

CONSTANCE L. CAMPBELL
The Costuming of Tragedy in Classical Antiquity
(Under the direction of FRANKLIN J. HILDY)

The previous research on the question of the costuming of tragedy in the ancient world has centered on speculation as to how tragic actors were clothed in Athens during the fifth century BC. However, most of the evidence for tragic costume dates from the fourth century BC and later. Little attention has been paid to the evidence as it applies to the times in which it was produced. This dissertation is a chronological examination of the evidence for theatrical costuming from the fifth century B.C. through the Roman period, with a view to a clarification of the evolution of costuming practices during the Greek and Roman eras.

The evidence falls into two main categories, literary and archaeological. The literary evidence also falls into two categories, that from the plays themselves, and descriptions by those who comment on theatrical practices. The former dates almost exclusively from the fifth century BC, while the latter is quite late, largely from the second century AD. The archaeological evidence spans the entire period, from the fifth century BC to the end of the Roman era.

The available data is reviewed in chronological order whenever possible, in order to trace the use and development of tragic costume from the Classical period in Greece to the late Roman Empire. Various points that are addressed in this study include the high-soled boot and the *onkos*, and the question when and why they developed. Another area of

investigation is be the colors used in the costumes, something that to my knowledge has never been specifically addressed, other than in regard to the color of hair in comic masks. This study of color has yielded some interesting information on the costuming of royal characters from the Greek classical period through late Roman times.

The chronological approach taken in this dissertation yields much information on the development of tragic costuming, allowing innovations and traditions both to be viewed clearly in context.

INDEX WORDS: Greek theatre, Roman theatre, Theatrical
 costuming, Theatre history, Greek and Roman
 archaeology

THE COSTUMING OF TRAGEDY IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

by

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"Another Sidamara Sarcophagus." Art Bulletin 5 (1922),
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Abbreviations Used in the Text

Journals:

<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>AJP</u>	<u>American Journal of Philology</u>
<u>CQ</u>	<u>Classical Quarterly</u>
<u>GRBS</u>	<u>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</u>
<u>HSCP</u>	<u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u>
<u>JDAI</u>	<u>Jahrbuch des (kaiserlich) deutschen archäologischen Instituts</u>
<u>LIMC</u>	<u>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</u>
<u>MDAI (A)</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des (kaiserlich) deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</u>
<u>MDAI (R)</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des (kaiserlich) deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</u>

Books and Articles:

<u>Author</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Title</u>
Beazley		
	<u>ARV</u> ²	<u>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters.</u> 2nd ed. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
Bieber		
	<u>Dres.</u>	<u>Das Dresdner Schauspielerrelief:</u>
	<u>S.relief</u>	<u>Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des</u> <u>tragischen Kostums und der</u> <u>griechischen Kunst.</u> Diss. Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-U, 1907. Bonn: Cohen, 1907.
	<u>DTA</u>	<u>Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im</u> <u>Altertum.</u> Berlin and Leipzig: deGruyter, 1920.
	"Herkunft"	"Die Herkunft des tragischen Kostüms." <u>JDAI</u> , 32 (1917), 15-104.
	<u>HGRT</u>	<u>The History of the Greek and Roman</u> <u>Theater</u> rev. ed. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1961.
	"Maske"	"Maske (Theater)." <u>Paulys Real-</u> <u>Encyclopädie der Classischen</u> <u>Altertumswissenschaft.</u> Neue Bearbeitung. Eds. Georg Wissowa

and Wilhelm Kroll. Vol. 14.
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 2072-2105.

Skenika

"Kuchenform mit Tragödienszene."

Skenika: Funfund siebsigstes
 Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste der
 archäologischen Gesellschaft zu
 Berlin. Berlin: Reimer, 1915. 3-
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"Wurden"

"Wurden die Tragödien des Seneca in
 Rom aufgeführt?" MDAI (R) 60/61
 (1953/54), 100-106.

Bulle

Fest. Loeb

"Von griechischen Schauspielern und
 Vasenmalern." Festschrift für James
 Loeb zum sechzigsten Geburtstag
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 Freunden in Deutschland und
 Amerika. Munich: Bruckmann, 1930.
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Corolla

Curtius

"Weihebild eines tragischen
 Dichters." Corolla Ludwig Curtius
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 1937. 151-160.

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Reichhold Furtwängler, A., and K. Reichhold.
Griechische Vasenmalerei. Serie
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Theatre in Classical Athens." GRBS
32 (1991): 15-50.
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London: Routledge, 1994.
- Kossatz-Diessmann Dramen Dramen des Aischylos auf
Westgriechischen Vasen. Mainz: von
Zabern, 1978.
- Liddell and Scott LSJ A Greek-English Lexicon compiled by
Henry George Liddell and Robert
Scott, Revised and Augmented
throughout by Sir Henry Stuart
Jones with the Assistance of
Roderick McKenzie and with the
Cooperation of Many Scholars.
Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Pickard-Cambridge DTC Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy.
Oxford: Clarendon, 1927.

- DFA¹ The Dramatic Festivals of Athens.
Oxford: Clarendon, 1953.
- DFA² The Dramatic Festivals of Athens.
2nd ed. Rev. John Gould and D. M.
Lewis. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.
- Reinach
- Rep. Peint. Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et
Romaines. Paris: Leroux, 1922.
- Rep. Reliefs Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et
Romaines. Vol. 2. Paris: Leroux,
1912.
- Rep. Vases Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs
et Étrusques, vol. I. Paris:
Leroux, 1922.
- Simon
- AT The Ancient Theatre. Trans. C. E.
Vafopoulou-Richardson. London:
Methuen, 1982.
- Taplin
- CA Comic Angels and Other Approaches
to Greek Drama through Vase-
Paintings. Oxford: Clarendon,
1993.
- Cambr. Comp. "The Pictorial record." The
Cambridge Companion to Greek

- Tragedy. Ed. P.E. Easterling.
Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997, 69-90.
- GTA Greek Tragedy in Action. Berkeley: U of California P, 1978.
- SA The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy. Oxford: Clarendon, 1977.
- Trendall
- "Farce" "Farce and tragedy in South Italian vase-painting." Looking at Greek Vases, eds. Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991. 151-182.
- "Masks" "Masks on Apulian Red-Figured Vases." Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster, vol. II. Eds. J.H. Betts, J.T. Hooker, and J.R. Green. Bristol: Bristol Classical P, 1988, 137-154.
- RFVSIS Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.
- Walton

- GTP Greek Theatre Practice. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980.
- GST The Greek Sense of Theatre: Tragedy Reviewed. 2nd ed. n.p.: Harwood Acad., 1996/1998.
- Webster
- ALFCA Art and Literature in Fourth Century Athens. London: Athlone, 1956.
- GTP Greek Theatre Production. London: Methuen, 1956/1970.
- MITSP² Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play, 2nd ed. U of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supplement No.20, 1967.
- Weitzmann
- ABI Ancient Book Illumination. Martin Classical Lectures, vol. XVI. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1959.

Introduction

The previous research on the question of the costuming of tragedy in the ancient world has tended to center on speculation as to how tragic actors were clothed in Athens during the fifth century BC. However, most of the evidence for tragic costume dates from the fourth century BC and later. This fact has not escaped the numerous scholars who have attempted to reconstruct fifth-century costuming practices, but it has also not deterred them from proceeding to use the later material as evidence for earlier practices, even though they may be willing to admit that "the evidence is for the most part too late for the purpose" (Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 212). Little attention has been paid to the evidence as it applies to the times in which it was produced. Margarete Bieber, in her History of the Greek and Roman Theater, as well as in the earlier Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen in Altertum, discussed many of the extant archaeological examples of costuming in the more general context of theatre practices as a whole, but drew very few conclusions about costuming practices from this evidence. This dissertation is a chronological examination of the evidence--both archaeological and literary--for theatrical costuming from the fifth century B.C. through the Roman period, with a view

to a clarification of the evolution of costuming practices during the Greek and Roman eras.

Various past dissertations have dealt with the study of ancient theatrical costuming. Catherine Saunders' 1906 dissertation was reprinted in 1966 as Costume in Roman Comedy. It dealt with the literary and archaeological evidence for the costuming of Plautus and Terence in ancient Rome, discussing the clothing and masks worn by the various stock and "unusual" (her term) characters. Also dealing with costume in comedy was Laura Stone's 1980 dissertation, Costume in Aristophanic Comedy. Her discussion covered the various elements of costume in Old Comedy, the costumes worn by various character types and by the chorus, and examples of costume changes and disguises. Her evidence is both literary--coming from Aristophanes' plays themselves, commentaries on them, and what ancient and medieval authors wrote about costuming and theatre in general--and archaeological, largely from vase-paintings and terracotta statuettes.

Margarete Bieber's dissertation of 1907 dealt to some extent with the study of the history of tragic costume as it is depicted in Greek art.¹ Its primary purpose, however, was a discussion of a late Hellenistic relief depicting a tragic

¹Das Dresdner Schauspielerrelief: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des tragischen Kostums und der griechischen Kunst, Diss. Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-U, 1907.

actor; the discussion of tragic costume was largely in comparison to this relief, and only a relatively small number of other artworks were considered. Moreover, as she was writing in 1907, Bieber had no access to the items that were discovered in the twentieth century, nor to the work of the scholars of that century who contributed a great deal to the interpretation and understanding of much of the material on the subject of ancient theatre practice.

Of a more recent date is Thomas Van Brunt's dissertation, "A Reevaluation of the Evidence Used to Reconstruct Athenian Theatrical Costuming of the Classical Age," which was completed in 1978. His stated purpose was to discuss the literary and archaeological evidence for the costuming of the tragedies, comedies, and satyr plays that were performed at the Athenian festivals of the Classical period to assess its reliability. In his discussion, he made use of the evidence from the surviving plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander (for the purposes of his study, he considered the end of the Classical age to be the death of Menander in about 290 B. C., rather than the more conventional death of Alexander in 323). Since he found that the vocabulary concerning clothing in these plays differs little from the words for items of everyday dress, he concluded that there was very little difference in this period between theatrical costume and street clothes. He also looked at archaeological evidence, including but not

limited to vase paintings, free-standing and relief sculpture, and wall paintings. Here, he concluded that, "their authenticity as evidence for the theatre, especially the festival [i.e. Classical Athenian] theatre, is tenuous at best" (122), and that "the logic used by many eminent scholars interpreting the vases should be viewed sceptically" (123). His third category of evidence consisted of the commentaries of Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine writers. Here also he came to the conclusion that these late sources are unreliable, especially when used as evidence for Classical practice.

There are several aspects of Van Brunt's study in which it is a little difficult to follow his argument. For example, in his first section, that on the evidence from the extant Classical plays, he spent some eleven pages (69-80) discussing the textual evidence for the use of the padded *phallos* in Aristophanes, eventually deciding that, "The *phallos* was probably used for certain comic effects" (80). However, he concluded his first section with the statement that any garments mentioned in the plays "[seem] to be the articles one would expect to see worn daily in the streets and houses of Athens" (87). This is just one example of the difficulties presented by his dissertation. What I take the greatest issue with, however, and what I wish to counter in this dissertation, is his attempt to apply the literary and archaeological evidence of the Hellenistic, Roman, and

Byzantine ages to the costuming practices of Classical Athens, even though he concluded that it was unreliable for this purpose. However, he is not alone in attempting to use the later evidence to reconstruct the costuming practices of the fifth century.

In the first edition of his book The Dramatic Festivals of Athens, Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge included a fairly detailed examination of the literary and archaeological evidence for theatrical masks, clothing, and footwear in the ancient world (175-238).² However, Pickard-Cambridge's purpose in this book was to assemble the evidence for the theatrical festivals of Athens in the classical period, and therefore any evidence he set out is there with at least that purpose behind it, in spite of frequent cautions such as, "the general descriptions of the actor's appearance which have come down to us are all late, and their applicability to the actors of the Classical period often very doubtful" (175). In other words, his is a more masterful--and earlier--version of Van Brunt's work.

In The History of the Greek and Roman Theater, as well as in several other works (see "Works Consulted"), Margarete Bieber also catalogued much of the evidence for theatrical

²This section was considerably reworked in the second edition by John Gould and D. M. Lewis, who deleted many of Pickard-Cambridge's archaeological examples, as they "tended to neutralize the author's justified caution in his text about their relevance to the classical stage" (viii).

costuming in the ancient world, but in a somewhat different manner than did Pickard-Cambridge and Van Brunt. For one thing, her focus was not primarily on costume, but rather on ancient theatre practices in general. She discussed costuming only as a part of the general picture. On the whole, she did not try to recreate Classical practices from the evidence of later remains or writing. Instead, she discussed evidence from a particular time period in the context of the other evidence from that same time period. Therefore she dealt with, for example, masks of the Hellenistic period in her chapter "The Evolution of the Art of Acting" (HGRT 80-86), and masks of the Roman period in the chapter "Plays of the Roman Empire" (HGRT 227-253). She did little, however, beyond describing the costumes worn by the figures depicted in some of the monuments, except near the end of her discussion when she connected the pictorial depictions of tragic actors with Lucian's description of their exaggerated costume, and used both as evidence for the survival of tragic performance in the later Empire (239-241). She did not treat specifically the development of the elements of costume from the fifth-century Greeks to the late Empire, nor did she attempt to give any reasons for the changes that took place. She also generally did not address the question of whether particular monuments are accurate representations of actual stage practice, or if they were designed simply to suggest the theatre or the story of some

play to the viewer's mind, or even if they truly had anything to do with the theatre at all.

The general outline of tragic costume, then, has been fairly well documented by scholars in the past century. Certain questions remain, though, including when the various elements of tragic costume came into use and, in the case of the more unusual items (such as the high soles and the *onkos*), why they came into use. There are also questions of how much characterization and of what sort was conveyed by the costumes at various periods, and whether color might have been used as an aid to characterization or for any other purpose. A certain amount of archaeological evidence has been discovered in the past forty or fifty years, since the last time anyone has tried to take a serious look at what the archaeological remains as a whole can tell us about tragic costume. Furthermore, the major scholars on this subject--Bieber, Pickard-Cambridge, and Trendall and Webster--each chose to pass over evidence used by one or more of the others. These facts plus the increased availability of color reproductions made even more accessible by electronic media argue for a re-examination of the available evidence with a view to answering these and other questions on the development and use of tragic costume in the ancient world.

In this dissertation I employ a chronological examination of the evidence for the costuming of tragedy beginning in the fifth century BC and continuing through to

the end of the Roman period. The purpose of this study is to attempt to clarify the development and usage of tragic costume in the Greek and Roman periods. Such evidence falls into two main categories, literary and archaeological.

The literary evidence falls into two categories, that from the plays themselves, and descriptions by those who comment on theatrical practices. The former dates almost exclusively from the fifth century BC, while the latter is quite late, largely from the second century AD. Greek lexicographer Iulius Pollux, writing at the later time, listed and described tragic masks and various pieces of the tragic costume. At about the same time, the rhetorician Lucian was using theatrical descriptions including some of costuming in some of his satiric dialogues. Aulus Gellius also mentioned tragic costume in his second century *Noctes Atticae*, and the authors Athenaeus and Philostratus referred to the topic in their writings near the end of the second century.

The archaeological evidence spans the entire period, from the fifth century BC to the end of the Roman era. It can be classified by artistic medium: Greek vase painting (almost exclusively from the fifth and fourth centuries BC); Greek and Roman frescoes, mosaics, and relief sculptures; and miscellaneous items, such as free-standing sculptures, lamps, and dedicatory items, dating from various times throughout the period.

The Greek vases that I look at are my base-line, the the beginning from which I trace subsequent changes that occur. These vases illustrate one of the areas in which I must exercise the most caution. The question is often whether the work of art in question actually reflects theatrical practice, or if it is meant only to recall the story of a play to the viewer; or if it has anything to do with the theatre at all, in spite of the fact that some past scholar has identified it as being theatrical in nature.³ An example of this sort of problem is a Campanian red-figure amphora from about 330 BC that depicts Medeia actually killing one of her children.⁴ This is a scene that was not shown on the stage, at least not in Euripides' tragedy; Medeia, however, although not wearing a mask, is wearing a long-sleeved garment that might be meant to be a tragic costume, and the two columns and tall, thin altar in the background may be an

³T. B. L. Webster and his various collaborators are particularly prone to listing as theatrical almost any vase that seems to illustrate a story that has been dramatized, whether or not it depicts anything obviously from a performance, such as costume, masks, theatre architecture, stock characters, satyrs, or musicians. This is by no means a valueless practice; it can be of great help in understanding how the ancients visualized the stories of their dramas, whether they were meant to be understood as being on stage or not. It can, however, be misleading to someone whose sole interest is in seeing what an ancient theatre production might have looked like.

⁴Louvre K300, from Cumae, by the Ixion Painter. Trendall and Webster III, 3, 36; Schmidt, LIMC Medeia 31. See Chapter III, page 167.

indication of stage architecture. Thus, this piece is probably some sort of conflation of Medeia the tragic character and Medeia the myth; the difficulty comes in sorting out one element from the mix. However, all of the vases of this period that seem to illustrate scenes from tragedy contain some mixture of the theatrical, the mythological, and the historical, and therefore great caution must be exercised in reading them as evidence for actual stage practice. There are, though, several vases of this period that illustrate what are almost definitely costumed actors "offstage",⁵ giving an excellent base from which to begin the discussion of tragic costume.

A few other pieces of the Classical and the Hellenistic periods give evidence for tragic costume, especially masks. For example, a fragment of a marble relief from the third quarter of the fourth century in Copenhagen shows an actor dressed in a long, possibly sleeved, robe and wrapped in a *himation*; in his left hand he holds a tragic mask with an

⁵These include the famous "Pronomos Vase" in Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 3240 (see Chapters I and II, figs. I,2 and II,8), a scene of chorus and deities in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg H4781 (see Chapter II, fig. II,6), and a red-figure fragment of about 340 B.C. also in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Mus. H4600, showing an actor holding the mask of an old man (see Chapter III, fig. III,10).

open mouth, long, straight hair, and a high forehead.⁶ From the Hellenistic period comes another relief of a figure holding a mask, this one being a seated woman who holds up a mask of a man with a bulging forehead and hair formed into a high *onkos*.⁷ A relief from Priene of about the second century BC includes a personification of Tragedy in long-sleeved robe and mask with tall *onkos*.⁸ A very intriguing fresco of the late second century BC from Delos shows a scene with two figures in long-sleeved robes and masks;⁹ the fresco has been damaged, but the woman's mask is pure white and has a high forehead, while the man's mask clearly shows both a high forehead and hair piled into an *onkos*.

There is a great deal more evidence of tragic costume from the Roman period. Some notable pieces include the tragic panels from the Casa del Centenario in Pompeii, which include such scenes as one of Medeia pointing a sword at her children (Chapter V, figs. V,9-V,12); the figures in these panels are all depicted in long-sleeved, high-belted gowns

⁶Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 233; see Chapter III, fig. III,16.

⁷British Museum 1106, from Halicarnassus; see Chapter IV, fig. IV,6.

⁸The "Apotheosis of Homer," British Museum 2191; see Chapter IV, fig. IV,5.

⁹Delos, House of the Comedians (N, Metope 7); the figures, a man and a woman, are usually identified as Antigone with the blind Oedipus. See Chapter IV, fig. IV,9.

and in masks with tall *onkoi*, although none of their shoe-soles are particularly thick. Two frescoes with very similarly clad figures are one of two men--possibly Oedipus and a messenger--in Palermo (Chapter V, fig. V,8), and one of two female figures and a baby from Pompeii (Chapter V, fig. V,7). A scene on a terracotta relief in Rome from the tomb of Numitorius Hilarus from perhaps the first century BC depicts a *scaenae frons* in front of which are shown a number of figures. One of them wears a long-sleeved, high-waisted robe, a female mask with a low *onkos*, and boots with fairly high soles (Chapter V, fig. V,2). Much later is a figure on a fourth-century A.D. strigil sarcophagus who is shown in another long-sleeved, high-waisted robe, perched on very high-soled boots, and holding a mask with big, round eyes and a very high, pointed *onkos* (Chapter VI, fig. VI,14). Very similar in appearance to this figure are those on a series of twenty-four mosaics currently in the Vatican and probably dating from the late second or early third century AD (Chapter VI, figs. VI,5-VI,10). These figures are also wearing the long-sleeved, high-belted robe that covers the tops of their feet, and masks, some of which have rather pointed *onkoi*. They are also shown wearing boots with soles that are so high that their appearance led Marion Blake to make the erroneous conclusion that there was a misunderstanding of the pieces by the modern restorer, who made them "fastened without feet to a small flat base [which]

invites the conjecture that they are puppets dressed like actors [. . .]."¹⁰ This view, stated in 1940, seems to be the reason for these mosaics' neglect by most serious scholars since then. The evidence that had been presented by Bartolomeo Nogara in 1910 seems to indicate that the restoration of these pieces was not particularly extensive, and thus they should be considered a valuable piece of evidence for the costuming of tragedy in the late Roman Empire, especially since the colors as well as the forms of the costumes are preserved in them (I Mosaici Antichi Conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano).

This dissertation reviews the available data in chronological order whenever possible, in order to trace the use and development of tragic costume from the Classical period in Greece to the late Roman Empire. Various points that I will address in this study include the first appearance of the high-soled boot and of the *onkos*, and the question of whether or not it is connected to the raising of the stage at the beginning of the Hellenistic period,¹¹ or with an attempt to recreate the supposed appearance of fifth century theatre instituted by Lykourgos in the late fourth

¹⁰"Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity." Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 17 (1940), 118.

¹¹This was suggested by Bulle (Festschrift für James Loeb 19), and refuted by Pickard-Cambridge (DFA² 196).

century BC.¹² Another area of investigation will be the colors used in the costumes, something that to my knowledge has never been specifically addressed, other than in regard to the color of hair in comic masks. Evidence for color in costume includes some description by the ancient writers, especially Lucian, but is mostly to be found in the ancient mosaics and frescoes showing actors in costume. Many of these latter, however, have been published only in black and white; the few color publications are for the most part from some time ago.¹³ Therefore, as part of the research process, I travelled to Italy and Greece to view and photograph as many of these pieces as possible.

To sum up, then, this dissertation presents a systematic, chronological study of the evidence pertaining to the costuming of tragedy in the Greek and Roman eras, with a view to coming to a better understanding of the evolution of ancient costuming practices. This study also will potentially also add to our knowledge of how color was understood and used in the ancient world, at least on the stage. To aid researchers on the subject, the dissertation includes a list of terms relevant to ancient costuming in

¹²This was suggested by Pickard-Cambridge, DFA 189.

¹³For example, the only color publications of the twenty-four mosaics from Porcareccia in the Vatican Museum are in watercolor in Millin's book of 1829 and in Wieseler's book from 1851.

general and tragic costume in particular, chronological lists of Athenian plays that mention costume and of major developments in tragic costume, and a list of the major bibliography for each of the illustrations included in this dissertation. It is my expectation that this chronological study and its accompanying materials will be able to be of use in the understanding of the production of tragedy in the ancient world.

Chapter I

The Scholarship Concerning Tragic Costume

In the second century AD, near the end of the period discussed in this dissertation, the Greek author Lucian described a tragic actor as follows:

What a horrid and also frightening sight is a human being dressed up to a disproportionate size, mounted upon towering shoes, a mask stuck on him that stretches up over the top of his head with a great big mouth as if he's about to swallow up the audience. I won't even mention the breast and stomach padding which he affects for added and contrived bulk, so that the irregularity of his height is not too much accentuated by his slenderness.¹⁴

Beginning in the Renaissance, this was held to be the image of an actor in Greek tragedy by the serious students of the form. By the end of the nineteenth century, however,

¹⁴ Lucian, *The Dance* (Περὶ Ορχήσεως), 27. Ὡς εἰδεχθὲς ἄμα καὶ φοβερὸν θέαμα εἰς μήκος ἄρρυθμον ἡσκημένος ἄνθρωπος, ἐμβάταις ὑψηλοῖς ἐποχούμενος, πρόσωπον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀνατεινόμενον ἐπικείμενος καὶ στόμα κεχηνὸς πάμμεγα ὥς καταπιόμενος τοὺς θεατάς. ἐὼ λέγειν προστερνίδια καὶ προγαστρίδια, προσθετὴν καὶ ἐπιτεχνητὴν παχύτητα προσποιούμενος, ὥς μὴ τοῦ μήκους ἢ ἄρρυθμίας ἐν λεπτῷ μᾶλλον ἐλέγχοιτο. Harmon, vol. V, 238-240. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

scholars had begun to doubt that this rather hideous apparition represented the tragic actor of at least the Greek Classical period, and many came to believe that this extremely distorted figure belonged only to the Roman theatre.¹⁵ However, we do find in Lucian's description the elements that were most likely used as the basis for stage costuming throughout antiquity: footwear, a mask, and a covering for the body.

A second quotation from Lucian is also useful in the discussion of the elements of tragic costume. In the dialogue "Zeus the Tragedian," Damis berates Timokles for seeming to believe that what he sees on the stage is real, that the very masks of the gods and the boots and the floor-length chitons and cloaks and the sleeves¹⁶ and the stomach pads and the other things

¹⁵Although most twentieth-century classicists and historians would agree with this, many authors of handbooks for the theatre have not received the news, and still describe Greek tragic costume of the fifth century as consisting of tall shoes and a high mask. For example, Robert Cohen, in the fifth edition of his Theatre: Brief Version, published in the year 2000, states in the discussion of Greek classical theatre, "Each tragic actor wore elevated shoes (*kothurnoi*), an elaborate headdress (*onkos*), and a long, usually colorful gown (*himation* [sic]) with a tunic [sic] over it (*chlamys*) [. . .]."

¹⁶or possibly "gloves." The Greek word χειρίς means a covering either for the hand or the lower arm. Most scholars that I have consulted accept it as sleeve--the exceptions being Harmon for this passage, and Lefkowitz for a similar passage from the Life of Aeschylus, 14 (τοὺς τε ὑποκριτὰς χειρῶν σκεπάσας, which she translates as, "He equipped the actors with gloves," 159). Both, however, are philologists, rather

with which these fellows emphasize the pompousness of the tragedy are divine, and that is ridiculous.¹⁷

This is a list not only of what was worn by a tragic actor in the Roman Empire, but also of all of the elements that one would expect theatrical costuming to include: masks, footwear (boots), clothing (chitons and cloaks), and miscellaneous items and costume props (padding, "the other things"). All of these items have a specific vocabulary associated with them in the ancient writings on theatrical practice and in the modern study of that practice, and it will be useful to review them and what various scholars have had to say about them before discussing the evidence for the use of the costume pieces throughout the ancient period.

Footwear

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, most scholars assumed that the "towering shoes" described by Lucian had been worn by tragic actors since the time of Aischylos. Then, in 1905, Kendall K. Smith assembled all of the literary and pictorial evidence then known about footwear

than students of ancient theatre production, and thus would be less familiar with the artistic representations of theatrical costume, which show long sleeves, but no gloves or hand-coverings.

¹⁷Lucian, *Zeus the Tragedian* (Ζεὺς Τραγῳίδος), 41. [...] θεοὺς εἶναι [...] τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας καὶ τοὺς ποδήρεις χιτῶνας καὶ χλαμύδας καὶ χειρίδας καὶ προγαστρίδια καὶ τὰλλα οἷς ἐκεῖνοι σεμνύνοισι τὴν τραγῳδίαν, ὅπερ καὶ γελοιόστατον. Harmon, vol. II, 152.

in tragedy, and challenged that assumption. His look at words for footwear in the classical period led him to conclude that the term most often used in modern times for the high-soled tragic shoe, *kothornos*, actually referred to "a large, easy boot without 'lefts' or 'rights,' fitted to either foot" (128), worn primarily by women and the "effeminate" god Dionysos. He also concluded that the word used in the Suda for the high-soled boot, *arbylê*, was in the fifth-century tragedies simply a generic term for shoe, an item that could be worn by men or women from any rank for many purposes (130-131). His research also showed that the term *embatês*, commonly used in Roman times for the high-soled boot, had been defined by Xenophon as, in Smith's translation, "a leather boot covering the shins and so used by cavalrymen in place of greaves" (132). None of these, nor any of the other words that he listed (*embas*, *krepis*, *okribas*, *sandalia Tyrrenika*), seem to have been used in classical times to refer specifically to a high-soled boot, or to any exclusively theatrical type of footwear, which Smith took to be an indication that there was no specifically theatrical footwear in this period.

From this, Smith went on to look at the movement required of tragic actors as implied in the texts of the plays, and he questioned whether the actions could have been performed by actors mounted on platform soles three to ten inches thick (134-141). He discovered numerous hurried

entrances and exits, scenes of climbing, falling, rising, or creeping about, and supplication scenes in which an actor would be required to sink to one knee, with his other foot still flat upon the ground. All of these actions would be difficult or impossible to perform in shoes with high platforms, and the visual effects of any attempts would be at best peculiar, at worst laughable.¹⁸ Smith also restated Robert's point regarding the scene from Aischylos' Agamemnon, in which the returning hero removes his shoes in order to walk on the purple cloth laid out by Klytaimnestra (141). Robert noted that removing high-soled boots would make Agamemnon a good deal shorter than Klytaimnestra. Smith added to this observation that also "his long chiton (χιτὼν ποδήρης), too long now by a number of inches, would trip him or have to be gathered up in most untragic manner" (142).¹⁹

¹⁸Smith did not address the topic of the use of the high-soled shoes on the Roman stage, where--according to both literary and pictorial evidence--they were almost certainly employed. Presumably, actions performed in them would be equally difficult for Roman actors, and the spectacle equally ridiculous to Roman audiences. This, then, could be an argument for the theory that the Roman acting style was basically declamatory, and that little or no action was employed.

¹⁹This, of course, assumes that Agamemnon would have been wearing not only high-soled shoes, but a long robe, which might not have been the fact in this period, and that the robe would have been long enough to cover the soles of the boots, which was not always the case in the pictorial evidence of robes and high soles from the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, the only periods from which we have evidence of high soles.

Smith then cited the fifth-century BC works of art depicting actors that were known in the early twentieth century: the Peiraieus relief (fig. I,1), the Pronomos vase (fig. I,2), and the Andromeda krater (fig. I,3). He noted that on none of these was a high-soled shoe or boot depicted, and that furthermore no high-soled footwear could be found in any artifact whatever from the classical period. His conclusion was that the high-soled shoe or boot had not been used on stage during the time of the great tragic poets.

At this point, Smith examined the evidence from Hellenistic literature and art, not with a view toward



Fig. I,1. Marble relief from the Peiraieus, c. 400 BC.

Photo from Bieber, Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum, pl. 53.



Fig. I,2. Attic red-figure volute krater, c. 400 BC, the "Pronomos Vase." Photo: Bieber, DTA, pl. 48.



Fig. I,3. Attic red-figure kalyx-krater, c. 400 BC. Photo: Bieber, DTA, fig. 105.

determining when the high-soled boot came into use, but simply in order to show that there was also no evidence of these boots before 150 B.C., which strengthened his argument that they were not used in the classical period (146-148). He then examined the evidence from Imperial Rome, drawing the following conclusions:

1. that the proper term for the high-soled tragic boot was not *kothornos* but *embatês*, since this was the word used by the majority of the writers of this period (149-151).

2. that the term *kothornos* or *cothurnus* came to be applied to the tragic shoe through Roman influence; the Romans had probably begun to call the tragic shoe *cothurnus* or *coturnus* because it was a Greek word for "shoe" with which they were familiar at the time when they first began to see the high-soled shoe on the stage (151-154).

3. that although some authors of the Roman period, such as Philostratos (see note 24, below), assign the invention of the high-soled boot to Aischylos, most of them refer to it simply as a convention of the stage without any reference to period, and therefore there is no certain evidence that the high-soled boot or shoe was in use in the fifth century BC (155-156).

4. that the earliest securely dated works of art available to him on which high-soled shoes are depicted in a theatrical context date from the end of the second century BC; although some scholars have interpreted later works as

being copies of classical originals, there is no evidence that this is the case, and furthermore, none of the pieces interpreted as copies clearly show high soles. Therefore, the art of the Imperial period proves the use of the high sole for that period, but gives no indication of its use in earlier times.

Smith's work is generally taken as the best summary of the evidence for the high-soled boot in tragedy, and his conclusion that such footwear was not used in the classical period is accepted by most, if not all, of the scholars on the subject. I certainly can find no fault with his conclusions, and--as I will show in the rest of this study--the works of art that have been discovered since his publication do nothing to detract from his hypotheses, and in fact can be seen to strengthen them. The only questions that remain to be dealt with in the area of tragic footwear are:

1. When did the high sole first appear in tragedy, and why?
2. What sorts of footwear were used with the tragic costume before the introduction of the high-soled boot?
3. After its introduction, was the high-soled shoe the only footwear used in tragedy, or were other types in use as well?

Masks

Writing in the second century AD, Julius Pollux, in a work titled Onomastikon, elaborated on the same costume

elements discussed by Lucian.²⁰ He listed the names of items used in tragedy--the footwear, various garments for men and women, possible headwear, and certain other items worn by characters such as warriors, hunters, or kings. He also enumerated and described the masks worn by characters in tragedy: six different old men, eight young men, three slaves, and eleven women. He described each of the masks, such as that of the old shaven man with white hair, or of the woman with black hair, a disagreeable look, and a yellow complexion. This amount of detail has led some scholars, notably Bieber and Webster, to attempt to match the surviving pictorial representations of the masks to the types listed by Pollux.²¹ As interesting as this exercise may be, I am not convinced of its value, in that we cannot be sure to what period Pollux's descriptions apply (which depends upon whether they are a product of his own time, or are based on an earlier source, and if the latter, to what period the source belongs). Therefore, we cannot determine with what period to begin the attempts at matching. One feature, however, of Pollux's list of masks is of particular interest,

²⁰The text is reproduced in Van Brunt (141-143), as is his translation (144-145). Csapo and Slater (395-396, 398-400) also print a translation, and Nagler has a translation of the section on masks (10-13).

²¹The highlights of their attempts are briefly summarized by Pickard-Cambridge, DTA¹, 190-193, DTA², 193-195. See also Bieber, "*Maske*," 2078, 40-2082, 40.

and that is his definition of the *onkos*, "the upper part of the countenance rising above the forehead, in the shape of the Greek letter *lambda* [λ]."²²

The *onkos* is often considered to be the outstanding characteristic of the tragic mask, but its origin and earliest use are matters of some question. The anonymous Life of Aischylos, written during the Roman Empire, seems to credit the dramatist with the introduction of the *onkos*, but the Life is quite late, and at best is based on late Hellenistic sources, so this association is of very doubtful accuracy.²³ It does, however, fit very well with the tradition that Aischylos was responsible for the invention of the tragic costume described by Lucian, a tradition that appears in Horace's Ars Poetica in the first century BC, and in various works by the authors Philostratus and Athenaeus

²²Pollux, Onomastikon (Ὀνομάστικον), iv, 134. The translation is that printed by Nagler, 10.

²³Life of Aischylos (Αἰσχύλου Βίος), 14 (Page, Aeschyli 333; a translation is published in Lefkowitz's Lives of the Greek Poets, 159). My translation is, "He covered the actors with sleeves and the long robe [*syrma*] puffed up to a greater degree and also raised them up on boots" (τούς τε ὑποκριτὰς χειρῖσι σκεπάσας καὶ τῷ σύρματι ἐξογκώσας μείζοσι τε τοῖς κοθόρνοις μετεωρίσας). The Greek phrase used here, ἐξογκώσας μείζοσι ("puffed up to a greater degree"), might refer to the masks; it could, though, refer to the robe instead. The word translated "puffed up," ἐξογκώσας, however, includes the root of the word *onkos* (ὄγκος).

around AD 200.²⁴ These passages really cannot be relied on as accurate testimony on what Aischylos did or did not do as regards costuming, since the earliest of these sources, Horace, lived more than 400 years after the playwright was active. Moreover, no artifacts from the fifth century picture anything that even remotely resembles an *onkos*. The passages do, however, suggest that there was a tradition that Aischylos had something to do with the development of tragic costume, and it is in this that their main value to us lies. They do nothing, though, to indicate either how Aischylos might actually have influenced costuming or when the *onkos* first came into use.

The late sources also discuss the materials from which masks were made. As Bieber notes ("Maske," 2073), the tenth-century *Suda* lexicon is the source for the tradition that Thespis experimented with covering the actor's face, first with white lead, then purslane, and finally linen.²⁵ She also mentions that the Scholia of Aristophanes discuss masks

²⁴Horace, *Ars Poetica* 278-280; Philostratos, *Life of Apollonius*, VI, 11 and *Lives of the Sophists* I, 9; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* I, 21.

²⁵*Suda*, Θέσπις (*Thespis*); Adler vol. II, 711, #282. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμυθίῳ ἐτραγῶδησεν, εἶτα ἀνδράχνη ἐσκέπασεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπείων χρήσιν ἐν μόνῃ ὀθόνη κατασκευάσας. "He [Thespis] first showed in tragedy the face colored with white lead, then he covered it with purslane in the performance, and after he introduced all this, he contrived the use of masks from a single linen cloth."

pressed from plaster and linen, and that the fourth-century grammarian Servius, and the fifth-century lexicographer Hesychios mention thin wood and cork as materials for masks, which could then be covered with plaster. Bieber speculates that such masks would then have been painted, the earliest ones simply white for women and red for men, the examples from later in the Classical period more realistically, with such refinements as white eyeballs with colored irises. However, since the sources on which these speculations are based are uniformly quite late (ranging from a few hundred years to fifteen centuries after the time they describe), none of this can be regarded as anything more than speculation, and the best one can do in discussing the materials from which masks were made is make some educated guesses, based on hints from these late sources, representations of early masks in art, and techniques known to be contemporary with the early masks.

Illustrations of masks from the fifth century BC onward show a face-covering attached to a wig, so that the mask would be worn over the entire head (see Chapter II). The materials must, therefore, have been relatively light in weight. The combination of linen and plaster (or cartonnage) mentioned in the Aristophanes Scholia would probably suffice, as would the thin wood or (especially) cork, covered with a thin layer of plaster. The cartonnage would also be easy to mold into the required shapes; it was, indeed, used for the

molding of mummy masks in Egypt at least as early as 2000 BC.²⁶ Thus it seems likely to me that it was this combination, rather than a simple sheet of linen, that the author in the Suda meant to suggest in his list of Thespis' experiments.²⁷ After some 1500 years, the tradition had probably become somewhat garbled, and the author, imagining a primitive experiment, envisioned sheets of linen hanging in front of an actor's face, with no clear idea of how they would be worn by the actor or anchored in place. A molded mask, however, to which a wig could be attached is both a practical solution and one which agrees with the earliest artistic depictions of theatrical masks, and is therefore in my opinion the most likely form for the early masks to have taken.

Finally, it is necessary to make a brief mention of the famous passage from the Attic Nights of the second century AD author Aulus Gellius (V, vii, 2), in which he gives an interesting etymology for the Latin word for mask, *persona*.

²⁶John H. Taylor, "Masks in Ancient Egypt: The image of divinity," Masks and the Art of Expression, ed. John Mack (New York: Abrams, 1994) 178.

²⁷Pickard-Cambridge (DT&C 110-111) suggests as alternate meanings for ἐν μόνῃ ὀθόνη either "of linen only, not of cork or wood" or "of linen without paint or colouring." He favors the former, but finds neither interpretation completely satisfying. Since the Greek μόνος translates as "alone, forsaken, only, standing alone" (Lidell and Scott, s.v.), the former interpretation seems somewhat forced to me; "linen alone" (μόνη ὀθόνη) suggests to me a simple piece of fabric, perhaps dyed or painted, perhaps not.

Briefly summarized, it states that the word, which can be broken into *per* and *sona* (literally "through" and "sound"), is derived from the fact that a mask encloses the head on all sides, with but a single opening through which a voice can pass. Furthermore, "since it [the opening] is neither undefined nor wide, it produces a voice collected and compressed into only one outlet, and makes the sounds clearer and more harmonious."²⁸ This last clause was once taken by many scholars as an indication that the masks had the property of a megaphone, serving to magnify the actor's voice in order for it to carry to all of the audience. Most twentieth-century scholars find this argument suspicious if not completely ridiculous, for at least two reasons. First of all, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to build an effective megaphone-like device into a mask that, even at its most grotesque, could not protrude more than a few inches from the mouth; this difficulty would be compounded in a mask made of any of the materials we have discussed.²⁹ Secondly, the well-known acoustical properties of Greek theatres would make such a device unnecessary, even when the

²⁸Gellius' phrase is, "[. . .] *quoniam non vaga neque diffusa est, sed in unum tantummodo exitum collectam coactamque vocem ciet, magis claros canorosque sonitus facit.*"

²⁹See Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*¹ 193-94, *DFA*² 196, in which the passage from Gellius and this problem are discussed thoroughly.

theatre was filled to capacity, and it would not be much more needed in a filled Roman theatre. As any opera singer could testify, proper voice projection is all that is needed to be heard by even the farthest audience members in such a space.

The tragic mask, then--*prosôpon* in Greek and *persona* in Latin--seems to have been originally made of cartonnage, or a molded combination of linen and a binder. This molded face could then be painted; as we will see in the following chapters, the skin was often painted white for a woman and a reddish or yellowish flesh color for a man. A wig could then be attached to this face mask, creating a structure that covered the actor's entire head. It is possible that techniques and materials changed or developed throughout the Greek and Roman periods, so that materials such as the wood and cork mentioned by the late authors Servius and Hesychios could well have been used at some time or another. Unfortunately, there is no definite information on whether or not this was the case, and so such thoughts must remain speculation only, unless further information on the subject comes to light.

Clothing

By the end of the fifth century BC, tragic actors were often depicted wearing a robe with long, tight-fitting sleeves (figs. I,1, I,2, and I,3). This robe, sometimes called the *syrma*, varied in length from slightly above the knee to floor-length. It was often depicted as covered with

woven patterns, especially in the sleeves and bodice, consisting of meanders, stripes, checks, waves, and spirals. A similar robe appears in depictions of tragic actors from this time through the late Roman period. Details--such as where on the torso the belt was worn or whether patterns or solid colors were used--changed over time, but from about 400 BC into Byzantine times tragic actors appear in a robe with long sleeves. The question then arises of how this long-sleeved robe originated.

Margarete Bieber rejected a theory that this costume was taken from a similar robe worn by priests of the Eleusinian cult, pointing out that the monuments showing these priests in such robes all postdate the appearance of this robe in the theatre (HGRT 24). Her alternative suggestion was that the costume was taken from the robes of priests of Dionysos and from depictions of the god himself in this garb ("Herkunft" 19-68). Unfortunately, much the same objection holds for this theory as for the Eleusinian theory, in that although numerous depictions of Dionysos in a sleeved robe exist from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, there is only one securely dated depiction of the god or his priests dressed in a long-sleeved robe that either predates or is contemporary with the earliest depictions of actors dressed in this manner.³⁰ It is

³⁰This same objection was raised by Pickard-Cambridge or perhaps the second-edition revisors, John Gould and D.M. Lewis, DFA² 200.



Fig. I,4. Attic black-figure amphora showing Dionysos and his followers, third quarter of the sixth century BC. Photo: Bieber, "Die Herkunft des tragischen Kostüms," pl. 1.

a black-figure amphora in Bonn which shows the god in a long-sleeved robe that is patterned with wavy lines and large white dots (fig. I,4). In all other early depictions Dionysos and his followers are dressed in sleeveless chitons, or they are depicted nude or semi-clothed. Since the god was shown occasionally in a long-sleeved robe during the period that tragic costuming was being developed, his wearing such a robe might have had some influence on the long-sleeved tragic robe. It cannot, however, have been the sole source for the tragic robe.

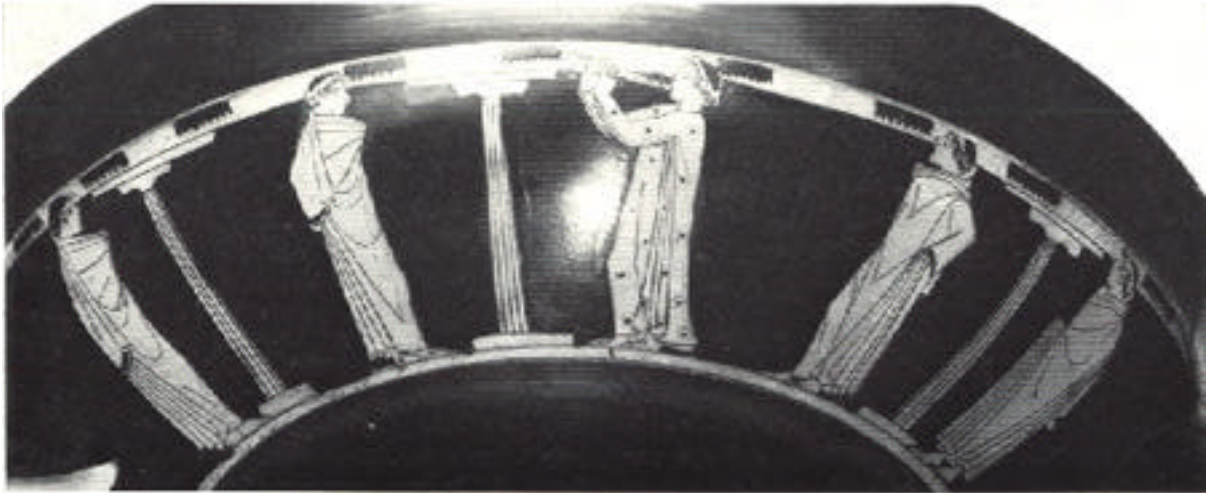


Fig. I,5. Attic red-figure kylix, 480-470 BC, showing a flute-player and a group of boys. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Pickard-Cambridge refers to another use of the tight-sleeved, long, decorated robe that by the pictorial record can be established as being in use in theatrical contexts by the first quarter of the fifth century BC. It is the robe that is worn by flute-players on a large number of red-figure vases throughout the fifth century, such as the musician pictured on a kylix attributed to the Briseis Painter in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. I,5). Bieber ([HGRT](#) 20) suggested that this is a depiction of a rehearsal of a tragic chorus, while Trendall and Webster, citing the fact that the boys wear neither sleeved chitons nor masks, interpreted it as "two rival choruses of boys at the dithyrambic competition either at the Panathenaia or at the Dionysia" (27). This



Fig. I,6. Attic red-figure bell-krater, c. 425 BC, showing a flute player with musician-satyrs. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

vase, although one of the earliest, is far from the only depiction of a flute-player in similar garb.³¹ Some vases show similarly dressed flute-players in what are more certain theatrical contexts. One such is an Attic red-figure bell-krater of about 425 BC in New York, attributed to Polion (fig. I,6). On it, a flute-player dressed in an ankle-length, sleeved robe faces a group of open-mouthed silenoi

³¹Other examples include a kylix of 480-470 BC, Oxford G 263 (Beazley *ARV*² 416, no. 3), a pelike of 470-460 BC, Berlin-Charlottenburg inv. 3223 (*ARV*² 586, no. 47), a bell-krater of c. 425 BC, Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 13817 (*ARV*² 1145, no. 35), and some krater fragments of c.400 BC, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Mus. H4781 (*LIMC* III, 1, 493, Dionysos 836). For a discussion of some costumed flute-players in theatrical contexts, see Beazley, "Hydria-fragments in Corinth," *Hesperia* 24, (1955): 305-319.

who are playing kitharoi (large stringed instruments) and dancing.

Finally, the theme of a flute-player with theatrical satyrs or silenoi is most thoroughly and most notably depicted on the famous Pronomos Vase in Naples (fig. I,2). Here we see depicted what is generally considered to be a representation of "backstage" at a satyr play, as watched over by the god Dionysos and his consort Ariadne, who are shown on a couch in the center of the upper register. Below them, seated in a chair, is a flute-player, labeled Pronomos, presumably a representation of a well-known flute-player of that name who was active at the time.³² He is dressed in a long, highly decorated robe with tight sleeves, and a cloak or himation seems to be draped across his lap. Ten young men--the members of the chorus--are dressed in the loin-cloth (*perizoma*) with tail and phallos that is the typical costume of the stage satyr. Several of them are shown carrying their masks, and the one directly behind Pronomos has put on his mask and is practicing his dance. Two actors are depicted, one on each side of Dionysos' couch. The actor on the viewer's right holds the club and mask of Herakles, but it is the other, standing closest to Dionysos, who is of more

³²For the ancient sources relevant to Pronomos' career, see Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC* 72-73. Many scholars (e.g. Simon, *Anc.Th.* 16, Csapo and Slater 70) have seen this vase as a reproduction of a votive panel painting that Pronomos might have had dedicated in the sanctuary of Dionysos.

interest in this context. He is dressed in clothing almost identical to that of Pronomos: the long, highly decorated robe, with the same patterning along the sleeves, and he too is wrapped in a himation. Thus, by the end of the fifth century, theatrical flute-players and tragic actors were wearing the same basic costume.

