of the obligation to pay a fine, because they wished to use him for a second time as an official ambassador to Philip during the negotiations of the terms of the Peace of Philocrates in 346 BC (Aeschin. 2.15-19 and *Sch.* 2.19).

The Athenian orator Demosthenes, in the framework of anti-Macedonian propaganda, paints a dark portrait of the Macedonian monarch and the people of his immediate environment (2.19.6-9):

> *καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχρῶν ᾀσμάτων, ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν εἵνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι, τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχει.*

It was the nature of the king, which made him keep the company of low comedians, i.e. buffoons, composers of indecent songs and other artists, of those who like verbal abuse and jokes.[50]

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48. On Thettalus see also below p. 63. On the growing importance of the actor in the 4th century BC see Csapo (2010) 86-95, who draws attention to the king's preference for performers over poets.
49. Dem. 5.6 (*τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας*); cf. Dem. 19.315, Lib. *Arg.D.* 18.2. Aristotle emphasises their skill at oratory as well (*Rhet.* 1403B31-35).
50. Cf. Ath. 6.260E-261A. It is also said that Philip II argued with musicians on matters of technique (e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 334D), and that his wife Philinna of Larissa was a dancer

Theopompus' narrative on the symposium in the Macedonian camp after the Battle of Chaeronea also focused on the king's nature (see Ath. 10.435A-D). Philip hosted a dinner for the Athenian ambassadors; when they left, a symposium and night-long wine-drinking followed with some of his *hetairoi*. Two great musicians participated in this, the *kitharode* Aristonicus of Olynthus and the *aulos*-player Dorion of Delphi, *aulos*-playing girls and other musicians (*τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ὄντων*), buffoons (*βωμολόχους*), and jesters (*τῶν τὰ γέλοια λεγόντων*), who were part of the standard entourage of the king; these people followed him wherever he went and accompanied him in his feasts. These texts contain the oldest information on the activities of "paratheatrical" artists in Macedonia; and they reveal the first stages of the trajectory these artists followed, from their participation in the private entertainment of king, tyrants, and aristocrats in the late Classical period to their domination on the public stage in the Imperial era.[51]

During the expansion of the Macedonian kingdom to the East and South, three major military successes of Philip II stand out, which were celebrated with contests and artistic events.

According to ancient testimonies, *μουσικοὶ ἀγῶνες* took place in Philip II's court before the conquest of Methone (Didym. *in D.* 12.55-62):

> *τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν αὐλητῶν ὁμολογεῖται καὶ παρὰ Μαρσύᾳ, διότι συντελοῦντι μουσικοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ* [*sc. Φιλίππῳ*] *μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῆς συμφορᾶς κατὰ δαίμονα συνέβη τὸν Κύκλωπα πάντας αὐλῆσαι, Ἀντιγενείδην μὲν τὸν Φιλοξένου, Χρυσόγονον δὲ τὸν Στησιχόρου, Τιμόθεον δὲ τὸν Οἰνιάδου.*

It is said that in these contests all the *aulos*-players had played dithyrambs with the same title: Antigenidas of Thebes played the *Cyclops* by Philoxenus, Chrysogonus played the *Cyclops* by Stesichorus, and Timotheus of Thebes played the *Cyclops* by Oeniades, son of Pronomos.[52] Didymus mentions this

(Ath. 13.578A). How much the Macedonian monarch loved jokes is illustrated by the following story: there was a Temple of Hercules in Athens, where the members of an association of jesters (*γελωτοποιοί*) gathered; Philip paid one talent to have them send their witticisms (Ath. 14.614D).

51. On the activities of "paratheatrical" artists and mimes from this period onwards see Maxwell (1993) 66-68, 74-76, and Slater (2010) 536, 541.

52. According to Raubitschek (see *Hesperia* 1960, 86), we should interchange the names of Timotheus and Oeniades in Didymus' text, since Oeniades was an *aulos*-player, while Timotheus of Miletus was a dithyramb poet and, indeed, some verses of his work named *Cyclops* survive (fr. 4-5 Page); see also Stephanis (1988) nos. 196, 1932, 2417, 2637. On Philoxenus' *Cyclops* see West (1992) 365-366 and Hordern (1999).

coincidence in the context of his narration on Philip's wounds ("*Περὶ τῶν Φιλίππου τραυμάτων*") and interprets it as an omen for the coming misfortune, since, during the conquest of Methone, the Macedonian king lost his eye (12.43-45). We do not know the venue of the celebration events, but we suppose that they happened in Methone, in the Macedonian camp, since they took place shortly before the wounding of Philip, during the siege that lasted several months and led to the conquest of Methone in the summer of 354 BC (Diod. Sic. 16.31.6 and 16.34.4-5). In this case the performances were probably given on makeshift wooden stages set up by the itinerant troupes.[53] However, the credibility of this incident cannot be taken for granted: it is possible that there had been *thymelic* contests; it is also possible that the *aulos*-players chose to compete with three dithyrambs on the same subject matter; but it seems likelier that the contest or the titles of the dithyrambs are a later anecdotal invention.

A few years later, we come upon the next mention of celebration events in the Macedonian kingdom (Dem. 19.192):

> *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὄλυνθον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπι' ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν.*

Philip, when he conquered Olynthus in August of 348 BC, celebrated the *Olympia* festival: he invited all sorts of artists to the religious celebration and the festival, and then "at the entertainment he crowned the successful competitors". In the comedy contest, the Olynthian comic poet Satyrus won, and during the following dinner he persuaded Philip to free two young women who had been captured after the city's conquest (Dem. 19.192-195, Aeschin. 2.156-157).[54] However, neither Demosthenes nor the later writ-

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53. Such stages are described in Plato (*Lg.* 817C) and are depicted on the "phlyax vases" of South Italy; the evidence is discussed by Trendall (1967) and Hughes (1996). Moreover, the stone stage building of the theatre of Dionysus in Athens was only built in the last third of the 4th century; see Townsend (1986) 421-438. See also Pöhlmann (1997), where it is argued that the largest part of the Attic repertoire of the 4th century BC, which consisted of both new dramas and the restaging of older plays, could have been played on the makeshift stages of the itinerant troupes.

54. Satyrus was a great comic actor with victories in Athens; Stephanis (1988) no. 2235. The Middle Comedy poet Anaxandrides (probably from Rhodes) is reported by the *Suda* (*α* 1982) to have participated in scenic contests in Philip's court (*γεγονὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος*); whether this reading of the *Suda* passage is correct or whether the occasion was the *Olympia* festival celebrated after Philip's conquest of Olynthus, is open to conjecture. See Konstantakos (2011) 156-157 n. 19, with further references.

ers[55] mention the venue of the contests, either because they were part of a known festival, the *Olympia* at Dion, or because the celebration took place in Olynthus — a city with theatre building and intense theatrical activity during the 4th century BC.[56]

Another instance of the *Olympia* festival was after the battle of Chaeronea, in August of 338 BC, when Philip along with his son Alexander celebrated their victory at Dion (D.Chr. 2.2-3):

> *τότε δ' οὖν ἀπὸ στρατείας ἥκοντες ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Πιερίας ἔθυον ταῖς Μούσαις, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐτίθεσαν, ὅν φασιν ἀρχαῖον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς.*

The symposium which followed after the contests gives the opportunity to Dio for an extensive discussion on Alexander's literary preferences (2.32.2 - 2.33.7).

Both these mentions of the *Olympia* in the 4th century BC, as well as the first in the reign of Archelaus, do not provide more information regarding the character of the festival: did it involve Panhellenic contests held periodically with a specific programme? Or did the Macedonian kings seize any opportunity to hold victory celebrations? Since there is no other testimony of the contests held in Dion during the Classical period, we cannot document their periodicity. Besides, all the sources —both the Athenian orators and the later writers— connect the festival directly to the victory celebration events.[57] Furthermore, both celebrations named *Olympia* seem to have been held at the end of the summer, not in the month *Dios* (after 15 October), when we would reasonably expect the religious festival (*πανήγυρις*) to be celebrated at Dion. Perhaps, then, we should conclude that Philip held

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55. Later writers and lexicographers (cf. Diod. Sic. 16.55.1-2, Chor. 32.2.44-49, and others) base their information on the celebration of the victory on the Athenian orators.
56. On 5th and 4th century BC Olynthus see Vokotopoulou (1993) 52-54 and Poulakakis (2012) 683-698. See also below pp. 52-53.
57. Cf. on the victory celebration of Olynthus: *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὄλυνθον Φίλιππος* (Dem. 19.192); *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Ὀλύνθου Ὀλύμπια ποιήσας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπινίκια μεγαλοπρεπεῖς θυσίας συνετέλεσεν* (Diod. Sic. 16.55.1-2); *ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶλεν Ὄλυνθον Φίλιππος, ἑορτὴν ἦγεν Ὀλύμπια* (Chor. 32.2.44); *ὁ μὲν οὖν πανήγυριν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ νίκῃ καὶ συμφορᾷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (Sch. Dem. 19.383 Dilts); *εἰ δὲ θύοι Φίλιππος Ὀλύμπια πόλεις ἡρηκὼς ἢ ὁ τούτου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ νίκαις ἀγῶνα ἄγοι, χεῖρον ἤδη παρασκευάζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ μὴ φιλονίκως ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ ἀγωνιεῖται ἢ Μακεδονίᾳ ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ σταδίοις τοῖς ἐκεῖ;* (Philostr. *VA* 1.35.44); and on the victory celebration of Chaeronea: *τότε δ' οὖν ἀπὸ στρατείας ἥκοντες ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Πιερίας ἔθυον* (D.Chr. 2.2-3). See also Mari (1998) 143-149.

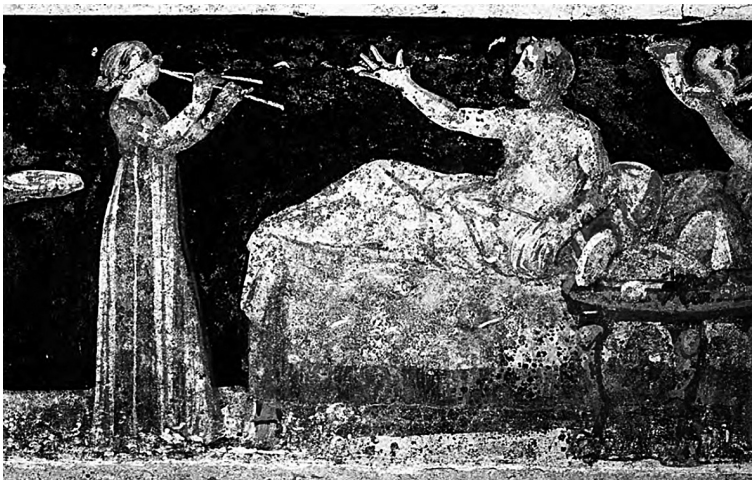
Fig. 3a and 3b (on the opposing page). Details of the frieze from the tomb of Aghios Athanasios: wreathed symposiasts are enjoying the *kithara* and *aulos* music. Tsimpidou-Avloniti (2005) pl. 33b and 34a.

contests in honour of Olympian Zeus, in order splendidly to celebrate his military victories, within or without the framework of the *Olympia* festival.[58]

The last testimony on shows in Philip's court coincides with his murder, at the end of July or beginning of August 336 BC, when the Macedonian monarch held a celebration at Aigai (Diod. Sic. 16.91-16.95). Philip gave these contests a Panhellenic character, inviting the nobles and officials of the royal court and numerous representatives and their guests from all over Greece. The occasion for the majestic celebrations (*ἀγῶνάς τε μουσικοὺς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς*) was the wedding of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander, king of Epirus. But the real purpose seems to have been a different one: Philip wanted to have himself honoured by all other Greek cities, which had appointed him leader (*ἡγεμών*) of all Greeks in the campaign he was preparing against the Persians.

On the eve of the wedding day, the king hosted a large symposium for his guests in the palace. There, the famous Athenian tragedian Neoptolemus, who stood out in his profession for his vocal power and popularity, responded to Philip's order to recite (*ἤρξατο λέγειν*) poems from his repertoire

58. As Easterling (1997) 223-224 points out, the religious context of drama was changing: the dramatic and musical performances were held not in a festival in honour of Dionysus but on the occasion of the king's victory; cf. Csapo (2010) 173, who emphasises the political role of festivals during the reign of Philip and Alexander, designed to mark royal alliances and personal achievements.



regarding the imminent campaign against the Persians. The actor started with a piece from a tragedy chorus, by a poet unknown to us,[59] which he though would be taken as "germane" to Philip's plans and "intended to rebuke the wealth of the Persian king, great and famous as it was", suggesting that it could someday be overturned by fortune.[60] Neoptolemus continued the tragic music recital performing and piecing together more tragic excerpts in the same spirit. He thus gave Philip great satisfaction, since the Macedonian king believed that everything —both the Delphic oracle he had received and the song performance— foretold the overthrow of the Persian king. The royal symposium continued until deep into the night.

