COSTUME CHANGE IN ARISTOPHANIC COMEDY

by

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(Under the Direction of CHARLES PLATTER)

ABSTRACT

In this thesis I argue for the consequential role costume change plays in Aristophanic comedy, that these changes either advance the plot or convey a change a character has undergone. Specifically, I focus on changes of hair, clothing, and mask, because these are the parts of costumes that characters most often manipulate. My first chapter draws from Knights, Ecclesiazusae, Thesmophoriazusae, and Wasps and argues for the clothing changes of certain characters as central to turning point of the plot. My second chapter is centered on manipulation of hair in Lysistrata, Ecclesiazusae, and Thesmophoriazusae, looking especially at gender and the role hair plays in establishing gender boundaries. Finally, my third chapter focuses on Knights, Plutus, and Clouds, all of which contain a character who undergoes a significant transformation of lifestyle. These transformations, I argue, could possibly have been made visually more effective by a change of the character’s mask.
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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I will build on the existing scholarship about costume in Aristophanic comedy, scholarship that is primarily focused on the components of costumes, by discussing the uses and manipulations of these costumes within the texts of the plays. An essential part of my argument is that certain aspects of costume -- clothing, hair, and mask\(^1\) -- are inherently linked to a character’s tropos -- their personality and mannerisms -- and their lifestyle. Aristophanes utilizes the connotations different articles of clothing, hairstyles, and facial complexions have in every day Athenian life and in the Athenian ideal and incorporates them into his plays as a part of characters’ costumes. Changes in costume imply that some essential aspect of a character -- their gender, class, or some other part of their tropos or lifestyle -- is also changing.

The changes I discuss can be divided into different categories, one of which is whether characters play an active or passive role in the manipulation of their costumes. The agency characters have over their costume change as well as their willingness to change their costume affects the outcome of these changes. In *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae* the women play an active, willing role in the manipulation of their hair, and, in *Ecclesiazusae*, their clothing. The willingness to embrace their transformed costumes allows the women to effectively achieve their goals: in the *Lysistrata*, the women successfully seduce their husbands and lure them away from war, and in the *Ecclesiazusae*, the women accomplish their goal of gaining control of the city. In *Knights*, Demos plays a passive role in his costume change, receiving new clothes from the

\(^1\) I have chosen these three specific parts of costume because they, and not others, are the parts that characters manipulate. The comic phallus, for example, is a topic of much scholarly debate; there is no evidence, however, that characters manipulate their own phallus in any way in Aristophanes’ comedies: they remain a stable piece of costume.
Sausage Seller, and possibly a new mask as well, in order to reflect the change he has undergone. Demos willingly embraces this costume change, a change which is enacted to show the audience how much the Sausage Seller has done for him. In both *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Wasps*, the relative and Philocleon are incredibly resistant to the costume changes they are forced to undergo. Neither of them manipulate their own costumes; thus, when they don their new clothing, and, in the relative’s case, new hairstyle as well, their resistance to their costumes affects their ability to act either as a woman, in the relative’s case, or as a member of the upper-class, in Philocleon’s. The mask changes which I argue for do not fit perfectly into this category of “willing” or “active versus passive” costume changes, since they do not occur for the characters as “costume” changes per se, and no character could ever change their own mask. These changes are intended more to show the audience the inner transformations of characters that have occurred within the scope of the play.

My thesis uses and synthesizes scholarship concerning both the components of standard comic costume and conventions of ancient Greek lifestyle. For general information about costume and costume changes, I draw heavily on Laura Stone’s book *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy* and Gwendolyn Compton-Engle’s very recent work *Costume in the Comedies of Aristophanes*. I have also examined every existing commentary on all the plays mentioned above.

I discuss in this thesis many but not all of Aristophanes’ extant plays, having left out *Acharnians, Frogs, Peace*, and *Birds*. Costume and especially costume change certainly play a role in *Acharnians* and *Frogs*, and might in these other plays as well. There are also other aspects of costume relevant in the plays I did include in this thesis, such as the theft of Strepsiades’ cloak and shoes in *Clouds*. While this thesis is not exhaustive on the subject of
costume change and its implications in Aristophanic comedy, I hope to have added more depth to
the study of this topic.
CHAPTER ONE

CLOTHING

I. Clothing in Aristophanic Comedy

As with every form of theater, costume -- and especially the characters’ clothing -- played a large role in the visual aspect of Aristophanic comedies, helping to distinguish between the genders of the characters -- who were all played by male actors -- and their social statuses. As Robson puts it: “when we watch a dramatic performance… we expect the characters’ clothes to inform us in some way about their wearers.”\(^2\) In the ancient world, clothing and outward appearance were thought to be connected to inner character and feelings. We see one example of this in *Thesmophoriazusae*: the character Agathon, a playwright, wears female clothing in order to better understand the female mind and write female roles.\(^3\)

I am defining ‘clothing’ in this chapter as everything from cloaks and shoes to ornaments worn as part of an outfit: anything that is encompassed by the Greek word *σκευή*, which LSJ defines as “equipment, attire, apparel, dress.”\(^4\) The clothing of Aristophanic comedy generally reflected the styles of the day, with cloaks worn over the comic “body suit” or the *somation*.\(^5\)

The standard costume was comprised of two layers of cloaks: typically a *chiton* covered by a

\(^2\) Robson 2005, 65.

\(^3\) Agathon tells Euripides’ relataive: ἔγνω δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆθ᾽ ὀμα γνώμη φορῶ. ἡρή γὰρ ποιητήν ἀνδρὰ πρὸς τὰ δράματα ἄριστα ποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς τρόπους ἔχειν. αὐτίκα γυναικεῖ᾽ ἴν ποιὴν τις δράματα, μετασύνεσιν ἀριστά τὸν τρόπον τὸ σώμ᾽ ἔχειν. “I change my clothing according as I change my mentality. A man who is a poet must adopt habits that match the plays he’s committed to composing. For example, if one is writing plays about women, one’s body must participate in their habits.” Ar. Thesm. 148-52. Trans. Sommerstein. Agathon is referring, in this last statement, to the fact that he is beardless like a woman.

\(^4\) LSJ s.v. *σκευή* A, A2.

himation. It was this outer layer that of clothing that served to distinguish gender, social classes, or Athenians from foreigners. Comic actors also wore the shoes, slippers, and sandals of everyday Athenian life. Since most types of footwear carried specific social and financial connotations, they were very useful on the comic stage, helping, like clothing, to communicate the status of the wearer to the audience.

Changes of clothing within Aristophanic comedies either reflect a character’s change of status, gender, or τρόπος or are carried out in an attempt to enact a change of one these elements. These costume changes take place in several of Aristophanes plays, but for this scope of this thesis, I will be focusing on three types of clothing change and the plays in which they occur: the reflection of a new status, demonstrated in Knights, the cross-dressing clothing changes in Ecclesiazusae and Thesmophoriazusae, and the attempt at a change of lifestyle through clothing change, as shown in Wasps. I will explore the different reasons for the changes and their various implications.

Once Demos has been rejuvenated by the Sausage Seller in Knights, he reappears on stage dressed in new clothing -- the old-fashioned apparel from the days of the Marathon Men -- having discarded his former clothes. This clothing change serves to emphasize Demos’ new youth and visually reflect and remind the audience of the glory days Athens presumably experienced after the Persian War. The women in Ecclesiazusae, in order to attend the Assembly, must disguise themselves as men, one step of which requires that they steal their husbands’ clothing. Similarly in Thesmophoriazusae, to infiltrate a meeting of women,

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6 Compton-Engle 2015, 60.
7 The male chiton reached to midthigh, whereas the female chiton was typically ankle-length. Female himatia were also larger than male himatia. The himation, worn as an outer layer, was simply a rectangular piece of cloth. Compton-Engle states that foreigners did not wear himatia, so a himation would mark a character as distinctly Athenian. Distinctions could also be made between types of himatia: a chlaina was a thick, expensive, winter variation, and a tribon or tribonion was a coarser, everyday version, very common in comedy especially. Compton-Engle 2015, 60-1. See n.14 for distinctions between the clothing of Athenian citizens and slaves.
8 Stone 1981, 222.
Euripides’ relative must completely transform his appearance and don women’s attire. Philocleon’s clothing change in *Wasps* is forced upon him by his son Bdelylecon in order to force a change of lifestyle -- from one of law courts to one of symposia. Philocleon’s change of clothing, however does little to affect his character, and he acts completely inappropriately among the others at the symposium. The clothing change is unable to change Philocleon’s character because he is unwilling to embrace the new lifestyle into which his son tries to introduce him. A change of clothing, then, can reflect a change of lifestyle, but does not necessarily enact one.\(^9\) Clothing changes and theft of clothing occur in other plays of Aristophanes as well, including *Frogs* and *Clouds*, but those costume changes lay outside the current scope of this thesis.