A third possible source for the tragic robe is with the costume in which Greek artists usually portrayed anyone from the Asian mainland, be they Persians, Scythians, Medes, or



Fig. I.7. Attic red-figure lekythos, c. 420 BC, showing Theseus fighting Amazons. Photo from Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, vol. 3, fig. 2151.

members of a mythological group such as Amazons.³³ This "Asiatic" costume consisted of tight-fitting trousers and a tunic-like top with long, tight sleeves. The costume was usually highly decorated with stripes, meanders, dots, or other devices. A chiton or tunic could be worn over this basic suit. This tunic usually reached to about the knees, but was sometimes a little shorter or longer. Good examples appear on an Attic red-figure aryballos from about 420 BC (fig. I,7).³⁴ Two of the Amazons on the upper register, one on the far left and the other the second from the right, wear both the pants and the long-sleeved tunic. Their tunics reach to mid-thigh, and both seem to be worn over pleated chitons which appear under the hems of the tunics. A third Amazon, second from the right on the lower register, has long sleeves and a tunic over a pleated chiton, but does not have

³³For an in-depth discussion of the influence of Asiatic dress, both actual and as imagined by the Greeks, on the development of theatrical costume, see Andreas Alföldi, "Gewaltherrscher und Theaterkönig," Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1955) 15-55. For a partial refutation of Alföldi's arguments, see Pickard-Cambridge, DFA² 201.

³⁴The depiction of eastern "barbarians" (as the Greeks called them) in this sort of costume became extremely popular in the years of and immediately following the Persian Wars, that is, in the first quarter of the fifth century. It is probably no coincidence that this is the time of Aischylos' earliest works. Depictions of easterners in this distinctive garb continued throughout the fifth century, with very little if any change.

pants. The costumes of all three are very ornately decorated, with patterns of circles, zig-zags, crosses, and checkerboards visible. Yet another Amazon, third from the left in the upper register, wears neither pants nor sleeves. Over her pleated chiton is a close-fitting, sleeveless tunic, which is also highly decorated, mostly with rows of zig-zags. These costumes, all highly decorated, most with long sleeves, and some with belts (such as worn by the Amazon on the upper left), have a good deal in common with tragic robes, and are possibly similar to what stage Asians would have worn for much of the fifth century. As time passed, some of the conventions of this "Asian" garb may have passed into general use in tragic costume.

It seems likely, then, that there were a number of influences that were combined to create the long, sleeved tunic that became the major costume for the tragic actor. Among these influences can probably be listed a long-sleeved robe shown relatively rarely as worn by the god Dionysos, and also "Asian" clothing as depicted in the vase painting of the fifth century. As it can be shown to have been used quite frequently in a theatrical context, the clothing worn by flute-players from at least the second quarter of the fifth century BC should be considered one of the major influences on the costume of actors; this musician's outfit also can probably trace some of its origins to Asia and to the clothing of priests. Finally, Iris Brooke gives what to my

mind is a credible explanation for why this garment was eventually adopted as the standard tragic costume.³⁵ She notes first that a garment that is somewhat tailored to fit the body is much easier to keep in order during the movement required on stage, and secondly that the long sleeves would be particularly useful in disguising the arms of a male actor portraying a woman.

Other

As I mentioned above, Pollux listed among the items of costume for a tragic actor various elements that do not fit into the categories of masks, footwear, and clothing. Among these he included several head-coverings: the *tiara* (τιάρα), which was the headdress worn by Persian kings; the *kalyptra* (καλύπτρα) and the *parakalyptra* (παρακαλύπτρα), types of veils worn by women; and the *mitra* (μίτρα), a fillet, or even a snood or Persian cap.³⁶ Pollux also listed various items that in the modern theatre would be called "costume props", items

³⁵Costume in Greek Classic Drama 65-66. Brooke's points are also discussed by Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*² 201-202.

³⁶According to *A Greek-English Lexicon compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, Revised and Augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the Assistance of Roderick McKenzie and with the Cooperation of Many Scholars* (henceforth LSJ), *μίτρα* is "a headband, a snood. 2. a Persian cap, like κυρβάσια." An alternate translation for the word, though, is "a linen girdle or band worn below the θώραξ: generally a girdle, zonê." Van Brunt (144) considered it to be the latter in this passage, but since it is listed among other items of headwear, I prefer to agree with Csapo and Slater (395) that it is meant here to be either a headband or a Persian cap.

such as swords, scepters, spears, bows, quivers, staffs, and clubs.³⁷ Also listed are various pieces of miscellaneous clothing used in tragedy, such as armor, lions' skins, fawn skins, and the leather garments worn by peasants.³⁸ Many of these garments, as well as other types of headdresses, and the padding mentioned by Lucian, can be seen in the pictorial representation of actors throughout the Greek and Roman periods.

The ancient actor, then, wore a costume consisting of garments (robe, mantle, headdress, and specialized garments such as armor), a mask, footwear, and various "costume props." The forms that all of these elements took in various periods, and how they changed or developed through time, will be the focus of the rest of this study.

³⁷*Machairai* (μάχαιραι): short swords or daggers, usually curved; *skêptra* (σκῆπτρα): staffs, heralds' staffs, royal scepters; *dorata* (δόρατα): spears; *toxa* (τόξα): bows; *pharetra* (φαρέτρα): a quiver; *kerykeia* (κηρύκεια): heralds' staffs; *rhopala* (ρόπαλα): clubs, cudgels.

³⁸*Panteuchia* (παντευχία): full armor; *leontê* (λεοντή): a lion's skin; *nebrides* (νεβρίδες): fawn-skins; *diphtherai* (διφθέραι): a leather garment worn by peasants, or possibly a leather wallet.

Chapter II

Costuming of Tragedy in Fifth-Century Athens

The Evidence from the Plays

From time to time, what the characters were wearing was mentioned in the plays of the fifth century. These references can give us some idea of what the character's costume may have looked like. It is important to bear in mind, however, that the words spoken by a character may or may not have been a literal description of the costume that appeared on stage. Some scholars have even maintained that the playwrights included descriptions of such things as costumes, props, and gestures in order to indicate to the audience what they should imagine seeing, arguing that the plays were produced in such a highly stylized, non-naturalistic manner that such verbal indications were the primary way in which such otherwise visually explicit information could be conveyed to the audience.³⁹ Such a view seems to me possible, but somewhat extreme. While it is true that tragedy in fifth-century Athens was not presented in what we have become accustomed to regarding in the past 150 years as a naturalistic manner (if it had been, they would not have worn

³⁹The arguments of several of these scholars, especially A. M. Dale, are summarized by Taplin, Stagecraft, 32-33.

masks), it is difficult for me to believe, given the pictorial and literary evidence that we have from in or near that time, that the plays were performed in as stylized and non-representational manner as, for example, Japanese Noh drama. Instead I find myself agreeing with Taplin, that if it is physically possible to do so, "[i]s there any point in not using costume visually as well as verbally?" (Stagecraft 36). It makes sense, then, to observe what the playwrights have said about the appearance of the characters, as long as we bear in mind that we do not know from this alone to what extent the description was carried out in the actual costume, and--logical arguments aside--we cannot be completely certain that any attempt was actually made to do so.

That there was specifically theatrical costume, differing from street clothes, in this period is implied in a few passages from Aristophanes in which he makes fun of some of the costumes of tragedy. The most indicative of these is a passage in the Frogs, in which Herakles ridicules Dionysos' absurd get-up, explaining that he is laughing at ". . . seeing a lion's-skin a-lyin' on a saffron robe. What's the sense of it? Why an ensemble of *kothornos* and club?"⁴⁰ This is a description of Dionysos' usual rather effeminate garb of saffron robe and boots, overlaid by a Herakles "costume,"

⁴⁰Lines 46-47.

ὁρῶν λεοντὴν ἐπὶ κροκωτῷ κειμένην.
τίς ὁ νοῦς; τί κόθορνος καὶ ρόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην;

consisting of lion's-skin and club. The juxtaposition is, of course, ridiculous, but it seems to be an exaggerated version of what made up tragic costuming of the period--a combination of elegant, stately robes and elements that would indicate the character portrayed.

A figure similar to this Dionysos/Herakles is in fact depicted on the Pronomos Vase (figs. I,2 and II,8). To the viewer's right of the couch on which Dionysos and Ariadne are seated stands a bearded actor dressed in a long-sleeved, knee-length robe that is very elaborately decorated. His boots have upturned toes, and their tops are extremely elaborately decorated. Over his robe he wears a cuirass, on top of which is slung a lion's skin. With his left hand he shoulders a club, and from his right hand dangles the mask of a bearded man surmounted by the muzzle and ears of a lion. In other words, he is an actor costumed as Herakles, appearing among the performers from a satyr play depicted on a vase that dates from around 400 BC, within a very few years of the 405 BC production of the Frogs. And, true to the description by Aristophanes, the armor and accoutrements of Herakles placed over the embroidered robe appear at least unusual, if not downright silly. The costumes of satyr plays, however, may have been somewhat more absurd than those of tragedy, just as the satyr plays themselves were performed in a less serious, more lighthearted manner than were

tragedies.⁴¹ Therefore, we must keep in mind that the costume for a tragic Herakles may not have been as absurd as those on the Pronomos vase and of Aristophanes' description. The latter was, however, poking fun at the costume of tragedy, and thus can be taken as an indication, albeit an exaggerated one, of what the tragic costume looked like.

A reading of the extant tragedies also presents us with a number of costume descriptions, which we can then arrange in several categories. Among these are different types of clothing for specific situations, most especially mourning. The earliest extant mention of mourning clothes comes from Aischylos' *Choephoroi*, in which Orestes, seeing the chorus, asks, "But what is this assembly of women approaching, distinguished by black clothing?"⁴² They are, of course, the *Choephoroi*, the libation-bearers, come to make offerings at Agamemnon's tomb. They subsequently describe themselves as having "a cheek marked with bloody gashes freshly furrowed by

⁴¹For a basic discussion of the genres of tragedy and satyr play and of their differences and similarities, see Brckett's *History of the Theatre*, 17-20. The case for the costuming of tragedy and satyr-play being similar or even identical is set out by Bethe (*JDI* 1896, p 292 ff); see also Smith, 144-45, and Chapter II, note 81 below.

⁴²Lines 10-12.

τίς ποθ' ἦδ' ὀμήγουρις
στείχει γυναικῶν φάρεσιν μελαγχίμοις
πρέπουσα;

fingernails."⁴³ From these passages we can infer that the chorus was probably dressed in black garments and that their masks were perhaps painted to show the grief-induced gouges in the cheeks.

A generation later, Euripides gave a number of descriptions of mourning garb, with similarities and differences to the passages from Aischylos. For example, in Orestes the Chorus tells us of, "the Spartan Tyndareus dressed in black, having cut his hair short in mourning for his daughter."⁴⁴ The shorn hair also appears in the Phoenician Women, in which Jocasta says, "Therefore, I have cut my white hair, I have let it go in tearful mourning; without my white clothing, my son, I have changed into dark, dusky rags."⁴⁵ The most complete description of a figure in mourning comes in the Helen, when the members of the chorus, seeing Helen enter, exclaim, "Why are you wearing black robes on your body, having changed from the white, and you have cut

⁴³Lines 24-25.

πρέπει παρηὶς φοινίσις ἀμυγμοῖς
ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμῳ·

⁴⁴Lines 457-458.

ὁ Σπαρτιάτης Τυνδάρεως, μελάμπεπλος
κουρᾷ τε θυγατρὸς πενθίμῳ κεκαρμένος.

⁴⁵Lines 322-326.

ὅθεν ἐμάν τε λευκόχροα κείρομαι
δακρυόεσσ' ἀνείσα πένθει κόμαν,
ἄπεπλος φαρέων λευκῶν, τέκνον,
δυσόρφναια δ' ἀμφὶ τρύχε τάδε
σκότι' ἀμείβομαι.

the hair from your noble head, having attacked it with a knife, and weeping you moisten your cheeks with fresh tears?"⁴⁶

It seems likely from all of these examples that Euripides' mourners would have been dressed in black clothing, and that they may have worn masks whose hair had been cut short. It is also feasible that the clothing was at least of a poorer quality than would normally be worn by that character, as evidenced by Jocasta's "dark, dusky rags" (τρύχη). The hair, too, might have given the appearance of having been shorn roughly, "attacked with a knife" like Helen's. And finally, the masks might well have been marked to indicate tears, as Helen's may have been, or even gouges, such as in the passage from Aischylos. If tears were actually depicted on the masks, this must have been done in a very stylized and non-naturalistic way in order for them to be visible from the audience. It is, perhaps, more likely that the actor would have "acted" tears, using body language in some way; that, as Walton put it, "He [did] not need to weep inside the mask in order to make the mask weep" (GST 44). I think it quite unlikely that we will ever find the proof that would resolve this question, at least in the

⁴⁶Lines 1186-1190.

αὕτη, τί πέπλους μέλανας ἐξήψω χροὸς
 λευκῶν ἀμείψασ' ἔκ τε κρατὸς εὐγενοῦς
 κόμας σίδηρον ἐμβαλοῦσ' ἀπέθρισας
 χλωροῖς τε τέγγεις δάκρυσι σὴν παρηίδα
 κλαίουσα;

context of the fifth century.⁴⁷ Suffice it to say for now that masks of mourners might have been painted in such a way to indicate tears or scratches, but whether they were or were not, the actor probably indicated weeping and other signs of grief through his actions and stance.

In The Madness of Herakles, the title character describes costuming similar to that of mourning. "I see my children in front of the house, in the clothing of death and with their hair garlanded."⁴⁸ The children are dressed in this way because they themselves are about to die, rather than because they are mourning the death of someone near to them. Here their faces are not marked, but they are wearing garlands on their heads. The text indicates that their costume is similar to that of mourning, since upon seeing his children dressed thus, Herakles asks, "What new burden has come upon the house, my wife?" (line 530, τί καινὸν ἦλθε, γύναι, δώμασιν χρέος;), implying that he believes they are in mourning for a new calamity that has befallen them.

⁴⁷A mosaic from Pompeii (Chapter V, pages 235-239, figures V,13 and V,14, dated to about the late first century BC, depicts the mask of a tragic heroine that appears to have a tear falling from one eye. Therefore, it seems that tears might have been painted onto masks in the late Hellenistic or early Roman periods. There is no evidence, however, of this practice before (or, for that matter, after) the first century AD.

⁴⁸Lines 525-6.

τέκν' ὁρῶ πρὸ δομάτων
στολμοῖσι νεκρῶν κρᾶτας ἐξεστεμμένα·

Other specific types of clothing are also mentioned in the texts of the plays. Nationality, for example, is expressed in the Suppliants of Aischylos when the King asks, "From what country is this throng we speak to, dressed unlike Greeks, luxuriating in foreign garments and veils? Your clothing is not of the women of Argos, nor of any place in Greece."⁴⁹ What they are wearing immediately brands them as not Greek. From this description, it is impossible to determine just what it was in their clothing that indicated their non-Hellenic status, other than the participle *χλίωντα* (*chlionta*--"luxuriating"), which implies that their garb would have been somehow of a finer fabric and decoration than that worn by Greeks. In Sophokles' Philoktetes, the opposite condition, that of being Greek, is indicated when the title character remarks on the dress of a group of strangers: "For the appearance of your clothing is Greek, something most dear to me."⁵⁰ Unfortunately, this passage gives no indication how this "Greekness" would have been conveyed, but it would certainly have been instantly apparent to a contemporary

⁴⁹Lines 234-237.

ποδαπὸν ὄμιλον τόνδ' ἀνελληνόστολον
πέπλοισι βαρβάροισι καὶ πυκνώμασι
χλίωντα προσφρονούμεν; οὐ γὰρ Ἀργολὶς
ἔσθῃς γυναικῶν οὐδ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος τόπων.

⁵⁰Lines 223-224.

σχῆμα μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλάδος
στολῆς ὑπάρχει προσφιλεστάτης ἐμοί·

audience of Athenian Greeks, and thus nothing that Sophokles would have felt any need to explain.

There are several indications that in tragedy royal figures would have been dressed in highly ornate clothes and adorned with jewels. Most of these indications occur, however, when for some reason or another the person in question was not wearing the expected finery. Thus, Sophokles' *Elektra*, seemingly dressed in mourning, offers as gifts to her dead father a lock of her hair "and my belt, not decorated with luxuries."⁵¹ And, when Euripides' *Elektra* tells the Chorus about "this rag of a *peplos* of mine," they offer her clothing more suitable to her rank, saying: "But come, and put on my close-woven clothing that I'll loan you, and gold jewelry which adds splendor to beauty."⁵² In Euripides' *Helen*, the shipwrecked Menelaus is forced to wrap himself in rags that have been washed to shore, since, "My

⁵¹Soph. *Elektra* 452.

καὶ ζῶμα τοῦμὸν οὐ χλιδαῖς ἤσκημένον.

Note that although in this context ζῶμα has been almost universally translated as "belt" or "girdle," the primary definition given in Liddell and Scott is "that which is girded: the girded tunic," with "a girdle, belt" being a secondary translation. So, although it is most likely that *Elektra* is referring to an undecorated belt, she may be offering up some plain garment instead.

⁵²Eur. *Elektra* 184, 190-193.

καὶ τρύχη τάδ' ἐμῶν πέπλων
* * * * *

ἀλλ' ἴθι,

καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ χρῆσαι πολύπηνα φάρεα δῦναι,
χρύσεά τε χάρισι προσθήματ' ἀγλαίας.

once luxurious robes and splendid garments the sea has stolen."⁵³

These passages indicate the well-made, luxurious, ornate clothing and jewels that such a character would be expected to wear, and therefore give us a clue as to the costume normally worn by royal characters in scenes in which there would have been no need to call attention to what the character was wearing. One passage from Euripides testifies to the actual wearing of such a costume on the stage. In Andromache, Hermione enters, telling us that she is wearing, "An ornament of golden luxury around my head and the clothing of my body of multi-colored robes [. . .]."⁵⁴ This costume of ornate clothing and gleaming jewelry seems much the same as what the Chorus offered to Elektra, and is perhaps a fairly accurate description of what a royal figure in tragedy would have normally worn.

Hermione's costume also introduces the subject of color in tragic costume. She describes her garments as "many-colored," the Greek *poikilos* (ποικίλος), which according to the standard Greek-English lexicon of Liddell, Scott, and Jones (hereafter abbreviated LSJ) can be translated as, "many-

⁵³Lines 423-424.

πέπλους δὲ τοὺς πρὶν λαμπρά τ' ἀμφιβλήματα
χλιδᾶς τε πόντος ἤρπασ'.

⁵⁴Lines 147-148.

κόσμον μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρύσεας χλιδῆς
στολμόν τε χρωτὸς τὸνδε ποικίλων πέπλων . . .

coloured, spotted, pied, dappled; wrought in various colours of woven or embroidered stuffs" (ποικίλος, s.v.). Xerxes' clothing in Aischylos' Persians is also described as *poikilos*.⁵⁵ It has been suggested that such garments were among the main influences on the development of the "tragic costume," being worn first by barbarian kings such as Xerxes, then by royalty in general, and finally by most tragic actors.⁵⁶ It seems quite likely that there is some truth to this suggested sequence, but it does not appear to be the sole explanation for the development of tragic dress, since as we will see throughout the course of this study, there is evidence that often the tragic robe was not embroidered or patterned in any way.

Clothing of solid color is also mentioned in the fifth-century plays, such as Dionysos' saffron robe, discussed above (Frogs 46-47). The same shade of yellow also appears in Euripides' Phoenician Women, when Antigone speaks of

⁵⁵Lines 835-836.

κακῶν ὑπ' ἄλγους λακίδες ἀμφὶ σώματι
στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων.

"For through grief at his misfortunes, the embroidered apparel that covered his person has been utterly rent into tattered shreds." Smyth, Aeschylus, vol. I, 181.

⁵⁶Alföldi, "Gewaltherrscher und Theaterkönig." See also Pickard-Cambridge, DFA², 201.

"having let go the saffron delicacy of my robe."⁵⁷ Black is mentioned frequently for mourning clothes, as discussed above. On three of these occasions, Euripides sets up a contrast with the mourning black. In line 1088 of Helen, the title character says, "I will exchange black for my white clothes" (πέπλων τε λευκῶν μέλανας ἀνταλλάξομαι). Later, in line 1186, the Chorus asks her, "Why are you wearing black robes on your body, having changed from the white?" (note 7, above). In the Phoenician Women, Iokaste states, "without my white clothing, my son, I have changed into dark, dusky rags" (324-326, note 6 above). In all three instances, the word translated "white" is λευκός (*leukos*), which LSJ also translates as "light, bright, brilliant, clear." Thus, in

⁵⁷Line 1491

στολίδος κροκόεσσαν ἀνείσα τρύφαν

Iris Brooke argues that the term is referring to silk garments, since "silk straight from the silkworm is a brilliant yellow," and that references to such a garment "are nearly always couched in the same terms, 'transparent saffron gowns'" (17). In favor of her argument is the fact that Dionysos, who is often represented in this very garment, was a god who in the fifth century was considered a relative newcomer from the East--as was silk--and that his clothing was considered both luxurious and effeminate. Against her argument, however, are the Greek words used for the garment, which are variations on the word κρόκος (*krokos*), defined in LSJ as "the purple crocus; saffron (which is made from its stamens)." Since Brooke carefully points out the difference in color between undyed silk and saffron-dyed fabric, it is hard to agree completely with her assessment. Furthermore, Dr. Clifton Pannell, an expert on China in the Geography Department of the University of Georgia, has informed me that at least as early as the fifth century BC bright yellow was the symbol of the Emperor of China, and silk dyed that color would have been especially prized--and especially expensive when exported.

this context, it may indicate white or anything that would be light or brilliant in contrast with black or dark, thus something which could possibly be either solid colors or designs of many colors. We have no way of knowing for certain what precisely is meant in each instance.

Finally, red appears in a passage in which it is implied that crimson robes were donned by figures on stage. In Aischylos' Eumenides, Athena says, "Honor them, dressing them in clothing of Phoenician crimson [. . .]." ⁵⁸ There is a great deal of doubt as to who precisely is to be honored in this way. In the first part of this speech, Athena is addressing the Eumenides, or Furies, themselves, but she offers to them an honor guard of her own attendants. It is impossible to tell from the Greek wording of our passage to which of these two groups, Eumenides or attendants, Athena is referring. If it is to the former, the crimson garments would likely have been brought on stage and draped over them, since the Eumenides are the chorus of the play. This would make a very striking picture, since earlier in the play the Eumenides were described as being "black" (μέλαινοι, 52); ⁵⁹ crimson cloaks placed over black-costumed Furies would

⁵⁸Lines 1028-1029
 φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι
 τιμᾶτε...

⁵⁹A winged figure who may possibly be a later version of such a "black" Fury appears on a Paestan red-figure hydria of about 340-330 BC; see Chapter III, figure III,12.

underline their transformation into Eumenides ("Gracious Ones"), while making their appearance no less fearsome, crimson and black together creating impressions of darkness, blood, fire, and shadow. Furthermore, as Rush Rehm points out (108), the appearance of the red garments at the end of the Eumenides echoes the red tapestries on which Agamemnon walked at the beginning of the trilogy (Agam. 946-947), which many have taken as being symbolic of the bloodshed soon to happen (Taplin, Stagecraft 315). The visual image of red-cloaked Eumenides and the symbolic nature of the clothing seem to me fairly persuasive arguments for the crimson garments appearing on stage as cloaks given to the Furies. Furthermore, the rest of Athena's speech at least implies that it is the Eumenides who are to be "honored" with the red cloaks, as she continues, "and let the torch-light move forward, so that it is worthy for this gracious company who will bring good and prosperous things to mankind henceforth."⁶⁰ It is they, and not the attendants, who are to be honored--and propitiated.⁶¹

⁶⁰Eum. 1029-1031.

καὶ τὸ φέγγος ὀρμάσθω πυρός,
ὅπως ἂν εὐφρων ἦδ' ὁμιλία χθονὸς
τὸ λοιπὸν εὐάνδροισι συμφοραῖς πρέπη.

⁶¹For arguments both for and against the Eumenides receiving the robes, and a summary of the problems in the text, see Taplin, Stagecraft, 412-413.

One final theme which occurs in the description of tragic costume by the Athenian playwrights of the fifth century is that of "Euripides' rags." Aristophanes frequently joked about Euripides' dressing of heroic figures in rags, in such passages as the one from the Acharnians when Dikaiopolis teases Euripides, saying, "But what's with having the rags of tragedy, wretched clothes? Not without reason do you make beggars. But I throw myself on your tender mercies, Euripides, give me the rags from an old play [. . .]." Euripides replies, "What sort of rags? Not the ones that guy Oineus acted in as an unlucky old man?"⁶² The joke is continued in the Frogs, when Aischylos expresses disgust at Euripides in line 842, "you beggar-maker and rag-stitcher!" (πτωχοποιὲ καὶ ῥακιοσυρραπτάδε). Later, the joke is elaborated, with Aischylos set up as the creator of elegant garb for major characters, while Euripides dresses his kings and heroes in nothing but rags. Thus we find the following exchange:

AISCH. [. . .] and even the clothes on their
 [the kings'] bodies are much more

⁶²Lines 412-419.

ἀτὰρ τί τὰ ῥάκι' ἐκ τραγῳδίας ἔχεις,
ἐσθῆτ' ἐλεεινήν; οὐκ ἐτὸς πτωχοὺς ποιεῖς.
ἀλλ' ἀντιβολῶ πρὸς τῶν γονάτων σ', Εὐριπίδη,
δός μοι ῥακίον τι τοῦ παλαιοῦ δράματος.
* * * * *

ΕΥ. τὰ ποῖα τρύχη; μῶν ἐν οἷς Οἰνεὺς ὁδὶ
ὁ δύσποτμος γεραιὸς ἠγωνίζετο;

majestic than ours. I led the way
properly, you messed it all up.

EUR. Doing what?

AISCH. First you covered your player-kings with
rags [. . .]⁶³

From these jokes arose the tradition that Euripides was the first to use ragged clothing in tragedy, or as Iris Brooke wrote, "Aeschylus set a standard in grandeur [. . .]. Euripides on the other hand introduced realism into his works in the form of rags and tatters" (6). This belief would certainly seem to be borne out by the number of Euripides' characters that we know of who wore rags: Elektra (Elektra 183-184), Menelaus (Helen 421-424, 554, 1382), and Jokasta (Phoenician Women 325-326). But, a reading of the extant plays of other tragedians quickly proves that he was not the first to depict rags in tragedy. In the Persians, Aischylos had Xerxes appear in the royal garments which he had rent in mourning for the defeat at Salamis, asking the Chorus, "Do you see this remnant of my clothing?"⁶⁴ Furthermore, in

⁶³Lines 1061-1063.

AΙΣ	καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἱματίοις ἡμῶν χρῶνται πολὺ σεμνοτέροισιν. ἀμοῦ χρηστῶς καταδείξαντος διελυμήνω σύ.
ΕΥ	τί δράσας;
AΙΣ	πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ῥάκι' ἀμπισχών . . .

⁶⁴Line 1017.

ὀρᾷς τὸ λοιπὸν τόδε τᾶς ἐμᾶς στολᾶς;
The torn robe was also alluded to in lines 198-199, 468, 835-836, and 1030. For the arguments in favor of the actor portraying Xerxes actually appearing in torn garments, see

Aischylos' Suppliants, the Chorus twice said, "Often I fall upon my Sidonian linen veil and tear it."⁶⁵ Although it is not as apparent from this wording as it was in the passage from the Persians that the torn garment actually appeared on stage, it is possible that it did, and it is at least significant that Aischylos mentioned torn, ragged clothing in the Suppliants, a play tentatively dated to the 460s (Cambridge Companion 352). Sophokles also dressed major characters in ragged garments, most notably Oedipus in Oedipus at Colonus, in which his filthy rags were often mentioned,⁶⁶ and Elektra, who described her "pathetic garment" (ἀεικεῖ στολῆ, line 191). Granted that all of the mentions we have in Sophokles of ragged garments postdate the earliest known references to such clothing in Euripides (and also the passage from the Acharnians), they all predate the Frogs, and thus Aristophanes could not have considered Euripides to be the only playwright to show major characters in rags, even if he did blame him for introducing the practice to the stage. And, as the passages from Aischylos show, Euripides was not

Taplin, Stagecraft, 121-127.

⁶⁵Lines 120-122 and 131-133.
πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι
λινοσινεῖ
Σιδονίᾳ καλύπτρα.

⁶⁶Lines 555-556, 1258-1260, and perhaps most specifically 1597, "Then he loosened his squalid clothes" (εἴτ' ἔλυσε δυσπινεῖς στολάς).

actually the first to dress major characters in ragged clothing. There are more examples from Euripides of the use of rags and tatters than from the other two tragedians from whom we have full plays, which may be due to the fact that there are more plays by Euripides extant than by both of the other two together. It is also possible that Euripides was responsible for popularizing the practice of using tattered costumes, especially considering that Sophokles, on the evidence we have, seems possibly to have taken up the practice after Euripides began to make extensive use of it.

We have seen that the dramatists of the fifth century have given us some vague indications of what tragic costume would have looked like. Categories such as nationality or the state of mourning seem to have been indicated, sometimes--especially in the case of mourning--by color as well as style. Color may also have been used symbolically, as in the case of the red cloths that Clytemnestra set out for Agamemnon to walk on, and thematically, if Rehm's reading of the red cloaks for the Eumenides is to be considered correct.

That garments of both solid colors and multi-colored patterns were in use is also established by the texts of the plays, but there is little if any indication given for the details of style and type of garment, other than the occasional mention of veils, and the references both to elegant, luxurious garments and to rags. Little mention is made of footwear--and none that gives us any specific details

of the appearance of shoes or boots--and nothing at all is said about masks. Thus, for any sort of visual detail we must look at what art works we have from the period.



Fig. II,1. Part of a tragic chorus. Attic red-figure krater in the Antikenmuseum and Sammlung Ludwig, Basel, 500-480 BC.

Photo by Dieter Widmer, courtesy of the Antikenmuseum and Sammlung Ludwig.

The Evidence from Contemporary Works of Art

The earliest known work of art to depict any aspect of a tragedy is an Attic red-figure krater dated between 500 and 480 BC in Basel (fig. II,1). Interpretations of the structure and figure on the left of the scene differ. Hammond and Moon see the structure as an altar (*thymele*) upon which an actor portraying a suppliant is seated (380). Gasparri also identifies the structure as an altar, but sees the figure as an image of Dionysos placed behind it (LIMC III, 1, 494).

Both Simon (AT 9) and Taplin (CambrComp 70, n. 2), however, identify the structure as a tomb, and the figure as a ghost rising from it. The figure appears from the upper part of the waist up, which to me indicates either that he is standing behind the structure or that we are seeing a herm-like bust placed on the structure. All scholars of this piece agree that the group before the structure is a segment of a tragic chorus. This group consists of three pairs of young men with almost identical clothing and hairstyles, their arms upraised and their right feet kicking forward and left legs back with knees bent, a pose that is certainly suggestive of a dance. It is this dance pose, as well as the similarity of dress and hair, that has led to the identification of the young men as a chorus. Furthermore, the features of their faces are very similar, their mouths are shown as open with nonsense inscriptions issuing from them, and the three nearest the viewer have lines extending along their jaws to their ears, so that it is quite possible that the artist was depicting masks and the song of the chorus.

Their costume consists of a short, finely pleated chiton with the indication of some sort of border at the hem, and a thin dark line of trim about a hand's length up from the hem. Over this chiton each young man wears a waist-length cuirass with a fringe at its bottom edge. The cuirasses are highly decorated, each one with a variation of a meander pattern--usually in a band around the chest, but covering most of the

cuirass in the young man on the far right. Each cuirass is also bedecked with other motifs, such as solid horizontal bands, rosettes, checkerboard patterns, and even a running human figure on the cuirass of the left front young man. The armholes of at least two of the cuirasses are bordered by a spotted band that may be meant to indicate some sort of animal hide. The cuirasses and short chitons are indicative of military wear, and thus this may have been a chorus in the role of soldiers (Taplin, CambrComp 70). Their hair, or more accurately the hair of the masks, is worn in long ringlets down their backs and is held off their faces by decorated diadems which come to a small point above the center of the forehead.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the costuming of this chorus is that they are barefoot.⁶⁷ Hammond and Moon argue that dancing barefoot, or with only a light slipper or pull-on sock, was standard practice for the chorus at this time, so that the soil which they state covered the orchestra would not be cut up by marks from boot heels (381). They cite in support of their hypothesis that the orchestra was covered by soil line 683 of the Persai, in which the chorus digs into the soil with their staffs, and that "the damage could have been made good between plays" (381). If this is indeed true,

⁶⁷Green sees traces of footwear in the lines visible on the left ankles of the nearer figures ("Depicting" 35). This interpretation is somewhat unlikely, though, since individual toes are delineated on the left feet of these figures.

it seems to be something of an argument against, rather than in favor of, their belief that the chorus danced barefoot in order to avoid leaving marks in the soil.⁶⁸ Even though their reasoning is less than convincing, Hammond and Moon are the only scholars I can find who attempt to explain why the chorus on the Basel krater should be shown barefoot. Most researchers have avoided comment on the matter entirely; Taplin contents himself with the statement that "bare feet seem to be standard for choruses" (CambComp 70). The matter seems to me, though, to be quite simple. The dancing required of the chorus, from all indications, could at times be quite lively and athletic; they were always required to be completely synchronized and in control, whether the dance was fast or slow, lively or static. A shoe or boot with a hard sole can make bending the foot difficult, and can also slip on a dance surface, whether that surface be a smooth and solid one, or something covered with sand or dirt. A lightweight shoe or sock can eliminate many of these problems, although they can still cause slipping. Bare feet are often the best solution of all, in that nothing restricts their bending, and they tend not to slip on any likely

⁶⁸In Persai 683, the ghost of Darius, rising from the grave, says:

στένει, κέκοπται, και χαράσσεται πέδον,
 in my translation, "The ground moans, it has been stricken and is furrowed." There is no real indication here, or elsewhere in the text, that the chorus has actually made these marks on the acting surface. This, then, is one more point against Hammond and Moon's theory.

dancing surface. Thus, choruses probably often went barefoot for purely practical reasons. The choruses of plays that might have required less strenuous dancing might well have been shod.

A pair of men dressed very similarly to the chorus members on the Basel krater appear on an Attic hydria dating from just a few years later, between 490 and 470 BC (fig. II,2). Hermes is leading the two men toward Dionysos. Judging from their gestures, the pair are in quite a state of perturbation at facing the two gods; the man on the left seems to be holding his partner back as the latter is being pulled forward, left hand raised in surprise or supplication.⁶⁹ The costuming of these two men is very similar to that of the soldier-chorus on the Basel krater, including the banded decoration of the pleated chiton, and the fringed, highly decorated cuirasses, although in this case the decoration consists of a motif of palmettes. These two men also have identical facial features and hairstyles, the latter being held this time by wreaths of leaves-- Gasparri suggests ivy (III, 1, 494). Unlike the chorus of

⁶⁹Both in photographs of this vase and in the early drawing reproduced here (fig. 8) there appear to be traces of at least two figures between Hermes and the second chorus-soldier, one whose right hand Hermes grasps and whose left hand is raised similarly to that of the soldier, and one who grasps the soldier's right hand, pulling him forward. I have found no explanation for this--indeed, I have seen no mention of it anywhere--but it is not relevant to the discussion here.

the Basel krater, these two are bearded, but their mouths are open and words are issuing from at least one of them, so this could well be the same sort of depiction of a mask as we have



Fig. II,2. Hermes introducing chorus-members to Dionysos. Attic red-figure hydria, 490-470 BC. Drawing from Gerhard, Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder I, plates 50-51, 1-2.

already seen. Finally, these two men are also shown as barefoot. One other indication that this is a scene related to the theatre is that in the same hand as he holds the caduceus, Hermes is carrying what seems to be a tied-up document of some sort. Gerhard sees this as laws handed down by Dionysos the Lawgiver (178-179). Green's explanation, however--that chorus members and a winning play are being presented, with a certain amount of awe, to the patron of the

festival in which they have just competed--seems to me more likely (TAGS 84).

These two vases give us an indication of the costume of at least some chorus members in the early part of the fifth century. The masks seem to be quite naturalistic, not at all exaggerated or grotesque. These men's costumes are recognisable as being those of soldiers, not too different--except for the ostentatious decoration of the cuirasses--from that worn by real soldiers of the period. Of course, not all chorus members of this time were dressed as soldiers; for example, there are the black-robed Choephoroi discussed above. The implication we get from these two vases is that chorus members would be dressed similarly to, if somewhat more ornately than, their counterparts in real life.

Finally, there is the indication that chorus members would have gone barefoot or, as Hammond and Moon suggested, have worn a light slipper or sock. Both of these vases show the chorus men as barefoot, and as I discussed above, it seems to me to have been a practical way of dealing with the movements they were expected to carry out.

The earliest extant depiction of the costume of actors, rather than that of chorus members, appears on the fragments of an Attic red-figure vase dated to 470-460 BC (fig.II,3). The largest section, consisting of two joined pieces, shows the lower half of a boy, probably an attendant, who carries a mask by means of a strap in his right hand (fig.II,3a). This

mask, shown frontally, presents a white, rather round face with a long, thin nose, eyes which the artist has painted naturally rather than left blank, and a very small mouth with lips slightly apart. The dark hair is parted in the center

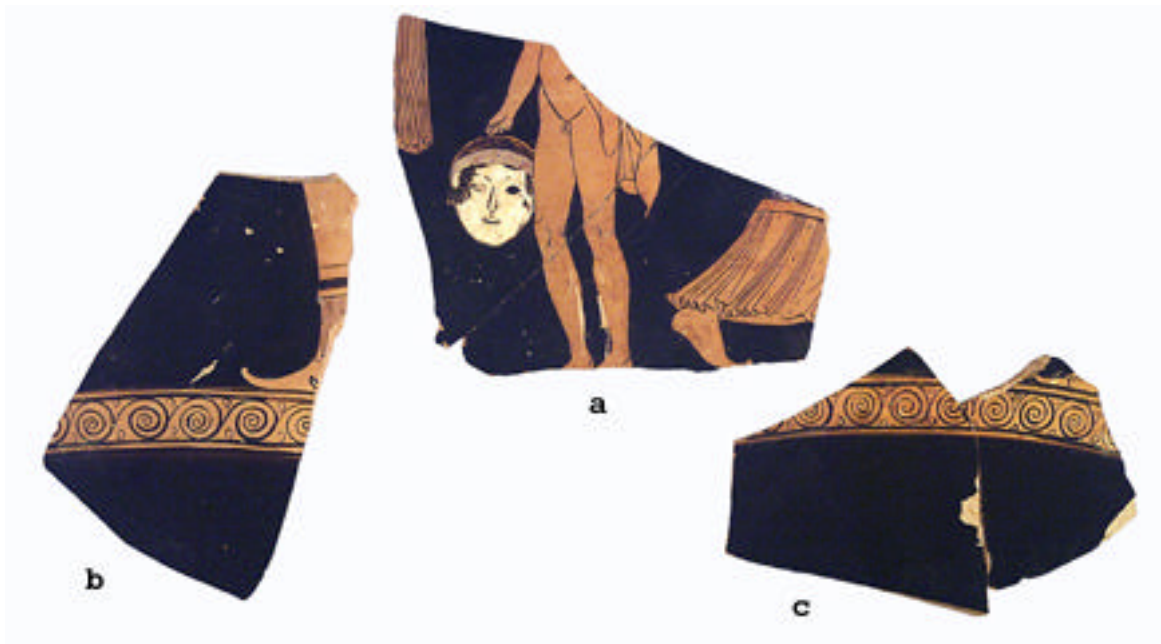


Fig. II,3. Fragments of an Attic red-figure oinochoe, 470-460 BC, in the Agora Museum, Athens. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

and combed into two wings over the forehead, and is cropped at the level of the cheekbones. It is held in place with a broad purple fillet across the forehead which is tied at the viewer's left. The mask has been associated by Lucy Talcott with the ninth of the women's tragic masks listed by Pollux,

the mask of a maiden in mourning, with cropped hair.⁷⁰ It does not vary greatly in appearance from the sculptural style of the period, as is evidenced in such pieces as the heads of the Lapith maidens from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.⁷¹ This has led to speculation that the masks of this period did not differ greatly in appearance from current sculptural models. Pickard-Cambridge has noted that the mouth is only slightly open, and suggests that this fact in addition to the eyes having been painted in rather than left blank is evidence that the artist was not reproducing the mask exactly as it appeared, but in the sculptural conventions of his time (DFA¹, 179; DFA², 181). This is quite likely the case, but it should be noted that, given the mouth openings of the chorus masks discussed above (figs. II,1, and II,2) as well as those of masks discussed below (figs. II,4, II,9, and I,2 and II,8), the actual masks of this period did

⁷⁰Talcott 270, who quotes Pollux as follows: "ἡ δὲ κούριμος παρθένος ἀντὶ ὄγκου ἔχει τριχῶν κατεψηγμένων διάκρισιν, καὶ βραχέα ἐν κύκλῳ περικέκασται, ὑπόχρος δὲ τὴν χροιάν." In my translation: "The cropped-hair maiden has instead of an *onkos* a part in her smoothly-combed hair that is cut short all around in a circle, and a very pale complexion."

⁷¹Talcott, 271; also Simon, AT 10. Talcott also cites in comparison the head of Athena from the Stymphalian birds metope of this same temple, and the face of the Delphi charioteer. Particularly clear photographs of the faces from the Olympia temple can be found in Gerhart Rodenwaldt, Olympia, plates 49-53, 60-61 (Lapith maidens), 67 (Athena). For the Delphi charioteer, see Brunilde Sigismondo Ridgway, The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture, figure 47.

not have particularly wide-open mouths, and thus the artist of this particular fragment probably changed the appearance of the mask very little, if at all. As for the purple fillet, Talcott notes that although in vase painting such an ornament is generally worn by maenads, it can also be associated with victory and with mourning. This last association would certainly be the appropriate one for a maiden with shorn hair; several passages from fifth-century tragedies mention hair having been cut for mourning, as is discussed in the first section of this chapter.

Other elements of theatrical costuming are suggested by these fragments. The boy holding the mask would probably not have appeared on stage as he is shown here, being nude except for a chlamys suspended from his left shoulder, and in fact he probably was an attendant to the actors, never appearing on stage at all.⁷² Preserved next to him, however, is the right foot of a figure who is moving away from the boy. This figure wears an ankle-length, finely-pleated chiton, over which is placed a heavier, tighter-fitting garment that reaches to about knee-level, the hem of which is just visible. The chiton is of a solid color and undecorated; the garment worn above it has a solid-color band at its hem and is of a darker color above this band. It is impossible to

⁷²Talcott, 269 n. 6, discusses the reasons for identifying the boy as an attendant, and lists other examples of attendant boys.

tell whether or not this garment had any figured decoration, as not enough of it survives to preserve any ornamentation. The foot itself is wearing a lightweight boot or shoe with an extended, turned-up toe. Two similar pieces of footwear appear on the other two large fragments of the vase (fig. II,3b and c). In figure II,3b, we see such a boot or shoe which shows clearly how the toe curls up; the toe of the character's other foot is just barely visible next to it. Also visible is the hem of another finely pleated, ankle-length chiton, that is held close to the leg by banded hem of a second garment that appears similar to the one visible in figure II,3a. We get more information from this garment than from the other, in that we can see above the wide dark band a very narrow band, and above that an expanse of solid color up to about knee level, which suggests that both garments may have been of a solid color except for the dark bands near their hems.

Figure II,3c shows us the toe of another boot or shoe with a turned-up toe. This one has a line extending backwards from the base of the toes which may be decoration or may be an indication of the top of a low-cut slipper. At any rate, depicted on this vase were at least three figures wearing lightweight, flexible (as evidenced by the bending of the walking foot in figure II,3a) footwear with pointed, turned-up toes.

Similar footwear is depicted on an Attic red-figure bell krater of about 460 BC, currently in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico in Ferrara (fig. II,4). We see two actors here, the one on the right fully costumed and in the midst of a dance move, while the other stands by, holding a mask with



Fig. II,4. Attic red-figure bell-krater in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Ferrara. Photo courtesy of the Museo Nazionale Archeologico.

his left hand.⁷³ The boots worn by the actor on the right

⁷³It is possible that this second figure is not an actor at all, but an attendant, as in the Agora fragment (fig. II,3a). His apparent youth and the fact that he is holding the mask argue for this view, the fact that he is fully and elaborately clothed argues against it. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*², 182. Green, on the other hand, notes that in such backstage scenes, figures that are masked are always depicted as acting their parts, while those who are not yet

are, judging by the bending of the feet, quite flexible, and definitely turn up at the toes. The footwear of the figure who holds the mask is somewhat more difficult to judge. At first glance, the figure's left foot appears to be drawn in three-quarters profile while the right foot is shown frontally. Each foot is marked by a line roughly in the shape of an inverted V at the base of each leg. This line gives the appearance on the figure's right (frontal) foot of being an indication of the turned-up toe of the shoe, but this cannot be the case for the almost identical line on the other foot, as the toe is shown extending some distance to the viewer's right from the ankle. There seem to be two explanations for these lines, neither of which is entirely satisfactory. The first possibility is that some of the figure's right foot is missing--there is a crack at this point--and it was originally painted in three-quarters profile, as was the other foot. This would make the line some sort of decorative scheme on the ankle of each boot. The other possibility is that the figure's left foot is not actually shown in three-quarters profile, but is actually shown frontally, just rather clumsily painted, and thus the lines are meant to denote turned-up toes. Although the first alternative is perhaps more likely, it is difficult to understand what decorative scheme might have been meant here.

masked are shown as "theatrical" ("Depicting" 40-41).

Pickard-Cambridge addresses this difficulty, saying that the footwear "has no points, but whether the random drawing indicates soles on calf-length boots or the top of sandals seems extremely uncertain" (DFA², 182). In favor of the second theory, on the other hand, some parts of the vase, most notably the mask this figure is holding, are very crudely drawn. Erika Simon seems to agree with this interpretation, stating that the "flat pointed shoes are drawn frontally" (AT 14).

The clothing worn by both figures is, however, quite easy to distinguish. The young man on the left is wearing an ankle-length pleated chiton of a solid color and no decoration. Over this he wears a himation, also of a solid color, but with a decorative border indicated all around it. The himation is fastened on his right shoulder, leaving his left arm free. The mask he is carrying is that of a beardless young man. It has curly hair to about chin length which is drawn back behind the ears, naturally-shaped eyes that have been painted in, and a long, thin nose similar to that of the mask in the Athens fragment discussed above (fig. II,3). The area of the mouth has been damaged somewhat, but it seems that the artist has indicated an open mouth by the simple device of drawing a single line in a rough oval shape. It has been suggested that this is a mask of the young

Dionysos.⁷⁴ This identification is largely suggested by the clothing of the second figure, who is also wearing an ankle-length chiton, less finely pleated than his companion's. Over this he wears a fawn's skin or *nebris*, the characteristic garment of a maenad. Thus, he seems to be a member of a chorus of maenads. The mask bears out this identification, being that of a young woman with her hair bound back in a *sakkos*, except for a lock that escapes over her cheek. The smallish eyes are not painted in, the nose is a straight line from the forehead, and the mouth is shown partly open.

A very similar mask appears on an Attic red-figure pelike from about 430 BC in Boston (fig. II,5). On this vase we see two actors in the process of dressing. The one on the left is fully clothed, and is holding a mantle or some other large cloth bundled in his left hand, while his right hand is raised in a gesture; he is perhaps rehearsing a bit of the play. He already wears his mask, but it is partially obscured by his upraised arm. It seems identical, however, to the mask lying before him on the ground, probably belonging to the other figure who has not completed dressing. It is the mask of a woman, similar in outline and contour to the mask on the Ferrara krater (fig. II,4), although the hair on this one is held back by a wide band and is shaped into a

⁷⁴Simon, *AT*, 14; Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*², 182.



Fig. II,5. Attic red-figure pelike, c. 430 BC, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Henry Lillie Pierce fund, 1898.

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

large knot or bun at the nape of the neck. As in the mask on the Ferrara krater, the nose comes in a straight line from the forehead, and the mouth is slightly open. These details can be seen as well on the mask worn by the first figure on this vase. The eyes of the mask on the ground are not visible in any of the photographs of the vase (although they do appear in line-drawings, e.g. Furtwängler/Reichhold III, fig. 62), but those of the mask that is worn are in ordinary proportion to the face, as are both sets visible in the old line-drawings.