Before the day had even dawned, the crowds started flocking to the theatre where the performances would take place. In the morning, statues of the twelve gods were carried by a large ritual procession to the theatre, along with a statue suitable for a god, that of Philip himself, who would thus take his place as a thirteenth god next to the Olympians. When the theatre was filled, Philip arrived dressed in white and walking with friends, but without

59. *TrGF* II 127. Diodorus does not name the author of the play Neoptolemus performs — this is a trend that Aristotle already mentions in the *Rhetoric* (1403B 33), of the actor becoming more prominent than the poet. Sifakis (1995) 18 tracks down the great significance of actors to the 5th century BC, when the first prize for actors was introduced at the *Dionysia*, and "the conditions for the rise of a class of star performers were created".

60. The Roman historian and biographer Suetonius gives a variation of the same tragic premonitions (*Cal.* 57.4): on the day of Caligula's murder, the pantomime Mnester —obviously led by a divine force, as Neoptolemus before him— chose to perform (that is to "dance and mime") the same play that Neoptolemus had chosen for Philip's last symposium; see Easterling (1997) 219-221 and Sifakis (2005) 23-24.

his guard, as "he wanted to give the impression that the goodwill of all the Greeks protected him". The procession, which came down from the palace, included also the newlyweds, family, courtiers, and the *hetairoi* — a brilliant and impressive picture. But just when everybody praised and venerated him, the sudden and completely untimely death of the powerful Macedonian king happened.

It is worth mentioning, as a postscript, Neoptolemus' reply to the question "what he admired the most among Aeschylus' or Sophocles' or Euripides' sayings". Nothing of theirs, he answered, but what he had seen himself on a different "stage": Philip, at his daughter's Cleopatra's wedding, parading in a procession and being called a thirteenth god, and later on falling slain in the theatre (Stob. 4.34.70). The viewers must have shared the actor's surprise, who saw in the Aigai theatre not re-enactments of old myths (e.g. Agamemnon's murder or Ajax' suicide), but a historical act of similar proportions taking place in front of their eyes — something they would certainly never forget for as long as they lived.

The archaeological monuments of this period that survive in Aigai reconstitute an illuminating picture not only of the dramatic events of Philip II's murder but also of the venue of royal symposia and theatre in general.

The Aigai palace was suitable for the hosting of banquets and rituals "in direct relation to the great dead of the neighbouring royal cemetery".[61] The building consists of a large four-sided central patio, and of luxurious, it may be assumed, rooms around it, with rich wooden furniture, couches adorned with ivory and "tables on the perimetrical terraces of the rooms".[62] Philip's unplundered grave contained valuable furniture and symposium utensils, which probably belonged to the palace estate. This image is completed by the findings from Pella, such as the striking mosaics surviving in private residences, as well as from other cities, e.g. in tombs of rich Macedonians from Mieza, Sevasti, Derveni, and others.[63] In a tomb from the area of Aghios Athanasios (end of 4th century BC), among the frescoes decorating the façade, there is an exceptional representation of a symposium on the frieze: wreathed symposiasts lying on couches are already enjoying the rich food and the *kithara* and *aulos* music, while on the left, men on foot and horses are hurrying to join them.[64]

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61. Touratsoglou (1982) 174 n. 18.
62. Drougou (1999) 38-41, 56-59; Andronicos (1982) 94, 100, and Tomlinson (1993) 1495-1499.
63. See above n. 37, 38. See also Macaronas and Giouri (1989), Romiopoulou (1997) 23.
64. Tsimpidou-Avloniti (1998) 235-236, (2005) 114-142, 166-171. On the *kithara* see Goulaki-Voutira (2012) 585.

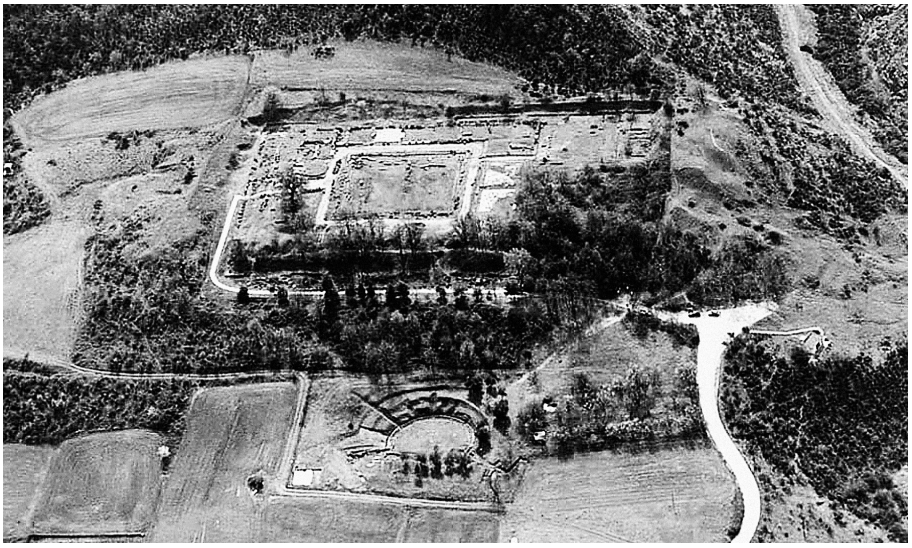

Fig. 4. The palace and the theatre of Aigai. S. Drougou, *Egnatia* 7 (2003) 139, fig. 2.

The theatre is a short distance north of the palace. The two buildings seem to have been designed and built as one whole in the 4th century BC, and probably in the final years of Philip's reign.[65] This prominent position of the theatre building, between the palace and the agora with its temples, highlights its importance to the royal house. Moreover, the presence and the performances of the actor Neoptolemus during the celebrations for the wedding of Philip's daughter show that theatrical activity belongs to the festival and ceremonial character of public life.[66]

We attempt to substitute the lack of literary and epigraphic evidence on theatrical life in other Macedonian cities until the end of the Classical period through dramatic monuments, that is, artistic representations taking their subjects from the world of theatre. Usually, these are statuettes or vase-paintings depicting masks or actors, which were used as decorative or votive or funerary offerings. These items, whether coming from Athens or from local workshops elsewhere, can be considered evidence of the existence of theatrical activity in large Macedonian cities (mainly in Pella, Olynthus, and Thasos) as their propagation presupposes a familiarity with dramatic performances given there by tour-

65. Drougou (1999) 26-27. For a different dating see Touratsoglou (1982) 176. However, it is considered certain that an older and simpler installation predated the surviving theatre; see Drougou (1999) 58-59.
66. Drougou (1999) 35, 61.

Fig. 5. A plastic *oinochoe* from Olynthus; the body of the vase had been shaped in the form of a comic actor's head (Polygyros AM vii.58.404). Photo by Nikos Dionysopoulos (Institute for Mediterranean Studies).

ing or local acting troupes, but also a love for the theatre, which (to judge by the theatrically inspired artefacts) was part of everyday life.[67]

A small number of terracotta figurines from the 4th century BC were found in Pella, representing heroes from tragedies and satyr dramas or figures of Old and Middle Comedy; some of them come from local workshops.[68] Most noteworthy among them are the terracotta figurines of tragic actors: e.g. a figurine of Hercules (of which no exact parallels survive), where the actor is depicted standing, holding his club, and dressed in an ankle-length chiton and lion-skin; and a fragment of a relief depicting an actor in action, possibly in the role of an old woman.[69] Few figurines depict types of the satyr drama, while there are more figurines representing characters of Old and Middle Comedy; of those, one figurine of a comic actor and a fragment with the depiction of an ithyphallic animal represent a subject beloved to the sculptors of Olynthus (whence the former one was imported): Hephaestus, accompanied by Dionysus, is going to Mt Olympus in order to free his mother Hera from her bonds.[70]

The Pella findings do not differ from the dramatic monuments surviving in areas which, gradually during the 4th century BC, went from under the direct or indirect influence of Athens over to Macedonian domination. A heightened dramatic activity seems to have existed in Olynthus, a city that

67. See Green's (2007) 163-165 discussion on the subject; he emphatically notes that "the scenes on the vases were not, as it were, passive depictions but ones that acted as a prompt for the viewer that he could explain, recalling the situations created on the vase and the stories that lay behind them" (p. 165).
68. See the study by Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992), where drama figurines of Macedonia and Thrace are recorded. More dramatic monuments from Macedonia have been collected in the "Ancient Theatre Electronic Documentation Project" database; see Sifakis et al. (2002).
69. Pella AM BE 1976/264, E3447.
70. Pella AM E2997, 3362.

had known particular prosperity during the Classical period, where many terracotta figurines and masks have been found.[71] A large group consists of figurines depicting local variations of traditional characters of Old or Middle Comedy, for which there are no specific Attic standards.[72] Among them are two plastic oinochoai from the beginning of the 4th century BC: in one of them, the body of the vase has been replaced with the head of a comic actor, while the other is in the shape of a comic actor who embraces a herm; two moulds for the manufacture of the head of comic actors also stand out, one of them in the type of a young beardless man, and the second in the type of a slave.[73] Another group includes figurines from the first half of the 4th century BC, which depict local variations of Attic types; for many of the figurines, their Attic origin is certain, whether they came from Athens or had been manufactured in Olynthus (from moulds that came from Athens or casts made from Attic works); some presuppose a Boeotian model or are products of a Boeotian workshop.[74]

Thasos, a Parian colony, was another site of great theatrical activity; after the Persian wars it came under the political and cultural domination of Athens until the middle of the 4th century BC, when it was annexed by Philip II to the Macedonian state.[75] Thasos linked its name to an important lyric poet, Archilochus of Paros, who participated in the second colonisation wave and lived there for a while and performed his poems (mid 7th century BC).[76] From Thasos hailed another well-known poet, Hegemon, who, according to Aristoteles, first cultivated parody as an autonomous poetic genre and introduced parodic recitations in the *thymelic* contests (*εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς θυμελικούς*) in Athens, where he won many victories during the Peloponnesian War (Ath. 15.698C-699A; cf. Arist. *Po.* 1448A12).[77] It was during a performance of Hegemon's epic parody the *Gigantomachia*, to general merriment,

71. Robinson (1933a), (1933b).
72. Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992) 316.
73. Polygyros AM vii.58.404, xiv.130.417, iv.61.421, xiv.114.385.
74. Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992) 317-318.
75. Few dramatic monuments survive from other southern Greek colonies, such as Acanthus and Amphipolis. One of them, found in Amphipolis, stands out: the actor is wearing a mask we usually see on vases with representations of comic actors from South Italy and Sicily (*MMC*[3] 177, XT 17; see Green [2014b] 2 n. 3). On the figurine see Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992) 321; on terracotta figurines of actors of Middle Comedy from Acanthus see Trakosopoulou-Salakidou (1988) 304 fig. 12.
76. Cf. e.g. Archil. fr. 20, 21, 22, 102, 228 West.
77. A few fragments survive of his comic plays (Kassel-Austin); see also Stephanis (1988) no. 1053.

that news of the disastrous Sicilian expedition are said to have first reached Athens in 413 BC (Ath. 9.406E-407C).[78]

Thasos seems to be among the earliest southern Greek colonies to build a theatre and hold dramatic contests in honour of Dionysus; at the sanctuary of Dionysus, a large choregic monument was uncovered, which was built, in the middle of the 4th century BC, in commemoration of victories in scenic and *thymelic* contests — presumably at the *Dionysia* festival.[79] The interior was graced by a large statue of Dionysus, framed by eight other smaller statues; of these, five pedestals with inscriptions survive (*IG* XII Suppl. 400), which allow us to identify the head of Dionysus, the headless statue of Comedy, the tragic mask that accompanied the statue of Tragedy as its characteristic symbol, and the lost statues of Dithyramb and *Νυκτερινός*, a musical composition otherwise unknown to us.[80] On the inscriptions we can read the names of the *aulos*-players Ariston of Miletus (*Διθύραμβος | Ἀρίστων Μιλήσιος ηὔλει*) and Battalus of Ephesus (*Νυκτερινός | Βάταλος ηὔλει*), the comic actor Philemon (*Κωμωιδία | Φιλήμων ὑπεκρίνετο*) and the tragic actor Theodorus (*Τραγωιδία | Θεόδωρος ὑπεκρίνετο*). The latter is certainly the renowned Athenian tragic actor, who won many victories in the second half of the 4th century BC and is mentioned by the ancient writers for his acting prowess.[81]

On Thasos, again, several figurines of Middle Comedy actors have been found. Some of these, which represent known types of the Attic tradition, had either been Athenian or manufactured in Thasos from moulds or figurines

78. Hartwig (2014) 219 assumes that Hegemon of Thasos decided to switch genres and try his hand at comedy sometime around 410 BC, because of the far greater prize money on offer at the *City Dionysia* for comedy. The financial lure of the Athenian theatre at the time had attracted many foreign poets and actors; Csapo (2010) 85-86 characteristically notes that from about 370 BC we have plentiful evidence for the "internationalization" of Athenian drama.