**II. The Revival of the Glory Days: Demos in *Knights***

The costume change that occurs in *Knights* is part of the Sausage Seller’s\(^{10}\) rejuvenation of the old man Demos, a transformation which is represented by a definitive change of clothing and possibly of mask as well.\(^{11}\) Although we do not receive a description of what Demos is wearing for the majority of the play before his transformation, we do know that he is called a γερόντιον\(^{12}\) and can surmise that he is dressed like an average Athenian old man would have been at the time. At the very least, Demos’ costume would have been distinguished from those

\(^9\) I agree with Compton-Engle here: “While a costume change in Aristophanes can be used to represent a new status, characters experience much more difficulty when they themselves try to use costume changes to create changes in status.” Compton-Engle 2015, 14.

\(^{10}\) The Sausage Seller is given the name Agoracritus at 1257, and so his Greek name will be abbreviated \(\text{Α} \gamma\).

\(^{11}\) See the third chapter of this thesis for a discussion of masks and mask changes within plays.

\(^{12}\) Demos is called a “little old man” by one of his slaves who is irritated at his behavior: his susceptibility to bribery and demagoguery. Ar. *Eq*. 42.
of his slaves: the Sausage Seller, Paphlagon, and the two slaves who appear the beginning of the play.13

The first we hear of Demos receiving a new costume comes before his complete rejuvenation: the Sausage Seller and Paphlagon are in the midst of their agon in which they are attempting to woo Demos. The Sausage Seller asks if Paphlagon has ever so much as given Demos shoes or a new cloak, which he then proceeds to do himself:

Αγ: σκύτη τοσαύτα πωλῶν
 ἐδώκας ἢδη τούτῳ κάττυμα παρὰ σεαυτοῦ
taῖς ἐμβᾶσιν φάσκων φιλεῖν;
... ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ σοι
ζεύγος πριάμενος ἐμβάδων τοντι φορεῖν δίδωμι.
tοντί δ᾽ ὅρον ἄνευ χιτῶνος 14 ὅτα τηλικοῦτον
οὐπώποτοι ἀμφιμασχάλου τὸν Δῆμον ἡξίωσας
χειμωνὸς ὄντος ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ σοι τοντι δίδωμι.

S.S.: “Out of all that leather you sell,
have you ever yet given this Demos, whom you say you love,
a sole from your stock for his shoes?
...Whereas I have bought this pair of shoes here,
and give them to you to wear.
But though you see this Demos without a tunic, and at his age,
you've never seen fit to let him have one that goes over both shoulders
to wear in winter; whereas I now give you this.15

Although the type of shoes which the Sausage Seller gives to Demos are nothing special -- ἐμβάδας were the most common type of shoe in Aristophanic comedy16 -- they are new

13 A tunic (chiton) and cloak (himation, or in some cases chlaine) were worn by everyone, so “differentiation of status was achieved mainly through quality and size rather than different types of clothing.” The Sausage Seller proclaims at Eq. 881 that Demos does not wear a chiton, which would have been very unusual. The words himation and chlaina were sometimes used synonymously in comedy: see n.31. An obvious indicator of status was the coarseness or fineness of the cloath. Linen yarn takes about three times as long to produce as woollen yarn, and was accordingly regarded as a luxury (Thuc. 1.6.3). The literary evidence shows that ‘delicate’ (λεπτὸς) fabric was highly valued, and archaeological evidence from Euboea suggests that the finest fabrics used three times as much yarn as the coarsest pieces and were proportionally more labor-intensive.” van Wees 2005, 44-45. Thus Demos’ slaves were likely wearing cloaks that were thinner and less expensive than his own.
16 Biles and Olson 2015, 120. See also Bryant 1899, 57-102; Stone 1981, 223-5; Morrow 1985, 64-8; and Lee 2015, 163. See esp. Stone for a list of all passages in which Aristophanic characters wear ἐμβάδας. Stone notes that “all of
nonetheless. The cloak that Demos receives, however, is likely a much warmer and more expensive one than the one he is currently wearing, since the Sausage Seller claims that this new χλαῖνα will keep him warm in the winter. Although Paphlagon scoffs at the importance of clothing in winning Demos’ heart,\textsuperscript{17} it is gifts like these new clothes that persuade Demos to fully entrust himself to the Sausage Seller: Αγορακρίτῳ τοῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπω.\textsuperscript{18}

After being taken off stage for a choral interlude, Demos reappears fully rejuvenated with additional articles of clothing newly given to him by the Sausage Seller. The chorus asks, just before Demos is brought back on stage, ποίαν τιν’ ἔχει σκευήν; “What sort of dress does he wear?”\textsuperscript{19} preparing the audience for a change in costume that would reflect his new status. The Sausage Seller declares:

\textit{oίδ᾽ περ Ἀριστείδη πρότερον καὶ Μιλτιάδη ξυνεσίτε.}
\textit{... ἀλλ’ ὀλολύζατε φανομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις καὶ θαυμαστάς καὶ πολυμνίοις, ἵν’ ὁ κλεινὸς Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.}

Such as he was when in the days of yore
he had Aristeides and Miltiades for his messmates.\textsuperscript{20}
Now shout for joy at the appearance of the old Athens,
the marvellous and oft-hymned, where renowned Demos dwells.\textsuperscript{21}

Demos’ very name is a signal to the audience that he is meant to represent the people of Athens, and thus “the appearance of the old Athens” and Demos’ new look -- clothes and all -- are synonymous. Demos has become magnificent again, in an effort to reflect an idealistic image of

\textsuperscript{17} In the midst of the Sausage Seller giving Demos new shoes and a cloak, Paphlagon asks: οὐ δεινὸν ὁν δῆτ’ ἐμβιάζας τοσούτοις ὑπάσθαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ μὲνεῖν ἔχειν ὄνον πέπονθας; “Isn’t it terrible that a pair of shoes should count for so much, when you don’t recall all I have done for you?” Ar. \textit{Eq.} 875-6.
\textsuperscript{18} Ar. \textit{Eq.} 1259.
\textsuperscript{19} Ar. \textit{Eq.} 1324. Trans. Sommerstein.
\textsuperscript{20} “I.e. in the time of the Persian Wars when Athens was led by men like Aristeides ‘the Just’, Miltiades the victor of Marathon, and Themistocles (not mentioned here, but cf. 812-9).” Sommerstein 1981, 215. Neil notes that these men were the military, not political, heroes of the Persian War period, and that these two names “summed up in themselves the ideals of the conservative peace party.” Neil 1901, 173.
\textsuperscript{21} Ar. \textit{Eq.} 1325; 1327-8. Trans. Sommerstein.
the city as it might have been in the “golden days” after its victory in the Battle of Marathon. At the time of the play’s performance in 424 BCE, Athens was in the midst of the Peloponnesian War, yet Demos’ renewal might have given the Athenian audience some hope for their own futures, or at least a nostalgic image in which to take comfort.

When the Sausage Seller finally introduces Demos with the words ὅδ’ ἐκεῖνος22 -- here is that very man -- he declares how Demos is τεττιγοφόρας, ἄρχαιω σχήµατι λαµπρός, οὗ χοιρινῶν ὄξων ἀλλὰ σπονδῶν, σµύρνη κατάλειπτος: “wearing a golden cicada, resplendent in antique costume, smelling not of mussel-shells but of peace libations, and anointed with myrrh.”23 Both Sommerstein and Neil note how Demos is dressed in the old Ionian style, fashionable at the time of the Persian Wars, and cite Thucydides 1.6.3:

ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνεῖµη τῇ δώρατη ἐς τὸ τρυφερότερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιµόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνας επαύσαντες κατέσχεν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιµόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνας επαύσαντες κατέσχεν.

The Athenians were the first to lay aside their weapons, and to adopt an easier and more luxurious mode of life; indeed, it is only lately that their rich old men left off the luxury of wearing undergarments of linen, and fastening a knot of their hair with a tie of golden grasshoppers, a fashion which spread to their Ionian kindred, and long prevailed among the old men there.24

At this point in the play Demos has been fully rejuvenated by the Sausage Seller; the change of Demos’ clothing serves to visually communicate to the audience the internal change that Demos has undergone. Demos is now meant to represent the idealistic utopian past, the nostalgic vision of Athens at the supposed height of its glory a few generations earlier.

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22 Ar. Eq. 1331.
24 Thuc. 1.6.3. Trans. Dent.
III. Cross-Dressing: *Ecclesiazusae* and *Thesmophoriazusae*

The purpose of the clothing changes in *Ecclesiazusae* and *Thesmophoriazusae* are to disguise and transform the genders of certain characters. In *Ecclesiazusae* the women must appear as men to the audience and other characters in order to attend and vote in the Assembly. While the most important and necessary part of their disguise, I would argue, is their manipulation of hair, the donning of their husbands’ clothing is also essential.

The women first come on stage having just stolen their husbands’ cloaks and shoes in the middle of the night. Most women are likely not wearing these clothes yet but are just carrying them: this is probably so that the audience would definitively know that that characters are women putting on men’s clothing, a costume change that will then occur right before them. We do know that one women *is* wearing her husband’s shoes already though, for Praxagora asks: τὴν Σµικυθίωνος δ’ οὐχ ὃρας Μελιστίχην σπεύδουσαν ἐν ταῖς ἐµβάδεσιν; “Don’t you see Smicython’s wife, Melistiche, hurrying along in his shoes?”