Both actors are dressed in mid-calf-length chitons that are pinned, peplos-fashion, only above their shoulders, leaving their arms bare. The actor on the right is still in the process of dressing, putting on his boots, which we can clearly see are soft and somewhat loose-fitting, turning up at the toes. The other actor is already wearing identical boots, flexible and thin-soled, the same general pattern we have seen in the other depictions of footwear. Note also that the dressing actor wears a wide band around his brow. Bieber suggests that it is there to help hold his mask in place (HGRT 26), but it seems to me more likely that its purpose is to help prevent the mask from chafing his skin. Since the two actors are dressed the same and have identical masks, they are probably members of a chorus; thus in Periklean times, when the vase was made, the chorus could wear shoes, and there is nothing to say that it wasn't at least sometimes the practice earlier in the century.

What appears to be a barefoot chorus is depicted on a set of fragments of an Attic red-figure krater of about 400 BC in Würzburg (fig. II,6). These fragments seem to show at least one figure, who appears to be an enthroned deity (Pickard-Cambridge, DFA² 187), surrounded by a chorus and a flute-player. The figures, other than the seated deity, are



Fig. II,6. Fragments of an Attic red-figure krater, c. 400 BC, in the Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.

Photo courtesy of the Martin von Wagner Museum der
Universität Würzburg.

dressed similarly in highly-decorated, ankle-length robes--some with long, tight sleeves--and all are holding women's masks in their hands, except for one who has a flute in each hand. All of the feet we see are bare. The masks are all identical, the faces white and somewhat square, topped by unruly curly hair. As we've seen in other artistic representations of masks, the eyes have been painted in; they are not particularly large in proportion to the face. These masks differ from those we have seen before, though, in that the mouths are shown quite wide open. The noses are also shorter and broader than we have seen before.

The clothing of these figures is quite interesting. The flute-player--who is identifiable by the flutes he carries, one in each hand--is dressed much like his brethren discussed in Chapter I. That is, he wears a long, highly decorated robe with wrist-length, tight sleeves. It is interesting to note that his hair is chin-length and curly, somewhat similar to that of the masks, and is bound by both a fillet and a wreath of leaves.⁷⁵ The decoration of the shoulders of the robe is a motif of stylized leaves, ending in a set-off band of spirals at the top of the chest. Below this band is a geometric pattern of elongated triangles and diamonds

⁷⁵Pickard-Cambridge suggests that the curly hair, which also appears on the actors, is the result of the artist being unwilling to highlight the contrast between the female characters and male chorus members (*DFA*², 187-188). A flute-player, of course, would not wear an actual mask, since he would not be able to play his instrument through it.

extending to the waist. From the waist down the robe is shown as pleated with tiny crosses interspersed in an otherwise plain field. The fragment breaks off just below the flute-player's knees, so it is unknown whether the hem of the robe had a decorative border. The sleeves are covered in a small checkerboard pattern. This same pattern appears on the sleeves of one of the visible chorus-members whose arm is shown next to the enthroned deity, but two other chorus-members appear to be wearing sleeveless robes.

The best-preserved figure of a chorus-member appears to the viewer's right of the flute-player. This seated figure wears a sleeveless robe, the shoulders of which are decorated with a panel of griffins, below which is a band of spirals, like that on the flute-player's chest. Below this band is a wave pattern below which the rest of the robe falls in pleats, undecorated except for scattered tiny circles, down to three decorative bands at the hem, of waves, spirals, and a geometric pattern, reading from top to bottom. A black belt decorated with evenly spaced white dots is fastened slightly above the waistline. The actor's bare feet are plainly shown, and he holds his mask upright in his left hand.

Another chorus-member appears to the viewer's left of the flute-player. He holds his mask up high in his left hand. His left arm is bare. His robe seems to be a duplicate of that of the previous chorus-member, except that

it has a wave pattern around the neckline rather than griffins at the shoulder. Above him is a bare foot and the hem of a robe that is decorated with a wave pattern, above which is a band of spirals and a pattern of elongated triangles, above which extends the same sort of area decorated only with scattered tiny circles that we see on the first chorus-member's robe.

These pieces contain valuable information about the costuming of tragedy in Athens at the end of the fifth century, but their fragmentary nature makes it difficult to get a clear picture of the whole. Several other works of art from about this time, though, can make the visualization of the costuming clearer. One such work is a krater in Ferrara that is dated to the beginning of the fourth century BC (fig. II,7). It shows a seated Dionysos surrounded by figures from tragedy. On the viewer's right of the god is a seated woman with a mask in each hand, and further to the right stands a bearded man. Both of these figures are dressed in robes with patterns similar to those seen on the Würzburg fragments (fig. III,6), with bands of wave patterns and elongated triangles. The bearded man wears the clothing of an actor, a highly decorated, pleated robe over which a himation has been draped from about the waist level to about mid-calf. The himation is bordered with a wave pattern and has elongated triangles extending into its center. Near the top border is also a wide band of what looks like half-sunbursts or halves

of daisy-like flowers. It is difficult to tell from a photograph whether the robe is sleeved or not, although there



Fig. II,7. Attic red-figure bell-krater, early fourth century BC, in Ferrara. Photo courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara.

seems to be some sort of faint patterning on the actor's right arm; what looks like part of the himation, with a vertical line of black triangles, covers his left arm. The robe is belted by a black band with white dots, like the belts on the Würzburg fragments, although this one is worn loosely at waist level.

The figure holding the masks is dressed in a highly-decorated, sleeveless robe that seems to be worn over a lightweight chiton, the right "sleeve" of which, covered with a speckled pattern, is visible. The mask in her left hand, shown frontally, is similar to the masks of the Würzburg fragments, with the squarish face, small eyes, and open mouth, although its hair is long and stringy, rather than short and curly. The mask in her right hand, shown in profile, has curlier hair, bound by a wreath of leaves, and a long, straight nose like those on the Boston pelike and the other krater from Ferrara (figs. II,5 and II,4, respectively). The identity of this figure is something of a puzzle, in that it has the figure and features of a woman. She is seated in the same area as Dionysos although slightly above him (whatever they are sitting on is not visible in the photograph). Her hair is bound by the same sort of wreath, probably ivy, as that worn by the mask in her right hand. Her robe is similar to that of an actor, but of course there were no women tragic actors at this time. Dionysos' consort Ariadne is often shown seated with him, but in no surviving pieces does she wear a tragic robe or carry masks, nor can I think of any reason why she should be so depicted. Green suggests that this is an example of the artist's transforming the actor who plays a woman's part into a woman (TAGS 86). While this explanation is possible, I tend to doubt it,

because a much better explanation has been put forward for a similar figure that appears in a very famous vase in Naples.

The volute krater that is generally known as the Pronomos vase or the Satyr-Play vase also shows a scene of Dionysos surrounded by figures from the theatre (figs. I,2 and II,8). Here, the god leans back on a couch with his consort Ariadne at his side, and at the end of the couch perches a woman dressed in a long-sleeved, highly decorated robe and holding a single mask in her left hand. Green again identifies this figure as an actor whom the artist has partially transformed into his female character.⁷⁶ What seems to me a much more convincing view, though, has been set out very clearly by Erika Simon (AT 17-19). She argues that none of the figures portrayed on the vase except this woman seem to see Dionysos and Ariadne, and therefore the divine couple is being portrayed as invisible to mortals. Furthermore, she is seated on the same couch as Dionysos and his wife and, a point that Simon neglects to mention, she is interacting with the winged Eros-like boy labelled *Himeros* (Desire), an obviously non-human figure. Thus, this woman, since she is

⁷⁶TAGS 85. Pickard-Cambridge is less definite in this identification, stating "that the face is female seems less certain," but discussing her in the same passage in which he has pointed out that the faces of the two costumed actors are painted to resemble the masks they carry, and therefore their characters (DFA², 187). Taplin, without actually addressing the problem, also seems to go along with this interpretation, commenting on the "fascinating blurring of the worlds of actors and play" on this vase (CambrComp, 73).

holding a mask from the play that the human figures are involved with but interacts with the divine figures, is portrayed as a mediator between the sphere of the gods and



Fig. II,8. Line-drawing of the Pronomos Vase (see fig. I,2), Attic red-figure volute krater, c. 400 BC. Drawing: Bieber, DTA fig. 97.

that of the human actors. Bieber suggests that this woman is meant to be *Paidia*, the personification of the play (HGRT, 10); Simon concurs, citing Heide Froning, who in her detailed discussion of the problem credits Bieber with the origination of the idea, something Simon neglected to mention.⁷⁷ The female figure on the Ferrara krater (fig. II,7) also seems to be making eye contact with Dionysos, while the actor on her other side gazes above both of their heads. Furthermore, she

⁷⁷Simon, AT 19, Froning, 10. Trendall and Webster also see her as something other than mortal, although they are unsure of her function, referring to her as "a maenad?" (IGD, 29).

appears to be perched on the end of the same seat as Dionysos sits upon, her position--except for her right hand holding the second mask--identical to that of "*Paidia*" on the Pronomos vase. Thus, she too, then, should be considered a personification of a play.

It is generally agreed that the Pronomos vase (figs. I,2 and II,8) is either a representation of a panel painting dedicated in the sanctuary of Dionysos in Athens by the famous flute-player Pronomos,⁷⁸ or was itself commissioned in celebration of a victory, perhaps by the flute-player or by someone else.⁷⁹ At any rate, it is a scene set in the sanctuary of Dionysos after what seems to have been a winning performance, judging from the tripods--the general dedication after a victory in a dramatic festival--that flank the figures on the upper register. The cast of a satyr-play is depicted, with the members of the satyr-chorus in their trunks with attached tails and *phalloi*, and an actor dressed as Papposilenos standing next to the tripod on the right

⁷⁸See Simon, AT 17. The fame of Pronomos is recorded by Pausanias (IX, 12, 4-6), and in an epigram (Anth. Pal. XVI, 28):

Ἑλλάς μὲν Θήβας προτέρας προὔκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς,
Θῆβαι δὲ Πρόνομον, παῖδα τὸν Οἰνιάδου.

Greece prefers Thebes before all others when it comes to
flutes,
and Thebes prefers Pronomos, son of Oiniados.

⁷⁹Taplin, CA, 8 and Cambr. Comp., 73.

side.⁸⁰ The flute-player Pronomos, centered below the couch of Ariadne and Dionysos (a place of honor which leads to the assumption that he commissioned the painting), is dressed in the typical flute-player's costume as discussed in Chapter I. The two actors who flank the couch and the "*Paidia*" figure are dressed in the same style of tragic garb we have seen in other vases of the last part of the fifth century.

The actor to the viewer's left of Dionysos holds a mask which seems to be that of an eastern king, since it appears to have a pointed, Phrygian-style tiara or hat with which the actor is carrying the mask. The tiara is decorated with spirals or waves. The face of the mask shows a somewhat triangular forehead framed by dark, curly hair that continues into the beard. The eyes are painted in, as we have seen on other fifth-century paintings of masks, and the eyebrows are

⁸⁰For the similarities between the costuming of tragedy and satyr-play, see Chapter II, note 41 above. Roman sources also indicate that this was the general practice at that time; e.g. Horace, *Sat.* I, v, 63-64:

pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:
nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.

"He asked him to dance as Cyclops the shepherd:
he would need no mask nor tragic boots."

Also, the discussion of the satyr-play in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, lines 227-229, states:

ne quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros,
regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas.

Don't let someone who has been put on as a god or a hero, recently seen in royal gold and purple, wander into dark taverns with common speech.

heavy and dark. The mouth is shown as rectangular and quite wide open.

The actor is wearing an ankle-length robe with a himation over it. The robe has bands of decoration which along with the bands of spirals and waves we have seen before also present a panel of the forequarters of horses; bands of waves run vertically along the tight sleeves. The bands of decoration continue to the waist, where a black belt with white spots is worn loosely, similarly to those on the Ferrara krater (fig. II,7). The robe from the waist down is covered in an intricate series of dots and lines that may be arranged in some sort of a vegetal pattern; most of it is hidden by the himation, so it is difficult to tell for certain.⁸¹ At the hem is a band of spirals, above which is a band of large palm leaves. The himation that covers so much of the robe is worn draped over his left shoulder and arm, and is pulled around from the back slightly below waist level to be gripped in his left hand. The top and bottom edges are decorated with bands of spirals, and further inward with friezes of figures of men and/or gods--some seem to have wings, while others appear to be on horseback. A blank central area is bordered on both sides by a band of waves.

⁸¹This pattern is indicated only in the photograph of the vase (fig. I,2). The line drawing (fig. II,8) shows only crosses, asterisks, and blobs in no discernible pattern.

This actor is wearing boots similar in outline to those we have seen before, with thin soles and upturned toes. These, however, are nearly as decorated as his costume, with a pattern of springing lines above the toes and instep (which might be an indication of lacing or of puckering of the boots, rather than a decoration), spirals at the ankle, and at least one band of spirals or waves just above the ankle; above this band are lines that may indicate more decoration, or may be just an indication of the lacing of the boots. There are a few lines on the left heel that might also be decorative.

The actor standing on the far side of the couch, between "*Paidia*" and Papposilenos, is costumed as Herakles (see also Chap. II, 43). His robe, while only knee-length, shows much the same patterning around the hem as that of the other actor, and his sleeves have the same vertical bands of waves. The upper part of his robe is obscured by an unpatterned cuirass; he wears a lion's skin flung over his left shoulder and he carries a club leaning against this same shoulder. His mask is similar in features to that of the actor on the left side of the couch, with a triangular forehead, painted-in eyes, and rectangular, open mouth; it too has dark, curly hair and beard, and dark eyebrows, which in this mask are somewhat elevated. Both of these masks--that of Herakles and that of the actor to the left--are painted a pale yellow. The snout and ears of a lion's head appear above the hair,

and the actor is carrying this mask by a strap. His boots are quite interesting, being knee-length and tied to fit closely to the calf; the knob-like protuberences along the sides might be part of the fastenings, or may be purely decorative. A narrow flap hangs from the top of his left boot in the back. The soles are thin and the toes turn up. Bands of decoration cover the entire boot from the top down to the ankle. This suggests that the other actor's boots were similarly decorated up to their tops, but it is impossible to tell for certain what is meant by the lines on the first actor's boots.

The third figure on this vase who might give any indication of tragic costume is the seated woman or "*Paidia*". She wears a robe that is very similar to that of the actor to the left of the couch. The only difference between the two from the waist up is that the woman has a band of what seem to be flowers just above the waist, in the spot where the man has a band of waves; even their belts are worn in an identical manner. The woman's robe has more elaborate decoration around the hem, consisting of a band of human figures, a band of horseback riders, and a band of elongated triangles reaching halfway up her thighs. She is sitting on a highly decorated himation that is also draped around her left arm. The similarities to the first actor's dress, not to mention to that of figures we have seen on other vases, marks this as a tragic costume. However, the woman is

barefoot, which to my mind is one more argument against her being one of the actors, since the other two on this vase are shown in very elaborate boots. She does hold a mask, that of a woman with a white face, wearing a Phrygian tiara or hat that is decorated with tiny white balls along its edges and seams. The features of the mask are difficult to determine. They are not visible in the photographs of the vase. The line-drawing I am using shows them as quite tiny, the mouth barely open. A painted reconstruction shows the eyes as a little larger and blank, and the mouth about as open as those on the Würzburg fragments (fig. II,6).⁸²

Similar costumes to those we have seen on all of these vases from about 400 BC appear on another of about the same time, called the Andromeda krater (fig. II,9; see also fig. I,3). This vase seems to give some indication of a scene from Euripides' play Andromeda, but it is in no way to be considered a "photograph" of what appeared on stage. For example, Perseus, identifiable both from his attributes of sickle and bag with Medusa's head and through a written label, wears nothing more than a hat, a *chlamys*, and a pair of boots. Since there is no record of nudity on the fifth-century stage, this is not an actor in costume, but a

⁸²The painted reconstruction was published in Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 143, whence Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹, fig. 28, DFA², fig. 49.

representation of the mythical Perseus, the idea that the actor would have portrayed. The central figure, however,



Fig. II,9. The "Andromeda krater," Attic red-figure kalyx-krater, c. 400 BC (see fig. I,3). Photo: Bieber, DTA fig.

105.

labelled Andromeda, is dressed extremely similarly to the actors on the Pronomos Vase (figs. I,2 and II,8) and the Ferrara krater (fig. II,7). She wears a robe whose long sleeves have the same vertical wave patterns we have seen on these other vases; its bodice and hem are decorated with figured bands of the type that appear on these vases as well. She has a cloak attached to both shoulders and hanging down her back; it seems undecorated except for a solid band around its lower hem. She wears a tiara or Phrygian hat similar to

those on the masks on the Pronomos vase, although this one seems to consist of different-colored panels, with little or no decoration. The man seated at her feet, who is labelled as her father Kepheus, wears an identical tiara and nothing else except for a himation draped around his lower body and up over his left shoulder. Neither of their faces is painted as a mask; the mouths are not open, and the eyes are painted in. Andromeda's feet are bare, as are her father's.

The figure above and to the right of Perseus is labelled as the goddess Aphrodite, and she appears to be wearing the same robe that Andromeda does, except hers is sleeveless. She also has a cloak very similar to Andromeda's. A third figure, on the upper left, appears to be wearing stage costume and is usually identified as a chorus member dressed as an Ethiopian.⁸³ It is probably a female character, dressed in a short robe whose sleeves are decorated with bands of vertical stripes. The body of the robe is patterned with motifs we have seen elsewhere, and it ends at the knees. Below the robe is a pair of tight-fitting pants or leggings, the sort pictured on many Amazons in Attic vase painting (see Chapter I, 34-35 and fig. I,7), decorated with alternating horizontal zigzags and rows of dots. She is wearing some

⁸³See Bieber, *HGRT*, 31; Walton, *GTP*, 150. Pickard-Cambridge (*DFA*¹, 217, *DFA*², 200) identifies this figure as an Ethiopian, not necessarily a member of the chorus.

kind of shoes with thin soles, the toes of which are not visible, so it is unknown whether they turned up.

This krater is a mixture of what actually appeared on stage and the characters of the story as the audience was to imagine them to be. If it were not for the subject (which was undertaken by Euripides) and the close similarity of Andromeda's robe to tragic costumes on other vases of this time which show scenes definitely connected to the theatre, there would be little reason to think of this as a theatrical representation. As it is, its main worth to this study lies in its being one more example of what seems to have been the most common tragic costume of the late fifth century, and in its possibly showing a member of a tragic chorus in costume.

One other vase painting should be mentioned briefly here, a fragment of a late fifth-century red-figure volute krater that has been published by J. R. Green.⁸⁴ The fragment depicts a nude boy carrying two masks, one of a Papposilenos and the other--according to Green--either of a satyr or, more likely, of a hero (238). This latter mask has short, straight, dark hair and beard, painted-in eyes, and a round, wide-open mouth. To the viewer's right of the boy is a seated figure wearing knee-length boots with curlicues up the

⁸⁴J. R. Green, "Dedications of Masks," *Revue Archéologique* 1982, fasc. 2, 237-248, especially 237-238, fig. 1. The piece is identified as a fragment of a volute krater of the very end of the fifth century, in a private collection in Switzerland.

sides and lacing up the front, thin soles, and turned-up toes. The figure wears a robe with long, tight sleeves with a vertical wave pattern; there is also a wave pattern across the chest of the robe. It is impossible to determine the length of the robe. On the seated figure, the hem comes at the top of the boots, that is to say, just below knee-level. This may be an indication of an ankle-length robe that has been hiked up, or of a voluminous knee-length robe that is spilling over the knees of the seated figure. It is also possible that the robe would have reached slightly below the knee of a standing figure; the fact that no such length is depicted on any of the very few pieces we have that illustrate tragic costume at this time does not mean that no such length was worn. At any rate, the robe hangs as if it is constructed of a lightweight material; several pleats are indicated. It is patterned with tiny crosses widely sprinkled, and has a band of a leaflike pattern at the hem. A heavier himation seems to lie across the figure's lap above his knees, and he is holding a spear or long sceptre in his right hand.

A last piece that documents tragic costume at the end of the fifth century in Athens is a marble relief found in the Peiraieus and currently in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (fig. II,10; see also fig. I,1). It depicts three actors standing before Dionysos, who reclines on a couch with a female figure seated at his feet. The two actors on the

left hold large, flat, oval objects that are usually considered to be tympana, leading to a tentative



Fig. II,10. Relief from the Peiraeus, c. 400 BC (see fig. I,1). Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 53.

identification of these actors as the cast of Euripides' Bacchai, which was produced in about 406 BC, within a few years of this relief.⁸⁵ The three actors are dressed similarly in floor-length peploi fastened at the tops of their shoulders; under these is some sort of garment with

⁸⁵Bieber, HGRT 32; Simon, AT 11; Webster, MITSP² 32, AS 1, and GTP 41. Smith, however, following Robert, sees these items as mirrors which the actors are using to help adjust their masks ("Footwear" 143). Their large size and the fact that they have no handles argue to my mind against their being mirrors.

long, close-fitting sleeves. The peploi are all belted slightly above the waist, falling in wide graceful folds from this belt. The middle actor seems to have a second, knee-length peplos above his longer one. There is no indication of pattern on these garments, other than some wrinkling of the sleeves, but it is quite likely that color and pattern would have been painted on the surface.⁸⁶

Two of the actors are holding masks; it is generally agreed that the actor on the left was wearing his mask, but as his entire head is now missing, it is impossible to tell what the mask would have looked like--or even if it ever was there. The middle actor's mask is the best preserved; it is that of a bearded man with straight hair pulled back into a knot at the nape of the neck. His eyes are shown as hollow, and of a natural size and shape. His nose is long and hangs over his mouth which is very wide open. His forehead is somewhat high, but does not seem to come to a point. The mask held by the actor standing nearest the couch is less well preserved, so that there is some debate whether it is meant to be a man's or a woman's.⁸⁷ It can definitely be

⁸⁶Webster, *GTP* 41; *MITSP*² 32. According to Smith (143), the relief was under water in the harbor at Peiraius from some point in antiquity until its discovery in modern times. Thus, it is not surprising that no trace of paint remains.

⁸⁷Bieber thinks that it may be either a woman's mask or--due to its masculine and feminine qualities--that of a young Dionysos (*DTA* 105, *HGRT* 32). Pickard-Cambridge first considered it a woman's mask (*DFA*¹ 179), but either later

said, though, that its mouth is fairly wide open, and that a wide fillet is bound about its brow.

All three actors are wearing lightweight shoes or (probably) boots. No detail survives on their surfaces--no indication of soles or lacing or decoration--and the toes do not turn up. A close examination of the relief in person, though, makes it definite that some sort of foot covering is intended here, since no toes are indicated on the actors' feet, and their surface being of a coarser and more mottled texture than that of the bare feet of the woman seated on the couch, indicating that the covering was not meant to be skin. This woman wears a *nebris* over her chiton, and is often identified as a member of the maenad-chorus of the play that the actors represent (Simon, AT 11; Webster, MITSP² 32). However, her position seated on the end of Dionysos' couch leads me to identify her as a *Paidia* figure or personification of the play, as we have seen on the vases from this period.⁸⁸

changed his mind, or Gould and Lewis changed it for him, so to speak, since by DFA² it was described as probably belonging to an "oldish man" (188). Webster sees the mask as bearded, and thinks it might represent a young king (MITSP² 32; also GTP 41). The mask is in slightly less good shape now than it was when Bieber, Pickard-Cambridge, and even Webster saw it, so that a definite determination of its type will probably never be made.

⁸⁸This view is bolstered somewhat by two labels that were etched into the surface of the relief at an unknown point sometime after it was made but before it went into the harbor. The reclining figure is clearly labelled ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ

The evidence for tragic costume in the fifth century, although somewhat scanty, permits the drawing of a few conclusions. Masks throughout the century seem to be relatively natural in appearance, perhaps similar in style to the sculpture of the period (cf. fig. II,3a and note 69). As the century advances, the mouths are shown as progressively wider, either as a reflection of a trend in the masks themselves, or due to artists gradually beginning to depict what they actually see rather than the idea symbolized by the mask. The various masks also seem to have been painted in colors that indicated gender--white for women (figs. I,2, II,3, II,6), yellow for men (as on the Pronomos vase, fig. I,2). There is no indication of an *onkos*, although near the end of the century some foreheads are depicted as rather unusually high (e.g. fig. I,1), and the pointed Phrygian cap appears on some masks that seem to denote Eastern royalty (figs. II,8, II,9).

The depiction of clothing bears out at least one piece of information gathered from the plays: garments of both solid colors (figs. II,4 and II,5, perhaps fig. II,10) and multi-colored patterns (figs. II,1, II,2, II,6, II,7, II,8, and II,9) were employed. By the end of the century, the robe with long, tight-fitting sleeves was in common use, although

(Dionysos), while the female figure's label is less legible. Robert, however, read it as ΠΑΙΔΗΑ (Paidêa, a reasonable variant of Paidia). See Smith, 143 and n. 1; Bieber, *DTA* 104.

there is no secure evidence for its use before then. The evidence from the early and middle parts of the century indicate that tragic garments were similar in style to ordinary streetwear (figs. II,4 and II,5), although sometimes more elaborately decorated (figs. II,1 and II,2). The garments could be of varying lengths: above the knee (figs. II,1 and II,2), at the knee (fig. II,8), mid-calf (fig. II,5), to or slightly below the ankle (figs. II,3, II,4, II,6, II,7, II,8, and II,9), and to the floor (fig. II,10).

The depiction of tragic footwear of the period is remarkably consistent from the earliest known example (fig. II,3)--dated to about 470 BC--to the end of the century. In all the illustrations we see a boot, always appearing lightweight and flexible and generally turning up at the toe. It usually extends to the knee (although that in fig. II,3 reaches only to mid-calf), and generally it has some sort of decoration, ranging from the simple band in fig. II,3 to Herakles' elaborately patterned and decorated creations on the Pronomos vase (figs. I,2 and II,8). Bare feet seem to be an option for tragic choruses (figs. II,1, II,2, and II,6), as well as satyr choruses (figs. I,2 and II,8).

Therefore, the evidence I have found suggests that there does not appear to have been any single "tragic costume" in the age of the great tragic playwrights. The testimony from the plays of the period and from extant works of art leads me to think that actors and choruses were dressed in a manner so

as to suggest the characters they were portraying, such as a chorus of soldiers or of Furies, royal personages from the East, or a Greek woman in mourning. This characterization would have been tempered by practical considerations. For example, the members of the soldier-chorus depicted in fig. II,1, unlike any real-life soldiers, were barefoot, probably to facilitate their dancing. And, since only three actors could play all of the speaking roles, the costuming of each actor had to be such that it could--with little or no change, other than of mask--be feasible for every character that actor played. It has been suggested that the use of long sleeves in the theatre owes its adoption at least in part to the need to disguise the male actor's arms for the times when he is playing a female role.⁸⁹ This may well be something that was adopted after practical experience showed its necessity, since in many of the earlier works of art the actors' arms appear to be bare, even when a female character is otherwise indicated (e.g. figs. II,4 and II,5). Thus, perhaps the best description of tragic costuming in the fifth century would be that which indicated the character being enacted as well as possible given the practical restraints imposed by the nature of the performance.

⁸⁹Simon, AT 13; Iris Brooke, Costume in Greek Classic Drama 66.

Chapter III

Tragic Costume in the Fourth Century

Literary works of the Roman period indicate that beginning in the fifth century there was a great interest in Athenian tragedy in the Greek cities of South Italy and Sicily. The Life of Aischylos, for example, tells us that the poet went to Sicily at the invitation of Hieron of Gela (8-11). He remained there for two years, greatly honored by Hieron and the people of Gela, before he was killed by accident. The citizens of Gela erected a magnificent tomb for him, which was from that point on visited by aspiring tragedians, who recited their plays there, after having offered sacrifices. Another tradition has it that the Athenians who were captured in the invasion of Syracuse (413 BC) were treated more leniently or even released if they could recite passages from the most recent plays of Euripides.⁹⁰ The Sicilians and South Italians also furnished

⁹⁰Plutarch, Nic. 29; see also Lefkowitz, The Lives of the Greek Poets, 100.

evidence of their interest in tragedy through their production of works of art depicting tragic themes.⁹¹ This body of artifacts is of major importance to this study, since the greatest part of the extant evidence for tragic costuming in the fourth century is in works of art from South Italy and Sicily, rather than from Athens.

Tragic masks are depicted on a number of South Italian vases during the first half of the fourth century. On the



Fig. III,1. Dionysos and attendants. Apulian red-figure bell-krater, c. 400 BC, in the Museo Nazionale at Bari (1364). Photo: Bieber, "Herkunft" fig. 59.

⁹¹As Xanthakis-Karamanos points out (29), such works of art began in the fifth century, as is evidenced by an early Lucanian kalyx krater, c. 415-410 BC, which depicts a scene from Euripides' *Cyclops* (cf. Trendall and Webster 36, II,11).

one that seems to be the earliest, an Apulian bell krater dated to about 400 BC, we see a seated Dionysos holding a branch in his left hand and a mask in his right (fig. III,1). In front of him are a satyr and two maenads, depicted as the mythological beings, not as costumed actors. It has been suggested that the scene is a reproduction of a victor's votive tablet (Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹, 183), and thus analogous to the contemporary pieces in Athens such as the Pronomos vase and the Piraieus relief (figs. I,2/II,8, and I,1/II,10). The only contribution that the Bari krater can make to this study, however, comes from the mask. It is the mask of a woman or a beardless youth with long, curly, light-colored hair. The face is oval in shape and quite natural in appearance. The mouth is very slightly open. The eyes are somewhat large and are painted in. The pupil, which is painted black, seems rather large, though, and the artist might have meant to indicate that these were holes for the actor to see through. Both Pickard-Cambridge (DFA¹, 183) and Bieber (HGRT 23) suggest that this is the mask of a member of a maenad chorus. This is quite possible, but it could equally well be that of a tragic heroine or young hero, who for some reason--such as Elektra in Oedipus at Colonus in her ragged garments--would have had long, unbound hair. A fairly similar mask is also shown held by a seated Dionysos on a

somewhat later Apulian kalyx krater in Munich.⁹² This mask is also beardless, with long, fair, curly hair; its mouth, however, is shown as open in an almost perfect circle.

An Apulian bell-krater of about 400 BC shows a nude youth, possibly Dionysos, who is holding a mask which also could be that of a woman or a young man.⁹³ It is, of course, beardless, with fairly long, dark, wavy hair. The face is shown in profile, with the eye painted in, but the mouth somewhat open. A similar mask appears on an Apulian bell-krater of about the 370s BC in Brindisi.⁹⁴ Depicted is a seated actor who seems to be trying to decide between two masks, one held in front of him by an attendant, and one which he holds in his lap. This second is shown in profile and is quite similar to the mask on the New York bell-krater, although its hair is somewhat shorter and its mouth turns down at the corner. The mask held by the attendant also has

⁹² An Apulian red figure kalyx krater by the Painter of Munich 3269 (name vase), c. 370-350 BC, Munich 3269 (Jahn 848). Green, "Theatrical Motifs" 98-99, Pl. 7b; Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹, fig. 42; Webster, MITSP² 78, TV 35.

⁹³New York, Metropolitan Museum L63.21.5 (1988.81.4). Trendall generally considers the mask that of a woman ("Masks on Apulian Red-figured Vases" 138; "Farce and Tragedy in South Italian Vase-painting" 156), but in RFVSIS (75) he is non-committal, as are Webster (MITSP², 78) and Taplin (Cambr. Comp., 74).

⁹⁴Taplin, CA 92, fig. 22.117; Trendall, "Farce and Tragedy" 156, fig. 63.

dark, curly hair to about the jawline; its open mouth does not turn down at the corners.

Two of the earliest examples of tragic costuming from South Italian vases have been identified as depicting scenes from one of Euripides' surviving plays, Herakleidai (The Children of Herakles). Both vases date from about 400 BC, one from perhaps just before this date, the other from just after. The earlier depicts only one figure in full stage costuming.⁹⁵ He seems to be Iolaos, and he wears a long-sleeved robe patterned with palmettes, and with a crenellated black border around the neck and down the outside of the arms. He is seated, so it is not possible to determine the length of the robe. A himation is draped over his lap, undecorated except for a black crenellated border. He is wearing undecorated shoes or boots--lines at the ankles might be meant to show folds in the boots or the tops of shoes--with slightly turned-up toes and thin, flexible soles. In other words, he is dressed similarly to the tragic actors of this time in Athens. The artist gives no indication of a mask. Iolaos' face is painted naturally, with a closed mouth and eyes with painted-in irises and pupils; his hair and

⁹⁵This piece is an early Lucanian column krater, Berlin 1969.6, Trendall and Webster III, 3, 21, p. 87.

beard are short, curly, and white.⁹⁶ The figure of Iolaos on the later of the two vases is dressed very similarly (fig. III,2). This Iolaos, like the one on the earlier vase, is shown without an obvious mask. His hair and beard, although short and curly like those of his earlier counterpart, are



Fig. III,2. Scene from the Children of Herakles. Lucanian red-figure pelike, c. 400 BC, in the Museo Nazionale delle Siritide in Policoro. Photo courtesy of the Museo Nazionale delle Siritide.

⁹⁶Trendall and Webster suggest that the scene is meant to be the opening of the play, and that Iolaos is depicted as an old man, "in preparation for his miraculous rejuvenation later in the play (847ff.)" (87).

pictured as black rather than white, giving him a much more youthful appearance. On this later vase, Iolaos stands on the altar where he has sought refuge, wearing a long-sleeved robe covered with various patterns of dots, including a single row running down each sleeve. Two parallel lines flanked by two parallel rows of dots run across the top of his right shoulder from the neckline to a band that rings the top of the sleeve. Three parallel vertical lines run from the neckline of his robe down to his waist, flanked on each side by a row of scallops. The robe must reach no lower than mid-calf, since its hem is hidden under a himation that is draped around his waist and up over his left shoulder, and is completely wrapped around his left arm. The himation seems to be of a solid color, although certain lines that appear to be indications of folds and wrinkles might be hints of some sort of pattern. On his feet are again articles that might be shoes or boots. The toes of this footwear turn up slightly, and thin, flexible soles are indicated. Up to the ankle level they are decorated with solid bands and unfilled circles; at the ankle is a line that might be decorative, or might be intended as the top of a shoe. The latter is more likely, because similar footwear appears on four other figures in the scene, the boy wrapped in a himation seated on the left edge of the altar and the three nude or nearly nude boys--Herakles' sons--who surround Iolaos. On the latter figures it is obvious that the items in question are shoes,

since no indication of boot-tops appear on the nude legs. Above the line that appears to be a shoe-top on Iolaos' foot, no decoration at all appears, and his right leg particularly is rendered very similarly to the left leg of the nude boy on the viewer's far right.

To the viewer's left of Iolaos stands the second figure on this vase who seems to be wearing tragic costume.⁹⁷ Because he carries a herald's staff and is wearing a *petasos*, the traditional traveller's hat, he has been identified as Kopreus, the herald sent by Eurystheus to bring the children of Herakles back from their flight to Athens. He wears a knee-length, sleeveless robe, the right shoulder of which is decorated in a similar manner to that of Iolaos. The body of the robe has horizontal bands of decoration appearing to be spaced about eight inches apart, ending in a solid band at the hem. Slightly above his waist, he wears a light-colored belt with two small, probably decorative circles drawn on it. A chlamys with a dark, crenellated band at its hem is draped over his left shoulder and is pinned together above his right collarbone.

His boots are very interesting. They seem to consist of two sections attached to a thin sole: a covering for the toes, that probably continues in a tongue part or all of the

⁹⁷A third clothed figure, to the viewer's right on the vase, is Athena in her traditional clothing--peplos, helmet, spear, and shield--with nothing specifically theatrical apparent. She is shown as barefoot.

way up to the boot top, and a section that covers the heel and extends around to about the middle of the instep, which continues up the back of the calf and is laced together in the front to the top of the boots. The whole structure comes up to the knees, and is shown as uneven at the tops. From these tops hang long, roughly triangular flaps which, like the boot tops, are decorated with an irregular pattern of small blotches. Slightly below the top edge of each boot is depicted a pair of parallel horizontal lines; the profiles of the boot tops are shown as slightly indented in the area of these lines. The boots seem then to have top edges which consist of two or more long, triangular flaps which would extend about halfway up the thigh if pulled all the way up. Instead, these flaps seem to have been folded down over the outside of the boot, in such a way that the lining--patterned with small blotches--would show. In order to hold them in place, the tops of the boots would then have been tied slightly below the knee with a ribbon or thong, depicted by two horizontal lines. Other than the pattern of blotches on the lining, this pair of boots is not decorated.

Tragic costume is also depicted on an early fourth-century Apulian bell-krater in the Getty Museum that, oddly enough, shows a phlyax scene.⁹⁸ Four figures are standing on

⁹⁸The vase is an Apulian red-figure bell-krater, c. 400-380 BC, from Taranto, currently in the J. Paul Getty Museum, formerly in the collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman. See Green, TAGS fig. 2.21; Taplin, CA fig. 9.1,

a raised stage. The three on the right wear comic masks, short *chitones* over a loose-fitting "skin" of a sleeved garment and tights, and exaggerated phalloi. The figure to the viewer's left, however, is quite different. Above his head is the label "Aigisthos." He wears what is easily recognisable as tragic costume: a highly decorated robe reaching to mid-calf and with long sleeves, a *chlamys* fastened at the throat, and a pair of high boots. It seems likely, as Taplin argues, that this vase is meant to represent a play in which two choruses compete, one promoting comedy, the other tragedy (CA 55-66). Thus, the "Aigisthos" is a character who has been brought onto the comic stage as a representation of tragedy, and his costume is that of a tragic actor, with perhaps a few comic touches. His robe is quite ornate, being patterned from neck to hem with horizontal bands of leaves, asterisks, meanders, circles, chains, dots, and palmettes. The hem itself is fringed, and the sleeves are covered with horizontal bands of scallops placed close together. There is a belt, decorated with evenly spaced circles, set slightly above waist level. Above the belt and attached to it is a pair of straps, crossed on the chest and decorated with dark circles; a large, circular pin or fibula holds the two bands where they cross. The *chlamys* is fastened at the neck with another circular pin and

and Cambr. Comp. fig. 9; Trendall, "Farce and Tragedy" no. 56.

hangs down his back; it is decorated only with a broad stripe near its hem. His boots, at least in the visible sections, are similar to those worn by the Kopreus figure on the Policoro pelike (fig. III,2). They appear to be made in two sections--the front over the toes and the back around the heel--and they lace up the front. The toes turn up slightly. On his head, Aigisthos wears a *pilos*, a conical-shaped traveller's hat. His dark hair is jaw-length and curly. At first look, his face has nothing masklike about it. His mouth is closed, but the lips are strongly outlined and appear unusually thick, which may be an indication of the size of an open mouth of a mask. A less speculative indication that the face is meant by the artist to be a mask is the fact that the eyes, which are unusually large and round, are rendered in exactly the same way as the eyes of the other three characters who are unarguably wearing comic masks. He raises his right arm to his *pilos*, a gesture which Trendall reads as showing puzzlement,⁹⁹ and which Taplin suggests, "with misgivings," might indicate that he is adjusting the mask he has just put on (CA 59). In his left hand he holds two spears, and the hilt of a sword protrudes from between his left arm and chest, an indication, perhaps, that this Aigisthos is ready to play the bloody role set for him in this "tragedy." This seems to be an indication, although a

⁹⁹RVAp suppl. ii, 8, as quoted by Taplin, CA 56.

somewhat exaggerated one (two spears *and* a sword?), of the kinds of costume props a tragic actor might carry.

Figures dressed in unmistakably theatrical costume appear on an Apulian krater in the Louvre from the second quarter of the fourth century (fig. III,3). The three people in the center of this krater are a woman standing behind an elderly man who kneels before a seated man. Each wears at least some element of tragic costume, while all of the other figures depicted in the scene are either nude or dressed as one would expect (a maid on the right of the scene in a lightweight peplos, Athena above the central scene, in peplos

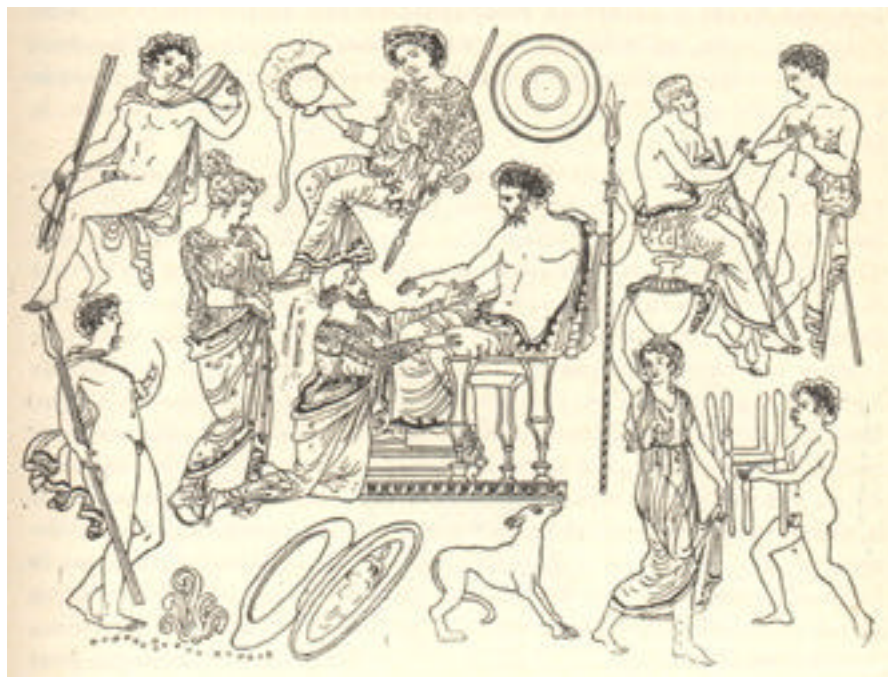


Fig. III,3. Apulian red-figure krater, c. 375-350 BC, in the Louvre (CA227). Drawing: Reinach, Rep. Vases 244,2.

and aegis, holding her helmet and a spear). Of those with elements of tragic costume, the kneeling man is the most completely clothed. He wears a robe, the long sleeves of which are patterned with horizontal bands and a single vertical band from shoulder to wrist. The robe itself has bands of spirals around the neck and the tops of the sleeves, and an overall pattern of unfilled circles. He wears a black belt with painted white dots slightly above his waist. A himation with narrow dark bands at the top and bottom hems is draped from the left shoulder, wrapped around his front and back, and over the left shoulder again. He is wearing shoes or perhaps boots with thin, flexible soles and turned-up toes. There is no real indication of a mask, although his mouth and the mouth of the seated man before whom he kneels are both very slightly open. His hair and beard are white, giving him the appearance of age, and his hair appears long but arranged in a knot at the nape of his neck.

The woman standing behind him is painted not as an actor in women's clothing, but obviously as a woman, with breasts showing through her very thin chiton. Over the chiton is a himation wrapped around her lower torso and drawn up over her left arm. The chiton appears undecorated (in his drawing Reinach has added decorative circles around the neckline that are not apparent in photographs of the krater), but the himation has crenellated bands at its top and bottom hems, and bands of circles and of dots throughout its body. Thus,

her clothing has both theatrical elements (the himation), and non-theatrical ones (the all-but-transparent chiton). She is, however, wearing shoes or boots with thin, flexible soles and turned-up toes. Moreover, her mouth is open a tiny fraction more than those of her two male companions, possibly indicating a mask. Her hair is bound on top of her head with a wide cloth band, in a style similar to that of the fifth century pelike in Boston (fig. II,5). This is only the faintest possible indication of this being meant as a mask, though, since such a hairstyle was a common one for women in both centuries.¹⁰⁰

The third figure in this scene, the seated man, has--as already mentioned--a slightly open mouth set in a face that could be that of a mask or simply of the character being painted. His hair and beard are dark and curly, the hair worn fairly short. Wrapped around his waist and draped up over his left shoulder is a himation whose upper and lower hems are decorated by dark, crenellated bands; this himation is very similar to the one worn by the Iolaos figure

¹⁰⁰Examples include a maenad on a kalyx krater by the Dinos Painter, c. 430-420 BC, in Vienna (Beazley, *ARV*² 1152,8), a muse on a pelike of about the same date in Munich (*ARV*² 1162,14), a seated woman on an oinochoe by the Shuvalov Painter, also from around 430 BC (*ARV*² 1207, 26), a flute player on a volute krater of the early fourth century BC (A. D. Trendall, *The red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*--henceforth *LCS*--no. 280), Athena on an early fourth century volute krater in Ruvo (A.D.Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, *The red-figured Vases of Apulia*, vol. I, no. 2/23), and a woman on a bell krater of about 375-350 BC by the Choephoroi Painter (*LCS* no. 598).

discussed above (see note 94). This figure also wears boots similar to those worn by the tragic actor on the Getty krater (fig. III,3), with turned-up toes, a two-piece construction, and lacing up the front.

This vase, then, like the Andromeda krater (figs. I,3/II,9), seems to be a mixture of what actually appeared on stage and what the audience was meant to imagine from the story they saw enacted before them. As on the Andromeda krater, at least one character appears in full tragic costume, while others wear what seem to be elements of tragic garb and still others are dressed in ordinary clothes or are heroically nude. These two vases indicate that such a mixture of the stage, the mythological, and the everyday was completely comprehensible to a viewer contemporary with the artist. It seems likely that, because of the presence of the tragic costuming, what this viewer might have been meant to understand was that he was looking at a picture of a scene from a tragedy, with the story being acted out as the audience member would have seen it in his imagination. The presence of some tragic costuming might have been intended to inform the viewer of the vase that what was meant was the version of the myth as it was told in a tragedy rather than in any other form. Since they make use of tragic costume as a signifier of the form of the myth that the viewer is meant to understand is being pictured, these composite views can still provide valuable information on tragic costume. They



Fig. III,4a. Lucanian red-figure calyx-krater, c. 370 BC, in Reggio Calabria. Photo: P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (1917), fig. 11.



Fig. III,4b. Lucanian red-figure calyx-krater, c. 370 BC, in Reggio Calabria. Continuation of the scene in fig. III,5a. Photo: P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (1917), fig. 11 bis.

become quite common as the fourth century progresses, and are a major source for the appearance of tragic costuming of the period.

Another composite picture is depicted on a Lucanian kalyx krater of the second quarter of the fourth century (fig. III,4). To the right of the scene (fig. III,4b) we see a man wielding an axe while chasing a woman who is shown with one breast bared (obviously not an actor!). On the left side of the scene (fig. III,4a) is a third figure, a nude young man, probably Dionysos since he holds a thyrsos with his left hand. In his right hand is a bell, at least according to Trendall and Webster (49), and he seems to be ringing it. It is the central figure, though, the man wielding the axe and thus who has been identified as Lykourgos, who is of interest to this study.¹⁰¹ He wears a long-sleeved robe that reaches to just below his knees and is undecorated except for a band of large scallops at about mid-thigh level and a thin solid band near the hem. He wears a belt at slightly above waist level above which are crossed straps like the ones worn by Aigisthos on the Getty krater (fig. III,3). Here, belt and

¹⁰¹As a punishment for driving away Dionysos and his followers from his land, Lykourgos was driven mad by the god. According to differing versions of the myth, this punishment caused him to hack away at various living beings (his son, his wife, himself), in the delusion that these beings were vines, which he blamed for the grapes from which wine is made. Trendall and Webster (49) see this vase as being an illustration of Aischylos' play *Edonoi* (no longer extant), in which they posit Lykourgos attacked his wife.

straps are all decorated with a pattern of small black dots surrounded by larger circles, giving the effect of round plates with central bosses. A chlamys decorated similarly to the robe, with a black band near the hem and a band of spirals somewhat farther up, is fastened at his neck and hangs down his back.

His face resembles that of the seated man in figure III,3, with similar dark, curly hair and beard, here shown somewhat disarranged to emphasize the speed of his running. His mouth, like that of the seated man, is shown as very slightly open, so that this could be either a representation of a mask or the artist's view of the character's face. On his head he wears a helmet with a row of triangular spikes over its top, like the protruding scales on a lizard's back. A small cloth flows back from the nape of his neck, caught up in the breeze from his running. It might represent the dislodged end of a cloth hair-band, or a decoration or fastener from the helmet; it is difficult to tell from the photographs.