79. The cult of Dionysus must have been old in the island, perhaps since its colonisation by Parians; Salviat (1958) 227. In addition, the first construction phase of the theatre of Thasos is dated to the end of the 5th century BC, according to the Hippocratic corpus, *Epid.* 1.2.9.55; see Bonias and Mark (1996). We assume, therefore, that the *Dionysia* festival, attested in an inscription of the 3rd century BC, was established in the late 5th century or the early 4th century BC; see Salviat (1958) 232-234. The choregic monument is in the Northeast corner of the Temple of Dionysus; see Grandjean and Salviat (2000) 92-94, with bibliography.

80. Thasos AM 16, 17, and 652. The *Νυκτερινός*, as we assume from the context, was probably a local musical composition for the *aulos*, used in the Dionysiac rituals.

81. On Theodorus see Arist. *Rh.* 1404B 20-25; Plut. *Mor.* 183C. On the activities of these artists see Salviat (1979) 155 ff. and Stephanis (1988) nos. 381, 519, 1157, 2485.

imported from Athens; the oldest one dates to the first half of the 4th century BC and depicts an old woman.[82] However, for many figurines we cannot suggest any parallels: perhaps they were made by local sculptors, who took some liberties in reproducing known types.[83] Masks of Old or Middle Comedy stock characters are also depicted in stamped amphora handles manufactured on the island in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. These were trade signs on the vessels in which the famous Thasian wine was transported to Athens and other Mediterranean cities.[84]

Besides the dramatic monuments, many theatres in Macedonia are attributed to the Classical period: the Dion and Aigai theatres, the theatres of the southern Greek colonies of Thasos and Olynthus, and of the Thasian colony Philippi.[85] From the end of the 5th century BC, when Athenian drama started being exported to other Greek areas, the theatre space became a basic feature of urban planning. In Pella, the position of the theatre building has not been located, but it was certainly already in place in the middle of the 4th century BC, as Alexander III's wish to build a bronze proscenium on its stage is later mentioned — a wish that was not fulfilled due to technical reasons (Plut. *Mor.* 1096B).

In general, the recording of the dramatic monuments and theatre buildings of the 4th century BC allows us to confirm the propagation of Attic theatre in large Macedonian cities and in nearby southern Greek colonies. Another conclusion that can be drawn from the archaeological finds is that comedies were more popular in comparison to tragedy and satyr drama already since the Classical period.[86] Moreover, in this age the rapid growth of the acting profession and the prominent position of the actors in the royal

82. Thasos AM 2390π. See Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992) 318-319.
83. E.g. Thasos AM 774, 2761.
84. Cf. Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora SS 772, 1790, 5226, 5570, 7872, 7812; Epigraphic Museum AB 156, 150, 301; Kavala AM 129; Alexandria, Benachi coll. 015, 020, V G 636; Gordium AM SS 47; Nicosia AM CMC 167, etc. On many vases, the name of their creator is inscribed (Thasos AM 303, 446, 653, 418, 793, 145). One of the earliest amphoras, found in Mende, depicts a satyric mask (Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora SS 7414).
85. The theatre of Olynthus is thought to be in the southern side of the southern hill; see Robinson (1930) 6. The first phase of the theatre in Philippi (originally named Crenides) is placed in the middle of the 4th century BC; see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Karadedos (2001a) 74-75.
86. As Konstantakos (2011) 156-157 notes, the archaeological finds and the literary testimonies by authors of the time, or from later sources referring to 4th century BC events, testify to the so-called "pan-Hellenization of Athenian comedy".

court are attested. Finally, drama and music are performed not only in a religious context, but also in public celebrations in the Macedonian kingdom, while the "paratheatrical" artists —either individually or in groups— participate in the private entertainment of the king.

IV. DURING THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

During and after the reign of Alexander the Great, theatrical activity booms and spreads to every corner of the East, following the Hellenic expansion to Asia and Northern Africa.[87] Gradually, even the smallest city has a theatre and holds celebrations dedicated to local deities, which include shows, often in the form of *μουσικοὶ ἀγῶνες*, that is, scenic contests (*σκηνικοὶ ἀγῶνες*) and/or contests which took place in the orchestra (*θυμελικοὶ ἀγῶνες*), modelled on the Athenian festivals. The question plausibly arises of what had intervened. The multitude of artistic events taking place in the decade 330-320 BC suggests that Alexander's campaign had played an instrumental role. The Macedonian king uses not only the Attic language, the founding of cities with Greek architecture, gymnasia and theatres, but also musical and dramatic contests and theatrical performances as a means of propagating Greek culture.

The stories surrounding Alexander's love for poetry are numerous. He was only ten years old, when he played the *kithara* and recited dramatic speeches at a symposium Philip hosted for the Athenian ambassadors in 346 BC (Aesch. 1.168). We may also single out the testimonies on his preference of Homer and especially the *Iliad*, which his tutor Aristoteles infused in him, and the respect he showed to Pindar's memory, when, during the destruction of Thebes in 335 BC, he ordered the entire city razed, except for the great poet's residence (Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.6-8, D.Chr. 2.2-2.7, 33).[88] Moreover, it is said that, since he did not have many books with him in Asia, he asked Harpalus to send him some; Harpalus chose works by the historian Philistus, several tragedies by Euripides, Sophocles and Aeschylus, and the

87. On the increase in the number of festivals and contests in Hellenistic cities see Gauthier (1993) 226-227 and Chaniotis (1995) 147-172.

88. Cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.1: the Macedonian king admired the great epic poet, because he honoured Achilles; of all the other authors he mentioned only Stesichorus (because he was looked upon as an imitator of Homer) and Pindar (because of his genius and the fact that he had extolled the ancestor whose name the king bore, Alexander I "the Philhellene"). On Pindar see also D.Chr. 2.33.

dithyrambs by Telestes and Philoxenus, evidently in the belief that he was catering to the king's literary tastes (Plut. *Alex.* 8.2-3).[89]

The Macedonian monarch showed himself to be a supporter of contests and of artists (Plut. *Alex.* 4.11):

> *πλείστους γέ τοι θεὶς ἀγῶνας οὐ μόνον τραγῳδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν θήρας τε παντοδαπῆς καὶ ῥαβδομαχίας, οὔτε πυγμῆς οὔτε παγκρατίου μετά τινος σπουδῆς ἔθηκεν ἆθλον.*

He established or organised many festivals and competitions,[90] and he rewarded their casts generously. The most famous artists accepted the risks associated with a military campaign in order to take advantage of the king's generosity and the rich gifts he offered them, in preference to being crowned in the renowned theatre of Dionysus in Athens.[91] Certainly, not all artists surrounding him were prominent; some, as the epic poet Agis of Argos, are mentioned as "flatterers" of the young king, those who used to praise his every action and decision; others are mentioned as pleasant entertainers, such as the singer (*ᾠδός*) Stephanus, "an utterly worthless and ridiculous-looking kid, but with a lovely singing voice" (Arr. *Anab.* 4.9.9).[92]

Several anecdotes reveal the king's enthusiasm for music in general and for the art of the *aulos* in particular. In a formal gathering, the Theban *aulos*-player Timotheus "showed great musical skill in adapting his playing to the king's character" by performing the *ὄρθιος νόμος* in honour of Athena (D.Chr. 1.1-1.8);[93] Alexander was so captivated by the melody and

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89. Philoxenus (see above n. 52) and Telestes were very popular in 4th century BC as representatives of the "new music"; see West (1992) 364-366 and Sutton (1989) nos. 34, 36.
90. For further discussion see Le Guen (2014a).
91. And from that time forward, those who were formerly called "Flatterers of Dionysus" (*Διονυσοκόλακες*) came to be named henceforth "Flatterers of Alexander" (*Ἀλεξανδροκόλακες*); Athenaeus (12.538F) suggests that, regarding the artists, Alexander had taken the role of Dionysus, and therefore they dedicated their art to the service of the king. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1405A23-24) associated the term "Flatterers of Dionysus" with negative stereotypes about the artists in the 4th century BC (*καὶ ὁ μὲν διονυσοκόλακας, αὐτοὶ δ' αὑτοὺς τεχνίτας καλοῦσιν*); cf. the ancient Scholia on Aristotle's passage (168.28-30 Rabe). For the connection between "Flatterers of Dionysus" and "Flatterers of Alexander" see also Le Guen (2001) I, 27, and Ceccarelli (2004).
92. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 60B; Ath. 12.538E; *Suda κ* 240.
93. The famous musician performed "the ringing strain which bears Athena's name", because "it was not languishing or slow nor of the kind that would cause relaxation or listlessness" (D.Chr. 1.1). On the *nomos* of Athena see West (1992) 215-217 and Strohm (2004) 107 ff.

rhythm of the *aulos*-playing, that he stood up with his weapons and declared that "this kind of music was suitable for a king" (*Suda* α 1121).[94] It is also said that Alexander released his ships to start his campaign under the sounds of Timotheus' *aulos* (Him. 12.1; Phot. *Bibl.* 369B11).[95] And when the *kitharode* Aristonicus of Olynthus was killed after a Scythian attack in Zariaspa, Alexander asked to have a bronze bust placed in Delphi in his honour, which depicted him with a *kithara* and a spear, in order to honour not only the valiant man, "but mostly the music, which inspires heroes and fills the gentle souls with enthusiasm" (Plut. *Mor.* 334F; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 4.16.6-7).

During his great Eastern campaign, Alexander was accompanied not only by scientists and technicians, but also by a host of artists of almost all specialties: poets, actors, *rhapsodes*, musicians and singers (*aulodes*, *kitharodes*, *aulos-players*, *kitharists*, harpers), and various "paratheatrical" artists, i.e. dancers, conjurers (*θαυματοποιοί*), jugglers (*πλάνοι*), and others.[96] Most of them were included in the king's immediate environment and participated in the symposia held in the royal tent, where feasting and administration happened side by side or in conjunction.[97] On the political dimensions of theatrical activities in Alexander's court, the following evidence is significant: at the conclusion of the mutiny at Opis (324 BC), Alexander wrote to Antipater asking him to grant to each of the veterans who might return to Macedonia "both *προεδρία* in all contests and in the theatre and the right to sit wearing garlands" (Plut. Alex. 71.8-9).[98] As Arrian (*Anab.* 7.8-9) notes, the king's magnificent gifts "would make them an object of even greater envy at home".

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94. Cf. *Suda* ο 573, τ 620. The story goes that "Alexander at once bounded to his feet and ran for his weapons like one possessed — such was the exaltation he felt by the tones and the rhythmic beat of the music" (D.Chr. 1.2).
95. On Timotheus see Stephanis (1988) no. 2417. In addition, various stories connect Alexander with the *aulos*-players Ismenias of Thebes and Dorion of Delphi; see Stephanis (1988) nos. 805, 1295.
96. See e.g. Ath. 1.20A, 12.538E-539A.
97. Arr. *Anab.* 7.24.1-4; Ath. 12.539B-540A; Polyaen. 4.3.24; Ael. *VH* 9.3; Curt. 9.7.15. Borza (1983) 54-55 emphasises the significance of the symposium as a social institution at the Macedonian court. On the functions of the Macedonian symposia, especially in Alexander's age, see Carney (2007) 161-162, 172-173, and Sawada (2010) 395-399.
98. For further discussion of the political aspects of theatre at Alexander's travelling royal court see Le Guen (2014a) 249-274. The general Antipater, on his part, made the actor Archias his agent in the pursuit of Demosthenes and other Athenian orators, following Philip's example (Plut. *Dem.* 28).

Of the symposia that are known to us the following four stand out: the victory celebrations in Issus (333 BC);[99] the revels before the burning of the palace in Persepolis (330 BC); the party in Carmania (325 BC); and the king's final drinking bout in Babylon (324 BC). Alexander threw a typically grand symposium when he celebrated his reconciliation with the *hetairoi* after the mutiny at Opis in 324 BC. Invitees included Macedonians, Persians, and "those of the other people considered first in merit or virtue"; and as all formal symposia, it started with the announcement of the libations with a trumpet and the *paean* and sacrifices to the appropriate deities (Arr. *Anab.* 7.11.8-9).[100]

At the symposia drink and food were plentiful, and the entertainment might include philosophical discussions,[101] poetic readings, music performances, and various shows. On one occasion, the well-known Middle Comic poet Antiphanes is said to have read one of his comedies to Alexander (*ὡς ἀνεγίνωσκέ τινα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμῳδιῶν*), who was, however, not entirely appreciative of its themes.[102] On another occasion, the guests recited Homeric verses, and conversation followed on the king's preference for heroic songs (Plut. *Mor.* 331C-D). There was an instance when the drunken king himself recited from memory a scene from Euripides' *Andromeda* (Ath. 12.537D-E). Often, indigenous artists would participate: e.g. conjurers (*θαυματοποιοί*) from India and captive women as singers and dancers are mentioned; among them, after all, the king discovered and subsequently married the beautiful Roxana.[103] In one eventful symposium in Sogdian Marakanda (in 328 BC), a poet named Pranichus or Pierion recited poems on the recent humiliating defeat of the Macedonian marshals by the barbarians of Spitamenes; Clitus and the older diners were annoyed and criticised both the poet and the singer, because they ridiculed the marshals, but Alexan-

99. On the role of Greek athletes and artists in Alexander's campaign, especially after the Battle of Issus, see Bloedow (1998).