Once the women have all gathered and tied on their beards, Praxagora notes the other pieces of clothing they all have: Λακωνικὰς γὰρ ἔχετε καὶ βακτηρίας καὶ θαῖµάτια τἀνδρεῖα. “You’ve got Laconian shoes, and walking-sticks, and men’s cloaks.” Laconian shoes here seem to be used synonymously with ἐµβάδες, and the word ἴµάτια is used fairly generically in

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25 See the second chapter of this thesis for a comprehensive discussion of hair as costume and the manipulation of hair in various plays.

26 Ussher argues that the ἔχετε on 74 implies that not all of them are actually wearing the shoes and cloaks; the later, more hurried arrivals may have snatched up their husbands himatia and run. Possibly only Praxagora at this point – apart from her beard – is fully dressed and ready. Ussher 1973, 85.

27 Ar. *Eccl.* 46-7. Trans. Sommerstein. Sommerstein adds, ἐµβάδες were definitively male shoes; probably when this woman came on stage, her gait was made comically ungainly as befitting one who had never worn ἐµβάδες before and/or had feet much too small for a man’s shoe. Sommerstein 1998, 142.


29 Sommerstein 1998, 144. The synonymous use of these two types of shoes here seems to contradict the fact that Λακωνικαί are described by scholars as finer or more expensive: see n.55. It is unclear which view of the Λακωνικαί should take precedent, if either; Compton-Engle notes that Λακωνικαί are “sometimes contrasted with ἐµβάδες, as in *Wasps*, and other times used in a generic sense synonymously with ἐµβάδες (*Ecclesiazusae*).” Compton-Engle 2015, 66. We might just have to assume that Aristophanes contradicts himself in his different plays.
comedy as well. Walking sticks, however, although mainly used by old men, were also commonly used in comedy by men of a broader age range when attending the Assembly, and thus were probably deemed necessary by Praxagora, the leader of the group. Once the women have put on all the various parts of their disguise, from false beards to cloaks to shoes, they are able to enter the Assembly convincingly as “men” and successfully vote to hand over control of the city to women.

Of course, because the women have taken their husbands’ clothing, the men are left with only feminine attire, since the male characters in this play seem to have only one cloak each. This clothing swap on the men’s side serves no real purpose in the plot, except the addition of a comic scene in which the men come on stage wearing their wives’ cloaks and shoes: instead of ἔμβαδες and ἰμάτια, they wear Περσικαὶ and ἦμιδιπλοίδια.

The act of men dressing up in women’s clothing as a source of humor for the audience appears in Thesmophoriazusae as well, although the cross-dressing here attempts to serve the “serious” purpose of disguise. This time, however, it is only one man -- Euripides’ relative -- who is infiltrating an entirely female assembly, the Thesmophoria, with the goal of restoring Euripides’ tarnished reputation. The relative must thus become convincingly female to the other characters, especially the women, by both shaving his hair and then dressing in female clothing.

The first item of women’s clothing which the relative receives from Agathon, who, as

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30 Stone cites two passages that argue the term can be used generically in comedy, equated with χλαῖνα in Av. 497-8 and ἐγκυκλὼν in Ecc. 526-7, 535. She notes that ἰμάτιον is opposed to τρίβων in Plut. 881-2. Stone 1981, 157-60.
31 Ibid., 145. See also Stone 1981, 246-7.
32 When Blepyrus states that, δὲν ὃδε ἴκεινο ψηλαφῶν οὐκ ἐδύναµην εὑρεῖν…: “When finally, after a lot of grooping around, I just couldn’t find it…” it is taken for granted that he has only one ἰμάτιον. Ar. Eccl. 315-6. Trans. Sommerstein. Sommerstein also cites Av. 715, a passage which implies that it was common practice even for a well-to-do man to buy a new cloak every six months and sell his old one. He concludes, then, that it is common for Athenian men, at least in comedy, to own only one cloak. Sommerstein 1998, 168.
33 One could view the men’s costume change as a “change in status” from respectable Athenian men to objects of ridicule. This change in status through the stripping of clothing is antithetical to Demos’ acquisition of a higher status with the addition of new clothing.
34 Ar. Eccl. 318; 319.
mentioned above, regularly dresses effeminately, is a κροκωτός, a saffron-colored dress.\textsuperscript{35} He also puts on a στρόφιον, ἔγκυκλος,\textsuperscript{36} and shoes,\textsuperscript{37} before Agathon declares, ἔχεις γὰρ ὅν δέει: “Now you’ve got all you need.”\textsuperscript{38} The comedy comes mainly in the scene of depilation, but the mockery of Agathon’s effeminacy and the relative’s transformation into a “woman” must also add humor to the scene, as the relative prepares for his disastrous failure to convincingly pass as a woman. Although Agathon has seemingly completed all the necessary steps to disguise himself outwardly as a woman, his refusal to fully inhabit a woman’s mind, as Agathon does, prevents his new costume from achieving its goal.

IV. A Forced Transformation: Philocleon in \textit{Wasps}

\textit{Wasps} centers around Bdelycleon’s attempt to pull his father Philocleon away from the jury life with which he has been obsessed and initiate him into the lifestyle of what Bdelycleon views as a higher class of Athenians. MacDowell notes that despite the play’s focus on the Athenian jury system, \textit{Wasps} is not simply an attack on this system, but the story of Philocleon and his personal transition from an old way of life to a new one.\textsuperscript{39} The two main characters’ names -- Philocleon and Bdelycleon -- also demonstrate that Aristophanes is making a political statement about Cleon in his play, but the implications of these names and Cleon’s role in Athens

\begin{footnotes}
\item[35] Ar. \textit{Thesm}. 253. This is the same dress worn by the women in \textit{Lys}. 44 when the women are trying to seduce their husbands, showing that in comedy, the κροκωτός was viewed as the most feminine and sexually attractive garment women owned. From the \textit{Lysistrata} passage we also know that the garment was very thin and possibly transparent.
\item[36] A breastband and mantle, respectively. Trans. Sommerstein.
\item[37] Although not explicitly mentioned, but because the relative declares to Agathon, χαλαρά γοῦν χαίρεις φορῶν: “You certainly like wearing them loose!”; Sommerstein argues that the shoes are likely κόθορνοι, the most typically feminine kind of outdoor footwear. Ar. \textit{Thesm}. 263. Trans. Sommerstein. Sommerstein 1994, 174. They were high, loose, soft boots which fitted either foot equally well. Stone 1981, 229-32.
\item[38] Ar. \textit{Thesm}. 264. Trans. Sommerstein.
\item[39] MacDowell 1971, 6.
\end{footnotes}
at this time are outside the current scope of this thesis.\textsuperscript{40} An essential part of what Bdelycleon refers to as the γενναῖος lifestyle to which he is trying to convert his father is the symposium; once Bdelycleon has succeeded in persuading his father to give up his life as a juror, he begins to prepare him for this new life. The initial step in this transition is a change of costume that will supposedly prepare Philocleon for participation at a dinner party.

The clothing change that occurs in \textit{Wasps} is a central part of the play’s turning point: Bdelycleon is trying to \textit{use} the costume change in order to definitively change his father’s lifestyle.\textsuperscript{41} Philocleon has at this point in the play given up his life as a juror, and now Bdelycleon is trying to introduce him to the ways -- τρόποι -- of a more aristocratic lifestyle. In particular, Bdelycleon attempts to prepare him for a symposium, and so he must first strip his father of the old clothing he once wore as a juror and dress him in more appropriate attire.

Up to this point, Philocleon has been wearing a τρίβων as his cloak and ἐµβάδες\textsuperscript{42} on his feet. MacDowell notes that the τρίβων is “the cheapest kind of cloak, often mentioned as a characteristic of poor men, including most of the citizens attending the Assembly or serving as jurors.”\textsuperscript{43} Compton-Engle argues, however, that in this case his τρίβων/ἐµβάδες ensemble serves to emphasize his jury service and civic duty as an Athenian.\textsuperscript{44} Either way, the τρίβων is judged to be incongruous with the new lifestyle Bdelycleon is promoting, and so must be removed.