His boots are particularly interesting. They reach up to mid-calf, and have the same sort of folded-over flaps and lacing up the front that we first saw on the Kopreus figure on the Policoro pelike (fig. III,2). These boots, however, although their soles are thin and flexible and the toes are pointed, do not turn up at the toes, neither in profile (the



Fig. III,5a. Scene from the Eumenides. Apulian red-figure volute-krater, 370-360 BC, in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples. Photo: Huddilston fig. 6.



Fig. III,5b. Line drawing of the Apulian red-figure volute-krater, fig. III,6a. Drawing: Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines vol. 4,1, fig. 5427.

left foot) nor from the front (the right foot). The soles do mold slightly to the curve of the arch, however.

A similar costume appears on an Apulian volute krater, also from the second quarter of the century, which Huddilston identifies as depicting a scene from Aischylos' Eumenides (fig. III,5). The scene is set in the temple of Apollo, where Orestes, shown embracing the *omphalos*, has fled. Behind him, Apollo with raised arm wards off one of the Furies while the Pythia--the oracle/priestess--flees in fear. None of these characters is dressed in a particularly theatrical manner. Orestes is nude, Apollo is draped in only a himation, the Pythia is in "street clothes" consisting of chiton and himation, and the Fury wears a short peplos over her blackened skin. Only the figure on the viewer's far right, identified as Artemis by the spears she carries and the hunting-dog at her feet, is dressed in what could be a theatrical costume. As I mentioned, it is quite similar to that worn by Lykourgos in figure III,5, with a few significant differences. It seems to consist of a knee-length peplos, the overfold of which reaches to about mid-thigh. There is no decoration on the "skirt" of the peplos, but the overfold is covered with a random pattern of dots, and its hem is adorned by a wide black band with a narrower one above it. It is hard to determine whether the artist intended to depict sleeves or not. A white band wound serpent-fashion around the wrist of her raised right arm, and

a single visible white band at her left wrist, may indicate the hem of an undecorated sleeve, or may be meant to depict bracelets. Above the overfold of the peplos are worn a belt and two crossed straps, all black with a pattern of white dots. A chlamys is fastened at her throat and draped over her left shoulder and arm; it appears to have no decorative pattern. A necklace of white beads circles her throat. Her boots are very similar to those worn by Lykourgos, reaching to mid-calf with front lacing and triangular overflaps, and flat soles.

Similar boots appear frequently in depictions of tragedy throughout the second half of the century, and they are particularly visible on a character who appears on the fringes of many of the tragic scenes from this period.¹⁰² He is often identified as the *Paidagogos* (Tutor), or the Messenger. Taplin calls him the "little old man," and suggests that the reason he figures so prominently on so many vases of this period is as a signal that a scene from a particular tragedy is meant (Cambr.Comp. 80-82).¹⁰³ Since

¹⁰²Jacques Chamay and Alexandre Cambitoglou identified 31 illustrations of this figure (Antike Kunst 23, 40-42). I can add at least six more, which I discuss in the following section, to their list.

¹⁰³Chamay and Cambitoglou argue that this old man is not necessarily a theatrical character, citing a similarly dressed figure who is depicted as a warrior on a volute krater in Basel (43, note 78). This vase, however, does not appear on their list of 31 examples of the paidagogue/messenger; all of their 31 examples appear in

such a character is often the "eye-witness" to violent occurrences off-stage which he then relates on stage, he serves as the link between the audience or the viewer of the painted scene and the dramatic action either on or off the stage. On the vases, he is sometimes depicted watching the off-stage action (in which case, the figures he is watching are not necessarily dressed in tragic costume), and sometimes with others in stage costume in scenes in which he is presumably reporting what he has seen.

A good closeup view of this character appears on an Apulian amphora of the third quarter of the century in Naples (fig. III,6). He is an old man with white hair and beard, and is somewhat stoop-shouldered. Here, he is dressed in a knee-length robe with long sleeves (the white paint of which has nearly worn away). Only the right side of the robe is visible under the large chlamys which he wears over his left shoulder and falling down the front of his body. The only decoration on the costume is a wide dark band near the hem of the inside of the chlamys (perhaps he is wearing it inside out?). A petasos is hanging down his back, held by a cord around his neck. His boots are, as I mentioned, similar to those worn by Artemis and Lykourgos in the preceding figures. They reach nearly to his knees, are laced up the front, and have triangular overflaps, this time painted white, perhaps

depictions of dramatic themes, and in fact are listed according to these themes.

to indicate some sort of lining (cf. the dotted lining on Kopreus' boots, figure III,2). The soles seem to mold to the shape of the foot, following the line of the arch and turning



Fig. III,6. "Old man" figure in a scene from Chrysippos.

Apulian red-figure amphora, c. 350-325 BC, in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico in Naples. Drawing: Robert, Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts 29 (1914), pl. 11.

up very slightly at the toe, which is rounded, rather than pointed.



Fig. III,7. Oidipous, Iokaste, and their daughters. Sicilian kalyx-krater, c. 330 BC, in the Museo Nazionale Regionale "Paolo Orsi," Siracusa. Photo courtesy of the Museo Nazionale Regionale "Paolo Orsi."

A similar figure appears on a fragmentary kalyx krater from Syracuse (fig. III,7), which is of particular interest to this study because it is one of the first times that the colors of the costumes are indicated.¹⁰⁴ The old man again

¹⁰⁴Giudice, *Sikanie* fig. 299 is a color picture. My descriptions of the colors are based on my observations of the vase in the Museo Regionale 'Paolo Orsi' made in March of

has white hair and beard and a stoop. He wears a knee-length, golden-colored robe that has a pair of vertical black stripes on its left side. It is bloused over at his waist, so no belt is visible. Over his left shoulder and arm is a beige chlamys with two wide black stripes near its lower hem. His boots are black with (apparently) hanging flaps.¹⁰⁵ In this instance, the old man is almost entirely frontal, and we can see the slightly parted lips of his mask and its furrowed brow. That a mask is intended here, rather than the character's face, is indicated by the relative largeness of the head (this same distortion of proportion also appears in the other adult figures on the krater).

It may be as well to take a short break from the discussion of the "old man" to describe the other figures on this vase. Depicted is a production of Sophokles' Oidipous the King, or of a play with the same theme written by another playwright. The scene illustrated appears to be the moment when the messenger has told Oidipous about the death of the man Oidipous had believed was his father. Iokaste realizes the implications of this news, and turns away, preparing to leave and commit suicide. Oidipous has not yet understood

1999.

¹⁰⁵The surface of the vase is badly damaged, and because of this, detail is difficult to read. Most of the right boot is missing; the chipped surface around the left boot makes it hard to determine whether the artist intended overflaps to exist. The krater is still in good enough condition that the colors of the costumes are preserved.

the full story, and so looks puzzled. The two young daughters, Antigone and Ismene, are also present, something not called for by Sophokles, thus leading to the speculation that this is a different playwright's version of the tale.

One of the daughters stands to the viewer's right of the old man, wrapped in a cloak that is very dark saffron, almost orange, in color. The other daughter is to the viewer's right of Oidipous, and is draped in pale yellow. Their father stands between them, his right hand raised to his chin in a gesture of thought or puzzlement. This gesture shows the sleeve of his robe, which is painted gold, with bands of pattern painted on it in brown. He wears a himation wrapped intricately about his body and his left arm; he grips one edge of it with his left hand, drawing it around his front from the back. This himation is beige with a narrow black band near the hem all the way around. Below the himation, we see the robe from about knee-level down to its hem, which reaches to the floor. It too is beige, with bands of black decoration. At the hem is a series of short, evenly spaced vertical lines, that may be a part of the decoration, or may indicate a fringe.

To the viewer's right of the second daughter is Iokaste, whose beige robe and himation are very similar to the same items worn by Oidipous. She has drawn the himation over both of her arms and her head, so her sleeves are not visible. A final character, to the viewer's right of Iokaste, appears to

be a serving maid, who is withdrawing with her mistress. She wears a pale yellow cloak drawn over a peach-colored robe with a brown sleeve.

The characters' faces seem quite natural. Masks appear to be suggested by the relative largeness of the heads, the length and straightness of the noses of the three characters drawn in profile, the "old man's" open mouth, and the large size of Oidipous' eye. The two little girls have no suggestion of masks, which might be an indication that children on stage were not masked in this period (Green, TAGS 61). It is also possible that they are maskless because vase painter added them to a scene which on stage did not include them.



Fig. III,8. Apulian red-figure volute-krater, 330-320 BC, in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta. Photo by Frances Van Keuren, with the permission of the Michael C. Carlos Museum.

To return to the discussion of the "old man," let us look at an Apulian krater in Atlanta that seems to depict a scene from Euripides' lost play Melanippe the Wise (fig. III,8). Here, the character is given a name; he is labelled BOTHP (Boter), meaning "Herdsman." He carries in a sling the twins to whom Melanippe has given birth, and is showing them to Hellen, Melanippe's father-in-law. Hellen is about to order the twins to be exposed, since their father is Poseidon, rather than Melanippe's husband Aiolos. These characters and others from the story are present, but it is Boter who takes center stage at this moment, and it is he who appears in full costume. As do the others of his type, he wears a short robe and a chlamys, boots with flaps, and a mask with white hair and beard, and he too stoops. He is painted in great detail, with his white hair and beard curling vigorously. His robe, which reaches to slightly below his knees, is undecorated except for a dark, wavy band that runs vertically from shoulder to hem both in front of and behind the side seam. A similar line over his left knee indicates that the same decoration was repeated on the left side of the robe. The right sleeve is painted red, with three bands of white decoration at the cuff. His left arm, as usual, is covered by the chlamys, which this time is fastened above his right shoulder. It is painted white, with a wide band of red at its lower hem. His boots are beautifully rendered. The front lacing is placed between two

rows of white dots that seem to be decorative rather than practical; similar white dots form a part of the pattern drawn on the insteps. The overflaps are also painted white, and the tie that holds the boot up is clearly visible on the left boot. The soles are flat, and appear to be about the thickness of one of the character's fingers, which is a good deal thicker than any sole we have seen so far. The sling that holds the twin babies appears to be hung from his staff, which he is supporting with both hands.

The character of Hellen, standing next to Boter, also wears boots, the decorated insteps of which are visible beneath his himation. Their soles are somewhat thinner than Boter's, about equal to the thickest soles depicted on other fourth-century vases we have seen. Hellen seems to be wearing a robe that is decorated similarly to Boter's, although its visible sleeve is painted white. He is almost entirely enveloped, though, in a himation which lacks any decoration except for a narrow dark band near its hem. No one else in the scene is dressed in recognisable theatrical clothing. The two women on the viewer's right (Melanippe and her Nurse) are so swathed in himations, however, that it is difficult to tell what the rest of their clothing looked like. The bottom part of Melanippe's gown shows signs of ornate decoration, and the nurse's footwear has soles about as thick as Boter's. Both of these details, however, may

reflect the "street wear" of the time, rather than anything specifically theatrical.

Other good examples of the "old man" include:

1. An Apulian red-figure kalyx-krater of about 360-350 BC, by a follower of the Lycurgus Painter, Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico St. 6873, which Trendall and Webster identify as showing a scene from Astydamas' Parthenopaios (106, III,4,1; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 23). This vase shows the old man seemingly arguing with a young man (the name Parthenopaios is inscribed near him) seated on a couch. The old man wears a robe which comes to above his knee, and which is decorated with a band over the shoulder like the one on Boter's robe. His sleeve is dark, with large white dots all over it. The chlamys is undecorated except for a wide black band near its lower hem. His knee-length boots lace up and have white spots like Boter's, but there are no overflaps. They are fastened at the top with white bands. He wears a pilos with a rather blunt peak on his head.

2. An Apulian red-figure bell-krater, Berlin 1968.12, of about 350-325 BC, by the Darius Painter.¹⁰⁶ The scene has been identified by Trendall and Webster as the scene from Euripides' Chrysippos, kidnaps the youth Chrysippos (83). The old man raises his right hand to his head, perhaps to tear at his hair in mourning. As in no. 1, the old man has a

¹⁰⁶LIMC Chrysippos I, 2=Aphrodite 1495; Trendall and Webster 83-84, III,3,16; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 1

dark sleeve with white spots. His boots do have overflaps, however, which are painted white. The robe is of a fairly light color, and has no apparent decoration; it is held by a white belt worn slightly above the waist. His chlamys, like that in no. 1, is decorated only by a black band near its lower hem. He has a petasos slung on his back, as did the old man on the Naples amphora (fig. III,7). This is one of the few examples in which the old man stands up straight, rather than being hunched over.

3. An Apulian red-figure kalyx-krater by the Lycurgus Painter, c. 360-350 BC, British Museum F271 (Trendall and Webster 49-52, III,1,15; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 11). Trendall and Webster identify the scene as being from Aischylos' Edonoi (49-52), with the mad Lykourgos attacking his wife with an axe (cf. fig. III,4). The old man, who is a spectator of this grisly scene, again wears a robe that reaches only to above the knee (cf. no. 1). It is decorated by two narrow black vertical stripes that reach from shoulder to hem down the back; they may do so in front as well, as the single band does in no. 1, but the viewer cannot tell for certain, since the old man's pose hides the relevant sections of his robe. The lower hems of both his chlamys and his robe are decorated by a narrow, black, crenellated band. His sleeve is painted red and adorned with white dots set in such regular rows that a pattern almost of checks is achieved. His boots reach to the knee, have long white overflaps, and

the soles follow the curve of the arch. In his right hand he holds a long, thin, wavy staff with a crook at its top.

4. A Campanian red-figure neck-amphora by the Ixion Painter in the British Museum, 1867.5-8.1337 (F338), from the third quarter of the fourth century BC (Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 27). His costume is undecorated except for two parallel vertical black lines along the left side of his robe, and a black band surmounted by a row of dots at the hem of his chlamys. His boots are decorated with black dots and the overflaps are painted white. The soles are painted black, and the toes are pointed and turn up slightly. He leans with his right hand on a thin branch that he uses as a staff. His mask gives him a huge, high-bridged nose.¹⁰⁷

5. An Apulian red-figure volute-krater by the Underworld Painter, Munich 3296 (J810), discussed in full below (fig. III,13).¹⁰⁸ In this example, the old man, standing at the viewer's left of the scene, is erect (cf. no. 2), and wears a robe almost identical to the one pictured on no. 1, differing only that it seems a few inches longer. His chlamys is painted white, and has a very wide red band at its lower hem. His boots reach to the knee, and have white-

¹⁰⁷The woman next to him (Antigone?) also wears tragic costume, with a sleeve decorated with a vertical band of waves flanked by lines of black dots; a robe patterned with groups of three dots; and a chlamys bordered like the old man's.

¹⁰⁸Chamay and Cambitoglou list this krater as no. 8.

painted triangular flaps, front lacing, and flat soles about as thick as a finger.

6. A Tarantine red-figure kalyx-krater, Melbourne, Coll. Geddes A5:4, of the third quarter of the fourth century BC (Green, TAGS 58, fig. 3.4; not listed by Chamay and Cambitoglou), showing a scene of the punishment of Dirce, possibly from Euripides' Antiope (TAGS 57). The old man is shown running toward Dirce, who has fallen from the bull she was riding. His robe is similar in length and design to that in no. 5, except that its sleeves have dark dots on a light background. His chlamys is identical to that in no. 5. His boots, however, like those in no. 1, have no overflaps. He has a blunt-topped pilos (cf. no. 1) slung onto his back, and carries a hooked staff under his left arm.

7. An Apulian red-figure volute-krater by the Darius Painter, British Museum F 279, picturing the death of Hippolytos from Euripides' play of that name.¹⁰⁹ The old man is shown running toward the scene of disaster (cf. number 6). His robe is the same as that in no. 1, except that his sleeves are solid white. The chlamys is identical to those of nos. 5 and 6. His boots are a little less than knee length, and have white overflaps. He carries a thin, wavy staff in his right hand.

¹⁰⁹Trendall and Webster 88-89, III,3,24; Taplin Cambr.Comp. 82, fig. 14; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 16.

8. A Tarantine red-figure kalyx-krater from the middle of the fourth century BC, pictured by Green (TAGS 59, fig. 3.5) and not listed by Chamay and Cambitoglou (due to the fact that it first came to light in 1993); at the time Green published it, it was on the Freiburg market. The krater depicts the old man standing alone, wearing a knee-length robe with red sleeves and a single dark vertical stripe down each side. His chlamys, which is covered with tiny dots except for a wide red band at its lower hem, is fastened at his neck, but bundled over his left arm, so that the entire lower half of his robe is visible. His boots come to just below his knees, and have white overflaps; the soles are thin, and follow the curve of the instep, also turning up very slightly at the toes. He wears a pointed pilos on his head, and leans on a thin staff.

9. An Apulian red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Darius Painter, c. 330 BC, at Princeton University (Trendall, "Farce," 178, fig. 73; not listed by Chamay and Cambitoglou), showing a scene from the story of Niobe.¹¹⁰ Here, the old man again wears a robe with a stripe running over each shoulder and down to the hem (cf. Boter in fig. III,7); this stripe is straight, however, rather than wavy like Boter's. The sleeves are light in color, covered with tiny black dots.

¹¹⁰According to Trendall ("Farce" 178, this scene might be from Aischylos' *Niobe*, but is more likely from some later (unknown) play on the same theme.

His chlamys is undecorated except for two narrow dark bands near its lower hem. His boots come to a little below the knee; they have white overflaps, front lacing, and some indication of decoration up the back of the calves. The soles are thin and completely flat.

10. An Apulian red-figure loutrophoros by a forerunner of the Ganymede Painter, c. 350-325 BC, Basel S.21, showing a scene that is probably from Euripides' Alkestis (Trendall and Webster 75).¹¹¹ The old man is looking on as Alkestis says her farewells to her children. Here the old man wears a knee-length robe with the double stripe down each side (cf nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9). Its sleeves are painted red, with two fine white lines around the wrist. His chlamys, like those in numbers 1 and 2, has only a wide black band near the hem; he wears it bundled over his left arm, as in number 8. His boots reach barely to mid-calf (perhaps a peculiarity of the artist, as the left boot appears to reach farther up than the right one does); they have white overflaps, and thin soles that curve slightly with the arch and turn up a tiny bit at the toe. He leans with both hands on a long, thin staff with a crook at its top.

¹¹¹Trendall and Webster 75, III,3,5; Ashby 18, fig. 4; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 13.

11. An Apulian red-figure volute-krater of c. 340 BC, Naples inv. 81.394 (3255),¹¹² where the old man is shown mourning at the bier of the child Opheltes (later Archemoros), who was killed by a snake in Euripides' Hypsipyle. Near the old man is the label "Paidagogos" (ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ). Here, his robe is undecorated, with plain white sleeves. His chlamys again has only a wide dark band near its hem. His boots reach nearly to his knees, have white overflaps and soles that to a slight extent follow the curve of the arch. In his right hand is his crook-topped staff, while his left hand holds a lyre that he is bringing to the bier of his dead pupil.

12. An Apulian red-figure volute-krater, c. 330 BC, Berlin 1984.41 (Taplin, CA 25, fig. 5.110; not listed by Chamay and Cambitoglou), that depicts the scene in which Phrixos is saved from sacrifice by the appearance of the golden-fleeced ram. Here, the old man is labelled Tropheus (ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ), and he appears to be describing to two women what has just happened. He wears a robe with a double stripe (cf no. 10) and white sleeves. His chlamys is wrapped tightly around his left arm, with one loose corner fluttering out behind his back, and is decorated only with a narrow dark stripe near its lower hem. His boots are knee-length, with long white overflaps and completely flat soles about the

¹¹²Trendall and Webster 91, III,3,26; Séchan 360-362, fig. 103; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 19.

thickness of a finger. His thin staff is tucked under his left arm.

13. A red-figure krater fragment of about 340-330 BC in Geneva (Cambitoglou et al., Darius 177-178; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 5). This fragment shows the top part of an old man in a robe with white sleeves and a wide black horizontal band at the top of the sleeve. His chlamys also has a wide black band, near its lower hem. The remnants of his staff appear in his right hand; much of its white paint has flaked off. His mask shows him as bald up to a line from the top of one ear to the top of the other; behind this line is a mass of curly white hair.

14. An Apulian red-figure hydria by the Ganymede Painter, c. 330 BC, formerly on the Zurich market (Trendall, RFVSIS 96, fig. 242; not listed by Chamay and Cambitoglou), depicting the old man with Niobe, mourning at the tomb of her children. Here, the old man's robe is almost completely hidden by his undecorated chlamys. Only his right sleeve is visible, painted white. His boots reach to mid-calf, have white overflaps and flat soles. He extends a fairly thick staff ahead of himself with his left hand.

15. An Apulian red-figure kalyx-krater by the Laodamia Painter, c. 340-330 BC, in London, British Museum F272 (Trendall, RFVSIS 87, fig. 195; Chamay and Cambitoglou no. 15), showing perhaps Phaidra from a version of Hippolytos, by either Euripides or another playwright (RFVSIS 96) The old

man appears to be discussing the situation with a woman, perhaps one of Phaidra's maids. The old man wears a sleeveless chiton that is undecorated except for a vertical black band up the side to the shoulder. It is belted slightly above the waist, and either the belt is extremely narrow, more like a cord, or the chiton is bloused over to hide the belt. His chlamys is fastened at the right shoulder and draped over the left shoulder and arm; it has no decoration but a black band near the bottom hem. His boots reach nearly to the knees and have white overflaps. The surface of the boots is covered with decorative motifs. The soles are thin and mold somewhat to the arches, but the toes do not turn up.

An actor dressed in a costume quite similar to that of the "old man" appears on a famous Apulian krater fragment from the middle of the century, now in Würzburg (fig. III,9). He wears a knee-length robe, has a chlamys flung over his left arm, and wears the laced-up, knee-length boots with white overflaps. He has removed his mask, and holds it in his right hand. It has curly, yellowish-white hair and beard.

In the first publication of this piece (Fest. Loeb 5-43), Heinrich Bulle notes the resemblance of this actor's costume to that of the Paidagogue (15), but ultimately rejects this identification in favor of that of a "king in distress" ("*König im Elend*," 15). He bases this

identification largely on the mask which, due to its high forehead and blondish hair, he equates with that of "a nobleman from a ruling family, a ξανθός [xanthos, i.e. the blond mask listed by Pollux]" (14). Also influencing his identification are the sword the actor carries in his left



Fig. III,9. Actor holding a tragic mask. Apulian bell-krater fragment, Gnathia technique, in the Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg. Photo courtesy of the Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.

hand, and the boots which, although they are of the type worn by the Paidagogue, are extremely finely detailed, and thus suggestive of a wandering king (15). Subsequent scholars have all agreed with this assessment. To bolster his



Fig. III,10. Apulian red figure volute krater, c. 350-340 BC in the Vatican Museums. Drawing: Reinach, Peintures de vases antiques recueillies par Millin et Millingen pl. XXIII.

argument, Bulle compares this actor to an elderly figure on an Apulian krater in the Vatican (fig. III,10).¹¹³ In this

¹¹³Bulle 16-18. There is considerable controversy as to what scene this vase depicts. Bulle, following Welcker (Alte Denkmäler 371-372) argues that it is a scene of Thyestes and Pelopeia before Atreus; according to Pipili (LIMC VII, 1, 21), Zielinski identified it as Alkmaion in Corinth before

scene, an old man is seated on an altar, with a woman standing beside him; both look toward a male figure, who is standing a little distance to the viewer's right. The old man wears a knee-length robe with a narrow black band near its hem. The sleeves are decorated with alternating bands of horizontal and vertical teardrops. His laced boots come to mid-calf, and at their tops have a white overturn with no hanging flaps. The soles mold to the shape of the arch. His hair and beard are white, his brow is furrowed, his mouth is open to what is almost a full circle. He sits with a slight hunch. In fact, the only way in which he differs from the "old men" we have seen is that he holds a sword in his left hand. For this reason, he is identified as a king. I can see no reason, however, why an "old man" could not carry a sword. It would go very well with the role of a messenger from an army, such as the one who announces the approach of the king in Aischylos' Agamemnon (lines 504 ff). Why is he seated on an altar? Perhaps he has brought news that has displeased the king on the right, or is saying something that the king may not want to hear. An example of this sort of character and situation is the messenger from Thebes in Euripides' Suppliant Women, who arrives to tell Theseus and Adrastos that the request to bury the bodies of the dead

Kreon, Séchan said it was Oidipous and Antigone in Athens (see Séchan, 209-210), while in the LIMC entry Danae 71 (III, 1, 334), it is Diktys and Danae before Polydektes.

Seven against Thebes was to be rejected. He then begins to contrast the political systems of Thebes and Athens, denigrating Athenian democracy, something that would certainly displease the leader of Athens. It is not hard to imagine that a foreign "old man" messenger might take refuge on an altar in order to feel safe in saying such things to the ruler of the territory. The staging of such a scene, then, could look very much like this picture.

The Vatican krater is not the only example of an elderly man seated on an altar. The Lucanian column krater which Trendall and Webster identify as an illustration of Euripides' Herakleidai gives us an elderly "Iolaos" in this position.¹¹⁴ This figure looks nothing at all like one of the "old men," however, not even the one in figure III,10 who is seated on an altar. First, he is dressed quite differently, in a decorated robe and simple, unadorned shoes. He does, however, resemble the kneeling man on the krater in Paris, which dates from a quarter of a century or more later (fig. III,3). Both are slender, erect elderly men in highly decorated robes, and both wear soft, supple, unadorned shoes, rather than laced-up boots. This kneeling elderly man, in turn, very much resembles an aged king on a Paestan hydria in London from the third quarter of the century (fig. III,11).

¹¹⁴Trendall and Webster 87, III,3,21. See the discussion above page 103, and note 96.

Here, the elderly man is not seated upon the altar, but is being led to it. On the altar, a young man in tragic costume

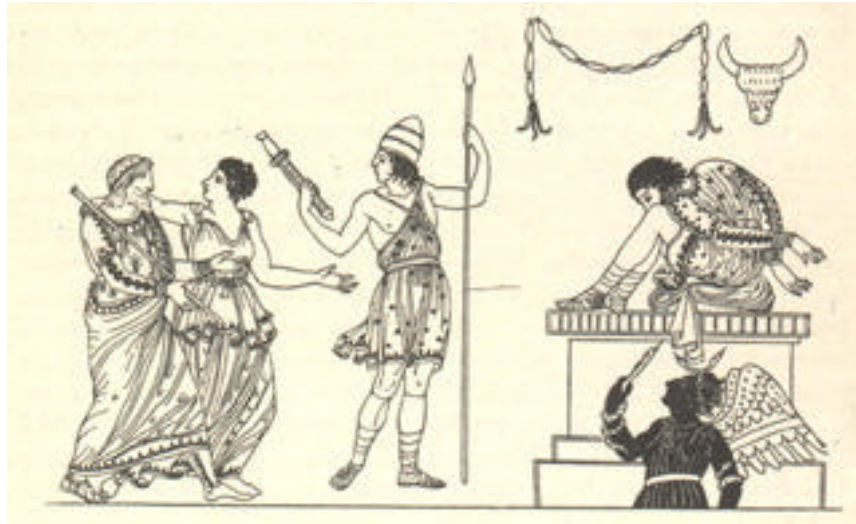


Fig. III,11. Scene, possibly from Euripides' Oineus.

Paestan red-figure hydria by Python, c. 340-330 BC, in the British Museum. Drawing: Inghirami, Pitture di vasi fittili fig. 6.

sits, his hands bound behind him.¹¹⁵ He has the name Agrios
ΑΓΡΙΟΣ) inscribed near him, thus identifying this as a scene

¹¹⁵His costume consists of a knee-length robe bound by a black belt with white spots, patterned with asterisks, and with a black band of a wave pattern at its lower hem. His sleeves have a vertical band of white flanked by black bands with spikes to make a scallop pattern in the lighter part of the sleeve; a horizontal band of white marks the top of the sleeve. His boots are of a pattern not usually seen in theatrical contexts, thin and flexible, but consisting of a number of straps interlaced over the foot and then wound about the ankle to about halfway up the calf. The same boots are worn by the figure standing before the altar (identified as Diomedes), who is not dressed in tragic costume. Note also the black figure with wings, and snakes wrapped around its arms, which may be a costume for one of the Eumenides (see Chapter I, note 59).

in which king Oineus gets his revenge over his enemy. The aged king wears a robe decorated with palmettes, as does the elderly Iolaos figure on the Herakleidai krater. Both wear white belts slightly above their waists. Similarly to the kneeling figure, Oineus wears a himation draped around the lower part of his body and fastened (rather than draped) over his left shoulder. Oineus' himation, however, is decorated, in contrast to the plain himation of the kneeling man. It is covered with black semi-circles (sickle moons?) and dot rosettes, and at its lower hem is a black band with pointed projections that make the lighter part of the himation look scalloped. His boots (not shoes) are ornamented, and have thin, flexible soles with slightly turned-up toes. He carries a long, straight staff along his right arm, perhaps an undecorated sceptre. His head and face are quite similar to those of "Iolaos," and the kneeling man of figure III,4, and in spite of the presence of white beard and hair, they are extremely dissimilar to those of an "old man" character. The head and face are narrower than those of an "old man." His nose and that of the kneeling man are particularly long and straight, and both of their mouths are narrow and turned down at the corners. The hair and beard of both Oineus and Iolaos, although curly and white, are worn shorter, trimmed closer to the outline of the skull and jaw than those of the "old man"; the kneeling figure's hair is bound very closely to his head, allowing for much the same silhouette as the

shorter hair does. The posture of all three is very different from that of an old man, as well. Oineus' legs look a little unsteady, but this is the only indication in any of their poses of their advanced age. All of them hold their backs very straight. All three of these elderly men are very long and slim in silhouette, while the "old man" appears thicker and squatter. In all respects, they present a very different figure to that of the "old man." A nice contrast between the two types can be seen on the Melanippe krater (fig. III,8). Although Hellen is leaning forward (perhaps due more to the artist's compositional need to group him with Boter and the infants than to any indication of infirmity on his part), his silhouette is a good deal slimmer than that of Boter. Hellen's hair and beard are shorter and closer to his head as well, an effect that is enhanced by the portion of his himation drawn closely over his head. Other than in their age and the stripes on their robes, the two figures have nothing in common.

Let us return, then, to the Würzburg actor (fig. III,10). His knee-length robe is of a solid red-brown color; the hem is fringed in the same red-brown. The robe's only figured decoration is an extremely fine white band at the top of the sleeve and a band of small white dots surmounted by two very fine white bands at the wrist. A very thin, undecorated belt, almost a cord, is worn just above the waist (compare "old man" number 15 in the list above). The chlamys

on his left arm is also of a solid color, a slightly darker red-brown than that of the robe. Those who consider the character this actor has played to be a king see these red-browns as an attempt to indicate the royal purple. This is certainly a possibility; the "purple" dye from the murex shells ran in shades from crimson to royal blue, and this red-brown may have been the closest that a vase-painter could get to any of the colors in that range. It is also possible that he meant to convey a dull reddish brown that would be affordable for less exalted persons.

As for the boots, while it is true that the artist did a spectacular job in rendering them, they are no more ornate in their actual decoration than most of the boots worn by "old men." In fact, the boots of several of the "old men" (fig. III,6, and numbers 9 and 15 from the list above) display indications of being much more elaborately decorated, with patterns all over the leather while the Würzburg actor's boots are solid black. So, the boots in themselves are no real indication of royal status.

The mask, which is rendered as beautifully as the boots, does have some of the characteristics of the masks of the elderly kings discussed above, especially the downturned corners of the open mouth. The long, dissheveled hair and beard and somewhat crooked nose are more characteristic of an "old man," though. Whether it is the mask of a king or of a messenger, it is not a young man. The brow is furrowed, and

the lines molding the nose and mouth indicate sunken eyes and cheeks.

The technique used in painting the hair and beard of the mask is quite interesting. According to Bulle, a base of yellow-gold was laid down, over which details were painted in white (Fest. Loeb 21). He takes this, then, as indicating blonde hair, and most scholars have concurred.¹¹⁶ The overall impression, however, even in a color photograph, is of white hair, not blonde. Bulle himself also supplies a clue that this mixture of yellow-gold and white is meant to be taken as white hair. He tells us that the bits of white stubble intermixed with the black stubble on the actor's face are painted with yellow-gold, not with white pigment (Fest. Loeb 21). It makes no sense to paint stubble on the same face black and blond. The effect achieved here, however, of "salt and pepper," of a dark beard going gray, is a masterly rendition of a middle-aged man. If the artist used yellow-gold to indicate gray-white in the actor's stubble, he surely could have used it for the same purpose in the hair and beard of the mask.

Thus, it is difficult to tell just what part the Würzburg actor had played before he removed his mask. The elements of his costume, the lack of decoration on his

¹¹⁶Bulle, Fest. Loeb 14; Bieber, HGRT 83; Pickard-Cambridge, DFA² 189; Simon, AT 11; Webster, MITSP² 80; Xanthakis-Karamanos 14.

garments, his mask's long white hair and beard, and his relatively short and wide silhouette indicate an "old man's" role, a Messenger or Paidagogue. The somewhat noble cast of the face of the mask, and the possibly purple garments indicate a king. Either character type could carry a sword. The elderly character on the krater in the Vatican that Bulle cites as support for his identification of the actor's role as that of king can almost certainly be classified as an "old man," and not a king at all. Thus, the preponderance of evidence is for the Würzburg actor's character having been an "old man." Enough evidence to the contrary exists, however, to make this identification tentative only, not definite.

Although his figure seems to dominate our discussion, evidence does exist from the fourth century for other tragic costumes than that of the "old man." The famous name-vase of the Darius Painter in Naples is a "composite" vase, showing theatrical costumes along with figures dressed as they would be in reality and others, such as the goddess Athena, from mythology (fig. III,12). It shows Darius, King of Persia, in the center of the middle register; on this same register and the one below are his councillors and courtiers, while on the top register are the gods of Mount Olympos. It is generally considered to be inspired by a lost play dealing with the Persian Wars and titled Persai (Persians--the title is written on the small round platform in the center), perhaps

the one written by Phrynichus.¹¹⁷ Since the characters are Persians, it is difficult to tell what is meant to be Eastern costume and what is meant to be theatrical. A few items we



Fig. III,12. Darius and his councillors. Apulian red figure volute krater by the Darius Painter, c. 340-330 BC, in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. Drawing: Reinach Rep.Vases I, 194.

have seen elsewhere, though, can probably be considered the latter, and are thus worthy of brief comment.

¹¹⁷Xanthakis-Karamanos suggests that it is a representation of some unknown contemporary historical play, based on the exploits of Alexander the Great in Persia (17).

Two figures wear the laced boots with white overflaps we have seen on so many "old men." The first such figure is a female second from the viewer's right on the top register; she is labelled Apate (ΑΠΑΤΗ, "Deception"), and in each hand she carries a burning torch. She also wears a knee-length robe with an overfold like that of a peplos and long white sleeves patterned with thin horizontal bands and rows of tiny black dots. Over this she wears the skin of a leopard or panther as if it were a chlamys; it is tied by its paws at her throat and is covered with spots. The other character with boots stands on the round platform with the title "Persai" (ΠΕΡΣΑΙ). He is dressed in the costume we have seen on numerous "old men," a knee-length robe with white sleeves, decorated with a single dark band over the shoulder and down to the hem; and an undecorated himation draped around his waist and up over his left shoulder and arm. On his head is a pointed pilos. However, he is not an "old man." His hair and beard are dark and curly (visible in a photograph of the vase, although not in the line-drawing reproduced here), and he stands erect, even though he has a short, crook-topped staff in his left hand. He s appears to be a young messenger, reporting to Darius, who is seated on a throne before him.

Two other figures on the krater have some "old man" characteristics. On the far right of the central register--a typical "old man" position--is a stooped, white-haired man

leaning on a staff. He too has a white sleeve and a dark stripe over his shoulder; the rest of his robe is hidden under the undecorated himation that is wrapped around all of his body except his right arm. He has all of the characteristics of the stage "old man" except he is clean-shaven (Reinach has added a beard to his drawing that is not present on the vase). The second figure from the left on this same register is a man with the "old man's" typical unruly white curly beard and hair. He is seated in a chair, but still leans on the staff he holds with his right hand. He wears, however, only an undecorated himation that is draped across his lap and up his back to cover his left shoulder. On his head is a *tiara* or Persian cap.

Darius himself, seated on a throne in the center of the middle register, also wears a *tiara*, a very tall and ornate one. Against his right arm he holds his sceptre, a long thin staff topped with a decorative tip, and in his left hand he grips a sheathed sword. Other than this, he is dressed very much like the actors on fifth-century vases such as the Pronomos Vase (figs. I,2 and II,8), the Andromeda krater (figs. I,3 and II,9), or the Ferrara krater (fig. II,7). His sleeves are patterned with dots, his robe has bands of spirals and triangles down to the waist and a band of dots at the hem, and a white belt is worn just above his waist. Decorated, laced boots with thin soles appear beneath the hem of his robe. He seems to be dressed purely in theatrical

costume; however, many of his "Persians" also wear garments that have a theatrical appearance.

A figure seated behind Darius, at the far left of the middle register, wears a robe similar to that of the king, with dotted sleeves, patterned torso, and high white belt. His lower body is wrapped in a himation that is undecorated except for a narrow black band near its hem. He wears boots similar to the king's, and a small, undecorated *tiara*.

The figures second and third from the far right on the lower register are two kneeling characters who wear robes very similar to that of Darius, with patterned sleeves and torsos, and high belts (the one on the left is white, that on the right has a meander pattern). The "skirts" of the robes are covered with sparsely scattered dots (left) and clusters of circles (right). Each has a chlamys fluttering behind him and wears a *tiara*.

Four other figures, who are placed in various spots around the vase, wear knee-length robes with patterned sleeves. All of them also wear ankle-length, tight-fitting pants, typical wear for Persians in ancient vase painting. In every instance, the pattern of the pants is identical to that of the sleeves. One of these figures stands directly behind Darius' throne and another kneels at the far right of the bottom register; both, in photographs of the vase, have dark sleeves and pants patterned with white spots. The third figure, standing in the bottom register directly under

Darius' throne, has light sleeves and pants with black dots (the dots are not depicted on the line drawing). Finally, the figure at the far left of the bottom register has light sleeves and pants with dark cross-hatching. All of the four figures wear white belts slightly above the waist, and each has a *chlamys* hanging down his back. All four wear ankle-high shoes with thin, flexible soles and pointed toes that turn up slightly, and all four wear *tiaras*. Thus, their clothing appears to be a mixture of costuming we have seen before in tragedies and clothing that would indicate that they are Persians. It is impossible to tell from the evidence at hand how much of this would have appeared on stage, and how much was the vase painter's depiction of Persians.

Another combination of Eastern and stage costuming appears on an Apulian krater of about 330-320 BC (fig. III,13a-d). Here we see an illustration of the story of Medeia. Since several characters appear who were not in the famous fifth-century tragedy by Euripides, this scene was probably taken from a tragedy written by another author. In the small building that indicates his palace, Kreon the king finds his daughter just being overcome by the poisoned clothing sent to her by Medeia. One of the new characters, her brother Hippotes, rushes in from the right, trying to tear the poisoned crown from her head. To the left, her mother Merope, another new character, runs up, tearing her



Fig. III,13a. Non-Euripidean Medeia. Apulian red-figure volute-krater, 330-320 BC, in Munich. Drawing: Bieber, DTA fig. 106.

hair in distress. Behind Merope is the "old man" discussed above (no. 5 in the list), while behind Hippotes the old Nurse runs off, glancing back over her shoulder in horror. Directly below the palace, the dragon-chariot waits to take Medeia away, driven by another new character, labelled

Oistros (ΟΙΣΤΡΟΣ, "Frenzy"), the personification of Medeia's rage and madness. To the left, Medeia holds one of her sons by the hair, preparing to run a sword through him. Behind her, a nude spear-carrier assists the second son to escape, indicating that in this version of the story one son survives to become ruler of Corinth. On the other side of the chariot, a semi-nude Jason rushes in, holding a spear and a sword, and accompanied by a spear-carrier. He is too late to prevent Medeia from completing her gruesome task and fleeing in the chariot. Behind and a little above Jason and the spear-carrier is a figure labelled "Ghost of Aetes" (ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΑΗΤΟΥ, Eidolon Aêtou), another non-Euripidean character, whose function in the story is not clear.¹¹⁸ Various gods watch the proceedings from the upper register.

Other than the "old man," three characters are shown in full tragic costume: Kreon, Medeia, and the Ghost. Kreon (fig. III, 13b) wears a robe with patterns to the waist, fastened by a white belt worn a little above the waist and black cross-straps that are studded with white dots. His sleeves are painted red with tiny white dots, and two thin white bands at the wrist. Below the waist, his robe is patterned with sparse black dots. Its length is hidden under

¹¹⁸Trendall and Webster conjecture that he is there to watch the fulfilment of his curse (110). Bieber suggests that he "appears [. . .] out of the depths to reproach his daughter and to prophesy an evil destiny for her evil deeds" (HGRT 34). Taplin, however, thinks that he "might well have delivered the prologue" (Cambr. Comp. 80).

the himation that is loosely draped about his thighs and seems in danger of slipping off onto the floor. It is undecorated except for a black wave pattern around all four

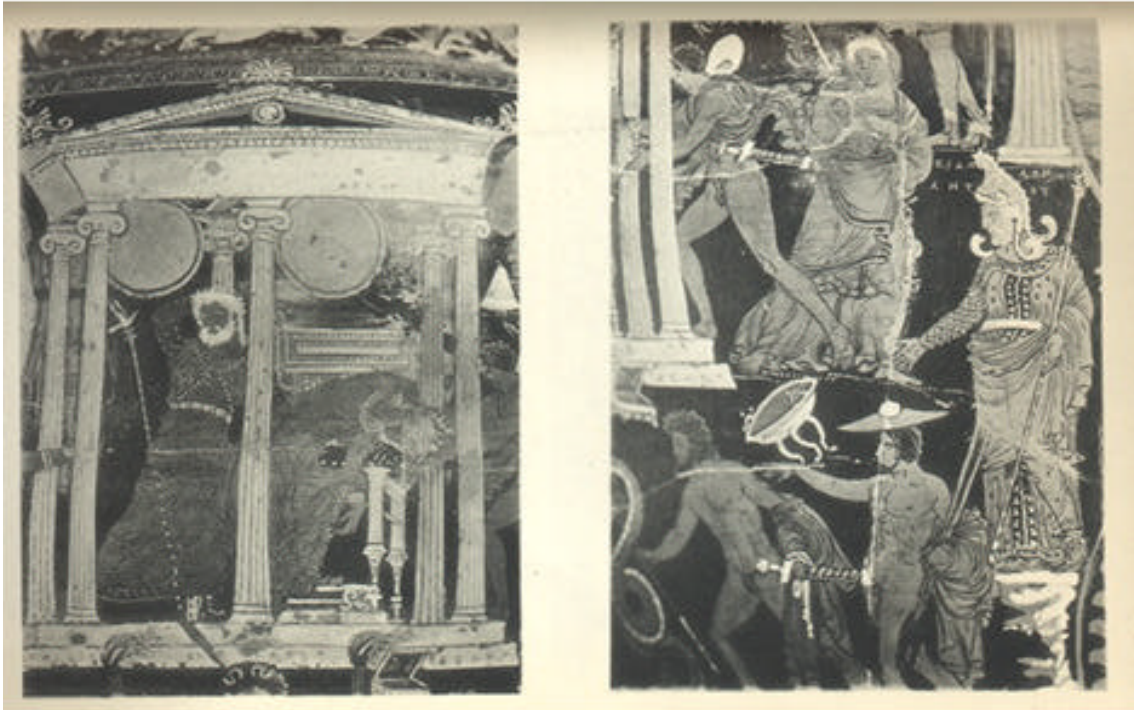


Fig. III,13b. Detail of III, 13a. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 54, 1.

Fig. III,13c. Detail of III,13a. Photo: Bieber, DTA, pl. 54, 2.

edges. He wears highly decorated boots with thin, flat soles. His hair and beard are white and curly, and his face is painted naturally, with closed mouth and painted-in eyes.

Medeia (fig. III,13d) also wears a robe with red sleeves sprinkled with white dots. Her robe, though, is quite different from Kreon's, largely due to two wide black bands that reach from neck to hem down the front. Each band

is decorated with a single row of white leaves down its length, and the two bands are separated by a narrow, wavy white line. The rest of the robe is decorated with sparsely scattered small black blobs, and it is bound by a wide white belt just above her waist. Although the robe reaches to the ground, it seems to have been hiked up or kilted at about knee-level where an overhang of some sort is drawn.



Fig. III,13d. Detail of III,13a. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 54,3.

Alternatively, this is meant to show an identically patterned knee-length overrobe and floor-length underrobe; I find this somewhat less than convincing, however, in that the upper section is drawn to indicate that it folds underneath toward

the body, as if the upper section is bloused over the under section. Medeia also wears a small chlamys, decorated with a thin black stripe near its hem, over her left arm. On her head is a large, elaborate Persian *tiara*, which emphasizes her royal foreign birth. She wears two rows of white beads around her throat. Her feet seem to be encased in undecorated boots of very thin leather that mold to the shape of the arch. She would appear to be barefoot, except that there is no indication of separate toes as appear on her son and Jason.

The ghost of her father (fig. III,13c) wears a robe with the same neck-to-hem black bands, pattern of black blobs, and wide white belt. His sleeves, however, are light in color, with black cross-hatching, like those worn by the Persian on the far right of the bottom register of figure III,12. He wears an unpatterned himation wrapped around his torso and over his left arm, against which rests his sceptre, which is similar to the sceptre held by Darius in figure III,12. The ghost, too, wears an elaborate tiara, light in color with white decoration and long white flaps that curl on his shoulders. He wears highly decorated boots with thin, flexible soles, similar to those worn by Kreon.

None of the faces on this vase are particularly mask-like; there are no open mouths or hollow eyes. It is interesting to note, however, that Medeia is shown with a fairly high forehead surmounted by a puff of curly hair, on

top of which rests the pointed *tiara* which has a turned-up brim that stands up above the forehead. This might be an accident caused by placing a *tiara* on a mask with a particularly bouffant hairstyle--note that no such extreme effect occurs with the ghost's *tiara*--or it might be due to the painter's attempt to portray both hair and Persian headdress. It might, however, be an early indication of an *onkos*.

Medeia appears in tragic costume on a number of fourth-century vases, which I will briefly describe. One of the earliest examples is a Lucanian bell krater of about 400 BC, on which Medeia appears in the dragon chariot inside of a sunburst.¹¹⁹ She is flying away, leaving her two murdered sons sprawled on an altar, where they are mourned by their old nurse. Both Medeia and the nurse are in costume. Medeia wears a robe with sleeves in a multicolored pattern of lozenges, much like that which would be worn many centuries later by Harlequin. The robe itself is patterned all over with asterisk-like stars, and is held by a wide white belt slightly above her waist and a pair of black cross-straps with white dots. From her shoulders hangs a chlamys patterned with asterisk-stars and with a crenellated black band around its edges. The nurse's robe has no patterned decoration, but has an overfold as on a peplos, which has a

¹¹⁹Cleveland, the Cleveland Museum of Art 91.1. Taplin, *CA* 22-23, 1.101.

black band near its hem. Her sleeves are patterned with horizontal bands of meanders and wave-patterns. Her boots, which appear under the lower hem of her robe, have no pattern. Since she is kneeling, however, we get a good view of the bottom of her right sole. It is thin and flexible, and we can see that it is in one piece, while the rest of the boot is made in two pieces, one that wraps around the heel, coming around to meet the other that covers the toes.

Also dating from about 400 BC is a hydria showing Medeia, again flying away after the death of her sons.¹²⁰ Much of her figure has been damaged, but it can be seen that she is wearing a robe that seems to have decorative patterns all over it. The sleeve is covered in horizontal rows of black teardrops. On her head is a *tiara*, the flaps of which are flying out in the wind of her departure, as are the ends of the himation she has wrapped around her left arm.

From much later come a pair of Campanian amphorae, both dating to about 330 BC. One shows Medeia grabbing one son by the hair as she withdraws a sword from the body of his murdered brother.¹²¹ She is dressed in a robe similar to that in figure III,14, with a black double band down its front,

¹²⁰An early Lucanian hydria by the Policoro Painter. Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide 35296. Trendall, *RFVSIS* 22, fig. 28; Trendall and Webster 96, III,3,34; Taplin, *CA* 22, 2.103.

¹²¹Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 876, from Nola. *LIMC* VI, 1, 391; VI, 2, 198, Medeia 30; Séchan 403, fig. 119.

this time with a pattern of white waves rather than leaves. She appears to be sleeveless, with bracelets on her forearms. A himation is bunched up and tied around her waist like a sash. On her head is a small, undecorated *tiara*.