100. Cf. Arr. *Anab.* 4.8.2, Plut. *Alex.* 50.7.

101. Sometimes argumentative contests between intellectuals took place, or sophists and philosophers showed the audience the power of their eloquence; Arr. *Anab.* 4.10.5-4.12.5, Plut. *Alex.* 53.3-54.6.

102. Antiphanes retorted that "in order to appreciate this kind of work, a man must have frequently participated in symposia" and "must have engaged in quarrels for the sake of a *hetaira*"; this anecdote is reported by Athenaeus (13.555A), who quotes from Lykophron's treatise *On Comedy*. As is pointed out by Konstantakos (2011) 156-157 n. 20, "the story may be fictional, invented by Lykophron himself or an earlier gossip-monger".

103. Ath. 12.538E; Curt. 6.2.5; Plut. *Alex.* 47.7, *Mor.* 332E.

der listened to them with pleasure and urged them to continue; Clitus' quarrel with Alexander ended in his murder (Arr. *Anab.* 4.3.6, Plut. *Alex.* 50.8).

A description of a wedding feast (in the early 3rd century BC) is enlightening regarding the kinds of shows included in Macedonian symposia: a wealthy Caranus held a marriage feast distinguished by its luxury and opulence.[104] And while the guests were all amusing themselves with eating and drinking, some *aulos*-playing women and musicians (*μουσουργοί*), and some Rhodian players on the sambuca (*σαμβυκίστριαι*) came in, played a prelude and departed, only to be followed by other performers entering in succession. And so the party went on, until other entertainers arrived (Ath. 4.129D): ithyphallic dancers and jugglers followed (*ἰθύφαλλοι καὶ σκληροπέκται*), along with naked conjuring women (*θαυματουργοὶ γυναῖκες*), tumbling and standing on their heads on swords, and breathing fire out of their mouths. Subsequently, a dancing party of a hundred men came in, singing an epithalamium in a beautiful tune (*ἐμμελῶς ᾀδόντων*), accompanied by dancing girls — some dressed so as to represent the Nereids and others in the guise of the nymphs. In the end, Mandrogenes the buffoon (*γελωτοποιός*) made an appearance and caused much laughter. Athenaeus finally comments that this kind of celebration was customary for the Macedonian elite in that period.

Alexander majestically celebrated at Dion the first contests after his ascension to the throne, on the occasion of the victory of the Macedonian troops in Thebes in the autumn of 335 BC (Diod. Sic. 17.16.3-4):

> *τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐννέα συνετέλεσεν, ἑκάστη τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπώνυμον ἡμέραν ἀναδείξας.*

At the celebrations of the *Olympia* festival, central events were the rich sacrifice at the temple of the Olympian Zeus,[105] and the scenic contests in honour of Zeus and the Muses. The celebration lasted nine consecutive days, with each day dedicated to one Muse. During this time, the *hetairoi* and the leaders of the soldiers were accommodated in a special royal tent with a hundred couches — the tent for this occasion was probably erected in the free

104. Ath. 4.128C-130B (quoting Hippolochus); however, whether the exaggerations of these stories correspond or not to reality, is open to conjecture. This Caranus was probably a relative of the Caranus who had been a companion of Alexander the Great. See Dalby (1988) 37.

105. The archaeological excavations have brought to light the large altar and the bronze rings for the tying of the animals; see Pantermalis (2001) 416.

space between the temples of the gods and the theatre. Alongside the contests there were splendid symposia, to which ambassadors of Greek cities were invited, the victors were crowned, rich banquets were offered, and the meat of the sacrificial animals was distributed among the soldiers. This festive gathering thus acquired the characteristics of a "national celebration" with Panhellenic scope.[106]

Arrian places the *Olympia* in Aigai, where also a sacrifice in honour of Zeus was performed, the establishment of which he attributes to Archelaus (*Anab*. 1.11.1-2):[107]

> *καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου ἔτι καθεστῶσαν* [sc. *Ἀλέξανδρος*] *ἔθυσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε.*

We assume that it is an error on the part of the ancient historian, due to a misunderstanding of his sources. It is possible that two different celebrations in honour of Zeus are confounded: the *Olympia* festival held at Dion and the sacrifices performed in Aigai during the month *Dios*, the first month of the Macedonian calendar, to celebrate the coming of the new year.[108] It is equally possible that the sacrifices in honour of Zeus in Aigai were incorporated into the *Olympia*, which Archelaus established at Dion, to which he added the local celebration of the Muses — this is taken here to be a different festival.[109] It is also possible that, behind the phrase *οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε*, we are to see Alexander's intervention for the reorganisation of the contests and the extension of the celebration to nine consecutive days in honour of the Muses. After all, Alexander's role is indicated in Diodorus Siculus' account (17.16.3-4).

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106. Hatzopoulos (1996) I, 347-350.
107. On the *Olympia* festival of 335 BC see Mari (1998) 138-140 and 148-152, where the opinion is put forward that they were performed in Aigai.
108. According to Hatzopoulos (1982) 40, there were two similar celebrations, mainly dedicated to Zeus, and Arrian mistakenly attributed to the most known one features of both.
109. According to Hammond (in Hammond and Griffith [1979] 148-150), when Archelaus established the celebrations at Dion, he dedicated them to the local gods, i.e. to Olympian Zeus and the Pierian Muses, and perhaps included in them the sacrifices which his predecessors had founded in honour of Zeus in Aigai. According to Bosworth (1980) 97, "Arrian's error probably derives from misunderstanding": Aristobulus, just as Diodorus, did not give the festival its official name, resulting in Arrian arriving at the wrong conclusion that the contest in honour of the Muses was a different celebration.

Subsequently, athletic games (*γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες*), horse or chariot races (*ἱππικοὶ ἀγῶνες*) and "artistic" contests (*σκηνικοὶ* or *θυμελικοὶ ἀγῶνες*) were often organised by the Macedonian monarch during the campaign, to add splendour to important events and to honour local gods;[110] the contests were usually accompanied by sacrifices, processions (*πομπαί*) and torch-races (*λαμπαδηδρομίαι*).

After the conquest of Soli in Cilicia (333 BC), victory events were held in the temple of Asclepius (Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.8). Alexander performed a sacrifice in honour of the god; then followed a procession, where he himself participated with his entire army, a torch relay and athletic and artistic contests (*ἀγῶνα διαθεὶς γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν*).

When the king arrived in Memphis in Egypt, he offered sacrifices to the local gods and held athletic and artistic contests (Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.4). This is the first known sacrifice by Alexander to a local deity; it is also the first testimony for a special invitation extended to artists, and indeed the most famous ones, from Greece (*ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι*) — though it is certainly possible that there had been similar displays of wealth and power in the previous years. When he returned to Memphis from the desert (in the winter of 332/331 BC), Alexander repeated the sacrifices and the celebrations: he offered a sacrifice to Zeus the king (*τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ*)[111] and, after the armed parade of his troops, he performed athletic and artistic contests (Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.2).

When spring came, he travelled from Memphis to Phoenicia; when he reached Tyre (in 331 BC), he joined his navy, which had already sailed there, sacrificed to Hercules and held athletic and artistic contests (Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.1).[112] Celebrations had been held by Alexander in Tyre for the first time after the conquest of the city in 332 BC: he had offered sacrifices to Hercules, held a procession in his honour with all the armed forces (troops and navy), and organised a torch relay and an athletic victory competition in the god's

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110. See e.g. *γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν*: Arr. *Anab.* 2.5.8, 3.1.4, 3.5.2, 3.6.1, 6.28.3, 7.14.1, 7.14.10, *Ind.* 18.12, 36.3; *γυμνικόν*: *Anab.* 2.24.6, 3.16.9, 3.25.1, *Ind.* 21.2, 36.9; *γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικόν*: *Anab.* 4.4.1, 5.3.6, 5.8.3, 5.20.1, 5.29.2.

111. According to Bosworth (1980) 275, he probably sacrificed to Amun-Ra, whom the Greeks considered the Egyptian manifestation of Zeus; see also Hammond (1989) 223.

112. The Greeks identified Tyre's tutelary god, Melqart, with Hercules at least since Herodotus' time (Hdt. 2.44). The competitions in honour of Hercules were founded by Alexander and continued to be held in Tyre for the following years, as later inscriptions attest; see Moretti (1953) 209 and no. 72.

temple (Arr. *Anab.* 2.24.6; cf. Diod. Sic. 17.46.5-6).[113] More information for the artistic contests can be found in Plutarchus (*Alex.* 29.1): the festivities included, except for the standard sacrifices and processions, brilliant dithyrambic choruses and drama contests (*χορῶν [ἐγ]κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας*), which seemed to rival the Dionysiac festival in Athens. Famous artists participated in these events, among them the tragic actors Thettalus and Athenodorus, who accompanied Alexander on his campaign. Their wealthy choregoi ambitiously rivalled each other: Thettalus' choregus was Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cypus, while Athenodorus' choregus was Pasicrates, king of Soli in Cyprus. Athenodorus won in the tragedians' contest, which displeased Alexander, because he especially admired Thettalus. It is said that, although he respected the judges' decision, he stated that he would much rather yield a part of his kingdom than see Thettalus lose. Nevertheless, when Athenodorus asked Alexander to intervene and excuse his absence from the *City Dionysia* —where he could not perform, because he participated in shows for the military corps in Asia—, the king paid the fine the Athenians imposed on the actor. Another actor, the comedian Lycon of Scarphe, participated in shows in Tyre and won ten talents, after a petition he made to the king during his performance (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 334D-E).

Celebrations were often held during Alexander's Indian campaign. At the shores of Hydaspes, Alexander offered sacrifices to the traditional gods and to those whom the oracles had indicated;[114] he also held athletic and artistic competitions (Arr. *Ind.* 18.11-12). According to one story, at the shores of the Hydaspes, during a celebration in honour of Dionysus in 326 BC (*ὅπερ ἐδίδαξεν Διονυσίων ὄντων*), a satyr drama by the title of *Ἀγὴν* was performed (Ath. 13.595E, 586D). From the two fragments that have come down to us (19 verses altogether) through Athenaeus, it emerges that the action took place in Babylon and that the plot was drawn not from mythology but from current events.[115] It is recorded that *Ἀγὴν* had been written by the otherwise unknown poet Python (of Catane or Byzantium) or Alexander himself.[116] Al-

113. An inscription from Amphipolis mentions the double victory in these competitions of the *hetairos* Antigonos of Callas (SEG 48.716bis, c. 300-275 BC); see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1971) 124-125.

114. Alexander, during his campaign, offered sacrifices mainly to Asclepius, Hercules, Dionysus, and Zeus, who were the traditional gods of the Macedonians. These celebrations could be interpreted as "the 'itinerant' version of festivals which were regularly celebrated by the Macedonians"; Mari (2011) 460.

115. See Snell (1964) 113-117.

116. Snell (1964) 113-117 dates the performance to 326 BC and —following Athenaeus— locates it in the banks of the Hydaspes; Le Guen (2014a) 272-273, on the other hand,

though the hypothesis that Alexander was the author is not accepted by modern scholars, it remains a fact that the play had been written in the immediate environment of the king and that its title (which apparently means "Leader") is suggestive of Alexander, who was the main character in the play along with Harpalus (nicknamed Pallides).

Arrian mentions the following story, although he does not think it credible (*Anab.* 6.28.1):[117] Alexander led his forces through Carmania reclining with his *hetairoi* upon two chariots joined together, and listening to *aulos* music, while the soldiers followed him dancing with wreaths upon their heads; the Carmanians had gathered and laid out along the road food and anything else needed for the feast.[118] Alexander did this in imitation of the Bacchic procession of Dionysus, alluding to the tradition that Dionysus had crossed the largest part of Asia in this manner, when he subjugated the Indians — the victory processions had been named "triumphs" (*θρίαμβοι*) for exactly this reason.[119]

Moreover, when Alexander came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he once more gave his army time for rest and held contests. It is said that the dancer Bagoas won the prize for dance and, after he was crowned, he went and sat next to the drunken king; the Macedonians applauded him warmly and with prolonged shouts demanded of Alexander to kiss the victor (Plut. *Alex.* 67.1-8).[120] Furthermore, ancient sources record that Alexander was holding a dramatic contest in the theatre (*σκηνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιοῦντος*),[121]

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argues for a later chronology (324 BC) based on the play's political charge. Le Guen (2014a) 261-263 and 267-268 offers a good survey of modern scholarship on the question of the play's author and date, and the precise location of the play's performance.