\textsuperscript{40} For more on Cleon see MacDowell 1971, 1-4; Sommerstein 1983, xvi-ii-; Biles and Olson 2015, lix-xi; and Compton-Engle 2015, 45-6 and 67-74.
\textsuperscript{41} In the first third of the play, Bdelycleon presents clearly what his goals are: τὸν πατέρ’ ... βούλομαι τούτων ἀπαλλαγθέντα τῶν ὀρθροφοιτοσυκοφαντοταλαιπώρων τρόπων ἐν βιον γενναῖον ἔσπερ Μόρυχος. “I want my father to abandon his early-morning-going-out-and-judging-trumped-up-lawsuit-toil-and-torublous habits and live a classy life like Morychus.” Ar. \textit{Ves.} 504-6. Trans. Sommerstein. γενναῖος can have a range of meanings, including ‘noble,’ ‘fine,’ ‘high-minded,’ ‘excellent,’ and in a negative sense that might foreshadow the ending of the play, ‘intense’ and ‘violent.’ LSJ s.v. γενναῖος A1, A2, II.
\textsuperscript{42} See n.17 above.
\textsuperscript{43} MacDowell 1995, 171. MacDowell argues that Philocleon is “poor by choice,” preferring his old cloak and shoes. MacDowell 1971, 10.
\textsuperscript{44} Compton-Engle cites what she calls the “prologue” or initial dialogue of the play, where a slave recounts a dream in which sheep are holding the assembly on the Pnyx, sporting walking sticks and τριβώνια: ἐδοξέ μοι ... ἐν τῇ Πυκνῇ ἐκκλησίαξεν πρόβατα συγκαθήμενα, βακτηρίας ἔχοντα καὶ τριβώνια. “I dreamed there were sheep sitting together in
After a choral interlude, Philocleon comes back on stage arguing with his son, who is trying to convince him to give up his clothing, while he adamantly refuses. Philocleon proclaims that οὐτοὶ ποτὲ ζῶν τοῦτον ἀποδυθήσομαι -- not ever while he is still living will he be stripped of his τρίβων, for ἐπεὶ μόνος μ’ ἔσωσε παρατεταγμένον, δόθ’ ὁ βορέας ὁ μέγας ἐπεστρατεύσατο: it was this alone that saved [his] life when [he] was in the ranks, at the time of the invasion by the Great North Wind. Because of everything the τρίβων represents -- his role as an Athenian juror and also someone who fought in the Persian wars -- to strip Philocleon of his cloak is to deprive him of a basic sign of his social identity. It is important to note the passive voice of the verb ἀποδυθήσομαι: Philocleon is not simply unwilling to take his cloak off himself, but refusing to ever be stripped, although that is exactly what happens, despite his protests. In this scene Philocleon is treated almost like a doll whom Bdelycleon is dressing up, or at least like a troublesome child. Regardless, what is being emphasized in the fact that Philocleon’s protest of οὐτοὶ ποτὲ... ἀποδυθήσομαι is completely disregarded, is his lack of control over his own habits and dress.

assembly on the Pnyx; they had walking-sticks and homespun cloaks." Trans. Sommerstein. Thus Compton-Engle argues that “political activity, and not poverty per se, is the primary connotation of the τριβώνιον in this play.” Compton-Engle 2015, 68.

45 MacDowell notes that here, “gestures, more than words, make clear at once that Bdelycleon is trying to get him to take off his τρίβων and put on the καυνάκης, and he is refusing to do so.” MacDowell 1971, 277.
46 Ar. Ves. 1122. My translation. We must assume that τοῦτον here refers to the τρίβων Philocleon has been wearing for the entirety of the play up to this point. MacDowell 1971, 277. Biles and Olson note that “the accusative τοῦτον is normal with the passive voice of verbs of cleaning” (here, ἀποδυθήσομαι). Smyth 1631; Biles and Olsen 2015, 261.
47 Ar. Ves. 1123-4. Trans. Sommerstein. Sommerstein notes that Philokleon speaks as if the cloak were an old friend and comrade-in-arms to whom he feels bound in gratitude always to be loyal. Sommerstein 1983, 222. MacDowell argues that μόνος here implies that his τρίβων is his only garment; being poor he wears no undergarment (chiton). The comic implication is that he has been wearing the same garment for over fifty years, ever since the Persian wars. MacDowell 1971, 277.
48 Biles and Olson 2015, 415.
The garment that Bdelycleon is forcing upon his father in place of the τρίβων is a χλαίνα, a large piece of woolen cloth which could have been used either as a blanket or as a cloak, warmer and more luxurious than a τρίβων. The thickness, and therefore warmth, of the χλαίνα caused it to be more expensive than a τρίβων and thus was worn by a higher class of Athenians. Philocleon also receives from his son a καυνάκης, a cloak woven from wool with woolen tufts or tassels hanging from it. This type of cloak, also very thick and warm, was imported from Persia; MacDowell argues that this passage shows, through Philocleon’s ignorance, that καυνάκαι were worn by Athenians very rarely. Finally, Bdelycleon orders his father to remove his ἐμβάδες in exchange for Λακωνικαί, shoes that were considered to be finer. This interaction once again implies that Bdelycleon is equipping his father with a better alternative to the clothing which he had been wearing.

It is Philocleon’s refusal to comply with his son’s wishes, combined with his simple ignorance of the clothing he receives, that render him incapable of changing his τρόποι as Bdelycleon wished. After Philocleon has been dressed up -- quite fashionably -- by his son, he is taken out to a symposium where he displays extremely poor behavior that includes physically and verbally abusing others. The costume change in Wasps, then, raises the question of whether -- or to what extent -- a person can truly change on the inside, regardless of what he is wearing or looks like. I would argue that Wasps answers no to this question, and shows that some humans

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49 Bdelycleon says to his father, τὸν τρίβων’ ἄφες, τηνδὲ χλαίναν ἀναβαλοῦ τριβωνικῶς. “Give up your tribon and skillfully put on this chlaina.” My translation. Biles and Olson note that ἄφες is not simply an alternative for “take off” but must mean “give up.” The point is that Philocleon is to be permanently done with his tribon and all it represents. Biles and Olson 2015, 417.
50 MacDowell 1971, 225.
51 Lee 2015, 117.
52 MacDowell 1971, 278.
53 Ibid., 279.
54 Stone 1981, 226. See also Bryant 1899, 98. The argument that Λακωνικαί are finer than ἐμβάδες is drawn solely from passages from Aristophanes.
are, for the most part, incorrigible.

**Conclusion**

An idea that runs throughout all these plays is that clothing and identity are inherently linked. Thus a change of identity mandates a new set of clothes, and clothes are changed in an attempt to effect a change of identity. When Demos is rejuvenated and “becomes young” again, his clothing is made to reflect a utopian picture of Athens in which every aspect of life was glorious. Whether or not this “golden age” utopia ever existed in reality is beside the point; Demos is a symbol of an idealistic version of the city, and his new clothing helps to paint that picture.

While Demos’ new clothes are meant to *reflect* a new identity, the other changes I’ve discussed are performed in order to effect a change in identity that then serves some other purpose. The women in *Ecclesiazusae* willingly don men’s clothing in order to enter the male-dominated sphere of the Assembly, while Euripides’ relative in *Thesmophoriazusae* reluctantly dresses as femininely as possible in order to secretly enter a woman’s gathering as a man. Here an important distinction must be made: the women are *willing* to become men fully so that they may vote in the Assembly, whereas the relative’s demonstrates extreme reluctance throughout the cross-dressing scene as he becomes completely emasculated. I would argue that the *willingness* to fully inhabit the mindset that comes with new clothing -- since clothing and identity are inexplicably linked -- affects whatever goal the clothing change was meant to achieve. The women are able to gain control of the city after voting in the Assembly, having convinced the other men there that they were men themselves. The relative, however, does not successfully “play” a woman; because his clothing and mindset are incongruous, he is caught and thrown out of the Thesmophoria.
The extent to which a character is willing to dress in new clothes and thus change his identity also plays a central role in *Wasps*. Philocleon is opposed to every piece of new clothing his son attempts to give him; his new cloak and shoes must be forced on. Because Philocleon is so resistant to his change of clothing, he is not able to fully embrace the new lifestyle represented by these new clothes. Clothing and status are closely linked in all of these plays, yet if a character changes his clothing he must be *willing* to embrace the change of status that comes with it.
I. Hair in Ancient Greece and its Role in Comedy

Hair was a part of the theatrical costume and was generally attached to the mask -- both head hair and beards.\textsuperscript{55} It is theorized that actors wore a body suit that covered their entire body and distorted their form, and that other body hair may have been painted on.\textsuperscript{56} Most body hair, however, was likely covered by the clothing actors wore on top of the body suits. The hair styles of theatrical costumes reflected the styles of the day: men wore their hair moderately short and had beards. Long hair held a negative connotation, as Stone says: “the free-spending, aristocratic youths, who opt[ed] for the longer styles… arouse[d] the suspicions of their fellow Athenians. Probably because of this group, the wearing of long hair eventually became a figure of speech, denoting one who is pretentious or ostentatious.”\textsuperscript{57} Women typically wore their hair long; short hair styles [were] generally reserved for slave girls, very old women, and those in mourning.\textsuperscript{58}

Hair could also differentiate Athenians from foreigners: while Athenian men kept their beards neat by trimming them, Spartans let their hair and beards grow long and unruly.\textsuperscript{59}

Hair is one of the most visible physical attributes of both men and women, and serves as one of the main distinctions between the masculine and feminine, the juvenile and the mature.

\textsuperscript{55} Compton-Engle 2015, 17.
\textsuperscript{56} Evidence has been drawn from archaeological findings and literary sources to determine that comic actors wore a padded “body suit,” what Compton-Engle calls a \textit{somation}. Compton-Engle posits that pubic hair was then painted onto the body suit. Ibid., 51. Although Compton-Engle is primarily discussing here how a “naked” body would have been represented on stage, the painting of pubic hair becomes very relevant in \textit{Lysistrata} when the women are wearing transparent clothing so that their hair remains visible beneath.
\textsuperscript{57} Stone 1981, 62.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 63.
\textsuperscript{59} Halliwell 1997, 264.
Upon reaching a certain age, boys start visibly becoming men with the growth of facial hair, and both sexes start to grow pubic hair, signifying sexual maturity. Nearly all Greek men wore beards: to choose not to do so was viewed as a sign of effeminacy.⁶⁰ Women’s smooth faces were thus conspicuously distinct from the hairiness of men’s, and also, in the ideal aesthetic, a much paler color, because they spent more of the day inside.⁶¹ Throughout history, hair has also been a trait that can physically distinguish different classes from one another: we see one example in Ecclesiazusae 724, when the free women, having taken control of the city, mandate that the slaves must maintain their pubic hair κατωνάκην τὸν χοίρον ἀποτετιλµένας, “plucked like a woolly frock,” i.e. plucked not at all. This style is contrasted with an example from Lysistrata, when the women have been plucked in the shape of an uppercase delta, δέλτα παρατετιλµέναι: a more constrained, orderly style of pubic hair.