The second Campanian amphora depicts Medeia in the act of killing one of her sons; the other son is not shown.¹²² Here, Medeia also wears a himation around her waist like a sash; both it and the body of her robe are undecorated. She does have sleeves, however, which are patterned all over with horizontal rows of small, thin, black ovals. She wears an earring and necklace of white beads, and her *tiara* is pushed onto the back of her head, making a shapeless cap around which her hair straggles.

We see Medeia once more in her dragon chariot on an Apulian amphora in Naples from about 340 BC (fig. III,14). In this instance, Medeia is dressed much the same as she is in the first Campanian amphora, that is, in a sleeveless robe (or here, perhaps, a chiton), held by a belt, and with a band of decoration down its front. She wears bracelets almost identical to those on the amphora. Her chlamys (or is it a small himation?) is wrapped tightly around her right wrist and looped around her left forearm, billowing behind her in a

¹²²Louvre K300, from Cumae, by the Ixion Painter. LIMC VI, 1, 391, Medeia 31; Séchan 404, fig. 120; Trendall and Webster 97, III,3,36. See also Introduction, page 9.

semicircle that both frames her head and indicates the speed of her flight.



Fig. III,14. Medeia's escape. Apulian red-figure amphora, c. 340 BC, in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico in Naples.

Drawing: Huddilston, fig. 26.

In front of her chariot stands a second figure, dressed almost identically to the figure labelled *Apate* on the *Persians* krater (fig. III,12). She is usually identified as *Lyssa*, a personification of frenzy, rage, and madness.¹²³ She wears a knee-length robe with no decoration other than the black spots on its sleeves. It is held by a white belt worn above the waist, and two black cross-straps decorated with white dots. In place of a *chlamys*, she wears the skin of a

¹²³Huddilston 171; LIMC VI, 1, 392. *Lyssa* is often dressed in this same manner, as on an Apulian column krater in Ruvo, Mus. Jatta 32 (LIMC *Lykurgos* I, 14=*Lyssa* 10), and an Apulian bell krater in Cremona, Mus. Civ. 23 (LIMC *Lyssa* 6=*Arkas* 2).

lion or panther, tied by its paws at her throat; unlike the one worn by Apate, this skin has no spots, but is painted white. Her boots lace up almost to the knee, and have relatively short white overflaps. The soles are about the thickness of a finger, but mold to the arch, and have pointed toes that turn up slightly. Like Apate, she carries a torch in her left hand, but her right hand holds a sword rather than another torch.

Finally, let us briefly discuss the only two surviving fourth-century illustrations of tragic costume that are demonstrably Attic. Both are from the middle of the century and both chiefly illustrate masks. The seemingly earlier of the two is a fragment of a relief that is dated to 360-350 BC (fig. III,15). It depicts a young man in tragic costume, holding his mask by a strap with his left hand, and thus is perhaps part of a relief that commemorated a victory in a dramatic competition.¹²⁴ The young man's costume consists of a floor-length robe with long sleeves, and a himation wrapped around his waist and up over his left shoulder and arm. No decoration is indicated, but it may have been painted on. His left toe appears from under the hem of his robe, and the sole of the shoe appears to be a little more than the

¹²⁴Other pieces we have discussed in connection with such dedications are the relief from the Peiraieus (figs. I,1 and II,10), the Pronomos vase (figs. I,2 and II,8), and the Würzburg fragments (fig. II,6). For a discussion of the practice of creating such dedicatory monuments, see J.R. Green, "Dedications of Masks."

thickness of one of his fingers. The mask is usually called that of a woman, although it could possibly be that of a young man. The hair is long and straight, cut off bluntly at



Fig. III,15. Fragment of a marble relief, c. 350 BC, in the
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Photo: Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek, Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker
pl. 17, no. 233.

what would be about the level of the breastbone, if the mask were being worn. The forehead is a little high and slopes back somewhat; the nose is long and points down. The mouth is quite wide open, and the eye is large and depicted as filled in. It differs little in any way from the masks shown on the Peiraieus relief of about fifty years earlier (figs. I,1 and II,10).

The only other surviving fourth-century Attic piece that shows any aspect of theatrical costuming is the well-known colossal bronze mask from the Peiraieus, which may also have been dedicated to commemorate a dramatic victory.¹²⁵ It has dissheveled curly hair to the level of the jawline, and a rounded curly beard. The mouth is open wide and oval in shape; the eyes are perfectly round and not filled in. The area of the brow is perhaps the most interesting feature of this mask. The forehead is unusually low, and the eyebrows are extremely prominent, jutting out over the eyes, and taking up most of the forehead space. Each eyebrow is lowered at the outside corner and raised above the nose, forcing the forehead into a triangular shape that is framed

¹²⁵Bieber, *HGRT* 82, fig. 301 and frontispiece; Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*² 190, fig. 58; Webster, *MITSP*² 31, AB1. The Archeological Museum of the Peiraieus dates it to the middle of the fourth century BC, with a possible attribution to the sculptor Silanion. Webster dates it to the last quarter of the fourth century.

by the hair.¹²⁶ Both Webster and Pickard-Cambridge see this as an *onkos*, the latter calling it "the earliest surviving [*onkos*] on an Athenian mask" (DFA² 190). I feel that I must disagree here. Although the forehead does make a low triangle which is then outlined in a more rounded fashion by the hair, it does not in any way build the brow area to an exaggerated height. Furthermore, the hair is the exact same thickness at the sides of the face as it is over the brow; no attempt has been made to use the hair to increase the proportional height of the mask. The brows, however, are quite exaggerated, and combined with the perfectly round eyes, they give the mask an unnatural appearance that is in great contrast to the much more natural-appearing masks we have seen so far. Thus, while I don't think that this mask has an *onkos*, it probably can be classed as a step on the way toward the development of the *onkos*.

The evidence that is available allows us to draw a few conclusions about the appearance of tragic costume of the fourth century through the time of Alexander the Great. The most easily discussed item is the boot, which took definite shape by the beginning of the century (fig. III,2), and

¹²⁶One might compare the treatment of the eyebrows of the "old man" on the Syracuse krater (fig. III,8). They, too, are low at the outside corners, and high over the nose. The wrinkling above them on the brow suggests that they might have protruded. The "old man's" forehead is a great deal higher, though, allowing the artist to show his hair in a widow's peak, and thus avoiding any triangular shape to the forehead.

changed little throughout its course. The most notable variations have to do with how far it extends up the calf, whether or not it has overflaps (only two examples survive of the boot without flaps, one from about 360 BC--no. 1 in the list of "old men"-- and the other from ten to twenty years later--fig. III,2), whether or not it is decorated, and the thickness and flexibility of the sole. As we saw in Chapter II, the evidence is that the boot worn in Athens in the fifth century always had a thin, flexible sole, usually with a pointed, turned-up toe. Such a configuration continues in the fourth century in South Italy and Sicily, appearing at least as late as 330 BC on a Campanian red-figure neck-amphora in the British Museum.¹²⁷ Often the sole is so soft and flexible that it molds to the curve of the arch. However, throughout the century, boot soles are sometimes depicted as flat, neither turning up at the toe nor following the curve of the arch. And by about 330 BC, we start to see soles becoming a bit thicker, about the same width as a character's finger (fig. III,8), or in modern measurements, about one centimeter or one-half inch. While this is a far cry from the exaggerated platforms of the Roman period, it does seem to be a step in their direction.

¹²⁷British Museum 1867.5-8.1337 (F338), a Campanian red-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Ixion Painter, c. 330-310 BC. *LIMC* I, 1, 823-824, Antigone 17; Green and Handley fig. 23. See "old men" list, number 4, above.

The clothing of tragic characters seems to become somewhat standardized in the fourth century, consisting almost exclusively of a robe with long sleeves, held with a belt worn a little above the waist and sometimes by a set of cross-straps, and usually--although by no means always--decorated with elaborate patterns. Generally some sort of cloak, either a chlamys or a himation, is worn over this robe. The robe itself can be either short--around knee-length--or long, sometimes reaching as far as the floor. It is difficult to tell from the pictorial evidence whether the sleeves were attached to the robe, or if the robe was a separate garment worn over an "undershirt" with sleeves. It is quite possible that either form could be used, and conditions such as the play being produced, local fashion, and the preferences of the producers or actors could be factors in the choice.

In the fourth century, at least two tragic character types emerge that are recognizable by the way they are costumed. Both of these character types are elderly men, but they differ widely in both status and appearance. One is the "old man" who is generally a messenger or paidagogue (e.g. fig. III,5). He usually wears a knee-length robe with a large chlamys, both of which tend to be of solid colors, decorated with a few narrow bands of a contrasting color. He wears boots that reach at least to the tops of his calves, and these boots are often ornately decorated. His mask

usually has a full head of hair and a fairly long beard, both of which are white and often somewhat unkempt. He is generally depicted as somewhat stocky, and his shoulders are shown as being hunched forward. The other elderly man is an old king. He almost always wears a long robe and a himation, although at times it is difficult to tell how long his robe is, since in some pictures the himation covers his legs (fig. III,2). The himation often has figurative decoration on it. His white hair and beard are often cut shorter than those of the old messenger. The elderly king is generally more slender in outline than the old messenger, and his back is generally depicted as straight.

It must be remembered that only three actors played all of the characters in a play. Thus, the man playing the very distinctively costumed "old man" in one scene might be called upon to play a young woman, a soldier, or a king in another scene. There is no evidence that an actor would make a complete costume change between roles. In fact, there often may well not have been enough time for him to do so, even if it would have been expected of him. There must certainly have been a change of masks for each change of character, but how to change from the short robe of an "old man" to the long robe appropriate to an elderly king or a woman? For the former, a switch from a chlamys to a himation draped around the lower body would be sufficient, which seems to be

supported by the elderly kings so attired (figs. III,3, III,8, III,11, and III,13).

The change to a woman presents a greater difficulty. It is possible that actors who had short robes played only characters for which such wear would be appropriate (messengers, tutors, soldiers, young men, and--with the addition of the himation--elderly men), while actors who had to play a woman's role at some point in the proceedings wore a long robe, and played only characters for which it would be appropriate (other women, kings and nobles, elderly men other than "old man" types). The pictorial evidence, however, suggests another possible solution to this problem. Some pictures of the "old man" indicate that a fairly long robe--one reaching to the mid-calf or even the ankle--could have been hiked up at the waist and belted in place, forming a temporary knee-length robe. The "old man" on the Syracuse Oidipous krater (fig. III,7) wears his robe bloused over his belt, as possibly does "old man" number 15 in the list. The same figure type on an amphora in the British Museum has a visible white belt. Drawn below it, however, are a number of lines forming irregular scallops, which might be meant to indicate the edges of the blousing. Thus, the robe seems to have been hiked up and then held in place by a belt fastened above the folds, as well as possibly by a belt under the folds as in figure III,7. We cannot tell how much of the length of these robes is held up this way, but it could

easily be six or eight inches, maybe more. The more robe that is held up, the more cloth is bunched around the waist, something that would add to the relatively thick silhouette presented by the "old man." Although, at least in the case of the costume on the British Musaeum amphora, this procedure would necessitate the removal and replacement of the belt, it still would be a great deal less time-consuming and complicated than doing a complete costume change. Thus this procedure might have been employed at least occasionally, if not on a regular basis.

Finally, we need to take a look at the masks of the fourth century. The evidence is somewhat scanty; vase-painters seem to have painted something fairly close to faces in all of their theatrical scenes. Other than the theatrical context, only subtleties tell us that a mask is being depicted. Sometimes heads seem a little too large to be in proportion (figs. III,4, III,6, and especially III,7). Mouths appear to be open (figs. III,3, and III,11). And, of course, there are recurring types--the "old man," the elderly king, and the young hero or king (who appears on figs. III,2, III,3, III,4, and III,11). At times, masks are depicted as separate objects, but even then they look quite natural throughout most of the century. Thus, the masks shown with Dionysos at the beginning of the century (fig. III,1) look like the heads of real people who happen to have their mouths slightly open. By about 340 BC various mask types seem to be

firmly established, but the mask held by the Würzburg actor (fig. III,9) simply looks like an openmouthed old gent with unruly white hair. His forehead is a bit high, but not to any unusually great extent. The approximately contemporary mask on the Athenian relief in Copenhagen (fig. III,15) also has a somewhat high forehead. This mask appears a little less realistic than the painted masks do, largely because of its very wide open mouth. Otherwise, its proportions and shape are well within the bounds of a natural face.

The two intimations we get of things to come appear with the Munich Medeia krater (fig. III,13) and the bronze mask from the Peiraeus. The latter, even though it has been dated as early as the middle of the century, does not appear at all realistic, with its wide-open mouth and perfectly circular eyes. Its eyebrows also form a triangle which is framed by a great quantity of curly hair; this may be a step on the way toward an *onkos*. The Munich krater may show us another step in this process. On it, the figure of Medeia has a high forehead with curls piled above it and a Persian *tiara* perched on top of the curls. While this effect might be due largely to the artist of the vase, it is also possible that one source of the *onkos* was such a combination of hairstyle and headgear.

These illustrations give us only suggestions of what may have been happening in the fourth century. It is interesting to note as well that there is no surviving evidence of tragic

costume in the fourth century after about the time of the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC). For whatever reason, we have nothing more on this subject until the Hellenistic era is quite well established.

Chapter IV

Tragic Costume in the Hellenistic Era

The period known as the Hellenistic Age is often considered to have begun with the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, and is generally conceived as continuing until the fall of the last Hellenistic kingdom, Egypt, to the forces of Octavian (soon to be called Augustus) in 30 BC.¹²⁸ As with any historical period, the Hellenistic era did not begin, nor did it end, suddenly. It grew out of the Greek culture that developed in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, was influenced by the cultures of the areas conquered by Alexander, especially by those which became the Hellenistic kingdoms. In turn, the culture developed in the Hellenistic age greatly influenced the culture of the Romans when they conquered Greece and the Hellenistic kingdoms. The theatre was a part of this cultural cross-pollination, influencing and being influenced by the trends of the time. The changes

¹²⁸The Hellenistic era has its roots in Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire, and thus it is possible to say that it began with the fall of Persepolis and the death of Darius in 330 BC. Octavian effectively became the ruler of Rome, and thus of most of the territory of the former Hellenistic kingdoms which had already become Roman possessions, as a result of the battle of Actium in 31 BC; the last Hellenistic ruler, Cleopatra VII of Egypt, committed suicide in 30 BC, allowing Octavian to take over there as well, bringing the age of the Hellenistic kingdoms to an end.

in the theatre, like those in society as a whole, began before Alexander's death, and their effects were to reach beyond their own time.

Some of the changes had to do with the configuration and appearance of the theatre space. Under the leadership of Lykourgos (338-326 BC), the Athenians rebuilt and refurbished the Theatre of Dionysos. This remodelling seems to have consisted, among other things, of the construction of the entire complex, including the seating and the *skene*, in stone,¹²⁹ turning the whole structure into a stately, unified monument. As a part of the rebuilding, statues of the three great fifth-century tragedians--Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides--were erected in the theatre precinct.¹³⁰

At some point between about the middle of the fourth century and the first part of the third century BC, theatres in at least Greece proper and Greek-speaking Asia began to be equipped with wide, shallow stages that were raised a significant distance above the ground. Some scholars have connected this raised stage with the development of New Comedy, arguing that the domestic situations of this form,

¹²⁹Scholars disagree on the precise nature of the changes under Lykourgos. For a few views, including a discussion of what was constructed in stone at this time, see William Bell Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece, 3rd ed. (1950; New York: W.W. Norton, 1975) 246-249; Webster, GTP 20; Walton, GST 34-35.

¹³⁰Plutarch, Lives of the Ten Orators (Lykourgos II) 841; Pausanias I, 21, 3.

with their few characters, would be best staged on a narrow platform that would make the actors appear as though they were on a frieze.¹³¹ Bieber suggested that the high stage first developed in the East around 300 BC as a combination of a *skene* (scene building) of several stories and a *proskenion* (platform support) equal in height to the first story of the *skene* (HGRT 115). She saw this arrangement as a compromise between the rich background desirable for old-style tragedies and a raised stage for New Comedy. Whatever the reason for its development, by the second quarter of the third century BC the raised stage was being built as a permanent stone structure in some theatres.¹³²

A number of scholars have connected changes in theatrical costuming to the reconstruction of the Theatre of Dionysos and the development of the raised stage. Heinrich Bulle links the introduction of the high *onkos* with the use of the raised stage (Fest. Loeb 19). He argues that the lack of depth in the stage would force actors into frieze-like

¹³¹For a discussion of this theory, first proposed by Fiechter and elaborated by Bulle, see Bieber, HGRT 108 and 115.

¹³²Sifakis (44) notes that an inscription dated between 297 and 279 BC (I.G. xi, 153₁₄) mentions work done on the *skene* and *proskenion* of the theatre at Delos; the *skene* was then reconstructed completely in stone beginning in 274 (44; Bieber, HGRT 110-111); according to Bieber, theatres with a *skene* and a *proskenion* were constructed in Priene, Assos, Ephesos, "and elsewhere in Asia Minor" during the first half of the third century (HGRT 117).

groupings, and that therefore they would not need to be as three-dimensional as before. A mask with a high *onkos* is best viewed from the front or, at most, in a three-quarter view; seen from the side, this high front of hair attached to the small back of the head "like a baroque façade on an inferior church"¹³³ appears quite unnatural. Since Bulle dates the change to the raised stage to the middle of the fourth century BC, Pickard-Cambridge rejects his argument, dating the first high *onkoi* to the last third of the fourth century and the introduction of the raised stage to about the middle of the third century (DFA¹ 194; DFA² 196). Pickard-Cambridge's argument would be irrefutable if his sequence of dates were accurate. However, as mentioned above (note 132), there is evidence for a raised stage on Delos sometime between 297 and 279 BC, a generation before Pickard-Cambridge would have them in use. That such an innovation appears at this date in Delos, which did not even have any theatrical activity until late in the fourth century (Sifakis 15), at least suggests that the raised stage first appeared at some other place, and thus at an even earlier date.

The second part of Pickard-Cambridge's argument, that masks with high *onkoi* first appeared in the final third of the fourth century, is based on the studies of this subject made by T.B.L. Webster, whose theory is that the introduction

¹³³Bulle's German phrase is "wie eine Barockfassade vor niedrigem Kirchenschiff" (19).



Fig. IV,1. Statue of a tragic poet holding a mask. Vatican Museums 46, Braccio Nuovo 53. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 42.

of the *onkos* is due not to the raised stage, but to the Lykourgan reconstruction of the Theatre of Dionysos. His belief is that "when the theatre was rebuilt in stone and adorned with the statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the new masks were also introduced to match the stately new setting" (GTP 43). However, his sole piece of evidence in support of this argument is a statue in the Vatican of a bearded man in a himation, holding a scroll in his right hand and mask in his left (fig. IV,1). This statue,

according to Webster, has been "plausibly identified" as a copy of the statue of Aischylos from the Lykourgan theatre reconstruction (GTP 43). This particular statue, though, can be of practically no use for his purpose. First, granted that it *is* a copy of the Lykourgan-era statue, there is nothing to say how accurate a copy it is. It is likely that the mask, on which Webster is basing his argument, has been carved in the style of the Roman period, not that of the fourth century. The curls of the hair and beard certainly exhibit the drill-holes characteristic of Roman sculpture, whereas the use of the drill was unknown to the sculptors of the fourth century BC. Second, the mask has seen modern restoration to its eyebrows, nose, and beard (Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 185 note 3), which also casts doubt on the accuracy of the replication of the appearance of a fourth-century mask. Finally, with all of its drawbacks, this is the only example that the extremely knowledgeable Webster could find to back up his theory.

Pickard-Cambridge adds a second piece of evidence that can be taken to support Webster's argument (DFA² 190). It is a fragment of a terracotta mask which comes from the Athenian Agora, in an archaeological context that has been dated to the fourth quarter of the fourth century BC.¹³⁴

¹³⁴Dorothy Burr Thompson, "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas," Hesperia 28 (1959), 141-142, pl. 29, T88; Pickard-Cambridge, DFA², fig. 57.

Unfortunately, this piece is broken in such a way that all one can tell for certain about the area above the eyes is that the forehead was very deeply wrinkled. According to Pickard-Cambridge, "the nature of the break has suggested that it once had a considerable head of hair" (190). A lot of hair, however, does not an *onkos* make. At best, it could be considered a suggestion of how the *onkos* developed, as is the Medeia figure on the Munich krater (fig. III,14).¹³⁵

The other element of tragic costuming that undergoes a change in the Hellenistic era is footwear. During this period the soles of tragic footwear became thicker, reaching a height of about four inches (ten cm.). This development, too, has been connected by some scholars to the introduction of the raised stage. Webster, for one, saw the high-soled boots coming in "at about the same time as the introduction of the *thyromata*" (GTP 163). These *thyromata* (wooden panels placed in the openings between the columns in stage buildings) were, in his view, used as the background on the raised stage, and thus came into use together with the raised stage, in such cases as in the second-century rebuilding of the theatre at Priene. According to Webster, raised soles

¹³⁵That the Medeia krater slightly predates the Lykourgan renovations eliminates its proto-*onkos* from any consideration in relation to Prof. Webster's theory. The bronze mask from the Peiraieus (Chap. III, pages 162-164, note 125) also likely predates the Lykourgan reconstruction, and in any case, only has a suggestion of what might have been a very early version of an *onkos*.

had two purposes in a theatre with a raised stage: "the heroes and heroines looked more stately and it was possible for those occupying the lower rows of the theatre to see their feet" (GTP 163). However, the evidence from Delos has the raised stage coming into use in the first half of the third century, while the (admittedly incomplete) evidence offered by the art of the period suggests that the high sole did develop during the second century, seemingly a century or more after the raised stage was first used. Thus, there seems little, if any, connection between the two.

J.R. Green notes that the costume of comedy began to change near the end of the fourth century, with the development of New Comedy (TAGS 104). The immense *phallos* disappeared, as did padded costumes except for padded bellies on some slaves and old men. In short, comic costuming began to imitate the clothing of real life. This change toward naturalism also appeared in comic masks and, seemingly, in the style of acting. Green then goes on to say, "It is probably no coincidence that at the same time that comic masks and performance became more naturalistic, tragic masks and tragic performance become more exaggerated and stereotyped." Klaus Neiiendam states that the change in tragic costume was due to the tragedy's need "to distance itself from the realism cultivated by the New Comedy" (The Art of Acting in Antiquity 91). This concept of changes in tragic costuming coming about as a reaction to the

contemporary changes visible in comedy seems to me to be somewhat more believable than the theories connecting the change to the stateliness of the Theatre of Dionysos or to the height of the stage, for several reasons. It still is not the complete answer, however.

Let us first look at the reasons in favor of the "reaction to comedy" theory:

1. As discussed above, there is no real evidence of the appearance of the *onkos* at any time near the renovation of the Theatre of Dionysos by Lykourgos. New Comedy, however, was just getting started at the time of Lykourgos, and developed over the following decades, reaching its full form while Menander was writing (about 320-290 BC). As New Comedy developed over time, any reaction to it could develop over time as well, rather than coming about relatively suddenly because of some single event.

2. It could be argued that New Comedy's realistic style stems from the same need to present a more fitting spectacle in the new Theatre of Dionysos as it has been argued would lead to the high *onkos* and stylized acting in tragedy. But, the change of style in New Comedy seems no more abrupt than that of tragedy, and I can find no physical evidence of New Comedy costuming that dates before the end of the fourth century.¹³⁶

¹³⁶A terracotta mask of a comic old man from Alexandria, Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA*² 224, fig. 108.

3. If tragic masks adopted the *onkos* to become more visible and properly proportioned on a raised stage, why did comic masks--which were used on these same raised stages--not exhibit this same sort of change? Why did they become more realistic, rather than less?

Another piece of the solution to this puzzle is the fact that by the end of the fourth century BC the plays of the great Athenian tragedians were more than a hundred years old; some of them even over 150 years old. They were occasionally performed in "revival" beginning in 386 BC, and were performed regularly from the 340s onward (Xanthakis-Karamanos 22). It seems quite possible that productions beginning in the late fourth century might have wanted to emphasize the antiquity and remoteness of these plays in both acting styles and masks, perhaps by using extant works of art from the sixth and fifth centuries as inspiration.¹³⁷ This practice then, over a period of several decades, could have become the norm for productions of tragedy, whether originals or revivals.

¹³⁷Bieber makes an interesting, although not entirely convincing, attempt to derive the *onkos* from a hairstyle that appears on a few sculptures from c. 500 BC (HGRT 24). It seems more likely that the people of the late fourth century might have attempted to capture the somewhat stiff and slightly elongated appearance of archaic sculpture in general, rather than any specific details, to give masks an antique sense. One can get a "feel" for the look of archaic sculpture from Boardman's Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period (New York: Oxford UP, 1978).

One other change took place in theatrical production beginning in the latter part of the fourth century, and it too might be a part of the answer to the question of why tragic costume began to change at about this time. In the second half of the fourth century, famous actors began to tour the Greek-speaking world, while their lesser-known brethren went from deme to deme in Attica (Pickard-Cambridge, DFA² 279). In other words, acting started to become a profession, rather than something performed by amateurs as a civic duty. It was not long before these professional actors were organized into guilds, generally referred to as the Artists of Dionysos. They seem to have travelled about, often in troupes, throughout the Hellenistic world, performing in various local theatrical festivals (Walton, GTP 224-226). Such an arrangement would appear to call for each troupe to have a number of plays in repertory, since the difficulty of travel at the time would cause the troupe to wish to stay in any town for at least several days, making it impractical to go "on the road" with just one play. Since they were travelling around the known world under conditions far from ideal for transporting large amounts of baggage, a set of costumes and masks that would be appropriate for most or all of their repertory would be desirable. The days of a choregos buying new costumes for a single performance were long gone. The emphasis was now on the actors, and they--especially the "stars" who were well-known in all of the

cities with theatres--were in a position to demand costuming that made them look impressive in any role they played. This, then, could well be part of the reason for the changes in tragic costume during the Hellenistic era.



Fig. IV,2. Terracotta miniature of a tragic actor, Athenian Agora, c. 250 BC. Agora Museum T862. Photo: the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

All discussion of the first appearance of the *onkos* and of the high-soled boot must remain speculative, though, since as of the date of this writing the representations of tragic costume during Hellenistic times are quite sparse, and in

fact none survive from between 310 BC (the latest possible date of the amphora in the British Museum by the Ixion Painter) and the middle of the third century. And it is during the first half of the third century that the *onkos* seems to have developed.

The earliest extant example of tragic costume from the third century is a terracotta miniature of an actor from about 250 BC that was found in the Athenian Agora (fig. IV,2). This statuette is badly damaged, but it does show the torso and left arm and most of the head of a man wearing a mask with curly hair and beard and an open mouth. The eyebrows are prominently moulded, and are raised at the outer furrowed, but since the top of the head has been broken off, it is impossible to tell just how high the forehead and the hair above it would have reached. His costume consists of a robe and a himation that is rolled up and wrapped around his torso and up over his right shoulder. It cannot be discerned from the modelling of the terracotta whether the left arm is depicted in a sleeve or wrapped in the himation.

In the first publication of the fragmentary mask from the fourth quarter of the fourth century (see note 134 above), Dorothy Burr Thompson compared it and the broken statuette (fig. IV,2) to a terracotta head in Berlin (fig. IV,3). It depicts the mask of a man with a curly beard and an open mouth. The eyebrows are less prominent than those of the statuette, and they are lowered at the outside corners



Fig. IV,3. Head of a Persian king. Hellenistic terracotta from Thebes, Berlin 8328. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 65,1.

and raised over the nose (cf. the bronze mask from the Peiraieus, Chapter III, pages 162-163, note 124). The forehead is modeled to be more prominent above the inner corners of the eyebrows, with a hollow between the two prominences. The most striking aspect of the mask, though, is its hairstyle. The hair is depicted as straight, and it stands up and out at an equal distance from the upper two-thirds of the face. It not only stands up from the face, but bends forward, framing the entire face like a nineteenth-century poke-bonnet. Above it is worn a Persian *tiara*, which

perhaps indicates that this is the mask of an Eastern king, someone like Darius. According to Bieber, at one point at least some indication of color remained on this piece (DTA 124; HGRT 85); the hair and beard were red-brown, the *tiara* "bluish", and the pupils of the eyes were also painted blue.

A mask with a similar hairstyle and modeling of the forehead appears on a Hellenistic statuette also in Berlin (fig. IV,4). Again, straight hair stands up, out, and forward from the face; this figure, however, wears no *tiara*, and therefore was probably meant to be taken as Greek. His beard juts straight out from his chin in a sharp wedge. He is dressed in a knee-length robe with a sleeve visible on his extended right arm. A wide belt is worn across his chest at a level slightly higher than what we saw was customary in the fourth century. A *chlamys* is clasped on his right shoulder; the back part of it is pulled up and over his left arm. His costume seems quite similar to that of the Agora statuette (fig. IV,2), and casts some light on the problem of how that left arm is draped. The fully preserved Berlin actor seems to be wearing boots, but they are very roughly formed. The soles seem to be flat and not particularly built up. Some scholars have suggested that this statuette represents an actor of comedy rather than of tragedy (see Pickard-Cambridge DFA¹ 184, note 8). The modelling of the forehead, the *onkos*-like hairstyle, and the sleeved robe all indicate tragic costume, however. It is possible that this is a



Fig. IV,4. Hellenistic terracotta statuette of a tragic actor. Berlin 7635. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 61,3.

representation of a tragic actor in a comic play, like "Aigisthos" on the phlyax vase in the Getty Museum (see Chapter III, 107-109, note 98). It is more likely, though, that this piece is a somewhat poorly-made statuette of an actor from a tragedy. Bieber suggests that he is meant to be a Messenger (HGRT 313, no. 294). His costume, with its knee-

length robe, *chlamys*, and boots, contains all of the elements of the "old man" costume of the fourth century. That his mask is very different from that of the "old man" could very well be due to the changes in masks that occurred when the *onkos* was introduced, and therefore he could be a Messenger or Paidagogue. However, the resemblance of his mask to that of the head with the *tiara* (fig. IV,3) makes it possible that he is meant to be a king.

A wedge-like beard and modeled forehead similar to those of figure IV,4 also appear on a statuette published by Guido Libertini.¹³⁸ It is a miniature terracotta depicting a tragic actor flanked by a much smaller figure completely wrapped in a himation. The actor's mask, as well as having a jutting beard, has an open mouth and small, narrow eyes. These eyes seem to suggest that the character is blind, and is therefore perhaps Oidipous or Teiresias.¹³⁹ His hair is arranged in vertical rows of curls along the side of his face and piled

¹³⁸"Gruppo fittile inedito di soggetto tragico." Dioniso: Bollettino dell'Institut Nazionale del Dramma Antico 5 (1935/1936), 196-198. When the piece was published, it was on the antiquities market. I have not been able to find any sign of its current location. A terracotta head in the Archaeological Museum in Agrigento has a similar modeled forehead and wedge-like beard. Its hairstyle consists of a frame around the face with no depth; behind this frame, the hair seems to be worn close against the head, perhaps covered with a tight-fitting hat or a net. The effect, then, is that of Bulle's "baroque façade" (see p.174 above).

¹³⁹If the character is indeed blind, the smaller figure, who seems to be female, but could conceivably be a small boy, can be considered his guide.

on top of his head to form a very high, rounded *onkos* that appears to be quite two-dimensional. He is dressed in an ankle-length robe with long sleeves¹⁴⁰ which is fastened by a narrow belt worn a little above the waist. A himation is draped over his left shoulder, across his back, and is pulled around his front at slightly below waist level. Over the modeled folds of the himation is superimposed a wide, net-like pattern, as though the character wore a fisherman's net wrapped around him with his himation. This net puzzled Libertini and, frankly, it puzzles me, too. I can only suggest that it was something considered necessary to the character, that he had some connection with the sea (Poseidon?), or perhaps had just emerged from the sea, like Menelaus in Euripides' Helen. Of course, none of this relates at all to the possibility that he is blind. Finally, this actor's boots have quite high soles, about the width of his hand, the equivalent of about four inches or ten centimeters. They seem to be made in two pieces, split vertically from front to back.

The same sort of split appears on the footwear worn by the figure identified as the "Personification of Tragedy" on the famous "Apotheosis of Homer" relief in the British Museum (fig. IV,5). Peeking out from under the hem of the robe are

¹⁴⁰For some reason, Libertini thought that this is typical *comic* costuming, rather than "one of the usual chitons" (*uno dei soliti chitoni*) that he expected for tragic costume (197).

the figure's feet, dressed in boots or shoes with split soles that are about the width of a hand high. Since this relief is dated to the second half of the second century BC, it is one of the earliest examples we have of the thick-soled



Fig. IV,5. Personification of Tragedy, on the lowest register of the "Apotheosis of Homer" relief by Archelaos of Priene, in the British Museum (2191). Drawing: Reinach, Rep. Reliefs 484, no. 2191 (detail).

tragic boot.¹⁴¹ The vertical front-to-back split seen here and in the Libertini statuette are quite interesting, and not discussed at all, to my knowledge, by other scholars. It seems possible that this split may be an attempt to reduce the weight of solid soles. Later examples which have no visible split could possibly have solved the problem of weight by being hollow. The "Personification of Tragedy" also wears a mask, seen in profile, with a thin *onkos*-structure that is triangular in section. Behind this structure, the back of the mask is quite loose-fitting, perhaps made of cloth; two long, wide flaps or ties hang from it, over the shoulders and down to waist level. The face has a forehead that slopes back, and a close-cropped beard. The figure is dressed in a long-sleeved, floor-length robe with a wide belt worn well above the waist. Over the robe is a himation, draped somehow around the back, then under the right arm to be caught and held by the left hand at waist level.

¹⁴¹Pickard-Cambridge et al. (DFA² 204, note 6) cite Fraser-Rönne, Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones 182, note 45 in placing the date at 150 BC. I am using the date given by Lygouri-Tolia in LIMC, i.e. 130-120 BC. Webster (GTP 187, A78) places the date as between 150 and 50 BC. Libertini gave no indication of date for the statuette he published (Dioniso 5, 196-198). From the similarity of its mask to other late Hellenistic examples, and from the almost exact correspondence between the soles of its boots and those of the Priene relief, I would place it also in the second half of the second century BC.

Dating from the end of the second century BC is a marble base in the British Museum that depicts a female figure (probably a Muse) holding a tragic mask (fig. IV,6). This piece is often discussed in connection with the Priene relief (fig. IV,5), since the seated woman wears some sort of footwear with a thick sole.¹⁴² However, her footwear is



Fig. IV,6. Seated figure (Muse?) holding a tragic mask.

Marble relief from Halicarnassos, in the British Museum (1106). Drawing: Reinach, Rep. Reliefs 486, no. 10 (detail).

¹⁴²Those who discuss these pieces together include Pickard-Cambridge (DFA¹ 229, where he considers the Halicarnassos base to be earlier than the Priene relief, and DFA² 204-205), and Webster (GTP 44).

actually quite different from that depicted on the Priene relief. The sole is much less thick, the equivalent of only two or three inches (about 5 to 8 cm), and it is made in a single piece, rather than being split vertically. This sole, however, is depicted as separate from the foot, as if it were the sole of a sandal, or even a tiny platform or footrest. Since the figure is holding a tragic mask, it is most likely that this is meant to be a sole, but the figure's chiton is draped over her instep, so it is impossible to see the construction of the entire foot-covering. Thus, we cannot tell whether this is meant to be a sandal, or some sort of shoe or boot with a sharp definition between the uppers and the sole.

As for the mask that the Muse is holding over her raised right hand, it is that of a man with a short, curly beard. His hair is styled into an *onkos* of vertical curls, similar to that of the Libertini statuette. Behind its front façade is depicted hair cropped off evenly at the nape of the neck. The face is somewhat damaged, but the forehead is quite low, and the lips are full and thick, seeming to be open barely more than a crack. Especially in profile the mask resembles a broken late Hellenistic terracotta mask of Herakles in Berlin.¹⁴³ As in the mask on the relief, Herakles' *onkos* is a little lower than that of other Hellenistic *onkoi*, even

¹⁴³Berlin, Staatliche Museum, from Pergamon. *LIMC* IV, 1, 744 Herakles 270 (with drawing); Webster, *MITSP*² 61, ZT5.

though it is topped with the hero's lion-skin. The forehead is also quite low, and is modeled like that of figure IV,4. The lower part of the mask has been broken away, but what is left of the upper lip suggests that it was quite wide open.



Fig. IV,7. Late Hellenistic relief of an actor, in Dresden.

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 55,1.

Shoes similar to those worn by the Muse in figure IV,6 are seen much more clearly on a relief in Dresden that pictures a man who seems to be an actor dressed as Dionysos or one of his followers (fig. IV,7). On this relief, the

right foot is clearly visible, while the sole of the left shoe peeks out from under the actor's costume. Under the right foot we see a sole built up of four horizontal layers (more clearly visible on the otherwise hidden left foot), creating a platform the equivalent of about two to three inches (5 to 8 cm) in height. The foot rests above this platform-like sole, with the curve of the arch clearly visible above the flat platform. The foot is not bare, however. Incised decoration can be seen along the side of the arch and up over the top of the instep, including concentric circles on the side of the heel, and a spiral running from the heel to the instep. Thus, this style must be a boot similar to the thin-soled ones we saw in the fourth century, but with the thick, built-up sole, made separately and attached to that boot. A similar technique is used in some modern platform boots, such as those pictured in figure IV,8.

The actor pictured in figure IV,7 is dressed in a robe of ankle or floor length with a high belt, and with long sleeves that are somewhat looser-fitting than any we have seen before. Around his waist and down to his knees is wrapped a himation. According to Bieber (HGRT 84), he is crowned with a wreath of ivy, and is wearing a *nebris*, the fawn's skin characteristic of the followers of Dionysos. Ivy leaves are visible in his hair only in a good close-up photograph (e.g. Bulle, fig. 27a) or, I suspect, in person.



Fig. IV,8. Platform boot by Classified, 2000 AD. Photograph by author, with the permission of the staff of Junkman's Daughter's Brother, Athens, GA.

More immediately visible are the flowers and other objects (too damaged to identify from a photograph) which appear in his crown. The *nebris* can be seen fastened by its paws over his left shoulder and slanting down to disappear under his belt and himation. A long, thin wreath of leaves is draped diagonally across his chest from his right shoulder to below his waist on the left where it disappears presumably to cross up again to the shoulder behind his back. Pickard-Cambridge

saw all of this as the costume "of the Roman not of the Greek theatre" (DFA¹ 227). However, other than in the looseness of the sleeves (which is hardly excessive, although a bit unusual), his costume is quite similar to what we have seen in the Greek world. It is possible that, although he rejects Bulle's argument (DFA¹ 226-227, note 5), Pickard-Cambridge was influenced by the German scholar's attempt to identify the subject of this relief as the famous Roman actor of the first century BC, Quintus Roscius (Fest. Loeb 37-43).

One last representation of tragic costume in the Greek world of the Hellenistic era comes from the House of the Comedians in Delos (fig. IV,9). It is a section of a fresco frieze decorated with comic and tragic scenes, and it depicts an old man and a woman in tragic garb. The woman seems to be leading the old man by the hand, so the scene has been tentatively identified as being Oidipous and Antigone from Oidipous at Kolonos. The painting has undergone a certain amount of damage, but some details are still quite clear. The old man is dressed in a long-sleeved robe that reaches nearly to the ground; it is of a solid rose-pink color. Over his left arm and across his back he wears a cream-colored himation; traces of a wide, darker-colored band remain the equivalent of a few inches above its hem. The belt worn above his waist retains traces of gold-colored paint. His

mask has a long, curly white beard, and hair of the same color is piled into a fairly high *onkos* at the top of his



Fig. IV,9. Antigone with the blind Oidipous. Fresco from Delos, the House of the Comedians, Oecus maior (N, metope 7), c. 125-100 BC. Delos, Archaeological Museum. Photograph: École Française d'Athènes, courtesy of Pia Stavrinidi.

head; curls of hair fall past his ears and onto his shoulders. His lips seem somewhat thick, but the mouth is shown as open. The area at the hem of his robe where his feet should appear is so badly damaged as to make it

impossible to understand what his footwear might be. In his right hand is a long staff, on which he is leaning.

The most immediately striking aspect of the woman's costume is her mask, which is painted brilliant white. Its eyes and mouth are both wide open and black, contrasting strongly with the white. Her forehead is high, rising to a central point to form her *onkos*. A portion of her dark brick-red himation is pulled over the back of her head. This himation is draped over her left arm, and hangs diagonally down her left side, then to be pulled across her back. Her robe is of this same brick-red color and is held by a belt that has traces of gold paint, like that of the old man. It is difficult to tell how far down the robe reaches. It seems to end the equivalent of about three to four inches (8 to 10 cm.) above the ground. Below this there is a section of the same brick red as the robe and himation, indented somewhat from the sides of the robe. There is a great deal of damage to the surface of the paint in this area, but from its appearance this indented section could be either the hem of a floor-length undergarment or the thick soles of tragic boots.¹⁴⁴ Some vertical lines are indicated in this indented

¹⁴⁴Webster (MITSP² 119) has the cryptic notation "kothornoi with thin soles." It is impossible to determine from the context just who he believes is wearing these kothornoi--the man, the woman, or both. My close examination of the painting in the museum found no traces of "thin soles;" the man's feet are too damaged to yield any conclusions, and if the woman is wearing kothornoi, they have quite thick soles.

section, which could be the artist's depiction of folds in an underrobe or of two separate sets of thick soles split vertically down the middle like those in figure IV,5 and the Libertini statuette.

Conclusions

The extant pictorial evidence for tragic costuming in the Hellenistic era is quite sparse. Nevertheless, a few conclusions can be drawn. First, although the precise date of the appearance of the *onkos* cannot be determined, a few variations of it were firmly established by the end of the third century BC, and they continued throughout the Hellenistic period. These include the "poke bonnet" style (figs. IV,3 and IV,4), and the rounded *onkos* formed by vertical rows of curls above the forehead (fig. IV,6 and the Libertini statuette). The latter style of *onkos* was often an almost two-dimensional "baroque façade" in front of hair or cloth moulded very closely to the shape of the back of the head (figs. IV,5 and IV,6). The forehead itself, without the aid of hair, could make a small triangular *onkos* as well (fig. IV,9).

Also during this period an exaggeratedly thick sole becomes added to the tragic boot. Again, the exact date of this addition cannot be determined, but the thick sole was certainly firmly established by the second half of the second century BC, when it was considered characteristic enough of the genre to be used as one of the attributes of a

personification of Tragedy (fig. IV,5). Unfortunately, no depiction of tragic footwear survives that can be securely dated to between 300 and 150 BC, so we cannot trace the development of the thick sole. We do have a hint, however, that it may have developed gradually during this period, in that the boots of the second half of the fourth century BC were sometimes depicted with soles of about half an inch thick (e.g. fig. III,9). As there were with *onkoi*, a few variations in the type of thick sole exist in the Hellenistic period. Some seem to have a vertical split from front to back (fig. IV,5 and the Libertini statuette), perhaps an attempt to reduce the weight of the sole. Thick soles also could be made by the stacking of several horizontal layers (fig. IV,8). Unless actual remains of such soles are ever found, it cannot be known of what material they were made. However, I would like to suggest that they were made of cork, a material which can easily be cut to the needed shape and thickness for these layers, is lightweight (thus solving the problem for which the other soles were split) and somewhat flexible, but strong enough to hold together while in use. Some modern platform shoes are made in this fashion.

Finally, there is the question of the development of the clothing worn by tragic actors in the Hellenistic period. The evidence shows that the elements remain basically the same as what we saw in the fourth century BC. The actor still wears a long-sleeved robe that is either ankle-to-floor

length (figs. IV,5, IV,6, IV,8, IV,9, the Libertini statuette) or around knee-length (fig. IV,4). There is still often a himation wrapped around it (figs. IV,5, IV,6, IV,8, IV,9, the Libertini statuette), although the chlamys does not appear in any of the extant figures.¹⁴⁵ The belt seems to be worn a little higher above the waist than it had been in the fourth century BC. The only representation we have of the ornamentation of the fabric during this period, the Delos fresco (fig. IV,9) yields some interesting data. The costumes are of solid colors with no decorative motifs woven into them or embroidered onto them. The only added decoration is the stripe on the elderly man's himation. Finally, both characters' belts were painted gold, something that we will see fairly often in the following centuries.

¹⁴⁵This, of course, does not mean that the chlamys was no longer worn on the tragic stage, but just that it does not appear in any of the few representations we have of tragic costuming from this period.

Chapter V

Tragic Costume in the Roman Republic and Early Empire

In the third century BC, Livius Andronicus (fl. 240-204 BC) translated and adapted the tragedies of Sophokles and Euripides into Latin. Although better known for comedies, Gnaeus Naevius (fl. 235-c. 200 BC) wrote Latin adaptations of the tragedies of Euripides, and also created the *Fabulae Praetextae*, tragedies based on Roman subjects and set in Rome. New tragedies were written in Rome during the second and first centuries BC by Quintus Ennius (239-169), Marcus Pacuvius (c. 220-c. 130), and Lucius Accius (170-c. 86); their work seems to have been based largely on Greek models. The tragedies of all of these authors seem to have been performed at least until the late first century BC, both at appropriate religious festivals and at important occasions such as triumphs or the funerals of powerful citizens.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶Horace (Epist. II, 1, 50-61) lists Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, and Accius among those whose works "powerful Rome watches, packed together in the theatre" (*stipata teatro/spectat Roma potens*). Cicero, earlier in the same century, complained about the extravagant use of props for the sole purpose of overawing the audience in productions of Clytemnestra and The Trojan Horse (Letters to his Friends VII, 1, 2; Williams 4-7). For a discussion of theatrical performances for the funeral of Gaius Curio, who was killed fighting on Caesar's side in the Roman Civil War (49-46 BC), see Pliny, Natural History XXXVI, 24, 115-117.

During the first century AD tragedies written by Lucius Varius Rufus (fl. c. AD 20-30) and Publius Pomponius Secundus (fl. c. AD 50) were definitely performed in public, and Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 5 BC-AD 65) wrote tragedies which may or may not have been produced publicly.¹⁴⁷ A version of Medea written by the poet Ovid early in the first century AD seems not to have been intended for public performance. Unfortunately, none of the tragedies written by Romans, except some written by Seneca, survive to modern times. All that is left of the other Roman tragedies are some titles and a number of brief, unconnected passages.

Roman original tragedies and Latin translations of Greek originals, then, were probably being composed and publicly performed at least up to the third quarter of the first century AD. Moreover, there is a certain amount of evidence for the writing and production of original tragedies in Greek in this same period, as well as for revival productions of Greek drama of the Classical period.¹⁴⁸ There is also ample pictorial evidence of tragic costuming from this time, most

¹⁴⁷The arguments for and against Seneca's tragedies having been performed are well summarized by Margarete Bieber, "Wurden die Tragödien des Seneca in Rom aufgeführt?" Röm.Mitt. 60/61 (1953/54), 100-106. She concludes that his tragedies were indeed performed publicly.

¹⁴⁸For a complete discussion of the evidence for the production of Greek tragedy in Roman times see C.P. Jones "Greek Drama in the Roman Empire," Theater and Society in the Classical World, ed. Ruth Scodel (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 1993) 39-52.

of it dated to the first century AD, and much of it coming from the region buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. It therefore makes sense to discuss the evidence for tragic costuming in the Roman world up to the late first century AD as a unit.

The earliest depiction of any element of tragic costume in territory under Roman influence is in a mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii that is dated to the second century BC (fig. V,1). It depicts two almost identical



Fig. V,1. Tragic mask on a mosaic from Pompeii, House of the Faun, second century BC. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9997. Photo: Bieber, DTA fig. 117.

masks, which differ only in skin color, the woman's mask being white, and the man's mask (pictured here) a ruddy flesh-tone. Both have reddish-brown hair arranged in a high, rounded *onkos* made of vertical rows of curls, similar to what

is found in the Greek world at this same time (figs. IV,5 and IV,6, and the Libertini statuette). The vertical rows of curls extend over the ears and past the jawline, spreading out onto the ground on which the masks are placed. The eyes are perfectly round and are set under prominent eyebrows that are lowered at the outside corners and raised over the nose. The open mouth is fairly wide, with turned-down corners. The chin juts forward, and the area underneath it is a solid dark color. This may be the mosaicist's attempt to depict a shadow on a solid surface, but it is probably meant to indicate that the mask ends at the base of the chin, and the dark area is the hollow interior.