117. Goukowsky (1981) 47-64 argues that the testimony of the vulgate tradition should probably not be rejected. On the identification of Alexander with Dionysus see Le Guen (2014a) 271-273 and Moloney (2014) 271.

118. According to Plutarchus (*Alex.* 67.1-8), the king marched for seven days through Carmania in a revelling rout (*κώμῳ χρώμενος ἑφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτά*), while pipes and *auloi*, stringed instruments and singing (*μοῦσα συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ᾠδῆς τε καὶ ψαλμοῦ*) filled every place with music; cf. Diod. Sic. 17.106.1.

119. According to Arrian (*Ind.* 7.8), Dionysus taught the Indians to worship many gods and especially, of course, himself, with clashing of cymbals and beating of drums (*κυμβαλίζοντας καὶ τυμπανίζοντας*); furthermore, he taught them to dance the satyric dance the Greeks name *κόρδαξ* (*καὶ ὄρχησιν δὲ ἐκδιδάξαι τὴν σατυρικήν, τὸν κόρδακα παρ' Ἕλλησι καλούμενον*); it is also said that the Indians went to battle against Alexander to the sound of drums and cymbals. On the *κόρδαξ*, a characteristic type of comic dance, see Sifakis (1971) 425.

120. Cf. Ael. *VH* 3.23; Ath. 13.603A-B.

121. Cf. Diod. Sic. 17.106.4. Whether these contests were the same as those recorded by Arrian (*Anab.* 6.28.1-3, *Ind.* 8.36.3) after the conquest of India, is open to conjecture.

when Nearchus, the commander of the fleet, arrived in Carmania after their exploration of the coastal waters (perhaps end of 325? BC); the Macedonians welcomed their safe return with loud applause, so that the whole theatre was filled with the wildest rejoicing.[122]

When the conquest of India was completed, Alexander offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods —to Zeus Soter, to Hercules, to Apollo Averter of Evil, and to other marine gods— for his victory against the Indians and for the survival of his army during the transit through the land of Gedrosia; besides, he held athletic and musical competitions, and a procession, with Nearchus in the lead (Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.3; cf. *Ind.* 36.3).

Another major event during the Macedonian campaign was the wedding of Alexander to Stateira, daughter of Darius III, celebrated in Susa in the summer of 324 BC. Alexander organised a mass wedding ceremony for himself and dozens of Macedonian nobles with young Persian women, which lasted for five days — as part of his racial blending policy, aiming at consolidating his vast new empire (Ath. 12.538B-539A, Ael. *VH* 8.7).[123] And while the wedding ceremonies followed the Persian customs, artistic performances were held at the same time following the Athenian model. Prominent artists of the time participated in the comedy and tragedy performances: the tragic actors Thessalus, Athenodorus, and Aristocritus, and the comic actors Lycon of Scarphe, Phormion, and Ariston. The famous *aulos*-player Timotheus of Thebes and his fellow artists Phrynichus, Caphisias, Diophantus, and Evius of Chalcis showed off their artistry both as soloists and in dithyrambic choruses, while the *rhapsode* Alexis of Tarentum displayed his talent (*ἐπεδείξατο*) in epic recitation. Musicians and singers also participated: the harper (*ψάλτης*) Phasimelus and the instrumental *kitharists* (*ψιλοκιθαρισταί*) Cratinus of Methymna, Aristonymus of Athens, and Athenodorus of Teos, the *kitharodes* Heraclitus of Tarentum and Aristocrates of Thebes, and the *aulodes* Dionysius of Heraclea and Hyperbolus of Cyzicus. The conjurers (*θαυματοποιοί*) Scymnus of Tarentum, Philistides of Syracuse, Heraclitus of Mytilene, as well as indigenous artists, and many other practitioners of popular shows accompanied the Macedonian king in his campaign.[124]

Le Guen (2014a) 258 argues in favour, thought see admits that there is "an apparent contradiction in the available documentation".

122. Le Guen (2014a) 258 n. 44 argues that the phrase *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ* does not suggest a theatre building, but the temporary construction where the contests were probably held.

123. Cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.4-7.4.8; Plut. *Alex.* 70.3; Diod. Sic. 17.107.6.

124. On the activities of these artists see Stephanis (1988). Among the Dionysiac artists at Alexander's court were also the following ones: the tragic poet Neophron of Sicyon

A short while later, in October 324 BC, at Ecbatana, Alexander offered a sacrifice, held athletic and artistic contests, and participated in wine-drinking with the *hetairoi*, as he used to do for every one of his successes (Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.1).[125] That is when Hephaestion died. The athletic and artistic contests the Macedonian king planned to hold in his memory would be much more magnificent than the previous ones, in terms of the number of competitors and the expenditure. It is said that 3,000 artists from Greece travelled to Babylon; eventually, they all took part in the contests in memory of Alexander, who died on 10 June 323 BC.[126]

In conclusion, there was a significant development in theatrical practice due to the policy of Philip II and Alexander III: in the late classical period, scenic contests were held not only in festivals in honour of Dionysus but also in honour of other gods or even in ad hoc festivals for the celebration of victories, weddings, or funerals. Yet, although the organisation of festivals is attested, we have very little information about the performances given by the artists, either as soloists or in the context of scenic or *thymelic* competitions. We take it for granted that, apart from new plays —some of them written in the immediate environment of the king—, revivals of tragedies and comedies were performed; it is also a fact that musicians and "paratheatrical" artists dominate the entertainment of the royal court. Furthermore, Alexander established himself as a patron of the artists and the Greek theatre. The Macedonian king used the theatre as an expression of the Hellenic identity: during and after his campaign, the artistic contests, modelled on the Athenian festivals, were spread all over his Empire.

(*Suda ν* 218); the epic poet Aeschrion of Mytilene, who, on the recommendation of Aristotle, accompanied Alexander in order to commemorate his achievements (*Suda αι* 354); the epic poet Choerilus of Iasus, who wrote a poem in which Alexander appeared as Achilles — Alexander is supposed to have remarked that he would rather be Thersites in Homer's *Iliad* than Choerilus' Achilles (Porph. on Hor. *AP* 5.357). Athenaeus mentions two "glorious" jugglers (*πλάνοι ἔνδοξοι*), Cephisodorus and Pantaleon (1.20A), and two Greek dancers of unknown origin, Chrysippus and Theodorus (1.22D).

125. Diodorus (17.110.7-8) refers to *thymelic* contests (*ἀγῶνάς τε θυμελικοὺς ἐποίει*).

126. Arrian (*Anab.* 7.14.10) associated this massive convocation of artists with Alexander's decision to hold Hephaestion's funeral in the city of Babylon. Plutarchus (*Alex.* 72.1), on the other hand, records that in Ecbatana Alexander "was once more occupied with theatres and festivals" (*πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν*). See Le Guen (2014a) 259, with discussion on whether an event of this scale should be better justified "in the context of a 'national' funeral than as a celebration of Alexander's political success in the aftermath of the mutiny at Opis".

V. DURING THE REIGN OF THE ANTIGONIDS

The royal house continues to play a regulatory role in the cultural life of the Macedonian people until its demise with the Roman domination in 168 BC. Especially during the reign of Antigonus Gonatas (277-239 BC),[127] Pella once again became a centre of letters and arts, where the members of the upper class enjoyed poetry and music in the symposia. The elaborate mosaic floors in the city's houses, among others, reveal the high standard of living — cf. e.g. the mosaic floor decoration in the symposium hall of the "House of Helen" depicting the myth of the abduction of Helen by Theseus (325-300 BC).[128] The circle of intellectuals who stayed for a larger period of time in the Macedonian capital included mainly philosophers, but also poets, who must have performed their poems (epic, lyric, dramatic, or others) at the symposia.[129] Alexander of Aetolia, who was both a philologist and a tragic poet (he was one of the poets of the Alexandrian Pleiad) and a writer of epic poems, elegies, epigrams, and obscene poems (*κίναιδοι*), was invited to the Macedonian court by Antigonus Gonatas.[130] The sceptic Timon of Phlius, who wrote various philosophical works and poems —epics, tragedies, satyr-plays, comedies, lampoons (*σίλλοι*) and obscene poems—, became personally acquainted with the kings Antigonus Gonatas and Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[131] One of Antigonus Gonatas' teachers, Euphantus of Olynthus, is mentioned as a

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127. Cassander, too, kept relations with peripatetic philosophers and many writers of his time, and engaged in the interpretation of Homer — and that is why he was called *φιλόμηρος* (see Ath. 14.620B). This tradition, however, does not seem to have been continued by the later Antigonids, with few exceptions; see Walbank (1982) 170, Landucci Gattinoni (2003) 137-144.
128. On the themes of the mosaics in Pella see Lilimpaki-Akamati et al. (2011) 141, 156-161. Sinn (1979) 64-65 traced even the inspiration for the mould-made relief vases decorated with narrative scenes —which were found not only in Macedonia but all over Greece— to the court of Antigonos Gonatas, because of the strong literary character of the imagery on them, albeit of a later date (mostly after the mid of the 2nd century BC); see Drougou-Touratsoglou (2012) 247 and Giannou (forthcoming).
129. On the cycle of intellectuals in the court of Antigonus Gonatas see Tarn (1913) 223-256, Walbank (1984) 228-229, and Gabbert (1997) 68-72 who portrays Antigonus Gonatas as more interested in philosophy than in poetry. Among other visitors to the Macedonian court (e.g. the historians Hieronymus of Cardia and Marsyas of Pella) were the philosophers Persaeus of Citium and Bion of Borysthenes; Antigonus himself had been a pupil of the Stoic philosophers Menedemus and Zeno (Diog. Laert. 7.9-10).
130. On Alexander Aetolus see Magnelli (1999).
131. See Clayman (2009) 1-21 and Tsitsiridis (2014) 226 n. 68.

historian, a philosopher, and a tragic poet with victories in scenic contests (Diog. Laert. 2.110, 141). The epic poet and epigrammatist Antagoras of Rhodes wrote a *Thebais* whilst in Pella; the distinguished epic poet Aratus of Soli wrote the *Phaenomena* on the Macedonian monarch's suggestion — a Stoic poem on the constellations and the weather-signs, which was in fact a versification of a treatise on the stars by Eudoxus of Cnidus.[132] The painted decoration in one tomb, dating to 300 BC, is consistent with such an environment: it depicts figures of philosophers —one of whom is believed to be an astronomer—, which suggests that some of the intellectuals at the Macedonian court were preoccupied with philosophy or even cosmology.[133]

This intellectual ambience is imprinted on the "seal" of Posidippus, a fragmentary epigram which functions as a sort of a poetic "signature".[134] In the first lines the poet addresses the Muses as his fellow citizens (*Μοῦσαι πολιήτιδες*), and asks them to sing along with him (*συναείσατε*) of his hateful old age, "writing down the poem on the golden columns of tablets" (*γραψάμεναι δέλτων ἐν χρυσέαις σελίσιν*, l. 6).[135] Some lines later the poet asks for public recognition for his poetic achievement (AB 118 [= *SH* 705], 17-18):

Πελλαῖον γένος ἀμόν· ἔοιμι δὲ βίβλον ἑλίσσων
ἄφνω λαοφόρῳ κείμενος εἰν ἀγορῇ.

The poet proudly emphasises that he was born and has lived a large part of his life in the Macedonian capital, and wishes for a statue of himself unrolling a book[136] to be placed in his city's bustling agora — probably a memorial of the poet who is reciting his own poems from an already written text.

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132. *Vita Arati* 7-10: *προετράπη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ Φαινόμενα γράψαι*. In the same passage, it is cited that his patron applauded his work: *εὐδοξότερον ποιεῖς τὸν Εὔδοξον ἐντείνας τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ κείμενα μέτρῳ*. Cf. Paus. 1.2.3, Diog. Laert. 7.7, Plut. *Mor.* 182F, 668D. See also Lane Fox (2011) 507-509.
133. Lilimpaki-Akamati et al. (2011) 181-182, 254-259.
134. As Lloyd-Jones (1963) 96 has shown, this poem introduces Posidippus' collection of poems as its "seal" (*σφραγίς*).
135. Sider (2004) 33-34 assumes that the text to be sung is "this very poem, the *Seal* of Posidippus itself".
136. Following Austin and Bastianini (2002) fr. 118 and Lloyd-Jones (1963) 90. According to Sider (2004) 33-35, the verb *ἑλίσσων* should be translated as "reading": "we are thus presented with a very elaborate bit of ecphrasis, where the performance —Posidippus reading/reciting— is exactly what is before the audience's eyes when he describes his desired statue". Dickie (1994), based on this poem, suggested that the statue labelled "Posidippus" (Vatican Museums 735) may be a copy of the statue the epigrammatist hoped would be erected in his honour.