Hair is the physical characteristic that can be manipulated most easily -- more quickly than facial complexion or other body parts -- and body modification was indeed necessary to conform to the Greek ideal. This ideal form was different for men and women, although men were in control of both standards.⁶² A major focus on this path towards the ideal was careful grooming of hair,⁶³ and in particular, pubic hair. In order to be as masculine as possible, men

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⁶⁰ “Adult Athenian men sported full, trimmed beards, which are thus associated with robust male sexuality. Their absence is conversely associated with effeminacy and femininity.” Taaffe 1993, 178.

⁶¹ Ussher notes that the whiteness of women, distinctive on many black-figure Attic vases, was also fostered by cosmetics. Ussher 1973, 83. See Chapter 3 for a further discussion of the complexions of men and women.

⁶² Men’s achievement of the ideal Athenian male body included going to the gymnasium; women had to subject themselves to much more painful body modification processes. Walker states that the ideal state of beauty for ancient women mandated hairlessness. She contrasts the “natural perfection” of men with the idea of “artificial perfection” and cites a scene from a red figure bell krater in which women, most likely hetairai, are depilating themselves with the aid of Eros -- singeing off their pubic hair with oil lamps. She argues that because bell kraters functioned as wine vessels, “the artist may have produced this vase for a male audience engaging in a symposium” and “in order to most appeal to the clients, these women enact the male fantasy, illustrating the Classical penchant for depilated genitalia.” Walker 2012, 4. McLure notes, though, that “so many of the dress behaviors employed by hetairai, such as bathing, hairdressing, and depilation, are shared by proper women.” McLure 2015, 64.

⁶³ The grooming of hair differed for Athenian men and women. As Sherrow notes, “In ancient Greece and Rome, household servants or slaves performed hairdressing functions, including dying hair and shaving. Men who lacked access to private hairdressing and shaving services or those who preferred a more social atmosphere went to a
were to remove no hair: to grow their beards and only trim them, never shave them,\(^\text{64}\) and likewise not remove any hair from the pubic region.\(^\text{65}\) Men were reluctant to tame their own hair because they were reluctant to tame their own natures: the primary significance of hair is the natural, specifically virile and generative, part of man.\(^\text{66}\) Most women, on the other hand, practiced partial or total pubic depilation; difference in style usually depended on social class or age.\(^\text{67}\) Although there are no sources that definitively state that men preferred little to no pubic hair on women, the phrase in *Lysistrata* of δέλτα παρατετιλμέναι, “plucked in the shape of a delta,”\(^\text{68}\) suggests that men were more attracted to carefully trimmed hair, since the women in *Lysistrata* were trying to seduce their husbands and using this style to do so. Pubic depilation was thus decidedly feminine, and intended to make a woman more sexually desirable.\(^\text{69}\) Pubic depilation also removed the physical sign of a women’s sexual maturity and fecundity, and thus all signs of her reproductive power.\(^\text{70}\) This elimination of feminine power in turn gave men power through their visible control over women’s bodies. As for other parts of the body, there is no mention of manipulation of leg hair, but women likely shaved under their arms with razors.\(^\text{71}\) We see evidence of this practice in *Ecclesiazusae*: when the women disguise themselves as men, they must become as hairy as possible, so they throw away their razors: τὸ χυρὸν δὲ γ’ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἔρριψα πρῶτον ἵνα δασυνθείην ὅλη καὶ μηδὲν εἶν ἐτὶ γυναικὶ προσφερής: “The first thing I

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\(^{64}\) “Virtually every adult male who could grow a beard did so, but the occasional references to particularly wild or bushy facial hair suggest that most Athenians kept theirs trimmed and that anyone who did not, or who simply had a particularly thick beard, stood out among his peers.” Austin and Olson 2004, 62.

\(^{65}\) See p. 21 of this thesis for quote from Ar. *Lys*. 800.

\(^{66}\) Levine 1995, 89.

\(^{67}\) Lee 2009, 165.

\(^{68}\) Ar. *Lys*. 151.

\(^{69}\) Lee 2009, 166. Halliwell also argues that “comedy implies that the practice [of depilation] was meant to please male preferences for visible, youthful pudenda.” Halliwell 1997, 268.

\(^{70}\) Walker 2012, 4.

\(^{71}\) The existing evidence for the use of razors comes primarily from the Aristophanic corpus, and it must be noted that comedy did not necessarily mirror social norms. Yet art oftentimes reflects life, so I would argue that Aristophanes’ portrayal of women’s use of razors was not far from the reality.
did was throw my razor out of the house, so that I would get hairy all over and not look like a
woman at all any more.”

The fact that women needed to to conform to men’s standards, based on sexual
desirability, signifies the power that men wielded over women. One manifestation of this
masculine power was the need for women to style their hair in a certain way. Unlike men, who
simply kept their beards neat by trimming them, women underwent various painful processes to
depilate their pubic hair, including plucking and singeing. Even the old women in Lysistrata
have removed their hair completely by singeing it off with a lamp: 

οὐκ ἴδοις καὶ πρὸ ὀβης γραφεὶς ὀναριῶν ὑπονομῆν τῷ λόγχων: “Although I am an old woman you
wouldn’t see it* long-haired, but stripped bare by a lamp.” This line comes as a direct
comparison to an old man’s pubic hair: τὴν λόχην πολλὴν φορεῖς -- “What a thick bush you’ve
got!” -- exaggerating the difference between each sex’s hair, with men’s being πολλὴν and
women’s being nonexistent. Pubic hair that was carefully groomed was representative of an
orderly household and a woman who had been controlled. The δελτα was not merely
aesthetically attractive, then, but representative of a women who had been limited and restrained.

“Women’s properly depilated pubises were [therefore] a sign of feminine acquiescence to the
masculine regulatory fantasy, [whereas any] potential hairiness represented the undisciplined

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72 Ar. Ecc. 65-66. Only women owned and used razors. They appear on a list of feminine equipment in one of
Aristophanes’ fragments. Taaffe 1993, 84. For a man to use or be said to use) a razor was proof of effeminacy.
Sommerstein 1998, 143-4. For a distinction between the cutting of men’s and women’s hair, see Ar. Ach. 849,
where Cratinus’ hair is described as as κεκαρίσμου...μαχαίρα: cut with a single blade. μάχαιρα most commonly
means knife, but can also mean shears or scissors. LSJ s.v. μάχαιρα A, A3. Sommerstein argues, however, that with
73 Evidence for this is by contrast with the Spartans, who let their hair and beards grow long and unruly. Halliwell
1997, 264.
74 The verb used here, ἀποψιλόω, means ‘strip off hair’ or ‘make bald,’ and is not necessarily constrained to
depilation of pubic hair. LSJ s.v. ἀποψιλόω. The sense of complete hair removal comes from the prefix ἀπό; it is
unusual, however, for singeing with a lamp to depilate pubic hair entirely.
75 Ar. Lys. 825-8. My translation. *Ἀντὸν here refers to her σάκανδρος mentioned in the previous line.
76 Ar. Lys. 800. Trans. Sommerstein.
chaos and subversive mess that threatened the symbolic integrity of a man’s self and entire household.”

In Aristophanic comedy, women acknowledge the power that hair holds and use that to their advantage, either as a sexual weapon to taunt men, as in *Lysistrata*, or as a physical disguise to take control of the city, as in *Ecclesiazusae*. When the women in *Ecclesiazusae* physically become men, they also inhabit the masculine role of mandating the proper standards for pubic grooming. In *Thesmophoriazusae*, Euripides’ relative disguises himself not by the addition of hair but by its removal, recognizing that hair is a main distinguishing characteristic between the sexes. This removal of hair and consequently the relative’s emasculation, however, strips him of the power he wielded as a full man, and prohibits him from fully accomplishing his goal of protecting Euripides; Euripides must come and rescue him.

As part of the theatrical costume, the different types of hair function in distinct ways, especially since these types -- beards and pubic hair -- are not equally visible. In *Lysistrata*, the women’s manipulation of their pubic hair is an action that the audience learns about verbally: we do not see the depilation but only hear the result -- that plucking their hair in the shape of a delta will make them more attractive to their husbands. In *Ecclesiazusae* and *Thesmophoriazusae* the manipulation of hair is very visible: the beards the women don in the former play are tangible parts of their theatrical costume which they tie on and take off in full view of the audience. In the latter play, the relative of Euripides experiences a painful depilation of his beard and pubic hair in full view of the audience.