Fig. V,2. Tragic scene from the tomb of Numitorius Hilarus.

Roman terracotta relief, first century BC. Rome, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Photo: Bieber, *DTA* pl. 56.

By the first century BC depictions of the staging of tragedy began to be seen in Roman contexts. What may be the earliest of these depictions is a polychrome terracotta relief from the tomb of Numitorius Hilarus now in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome (fig. V,2). It is a scene set in front of a *scaenae frons*, with an actor dressed as a woman in the center, holding a small boy wearing a Phrygian cap with her right hand. To the viewer's right is an actor dressed as a man, who is extending his right hand toward the woman and child; on his head is what has been taken to be a conical *pilos*. The man's headgear and the boy's Phrygian cap have caused scholars to identify this as a scene in which Odysseus (who was often depicted in a *pilos*) is coming to take the Trojan boy Astyanax from his mother Andromache, in order to be killed. Since Accius wrote an Astyanax, it may be a scene from his play.

The two actors, "Andromache" and "Odysseus," are dressed in full tragic costume that, while very similar to what we have seen in the Greek-speaking world, has some unique features. Both robes are ankle-length and have long sleeves. The woman's, however, seems to consist of a peplos over a sleeved garment; the peplos has a very long overfold that reaches down almost to the knees. It seems to be bunched up at about the waist, perhaps due to being bloused over a belt that the blousing then hides. Well above the waist is a visible, wide belt worn over the blousing. A himation is

draped over her left arm and shoulder and trails on the ground on her left side. The robe worn by "Odysseus" has no overfold or blousing. It is fastened by a very wide belt worn a little above waist level. A chlamys is fastened over his right shoulder and hangs over his left shoulder and arm. He grasps a sheathed sword in his left hand.

The masks of both characters are quite large in proportion to their bodies. That worn by "Andromache" has a rounded crown and low forehead with no real indication of any kind of *onkos*. Curly hair cascades onto her shoulders. The eyes are of a fairly natural shape, and of a size in proportion to that of the face. Her mouth is wide open and quite oddly shaped, basically rectangular with exaggeratedly pointed corners. Similar mouths appear on masks carved on



Fig. V,3. Ivory or bone theatre ticket, formerly in the collection of Margarete Bieber. Photo: Bieber, DTA fig. 90.

Roman theatre tickets, one in Berlin,¹⁴⁹ and the other once in Dr. Bieber's personal collection (fig. V,3). The man's mask does have a *lambda*-shaped structure above the forehead, and this is generally noted as the conical *pilos* often worn by Odysseus and other travellers.¹⁵⁰ However, it is in no way constructed like a *pilos*, which was a simple, conical-shaped hat, like the one worn by "Perseus" in fig. I,3.¹⁵¹ This headdress, however, covers the hair on the sides and back of the mask as well as the top; only the hair immediately framing the sides of the face is visible. A wide horizontal band crosses the mask's forehead; above this band the terracotta has been moulded in a rough texture that might have been meant to indicate some sort of patterning on the hat, or perhaps it is curly hair piled in an *onkos* and

¹⁴⁹See Bieber, HGRT 247, fig. 811b.

¹⁵⁰Odette Touchefeu (LIMC II, 1, 931) called his headdress a *pilos*, as did Bieber (HGRT 163); earlier, Bieber had called by the more generic name of sailor's cap (DTA 112), as did Pickard-Cambridge (DFA 186). For such a cap being characteristic of Odysseus, see R. Kreis-von Schaewen, "Πίλος," Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. Georg Wissowa, et al., vol. 20 (1950), 1331.

¹⁵¹A very similar *pilos* appears worn by many of the Dacians on Trajan's column (panels 55, 56, and 92, to mention a few); the only difference between it and the one worn by "Perseus" is that the later *pilos* is a little less pointed. Therefore, the same basic pattern was used at least until the second century AD. See Kreis-von Schaewen ("Πίλος," 1332-1333) for a listing of the possible variations within the basic pattern of the *pilos*.

visible between the band and a hood-like head-covering. It is impossible to tell for certain only from photographs, but it looks more like a band and a hood with curly hair visible than it does a single headdress.

Both characters wear boots with thick soles (the equivalent of about three inches or eight centimeters) that appear separated from the body of the boot, as did the Hellenistic soles pictured in figures IV,6 and IV,7.

The young child, "Astyanax," is dressed in what could be either theatrical costuming or a version of Eastern dress. He wears a long-sleeved robe that reaches to a little above his knees, and that blouses over a belt fastened a little below his waist. Under this robe is a pair of close-fitting leggings and thin, flexible-soled boots or shoes. On his head is a Phrygian cap with short flaps over his ears and a soft point that droops above his temple. Like the little girls on the Syracuse Oidipous vase (fig. III,8, see Chapter III, page 131), he is not wearing a mask, suggesting either that he did not appear in the actual tragic scene, or that children who appeared on stage were not masked. The two figures huddled together on the viewer's left of the scene are not dressed in any form of what we have come to know as tragic costume. Their dress seems to be ordinary streetwear, tunics with a himation or stola draped around the body, with no sign of long sleeves or high belts. They seem to have simple, thin-soled shoes on their feet. Most significantly,

they do not wear masks. They are also much smaller in scale than the two costumed actors. Bieber suggested that they are meant to represent Andromache's servants, characters who "have taken the place of the old chorus, sympathetically accompanying the fate and action of the main characters with their gestures" (HGRT 163). This identification is quite likely the proper explanation for these figures, and it is interesting to note that if it is the correct explanation, this piece is evidence that such figures had much the same appearance as the audience, thus fulfilling at least visually the chorus' function of being a bridge between the action and the audience.

A scene from a tragedy appears in a Roman wall painting found in the columbarium of the Villa Doria-Pamphili in Rome (fig. V,4). This painting is dated by Bieber as "probably the late first century BC" (HGRT 298, note 14), and it seems to depict two quarreling groups brought before a king or



Fig. V,4. Tragic scene. Roman wall-painting from the columbarium of the Villa Doria-Pamphili, Rome, late first century BC. Drawing: Jahn, Die Wandgemälde des Columbariums in der Villa Pamphili pl. 4, no. 10.

judge who is seated on the viewer's left. Both Bieber (HGRT 163) and Samter (119) include color in their descriptions of the costumes worn by the various figures in this painting. Unfortunately, although both scholars were working from views of the fresco itself rather than from color photographs, they rarely agree in their descriptions of the colors. The seated figure on the left wears a mask with an extremely high *onkos*, the hair of which, according to Samter, is red-brown.¹⁵² His robe has long sleeves; Samter says that it is blue, while according to Bieber it is green. Both agree that the himation worn wrapped around his torso and up over his left shoulder is violet. In his left hand he holds a sceptre.

The next figure to the viewer's right, the young man who is holding a lantern, is dressed in a small himation that is wrapped around his body, leaving his right shoulder and lower limbs bare. According to Samter, the himation is blue-violet. The next figure to the right is somewhat puzzling. Reinach's drawing has it wearing a woman's mask, and Samter calls the figure a lady (*donna*). Bieber, however, sees it as a bearded man, and the photograph she reproduces certainly looks as though there is a large, long, blunt-cut beard covering the figure's neck. However, no features are visible

¹⁵²Reinach's drawing has a petasos worn on the back of the man's head, with its brim sticking up in the front and continuing down his back. The only photograph I have been able to find, however (Bieber, HGRT fig. 589), shows a definite high, two-dimensional *onkos* with the hair behind fitting closely to the shape of the head.

on the figure's face in the photograph, and the entire area of the face and neck looks as though it might have been damaged, with the plaster flaked away in the rough shape of a face and beard. In addition, the figure is leaning on a long staff, which tends to be a masculine pose. Both Bieber and Samter agree that the figure is wearing a yellow, seemingly long-sleeved robe. Reinach's omission of the robe is almost certainly a mistake if the figure is indeed that of a woman; if it is of a beardless young man, it is possible that the yellow robe fastened only over the left shoulder, like an *exômis*, but I have never seen a long garment fastened in such a way. The photograph is of no real help on this point. The figure wears a himation draped over its left shoulder and under its right arm; Bieber says it is green, and Samter says light blue. According to Bieber, the triangular object worn on the figure's head is a yellow cap.

The next figure to the right is a slender woman in a robe with sleeves that seem in the photograph to be short, the way Reinach has drawn them.¹⁵³ Bieber claims this robe is

¹⁵³There is some controversy as to the identification of the group of three miniature figures between this woman and the preceding figure. Bieber suggests that they are three small children in a basket. Samter has no suggestion as to who they might be, but he refutes Jahn's identification of them as a version of the three Graces on the grounds that they are not partially nude, but completely dressed in red-violet garments, and that they seem to be leaning on one another with their backs together. I can suggest no identification, but whoever they are, they do not appear to have anything to contribute to the discussion of tragic costume.

yellow, while Samter says it is reddish. Around her body from the waist down is draped a himation that is either blue-violet (Samter) or green (Bieber). This figure does not appear to be wearing a mask. The next figure to the right is also a woman, and Samter and Bieber both agree that she is wearing a blue robe topped by a violet himation. She is wearing a mask, since she has a small, triangular *onkos* topped by what Bieber calls a "gray kerchief." In the photograph, her mouth appears to be somewhat open.

We come into controversy once more with the next figure to the right, which Bieber again sees as a man, while Samter reads it as a woman, and Reinach's drawing shows another beardless, feminine-appearing face. The photograph, however, shows a less badly damaged surface over this face than that of the other disputed figure, and there do seem to be traces of a beard visible. At the top of the head there appears to be a true *onkos*, one consisting of a high forehead topped by a triangular hairstyle and perhaps a cap or tiara, rather than the rather odd, parted hairstyle of the drawing. Bieber sees this figure as being dressed in a gray robe with a grayish-blue himation draped around him and fastened over the left shoulder; Samter has the figure dressed entirely in blue-violet. The pole with a crossbar that the figure carries over its left shoulder is a puzzle. Bieber suggests that it is some sort of tool, perhaps a plow or a yoke. To me it looks rather like the support for a military banner

(*vexillum*), although I cannot suggest why a tragic character should be carrying such a thing, especially without its banner.

The figure on the far right who is running toward the rest of the scene wears a woman's mask with a two-dimensional *onkos* (that is somewhat lower than that of the seated figure on the far left), rather than the rather oddly shaped brimmed hat that Reinach drew. She wears a robe that has an overfold that reaches to her knees; long sleeves are visible in the photograph. Her smallish himation is draped under her right arm and over her left shoulder, from which it flutters behind her with the speed of her movement. According to Samter she is dressed entirely in blue-violet, while Bieber says her costume is all grayish-green.

None of the figures in the painting wear thick-soled boots or shoes. Most wear masks with *onkoi*, the exceptions being the young man with the lantern and the slender woman.¹⁵⁴ Bieber states that all of the figures except the lantern-bearer have long sleeves. While most of the figures probably do have long sleeves, it cannot be determined for certain from the evidence available in the photograph. Even Samter, who probably saw the painting first-hand, stated that the

¹⁵⁴According to Bieber, all but the young man, whom she calls "a subordinate person and probably a servant," have *onkoi*. To me, however, the slender young woman's face does not seem to have an *onkos*; if it does, it is very low and flat.

length of the sleeves of the two figures on the right cannot be known. And, as noted above, the photograph seems to indicate that Reinach was correct when he drew short sleeves on the slender woman, although it is difficult to tell for certain, since any difference in color between cloth and flesh cannot be discerned in the black and white photograph of this scene.

A wall painting from Ostia, also probably from the first century BC, shows us a scene in which figures in tragic costume are in violent motion (fig. V,5). We see two



Fig. V,5. Tragic scene. Roman wall-painting from Ostia, first century BC. Vatican Museums, Lateran 1063. Photo: Vaglieri, Ostia fig. 22.

figures, a man and a woman, seated upon a slightly raised platform and another man and woman running toward them. The

attention of these four figures is centered on a nude child who seems to be flinging himself (for protection?) at the man on the platform, who is beginning to rise to meet or even embrace him. The scene appears to be some sort of recognition scene, as Bieber says, "similar to that in the Ion of Euripides, only the child here is younger and naked" (HGRT 163). All of the figures except the nude child are dressed in ankle-length, long-sleeved robes, and all but the child and the seated woman wear masks with some amount of an *onkos*.

The woman who is running from the left has a high, rounded *onkos* of hair that is probably arranged in a two-dimensional "baroque façade." Her robe is bound by a wide belt worn slightly above her waist, and a himation of a lighter color than that of the robe is flung over her left shoulder. In her hands she carries what Bieber calls "a yellow object which looks like a garment or piece of cloth" (HGRT 164). Little can be discerned of the figure who comes running in from the back of the scene. The figure's mask is clearly visible; it is of a bearded man with a wide-open, rounded mouth. The forehead is extremely high and broad, with smooth, flat hair above it. Bieber suggests that he might be an old paidagogue.

The figures seated on the platform are somewhat clearer. The woman on the right sits perfectly still, her hands folded on her lap, watching the extreme actions of the others. Her

face is natural in expression and proportion, with no suggestion of a mask; her mouth is closed. Her hair is completely covered by a veil that falls to below the level of her waist. Her forehead is not unusually high, nor is there any indication of an *onkos* hidden under the veil. The only part of her appearance that suggests tragic costume is her long-sleeved robe.

The man beside her, who is rising from a seated position to take the child's right hand with his left and to place his right hand on the child's head, wears a bearded mask with an *onkos* of hair piled above his brow. Over his robe he wears a chlamys of a darker color that is either lined with a color similar to that of his robe, or has a wide band of this color around the very edge of its top and sides. None of the figures wear high-soled boots.

Another tragic scene is painted on a marble panel from Herculaneum that is dated to about the end of the first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD (fig. V,6). Although it is now so faded that only faint traces of colors and shapes are visible, old photographs show it in detail. On it are three figures in tragic costume, all of them dressed as women. The one on the left is large, heavy, and rather grotesque. Her figure is probably padded, and she may owe her exaggerated height to thick soles that are invisible beneath her floor-length robe. Her large head, doubtless a mask, rests directly on her shoulders, with no

neck visible. Her arms appear short in proportion to her body, which is a further indication that she is costumed to become a much larger figure than the actor himself would be. The other two figures in the scene also appear to be wearing masks and perhaps thick soles, but their costumes are less exaggerated and grotesque than that of the woman on the left.



Fig. V,6. "Phaedra and Nurse." Painting on white marble from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9563.

Photo: Bieber, DTA fig. 110.

The traces of paint that remain on the marble enable us to reconstruct the colors of the costumes. The padded figure

on the left, according to Bieber, wears a robe with white sleeves, and the himation wrapped around her is white with a yellow border (HGRT 164). All that remains of any of this are the grayish-purple shadows in the white garments. Bieber also says that she has a yellow veil on her head. Her robe is held by a wide belt worn well above her waist, on which there are traces of gold-colored paint. Her mask has an exaggeratedly high forehead with prominent eyebrows that are lowered at the outside corners and raised above the nose (cf. figures IV,4, and IV,5). Her face is egg-shaped and jowly, the nose long and pointed with flared nostrils, and her mouth is wide-open and rectangular, a slightly more rounded version of the mouth seen in figures V,2 and V,3. Her hair falls down over her shoulders in curls and is painted a very definite red which still survives quite well.

The figure in the middle has white hair topped with a kerchief or cloth cap, and a mask with a hooked nose and an open mouth with angular, turned-down corners. She appears to be an old woman, probably a nurse. There are traces of a grayish color visible in her robe, and the himation worn over her shoulders and wrapped around her torso shows traces of light goldish-brown paint. The photograph indicates some sort of narrow protruding band a little above the bottom hem

of her robe, probably some kind of appliqued decorative cord, or perhaps a tiny horizontal tuck or fold stitched in place for a decorative purpose.

The third figure has curly hair tumbling onto her shoulders in the same way as that of the first figure, but her forehead is much less high. The features of the mask are hard to distinguish, except that her mouth is wide open. There are traces of rust-colored paint on her sleeves and on the himation wrapped around her torso. The wide belt worn high above her waist shows traces of the same gold-colored paint as seen on the belt of the first figure.

Dating from sometime around the middle of the first century AD is a wall painting that depicts two characters in tragic costume, a woman carrying a small baby, and an older woman (fig. V,7). Both wear masks with extremely high two-dimensional *onkoi* that seem to be made of some quite rigid framework, the rims of which are smooth and gleaming (metal?), and against which the hair is spread in the front. Their hair, which is brown in color, falls beside their faces, ending at the jaw level of the woman on the left, but cascading over the other woman's shoulders. Both masks have open mouths. The face of the woman with the baby is painted white, that of her companion a yellowish shade.¹⁵⁵ Both women

¹⁵⁵Bieber calls it "quince-colored yellow" in The History of the Greek and Roman Theater (231), although in Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum (117) it was simply yellow (*gelbes*).

wear thick-soled boots that are painted golden brown and seem to be very shiny, perhaps even metallic. The soles appear very thick, the equivalent of about four to five inches (10-12 cm or more).



Fig. V,7. Tragic heroine and serving woman. Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa dei Dioscuri, in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9039. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 58.

Both figures wear robes with long sleeves; that of the older woman comes down to just below mid-calf, while the

other woman's reaches the tops of her feet and has a longish train behind her. Bieber described the colors of both of their costumes (DTA 117); the color photograph published in volume four of Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici (945, fig. 166) seems to indicate quite different colors.¹⁵⁶ According to Bieber, the woman on the left (a servant?) wears a green robe with light violet sleeves. The band near the hem of her robe is bright yellow and violet. Her chlamys, which is fastened over her right shoulder and draped over her left shoulder and arm, is brown with blue-green trim on it somewhere. The photograph, however, shows her robe as a bright light blue with sleeves that are either white or a very pale lavender. The band at its hem is also the pale lavender or white, with the white in the highlights and the lavender in the shadows, giving the band a metallic silver appearance. The chlamys appears to be a creamy pale gold with a wide band at its hem of the same white or pale lavender as the sleeves.

The woman holding the baby, according to Bieber, wears a violet robe with a band of bright green decoration near its hem. The wide belt worn high above her waist is painted a golden color. The himation that is draped from her left shoulder loosely around her torso and back up over the left

¹⁵⁶It is possible that the colors as they are reproduced in the photograph are distorted, a common enough occurrence in color photography. The editorial standards of the series Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici are quite high, however, and it is therefore likely that the colors reproduced in the photograph are close to those of the painting itself.

shoulder is white. The baby is wrapped in red swaddling clothes. In the color photograph, her robe and himation appear to be the same color, white with pale lavender shadows. The band at the hem of the robe is the same blue as seen on the other woman's robe. The second woman's belt is gold in color, and is painted in such a way as to appear



Fig. V,8. Tragic hero and messenger. Wall-painting perhaps from Pompeii or Herculaneum, first century AD. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale A. Salinas. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 57.

metallic. The baby's swaddling clothes are very dark, almost black.

Similar in style to the painting of the two women is a Campanian wall painting also of about the middle of the first century AD, currently in Palermo (fig. V,8). It depicts two men in tragic costume, perhaps a hero and a messenger. Again, both figures have two-dimensional *onkoi*, although that of the "messenger" is quite low. The other man's *onkos* has the same smooth, shiny rim we saw on the two women. Bieber again described the colors of the costumes (DTA 117), and according to her both men have light brown hair and beards. The hair of the man on the left tumbles down over his shoulders, while that of his companion seems fastened in an untidy roll at the nape of his neck. The mask of the man on the left has a forehead that is strongly modeled, with furrows and a deep depression above the nose. The eyes are large and round, the complexion ruddy, and the mouth open. There is enough surface damage to obscure the details of the other man's mask, although he seems to have a hooked nose and an open mouth.

Both men wear long-sleeved robes, that of the "hero" reaching the tops of his feet, while that of the "messenger" comes to just below mid-calf. According to Bieber, both robes are red, while the wide bands visible at their hems are grayish-purple. The "hero's" himation is grayish-green, while that of the "messenger" is a sort of rust color. The

"hero" wears boots with very thick soles (the equivalent of about 5 inches, or 12-13 cm), which according to Bieber are painted yellow-gold. The "messenger's" soles are only about half as thick, and they and the boots above them are painted brown.

The Casa del Centenario in Pompeii once contained a frieze in which scenes from tragedy and comedy alternated. This frieze has unfortunately been lost, with only drawings



Fig. V,9. Tragic scene with Herakles. Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa del Centenario, first century AD. Drawing: Bieber, DTA fig. 111.

done in the nineteenth century surviving to give us an idea of what it looked like (figs. V,9 to V,12). Perhaps the best known of the tragic scenes is one which features Herakles--or

Hercules, if it is from a Roman play (fig. V,9). The hero is on the far left of the scene, easily identifiable by the club he has in his right hand and the lion's-head helmet on his head. His forehead is high and triangular and seemingly deeply furrowed. His mouth is shown as slightly open, and he has a short beard. The whole effect is that of a mask, but one that is in no way exaggerated or grotesque.

Herakles' costume consists of a floor-length robe with long sleeves that seems to have over it a second robe, one with short sleeves and reaching only to about the top of the legs. Over all of this is draped chlamys-fashion the lion's skin which is tied by its paws over his right breastbone and wraps around to cover his left shoulder and arm. His feet are completely hidden beneath the hem of his robe, so it is impossible to tell whether or not he is wearing thick soles.¹⁵⁷

Two figures stand in the center of the picture, one dressed as a man, the other as a woman. The man's mask has a high, forehead with a receding hairline, and a light-colored beard. His eyes are quite large, and his mouth is slightly open. He stands with hunched shoulders, and in his right hand he holds a fairly short, thin staff with a crook at its end. With these characteristics, he seems quite similar to

¹⁵⁷Bieber suggests that the fact that Herakles and the standing woman are quite tall in relation to the standing man indicates that they are wearing thick soles (DTA 115).

the fourth century BC "old men" discussed in Chapter III. The man in this picture is wearing a long-sleeved robe that reaches to just above his ankles, which is a good deal longer than the robes worn by the "old men," but is still significantly shorter than the robes worn by the other figures in this scene. He also wears a himation that is spread over his shoulders like a shawl, covering his left arm to the wrist, but leaving his right arm free from the elbow down. On his feet are light, flexible boots with thin, flat soles and what seem to be pointed toes that lie flat on the ground. The woman standing next to him has a mask with a rather egg-shaped face, wider at the jaw with the forehead and hairstyle narrowing to a rounded point to form the *onkos*. Her eyebrows are raised above her nose and lowered at the outside corners, and her eyes are small and round. She has a rather thick, well-defined lower lip, and although her mouth is quite small, it is wide open. She wears a floor-length robe with long sleeves, and over it a garment with short sleeves similar to that worn by the Herakles figure, but whose length cannot be determined. This garment's lower hem is probably hidden under her himation, which she wears draped over her left shoulder and upper arm, then wrapped around her waist. All the garments except the himation are bound by a narrow belt that is worn well above her waist. Any shoes are hidden under the hem of her robe.

A final figure reclines on some surface at the right of the scene. The mask is that of a youngish man with a full beard and an *onkos* formed by a great mass of straight hair arranged in a studiedly casual manner, with strands of hair flowing from a center part.¹⁵⁸ His mouth is slightly open and has sharply downturned corners. He wears a long-sleeved robe which seems to be as long as those of Herakles and the woman, since there is no sign of its lower hem even though it is hiked up somewhat due to his reclining position, and his figure is visible down to about the tops of his ankles before being hidden behind the woman's robe. There seems to be some sort of frill or decoration at the hem of his right sleeve. A himation is fastened over his right shoulder and covers his left shoulder and arm. His right arm is raised to hold onto a long, thin staff with an ornate curl at its top. Almost this identical scene is duplicated in a wall painting in the house of Publius Casca Longus in Pompeii.¹⁵⁹ The Herakles figure has been cut out of the scene, but the other three remain in the same positions and poses, and in very similar costumes.

¹⁵⁸This hairstyle is quite interesting, and unlike anything I have ever seen in the course of history until the 1980s, when much this same effect was produced with careful barbering, a can of mousse, and a blowdryer.

¹⁵⁹See Bieber, *HGRT* 229, fig. 767 and "Wurden" 103, pl. 37,1; Koortbojian 119-120, fig. 61; Neiiendam 85-89, fig. 33; *Pompeii: Pitture e Mosaici* vol. I 376, fig. 26 (color photo).

Several suggestions have been made as to what play this scene might have been taken from. According to Bieber (DTA 115), Dieterich identified the reclining man as Lykos, the woman as Megara, and the standing man as Amphitruo in an unnamed play by Euripides or alternatively in Accius' Amphitruo, while Robert saw the figures as, respectively, Aleos, Auge, and the leader of the chorus from Euripides' Auge. Bieber herself has looked upon it as either Accius' Amphitruo (HGRT 229) or as a possible representation of Seneca's Hercules Furens ("Wurden" 103). Neiiendam (85-89) sees both versions as copies of a Hellenistic original of about the beginning of the third century BC that depicted a scene from Euripides' Herakles Mainomenos (The Madness of Herakles). All of these hypotheses except Robert's necessitate looking on the central standing man as Amphitruo, which seems quite awkward. Pickard-Cambridge rejects all of the proffered identifications of the play, on the grounds that "the undignified little old man is more likely to be a servant than the noble Amphitryon" (DFA¹ 189). I suspect it is for this reason that Robert made him the leader of the chorus. At one point Bieber thought he looked more like a paidagogue "or some such thing" ("*oder dergleichen*"--Skenika

18), but she soon decided to call him Amphitruo in order to make some identification of the play.¹⁶⁰

The issue of identification of the play is very important, because it can help in identifying the date of the original that these two copies must have been taken from. If, for example, the play is Seneca's Hercules Furens (or, for that matter, any other of Seneca's plays), then the original could not have predated the copies by more than a generation, since the play could not have been written before Seneca began writing tragedies in AD 41, and Pompeii was buried by Vesuvius in AD 79. If, however, the original was a painting of a play by Euripides, it could have been made any time from the fifth century BC onward. The costuming portrayed in the paintings, then, would be that of the time of the original painting, whenever that might have been, and not that of the middle of the first century AD, when the copies were made.

The alternative can also be true. The identification of the date of the original can help to determine what play it illustrates. The style of costuming can aid in this process.

¹⁶⁰Dr. Frances Van Keuren has recently pointed out to me the resemblance in pose and countenance of the reclining figure to the depictions of various river gods common throughout ancient art. She suggests that this may be a representation of some unknown play depicting the story of Herakles and the river god Achelous, who battled for the hand of Deianeira. Such an explanation seems to solve the problems concerning the identification of the figures--they would be the two future combatants, Deianeira, and her paidagogue, present as a chaperon--and it certainly deserves further study.

The figure who is similar to the fourth-century "old man" type is the only one whose feet are visible, and he wears thin-soled boots of a similar pattern to those that were common in the fifth and fourth centuries (see chapter III, 173-174), and were in use into the Hellenistic era (fig. IV,4). The mask of the reclining man, especially in the version of the scene from the house of Casca, is very similar to that of the "Oidipous" figure in the Delos fresco (fig. IV,9). The *onkos* of the woman's mask seems to be a "baroque façade" made up of vertical rows of curls, similar in style to that of the Libertini statuette (see chapter IV, 187-189). Since the Delos fresco and the Libertini statuette are both Hellenistic in date and the "old man's" boots were also seen in Hellenistic times, the original of the two Herakles scenes is probably no earlier than that period, and by comparison to the fresco might be dated to sometime in the second century BC. If this dating is true, the play that the Herakles scene illustrates would have to be classical, Hellenistic, or one of the Roman tragedies of the third or second centuries BC, and not a play by Seneca. This identification, however, must remain speculative.

Several other drawings of tragic scenes from the Casa del Centenario also exist, and all have costumes that appear to be of this Hellenistic style. A scene that might depict Priam kneeling before Achilles (fig. V,10) shows both figures wearing flexible, thin-soled boots that appear to be

patterned with tiny specks. The mask of the kneeling Priam figure has a high, façade-like *onkos* and a curly, jutting beard, and appears very much like the profile of the miniature terracotta in Agrigento or of the Libertini statuette (see chapter IV). The mask of the standing Achilles figure also has an *onkos* of the façade type, but the face is beardless.



Fig. V,10. Tragic scene: Priam and Achilles? Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa del Centenario, first century AD.

Drawing: Bieber, DTA fig. 113.

The long-sleeved robe of the Achilles figure reaches to his ankles, and appears to be of a somewhat translucent

fabric, as his left leg is quite visible through it.¹⁶¹ Three rows of decoration in a pattern of small, horizontal dashes appear near the bottom of the robe, one row just above the hem, another at about mid-calf, and the third just below the knees. The robe appears to be belted well above his waist. He wears a himation fastened in the center of his chest and draped over his shoulders and upper arms to fall behind his back. In his left hand he carries a sceptre, and a sword is in its sheath under his left arm.

The kneeling Priam figure also wears a long-sleeved robe that appears to be of ankle length or longer. It has a wide belt worn very high above his waist, almost directly under his arms. He wears some sort of a mantle--it is not possible to tell from the drawing whether it is a himation or a chlamys; one end of it is thrown over his right shoulder and hangs down his back. He is leaning slightly on a short, thin, straight staff that he holds with his left hand.

Also from the Casa del Centenario is a scene that may depict Priam and Hecuba (fig. V,11). Here the Priam figure, wearing a similar mask to the one in figure V,10, is seated on a low stool or plinth. Before him stands a figure wearing a mask with an extremely high façade-style *onkos* and a mouth

¹⁶¹One should probably not read too much into this appearance of translucency, as it may only be the sketch artist's attempt to show that the fabric of the robe is clinging closely to the shape of the leg while remaining opaque.

that is open in a small o. Both characters are wearing flexible, thin-soled boots that are decorated with tiny specks. The seated Priam wears a long-sleeved robe that is at least ankle-length, maybe longer. There is a fairly wide belt shown under his right arm, but it appears to be quite loose, not holding the robe in to the body to any appreciable extent. A chlamys hangs over his shoulders and down his back, reaching to the stool or plinth on which he is seated. The standing Hecuba figure wears a long-sleeved robe that



Fig. V,11. Tragic scene: Priam and Hecuba? Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa del Centenario, first century AD.

Drawing: Bieber, DTA fig. 112.

reaches to the tops of her feet in front and extends in a train behind her. Over it is a himation worn draped over the

left shoulder, pulled diagonally across the chest, and wrapped around the waist.

One last drawing from the Casa del Centenario shows a scene of Medeia and her children (fig. V,12). She draws a sword on the two children, the smaller of whom at least appears not to be wearing a mask.¹⁶² Hovering over the two children is the Paidagogos or Tutor, wearing a mask with short, white hair and a jutting white beard. Its mouth is shown open with turned-down corners. Medeia's mask has an



Fig. V,12. Medeia and her children. Wall-painting from Pompeii, Casa del Centenario, first century AD. Drawing: Bieber, *DTA* fig. 114.

¹⁶²It is not possible to tell from the drawing whether the larger child is wearing a mask or not. The face is very roughly drawn. The mouth appears to be open, but the head, like that of his younger sibling, appears small in proportion to the body.

extremely high façade-type *onkos*, and its mouth is drawn as closed (something which may be due to the nineteenth-century artist).

Medeia's long-sleeved robe comes to just above her toes in the front, and flows in a long train behind her. It is held by a wide belt worn just above her waist. Some sort of swath of cloth, narrower than a himation or chlamys, seems to be caught by one end under the belt, then thrown up over her left shoulder. She carries the sheath of the sword along her left arm, while with her right hand she begins to point the sword itself toward the children.

Both children wear robes that appear to be long-sleeved, and that reach to just below mid-calf on each of them. The Tutor's robe is also long-sleeved, and reaches to the tops of his ankles. None of these three appear to be wearing belts. The tutor wears a himation that is fastened above his right shoulder, draped across his back, and wrapped at least once around his left arm. All four figures in this scene wear flexible, thin-soled boots that appear to be patterned with tiny specks, like the boots in the two Priam scenes (figs. V,10 and V,11). Since, then, all of the figures in the Casa del Centenario scenes wear thin-soled boots and high, usually façade-like *onkoi*, they probably all are copies of pictures of Hellenistic date. It is, in fact, quite probable that the pictures from the Casa del Centenario are all from the same

source, an otherwise unknown Hellenistic series of theatrical scenes.

As well as depictions of scenes on stage, several "backstage" scenes survive from the cities destroyed by Vesuvius. One such appears on a mosaic of the late first century BC from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii (fig. V,13). It shows the preparations for a satyr play, with two



Fig. V,13. "Backstage" scene. Mosaic from the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9986. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 49.

actors dressed in very furry *perizomata* at the viewer's left; one of them has his mask perched on top of his head. Also pictured are the flute-player, and a seated elderly man who

is either the playwright or the teacher of the chorus (*chorodidaskalos*)--or perhaps both. Behind this seated figure, an attendant helps a young man to put on a robe with long sleeves. Another young man stands behind the flute-player; Bieber calls him an attendant, and states that he is reading from a scroll (HGRT 12).¹⁶³

The flute-player is dressed in a floor-length robe with long sleeves and a low, scooped neckline. The robe and sleeves are white, with a dark purple bodice that is patterned with white crosses (Bieber, DTA 96, calls the crosses bright red). A band of this same purple with white crosses extends vertically down his right side. He wears a large wreath around his head. The long-sleeved robe that the young man on the far right is putting on appears to be white, but is covered with gold and black curved lines that may be the shadows from the extensive wrinkling of the fabric, or may be meant to indicate fur. Bieber suggests the latter, stating that he is to play the role of Silenos in a robe made of goatskin (DTA 97, HGRT 12).

Three masks are set around the room. One, in the center of the picture on a box or stand in front of the feet of the seated figure, is that of a bald old man with a long gray

¹⁶³No scroll is visible in the mosaic. The young man, however, does have his left hand raised to a point behind the flute-player's back, and his eyes seem to be focused on that point. It is not impossible to imagine that he holds a scroll in his raised hand, but this is hardly the only explanation for the young man's pose.

beard, probably the mask of Papposilenos. The other two masks are of a tragic hero and heroine.¹⁶⁴ The latter mask is placed just behind the Papposilenos mask, on the same box or



Fig. V,14. Closeup of V,13. Photo: Bieber, *DTA* pl. 50.

stand. Its skin is painted white, and its mouth is shown as very wide open. The forehead is high and rises to a central point. Above it, an *onkos* of dark brown hair sweeps up and back, continuing the line of the forehead, rather than standing straight up or bending forward. A tear appears to

¹⁶⁴For the discussion of the similarity in costume between tragedy and satyr play, see Chapter II, pages 43-44.

be falling from the mask's visible eye (fig. V,14). This is the only example that I know of which indicates that emotional reactions were sometimes added to the masks (see the discussion in Chapter II, page 46).

The tragic hero's mask is on a table to the viewer's right of the seated man. It is of a man with dark brown hair and beard, and an open mouth. His forehead is also quite high, but it is rounded. Above it, the hair makes a low *onkos* that rises to a central point.

It has been suggested that this mosaic is a copy of an earlier painting. The date of the original is a matter of some debate, however. Some scholars believe that it is a depiction of a fifth or fourth century BC scene (e.g. Ashby, 20). Bieber believes the elderly man to be Aischylos (HGRT 12 and 20), which would probably make the original fifth century, but she says that the mosaic itself is of Hellenistic date (DTA 97-98, HGRT 11-12). Pickard-Cambridge, going on the assumption that the *onkos* was adopted into the masks of heroes and heroines of satyr plays at a relatively late date, places the mosaic in the first century BC (DFA¹ 188). According to Curtius (36), the House of the Tragic Poet, where this mosaic was found, was built in the late first century BC, which means that the mosaic itself was

probably made no earlier than that.¹⁶⁵ The fact that the two masks have well-developed *onkoi* indicates that the original picture is no earlier than the third century BC. The flute-player's robe has patterned sections, though, something that disappears from tragic costume at about the same time that the *onkos* appears. Such patterning, however, might have lasted longer in flute-players' robes than it did in tragic costuming. Taken all together, though, the evidence suggests a Hellenistic date for the original of this scene, perhaps sometime around 200 BC.

Another "backstage" scene appears in a wall painting from Herculaneum (fig. V,15). Here we see a seated young man in tragic costume, a young woman kneeling before a cabinet-like structure in which a tragic mask is placed, and a second young man in the act of donning or removing a simple tunic. This scene is often considered to be "the copy of a votive tablet dedicated by a victorious tragic actor."¹⁶⁶ The woman kneeling in front of the mask seems to be in the process of

¹⁶⁵Although it is likely that the mosaic was made at the same time as the house, it is not impossible that the mosaic was first made elsewhere, and then dismantled and brought to the House of the Tragic Poet at a later date. It is also possible that the mosaic was made for the house at some time after the construction of the house, but prior to the eruption of Vesuvius. Therefore, the date of the construction of the house is an indication of when the mosaic might have been made, but does not determine for certain when it was actually made.

¹⁶⁶Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 184 and DFA² 189. See also Bieber, HGRT 82, and Simon, AT 11-12.

writing something on the mask's container, which may indicate that it is something to be dedicated to a deity. The young man changing his clothes, however, removes the scene from the lofty realm of religious dedication and places it firmly in the mundane world of the "backstage" (cf. the young man changing into his costume in fig. V, 13). It seems likely,



Fig. V,15. Backstage scene. First-century AD wall-painting from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9019.

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 55,2.

then, that this is not a copy of a victorious actor's dedicatory tablet (as figures I,1, II,6, III,16, and IV,7 may well be), but a depiction of a scene prior to such a dedication, directly after the actor's victorious performance. The kneeling woman, then, is preparing the mask for its dedication, while the victorious actor looks on, and a second actor or chorus member is changing back into his "street clothes" (as such a simple, short-sleeved tunic would be, at least in the Roman world).

The victorious actor is still dressed in his stage costume of a long-sleeved robe that is at least ankle length, possibly longer. The entire robe is white, and it is held by a wide belt that is painted with gold-colored paint to resemble the gleam of metal, and is worn well above the waist. A rose-pink himation is draped across his waist and onto the end of the wide chair or narrow bench he is sitting on. He holds a sheathed sword along his left arm, and an aqua-colored ribbon is looped around it and over his wrist. He holds a tall sceptre erect with his right hand.

The mask that is set in the box or cabinet on the right side of the scene seems to be that of a young, beardless man, or possibly of a woman, although the skin is not white or even particularly pale, but about the same flesh mouth, and large eyes that the artist has painted in. There is a moderately high, rounded, façade-like *onkos* covered by the mask's brown hair which also hangs down beside the face and

even onto the forehead, forming "bangs." The woman kneeling before the mask is not dressed in stage costume, but in a lightweight yellow chiton that is slipping loosely off her right shoulder. An off-white himation is wrapped about her legs. Since she is not dressed in tragic garb, I find it difficult to accept her as "the personification of the *skene*."¹⁶⁷ It is possible that she is a Muse (Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 184, note 10), but such a supernatural touch does not go particularly well with the extreme ordinariness of the man changing his clothes. Moreover, Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy, is often (although not always) dressed in tragic costume. This woman seems to be writing some sort of identification on the mask's container. Perhaps, therefore, she is a priestess, or even possibly someone close to the actor, his wife or sister for instance, any of whom might be seen as helping to prepare the mask for its dedication.

A man who is probably an actor contemplates a similar mask in a wall painting from Herculaneum in the Museo Nazionale in Naples (fig. V,16). This man, however, is dressed in a short-sleeved, dark red tunic, and has a white himation or toga wrapped around his left arm, across his back, and over his lap. This bears no resemblance to the tragic costume we have become accustomed to seeing in the artwork of the previous several hundred years. It is

¹⁶⁷Simon, AT 12; the same identification is made by Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 184

possible, then, that this is the only known (and hitherto unsuspected) example of costuming for Naevius' *fabulae praetextae*. If this is the case, then this picture is



Fig. V,16. Actor and mask. Wall-painting from Pompeii or Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9036. Author's photo, used with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

evidence as well that masks with high *onkoi* were used in tragedies on Roman themes, as well as those on Greek topics.

The mask certainly resembles many we have seen in this study. It has brown hair arranged in vertical curls to make a very high, rounded, façade-type *onkos*; this *onkos* appears to have a rigid, possibly metallic, frame, like those seen in figure V,8. Hanks of long brown hair straggle down to where they would spread over an actor's shoulders, in the same style as that worn by the "heroine" in figure V,8. The facial features are very similar to those of the mask in figure V,15, with the wide-open mouth and large eyes that the artist has painted in. The skin of the face, however, has been painted a very pale flesh color. This coloration and the hairstyle make it likely that this is the mask of a female character.

Finally, we find that during the Roman period tragic masks became a very popular decorative device in wall painting and in mosaics (such as, for example, figure V,1). They became especially popular beginning about the middle of the first century BC, and remained so at least through the first century AD. Such depictions can be quite useful in the study of masks as long as one remembers that they are decorative motifs rather than representations of any specific masks that had actually appeared on stage. Since they were meant to be understood as tragic masks by the contemporary viewer, however, if they differed from what appeared on stage, it was not a great degree of difference.

A particularly interesting example of the use of masks in a decorative scheme is a Roman fresco panel from Augustan times (i.e. the end of the first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD) that is currently in Naples (fig. V,17). It is somewhat surreal, in that it places the masks



Fig. V,17. Perseus and Andromeda. Wall-painting from Pompeii, late Augustan era. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 64,2.

in the imagined setting of the play.¹⁶⁸ Thus, the masks of Perseus (on the left) and Andromeda (at the upper right) face each other across the sea, out of which the head of the sea monster emerges. Also present is the mask of Andromeda's

¹⁶⁸Weitzmann suggests that the composition of this fresco might be based on an illustration in a manuscript of a play about Perseus and Andromeda (ABI 86).

father (placed below her mask--earlier scholars mention the mother's mask as being here also, but it seems now to have been obliterated). We also see a "hand prop," the curved knife (*harpê*) that Perseus had used to cut off Medusa's head (leaning against the shelf on which his mask is placed). The theme of Perseus and Andromeda was a popular one in Roman tragedy. We know of plays titled Andromeda by Livius Andronicus, Ennius, and Accius, not to mention the play of that title by Euripides. The masks pictured here could well be from any of these versions of this theme.

The masks themselves all have *onkoi* and slightly open mouths. That of Perseus, at the left of the picture, is rather egg-shaped, with a high *onkos* of hair plastered close to the skull, parted in the middle, and bound by a fillet. Above the *onkos*, in the shape of a griffin with spread wings, is the cap of Hades, which could make the wearer invisible. His nose is extremely long, his mouth is wide open, and he is beardless.

The mask of Andromeda, in the upper right of the picture, is that of a smooth-cheeked young woman with rather disarranged hair piled on her head to make a low *onkos*. Her nose is also quite long, although not nearly so long as that of Perseus, and her tiny mouth is barely open. Below her mask is that of her father. It is very similar to tragic masks we have seen before, with a high, triangular forehead topped with hair in "bangs" like those seen in figure V,15.

Rising to a peak above the forehead is a headdress (perhaps a small *tiara*, or perhaps the metallic frame for an *onkos* as depicted in figures V,7 and V,16) that creates a façade-type *onkos*. This mask is bearded, has a fairly long nose, and its mouth is quite wide open.

Masks are found in a painted frieze that has been called "the first independent still-life composition to have survived" (Ling, 154). It comes from an Augustan-era villa found in the grounds of the Villa Farnesina, across the Tiber from central Rome. It is a long, white-ground frieze with seemingly Dionysiac objects scattered about, more or less at random. Most of the masks have *onkoi*, and it is interesting to note that among these are a large number which are pictured with satyrs' pointed ears, suggesting that by the end of the first century BC satyrs' masks had *onkoi*. On quite a few of the masks, however, the ears appear normal, and thus they can be taken for the masks of tragic characters or of the human characters in satyr plays.¹⁶⁹ Masks of women, young men, and old men appear; all of them seem to have the façade-type *onkos*, none of which are extremely high. The men's beards can be short or long. The mouths of most of the masks are quite wide open.

A pair of tragic masks is depicted in a wall painting from Pompeii (fig. V,18). Both have high, rounded *onkoi* of

¹⁶⁹For the discussion of the similarity in costume between tragedy and satyr play, see Chapter II, pages 43-44.

the façade type that are covered with vertical rows of curls. Their beards are short and frame their wide-open mouths.



Fig. V,18. Pair of tragic masks. Roman wall painting from Pompeii. Drawing: Boehn 49.

Both masks have perfectly round eyes that appear to be pierced through the masks, rather than filled in by the artist.

A woman's mask appears above the door of a fourth-style architectural fantasy from Herculaneum (fig. V,19). It has an extremely high *onkos* made of vertical rows of light brown



Fig. V,19. Detail of a fourth-style wall-painting from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9735. Author's photo, used with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

curls. Near the top of the *onkos* is a band or fillet that appears to be dark purple with white edges. Her hair hangs loose next to her face. Over the hair and *onkos* is a thin



Fig. V,20. Detail of a wall-painting of the third quarter of the first century AD, from the Temple of Isis. Pompeii.

Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Author's photo, used with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

white veil. The mask's mouth is wide open, with the corners turned down into sharp points. The skin is a pale flesh color.

Another woman's mask is placed above a panel with a Nilotic landscape in a wall painting from the Temple of Isis in Pompeii (fig. V,20). Her *onkos* is a good deal higher than even the one on the previous mask, towering to a greater height than the length of her face. It is again constructed of vertical rows of curls, this time dark brown, and is bound with a white fillet, the ends of which hang to the viewer's

left of the hairstyle. It holds in place a short, thin, yellow veil that is visible on the right of the hairstyle. Fine, wispy curls of the dark brown hair spill onto the forehead, and much longer wispy curls hang past the sides of



Fig. V,21. Melpomene holding a mask. Fourth-style wall-painting, third quarter of the first century AD, from Pompeii, now in the Louvre. Drawing: Reinach, Rep. Peint.

the face and spill over the frame of the Nilotic landscape. The skin of the mask is a pale flesh color, and the mouth is wide open, with the corners drooping slightly. The eyebrows are thick and raised over the center corners of the eyes, with the outer ends lowered. The eyes are large, but naturally shaped. The pupils are perfectly round and painted to appear like open holes.

A series of wall paintings from Pompeii and currently in the Louvre depicts the nine Muses, including Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy (fig. V,21). Although she is dressed in a simple Ionic chiton with a himation draped around it, Melpomene is important to this study for the mask she carries. This is the earliest instance I know of in which Melpomene carries a tragic mask as an attribute to distinguish herself from her otherwise identical sisters.¹⁷⁰ It is the mask of a bearded man with an *onkos* almost as high as that in figure V,20. In photographs, it appears to have a metal frame. The mouth is quite wide open, something else that is much more apparent in photographs than it is in the drawing.

Beginning in the first century AD a number of terracotta lamps were made in the Roman world that depicted tragic actors or masks. One such lamp in the Vatican depicts a scene with two figures, one reclining on a couch and the

¹⁷⁰This is an extremely common device in the later Roman Empire, however, as is shown in Chapter VI.



Fig. V,22. Tragic scene. Roman lamp, first century AD, from Vulci. Vatican Museums, Etruscan Collection 14287. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 59,2.

other seated on its end (fig. V,22).¹⁷¹ Both figures carry swords, and thus are probably male. Both wear robes with long sleeves that have wide horizontal bands incised into them. The seated figure also has an incised belt high above

¹⁷¹Other lamps with representations of tragic costume include Museo Nazionale Romano 62164 (Bieber, HGRT 234, fig. 779), Dresden Museum 373 (Bieber, HGRT 242, fig. 798), British Museum 1836.2-24.466 (Green and Handley 94-95, fig. 70), and British Museum 1856.7-1.337 (Green and Handley 98-99, fig. 74).

his waist. On his feet he wears boots with soles that are the equivalent of about three inches (7-8 cm.) thick. Both figures wear beardless masks with very curly hair that stands up high above their foreheads to make curved *onkoi*. The curly hair continues to their jawlines, then turns into less tightly curled strands of hair that fall onto their shoulders.

The tragic costume that developed in the areas under Roman influence up to about the end of the first century AD differed in some ways from the previous costumes that developed under Greek influence. Thus, the Romans took the mask that had developed in the Hellenistic era and made it even more stylized and unnatural. The *onkos* became much higher, and was usually of the two-dimensional "façade" type (figs. V,1, V,7, V,16, V,19, V,21, and--most extreme of all--V,20). The mouth of the mask not only became very wide open, but it often was distorted into an impossible grimace (figs. V,2, V,3, V,17, and V,19). The greatest degree of stylization tends to appear in the decorative masks (e.g. figs. V,1, V,19, and V,20), but is sometimes evident in the depictions of masks that are shown either as worn or in theatrical contexts (the very high *onkoi* in figs. V,11, V,12, and V,16, and the wide, grimacing mouths in figs. V,2 and V,14).