It is obvious that writing has become the primary means of production and transmission of literature in the Hellenistic age — although the spread of festivals, contests, and symposia still provided a framework for public literary performances.[137]

There is a number of anecdotes about Antigonus Gonatas' fondness for symposia, where he and his friends enjoyed drinking, conversation, and shows with music of different kinds (*ἄλλα τε ἀκροάματα*) and dance; Persaeus of Citium is the source for the memorable party at which ambassadors from Arcadia shouted "how wonderful a sight it was" (*ὡς θαυμαστόν τι θέαμα θεώμενοι*), when almost naked Thessalian girls came in and danced, and "they congratulated the king because he had it in his power to indulge in such pastimes" (Ath. 13.607B-E).[138]

The Antigonids seem to have continued Alexander's practice in the area of shows as well, and to have held very costly festivals — even during their military campaigns. Antigonus the One-Eyed prepared majestic contests (*ἀγῶνα μέγαν καὶ πανήγυριν*) in Antigonia in Syria in 302 BC (Diod. Sic. 20.108.1). The Macedonian monarch invited at the *Antigoneia* the most famous artists and athletes from all of Greece, with the promise of splendid prizes and large earnings. But when he heard that his enemies were approaching, he broke up the contests and gave the participants compensation for the cancellation of the shows, which amounted to 200 talents (probably as per their contracts).

Antigonus Gonatas organised a feast in Corinth in 244 BC, for the celebration of his son's wedding (Polyaen. *Strat.* 4.6.1). The Greek feast (*πανήγυρις Ἑλληνική*) included a *kitharodic* performance by Amoibeus, one of the most famous *kitharodes* of antiquity — it is said that for his shows in Athens he was paid the enormous amount of one Attic talent per day (Ath. 14.623D). It appears, however, that both the festival and the wedding were nothing but a ruse for Antigonus to be able to conquer the Acrocorinth without any resistance and to restore his influence in South Greece.

The participation of Macedonians in religious festivities of a Panhellenic nature should be connected to the Antigonids' policy for the development of contacts with South Greece.[139] The policy included: the existence

137. See Johnstone (2014) with references.

138. According to Erskine (1990) 75-94, especially 80-82 n. 17, the anecdotes about gifts and parties which involve Antigonus and the philosophers may go back to Persaeus of Citium, who wrote a book of sympotic records (entitled *Συμποτικοὶ διάλογοι*, or *Συμποτικὰ ὑπομνήματα*: Ath. 13.607B, 4.162B-C).

139. See Touloumakos (1993) 1523 and Xydopoulos (2006) 142-143 n. 379.

of Macedonian *proxenoi* in the capital of the Aetolian League, one of whom was the epigrammatist Posidippus of Pella;[140] the gradual increase in the number of Macedonians who offered hospitality and services to envoys (*theoroi*) of the sanctuaries, who would travel to large cities, in order to announce the organisation of Panhellenic contests and festivals;[141] the decrees of four Macedonian cities (around 242 BC) on the recognition of the immunity of the sanctuary of Asclepius on Kos and the acceptance of participation in the Panhellenic festivals held there, the *Asclepieia*;[142] as well as the large increase of the number of Macedonian winners in contests in Delphi and Delos in the 3rd century BC. For example, the *Amphictyonic Soteria* in Delphi in the period 265-253 BC involved the participation of many artists hailing from Macedonia, who apparently had also given performances in their own country: a tragic actor from Pella, son of Leucarus; the child dancer Dorotheus, son of Callistratus, from Philippi; and three tragic actors from Cassandreia, Oikiades son of Nicander, Moiragenes son of Anaxilos, and Erginos son of Simylos.[143] Moreover, actors from Cassandreia participated in contests in honour of Apollo in Delos: the tragic actors Nicostratus and Oikiades (possibly the son of Nicander) and the comic actor Polycritus.[144] In Delos, Admetus of Thessalonike, an ambassador from Macedonia, was honoured by the

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140. Posidippus is mentioned in a list of *proxenoi* of the period 280-262 BC from Thermon in Aetolia (*IG* IX.1² 17A: *Ποσειδίππῳ τῷ ἐπιγραμματοποιῷ Πελλαίῳ*). It is plausible to assume that he is honoured for his poetic work, which might have had some connection to the Aetolians; see Touloumakos (1993) 1522 and Xydopoulos (2006) 179 n. 478. The poet is also mentioned in a Delphian decree of about 276-275 BC, granting *proxeny* and other privileges to a number of persons of different nationalities (*FD* III.3 192.9).

141. The list of persons entrusted with the reception of the sacred envoys (*theorodokoi*) of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus in the middle of the 4th century BC mentions as the official representative of Macedonia only the King, Perdiccas III (*IG* IV²,1 94), and the representatives of independent nearby cities (e.g. Amphipolis, Olynthus, Thasos, and others); a century later, the list of *theorodokoi* from Delphi (of 235-178 BC) records 53 officers from 30 Macedonian cities (*BCH* 45 [1921] 1); see the detailed discussion in Xydopoulos (2006) 170-173. On the office of *theorodokoi* see Perlman (2000) 17 ff.

142. *Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 36 (of Philippi), 41 (of Amphipolis), 47 (of Cassandreia) and 58 (of Pella). See Hatzopoulos (1996) I, 139-149, and Xydopoulos (2006) 143-148.

143. Nachtergael 1977, nos. 2 bis, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9; Stephanis (1988) nos. 809, 887, 1733, 1929, 2655.

144. *IG* XI 106, *IG* XI.2 110, *IG* XI.2 115. An inscription (*ID* 2486) preserves *Ποσείδιππον - - - | Κασσανδρει - -*, but it is not certain whether this refers to the poet. An indication of the political influence of the Antigonids in Delos is the establishment —on the part of the association, which had its seat in Delos— of festivities in honour of Antigonus the One-Eyed (*Antigoneia*), and of Demetrius Poliorcetes (*Demetria*); see Sifakis (1967) 7-57 and Xydopoulos (2006) 163 n. 431, where four new festivals established

city (with a letter and a decree, sometime between 240 and 230 BC) for his extraordinary benefactions; inter alia, his name was to be mentioned at contests of children choruses (*IG* XI.4 664).[145]

After Alexander's campaign, there is a huge demand for the organisation of festivals in many cities of the new Hellenistic kingdoms.[146] As a result, the Dionysiac artists were organised in associations, which took it upon themselves to send troupes or single artists to all the large Greek-speaking cities, to give performances or take part in contests.[147]

Posidippus, an important poet of the New Comedy from Cassandreia, had worked very successfully after the death of Menander (291 BC) in Athens. Two decrees refer to the monument erected in Athens in his honour (*ἐν τῶι ἐπιφα*]*|νεστάτωι τόπωι τοῦ Ποσειδιππείου*), because the Macedonian poet was a distinguished member of the Athenian Guild of Dionysiac artists (*IG* II² 1320, 1331).[148]

Artists from Macedonia had joined one of the largest associations operating in the Mediterranean, the "Isthmian and Nemean Guild of Dionysiac artists"; its members came from various Greek areas (e.g. Boeotia, Arcadia, Delphi, Syracuse, Sicyon, and others) and in the 3rd century BC they cohosted the great Panhellenic festivals in Delphi (*Soteria*), Thebes (*Agrionia*), and Thespiae (*Mouseia*).[149] Indeed, according to two inscriptions from the end of the 3rd century BC, the artists of this association had annexes not only in the Peloponnese, but also in Macedonia;[150] as it is stated in the inscription

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by Antigonus Gonatas in Delos in 253-245 BC are recorded: *Antigoneia*, *Stratonikeia*, *Soteria* and *Paneia*.

145. See Hatzopoulos (1996) II, no. 50.

146. Alexander's successors (the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Attalids), following his practice, used the artistic contests as an expression of their political power: they established illustrious festivals, often in the context of the royal cult; they became patrons of the performers; they encouraged the organisation of local associations of artists. See Chaniotis (1995) with references.

147. On the development of the associations in the Hellenistic period see the studies by Le Guen (2001) and Aneziri (2003); the sudden springing into existence of associations of Dionysiac artists around the beginning of the 3rd century BC was due, among others reasons, to the actors' growing importance and the need of city authorities all over the Greek world to secure performers for their festivals. Le Guen (2001) II, 9, points out especially the role of Alexander and his successors in the establishment of local associations.

148. See Le Guen (2001) I, 62, 65.

149. On the role of the associations in the organisation of festivals in Delphi, Thebes, and Thespiae see Le Guen (2001) II, 17-20, 38.

150. *IG* IX 4 1059 (Delos), *IG* VII 2486 (Thebes). See Le Guen (2001) I, 132-133, 179-181.

from Thebes, the Guild of Dionysiac artists who held sacred rites in Isthmus, Nemea, and Pieria dedicated a statue to Dionysus, to honour an artist, the son of Zeuxippus, who was their *proxenos*, and stood out for his virtue and the benefactions towards the artists.

We know nothing more regarding the activities of the Guild in Macedonia, especially whether Pieria was really one of the annexes of the association, whether some of the association's members were residents in Macedonia, and whether the presence of the association in Pieria was connected to a local Panhellenic celebration (e.g. the *Olympia* at Dion). However, one more testimony comes to strengthen the above hypotheses: the multitalented (*ἱερεὺς τῶν τεχνιτῶν*, *ἀνὴρ χορευτής*, *αὐλῳδὸς* and *ῥαψῳδός*) Pythocles, son of Aristarchus, had worked in Dion, before the middle of the 3rd century BC, as may be surmised from an extremely fragmentary epigraph on the base of a statue erected in his hometown of Hermione by his brother and fellow artist. Although the damage on the epigraph does not allow us to reach any safe conclusions, it appears that this famous artist had distinguished himself in Isthmus, Thespiae (*Mouseia*), and Thebes (in contests in honour of Dionysus Cadmeius), in areas, that is, that belonged to the sphere of activity of the "Isthmian and Nemean Guild of Dionysiac artists".[151] He also participated in *thymelic* contests in honour of the Olympian Zeus (*IG* IV 682):

> [*ἀλλά με καὶ*] *Ζ*̣[*εὺ*]*ς οἶδε*<*ν*> *Ὀλύμπ*<*ι*>*ος, ὡς ἐτύμας* [*τοι*] | [*τρεῖς ἀπὸ θε*]*σπε*̣[*σί*]*ου* <*φ*>*θ*̣*εγγόμενος στόματος.*

We assume that these music or poetry contests were part of the *Olympia* festival — although the sources only mention scenic contests until this time.[152] The reference to the "kings" who honoured Pythocles ([*κ*]*αὶ βασιλεῖς δώροισιν ἐτίμησαν τὸν ἀοιδόν*) may be literal: Antigonus Gonatas may be meant.

The fact is that Dion appears as an important city in the Hellenistic period, one responsible for the organisation of festivals and contests, as is documented by inscriptions, archaeological finds, and testimonies to the cult of the Muses. The most substantial piece of evidence that the cult of the Muses in Dion was important during the Hellenistic period and that the Muses' worshipers formed an association with the goddesses' temple as its seat is an inscription from the period of Perseus' reign (179-168 BC), which had been engraved in a monument in honour of the king, on the pedestal of an

151. Stephanis (1988) no. 2174 and Nachtergael (1977) 317-323 (no. 15 bis).
152. See Mari (1998) 159, 163.

honourary statue. According to the inscription, Perseus is honoured because he was virtuous, because he was a benefactor to an association honouring the Muses and Dionysus (the *Μουσαϊσταί*), and because in this manner he showed his piety towards the Muses and Dionysus (*SEG* 49.697). The temple of the Muses has not yet been located with certainty, but everything points to its location being in the area close to the theatre, where there is a large water source; at a small distance from the spring, the inscription of the *Μουσαϊσταὶ* and a Hellenistic statue of the Muse Melpomene with the lyre were found.[153] Of the other Dion monuments, the theatre building stands out, where both the early Hellenistic phase and the phase of the reign of Philip V are distinguishable, and also the temple of Olympian Zeus, an important place of worship for the Macedonians, one closely related to the kings.[154]

In the area around the temple of Olympian Zeus, near the Roman Odeum, an honourary decree was found, inscribed *stoichedon* on a marble stele, and dating to the end of the 4th century BC (*Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 57):[155]

> *[..προ]|εδρίαν ἐν τοῖς [γυμνικ]|οῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Δι|ονυσίοις καὶ τὸ ψήφισ|μα τοῦτο ἀναγράψαντας| εἰ<ς> στήλην λιθίνην ἀνα|θεῖναι πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴ|ν δὲ εἰκόνα στῆσαι ἐν τ|ῶι τεμένει τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ| Ὀλυμπίου.*

This decree grants honours to a benefactor of the city, including the *προεδρία* at the athletic competitions and the *Dionysia*, and a statue. The decree is to be inscribed on a stele, to be placed in front of the temple, and the statue is to be placed inside the sacred precinct of the Olympian Zeus.