In each of these plays, the characters’ hair is transformed for a specific purpose, but of these acts of manipulation all are connected in some way to gender boundaries and control over the opposite sex. Whether or not the characters are successful in crossing these boundaries or

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77 Platter, Depilation in Old Comedy, 24-5.
gaining power is dependent on whether they are manipulating their own hair -- as in Lysistrata and Ecclesiazusae -- or whether the change is being forced upon them, as in Thesmophoriazusae, as well as in which direction gender boundaries are being crossed.

**Lysistrata: Hair as Weapon**

As the women in Lysistrata gather together in the beginning of the play, comments on their bodies and overall physical appearance are the greetings they give to one another as they each arrive. These greetings add to the comedy of the play, such as when Kalonike gropes Lampito and exclaims: ὡς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμα τιτθίων ἔχεις -- “What beautiful a pair of tits!”78 -- but also hints at the importance of the body and its role in the play overall. The female body and the women’s withholding of their bodies from sex with men are what drive the plot. The careful maintenance of pubic hair plays an essential role in sexual desire as the women strive to make themselves as sexually appealing to their husbands as possible. When Lampito’s companion, Ismenia,79 arrives as a representative from Boeotia, Myrrhine points out, καλὸν γ’ ἔχουσα τὸ πεδίον: “What a fine plain she has!”80 Kalonike immediately adds, καὶ κοµψότατα τὴν βληχώ γε παρατετιλένη: “And very elegant, having been plucked like a pennyroyal.”81 The use of the superlative κοµψότατα -- that Ismenia is especially elegant or refined because of how she has plucked her pubic hair82 -- points to hair’s important contribution to a woman’s overall beauty. It is unclear whether the carefully plucked pubic hair would actually be visible to the audience;

78 Ar. Lys. 84. Trans. Sommerstein.
79 This is the name Sommerstein gives to the silent woman who accompanies Lampito.
80 Ar. Lys. 88. Sommerstein translates πεδίον as “lowland region,” and states that it is a reference both to the fertile plains for which Boeotia was noted and to Ismenia’s pubic region. Sommerstein 1990, 160. Henderson also notes that πεδίον is slang for the female pubis. Henderson 1987, 78. Dover argues that the full humor of this passage is only possible when the different parts of the female anatomy are indicated on the suitably attired male actors. He then adds that the plucking and shaping of pubic hair was commonly practiced by ancient women; not to do so was felt to be careless and slovenly. Dover 19, 67.
81 Ar. Lys. 89. My translation.
82 Kilmer notes that κοµψότατα indicates refinement and delicacy -- “something cultivated and cared for, rather than wild.” Kilmer 1982, 106.
Ismenia might be wearing a thin, transparent dress or some other clothing through which the actor’s body suit is somewhat discernible, or the actors are simply describing what her hair might look like. It is best to assume, however, that within the bounds of the play, the women’s pubic hair is visible to all of the characters. The visibility of Ismenia’s pubic hair and likely her entire pubic region looks forward to the fact that if hair is to be an effective sexual weapon within the confines of the play, and used to taunt the men, it must be noticeable to the characters.

The verb that is used by Kalonike, παρατίλλω, means “to pluck hair from any part of the body but the head,” and implies thinning or shaping, rather than plucking hair completely.84 Παρατίλλω is found only in the corpus of Aristophanes, always as a perfect middle/passive participle, and is only ever used to describe women. The fact that the participle could be middle -- that the women have plucked themselves/their hair -- implies that the women have at least a small amount of control over their own bodies. Reading παρατετιλμένη as passive, though, reveals the male control of the female body: women lack agency over how their own bodies should look. The standards for how a woman should groom her pubic hair in order to be most beautiful have been internalized, so although it may seem like the women have control over the men and their bodies, they in fact do not. The women are not the ones who consciously decided to pluck their hair a certain way: it was men who created this standard and the women are simply conforming to that ideal.85 When women are actively plucking their own hair -- when the verb is read as middle -- they are doing so in a way, δέλτα παρατετιλμέναι, that reveals that men have ultimate control.

83 LSJ s.v. παρατίλλω l. c.
84 Kilmer 1982, 106. The sense of thinning or shaping comes from the prefix παρά, “at the side of.”
85 It is important to note that Aristophanes is likely writing for a primarily male audience, and so is entertaining the male fantasy of a hairless woman. Thus the women’s lack of control over their own bodies may be more exaggerated, as aspects of everyday Athenian life could be in comedy.
The prefix παρά, ‘beside’ or ‘contrary to,’ can also suggest otherness; a woman is a “para-male.”86 Men never plucked their pubic hair, however, so παρά can serve to emphasize the difference between male and female pubic hair. Παρατίλλω is the same verb used not much later, when Lysistrata describes how the women should dress and act in order to be the most sexually appealing to men, while simultaneously having no intention to engage in sex:

εἰ γὰρ καθοίμηθ’ ἐνδόν ἐντετριμμέναι,
kάν τοῖς χιτονίοισι τοῖς Αμοργίνοις
γυμναὶ παρίοιμεν δέλτα παρατετιλμέναι,
στόιντο δ’ ἄνδρες κάπαθμοίεν σπλέκον,
ήμεῖς δὲ μὴ προσώπομεν ἂλλ’ ἀπεχοίμεθα,
σπονδὰς ποιήσαιντ’ ἂν ταχέως, εὐ οἶδ’ ὅτι.

“If we sat at home, having been made-up, and came into their rooms naked in our Amorgian frocks, plucked in the shape of a delta, and our husbands got all stiff and desired to have sex, and if we didn’t come to them, but kept away, they would quickly make peace treaties, I know that well.”87

In her instructions to the women on how to physically present themselves, Lysistrata mentions their make-up, clothing, and hair, in that order, with hair being touched upon last and thus, I would argue, most emphatically. Lysistrata urges the women to pluck their pubic hair in the shape of a delta, that is, in a neat triangle, which, as a geometric shape and a letter, is a symbol of society and order.88

The manipulation of hair is being used here as a sexual weapon, with the women momentarily gaining power over their own bodies and their husbands at the same time. They are instructed to make themselves as physically desirable as possible, taunting the men with their

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87 Ar. Lys. 149-54. My translation.
88 Kilmer writes that δέλτα παρατετιλμέναι implies “partial, rather than complete, depilation: a garden, not a jungle.” Kilmer 1982, 106. Additionally, there are, of course, other geometric shapes that could also be symbols of order, such as the circle. An upside-down delta, however, is the most natural choice here for the shape into which the women are plucking their pubic hair.
beautiful bodies, and yet withhold pleasure from the men until they cede to the women’s demands: to end the war and thus return to their roles as husbands. Once again we see that in order for hair to be effective as a weapon in this case, it must be visible to men: the women should wear only χιτώνιονες and otherwise be γυμναί. The use of the diminutive form of χιτών suggests that these garments are especially delicate and transparent, used to cover but not hide the women’s pubic hair, which we might imagine as painted onto the actors’ somatia. Yet the women’s power is, to some extent, an illusion: they are conforming to male standards in the manipulation of their hair and their ultimate goal is to entice their husbands back to the oikos and eventually to bed, where presumably men played the dominant role.

Later in the play, during the agon between the choruses of old men and old women, the manipulation of hair is used as a threat of emasculation. The first example of this rhetoric occurs when one old woman responds to the proboulos, who has just ordered an archer to take hold of another woman, that she will pluck out his inset hairs: εἴ τάρα ταύτη πρόσει, ἐκκοκκίζω σου τὰς στενοκώκυτος τρίχας: “If you come near her, I’ll tear out your groanwailing hair!” The verb that is used, ἐκκοκκίζω, can mean either “pluck out hair” or “take out seeds.” This second meaning of taking out seeds is what conveys a sense of emasculation by alluding to the removal of “male seeds” or sperm. Not only are the women withholding sex, they are threatening to physically extract the men’s masculinity. The full meaning of the adjective στενοκώκυτος, used to describe the proboulos’ hairs, is “so fast set in, that one screams when it is pulled out,” so this action of plucking was intended to cause extreme pain. In this instance, the old women hold

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89 Henderson translates γυμναί as “scantily clothed,” and notes that the women were probably wearing the kind of Amorgina that were diaphanous. Henderson 1987, 95. It must also be remembered that γυμναί implies “stage nakedness;” all actors were wearing a body suit (somation) over which any clothes were worn and would never actually be close to truly naked.
91 LSJ s.v. ἐκκοκκίζω Α.
92 LSJ s.v. στενοκώκυτος Α.
power over men, although only verbally. This scene also serves to remind the audience how painful the processes that women underwent regularly, when depilating their pubic hair, were.

Within this play the manipulation of hair is carried out in order to gain power, or used as a threat in order to gain the upperhand in an agon. Carefully sculpting their pubic hair is an important step for the women of Lysistrata in luring their husbands from the battlefield to bed, the ultimate goal of the play. Hair as a costume -- and its manipulation as a costume change -- play only a small role in this play, though, as much of the manipulation of hair is accomplished verbally, leaving the majority of the change to the audience’s imagination.