The long-sleeved tragic robe is now always at least ankle-length, and it often reaches the ground, even (as in

figure V,6) when high soles are presumably being worn underneath it. Evidence appears of the padding of actors (fig. V,6), to keep the proportion of the body from becoming too elongated when it is situated between the high soles and the extreme *onkos*. Patterned decoration on the robes has disappeared. Instead, the robe and the cloak (either himation or chlamys) worn with it are of solid colors (figs. V,4, V,5, V,6, V,7, V,8, V,15). This may be in part due to the size of the theatres. When viewed from a great distance, such as from the back rows of the large Hellenistic and Roman theatres, the details of intricate figural decoration are lost, blending into an indistinguishable blur. Blocks of solid color, on the other hand, are clearly visible and distinguishable, even from a great distance. Some of the changes in theatrical practice that were to occur in the later Roman Empire, however, such as the fondness of the emperor Hadrian for private theatrical entertainment, would lead to some modification of this use of solid colors only.

Chapter VI

Tragic Costume in the Later Roman Empire

The emperor Hadrian (AD 117-138), by all accounts, was greatly interested in drama. According to his biographer, "he gave plays of all sorts in the theatre in the ancient manner."¹⁷² His interest was not confined to presenting plays to the public, however. The same source informs us that "at a banquet he always exhibited tragedies, comedies, Atellan farces, harpists, readers and poets in accordance with the circumstances."¹⁷³

Moreover, there is evidence of a great deal of theatrical activity throughout the Empire during Hadrian's reign, some of it directly instigated by the emperor, some of it due to other civic leaders and wealthy patrons. Various

¹⁷²Scriptores Historiae Augustae, "Hadrian," XIX, 6 (Magie 58). "fabulas omnis generis more antiquo in theatro dedit," my translation. It is unclear what is meant by "in the ancient manner" (more antiquo). It might refer to the style of production, or that the actors engaged in competition (as they did in Hellenistic times), or simply that, according to Roman custom, plays as well as other entertainments were given at the expense either of an individual or of the public treasury for the amusement of the populace.

¹⁷³Scriptores Historiae Augustae, "Hadrian" XXVI, 4 (Magie 78). "in convivio tragoedias comoedias Atellanas sambucas lectores poetas pro re semper exhibuit," my translation.

dramatic competitions were instituted or revived, including the reappearance of the Museia at Thespiai in Boeotia and the establishment of a contest called the Demostheneia at Oenoanda in Lycia.¹⁷⁴ Theatre buildings received a great deal of attention at this time as well, with new ones being constructed (such as at Palmyra), or older ones being refurbished (e.g. the theatre of Merida, Spain and the theatre at Corinth) or at least receiving some decorative items (the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens received some new seats of honor and a statue of Hadrian, and the theatre at Ostia got a new altar).¹⁷⁵ The emperor even had two theatres built at his villa at Tivoli, one in the Roman style and one Greek.

This heightened interest in the theatre continued under Hadrian's successors for at least the next two hundred years. There is even some evidence that new plays were being written; the oldest of the many members of the literary Philostratos family is said to have written forty-three tragedies in the latter part of the second century, and his son, the biographer Philostratos, writing around 200 AD,

¹⁷⁴For a discussion of these and other dramatic festivals of the second century AD and beyond, see C.P. Jones, "Greek Drama in the Roman Empire," 45-48.

¹⁷⁵For a complete discussion of theatre construction and refurbishing during the Empire see Bieber, HGRT 190-226.

mentions one "Isagoras, the tragic poet."¹⁷⁶ Attention was also paid to theatre buildings; among the projects were the construction of the theatre at Dugga in northern Africa in the middle of the second century, the theatre at Sabratha built under Septimius Severus around AD 200, and the enlargement of the theatre at Ostia by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in AD 195.

It is not surprising, then, that a great number of artifacts illustrating the theatre date from the later part of the Empire. Among of the more intriguing of these artifacts is a pair of statues from Hadrianic times that appear to be copies of a second century BC statue of Melpomene; one of these copies is in the Vatican (fig. VI,1a) and the other is in Copenhagen (fig. VI,1b). Both are of the Muse dressed in a long-sleeved, floor-length tragic robe with an overfold like that of a peplos. The robe and overfold are bound with a wide, high belt. A himation is flung over her left shoulder, crosses her back, and is wrapped around her right arm. Her left foot is resting on a rock. In both versions she holds with her right hand a mask of Herakles, which she grasps by its lion's-skin helmet. According to Webster, in the Vatican copy her right hand and the upper edge of the mask have been restored (MITSP² 35).

¹⁷⁶Philostratos, Lives of the Sophists (Βίοι Σοφιστῶν) 591 (Wright 234). "Ἰσαγόρας ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητής," "Isagoras, the poet of tragedies" (my translation). See also Jones, 47-48.

Actually, the mask in the Vatican (fig. VI,1a) differs a great deal from its counterpart in Copenhagen, and it would



Fig. VI,1. Two copies of a statue of Melpomene, second century AD.

VI,1a: Vatican Museums 499,
Sala delle Muse 63. Photo:
Bieber, DTA pl. 62,1.

VI,1b: Copenhagen, Ny
Carlsberg Glyptotek 1565,
no. 392. Photo:
Billedtavler til
Kataloget over Antike
Kunstværker pl. 27, no.
392.

not surprise me to find that the entire mask had been restored. At the very least, it seems to be a mask as visualized by a second-century AD copyist, not by the original artist of three hundred years earlier. The forehead, curly hair, and lion's-skin helmet all combine to make a high, triangular *onkos* similar to that of the Herakles mask held by Melpomene in the painting from Pompeii (fig. V,21). The mouth is huge and open to such an extreme width that the mask had to be lengthened in order to accomodate a chin and beard. Even so, the upper lip all but disappears, coming so close to the nose that there is barely room to fit in a moustache that resembles nothing so much as a thin piece of rope.

The mask on the Copenhagen copy is not so distorted (fig. VI,1b). The *onkos* still is made up of forehead, hair, and helmet, but it is lower and more rounded, similar to the Herakles mask in the Casa del Centenario drawing (fig. V,9), suggesting that this copyist stayed closer to the outline of his original. This mask is definitely a product of the second century AD, though. The deep drill-holes in the tight, regular curls of the hair and beard are very characteristic of this period, and they appear in the hair of both the mask and the Muse. The mask's eyes are imposing, with the very large, round pupils completely hollowed out, much as they would be on a usable mask. The mouth, although still quite wide open, is less exaggerated in

its size than that of the Vatican copy, allowing for chin and beard in a normally proportioned face, and leaving an upper lip to which a reasonable moustache can be attached.

A mask of Herakles, the left of two masks on a Hadrianic season sarcophagus (fig. VI,2), has elements in common with both versions of the mask in figure VI,1. It is very close to the Copenhagen copy (fig. VI,1b). The treatment of the hair over the forehead, with a single row of tiny, tight curls, is identical, as is the low, rounded *onkos*. Both mouths are open to a similar degree and shape, leaving upper



Fig. VI,2. Masks of Herakles and Deianeira, fragment of a season sarcophagus, probably from the first half of the second century AD, in Berlin. Drawing: Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der Pergamenischen Fundstücke 342, no. 857.

lips of about the same size. The eyes are also treated in the same way, with round pupils hollowed out for the wearer to see through. The treatment of the forehead of the sarcophagus mask, however, is closer to that in figure VI,1b. Both are very deeply furrowed, with a pair of vertical lines rising from the corners of the brows above the nose. The modeling of the forehead in figure VI,1a is much less realistic, however, consisting simply of two shaped plates, one above each eyebrow, rather than the more natural--although still exaggerated--knots and wrinkles used in figure VI,2.

The Herakles mask in figure VI,2 differs from the two versions in figure VI,1 in that long "sausage curls" hang beside his face from under his lion's-skin helmet. His beard is made up of little, tight curls, like the ones above his forehead. The woman's mask on the same sarcophagus which, due to the association with Herakles has been called his wife Deianeira (Bieber, HGRT244), also has curly hair. She has a very tall, rounded *onkos* which, from past examples, we would expect to be made up of vertical rows of "sausage curls" (cf. figs. V,1, and V,20). Her *onkos*, however, consists of vertical strands of hair, each one ending in a little, looping curl at the forehead. Similar strands are combed slightly forward along the sides of her head. Her brows and eyes are treated the same way as her companion's, and her mouth is even wider open.

Another Herakles mask, from near the end of the second century, is also somewhat similar to the masks in figures VI,1b and VI,2. It is from the theatre at Ostia, one of the series of colossal masks currently set up at the back of the stage area (fig. VI,3). Herakles' hair is again arranged in "sausage curls," both above his forehead and beside his face.



Fig. VI,3. Colossal mask of Herakles, displayed in the Theatre at Ostia, c. 195 AD. Author's photo.

His forehead is deeply modeled in a manner similar to that of figure VI,2, but here it is higher and somewhat dome-shaped. The hair above his forehead is quite thick and follows the

dome shape, forming a high *onkos* that is then topped by the lion's-skin helmet. The eyes again have large, round pupils that have been hollowed out; they are set at a very strange angle, though, with the inner corners of the eyes much more deeply inset into the mask than the outer corners, so that the eyes almost face one another. The mouth is very wide open and shaped somewhat like a sideways figure-8. The beard and moustache are similar in style and shape to those of figure VI,1b, although they are made up of somewhat looser curls.

One more Herakles mask of probable Hadrianic date appears on a relief currently in Istanbul (fig. VI,4).¹⁷⁷ It shows a seated Euripides (labelled ΕΥΡΕΠΙΔΗΣ), who is depicted wearing only a himation wrapped around his lower limbs and draped over his left shoulder, and a pair of flexible, thin-soled boots such as would be worn by an actor in one of his plays. He is handing a Herakles mask to the personification of the stage, Skene (labelled ΣΚΗΝΗ) as a statue of Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), on its pedestal, looks on. The Herakles mask in Euripides' hand has the curly hair and beard and the relatively low *onkos* seen on the Copenhagen

¹⁷⁷Bieber (HGRT 30) and Pickard-Cambridge (DFA¹ 185) date this relief to the second century BC. More recent scholars, notably Schefold (*Die Bildnisse der Antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* 162/1) and Palagia (LIMC VI, 1, 744, Herakles 265) convincingly argue for a Hadrianic date. The masks, to me, seem to have more in common with the second century AD than the second century BC. The relief could very well be a copy of an earlier composition, though.

statue and the season sarcophagus (figs. VI,1b and VI,2). The mask is shown in profile, and the lion's-skin helmet appears to be thin and flat, as if made of a piece of cloth closely attached to the hair. The beard juts forward and meets the jaw in a straight, horizontal line, giving the mask



Fig. VI,4. Euripides with a mask of Herakles. Marble relief, c. AD 120-130. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1242.

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 46.

a flat bottom like that seen in figure V,21. The mouth is wide open, although not exaggeratedly so, and it turns down at its rounded corners.

Behind each of the figures, Euripides and Skene, are masks placed on low stands and carved in lower relief. Webster (MITSP² 35) suggests that these two masks and "the side figures" are additions made by the copyist. This is certainly possible, perhaps likely, given the very low relief in which they are carved. Bieber suggests that the two masks represent, respectively, Lykos and Megara from Euripides' Madness of Herakles (DTA 82-83, HGRT 30). The mask behind Euripides is that of a man with a high *onkos* made of curly hair piled up on his head. His beard is also curly, but quite short. His forehead slopes back to his hairline, his nose is aquiline, and his mouth is large and wide open. The mask behind Skene is the mask of a woman with a very high façade-type *onkos* made up of vertical rows of "sausage curls" that also hang beside her face and on below. She too has a sloping forehead and a large, wide-open mouth, but her nose is straight.¹⁷⁸

A number of works of art that depict scenes from tragedy survive from the last part of the second century AD. One of these is a mosaic from Antioch that depicts a scene from a version of Iphigeneia at Aulis enacted in front of a *scaenae*

¹⁷⁸Another mask carved in low relief and in profile appears on a panel of Hadrianic date found on the Quirinal in Rome (Bieber, HGRT 158, fig. 573a). It has an *onkos* made of rows of vertical "sausage curls" that has a high, rounded top and is shaped to follow the curve of the forehead. The mask also has a fairly long, straight beard, and an open mouth with turned-down corners.

frons.¹⁷⁹ The figure on the left of the mosaic, who is identified as Iphigeneia, is wrapped from head to knee in a white himation. Below the himation she wears a white garment that reaches to the floor; since her arms are covered, it is impossible to tell whether it is a sleeved robe or some sort of peplos or chiton. Her face is quite natural-looking, with the slightly opened mouth the only indication that she might be wearing a mask.

The central figure, identified as Klytaimnestra, wears a peplos which is belted well above her waist. Doro Levi describes its color as a dark blue-greenish (Antioch Mosaic Pavements 121). It is possible that she is wearing a sleeved garment under the peplos. There are certainly horizontal bands visible on her right arm. It is impossible to tell from a photograph, however, whether they are patterns on a sleeve or jewelry. None of the scholars who have published this mosaic comment on these marks at all. A himation, which Levi describes as being a lighter shade of blue-green (121), is wrapped around her torso just below her waist, and its corner is thrown up over her left shoulder. On her head she wears a *stephane*, a circular, upstanding diadem from which a veil flows down her back. The *stephane* gives the effect of a low, rounded *onkos*. The only other indication that she might

¹⁷⁹Antakya, Museum Hatay 961. LIMC V, 1, 719, Iphigenia 37; Sheila Campbell, The Mosaics of Antioch 56, pl. 167; Doro Levi, Antioch Mosaic Pavements 119-126, pl. 22.

be wearing a mask is that, like Iphigeneia's, her lips are slightly parted.

The figure on the mosaic's right, identified as Agamemnon, is wearing what is undoubtedly a tragic robe. It is floor length, has long sleeves, and is fastened with a wide belt well above his waist, which Levi says is yellow-brown with black edges.¹⁸⁰ According to Sheila Campbell, the robe is gray-brown and yellow, with "dark" sleeves (The Mosaics of Antioch 56). Levi, on the other hand, states that the fabric of the robe, while it is "essentially blue-green, shows a variety of dark shades and yellow highlights, undoubtedly to give the impression of iridescent silk". The upper of the two wide bands above the hem of the robe has some figurative decoration in it that is of a lighter color than the robe. Levi describes the band nearer the hem as being of alternating stripes of yellow and violet. The himation that is draped across his upper chest with its ends hanging down his back is, according to Levi, basically red, but with violet shadows and flecks of pink. The actor carries a long, thin, white staff (perhaps a sceptre) with his left hand. He wears what certainly looks like a mask, even though the facial features appear quite natural. Curly dark hair is massed over his forehead to form an *onkos*. The beard is abundant and curly as well, and the mouth is

¹⁸⁰Levi describes all of Agamemnon's costume on page 120 of Antioch Mosaic Pavements.

slightly open. The toe of his left foot appears from under the hem of his robe. The sole of his boot or shoe is quite thin. This fact, combined with the naturalness of the masks and the less-than-theatrical appearance of the women's clothing, argues for this piece being a copy of an earlier, perhaps Hellenistic, work. Agamemnon's robe, however, very closely resembles other such garments of around AD 200 (see figures VI,5-VI,10).

Roughly contemporary with the mosaic from Antioch is a painted scene from Ephesos that shows two characters, one standing and one reclining.¹⁸¹ The scene is labelled "Oresstes" (OPECCTEC--with two lunate sigmas [C] appearing in the middle of the word), and seems to be a depiction of the scene near Euripides' Orestes in which Elektra speaks with her reclining brother (lines 211-315). Both figures are dressed in long-sleeved robes that reach to the tops of their feet. In his publication of the Ephesos frescoes Strocka says that both robes are dark green (48). The color photographs from the same publication, however, indicate that the robe of the reclining Orestes is a pale lavender, while that of Elektra is a greenish yellow. Above their waists, both figures wear belts. Elektra's is of the same color as her robe and quite narrow; that of Orestes is about the width

¹⁸¹Green and Handley 94-97, fig. 71; Strocka, Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesos 48, no. 65 figs. 65 and 67.

of his hand (four inches or 10 cm), and shows traces of what might be gold-colored paint.¹⁸² Both characters are wearing boots with extremely thick soles, the equivalent of eight to ten inches, or 20 to 25 centimeters. Those belonging to Orestes have a thin vertical line running up each center front, which might be an indication of a split sole of a similar type to those found in the Hellenistic period (cf. fig. IV,5 and the Libertini statuette).

Orestes' mask has a high, rounded *onkos* made up of vertical brown "sausage curls;" the curls also hang beside his face.¹⁸³ The face of the mask is quite long, leaving plenty of room for largish eyes and nose and an open mouth. The skin is painted a light golden brown. His sister's mask also has a high *onkos* that seems to be aided by some sort of a frame or headband that rises to a point in the center, like a Gothic arch. Under it, her hair seems to be parted in the middle and drawn loosely back over the sides of her mask. The face itself is dominated by a large, bulbous nose. Her eyes are of relatively natural size and seem to have holes in place of pupils. Her mouth is open, but not exaggeratedly

¹⁸²It is difficult to tell only from a photograph. What appears to be gold might be the same yellow-green that is on Elektra's robe, which in turn could be Strocka's "dark green" (*Dunkelgrün*).

¹⁸³According to Strocka (48), the face and head of Orestes was damaged by a vandal in the winter of 1967-1968. I am basing my description of the mask on a photo that was taken in 1967, before the damage, and published by Strocka.

so. Her chin is squarish and appears to recede. The skin of her face is painted a light flesh color with white highlights.

A second tragic scene from Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos survives in a badly damaged state.¹⁸⁴ It depicts three actors in tragic costume standing on a green field in front of a white background. The actor on the left, the best preserved of the three, is wearing a long-sleeved robe that reaches to the tops of his feet. The robe is golden-brown in color, with narrow horizontal bands of a dark brown at intervals all down the body of the robe. The sleeves are patterned with wide bands of alternating golden and dark brown. A chlamys of a lighter color is draped over his left shoulder. His mask has curly blond hair that falls over his neck, and a curly blond beard. The skin is almost the same golden brown as his robe, and his mouth is very slightly open. The soles of his boots are black or dark brown and extremely thick, again the equivalent of eight to ten inches or 20 to 25 centimeters.

All that survives of the middle figure is the body from the hip down, and a small fragment of what is probably the figure's left shoulder and upper chest. This figure is also dressed in a robe that reaches to the tops of his feet that Strocka (129) describes as violet, but that in the color

¹⁸⁴Strocka, Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesos 129, fig. 345.

photograph in his publication (fig. 345) appears to be a golden brown just slightly darker than that seen on the figure at the left.¹⁸⁵ The small segment of the shoulder appears to show the fold of a himation or chlamys draped over it. This actor also wears boots with black soles the same thickness as those of the figure on the left.

The top part of the head and the body from about mid-thigh down survive of the figure on the right. The surviving skin is painted an off-white, indicating that this is a female character. The light-brown hair is formed into an *onkos*, then parted in the middle to hang on both sides of the face. The hair is held by a horizontal band fastened partway up the *onkos*; it is painted a pale yellow or off-white. The lower part of the figure is dressed in a robe that reaches to its feet and that seems to be a pale gold or off-white color. To the right is the lower part of a fairly thick white staff. This figure also wears thick-soled boots that are approximately the same height as those of the other two figures.

Actors costumed in a very similar manner to those in the Ephesos mosaics appear in a series of mosaic panels in the Vatican Museums (fig. VI,5). They were found before 1779 at the site of an Antonine villa near the modern village of

¹⁸⁵Strocka's description of the colors worn by the actor at the left (also page 129) agrees completely with what is visible in the photograph.

Porcareccia, on the Via Aurelia just west of Rome. From there, they were taken to the Vatican Museums in 1792, where



Preceding page: Fig. VI,5. The Porcareccia mosaics, a set of 24 hexagonal mosaic panels from the Antonine villa at Lorium (modern Porcareccia), c.AD 200. Vatican Museums.

Drawings: Nogara, I Mosaici Antichi Conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano, composite of sections of figs. 12, 13, and 14.

they were set into the floor of the Sala delle Muse, as a part of a decorative mosaic scheme (Nogara 28-30, figs. 12-13) and remained there through the year 1884. A.L. Millin made a series of watercolor sketches of them in the early years of the nineteenth century that were published in 1829 (Description d'Une Mosaïque Antique du Musée Pio-Clémentin à Rome, Représentant des Scènes de Tragédies), and Friedrich Wieseler published his own drawings of them in 1851 (Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern). Unfortunately, by 1884 they had become quite extensively damaged by the foot traffic in the Sala delle Muse, and therefore were removed from the floor. Twelve of them were restored in the early years of the twentieth century, and are currently displayed in the entry-hall of the Vatican Museums and in its cloakroom alcove. The other twelve have not been restored, and are kept in the museums' storerooms.

Because they have been restored, these mosaics have gained a reputation of being valueless in the study both of

theatrical costume and of mosaics in general. Thus, Klaus Werner wrote about them, "The repeated restorations and remodellings have [. . .] left remaining actually nothing of the original works."¹⁸⁶ Much of this belief can be traced, it seems, to a publication by Marion Blake just prior to the Second World War.¹⁸⁷ Ms. Blake, whose field was Roman mosaics, not theatrical costuming, had the following to say about the Porcareccia series: "Much of this is now, however, a modern restoration. Such a complete renovation makes it difficult to judge of the original appearance. The fact that *the figures have been fastened without feet* to a small flat base invites the conjecture that they are puppets dressed like actors and posed in favorite scenes."¹⁸⁸ What Blake takes to be some sort of fastening, rather than feet, are the high soles of the actors' boots which extend beyond the hems of their robes. That they are meant to be boot-soles and not

¹⁸⁶Klaus Werner, *Mosaiken aus Rom* vol. I, 208. "*Die wiederholten Restaurierungen und Zurichtungen haben [. . .] vom ursprünglichen Bestand faktisch nichts übrig gelassen.*"

¹⁸⁷Marion Elizabeth Blake, "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17 (1940), 80-130.

¹⁸⁸118, my italics. Blake seems to have been influenced in her account by Nogara (note 19, below), whose description of the figures in the mosaics stated that, "the feet do not ever appear [. . .] and all of the figures seem to be standing on stilts" ("*Non appariscono mai i piedi [. . .] e tutte le figure sembrano reggersi su trampoli*" [28]). The scholars of the first part of the twentieth century, however, still took the mosaics seriously as objects worthy of study.

the peg-legs of puppets is proved by centuries' worth of illustrations of high soles, most particularly those roughly contemporary with the mosaics, such as the boots of the Epesos mosaics and of figure VI,12. Nevertheless, Blake's assessment had its effect, and few scholars have treated these mosaics as worthy of study since her publication.¹⁸⁹

Are the Porcareccia mosaics of any value to scholars, or have the restorations rendered them worthless? If all we had were the restored mosaics themselves, they probably would not be of much worth, since it would be impossible to determine how much of what we see is modern restoration, and how much of it is what the ancient artist intended to show. However, not long after the mosaics were installed in the Sala delle Muse, A.L. Millin wrote a monograph about them that included watercolors of all of the individual panels, a work that was published after his 1819 death.¹⁹⁰ A generation later, Friedrich Wieseler also published color plates with the scenes from the mosaics in his work on the monuments of

¹⁸⁹The exceptions include Bieber, HGRT 240 (which is a later edition of a work originally published a year earlier than Blake's article), Kurt Weitzmann, Ancient Book Illumination 75 (1959), and Margot Schmidt, LIMC I, 1, Alkestis 64.

¹⁹⁰A.L. Millin, Description d'Une Mosaique Antique du Musée Pio-Clémentin a Rome, Représentant des Scènes de Tragédies, Paris: Didot L'Ainé, 1829.

ancient theatre.¹⁹¹ Both of these publications give us a good idea of what the mosaics looked like before they became heavily damaged. After the twelve mosaics were restored, Bartolomeo Nogara published photographs of some of the damaged pieces, as well as of the restorations, with photographs of Millin's drawings for comparison.¹⁹² They show that the restorers stayed quite close to the original appearance of the mosaics, as we shall see in a few examples described below. Thus, the restored mosaics, when viewed with the drawings by Millin and Wieseler, can be a valuable aid in the study of tragic costume of the second and third centuries AD.

A few of the scenes depict recognisable characters. For instance, one shows us a very recognisable Herakles holding his equally recognisable club and talking with a figure dressed as a woman (fig. VI,6 a-c). Little differs in this scene from Millin's sketch (a) to Wieseler's (b) to the restored mosaic (c). In all versions of the scene both figures wear robes with long sleeves that have wide belts worn above the waist. Their masks are not particularly grotesque, but do have some indications of pointed *onkoi*, and

¹⁹¹Friedrich Wieseler, Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1851, pls. 7 and 8.

¹⁹²Bartolomeo, Nogara, I Mosaici Antichi Conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano, Milan: Hoepli, 1910, 27-32, pls. 56-61.



Fig. VI,6a. Herakles and a woman. Panel of the Porcareccia mosaics. Drawing: Nogara, pl. 62,8 (a copy of Millin, fig. 8).



Fig. VI,6b. Wieseler's color sketch of the panel depicted in fig. VI,6a. Wieseler, pl. 7,3.



Fig. VI,6c. Restored version of the panel depicted in pl. VI,6a. Nogara, pl. 56,3.

slightly opened mouths. The soles of their boots, like all of those pictured in the mosaics, are extremely high, the equivalent of eight to ten inches or 20-25 centimeters.

The colors, however, differ somewhat among the various publications. Wieseler depicts Herakles wearing a salmon-pink robe with horizontal yellow stripes and a wide blue band at its hem (or, perhaps, a long blue robe is worn under a shorter pink and yellow one). It is fastened with a blue belt, and the himation over his left shoulder is yellow.¹⁹³ Nogara describes the hero's robe as being red, with a yellow belt and a green himation, and tells us that according to Millin the belt was blue, although the two agreed on all the other colors (Nogara 29). Millin, Wieseler, and Nogara agree that the robe of the female figure on the right is yellow; Millin and Wieseler have its stripes as blue, while according to Nogara they are red. All agree that her belt is brown, and that the chlamys over her shoulders is green or blue-green; Wieseler's picture has it with a gold-colored band around its edges, which might be an indication of a lining rather than an exterior decoration.

¹⁹³These colors, when not confirmed from other descriptions, must remain somewhat suspect, since Wieseler also painted Herakles' mask blue with a yellow-white beard. Unfortunately, this mosaic is not one of the ones displayed at the Vatican, and I have been unable to get permission to see it.



Fig. VI,7a. Hermes and Alkestis. Panel of the Porcareccia mosaics. Drawing: Baumeister, pl. 79 (a copy of Millin 10).



Fig. VI,7b. Wieseler's color sketch of the panel depicted in fig. VI,7a. Wieseler, pl. 7,5.



Fig. VI,7c. Restored version of the panel depicted in pl. VI,7a. Nogara, pl. 56,3.

A second panel shows a scene that is possibly from the story of Alkestis, perhaps from Euripides' play of that name (fig. VI,7). It shows Hermes (identifiable by the staff with the serpentine top, the caduceus, which he is carrying), leading by the hand a woman who wears a translucent himation wrapped around her head and face like a veil. He seems, therefore, to be Hermes Psychopompos ("Leader of Souls"), taking the woman's shade--explaining her veil--to or from the Underworld. Hermes wears a long-sleeved robe that is belted above his waist, and a large chlamys fastened over his right shoulder. It seems likely that the woman also wore long sleeves and a belt, but they would be hidden under her himation. The himation, however, outlines an *onkos* with a rounded point; her mouth is shown as open. Hermes' mouth is less open, especially in the reconstruction, and his *onkos* is lower and much more rounded.

Wieseler's sketch (fig. VI,7b) shows Hermes wearing a yellow robe with green stripes and a blue belt, and a wide band at the lower hem of a brownish gray, with some of the yellow reaching down into it at one point. His chlamys is a pale pink. The reconstruction, which I have viewed, has this same arrangement of colors, although the band at the hem is now solid gray.¹⁹⁴ The woman's robe is pink with two blue

¹⁹⁴It is difficult to explain the small patch of yellow in the gray band on Wieseler's sketch. It may be simply a mistake on his part, accidentally brushing a small amount of the yellow over the gray section and neglecting to correct

vertical stripes, and her himation is also blue, both in Wieseler's sketch and in my observation of the reconstruction.¹⁹⁵

A third panel probably indicates a satyr play, showing a small satyr running from a full-sized figure in tragic costume who carries a staff or sceptre in his left hand (fig. VI,8). Millin identified the larger figure as Silenos (30), which seems quite doubtful. Wieseler suggested that he is a god, perhaps Apollo (51), which certainly agrees with his appearance, and the god did appear in the fragments we have of Sophokles' satyr play, Trackers. Dionysos, too, would be a possible divine character for a satyr play, and this figure's slightly feminine appearance would work as well for the god of wine as for Apollo. Perhaps most likely is Bieber's suggestion that he is a tragic hero; discussing this scene she wrote, "as in the classical satyr drama [. . .] the satyr capers around the serious figures of Greek mythology" (HGRT 240).

In Wieseler's sketch (fig. VI,8a), the larger figure wears a silver-gray robe with the soles of his boots painted the same color. The wide stripes on his robe are red, and

it. Or, it might be an attempt on the part of the original mosaicist to indicate that there were golden highlights in the gray band; there seems to be some such thing in Millin's version (fig. VI,7a).

¹⁹⁵Nogara, however, calls the robe red and the himation green, and does not mention the stripes (28).



Fig. VI,8a. Hero or god with tiny satyr. Panel of the Porcareccia mosaics. Wieseler, pl. 8,11.



Fig. VI,8b. Restored version of the panel depicted in pl. VI,8a. Nogara, pl. 56,6.

his belt, worn well above the waist, is rose-pink. The large chlamys that hangs over his left shoulder is a golden color. According to Nogara, however, his robe is green, and his belt and the band at the hem of the robe are violet-blue. Otherwise, his description agrees with Wieseler's sketch. The figure's mask has long, straight, blond hair that hangs onto his shoulders. His forehead is very high, and around his head is a large wreath with green leaves, the band of which crosses his brow. The satyr-figure also wears a large wreath of green leaves. His only other garment is a golden-colored chlamys hanging from his left shoulder and looped around the arm on the same side. His skin, however, is painted a dull gray that may indicate that he is dressed in a form-fitting "body suit," such as was worn in earlier times, for example by the Papposilenos on the Pronomos Vase (figs. I,2 and II,8). In his right hand he carries a wand with a crook at its top, a pastoral implement called a *pedum*.

Another panel shows a scene that is less obviously theatrical, that of a man and a woman, each holding some sort of staff (fig. VI,9). Bieber sees the staffs as sceptres, and thus identifies the pair as a royal couple (DTA 119), even suggesting that they might be Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra or Theseus and Phaidra (HGRT 240). The figure on the left appears to have a beard in Millin's drawing of the panel (fig. VI,9a), but is beardless in Wieseler's sketch (fig. VI,9b). In the restoration, however, he has a distinct



Fig. VI,9a. King and queen. Panel from the Porcareccia mosaics. Drawing: Nogara, pl. 63,12 (= Millin, fig. 12).



Fig. VI,9b. Wieseler's color sketch of the panel depicted in fig. VI,9a. Wieseler, pl. 7,7



Fig. VI,9c. Restored version of the panel depicted in fig. VI,9a. Nogara, pl. 57,2.

beard, and thus he must be the "king" of the pair. The second figure, the "queen," is smaller and without a beard, and thus likely to be a woman. Her mask also differs between the early sketches and the restoration. Millin (fig. 76a) and Wieseler (fig. VI,9b) show her with a fairly low rounded *onkos*, while in the restoration it is higher and pointed in the center (fig. VI,9c).

There is again some disagreement as to the colors, with Wieseler's sketch of the original and my observation of the restoration more or less the same, while Nogara's description of the restoration is highly different. Thus, according to Wieseler's sketch, the "king" wears a blue-gray robe that has rose-pink stripes, and the large *chlamys* over his left shoulder is also rose-pink, with the exterior of the garment a darker tone of that color than its lining or the stripes. The triangular flap of cloth that hangs apron-like from his belt is something of a mystery. It has no function or point of origin on this costume. It is possible that it is really some end of the *chlamys*--it, too, is rose-pink--which the mosaicist simply did not understand, suggesting perhaps that this composition was copied from an earlier work of art, perhaps a painting. At any rate, in the restoration, the "king's" robe is more of a silver-gray, but the stripes and *chlamys* are still rose-pink. In both instances his belt is of a gold color. The "queen" in Wieseler's sketch wears a yellowish gold robe with wide brick-red and narrow black

stripes. Her chlamys is a greenish blue, with a more primary blue as a lining. In the restoration her robe is a darker gold, but the stripes are still brick-red and black. The chlamys is a duller color, more of a blue-gray.¹⁹⁶

A scene whose action is quite identifiable, although it cannot be connected to any specific play, is that of two people at an altar (fig. VI,11). The figure on the left is presenting a small animal, perhaps a lamb, to the figure on the right, who rests a hand on the small, thin altar. It is, therefore, a scene of sacrifice. Both figures are dressed in tragic costume, with particularly high soles to their boots, and each wears a mask with a pronounced *onkos*. In Wieseler's sketch (fig. VI,10a), the figure on the left has strands of long, curly hair falling over the shoulders, but in the reconstruction this has turned to a veil that falls down the character's back (fig. VI,10b). Wieseler painted a beard on the mask of the figure at the right (fig. VI,10a), but the reconstruction makes the figure beardless (fig. VI,10b). Both Millin (28) and Nogara (29) remark on the difficulty of determining the gender of the figures. In the reconstruction the small animal is white, but in Wieseler's sketch it is black, and Millin makes a point of saying that it is black

¹⁹⁶Nogara calls the "king's" robe green, the stripes yellowish, the belt and the band at the hem red, and the chlamys a darker red (29). the "queen's" robe he describes as reddish yellow (with no mention of stripes), and he says her chlamys is green (29).



Fig. VI,10a. Sacrifice scene. Panel of the Porcareccia mosaics. Wieseler, pl. 8,11.



Fig. VI,10b. Restored version of the panel depicted in pl. VI,10a. Nogara, pl. 57,1.

and that therefore "it can be presumed that the sacrifice is offered to Pluto."¹⁹⁷

In Wieseler's sketch, the figure at the right is wearing a yellow robe with wide blue horizontal bands at the elbows, wrists, and bottom hem (fig. VI,10a). A band worn on the head as a part of the *onkos* is of the same blue as the stripes. The chlamys that is draped over the character's left shoulder is of a blue with a greenish tinge. This is quite close to Nogara's description of a yellow robe and a green chlamys. The figure on the right in Wieseler's sketch is wearing a robe of the same blue as that of the other figure's stripes. The bands at his elbows and wrists, as well as his belt, are of a golden color. Nogara describes the robe as sky blue, and the belt as yellow. The chlamys worn over the figure's left shoulder is of a dark rose-pink, with some narrow darker red stripes running through it.

A particularly interesting detail of the costumes of the two figures appears on the soles of their boots. Not only are they extremely high (the equivalent of about ten inches or 25 centimeters), but they are colored to match their costumes. The soles of the figure on the right are red with a vertical blue line running up their centers, perhaps an indication that the sole was split from front to back (cf. fig. IV,5, the Libertini statuette, and--closer in date to

¹⁹⁷Millin, 28. "*pourroit faire présumer que le sacrifice est offert à Pluton.*"

these mosaics--the Orestes painting from Ephesos). Those of the figure on the left are a bright golden color, almost metallic (cf. fig. V,7).

A famous statuette in Paris is costumed in a manner that is similar to that of the Ephesos paintings and the Porcareccia mosaics (figs. VI,5-VI,10). This statuette shows an actor in an exaggerated pose, his torso and head shrinking back and his right arm raised to his chest (fig. VI,11). He wears a long-sleeved robe that reaches well below the tops of his feet, which is bound by a wide belt that is worn very high above his waist. Traces of blue and yellow paint still remain on the figure (Green, TAGS 157), and the early photograph reproduced here shows it with the colors even more visible. Bieber, who saw the statuette while the paint was well visible, described a blue robe with sleeves that were covered in alternate stripes of blue and yellow (HGRT 242), the colors that are reproduced in the photo. The stripes--horizontal on the sleeves and vertical down the front of the robe--have borders which have been incised into the ivory, and designs have then been incised into the stripes. These designs seem to have been picked out in yellow down the front of the robe (see also Beacham 188).

The mask has a high, rounded *onkos* made of vertical rows of curls that continue around the sides of the head and hang beside the face. The curls seem to be held in place by a low fillet or a ribbon with decoration incised into it. The



Fig. VI,11. Tragic actor. Ivory statuette from Rieti, late second or early third century AD. Paris, Petit Palais DUT 192. Photo: Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte, Vol. 3, pl. 58.

onkos, although of the two-dimensional "façade" type, is curved to follow the shape of the forehead, giving it an illusion of three-dimensionality. Behind the *onkos* front, however, the rest of the mask drops off abruptly to follow the shape of the skull. The face has large, wide-open eyes and a mouth open in an oval; the actor's features are visible behind the eyes and mouth of the mask.¹⁹⁸

The actor's robe falls below the tops of his feet by the equivalent of about three inches (7-8 cm.). The soles of the boots, however, continue for quite some distance below the hem of the robe. Some scholars have suggested that the visible pieces that appear to be soles are actually pegs that would have attached the statuette to a base (e.g. Beacham 188). If this is the case, this statuette could represent an actor in a robe that reached to the floor over his three-inch-high bootsoles. On the other hand, if what we see below the hem of the robe is meant to be soles rather than invisible pegs, the soles of these boots would be the equivalent of about ten inches (25 cm.) thick, a height that is not unprecedented (figs. VI,6-VI,11, and the Epesos

¹⁹⁸A number of sculptural representations of actors whose features are visible behind their masks, both tragic and comic, survive from the Roman Imperial era. Tragic masks of this style include those on the corners of the lid of the sarcophagus of Pullius Peregrinus in the Museo Torlonia in Rome (Engemann, Untersuchungen zur Sepulkralsymbolik der Späteren Römischen Kaserzeit 32 and 77-78, pl. 13), a mask in Barcelona (Bieber, HGRT 243, fig. 803, and "Wurden" 102, pl. 36,1), and a mask from Carthage in the Louvre, Salle d'Afrique 1836 (Bieber, HGRT 243, fig. 804).

paintings), and thus what we see here are probably soles rather than pegs. The deep vertical striations on these soles seem to be a decorative effect that appears on a few late representations of thick soles (see figure VI,15).



Fig. VI,12. A funeral play. Wall painting (now lost) from the necropolis at Cyrene, late second century AD. Drawing: Wieseler pl. 13, 2, after J.R. Pacho, Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, pl. 49.

A late-second-century AD wall painting from the necropolis at Cyrene, now unfortunately lost, depicts a play, seemingly performed as a part of funeral rites, in which three actors are dressed in tragic costume (fig. VI,12). All three wear robes that reach to the tops of their feet and masks with extremely high façade-type *onkoi* that are shaped

to their foreheads like the one in figure VI,11. Each mask has a long, brown beard and the mouths are at least somewhat open. Each of the three figures is depicted as standing on a small, low, box-like platform with a lighter rectangular patch on the front like a label. Bieber suggests that these platforms are a mistake by the artist who copied the painting, and in the original were the high soles of the actors' boots (HGRT 239). I find this suggestion quite plausible. It explains the absence of high soles, which one would ordinarily expect at this date, especially when the *onkoi* are so exaggeratedly high. It also explains the "labels" on the fronts of the platforms; they would be the artist's solution to the problem of the space between the soles, something that would make no sense if one is thinking of platforms (why would an actor stand on two foot-sized platforms?).¹⁹⁹

In the drawing, the upper part of the robe of the actor on the left, down to a few inches above the knees and including the sleeves, is a pale aqua color. The visible sleeve is decorated with a vertical stripe of bright yellow

¹⁹⁹It is important to note here that we are entirely dependent upon the interpretation of this artist (according to Wieseler, his name was J.R.Pacho) of this scene. In many cases, such as that of the footwear of the figures, he seems to have interpreted elements of their costumes according to his own contemporary ideas, rather than recording what was actually visible to him. My description of his depiction of the costuming of the figures should be read with this in mind.

from shoulder to wrist, from which short horizontal yellow stripes run at intervals all down the arm. The aqua section of the body of the robe has an indication of patterned decoration throughout. A very wide belt, also of aqua, is worn above the waist. Three very wide bands--alternating gold, blue-violet, and gold--complete the robe from the aqua section to the actor's feet. At the neckline of the robe is a rolled piece of white cloth with purple shadows. It is draped across the base of his throat and the ends hang down his back. Over his left shoulder the actor wears a very large chiton of the same golden color as found on the robe.

The actor in the center holds Herakles' club with his right hand, and thus can be identified as that hero. His robe is also predominantly pale aqua, and it too has a bright yellow stripe the length of the sleeve. Bright yellow also forms a slightly ruffled band around his neck, a swath of cloth across his right shoulder, and a decorative pattern of spots on his chest and below his belt. This belt is white, somewhat wide, and worn slightly above his waist. The aqua section of his robe, as it did on the robe of the actor on the left, ends above the knee, and the rest of the robe is made up of three wide bands. In Herakles' case, the top band is the same gold worn by the first actor, and the middle band is of the same pale aqua seen in the top part of the robe. The bottom band is made up of vertical stripes of red, blue, and green. His chlamys is gold in color.

The third actor's robe is pale aqua from neck to hem. The sleeve again has a bright yellow vertical stripe, and is decorated with bright green spirals. Bright green also forms a narrow band at his waist and three narrow chevron-like bands below his waist. His belt, which is wide and worn well above his waist, is painted a paler shade of gold than that which appears in his chlamys, which is the same gold as that of the other two actors' chlamydes. In his left hand he carries a staff with a decorative finial, which Bieber suggests might be a caduceus (HGRT 239), but which I would like to suggest is a sceptre, making this figure a king. He raises his right hand, in which he is holding an unidentifiable object (perhaps a small dish used for ritual purposes) over a table upon which are placed palm branches and wreaths, the prizes to be given to the winners of a contest. He thus might be in charge of the contest, or he might be giving thanks for having won it.

From the second century AD on, theatrical motifs appear on Roman sarcophagi. Those that give any insight into tragic costuming fall into two categories, groups of Muses (in which case Melpomene is identified by association with a tragic mask and is often in tragic costume), and masks used as a decorative motif. A good example of the first category is an early third-century sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese in Rome (fig. VI,13). The front of the sarcophagus shows Apollo (second from the left), and four of the Muses. Melpomene, on



Fig. VI,13. Muse sarcophagus, c. 220 AD, in Rome, Villa Borghese (Sala Canova) 75 and 75a. Photo: John Shapley,. "Another Sidamara Sarcophagus." Art Bulletin 5 (1922), pl. 26.

the far right, holds a sword in her right hand and a bearded tragic mask in her left hand. The mask has a low *onkos* made of vertical rows of "sausage" curls. Similar rows of curls fall beside his face and make up his beard. The forehead barely appears beneath the curls, but deep hollows are carved above his nose, at the corners of his eyebrows. The mouth is a very large oval.

Melpomene herself is dressed in a tragic robe that reaches to the ground. It has long sleeves, and is bound by a wide belt worn high above her waist. A decorative pattern is carved into this belt. She seems to have a *chlamys* or

small himation thrown over her left shoulder. Her left foot just peeks out from under her robe. It looks as though it is clad in a boot with a sole that is no more than about one inch (2.5 cm.) thick.



Fig. VI,14. Detail of a strigil sarcophagus from Rome, fourth century AD. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 779.

Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 67, no. 779.

Melpomene is also depicted on a fourth-century strigil sarcophagus in Copenhagen. On each of the front corners a Muse is depicted with at least one mask; Thalia is on the right corner with two comic masks, and Melpomene is on the left, holding a tragic mask (fig. VI,14). The latter is

dressed in a tragic robe that reaches to the tops of her feet. It has a wide belt worn slightly above her waist which has a pattern of vine-leaves carved into it. With her right hand she leans on Herakles' club, and the mask she holds up with her left hand seems to have a trace of a lion's-skin helmet at the very top of its *onkos*.

This mask, which she holds through its mouth, has large, round holes for the eyes, and a mouth that is open enough to leave a great deal of space above her fingers. The *onkos* is high and shaped in a blunted triangle. It is made of tapering vertical rows of ridges that form highly stylized curls. A few corkscrew-like curls hang on each side of its face. Melpomene is standing on soles that are the equivalent of about seven or eight inches (18-20 cm.) high, and they are decorated with the same sort of vertical striations found on the Rieti statuette (fig. VI,11). The soles are so high that the Muse must rest the club on which she is leaning on the head of a lion which is placed conveniently on the corner of the sarcophagus.

Tragic masks often appear as purely decorative motifs on sarcophagi, sometimes placed in what would otherwise be empty space, but sometimes performing a nominal function. Among the latter are two sarcophagi in Copenhagen, which have tragic masks in profile holding up the shield which displays



Fig. VI,15a. Tragic masks supporting a shield with the portraits of the deceased. Roman sarcophagus in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 780. Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 67, no. 780.



Fig. VI,15b. Tragic masks supporting a shield with the portraits of the deceased. Roman sarcophagus in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 781. Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 67, no. 781.

the portrait of the deceased (fig. VI,15).²⁰⁰ On both sarcophagi the masks have very high *onkoi* which can follow the line of the bottom of the round shield a good distance up its sides. In figure VI,15a the mask on the right has a beard. His face is turned a little away from profile, but not quite enough to be called a three-quarter face. His mouth is very wide open, and his visible eye, which is long and narrow, is set at a slant, with its outer corner higher than its inner one. The pupil is large and round and has been hollowed out. His *onkos* is made of vertical rows of "sausage curls" that also hang beside his face. The vertical rows are still fairly high above his ear (although not as high as they are above his nose), indicating that the *onkos* either was not the "façade" type or the façade continued to follow the curve of his head even farther back than the one in figure VI,11. The other mask in figure VI,15a appears to have a pointed *stephane* that emphasizes the point to which the high forehead seems to come. The nose is extremely flat, running straight into the upper lip. The mouth is wide open, and the jaw appears to be thrust forward, since the lower lip projects further than the upper one.

²⁰⁰A fragment of another sarcophagus of this same type can be found in the Museo Regionale Archeologico in Agrigento. It has been dated to the second half of the third century AD. See Vincenzo Tusa, I Sarcofagi Romani in Sicilia 33-34, pl. 16, fig. 25.

The masks in figure VI,15b are more finely carved. The one on the left has a veil draped over its *onkos* which is extremely high and seems to come to a point. A little bit of hair is visible between the hem of the veil and the top of the high forehead. The eye is deepset under a projecting brow that is higher above the nose and low at the outer corner. The nose is finely modeled and the mouth, although wide open, is not stretched out to the point of being grotesque. The mask on the right has features very similar to those of its companion. This mask's hair appears, though; it is loosely curled and falls in waves over the ear and onto the shelf on which the masks rest. On top of his hair rests a crown-like *diadem* that comes to a point over the forehead to make the *onkos*.

Theatrical masks often appeared above the garlands held by *putti* on Roman garland sarcophagi. Such masks were usually comic, but occasionally a tragic mask could appear in this position, as one does on a sarcophagus that for the first half of the twentieth century was in a private collection in England (fig. VI,16).²⁰¹ The tragic mask, set above the left garland, seems to be that of a woman. Her *onkos* seems to be made with a diadem or *stephane* which is carved with cross-hatching, giving it the appearance of

²⁰¹I have not been able to find any mention of this sarcophagus since World War II. Before then, it was in the Clieveden collection, and it may still be there.

having been woven of wicker or straw. Slender ringlets of her hair fall down from the area of her ear to hang below the shelf on which the mask is placed. Her eyes are shown as large and hollow, and her mouth is very wide open, turning down at its rounded corners.



Fig. VI,16. Garland sarcophagus with theatrical masks, c. AD 200. Clieveden Collection. Photo: Robert, "A Collection of Roman Sarcophagi at Clieveden." Journal of Hellenic Studies 20 (1900), pl. VII,a.

The tragic costuming of the later part of the Roman Empire, then, continues the trends begun in the Hellenistic and earlier Roman periods. On the whole it becomes even more stylized and unnatural than its predecessors, turning into the terrifying display described by Lucian (see Chapter I, page 15).