Are the *Dionysia* mentioned a metonymic reference to scenic contests or perhaps a festival dedicated to Dionysus? Important findings from the area tell in favour of the latter: already in the Hellenistic period, the Dionysion formed one whole with the theatre; a small marble altar with an inscription in Latin comes from the temple, which confirms that it is dedicated to Dionysus and his troupe; there are also other votive inscriptions.[156]

The "seal" of Posidippus might be a testimony regarding contests in honour of Dionysus in Olympus (AB 118 [= *SH* 705], 1-4):

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153. Pantermalis (2001) 416. On the marble statue of the Muse of tragedy in the type of the "Vatican Melpomene" (Dion AM 195) see Pantermalis (1977) 338.

154. On the Hellenistic phase of the theatre see Karadedos (1986). In the Temple of Zeus, official texts were published on stone stelai (see above n. 42), whose content regarded issues of the Macedonian kingdom; see Pantermalis (1984) 272-273.

155. Pantermalis (1977) 341-342 and (1997) 79-80; see also Mari (1998) 158, 164.

156. See Pantermalis (1977) 331-333.

Εἴ τι καλόν, Μοῦσαι πολιήτιδες, ἢ παρὰ Φοίβου
χρυσολύρεω καθαροῖς οὔασιν ἐκλ[ύ]ετε
Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος ἀνὰ πτύχ[α]ς ἢ παρ᾽ Ὀλύμπῳ
Βάκχῳ τὰς τριετ<ε>ῖς ἀρχόμεναι θυμέλα[ς.

The poet invokes the Muses, who are worshipped on Mt. Parnassus with Apollo, on Mt. Olympus with Dionysus, as well as on Mt. Helicon (v. 7) — the Muses, that is, who are worshipped as followers of Apollo or Dionysus. If this interpretation is correct,[157] then we have one more indication that *thymelic* contests were held in Dion in honour of Dionysus, every third year (*τριετηρικοί*).

A second problem arises by the mention in the honourary decree of athletic competitions (*γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶνες*), which are not named. Perhaps they had always been a part of the *Olympia* festival, although the sources on their celebration during the 4th century BC only record scenic contests;[158] it is equally possible that they were added to the competition programme in the Hellenistic period.[159] In any case, an inscription from the Hellenistic period (perhaps around the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century BC)[160] from Cassandreia records the *Olympia* at Dion together with the *Nemean* Games and the *Basileia* (*SEG* 14:478a):

Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Δίωι ἄνδρα[ς]| ὁπλίτην, Νέμεα ἄνδρας στάδι[ον],| Βασίλεια στάδιον, δίαυλο[ν],| ὁπλίτην τεῖ αὐτεῖ.

The inscription lists victories by an athlete from Cassandreia — which confirms the incorporation of athletic competitions in the programme of the *Olympia* festival, at least during the Hellenistic period. It is clear that in

157. See Gutzwiller (1998) 153-154 and Austin and Bastianini (2002) fr. 118. Lloyd-Jones (1963) 82-83, on the other hand, changes the dative of v. 3 into genitive (*Ὀλύμπου*), because he assumes that a reference to Mt. Olympus would be out of place among the other geographical references (Parnassus, Helicon), since there is no evidence for competitions in Dionysus' honour in Dion; he argues that the reference is to the poet Olympus and the *Agrionia* in Thebes in honour of Dionysus.

158. According to Pantermalis (1998) 167-169 and (1999) 76, the first phase of the stadium of Dion is dated to the Classical period; this dating could be a strong argument in favour of an early chronology of athletic competitions in the programme of the *Olympia* festival.

159. See Hatzopoulos (1982) 38-41, Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) 146 no. 3, 150 and 156, with references.

160. Mari (1998) 158 and Alexander (1970) 132-133 date the inscription to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC; Robinson (1938) no. 16 and Moretti (1953) no. 54 a century later, around 100 BC.

the 3rd century BC the *Olympia* at Dion were among the "sacred crown" contests (*ἱεροὶ στεφανῖται ἀγῶνες*), that is, among the institutionalised Panhellenic festivals celebrated in honour of a deity, at which the victors were awarded a symbolic prize (usually a wreath or a tree branch). This is also the last testimony on the organisation of *Olympia* festival in Dion.

Regarding the *Basileia* mentioned in the inscription, we do not know what their venue was. Because no locality is mentioned, and because they follow after the famous *Nemean*, we assume that they are the known *Basileia* in Levadeia, which often appear on inscriptions of the Hellenistic period regarding games to be celebrated in honour of Zeus the King (*Διὸς Βασιλείου*).[161] However, it seems certain that there was a celebration named *Basileia* in Macedonia as well. An inscription from the 3rd century BC (inscribed on the plinth of a now-lost statue of the honourand at the theatre of Dionysus) records the name of the *kitharode* Nicocles, son of Aristocles, and his victories; the *Basileia* in Macedonia were among the "sacred crown" contests where the famous *kitharode* had won first prize (*IG* II² 3779).[162]

The first mention of scenic and *thymelic* contests in Thasos dates in this period, during the celebrations of the *Dionysia* festival. In the beginning of the 3rd century BC, a Thasian named Nossicas, son of Heras, was honoured by his city with a decree, which denoted that he was to be crowned in the theatre during the scenic contests at the festival in honour of Dionysus (*καὶ στε[φα]-/νῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Θάσωι ἐν τῶι θεά[τρωι]/ Διονυσί[οις τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι*: *IG* XII Suppl. 354, 20-22). The *thymelic* contests confirmed by a funerary inscription found on the island perhaps also took place at the *Dionysia*; according to the inscription, a choral trainer (*διδάσκαλος*), the son of Epipeithes, performed many dithyrambic choruses (*κύκλιοι χοροί*) there (Peek, *GVI* 1073a, 682). Moreover, in the Dionysion, a second choregic monument was uncovered, which was apparently built in commemoration of performances given on the island (on the 3rd century BC). The interior was graced by sculptures, of which survive, partly in fragments, a statue of Dionysus and the headless statue of a Muse.[163] In the same period (c. 300 BC), extensive work was done on the island's theatre, due to the generosity of a citizen who dedicated the proscaenium or perhaps even the entire scenic building to Dionysus (*IG* XII Suppl. 399).[164]

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161. See Moretti (1953) nos. 40, 42, 44, 45.
162. On the identification of Nicocles with the famous *kitharode* of Tarentum see Stephanis (1988) no. 1839.
163. Thasos AM 1473, 1473*a*.
164. See Salviat (1960) 302-314.

Several testimonies survive from this era on local gatherings of the Macedonian people on the occasion of athletic events, worship sacrifices and rituals, funerary or sepulchral ceremonies, the election of local rulers, as well as the beginning of military operations. On some of these occasions, we know for a fact or assume that shows and musical events were held, within or without the framework of a contest.

During the reign of Antigonus Doson or Philip V, the first testimony of the organisation of contests in Beroia appears: on a fragment of a contest list, the *kitharode* Anaxenor son of Theodorus is mentioned (EKM 1. Beroia 140).[165] The musical contest must have been part of the programme of a Panhellenic athletic event, as the list goes on to record athletes from many areas of Greece as victors, that is, in events following the standard of the *Pythian Games*, where *aulos*-players, *aulodes*, and *kitharodes* competed for prizes.[166] The second testimony (approximately dated in the same period, i.e. the first half of the 2nd century BC) is a decree from Beroia, known as "the gymnasiarchal law", which concerns issues regarding the operation of the gymnasium and the organisation of the *Hermaia* (EKM 1. Beroia 1).[167] The *Hermaia* was a religious festival in honour of Hermes, which was held by the gymnasiarch and took place every year in the month *Hyperberetaios*. This local festival included sacrifices to the god, athletic contests and banquets with distribution of the meat of the sacrificial animals. The magistrates responsible for the sacred rites and the gymnasiarch could be in charge of the entertainment as well (*οἱ δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἀκρόαμα / μηθὲν παραγέτωσαν εἰς τὸν πότον*, 66-67). This is the clearest indication that the local religious festivals sometimes included recitals or spectacles — the nature of which remains relatively obscure. Yet, no mention survives up until the end of the Hellenistic period on scenic contests or theatre building in the Antigonids' favoured city.

The operation of the gymnasium is also the subject of a fragment (from the same period) of an edict (*διάγραμμα*) of Philip V found in Amphipolis, which assigns the gymnasiarchs of each city the tasks of cataloguing the

165. Stephanis (1988) no. 174.

166. Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1998) 223 assume that they are the *Basileia* in Macedonia, which, as we have seen, are mentioned in a Hellenistic inscription (*IG* II² 3779).

167. Cf. *Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 60. The "gymnasiarchal law" is a detailed set of regulations for the athletic training of the youth of the city in the gymnasium; according to Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) 173-176, the Macedonian gymnasium was more an athletic and military institution — in contrast with the Athenian one. On the *Hermaia* see Tataki (1988) 432 and the discussion by Gauthier and Hatzopoulos (1993) 110-114 with references.

athletes about to compete in the Macedonian "sacred crown" games (and the relevant contests) and of declaring their participation to the officials (i.e. the priest and the gymnasiarch) appointed for the games in Amphipolis (*Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 16).[168] These are athletic events connected to the operation of the gymnasium; it is quite likely that they included musical events, although it is difficult to prove.

However, it is the dramatic monuments that suggest the continuation of the theatrical activity in Amphipolis in this period. Of great interest are the terracotta figurines of the 3rd century BC, which depict local variations of the types of New Comedy: a young man with a wreath on his head, an elderly type, a slave sitting on an altar, a slave on a small pedestal, and more.[169] Among other findings, a pair of golden earrings stands out, in the shape of an Eros holding a New Comedy mask, and a unique colour plaque with six actors' masks, portraying types of New Comedy, who possibly were the main characters in a play (an old man, an old woman, a slave, a young woman, a young man, and a *pseudokore*) — perhaps the product of an Attic workshop of the beginning of the 3rd century BC.[170]

Theatrical activity was probably intense in Pella as well, as suggested by the number and variety of dramatic monuments surviving from this period. Some are inspired from tragedy and satyr drama: e.g. a figurine of Hercules and a fragment of a figurine of a dancing satyr; more numerous and noteworthy are the local figurines depicting actors of New Comedy, such as an early Hellenistic one of a young woman.[171] For some of them, there are known parallels;[172] others are unique and suggest that the sculptors would freely render the dramatic types.[173]

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168. The surviving fragment (dated 183/2 BC) states that the king, as the highest religious authority, was held responsible for the organisation of the "crown" contests in the kingdom; as his helpers, on federal level, he had the priest and the gymnasiarch appointed for the specific contests; see Hatzopoulos (1996) I, 381, 410-411.
169. Kavala AM 577E, 1572, E618, Amphipolis AM 3346.
170. Kavala AM 240/E489, unnumbered. We also know that there was a theatre, close to the gymnasium, but the monument has not been excavated; see Lazaridi (1992) 550.
171. Pella AM E1518 (tragic actor), E2756 (satyr actor), E2589 (comic actor).
172. E.g. three monuments of the 2nd century BC remind us of types of New Comedy from Amphipolis: an "old man" (*ἡγεμὼν πρεσβύτης*, Pella AM 1352), a "brothel-keeper" (*πορνοβοσκός*, E1124); a "leading slave" (*ἡγεμὼν θεράπων*, E1335). See Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992) 320.
173. E.g. notable are two terracotta comic masks of *hetairai* of the 2nd century BC (Pella AM 1977/113, 2744), and a figurine of a comic slave (E3611); see Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992) 320, especially 304-305 nos. 30, 39, 40, and pl. 12, 14. Some of them are

Fig. 6. Colour plaque with six masks of actors from Amphipolis, portraying types of New Comedy (Kavala AM 240/E489). Photo by Nikos Dionysopoulos (Institute for Mediterranean Studies).

The findings from Thessalonike present a similar picture. A few figurines survive representing known types of New Comedy from the end of the 4th and 3rd century BC.[174] But some other monuments are unique, and it is hard to say which dramatic genre they belong to; these include a rare figurine of a man, who wears a mask that leaves the lower part of his face and the mouth uncovered.[175] It was found in a built cist grave in Neapolis, in the

a local interpretation of an imported type, as indeed we know from many other areas; see Green (2014) 367-369.

174. From the cemetery at Toumba two figurines of comic slaves survive dated at the end of the 4th century BC (Thessalonike AM 283, 284). Among others from the second half of the 3rd century BC, notable are a terracotta figurine of a standing *Papposilenus* (AM 3125) playing a three-stringed lute (*πανδουρὶς* or *πανδοῦρα*) and the head of a figurine of a comic slave (Museum of Casts and Antiquities AUTH, 219). See Stephanidou-Tiberiou (1982) 58 no. 67; Korti-Konti (1994) 119-120 and 57 no. 108. On the *πανδουρὶς* see West (1992) 80-81. Two other terracotta Hellenistic masks of *hetairai* probably come from Mecyberna; see Robinson (1952) nos. 88 and 94.