Ecclesiazusae: Hair as Disguise

Ecclesiazusae begins with an ode to a λύχνος, the device with which, as we saw in Lysistrata, women could depilate their pubic hair. Praxagora even refers to this function of the lamp outright: μόνος δὲ μηρῶν εἰς ἀπορρήτους μυχοὺς λάμπεις ἀφεύων τὴν ἐπανθοῦσαν τρίχα: “You alone, into the forbidden corners of our thighs, shine, singeing off the blooming hair.”

The women in this play, however, reject the customary feminine practice of depilation in order to disguise themselves as men and take control of the city. Hair is the most important part of their disguises because it is the characteristic that most visibly and instantly distinguishes between men and women. Presumably with the addition of certain clothing, breasts and phalloi could be hidden and less able to mark gender. Hair is what is able to both physically transform the female characters into men and grant them the power in the assembly, outside of the oikos, that men usually wield. The clothing of their husbands, which the women also adorn as a disguise, is a costume change secondary to their hair changes.

In order to transform their hair and become men, the women must first cease to depilate their own hair. They first throw away their razors so that their armpits become ‘λόχης δασυτέρας’ -- bushier than a shrubbery -- and ἵνα... μὴ δὲν ἔην ἐτι γυναικὶ προσφερῆς -- “so that they resemble women not at all.” The adjective used here, δασυτέρας, meaning hairy, shaggy, or rough, is especially masculine, as opposed to κομήτης, long-haired, used by the old woman in Lysistrata 828 to describe what her pubic hair is not. Hairy armpits would have been especially notable in the ecclesia, where people would raise their hands to vote, and thus expose their underarms, but to the theater audience it is unlikely that the hair under the actors’ arms was very visible -- if visible at all. The women’s declarations about throwing their razors away, then, are simply to aid the audience’s imagination.

Anti-depilation alone could not fully transform the women in Ecclesiazusae into men, though, because hair growth would not extend to the face, where the presence or absence of hair most immediately reveals a person’s sex. The women must therefore sew and attach beards onto their faces in order to physically appear like men. Even this part of their disguise is not perfect, however: the beards stand out against the pale skin of the women’s faces, despite the fact that some of them have tried to become more tan. Beards were normally associated with a dark, firm, masculine face, and so look incongruous against the background of the soft and pale skin.

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96 δασύς is most commonly used to describe men’s beards or animal’s fur. LSJ s.v. δασύς Α 1. Sommerstein notes that it can be used both of skin -- “covered with hair” -- and of ground -- “covered with shrubs or trees.” Sommerstein 1998, 143. Since women are generally not “covered with hair,” δασύς is thus a more masculine adjective.
97 κομήτης: wearing long hair, of the Persians, Orac. ap. Hdt. 6.19; of dissolute men, Pherecr.14, Ar. Nu. 348, 1101. LSJ s.v. κομήτης Α.
98 Bergren 2008, 326.
99 One woman comments that ἄσπερ ἐὰν τὰς σηπίας πώγωνα περιθοῦσειν ἐσταθειμένας: “It’s as if someone tied beards on to lightly browned cuttlefish.” Ar. Ecc. 126-7. Trans. Sommerstein.
100 ἀλειπαμένῃ τὸ σῶμ᾽ ὅλον δὴ ἡμέρας ἐχρανόμενον ἐστάδα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον: “after anointing my whole body with oil, I became tan, having stood near the sun through the day.” Ar. Ecc. 63-4. Sommerstein notes that the imperfect form of λειπαίνω implies that her attempt to become tan was unsuccessful. Sommerstein 1998, 143.
complexions of the women. The women are able to deceive the men regardless of how “white-faced” -- λευκοπληθής -- they are because the other men think they are simply shoemakers who work inside, away from the sun, all day.

Depilation of pubic hair is not mentioned, although it would have been technically unnecessary -- both within the bounds of the play and as part of the actors’ costumes -- since the women’s pubic regions would be covered by their husbands’ cloaks. If the women were to uncover this area of their bodies, however, they would immediately reveal their true sex and identities. Praxagora alludes to this exposure of their sex after the women have arrived at the ecclesia and are reviewing the plan:

οὐκοὖν καλὰ γ’ ἂν πάθοιμεν, εἰ πλήρης τύχοι
ό δὴμος ἄν κάπειθ’ ὑπερβαίνονσά τις
ἀναβαλλομένη δείξει τὸν Φορμίσιον.
ἡν δ’ ἐγκαθεζώµενη καθαρὰ ὑπερβαίνει,
λήσοµεν εἰσερχόµεναι θαµάτια· τὸν πώγωνά τε
ἄνθρωπον ὑπερβαίνει ὑπερβαίνει ἔκει,
τίς οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀνδραὶς ἡγήσαιθ’ ἡρών;

“It would be a fine thing for us, if the Assembly was already full, and then one of us was climbing over them, lifted up her clothes and revealed her real Phormisius! But if we get ourselves seated first, nobody will see who we are if we draw the cloaks tight around us; and when we sport the long beards that we’re going to have tied on there, who that sees us won’t think we’re men?”

It is unclear whether they must hide their pubic regions because they have carefully groomed, feminine pubic hair underneath, or simply because they lack phalloi. Even so, Praxagora affirms that the most important piece of their disguise is their beards: as long as the women have adorned

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101 Ibid, 149.
102 καὶ δῆτα πάντες σκυτοτόµοις ἠκάζοµεν ὁρῶντες αὐτούς. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ’ ὑπερφυῶς ὡς λευκοπληθής ἦν ἱδεῖν ἡκκλησία: “And actually, seeing them, we thought they all looked like shoemakers; it really was extraordinary how full of white faces the Assembly was to look at.” Ar. Ecc. 385-7. Trans. Sommerstein.
103 Phormisius was a Greek man alive around the time these plays were written. He had a particularly bushy beard, which here serves as a metonym for the women’s pubic hair. Cf. Ar. Ran. 966 where Phormisius is also mentioned. Sommerstein 1998, 147.
this masculine attribute, they will easily pass as men. Apparently all it took to be taken for a man in Aristophanic comedy was a beard: sex could be identified by hair alone,\footnote{Bergren 2008, 328.} since the women only attached beards onto their faces and did not construct phalloi. The fact that the women did not necessarily have to cease depilating their pubic hair in order to become men can be contrasted with the relative’s transformation in the \textit{Thesmophoriazusae}: he could not fully become a woman without painfully singeing off his hair. This suggests that women were able to more easily cross between gender boundaries, whereas a man becoming a woman had to fully embrace the subordination and standards to which women in ancient Greece were subjected.

Once the women have successfully voted in the assembly to hand control of the city over to the women, they immediately strip off their disguises -- another costume change in full view of the audience -- and externally become women once again. The swiftness with which they are able to transition between genders is seen both in the addition and removal of their disguises. At the beginning of the play, Praxagora urges one woman to “tie her beard on and \textit{quickly} become a man:” \textit{περιδοῦ καὶ ταχέως ἀνὴρ γενοῦ.}\footnote{Ar. \textit{Ecc.} 121.} The brevity of this statement and the grammatical simplicity seen in the two imperatives imply the ease with which the women don their disguises and new identities. After leaving the assembly the women waste no time changing back to ‘their former selves;’ the chorus instructs: \textit{ὡς \ πάλιν μετασκεύαξε σαυτής αὐθις ἡπερ ἠσθα:} “So it’s best that we shouldn’t waste time and hang around wth beards tied on our chins …change yourself back again to be the person you were.”\footnote{Ar. \textit{Ecc.} 493-4, 499. Trans. Sommerstein.} This transition is both swift and painless: the women simply had to remove their beards and change their clothing.

\footnote{Bergren 2008, 328.} \footnote{Ar. \textit{Ecc.} 121.} \footnote{Ar. \textit{Ecc.} 493-4, 499. Trans. Sommerstein.}
Although the women will now rule the city as their true selves, they seized control by taking on the appearance of men. The question now arises of how well the women will be able to rule since they are now fully feminine and not quasi-male. Having inhabited a masculine role at the ecclesia, the women maintain a male mindset even after they have removed their male disguises. This is seen when the women mandate the grooming of pubic hair for different classes and ages of women, just as men had been subtly controlling the standards for women’s hair based on sexual desirability and male dominance. To distinguish free women from slave girls, Praxagora orders that slave girls should sleep only with other slaves and “pluck themselves like a woolly flock:” κατωνάκην τὸν χοίρον ἀποτετιλμένας. As in Lysistrata, the manipulation of hair is linked to acquisition of power. The women’s external masculine appearance -- primarily their beards, but also their husbands’ clothing -- grants the women power in the assembly. Once the women have changed their costumes for a second time, though, and taken off their beards, their control of the city becomes comic: a chance for Aristophanes to poke fun at what would happen if women ever were to run the state. Although the female characters are able to easily “become men” by changing their costume, they only have power while donning a male disguise, and not while wearing female costume and hairstyles.

**Thesmophoriazusae: Depilation as Emasculation**

*Thesmophoriazusae* begins with Euripides and his relative on their way to the house of the playwright Agathon. Since Agathon is the epitome of an effeminate man, Euripides believes he would fit in perfectly among the women at the Thesmophoria, who are meeting to decide how to seek revenge against Euripides’ negative portrayal of them in his plays. Agathon dresses in women’s clothing and is fully shaved, and as Euripides points out, is εὐπρόσωπος λευκός.