The mask that "stretches up over the top of his head with a great big mouth as if he's about to swallow up the

audience" appears in figures VI,2, VI,11, VI,13, VI,14, VI,15 and VI,16. The "towering shoes" had soles that could be as high as 12 inches or 30 centimeters (figs. VI,5-VI,10, VI,11, and VI,14).

The tragic robe underwent some changes during this period. Instead of being a single solid color, as in the Hellenistic and earlier Roman periods, it now is often decorated with bands of one or more colors added to a basic solid color (figs. VI,5-VI,10). Figured decoration reappears at times, usually within the colored bands (figs. VI,11, VI,12, VI,13 and VI,14). It is possible that the figured decoration was used in smaller, more private performances of tragedy, such as those we know Hadrian had staged, rather than to the public at large. The one surviving scene of a tragedy in which the costumes are so decorated is from a funeral play, seemingly (from the evidence of the scene itself) not given in a public theatre (fig. VI,12).

Conclusion

An Overview of Tragic Costuming, 500 BC to AD 400

Tragic costuming underwent numerous changes between the time of the great Athenian tragedians and the late Roman Empire. Innovations, when they were proved useful or of aesthetic value, were adopted for use, and were discarded when they proved no longer practical or beautiful. Some things remained fairly constant, however. The long-sleeved robe became the distinctive costume of the tragic actor by the end of the fifth century BC, and was still in use in the fourth century AD (see figure VI,14). It might vary in length from above the knee ("Herakles" on the Pronomos vase, figs. I,2 and II,8) to touching the floor (Melpomene on the Muse sarcophagus, fig. VI,13), but it always had long, tight-fitting sleeves, and was often bound by a belt that was usually worn somewhat above the waist.

Whether or not the tragic robe and the mantle (either a himation or a chlamys) that was often worn with it were patterned or solid differed with time. In fifth-century Athens, actors were depicted wearing costumes covered with elaborate patterns (e.g. the chorus on the Basel krater, fig. II,1), or in garments of solid color (the rehearsing actor on the krater in Ferrara, fig. II,4). By the end of the fifth

century, however, patterned garments had become the rule, seemingly the more elaborate the better (figs. II,6, II,7, and II,8). The evidence from South Italy tells us that as the fourth century progressed, decorated costumes became less common, and solid colors became the norm (figs. III,4, III,7, III,9, and all the "old men"). Elaborately figured costumes did not die out entirely in the fourth century, however, as is evidenced by the "Persians" krater (fig. III,12) and the Medeia krater (fig. III,13). The only definite evidence we have of elaborate decoration or the lack thereof in the Hellenistic era is the fresco on Delos (fig. IV,9), in which both actors wear solid colors. None of the evidence from Rome up to about the end of the first century AD gives any indication of figurative patterns on any tragic garments. The only figure who wears a long-sleeved robe with any decoration on it is the flute-player in the mosaic from Pompeii (fig. V,13), and he is not a tragic actor. In the second and third centuries AD, though, the tragic robe tends to be made up of numerous bands of solid color (as on the Porcareccia mosaics, figs. VI,5-VI,10) or is decorated with various figures set within bands or belts (figs. VI,11, VI,12, VI,14).

The preference for the presence or the absence of figured decoration on tragic costumes may well have been a matter of taste or fashion during various periods in the Greek and Roman world, but the taste or fashion may have been

driven by practical considerations. Clothing with elaborate figurative decoration can be quite spectacular to look at, which may in part explain why it was popular in the early years of tragedy. Since Persians and other Easterners were generally portrayed as wearing garments with elaborately woven decoration, such clothing also would suggest the exotic or the dangerous to Athenian audiences. Moreover, these audiences might have wanted to see Asian characters dressed to appear like Asians (hence the likely explanation for why the Persians and Medea were still being depicted in patterned clothing near the end of the fourth century, when nearly every other tragic character seems to have worn solid colors).

From a distance, however, elaborate patterns on clothing cannot be discerned. Thus, as theatres grew larger and stages rose higher, and as more people were being seated farther away from the actors, less was to be gained by putting elaborately (and expensively) decorated fabrics on stage. As the fourth century progressed, *choregoi* could no longer be called upon to finance an elaborate production as a civic duty. Actors became professionals, traveling from place to place, and it was not practical for them to try to transport elaborate, expensive garments with them, especially when such garments served no real aesthetic purpose.

During the later Roman period, both conditions and tastes changed. Throughout the Roman world, luxury and

spectacle were both honored and actively pursued. In such a climate, tragic costumes that could appear luxurious and look impressive, even from a distance, would be valued. Thus, the later Roman tragic costumes were made up of separate sections of a single color each, rather than of elaborate patterns. The blocks of color would be understandable even at the sort of distance from which detailed patterns would blur. Any small detailed patterning in these late costumes was set within a separate field, such as a belt, so that even though the pattern might be lost at a distance, the belt or other field of color would still be understandable. Detailed patterns could be appreciated by those who sat closer to the actors, usually various dignitaries and others of high standing. Such patterning would also be visible the more intimate venues used for private theatrical productions.

There is evidence from the second century BC through at least the end of the second century AD that some characters wore belts made of gold metal. The Oidipous figure in the fresco from Delos (fig. IV,9) has traces of gold-colored paint on his belt, as do the figures on the left and the right in the painting on marble in Naples (fig. V,6). A golden color also appears on the belts of the "king" in the "royal couple" mosaic from Porcareccia (fig. VI,9), the figure on the right in the sacrifice scene from the same set of mosaics (fig. VI,10), and the far right figure in the Cyrene funeral play (fig. VI,12). That these belts are meant

to be metallic gold rather than cloth dyed a gold color is suggested by three other examples. It is easiest to see on the painting of the actor from Herculaneum (figs. V,15 and



Fig. C,1. Tragic actor in a metallic belt. Detail of a wall painting, first century AD, from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9019. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 55,2.

C,1). The belt is painted in three basic tones of gold-colored paint: a mid-tone that is about the color of the

metal, a much darker tone used in the shadows, and a pale yellow, almost an off-white, that adds the highlights, making the belt "gleam" as if it were metal. A similar technique is used in the belt of the woman with the baby in another painting in Naples (fig. V,7), and the belts of both figures in the Ephesos Orestes painting (see Chap. VI). The evidence shows, then, that the belts of some characters were of a gold-colored metal. Who were these characters?

The figures in gold belts who have been identified as specific characters are Oidipous (fig. IV,9), Orestes and Elektra (the Ephesos painting), and Phaidra (fig. V,6). All are members of ruling families. Are any of the others also royalty? A number are holding what can be sceptres (figs. V,15, VI,9, VI,12). The woman with the baby in figure V,7 appears to be giving a command to the other woman, who seems to be a nurse, so she is at least in a position of authority. The figure in the sacrifice scene is unidentified (fig. VI,10). The preponderance of characters wearing gold belts, then, seem to be of royal blood, and thus it may be a sign of royalty.

Is there any evidence of metal in belts before the Hellenistic period? One hint comes in Sophokles' Elektra, when the title character offers as a gift to her dead father a part of her mourning garb, "my belt, not decorated with

luxuries."²⁰² As early as the fifth century BC actors appear on vases in tragic costume with belts that are decorated with evenly-spaced white dots (figs. II,6 and II,7). In the fourth century BC we see belts with the white or at least unpainted circles or dots (figs. III,3, and III,11), with unpainted circles studded with black dots (fig. III,4), and of solid white (figs. III,12 and III,13). It seems possible that all of these were attempts within the conventions of vase painting to portray metal studs and, with the solid white, a belt of metal.

The tragic actor on the Getty vase wears a belt that is unpainted, and decorated with circles made by drawing a black line around unpainted space. Attached to it are two cross-straps that are unpainted and decorated with black dots. These two straps are held where they cross by an unpainted circle with a black outline of a concentric circle just within it. Surely this is meant to be a metallic *fibula* or clasp. Directly above it, at the hero's neckline, a smaller but otherwise identical circular *fibula* fastens his chlamys around his neck. The similarity of the unpainted circles on his belt to these two *fibulae* is too great to be coincidence. If the painter had intended simply to show that the belt consisted of a single fabric with a decorative motif of that same fabric, he surely would have chosen something that

²⁰²Line 452. See also my discussion on page 49.

looked less like his metallic clasps. What we see here seems to be metallic plates or studs attached to the belt. It is likely that the same thing is meant by the white or non-painted circles on the other belts. Such an impression is strengthened by the belt and cross-straps worn by the Herakles character in figure III,4. Here, each black circle has a black dot centered in it, giving the whole thing a three-dimensional look, and creating the impression that something (a precious or semi-precious stone, perhaps) has been set within the metal disc or stud. It is significant that a circle identical to all of the others on the belt and straps appears at the crossover point of the straps, giving the impression that it is holding them together, like the disc on the Getty vase.

The belts that are painted solid white (figs. III,12 and III,13) could be meant to be just that--white belts. However, such a solid block of white stands out from the rest of the composition in a way that seems to be significant. It gleams out of the black and red vase the way polished metal would shine on the stage.

The figures who wear the belts with the "metallic" studs and who can be identified are all members of royalty.²⁰³ The man in tragic costume on the Getty vase is labelled

²⁰³Those who are wearing such belts in figures II,6 and II,7 can only be identified as actors, with no indication as to what roles they played. Perhaps their belts indicate that they played royal characters.

"Aigisthos." Herakles wears such a belt in figure III,4. The figures wearing similar belts in figures III,3 and III,11 are the elderly king discussed in chapter III. The identifiable figures in the solid white belts are also royalty. They are Darius (fig. III,12) and Kreon (fig. III,13). That these figures are indisputably kings is another indication (although far from definite proof) that the white belts are meant to be read as metallic.²⁰⁴

It appears, then, that from at least the fourth century BC members of royal families in tragedies were distinguished by their belts. By Hellenistic times, these belts appear to have been, at least at times, made of a gold metal; whether they were of actual gold or a cheaper alloy is unclear. In the fifth and fourth centuries BC, this "royal belt" was depicted on vase paintings as having a decoration of light-colored spots, which may have been an indication of metallic discs or studs used in the decoration of the belts. If this is so, then the belts seem to have changed over time from being decorated with metal to having been made entirely of metal.

The footwear worn by tragic actors changed obviously and spectacularly between the fifth century BC and the late Roman

²⁰⁴I am unable to identify the other two characters who wear a white belt in figure III,12 (both are in the center register, one on the far left and the other next to the last on the right), other than that--because they also wear fairly high *tiaras*--they seem to be high-ranking members of Darius' court.

period. Numerous works of art survive from the fifth and fourth centuries BC which show actors wearing boots that reached about to the tops of their calves. These boots had turned-up, pointed toes, and thin, flexible soles that would be easy to maneuver with in any of the strenuous activities required of an actor that K. K. Smith so ably described (HSCP 16, 123-164; see my chapter I). By the second century AD, however, actors were routinely pictured as perched on soles ten or more inches (25 or more cm.) thick. As Smith rightly remarked in his argument against the use of thick-soled boots on the fifth-century stage, "a boot with a sole from four to ten inches high would present great difficulties to intense action" (134). Since the fifth-century tragedies require such "intense action" as running, climbing, and kneeling, Smith argued that the thick-soled boot could not have been worn on the fifth-century stage. Smith did not address the topic of the wearing of high-soled shoes on the Roman stage, however, where they were certainly in use. Presumably, actions performed in them would be equally difficult for Roman actors as for Greek actors. The fact that Roman tragic actors and their late Hellenistic counterparts wore shoes with soles anywhere from two to twelve inches thick argues that the style of acting changed between about the end of the fourth century BC (when thin soles were being worn by all actors) and about 150 BC. At this later date, thick soles were considered so characteristic of a tragic actor that they

became an attribute of a personification of Tragedy (fig. IV,5). So, by the end of the Hellenistic period, actors could only perform the "intense action" described by Smith at the risk of looking ridiculous, or even of becoming injured. Therefore, they probably did not attempt to perform such action. Their wearing of shoes with high platform soles argues that the acting style of the Roman period was static and declamatory, rather than active and naturalistic. There is also the implication that the staging of tragedy would have to be very different by Roman times than it had been in fifth-century Athens, in order to accommodate this change in acting style. It seems likely that the frieze-like arrangements demanded by the raised stages of the Hellenistic period (see Chapter IV) would be appropriate for the static acting style required by the high-soled boots. Therefore, although the raised stage did not require the development of high-soled boots, the style of staging required by the raised stage allowed the high-soled boot to develop.

Finally, masks underwent a great deal of change between the fifth century BC and the third century AD as well. The mask on the vase fragment from the Athenian Agora (fig. II,3), with its natural-looking eyes, straight nose, and small, barely-opened mouth, bears no resemblance at all to the mask held by the Vatican statue of Melpomene (fig. VI,1a), with a mouth that is so huge and wide-open that it completely distorts the proportions of the face. Some of

these changes can be attributed to practicality. Features that are larger than those of a normally-proportioned face are easier to see from a distance. And a wide mouth-opening is easier to project the voice through than is a narrow slit. The *onkos*, however, probably did not owe its development to any practical considerations. It seems to have been developed for a purely aesthetic purpose. Coupled with the thick-soled boots, it made the tragic actor tall and imposing, truly larger than life. Such a combination also led to difficulties, however. Extremely high soles coupled with an extremely tall *onkos* made an actor appear disproportionately thin. Therefore, his body would be padded, to attempt to restore the correct proportions. This had the effect, though, of making his arms look short and stubby (see fig. V,6). Hence the description by Lucian with which I started:

What a horrid and also frightening sight is a human being dressed up to a disproportionate size, mounted upon towering shoes, a mask stuck on him that stretches up over the top of his head with a great big mouth as if he's about to swallow up the audience. I won't even mention the breast and stomach padding which he affects for added and contrived bulk, so that the irregularity of his height is not too much accentuated by his slenderness.

Yes, the costume of this Roman actor was strange, perhaps even absurd. But each part of it had its own history, mostly beginning in fifth-century Athens, and changing gradually over time, for practical or aesthetic reasons. Much work still needs to be done to help us understand what those reasons were, and many of them may never be discovered or understood. The purpose of this study has been to look carefully at the origins and development of the various elements of tragic costuming, in order to organize and clarify what we do know about this subject and to point the way toward areas that deserve future research.

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Appendix I

Glossary of Costume Terms

arbylē (ἀρβύλη): "shoe"--the most commonly used word for any type of footwear in the tragic texts; used in the Suda as the term for the high-soled tragic boot.

cheiris (χειρίς): a covering for the hand or the lower arm--a sleeve or a glove.

chiton (χιτῶν): also called *Ionic chiton*-- a garment that could be either short (knee-length or higher, see fig. II,1), or long (ankle- or floor-length, see fig. II,4); formed by a rectangular cloth, usually linen, silk, or lightweight wool, wrapped around the torso, then drawn up and pinned above the shoulders with several fasteners (*fibulae*) above each shoulder.

chiton podêrês (χιτῶν ποδήρης): a "long chiton," a term sometimes used for the sleeved tragic robe.

chlamys (χλαμύς), pl. *chlamydes*: a short, cape-like cloak, usually hung from either the right shoulder or both shoulders (fig. II,9, "perseus" and "Hermes").

cuirass: protective body armor made of leather or metal.

diadem (διάδημα): a fillet, sometimes with a crown-like rise in the front (fig. V,3); when worn with the Persian

king's *tiara*, it was a blue fillet decorated with white threads.

embatês (ἐμβάτης) pl. *embatai*: in classical Greece, a leather boot that covered the shins, which could be used by cavalrymen in place of greaves; in later literature, the most commonly used word for the high-soled tragic boot.

exômis (ἐξωμίς): a man's garment similar to a short chiton, but fastened above only one shoulder, usually the left, leaving the right shoulder bare; it was generally worn by workmen, and was therefore the characteristic costume of the god Hephaistos (fig. III,11).

fibula: a pin or clasp with a mechanism similar to that of a modern safety pin. It was often highly decorated and, while it served the practical purpose of fastening garments such as *chitones* or *peploi*, could also be ornamental, a piece of jewelry.

fillet: a narrow band of cloth or stringlike fibers, fastened horizontally around the head and brow or worn like a modern headband (fig. I,5).

himation (ἱμάτιον)--pl. *himatia*: a large, rectangular cloak, usually worn wrapped over the left shoulder and under the right arm (fig. II,2, "Dionysos").

kalyptra (καλύπτρα): a veil, worn by women (fig. III,10).

kandys (κανδύς): a sleeved, short chiton or tunic worn by Persians (fig. I,7).

kothornos (κόθορνος, *cothurnus/coturnus*): the most generally used term in modern times for the high-soled boot of tragedy. In fifth-century Greece, a loose-fitting shoe or boot worn by women (fig. II,5).

krokotos (κροκωτός): a saffron robe, usually worn by Dionysos.

mitra (μίτρα): a headband or fillet; a snood; a Persian cap; a girdle or belt. See also fillet.

nebris (νεβρίς): a fawn's or deer's skin, a characteristic garment of the maenads and often of other attendants of Dionysos (fig. II,4).

okribas (ὀκρίβας): a word used from the first century A.D. onward for the high-soled tragic boot.

parakalyptra (παρακαλύπτρα): a type of veil, worn by women (see *kalyptra*)..

pedum: a stick with a bent end, similar to a small shepherd's crook, carried by rural and pastoral types, including satyrs (fig. VI,8).

peplos (πέπλος): also called *Doric chiton*--a garment consisting of a generally fairly heavy rectangle of woollen cloth folded once around the body, often folded over the top to a double thickness over the chest and back and fastened a single time with a *fibula* over each shoulder, and held together by a tied belt at or above the waist (worn by the woman in front of Dionysos in fig. III,1,).

perizoma (περίζωμα)--pl. *perizomata*: the loincloth worn by actors costumed as satyrs to which was attached the phallos and tail (fig. I,2/II,8).

persona: the Latin word for mask, from which the English word "person" is derived.

petasos (πέτασος): a flat, broad-brimmed hat, traditionally worn by travellers (fig. III,2).

pilos (πίλος): a conical hat, usually made of felt, traditionally worn by sailors and travellers and by heroes such as Odysseus (fig. III,11).

prosôpon (πρόσωπον): the Greek word for a mask, literally "in-front-of-the-face thing."

sakkos (σάκκος): a cloth bag, especially one worn over the back of the head (rather like a large snood) to hold the hair (fig. II,4).

stephanê (στεφάνη): a diadem or headdress, similar to the modern tiara, usually standing up from the head in a rounded or pointed shape.

syrma (σύρμα): a long robe; often the word used for the long, sleeved robe of tragic costume.

tiara (τιάρα): the tall headdress worn by Persian kings (fig. III,12).

zonê (ζώνη): a belt or girdle, generally referring to a belt worn by a woman.

zoster (ζωστήρ): a belt or girdle, generally referring to a belt worn by a man.

Appendix II

A Chronological List of Fifth-Century Plays that Mention Costume²⁰⁵

472	Aischylos' <u>Persians</u>
c. 460s	Aischylos' <u>Suppliants</u>
458	Aischylos' <u>Oresteia</u> (<u>Agamemnon</u> , <u>Choephoroi</u> , <u>Eumenides</u>)
425	Aristophanes' <u>Acharnians</u>
425?	Euripides' <u>Andromache</u>
423?	Euripides' <u>Suppliants</u>
pre-415?	Euripides' <u>Elektra</u> and <u>Herakles</u>
c. 413?	Sophokles' <u>Elektra</u>
412	Euripides' <u>Helen</u>
409	Sophokles' <u>Philoktetes</u>
409?	Euripides' <u>Phoenician Women</u>
408	Euripides' <u>Orestes</u>
c. 408?	Sophokles' <u>Oedipus at Colonus</u>
after 406	Euripides' <u>Bacchae</u> produced posthumously
405	Aristophanes' <u>Frogs</u>

²⁰⁵Dates given according to The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy, 352-353.

Appendix III

Chronology of Tragic Costuming

BC

- c. 500-490 Elaborately decorated costumes on chorus (fig. II,1)
Chorus in bare feet (fig. II,1)
- c. 480-470 Flute-player portrayed in a decorated, long-sleeved robe (fig. I,5)
- c. 470 Soft boots with turned-up, pointed toes (fig. II,3)
Woman's mask with white face, slightly opened mouth (fig. II,3)
- c. 460 Actors depicted wearing chitons with no figured decoration (fig. II,4)
- c. 430 Actors shown dressing in chitons with no figured decoration
- 405 Aristophanes' Frogs mocks Dionysos' wearing of a saffron robe and a lion's skin, and the god's soft boots
- c. 400 Actors are always shown wearing a robe with long sleeves with a great deal of figured decoration

- Actors shown wearing belts decorated with
white dots--indicating metal? (fig. II,6)
- Boots that are laced up the front and have
overflaps (fig. III,2)
- c. 370-360 South Italian actor shown in long-sleeved robe
with no figured decoration (fig. III,4)
- c. 350 The "old man" type begins to appear in vase
painting
- 338-326 Theatre of Dionysos at Athens rebuilt under
Lykourgos
- c. 330 Colors of costumes indicated on a Sicilian
kalyx-krater (fig. III,7)
- c. 330-320 Some indications of an *onkos* begin to appear
(fig. III,13)
- Some indications of slightly thicker soles
(fig. III,8)
- c. 275 Raised stages being built in various places of
the Greek world (on Delos in 274)
- c. 200 *Onkos* has become established (figs. IV,3 and
IV,4)
- c. 150 *Onkos* and thick soles depicted as attributes
in a personification of Tragedy (fig.
IV,5)
- c. 100 Extremely high *onkoi* depicted in decorative
masks (fig. V,1)

Royal characters shown wearing entirely

metallic-gold belts (fig. IV,9)

first Roman masks with exaggeratedly gaping mouths
century (fig. V,2)

AD

by first Actors padded for proportion (fig. V,6)
century

c. 200 Soles reach extreme thickness, about 10-12
inches or 25-30 centimeters (fig. VI,5,
VI,12, VI,14)

Robes have bands of solid colors (figs. VI,5-
10), or bands with figured decoration
(figs. VI,11, VI,12, VI,14)

Appendix IV

List of Figures with Citations

I,1. The Peiraeus Relief. Marble relief from the Peiraeus, c. 400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1500.

Photo: Bieber, DTA, pl. 53.

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Bieber, Dres. S.relieff 23-24, fig. 5; DTA 104-5, pl. 53;

"Herkunft," fig. 44; HGRT 32, fig. 113

Boehn 5

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 179, fig. 26; DFA² 188, fig. 51

Simon, AT 11, pl. 3

Smith, HSCP 16 (1905), 142-144

Webster, GTP 41-42

Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song," 46-47, pl. 5

I,2. The Pronomos Vase (aka the Satyr Play Vase). Attic red-figure volute krater, c. 400 BC, from Ruvo, attributed to the Pronomos Painter (name vase). Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Inv. 3240. Photo: Bieber DTA, pl. 48.

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97-98, pl. 48; HGRT 10-11, figs. 31-33

Boehn 17

Csapo and Slater, 69-70, pl. 8

Green, TAGS 44, 84-85, fig. 2.19

Green and Handley, 22-26, fig. 5 (color picture)

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹, 164-165, 179, 217-218, fig. 28;

DFA², 166, 186-187, fig. 49; DTC 153, fig. 11

Richter, ARFV 150-151, fig. 120

Simon, AT 17-19, pl. 9

Smith, 144-146

Taplin, Cambr. Comp. 73-4, fig. 7; GTA pl. 6

Trendall and Webster, 29, II, 1

Walton, GTP fig. 8

Webster, ALFCA 32, pl. 3b; GTP 31-32, 40, pl. 8

Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song," 43-47, pl. 1

I,3. The Andromeda Krater. Attic red-figure kalyx-krater
from Capua, c. 400 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, No, 3237.
Photo: Bieber, DTA, fig. 105.

Bibliography:

Beazley ARV² 1336, 1690

LIMC VI,2, 8, Kepheus 15

Bieber, DTA 103-104, fig. 105, pl. 52; HGRT 31, figs.

110-111

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 217, figs. 164-165; DFA² 199-200,
fig. 60

Smith, HSCP 16 (1905), 144-146

Taplin, GTA fig. 7

Trendall and Webster 78, III, 3, 10

Walton, GTP fig. 9

I,4. Dionysos and followers. Attic black figure amphora in
Bonn. Photo: Bieber, "Herkunft," pl. 1.

Bibliography:

Bieber, "Herkunft," 19-20, fig. 1 and pl. 1; HGRT 24,
fig. 80

I,5. Flute-player flanked by columns and boys. Attic red-
figure kylix, 480-470 BC, attributed to the Briseis Painter.
Metropolitan Museum of Art 27.74. Photo courtesy of the
Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Bibliography:

Beazley, ARV² 407.18

Bieber, HGRT 20, figs. 60, 61

Trendall & Webster I, 19 (26-27)

I,6. Flute-player and satyrs. Attic red-figure bell-krater,
c. 425 BC, attributed to Polion. New York, Metropolitan

Museum of Art 25.78.66. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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Bieber, HGRT 6, fig. 17

Trendall & Webster I, 16 (24-25)

I,7. Theseus fighting the Amazons. Attic red-figure lekythos, c. 420 BC, from Cumae, attributed to Aison. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico RC239. Photo: Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte, Vol. 3, fig. 2151.

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Baumeister, vol. 3, 2000, fig. 2151

II,1. Section of a tragic chorus. Attic red-figure krater, 500-480 BC. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig inv. BS 415. Photo by Dieter Widmer, courtesy of the Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig.

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Csapo and Slater, 57, pl. 1A

Green, TAGS 18, fig. 2.1; "Depicting" 34-35

Hammond and Moon 379-380, fig. 10

Simon, AT 8-9, pl. 2

Taplin, CambrComp 70, fig. 4; GTA 12-14, pl. 3

Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song," 52-54, pl. 6

II,2. Hermes introducing chorus members to Dionysos. Attic red-figure hydria, 490-470 BC, attributed to the Pan Painter. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum B201 (St. 1538). Drawing: Gerhard, Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder I, plates 50-51, 1-2.

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II,3. Boy holding mask. Fragments of an Attic red-figure oinochoe, 470-460 BC, from the Athenian Agora. Athens, Agora Museum inv. P11810. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

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Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹, 178-179, fig. 25; DFA², 180-181, fig. 32

Simon, AT 10, pl. 4.1

Talcott, 267-273, figs. 1, 2

II,4. Two actors. Attic red-figure bell-krater, c.460 BC, from Tomb 173c, Valle Pega (Spina). Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico T173C. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia Romagna.

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Simon, AT, 14, pl. 6.1

Webster, MITSP², 46, AV 10, pl. 1A

II,5. Actors dressing. Attic red-figure pelike, c. 430 BC, from Cerveteri, attributed to the Phiale Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.883. Henry Lillie Pierce fund, 1898. Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Taplin, GTA 13-14, fig. 5

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Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song," 46, pl. 3

II,6. Scene of chorus and deities. Attic red-figure krater fragments c. 400 BC from Taranto. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg H4781. Photo courtesy of the Martin von Wagner Museum.

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Bieber, HGRT 11, figs. 34-35

Bulle, Corolla Curtius 151-160, pls. 54-56

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 183, fig. 40; DFA² 187-188, fig.

50

Simon, AT 11, pl. 4.2

Taplin, CA 7, fig. 7.120A

II,7. Dionysos with figures of tragedy. Attic red-figure bell-krater early fourth century BC, from Spina. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico T161C (inv. 20483). Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia Romagna.

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II,8. The Pronomos Vase. Attic red-figure volute krater, c. 400 BC, from Ruvo, attributed to the Pronomos Painter (name

vase). Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Inv. 3240.

Drawing: Bieber, DTA fig. 97. See fig. II,2 for bibliography.

II,9. The Andromeda Krater. Attic red-figure kalyx-krater from Capua, c. 400 BC. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, No, 3237.

Photo: Bieber, DTA, fig. 105. See fig. I,3 for bibliography.

II,10. The Peiraieus Relief. Marble relief from the Peiraieus, c. 400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1500. Photo: Bieber, DTA, pl. 53. See fig. I,1 for bibliography.

III,1. Dionysos holding mask. Apulian red-figure bell krater, c. 400 BC. Bari, Museo Nazionale Provinciale 1364.

Photo: M. Bieber, "Herkunft," fig. 59.

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Bieber, "Herkunft," 89-91, fig. 59; HGRT 23, fig. 72

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹, 183, fig. 41

III,2. Euripides' Herakleidai (The Children of Herakles).

Early Lucanian red-figure pelike, c. 400 BC from Herakleia.

Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide 35302. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata.

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III,3. Agamemnon(?). Apulian red-figure krater by the Painter of Athens 1714, c. 375-350 BC from Potenza. Paris, Louvre CA227. Drawing: Reinach, RepVases I, 244, 2.

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III,4. Scene from Aischylos' Edonoi (?). Lucanian red figure kalyx krater of the Locri Group, c. 370-360 BC. Photos a and b: P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (1917), 108-109, figs. 11 and 11 bis.

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11 and 11 bis.

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III,5. Scene from the Eumenides (?). Apulian red figure volute krater, c. 370-360 BC. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Inv. 82270 (H3249). a: Photo: Huddilston, fig. 6; b: Drawing: Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines vol. 4,1, fig. 5427.

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III,6. Scene from Euripides' Chrysippos (?). Apulian red figure amphora from Ruvo by the Darius Painter, c. 350-325 BC. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Inv. 81.942 (H1769). Drawing: Robert, Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts 29 (1914), pl. 11.

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III,7. Scene from Oidipous Tyrannos (Oidipous the King).
 Sicilian kalyx krater from Syracuse by the Capodarso Painter,
 c. 350-325 BC. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Paolo
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III,8. Scene from Melanippe the Wise. Apulian red figure
 volute krater by the Underworld Painter, c. 330-320 BC.
 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University 1994.1
 (formerly in the collection of Pierre Sciclounoff). Photo by
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III,9. Actor holding mask. Apulian bell krater fragment in
the Gnathia technique, from Taranto, c. 350-340 BC.

Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg
inv. H4600 (L832). Photo courtesy of the Martin von Wagner
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Simon, AT 11, pl. 4,3 (picture is reversed)

Taplin, CA 92-93, fig. 22.118; GTA pl. 8

Walton, GTP 157, fig. 10

Webster, ALFCA 19, pl. 3a; MITSP² 80, GV3

Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song," 46, pl. 2

Xanthakis-Karamanos 14, fig. 2

III,10. Scene at an altar. Apulian red figure volute krater, c. 350-340 BC. Vatican 18255 (AA2). Drawing: Reinach, Peintures de vases antiques recueillies par Millin et Millingen pl. XXIII.

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III,11. Euripides' Oineus (?). Paestan red figure hydria by Python, c. 340-330 BC. London, British Museum 3-20.37 (F155). Drawing: Inghirami, Pitture di vasi fittili fig. 6.

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III,12. Darius and his councillors. Apulian red figure volute krater by the Darius Painter (name vase), c. 340-330 BC. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3253. Drawing: Reinach Rep.Vases I, 194.

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III,13. Non-Euripidean Medeia. Apulian red figure volute krater from Canosa/Ruvo by the Underworld Painter, c. 330-320 BC. Munich 3296 (J810). Photos: all from Bieber, DTA: a: fig. 106; b: pl. 54, 1; c: pl. 54, 2; d: pl. 54, 3.

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III,14. Medeia's escape. Apulian red figure amphora from Canosa/Ruvo by the Darius Painter. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81954 (H3221). Drawing: Huddilston, fig. 26.

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III,15. Marble relief of actor. From Athens, c. 360-350 BC. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 233 (Inv. 465). Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 17, no. 233.

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III,16. Woman and "old man." Campanian red figure neck amphora by the Ixion Painter, c. 330-310 BC. London, British Museum 1867.5-8.1337 (F338). Photo courtesy of the British Museum.

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IV,1. Copy of the statue of Aischylos from the Lykourgan Theatre of Dionysos? Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo 53. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 42.

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IV,2. Tragic actor. Terracotta miniature from the Athenian Agora, c. 250 BC. Agora Museum T862. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

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IV,3. Masked head in a Persian *tiara*. Terracotta of the Hellenistic era, from Thebes. Berlin, Staat. Mus. inv. 8328. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 65, 1.

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IV,4. Tragic actor. Terracotta statuette of the Hellenistic era, possibly from Pergamon. Berlin 7635. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 61, 3.

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IV,5. "Personification of Tragedy." The "Apotheosis of Homer" relief by Archelaos of Priene, from Bovillae, c. 130-120 BC. London, British Museum 2191. Drawing: Reinach, Rep. Reliefs 484, no. 2191 (detail).

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Webster, GTP 44, 163, 187, pl. 12, no. A78; MITSP² 65,

ES1

IV,6. Seated figure (Muse?) holding a tragic mask. Relief on a marble base, c. 120-100 BC, from Halicarnassos (Bodrum). London, British Museum 1106. Drawing: Reinach, Rep. Reliefs 486, no. 10 (detail).

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Reinach, Rep. Reliefs 486, no. 10

Webster, GTP 44, 46, no. A79; MITSP² 60, pl. IIIB, ZS1

IV, 7. Seated actor. Late Hellenistic relief in Dresden.

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 55,1.

Bibliography:

Bieber, Dres. S.relief; DTA 110, pl. 55,1; HGRT 84, fig.

193

Bulle, Fest. Loeb 13-14, 37-43, fig. 27

Pickard-Cambridge DFA¹ 226-227

IV,8. Platform boot by Classified, 2000 AD. Photograph by author, with the permission of the staff of Junkman's Daughter's Brother, Athens, GA.

IV,9. Antigone with the blind Oidipous. Fresco from Delos, the House of the Comedians, Oecus maior (N, metope 7), c. 125-100 BC. Delos, Archaeological Museum. Photograph: École Française d'Athènes, courtesy of Pia Stavrini.

Bibliography:

LIMC I, 1, 820; I, 2, 659, Antigone 2

Bruno, Vincent J. Hellenistic Painting Techniques: The Evidence of the Delos Fragments 25

Webster, MITSP² 119, pl. VIIa, DP1

V,1. Tragic mask. Mosaic of the second century BC, from Casa del Fauno (House of the Faun), Pompeii. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9994. Photo: Bieber, DTA fig. 117.

Bibliography:

Beacham 185, fig. 26

Bieber, DTA 112 and 124, no. 68, fig. 117; HGRT 158-159, fig. 574; "Wurden," 102, pl. 35, 1

V,2. Tragic scene, perhaps from Accius' Astyanax.

Polychrome terracotta relief, first century BC, from the tomb of Numitorius Hilarus. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 56.

Bibliography:

LIMC II, 1, 931; II, 2, 682 Astyanax I, 6=Andromache I,

49

Beacham 123, fig. 18

Bieber, Dres. S.relief 61-63, fig. 14; DTA 111-112, no.

46, fig. 109, pl. 56; HGRT 162-163, fig. 588;

Skenika 16-17, fig. 9

Pickard-Cambridge DFA¹ 186, fig. 57

V,3. Bone or ivory theatre ticket with engraved tragic mask.

Provenance and current location unknown; formerly in the collection of Margarete Bieber. Photo: Bieber, DTA fig. 90.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 85-86, fig. 90; HGRT 247, fig. 811a

V,4. Tragic scene. Roman wall painting from the Villa

Doria-Pamphili, Rome, probably of the late first century BC.

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Drawing: Jahn, Die Wandgemälde des Columbariums in der Villa Pamfili pl. 4, no. 10.

Bibliography:

Bieber, HGRT 163, fig. 589

Jahn, Die Wandgemälde des Columbariums in der Villa Pamfili 39-41, pl. 4, no. 10

Reinach, Rep. Peint. 311,1

Samter, E. "Le pitture parietali del colombario di
Villa Pamfili." MDAI (R) VIII (1893), 105, 119,
145, no. 4

V,5. Tragic scene. Roman wall painting from Ostia, probably
of the late first century BC. Vatican Museums, Lateran 1063.
Photo: Vaglieri, Ostia fig. 22.

Bibliography:

Bieber, Dres. S.relief 64-67, fig. 15; HGRT 163, fig.
590; Skenika 18-19, fig. 11
Vaglieri, Ostia 115, fig. 22

V,6. Tragic scene--Phaedra and her Nurse from a Latin
Hippolytus? Painting on white marble, from Herculaneum,
probably of the late first century BC or early first century
AD. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9563. Photo:
Bieber, DTA fig. 110.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 112-113, fig. 110; HGRT 164, fig. 591
Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 189, fig. 70
Reinach, Rep.Peint. 310,5
Weitzmann, Ancient Book Illumination 74-75, fig. 83

V,7. Tragic scene--heroine holding baby, and female servant.
Wall painting from Pompeii, Casa dei Dioscuri, probably first

century AD. Naples. Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9039.

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 58.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 117, no. 51, pl. 58; HGRT 230-231, fig. 773;

Skenika 20-21, fig. 14

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 190, fig. 77

Pompeii: Pitture e Mosaici vol. IV 945, fig. 165

Wieseler, pl. 8, 12

V,8. Tragic scene--hero and messenger. Campanian wall painting, perhaps from Pompeii or Herculaneum, first century AD. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale A. Salinas.

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 57.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 117, no. 50, pl. 57; HGRT 230-231, fig. 772;

Skenika 20-21, fig. 12; "Wurden" 103, pl. 35,2

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 190, fig. 76

Wieseler, pl. IX,1

V,9. Scene with Herakles. Drawing of a wall painting of the third quarter of the first century AD, from the Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3-6), Pompeii. Drawing: Bieber, DTA fig. 111.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 113-115, no. 48, fig. 111; HGRT 229, fig.

766; Skenika 17-18, fig. 10; "Wurden" 103, pl. 37,2

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 189, fig. 72

Koortbojian 119-120 fig. 60

V,10. Tragic scene--Priam and Achilles? Drawing of a wall painting of the third quarter of the first century AD, from the Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3-6), Pompeii. Drawing:

Bieber, DTA fig. 113.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 115-116, no. 49a, fig. 113; HGRT 229-230, fig. 768

Boehn 11

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 190, fig. 74

V,11. Tragic scene--Priam and Hecuba? Drawing of a wall painting of the third quarter of the first century AD, from the Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3-6), Pompeii. Drawing:

Bieber, DTA fig. 112.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 115-116, no. 49a, fig. 112; HGRT 229-230

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 190, fig. 73

V,12. Medeia pointing a sword at her children. Drawing of a wall painting of the third quarter of the first century AD,

from the Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3-6), Pompeii. Drawing:
Bieber, DTA fig. 114.

Bibliography:

LIMC VI, 1, 389, Medeia 13

Bieber, DTA 116, no. 49b, fig. 114; HGRT 230, fig. 769

Koortbojian fig. 62

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 190, fig. 75

V,13. "Backstage" scene. Mosaic, late first century BC (?),
from the tablinum of the Casa del Poeta Tragico (House of the
Tragic Poet), Pompeii (VI 8, 3). Naples, Museo Nazionale
Archeologico 9986. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 49.

Bibliography:

Ashby, CGT 20, fig. 6

Bieber, DTA 95-98, no. 35, pls. 49-50; HGRT 11-12, 20,
figs. 36, 62

Boehn 19

Curtius fig. 26

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 188, fig. 69

V,14. Closeup of mosaic in figure V,13. Photo: Bieber, DTA
pl. 50.

V,15. "Backstage" scene. Wall painting, first century AD, from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9019. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 55,2.

Bibliography:

- Ashby, CGT 152, fig. 61
 Beacham 118, fig. 17
 Bieber, Dres. S.relief 56-57, fig. 12; DTA 110, no. 44, pl. 55,2; HGRT 82, fig. 302
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 Bulle, Fest. Loeb 12-13, figs. 2, 3, 4
 Curtius 276, fig. 163
 Ling 160, fig. 173
 Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 184-185, fig. 43; DFA² 189, fig. 55
 Simon, AT 11-12, pl. 5
 Webster, GTP 44, 45, 48, no. A57, pl. 13

V,16. Actor contemplating a mask. Fragment of a wall painting, probably of the first century AD, from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9036. Author's photo, used by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Provincie di Napoli e Caserta.

Bibliography:

- Ashby, CGT 152, fig. 60
 Bieber, HGRT 82, fig. 300a

Bulle, Fest. Loeb 13, fig. 5

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Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 185, fig. 44

V,17. Perseus and Andromeda. Roman wall painting of the Augustan era from the Via Stabiana in Pompeii. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 64,2.

Bibliography:

LIMC I, 1, 785, Andromeda I, 124

Bieber, DTA 123, no. 63, pl. 64,2; HGRT 157-158, fig.
571

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 188, fig. 71

Weitzmann, ABI 86, fig. 94

V,18. Pair of tragic masks. Roman wall painting from Pompeii. Drawing: Boehn 49.

Bibliography:

Boehn 49

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 191 (note 2), fig. 79

V,19. Woman's mask set in an architectural decoration. Fourth-style wall painting from the Palaestra at Herculaneum, third quarter of the first century AD. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9735. Author's photo, used by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività

Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.

Bibliography:

Curtius, fig. 111

V,20. Woman's mask set above a Nilotic landscape. Roman wall painting from the Temple of Isis in Pompeii, third quarter of the first century AD. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Author's photo, used by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.

Bibliography:

Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici vol. VIII, 756, no. 37

V,21. Melpomene holding a tragic mask (inscribed Μελπομένη τραγῳδίαν). Fourth-style wall painting from the Pompeii (II 4, 3), third quarter of the first century AD. Paris, Louvre P 4-12. Drawing: Reinach, Rep. Peint. 153, pl. XXVIII, 2.

Bibliography:

LIMC VII, 1, 1020, VII, 2, 734, Musae 71=Apollon/Apollo
297

Reinach, Rep. Peint. 153, pl. XXVIII, 2

V,22. Tragic scene. Roman terracotta lamp from Vulci, first century AD. Vatican Museums, Etruscan Collection 14287.

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 59,2.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 118, no. 53, pl. 59,2; HGRT 242, fig. 797;
Skenika pl. 1B

VI,1a. Statue of Melpomene holding a mask of Herakles.
 Marble statue from Villa di Cassio (near Tivoli), c. AD 120-130 (from a possible second century BC prototype). Vatican Museums 499, Sala delle Muse 63. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 62,1.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 122, no. 60, pl. 62,1; HGRT 82, fig. 305
 Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 187, fig. 64
 Webster, MITSP² 35, AS11

VI,1b. Statue of Melpomene holding a mask of Herakles.
 Marble statue from Monte Calvo (near Rome), c. AD 120-130 (from a possible second century BC prototype). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1565, no. 392. Photo: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 27, no. 392.

Bibliography:

LIMC IV, 1, 744, IV, 2, 462, Herakles 268=Musae 58
Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 27, no. 392
 Webster, MITSP² 35, AS11

VI,2. Masks of Herakles and a woman (Deianeira?). Fragment of a season sarcophagus of Hadrianic times (AD 117-138). Berlin. Photo: Konigliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der Pergamenischen Fundstucke 342, no. 857.

Bibliography:

Bieber, HGRT 244, fig. 806

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VI,3. Herakles mask. Marble colossal mask, probably dating from AD 195, Theatre at Ostia. Author's photo.

Bibliography:

Bieber, HGRT 244, fig. 805

VI,4. Seated Euripides with a Herakles mask. Marble relief, c. AD 120-130. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1242. Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 46.

Bibliography:

LIMC VI, 1, 744, VI, 2, 462, Herakles 265

Bieber, DTA 82-83, no. 29, pl. 46; HGRT 30, fig. 109

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 185, fig. 48

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Webster, MITSP² 35, AS10

VI,5. The Porcareccia Mosaics. A set of 24 hexagonal mosaic panels from the Antonine villa at Lorium (modern Porcareccia), late second or very early third century AD.

Vatican Museums. Drawings: Nogara, I Mosaici Antichi Conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano, composite of sections of figs. 12, 13, and 14.

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Helbig, 3, no. 1

Millin, Description d'Une Mosaïque Antique du Musée Pio-Clémentin a Rome, Représentant des Scènes de Tragédies

Nogara, 27-32, figs. 12-14, pls. 56-62

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 190, fig. 78

Wieseler, 47-52, pls. 7 and 8

VI,6. Herakles and a woman. Panel from the Porcareccia mosaics (see fig. VI,5). Sources: a: Nogara, pl. 62, 8 (= Millin 8); b: Wieseler, pl. 7, 3; c: Nogara, pl. 56, 3.

Bibliography:

Millin, 19-20, fig. 8

Nogara 29, pls. 56, 3 and 62, 8

Wieseler, 47-52, pl. 7, 3

VI,7. Hermes with the shade of a woman (Alkestis?). Panel from the Porcareccia mosaics (see fig. VI,5). Sources: a: Baumeister, pl. 79 (= Millin 10); b: Wieseler, pl. 7, 5; c: Nogara, pl. 56, 1.

Bibliography:

LIMC I, 1, 542, I, 2, Alkestis 64

Bieber, DTA 118-120, no. 54, pl. 60; HGRT 240, fig. 791

Millin, 20-21, fig. 10

Nogara, 28, pls. 56, 1 and 62, 10

Weitzmann, ABI 75, fig. 84

Wieseler, pl. 7, 5

VI,8. Hero or god and tiny satyr. Panel from the Porcareccia mosaics (see fig. VI,5). Sources: a: Wieseler, pl. 8, 11; b: Nogara, pl. 56, 6.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 118-120, no. 54, pl. 60; HGRT 240, fig. 792

Millin, 29-31, fig. 28

Nogara, 29, pl. 56, 6

Wieseler, pl. 8, 11

VI,9. King and queen (?). Panel from the Porcareccia mosaics (see fig. VI,5). Sources: a: Nogara, pl. 63, 12; b: Wieseler, pl. 7, 7; c: Nogara, pl. 57, 2.

Bibliography:

Bieber, DTA 118-120, no. 54, pl. 60; HGRT 240, fig. 789
 Millin, 22-24, fig. 12
 Nogara, 29, pl. 57, 2
 Wieseler, pl. 7, 7

VI,10. Sacrifice scene. Panel from the Porcareccia mosaics (see fig. VI,5). Sources: a: Wieseler, pl. 8, 9; b: Nogara, pl. 57, 1.

Bibliography:

Bieber, Dres. S.relieff 39, fig. 7; DTA 118-120, no. 54, pl. 60; HGRT 240, fig. 790
 Millin, 28, fig. 26
 Nogara, 29, pl. 57, 1
 Wieseler, pl. 8, 9

VI,11. Tragic actor. Ivory statuette from Rieti, late second or early third century AD. Paris, Petit Palais DUT 192. Photo: Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte, Vol. 3, pl. 58.

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Csapo and Slater 72-73, no. 142, pl. 10D

Green, TAGS 158, fig. 6.10

Pickard-Cambridge, DFA¹ 187, fig. 66; DFA² 171, 204, fig. 63

Simon, AT 14, pl. 16

Webster, GTP 44, 53, A73; MITSP² 93, II 1

VI,12. A funeral play. Wall painting (now lost) from the necropolis at Cyrene, late second century AD. Drawing: Wieseler pl. 13, 2, after J.R. Pacho, Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique (Paris, 1827), pl. 49.

Bibliography:

Bieber, Dres. S.relieff 40, fig. 8; HGRT 239, fig. 787

Wieseler 99-102, pl. 13, 2

VI,13. Muse sarcophagus, c. 220 AD, in Rome, Villa Borghese (Sala Canova) 75 and 75a. Photo: Shapley, John. "Another Sidamara Sarcophagus." Art Bulletin 5 (1922), pl. 26.

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- Shapley, John. "Another Sidamara Sarcophagus." Art Bulletin 5 (1922): 61-75, and pls. 26, 27, 30
- Wegner, Max. Die Musensarkophage 78-79, no. 206

VI,14. Muse holding a tragic mask. Strigil sarcophagus from Rome, fourth century AD. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 779. Photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 67, no. 779.

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Webster, MITSP² 100, IS32, pl. VI f

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VI,15. Tragic masks supporting a shield with the portraits of the deceased. Roman sarcophagi in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 780 and 781. Photos: a. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 67, no. 780. b. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 67, no. 781.

Bibliography:

Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker pl. 67, nos. 780 and 781

VI,16. Garland sarcophagus with masks, one tragic and one comic. Probably late second-early third century AD.

Clieveden Collection. Photo: Robert, "A Collection of Roman Sarcophagi at Clieveden." Journal of Hellenic Studies 20 (1900), pl. VII,a.

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Journal of Hellenic Studies 20 (1900) 81-98.

Toynbee, The Hadrianic School 209, pl. XLV,3.

C,1. Detail of the actor from Herculaneum (see fig. V,15).

Photo: Bieber, DTA pl. 55, 2.