

addition to their function as custodians of the temples, they were also responsible for the deposit of wills and other documents in the temples. S. also believes that the *ministri* (who were slaves) were the assistants of the *magistri* (who in Rome were mostly free — *ingenui* or freedmen) in the cult of the *Lares Compitales* (13-15). Yet the only *legal* evidence of slaves' functions in a cult deals with chariot races (15 and Text 1: *Lex XII tab.*, 10.7 [=FIRA<sup>2</sup> I, 68]); S.'s interpretation of the slave-charioteers as assistants of their masters in the cult, and hence as *ministri* in the term's expanded meaning, is somewhat strained, and accentuates his efforts to find a legal basis for descriptive evidence.

One of the most important issues touched upon in this book is the slave's business capacity. In the sphere of sacral law this meant the slave's competence to take an oath. The slave could be involved in transactions only in respect of his *peculium* or of his master's interests — and in both cases presumably only with the authorisation of the latter. Contrary to other scholars, S. believes that the slave could, with certain limitations, offer an oath within a judicial process arising out of business transactions (*iusiurandum necessarium*), and not only offer extra-judicial oaths (the *iusiurandum voluntarium* or *ex conventionione*), about which there seems to have been no dispute (20-22).<sup>8</sup> As for the slave's *peculium*, in view of the extensive religious activities reviewed by S., such as vows, dedications, and cult-associations, we may assume either that slave-owners were very generous in authorizing their slaves to use their *peculium*, or that authorisation was not necessarily required, at least in religious matters.

Overall, this volume will be of great help to anyone interested in slavery and sacral law who wishes to become familiar with the pertinent legal texts and problems. It will also be useful for German readers not in command of Greek and Latin. To my mind, the most important conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that although the position of slaves in sacral law can be discerned only through the regulations made for their masters, they were fairly active in the religious sphere, sometimes quite independently. References to the slave in sacral law show that although considered *res Mancipi*, when interacting with free persons and gods, the slave was treated as *persona*.

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Eric Csapo and Margaret C. Miller (eds.), *The Origins of Theatre in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 440 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-521-836821.

Less than twenty years ago, J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin, the editors of an important collective volume on the extra-textual contexts of the Classical Athenian drama, changed the ancient proverb 'Nothing to do with Dionysos' into a provocatively interrogative form and adopted the question as their title. With this phrase the ancient Greeks expressed their surprise/regret over the insignificant presence of Dionysos in the theatrical performances and at the same time their awareness that his role should have been more prominent. Indeed, Winkler and Zeitlin believed that the role of the Dionysiac elements was more important than this proverb appears to convey. But the 'anterior, even utopian, moment in the development of theatre when what was performed in honor of the god would most logically have focused only on him' was given almost no room in their volume. They correctly admitted that the studies on this 'original' pre-Classical theatre were still 'woefully incomplete and often contestable'.

The heritage of the Cambridge ritualists' arbitrary reconstructions also made this kind of study questionable and rare in the subsequent decade. In the last years, however, this field has been

<sup>8</sup> S. links the question of the *iusiurandum necessarium* to the apparent competence of the slave to use *stipulatio* (see above, n. 7). For a different view, see W.W. Buckland (above, n. 2), 85, 214.

fruitfully revisited within the contemporary study of 'ritual poetics' (primarily promoted by A. Henrichs, G. Nagy, and R. Seaford). *The Origins of Theatre* is closely associated with the methods of 'ritual poetics' and its comparative concerns. Apart from the contribution of B. Kowalzig, however, the volume adopts as its body of evidence not so much the texts of the surviving dramas as the iconographical material associated with the performance of pre-dramatic rituals. Thus, its approach is also closely connected with relevant studies undertaken by archaeologists and art historians, such as L. Giuliani, I. Nielsen, O. Taplin, and S. Woodford.

The proceedings of a conference held at the Center for Hellenic Studies in 2000 constitute the core of the book, which consists of three sections on 'Komasts and Predramatic Ritual' (39ff.; introd. and discuss. by T.H. Carpenter), 'Emergence of Drama' (119ff.; introd. by G. Nagy), 'Comparing Other Cultures' (253ff.; introd. and discuss. by K.C. Patton). Both the editors' 'General Introduction' (1-38) and the 'Concluding Statement' by R. Seaford (377-401) are much more than perfunctory 'margins', and offer two very different and dense discussions of the main issues raised in the volume. The editors' 'Introduction' sets the problem of the ritual origins of the theatre in the framework of the history of classical studies in the twentieth century. Seaford makes various stimulating suggestions, for example about the role of tyrants and their control of the increasing monetisation in creating the polarity of individual versus community, which is so central to tragedy.