175. Thessalonike AM 2818. Ghiron-Bistagne (1970) 279 assumes that the mask is related to the Comoedia Atellana. Vokotopoulou (1996) 57 believes that he is a comic actor who parodied the tragic messenger. A head of another figurine with a half-mask (of a

northwest edge of the city. There, in the beginning of the 2nd century BC, a young girl was buried, along with an impressive number of burial objects, e.g. terracotta figurines including two small terracotta *kitharas*,[176] gold jewels, scent-jars, vases imported from Egypt, and more. This young woman must apparently have belonged to the aristocracy of the city, who enjoyed music and shows.[177] We assume a Hellenistic theatre must have existed, but its location still remains to be found.

Ancient historians cite sacrifices and contests in honour of the king and members of the royal family either at the time of their burial or as part of their post-mortem worship, already from the end of the 4th century BC. As we have seen, the sources mention funerary contests, athletic and artistic, held by Alexander the Great at the funeral of *hetairoi* (e.g. Hephaestion) or by his heirs at the funeral of the king (Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.10).[178] In October 317 BC in Persepolis, the general Peucestas held a majestic sacrifice in honour of Philip and Alexander, which was accompanied by a festival and a feast for all the Macedonian and Persian soldiers (Diod. Sic. 19.22.1). Cassander buried Philip Arrhideaus and Eurydice with funerary honours (*τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐπιταφίοις ἀγῶσι*: Diod. Sic. 19.52.5).[179] Earlier inscriptions from the second half of the 4th century BC from Lete, Mandalon, and Beroia refer to the organisation of funerary competitions (*ἵππων δρόμος*, *ἀνδρῶν δρόμος*, *πεζῶν δρόμος*) in honour of Macedonian citizens who are otherwise unknown

somewhat later period) has been found in Pella; see Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991-1992) 307 no. 4, pl. 16, and Giannou (forthcoming).

176. Thessalonike AM 11533, 11559. One of the terracotta figurines depicts a dancer (Thessalonike AM 2817); Daffa-Nikonanou (1985-1986) 185-186. Two other terracotta figurines of female dancers from the middle of the 3rd century BC were found in the east cemetery of the city (Thessalonike AM 9838, 9851); see above n. 27.

177. See Daffa-Nikonanou (1985-1986) 180-201 and Tsimpidou-Avloniti (1985) 38-39.

178. Cf. Diod. Sic. 18.28.4: *καὶ θυσίαις ἡρωικαῖς καὶ ἀγῶσι μεγαλοπρεπέσι τιμήσας*.

179. According to Athenaeus, Cassander included in the funerary honours soldier duels following the heroic model (4.155a: *τιμήσας οἷς προσήκει καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν*). Archaeological evidence on the royal cult has been unearthed in the necropolis of Aigai; see Andronicos (1984) 65, 98, 225, 227, 229, 233. Literary and epigraphic sources mention the cult of Amyntas III in Pydna and of Philip II in Amphipolis (Aristid. *Or*. 38.480); of Philip II in Philippi (*Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 83) and *Maroneia* (*Διὶ | καὶ βασιλεῖ | Φιλίππῳ σωτῆρι*: I. Aeg. Thrace 186); of Alexander in Thasos (where a temple-like building was dedicated to him in the early Hellenistic years), in Thessalonike, and other cities in Macedonia. See Fredricksmeyer (1979) 51, (1981) 154; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 45-49; Baynham (1995) 35.

Fig. 7. A terracotta mask of an *hetaira* with an elaborate hairdo, 2nd century BC (Pella AM 2744). Photo by Nikos Dionysopoulos (Institute for Mediterranean Studies).

to us;[180] sacrifices and athletic contests were also held for a city's founder, e.g. in Amphipolis for the Spartan general Brasidas, and in many other southern Greek colonies.[181]

We cannot confirm whether all these funerary rituals, or the celebrations for the benefactors in the month *Daisios*, included musical events — although the opposite must be considered improbable. An inscription from Alcomena preserves a royal document in fragmentary form (perhaps a circular dated to 215/4 or 173 BC) with general instructions on religious matters; these also include the costs for the celebration of the *Δαίσια*, which was the responsibility of the local authorities (*Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 19).[182] A decree of around the same time from Moryllus mentions the celebration of the *Daisia*; with this decree Alcetas is honoured for the public services he provided to the city, which included, among others, the offering of animals for the public sacrifices during a ritual festival (*Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 54). This benefactor is honoured with a public commendation, a wreath of young shoots (*θάλλινος στέφανος*) and a portrait (*εἰκὼν γραπτή*) that will be placed at the Asklepieion;[183] moreover, the day of the month *Daisios* on which he was

180. See Manakidou (1996) 88-90 and 92-94, who notes that the 4th century BC "was conducive for ancestral worship and grandiose funerary rituals with heroic overtones".

181. Thuc. 5.11; cf. Hdt. 5.8, Xen. *HG* 3.2.5.

182. See Hatzopoulos (1996) I, 411-415. These instructions had a general application, since the *Daisia* was apparently a celebration with national, not local, character. See Papazoglou (1970) 313-314, and Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 45-49. According to Kalléris (1954-1976) I, 143, the *Daisia* was a celebration with meals (*δαίς*) distributed to participants (*δαίεσθαι*) during the month *Daisios*; they were similar to the *Theodaisia*, which were held in honour of Dionysus (cf. Hsch. *θ* 263).

183. Mentions in decrees and two votive inscriptions leave no room for doubt that the Asclepieion had been the most important sanctuary in the city, and that it attracted multitudes of people from neighbouring cities, such as Lete and Ioron, possibly during the *Asclepieia* (*Meletemata* 22, Epig. App. 53, late 3rd century BC; *Meletemata* 7, 63 V, late 1st century BC); see Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 63-67 n. 4-8.

elected to high office is declared a holy day. The choice of the month *Daisios* (at the end of spring) cannot have been a coincidence, but must be connected to the traditional celebration of benefactors in the whole of Macedonia. Two later decrees also corroborate this, one from Lete (119 BC) and one from Calindoea (from the 1st century AD), which make it clear that acts of worship in the *Daisia* were accompanied by public sacrifices, symposia with the distribution of the meat of the sacrificial animals, and food and drink in general for all citizens,[184] as well as athletic or equestrian competitions and artistic contests.[185] Moreover, the combination of celebrations in honour of the benefactors[186] with the convocation of the assembly for the election of local authorities (*ἀρχαιρετικὴ ἐκκλησία*) at the same time every year perhaps explains the cessation of military campaigns during the month *Daisios* and argues in favour of the organisation of festivals with shows or musical events.[187]

To sum up, in the early and mid-Hellenistic period, theatrical activity spread to every corner of the new Greek world, while the Dionysiac artists, formed four regional associations and assumed the responsibility for the organisation of the festivals. In Macedonia, all the major cities had a theatre building: in addition to the classical theatres of Dion, Aigai, Olynthus, Pella, Thasos, and Philippi, theatre buildings existed in Amphipolis, and perhaps in Thessalonike and Mieza. The Antigonids continued Alexander's practice in the area of performing arts and held very costly private celebrations, local spectacles and contests, or Panhellenic festivals, even during their military campaigns; they established new festivals in areas under their political influence and they encouraged the participation of Macedonians in the Panhellenic festivals and in Dionysiac artists' Associations. Outside Macedonia, the Hellenistic rulers (the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Attalids) used the festivals as a means of propaganda or political power and hegemony.

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184. Perhaps there were special buildings for these feasts, like the building complex found in Mieza; on its connection to banquet halls see Allamani-Souri et al. (2004) 575-577. The theatre next to this building complex is dated to the Roman period, but there is evidence of a Hellenistic phase; Poulakakis (2010) 161-162, 166-167.

185. Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 41-56.

186. In later epigraphic testimonies, the worship of the benefactors is connected to Rome and the Roman emperor; however, the inscription from Alcomena shows that the king himself dealt with the organisation of the *Daisia* in the entire realm of the kingdom even before the Roman conquest; see Kalléris (1954-1976) I, 143, II, 566, and Hammond (1988) 143. On the connection of the benefactors with the dead kings and local heroes and not with Egyptian deities before the Roman period (as suggested by Papazoglou [1970] 308 n. 23) see Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 45-49.

187. Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 16.1-2; see also Hatzopoulos (1996) I, 150, and Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 49.

VI. EPILOGUE

Ancient texts and epigraphic evidence; artistic depictions, such as works of sculpture, vase-painting and metallurgy, frescoes and mosaics, coins and funerary altars; choregic monuments and theatre buildings: all sources of cultural and artistic life confirm the dominant role —entertaining, religious, and political— of music and theatre in Macedonia up to the Roman conquest.

Music, songs, dances, or shows are an integral part of public god worship from the Classical to the Hellenistic period: in the traditional sacrifices to the gods under the aegis of the royal house; on the occasion of local cult rituals or initiation rites; during festivals and festive gatherings in honour of the gods.

Shows and musical events are held in symposia and gatherings for the celebration of weddings and special anniversaries or during the funerary or sepulchral ceremonies both of the royal family and members of the elite society. For these occasions, the most famous poets, musicians, and actors are invited to the kingdom, who give performances in the palace, to entertain the king and the *hetairoi*, but also participate in contests and festivals in honour of the gods.

Musical and dramatic performances and other popular shows are offered at the public feasts, initially from the king and later the local authorities, in the framework of military assemblies and political gatherings of the Macedonian people, at the beginning of military operations, for the celebration of military successes, during military campaigns and during the assemblies of the Guilds — aiming as much at the entertainment of the people as the reinforcement of the participants' bond.

The factors that shaped the conditions of the organisation and propagation of public shows were the king's policies, the cities' financial prosperity, and historical circumstances.

The cultural life of the kingdom is immediately linked to the figure of the ruler: Alexander I, Archelaus, Philip II, Alexander the Great, and Antigonus Gonatas are friends of music and the theatre; they invite illustrious artists to their court, establish festivals and scenic or *thymelic* contests, build theatres, hold shows for the entertainment of their troops and for the celebration of their military victories, support the activities of the guilds and artists in their land, and encourage the participation of Macedonian actors, musicians, and poets in Panhellenic festivals.

The large religious and political centres on the one hand and the wealthy cities under the influence of Athenian culture on the other are the

basic hubs of cultural activity in the Macedonian kingdom during the Classical period: Dion, Aigai, and Pella on the one hand; Thasos, Olynthus, and Amphipolis on the other. During the Hellenistic period, Philippi, Thessalonike, and Beroia are added, while Olynthus and Aigai gradually decline. Incidental finds from other areas highlight the fragmentary nature of our knowledge: Mieza, Cassandreia, Mecyberna, Aiane, Moryllus, Alcomena, are some of the cities where dramatic and musical shows were held during the Hellenistic period.

In this process, the contribution of Alexander the Great was decisive, since he used the festivals, in the framework of his campaign, as a vehicle of the propagation of Greek culture to Asia. Artistic contests multiply in the entire Greek realm, while the geographical distribution of theatre buildings allows us to map out the spreading of Greek culture in Asia Minor.

Shows and musical events in Macedonia do not differ from the genres we encounter in all the Greek cities, i.e. music, poetry, theatre, and the popular entertainment by "paratheatrical" artists.

Music plays a leading role in the worship of the gods and in all aspects of public and private life. Musical performances, either instrumental or sung or as accompaniment to shows of choruses, and poems or encomia recitations are the main genres found in theatres, in the palace or the agora, in temples, gymnasia, and symposium halls.

Theatre —which was born and developed almost exclusively in Athens as a political and cultural institution, interwoven with the ideology of the ancient polis and included among events of religious celebration in honour of Dionysus— is adopted by the Macedonian kings at the end of the 5th century BC. Consequently, theatres in Macedonia become a standard feature of the urban organisation of large cities and sanctuaries — the theatres in Dion and Thasos are among the oldest ones built outside of Athens. During the Hellenistic period, testimonies abound on dramatic contests in the context of festivals (not only in honour of Dionysus but also in honour of other gods) or private celebrations, on the participation of Macedonian artists in Dionysiac artists' Associations and on occasional local theatre writing. Performances of Euripides' tragedies and New Comedy plays are widespread.

Already from the Hellenistic period, next to the customary musical and dramatic contests, popular entertainers make their appearance. Musicians and actors of various specialties show off their skills, while encomium writers, mimes, and dancers offer entertainment at symposia, feasts and festivals, at private and public gatherings, mostly outside the contests.

In conclusion, literary and epigraphic evidence as well as archaeological finds in Macedonia are elements that help us recreate some aspects of the multifaceted history of music and shows in antiquity, and allow us to consider some of the parameters of this complex and dynamic phenomenon, which, mostly during the reign of Alexander the Great, became a hallmark of Greek culture.

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