Part I: T.J. Smith, 'The Corpus of Komast Vases: From Identity to Exegesis' (48-76): Based on her unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, Smith offers an overview of the iconographic evidence for komasts on vases produced in Corinth, Athens, Boeotia, Laconia, Chios, Miletos, Klazomenai, and Magna Graecia. According to Smith, there appears to be no exclusive connection of the komasts with Dionysos, the world of the symposion, early dramatic performances, or religious activities in general. Smith's results are both convincing and frustrating, for the author does not come up with a simple or simplistic unified theory, which would offer an explanation for all geographical, chronological, and iconographic variations. However, Smith's view of the Corinthian pottery workshops as the starting point for the transmission of the komasts' iconography seems all too confident. Several finds, among them a Late Geometric pottery fragment from Miletos showing *Dickbauchtänzer* with their hands joined, attest to the early use of this iconographic motif outside Corinth. In his discussion of the first section, T.H. Carpenter stresses the possible simultaneous development of regional variations, rather than the primacy of Corinthian influence. — C. Isler-Kerényi, 'Komasts, Mythic Imaginary, and Ritual' (77-95): After an invaluable survey of past scholarship on Dionysiac imagery and the interrelations between texts and images, Isler-Kerényi discusses the iconographic evidence provided mainly by Athenian vase-painting and arrives at a conclusion that partially contradicts Smith's paper: despite the fact that the main problem — the origins of drama — cannot be solved through the iconographic evidence (Isler-Kerényi's position on this issue agrees with that of Smith), the depiction of komasts on Corinthian and Attic vases was connected with Dionysos. Smith's more cautious approach definitely appears more compelling. Isler-Kerényi's discussion of certain vases also reveals the dangers of subjectivity: it remains debatable why the dancers on the vases by the Amasis painter should be characterised as 'grotesque'; T.H. Carpenter in his discussion of the contributions to Part I (108-117) explicitly disagrees with such a description. Moreover, it appears to be a more general problem of clear terminological distinctions. 'Komasts', a term derived from the literary sources, is used along with 'padded' or 'grotesque' dancers, a term clearly based on iconography. In this respect, T.H. Carpenter's pointed and humorous observations about terminology and typology that 'run amuck' are indispensable. — I.R. Green, 'Let's Hear It for the Fat Man: Padded Dancers and the Prehistory of Drama' (96-107): Like Isler-Kerényi, Green stresses the connection between the depiction of padded dancers on vases and Dionysos, especially in Athens and Corinth. In his view, padded dancers are to be seen as important evidence for the existence of public performances in the seventh and sixth centuries. Green is certainly right to emphasise the semantic polyvalence of

the padded dancers' figures as 'pictograms' that could be used, more or less unchanged iconographically, in various contexts without being, however, an exact and conscious photographic depiction of everyday realities. Green's brief survey of possible direct interconnections between drama, comedy, or satyr-play and padded dancers convincingly concludes with negative results.

Part II: D. Depew, 'From Hymn to Tragedy' (126-149): Aristotle's preference for tragedy over comedy and satyr-play and his view on the evolution of tragedy from a medium which was non-sublime, non-refined, and possibly non-serious to the grandest of the theatrical genres (not without a tentative removal of tragedy from its ritual and performative setting) are the results of the way Depew 'hammers' the evidence into a distinctive shape, which is useful for his perspective, as he often does with his definitions. In particular, Aristotle's idea that tragedy can reach its effect outside of public performance is possibly intended to make tragedy available for cognitive roles, thus challenging, for example, the Academy's Socratic dialogues. Depew's suggestion is all the more plausible, if we take into consideration the different, primitivist view of theatre expressed in Dioskorides, *HE* 1585-1622 (= *AP* 7.410f.; 7.37; 7.707f.), where the emphasis of the epigrammist is on satyr-plays, and comedy, rather than tragedy (cf. M. Fantuzzi, in R. Pretagostini and E. Dettori (eds.), *La cultura letteraria ellenistica*, Rome 2007, 105-123). — G. Hedreen's 'Myths of Ritual in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens' (150-195) and M. Steinhart's 'From Ritual to Narrative' well complement one another. The former investigates the corpus of the vases representing revelling processions of satyrs and suggests that they may have depicted a processional, primitive stage of the dithyramb prior to the innovation of the circular dithyramb by Lasus of Hermione. This original dithyramb might have had the 'narrative' function of accompanying Dionysos into Athens, and might have been scurrilous enough for the coarse wildness of the satyrs (as tentatively proved by Hedreen, who combines the probably obscene contents of Arch. fr. 251 with the kind of wine-filled dithyrambos that Archilochos claims that he can utter in fr. 120). Another excellent point by Hedreen is that the orchestrated stylisation of the satyrs' dance in vases from about 560, and the satyrs wearing theatrical costumes in vases later than 500, may be the iconographical output of the progressive institutionalisation of the satyr-play. An attractive point of contact with later speculation: Dioskorides, *HE* 1599-1602 (= *AP* 7.37.3-6) also focuses on the progressive 'dressing' of the satyrs as the clue to their urban refinement, reaching its fulfilment with Sophocles. — M. Steinhart 'From Ritual to Drama' (196-220) investigates the corpus of the vases (most frequent from Corinth) of the so-called padded dancers, inebriated dancers in boisterous processions led by a piper or perhaps an *exarchon*, and with obscene (phallic) features, so that they probably reflect a kind of Dionysiac/dithyrambic ritual procession not different from the satyr vases. In particular, Steinhart investigates their 'narratives' of cult (e.g. the return of Hephaistos; or the dolphins as an *aition* for Arion's introduction of the dithyramb in Corinth), or of scenes of daily life, which the komasts' often mimetically enact, and interestingly Steinhart connects them to the *mikroi mythoi*, which Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449a19) considered the first forms of drama. — B. Kowalzig, "'And Now All the World Shall Dance!'" (Eur. *Bacch.* 114)' (221-251) focuses mainly on Euripides' *Bacchae* and some self-referential tragic choruses. These texts are not uncommon among the scholars of 'ritual poetics' (beginning with Henrichs' seminal paper in *Arion* 1994-5). New in Kowalzig's extremely dense work is the historical contextualisation and poetological motivation of these evocations of ritual. In terms of historical contextualisation, Kowalzig develops a comparison between the mystic Dionysiac elements of Pindar's fragmentary *Dithyramb* 1 and of the *Bacchae* — a mystic/eschatological dimension, which understandably, however, took second place to the civic agenda associated with this god in most of the other Greek tragedies. As regards the self-referentiality of the tragic choruses, which from time to time transforms Greek theatre into a ritual, Kowalzig considers it a precise literary strategy: since ritual was understood as engaging all participants, whereas theatre kept them at a distance. The ritual *facies*, which the chorus displayed, may have been intended to call for more intense involvement by the audience.

Part III: R.J. Leprohon, 'Ritual Drama in Ancient Egypt' (259-292): Based perhaps on too narrow a definition of antique drama in which, according to Leprohon, dialogues and character development are to be considered quintessential, the author stresses the dramatic elements in Egyptian festivals, but negates the existence of dramatic performances. Leprohon's fine distinction between the nature of the Egyptian sources, which most probably refer to ceremonies that took place inside the temples, and the accounts of Greek authors who saw more public performances is compelling, despite the fact that the Herodotean passage (2.171) referring to the nocturnal enactments of Osiris' sufferings called by the Egyptians 'mysteria', possibly deserves more attention. Evidence such as the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, the Shabako stone, the 'Triumph of Horus' in the temple in Edfu, the depiction of masked priests, and masks found in graves do attest to the existence of dramatic performances in the context of religious festivals or secluded ceremonies inside temples. Leprohon is certainly right in differentiating strictly between Greek theatre or ritual drama and the evidence from Egypt, but his repudiation of dramatic performances in Egypt could have been better argued. — G. Zobel, 'Ritual and Performance, Dance and Drama in Ancient Japan' (293-328): In his dense and at times descriptive paper, Zobel discusses three interrelated forms of dramatic performances. The native Shintōistic Kagura dances, first attested in the sixth century BCE, were performed at the beginning in two of the most basic Shintō rites: the *kami-ogi*, a religious ceremony with the character of a divination, and the *chinkon-sai*, the ritual revitalisation of the emperor's soul. However, from the eleventh century CE onwards, the Kagura increasingly became an act of entertainment. The Sangaku dance was imported from China in 752 CE and consisted of a mixture of acrobatics, folk music, and mummery. The Sarugaku dance had a more comical character. Interestingly enough, in the thirteenth century Sarugaku changed its character from comical mimicry towards the apparition of the gods by means of mimetic costuming for which the use of masks was essential. The Dengaku performances originally constituted a ritual evocation of the field gods, but they eventually developed into an early summer spectacle. The importance of masks is further stressed in K.C. Patton's discussion of this section (there is however no reference to A.D. Napier, *Masks, Transformation, and Paradox*, Berkeley 1986 or F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage: Aspects d'identité en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1995). — N.H. Petersen, 'Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy' (329-360): In his stimulating paper, Petersen focuses on one of the major issues in modern scholarship that deals with the possible connection of what has been interpreted as 'plays', 'dramas', or 'performances' with 'liturgy'. According to the author, the cautious or even negative approach to this question is partly due to an all too narrow and perhaps anachronistic definition of 'liturgy' in the Middle Ages that distinguishes between the so-called liturgical and para-liturgical ceremonies. Liturgical dramas (Petersen prefers the term 'representational devotional practices') were regarded as part of the latter group. Petersen stresses that simple *quem quaeritis* dialogues were integral 'dramatic' elements of a larger ceremony, even if they cannot possibly be considered representational or theatrical. Although the author emphasises the fact that a reconstruction of the drama's birth in the liturgy in the tenth century remains problematic, he is, nevertheless, right in his claim that at least a more general concept of 'drama' was formulated in the following centuries in connection with larger representational texts such as the *Fleury Playbook* or the *Danielis ludus*. Petersen's discussion of the Byzantine evidence for devotional representations is too brief to be conclusive, but the author rightly points to the possibility that something comparable to the representations in the West might have existed, a probability all too easily dismissed by modern scholarship.

The present volume impresses through the richness of the discussed material, offers new evidence on the ritual pre-history of Greek theatre, and raises thought-provoking questions, without pretending to have all the answers. Especially in the light of Smith's healthy caution, the question about the character of the padded dancers as komasts and Dionysiac figures has to remain open.

But this volume will certainly constitute also an invaluable starting point for further future research.

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Ann Steiner, *Reading Greek Vases*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 346 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-521-82522-1.

Ann Steiner (hereafter S.) has worked on different aspects of visual repetition in Attic vases during the last decades,<sup>1</sup> but this is her first book-length contribution. In the study, divided into eleven chapters, she aims to explain the role of repetition on Athenian black- and red-figure vase painting between 600-480 BCE. S. argues that since these paintings function as texts to be read, understanding repetition in the imagery depicting particular subjects and especially the use of repetition on a single visual text, i.e. a single vessel, is crucial to knowing how Athenian pottery conveyed meaning to its audience.

The author begins her discussion with an analysis of the imagery and inscriptions on a red-figure pelike by Euthymides and Euphronios, in order to elucidate the significance of repetition. After looking at earlier discussions of the meaning of repetition in Bronze Age art, Athenian vase painting and Homeric epic, S. surveys the central ideas about repetition in information theory, social anthropology, structural linguistics, and narratology, and defines the terms she proposes to use throughout the study.

The second chapter discusses the use of repetition on vases by Exekias, considered to be one of the most creative black-figure vase painters, and concludes that he uses repetition 'as a hook to draw the viewer into a process of close comparison' (31). These cohesive devices communicate to the viewer a message through such means as ellipsis, synonymy, and antonymy. S. then considers how his solutions influenced other vase painters and became a standard part of the visual code. The use of repetition was an option that was not always employed so that its use reflects a deliberate choice on the part of the artist.

In the third chapter S. widens her investigation and, by looking at three case studies, she considers mass-produced nearly identical vases by anonymous artists, which she calls 'Types', in order to understand their impact on Athenian viewers. These three Types are Horse-head amphoras, Komast-dancer cups, and Glauk-skyphoi. In all of them, the same decoration is repeated almost identically. In her view, this type of repetitions allows the user to understand their identity and perhaps also their specific function very quickly.

The fourth chapter digresses from the focus on repeated imagery and considers the elements of 'metadiscourse'. Although S. does not explain this term's particular meaning for her argument, she identifies its main components — written inscriptions and images of repeated spectators — and analyzes their functions. They are a kind of commentary on the mechanics of interpretation. The repeated spectators may exist so as to tell the viewer how to understand the action, they may represent the audience for whom the main scene is demonstrated or they may alert the viewer to the fact that the different scenes of one vase are connected. Perhaps they also perform a 'phatic'

<sup>1</sup> See 'The Meaning of Repetition: Visual Redundancy on Athenian Vases', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 108 (1993), 197-219; 'Illustrious Repetitions: Visual Redundancy in Exekias and his Followers', in J.H. Oakley et al. (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters*, London, 1997, 157-169; 'New Approaches to Greek Vases: Repetition, Aesthetics, and Meaning', in G.P. Warden (ed.), *Greek vase painting: form, figure, and narrative: treasures of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid*, Dallas, 2004, 35-45.