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108 Ar. Ecc. 724.
ἐξυρηµένος γυναικόφωνος ἀπαλός εὐπρεπής ἰδεῖν: “Fresh-faced, fair-complexioned, clean-shaven, with a woman’s voice, soft cheeks, and attractive looks.”

Agathon carries himself like a woman because he believes that, 

γυναικεῖ ἢν ποιῇ τις δράµατα, μετουσίαν δεῖ τῶν τρόπων τὸ σῶµ’ ἔχειν: “If one is writing plays about women, one’s body must participate in their habits.”

This echoes one of the themes we see in the Ecclesiazusae: outward appearance affects one’s ability to achieve one’s goals. Just as the women donned the costumes of men in order to participate in the male sphere of the ecclesia, Agathon dons the costume of a woman in order to act like a woman and better write female roles. Agathon is visibly contrasted with Euripides, who is gray-haired and bearded: πολλός καὶ πώγων [ἐχων]. Euripides is thus the embodiment of masculinity because of his hair, whereas Agathon exemplifies an exaggerated feminity. Agathon even goes so far as to own a razor, which he presumably uses to depilate his underarms and maintain a smooth, beardless face.

Agathon refuses to assist Euripides, however, so Euripides’ relative agrees to help. To blend in with the women at the Thesmophoria, since it was a women’s only festival, the relative must outwardly transform into a woman, similar to how the women in the Ecclesiazusae changed their costumes to ‘become’ men. In order to do this, he must first remove all of his hair: both his beard and his pubic hair. Euripides tells his relative that what must be done is ἀποξυρεῖν ταδί, τὰ κάτω δ’ ἀφεῖειν. Even though the relative’s pubic hair would have been hidden by his cloak, pubic depilation was deemed necessary in this case in order for the relative to fully become a woman. The depilation scene also adds another level of bodily humor to the play for the audience. The relative’s transition, though, emphasizes the difficulty for men in comedy in

111 The full line is “I am grey-haired and have a beard.” Ar. Thesm. 190. Trans. Sommerstein.
112 “To shave off this [his beard] and singe off what’s down below:”Ar. Thesm. 215-6. Trans. Sommerstein.
crossing gender boundaries: the women in *Ecclesiazusae* likely did not cease their customary pubic depilation, but it was deemed necessary for the relative to strip off all his pubic hair in order to convincingly disguise himself as a woman.\(^{113}\)

The verb ἀποξύρω, “to get shaved” appears twice in the Aristophanic corpus: here, and at the end of the play when the relative is describing, through the voice of Andromeda, the transformation he underwent.\(^{114}\) Ἀποξύρω only occurs in the speech of men, and implies the shaving of beards. It is a very masculine verb, then, in contrast with ἀφεύω, the verb Praxagora uses in her ode to λίχνος at the beginning of *Ecclesiazusae*. The fact that ἀποξύρω, although active, has the passive meaning of ‘to get shaved’ underlines the relative’s gradual emasculation.

The entire depilation process is very painful, beginning with the shaving of the relative’s beard with a razor. Normally men would not shave their beards at all, just trim them. After the relative nearly runs away with half his face shaved, Euripides manages to fully depilate his facial hair. The relative then exclaims, οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ψιλός αὐτῷ στρατεύσομαι: “Poor me, I’ll have to serve my next campaign in the Bare Skin Brigade!”\(^{115}\) Ψιλός here carries the double meaning of “clean-shaven” and “light-armed;” stripped either of hair or armor.\(^{116}\) In this case, the relative being metaphorically stripped of armor means being stripped of everything that makes him a man. He even calls himself Cleisthenes when he looks in the mirror, a figure Aristophanes frequently pokes fun at in his comedy for being feminine.

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113 Of course, even within the bounds of the play, if the relative’s pubic region had been exposed, his sex would have been revealed by his phallus, regardless of whether or not he had depilated his pubic hair. The depilation scene in *Thesmophoriazusae* acts as a counterpart to the “anti-depilation” scene -- the addition of beards -- in *Ecclesiazusae*. While the relative’s pubic depilation is not necessary in practice, as just stated, it is meant to aid him in mentally transforming into a woman, like Agathon, and also adds to the humor of the scene.

114 ὃς ἐμ’ ἀποξύρησε πρῶτον: “he who first shaved me…” *Ar. Thesm.* 1043.

115 *Ar. Thesm.* 232. Trans. Sommerstein. Sommerstein notes that Athens had no light-armed troops of her own in the fifth century (cf. Thuc. 4.94.1); the light-armed forces that did serve in Athenian campaigns were always allies or mercenaries (cf. e.g. Thuc. 4.28.4, 7.60.4). Thus it would be a great disgrace for an Athenian citizen to have to serve as a light-armed solider -- just as the relative feels it a great disgrace to be beardless. Sommerstein 1994, 172. See also Rogers 1911, 26-7.

116 LSJ s.v. ψιλός II, 2c.
The singeing of the relative’s pubic hair is even more painful than the shaving of his face, but is also a very comic scene, in which Euripides is holding a torch to his relative’s backside while the relative is shouting about catching on fire. He also shouts about “being made a pig of:” οἴμοι κακοδαίμων δελφάκιον γενήσομαι,117 punning on the fact that the word for pig118 is also slang for female pudenda. Moreover, they both undergo depilation -- a pig before slaughter and a woman for sex. This schaudenfraude on the part of the audience is at the expense of women, reminding us that Aristophanes was writing for a primarily male audience: the processes that the relative must experience only once are the same that the women undergo nearly every day, in making themselves sexually desirable for men. The men in the audience are able to laugh because they personally will never have to experience this pain, only their wives will, since women are under the subordination of masculine standards. Once the more important task of depilation has been finished, the relative completes his transformation into a woman by dressing himself in feminine clothing. Just as in Ecclesiazusae, though, the clothing costume change is secondary to the hair changes: much more attention is given to the importance of transforming the relative’s hair into that of a woman.

Unlike the women in Lysistrata and Ecclesiazusae, who changed their hair in order to gain power over men, the relative plays a passive role in the manipulation of his hair and thus does not succeed in having any influence over the women at the Thesmophoria. The costume change which the relative undergoes, in full view of the audience, is a drawn-out process of emasculation as he loses first his facial hair, then his pubic hair. It is when the relative becomes essentially an effeminate man, like Agathon, that he has no power: just as the women in Ecclesiazusae lost their influence over men once they “changed back” into women.

117 Ar. Thesm. 237.
118 Aristophanes uses the word δελφάκιον here for pig; χοῖρος also means pigs and likewise is used as a slang word for female genitalia. LSJ s.v. χοῖρος A, A2. See Ar. Ach. 781.
Conclusion

Just as depilation is impermanent because hair continuously grows back, everything the audience sees on stage is temporary. Any appearance of power women have held on stage: the seizure of the Acropolis in *Lysistrata*, the implementation of a communistic government in *Ecclesiazusae*, the ability to confront Euripides about the content of his plays, are non-existent in reality. Even within each of these plays, female power is tenuous.

In the *Lysistrata* the women must embody an exaggerated femininity in order to taunt their husbands. Their ultimate goal, however, is to return to their stereotypical role as wives, catering to their husbands’ needs when they are home and not away at war. Becoming more and more feminine ultimately translates to becoming a more overplayed version of a subversive woman. In dressing themselves and styling their hair in a certain way, the women have done nothing original: they are simply playing to the beauty men require of them. By withholding sex, their ultimate act of agency, the women exhibit the masculine trait of restraint: in this instance of power the women have lost all femininity. There is no way that women can gain power without becoming masculine or utilizing male desire to their advantage.

In the *Ecclesiazusae* we see this same paradox: in order to gain control of the city, the women must first outwardly become men in the eyes of the genuine men at the ecclesia and in the eyes of the audience. Whereas the women in *Lysistrata* form their bodies in the image of male desire, the women in *Ecclesiazusae* form themselves in the image of the male himself.119 Once they have seized power, the women strip themselves of their physical disguises -- their fake beards and husbands’ clothing, and presumably depilate their hair once again -- to return fully to their feminine selves. Despite having lost their physical masculinity, however, the women rule

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119 Bergren 2008, 325.
as men had before: in one case, by mandating standards for hair based on sexual desirability. The absurdity -- for the audience -- of the women’s structure of the polis as a larger oikos is Aristophanes jokingly imagining what would happen if women were really allowed to rule, outside of the theater. The impermanence of everything in this play -- starting with the women’s male disguises -- remind the audience that their male power is the thing that is stable.

Turning finally to the Thesmophoriazusae, the fact that the relative’s true sex was eventually exposed at the Thesmophoria shows us that masculinity, unlike femininty, cannot be disguised. There is no sense in hiding one’s masculinity if it is the very thing that gives one power. Men in women’s clothing and with women’s hair become symbolically stripped of their power when they give up their inherent masculinity: like Agathon, they are ridiculed by more “manly” men. The only way for a cross-dressed actor, on stage or in real life, to restore his integrity and his identity is by exposing the masculinity under his disguise.120 The relative’s emasculation is temporary because his hair will eventually grow back. The fact that women must incessantly depilate their hair is representative of the fact that they are eternally subversive to men. The manipulations of hair that take place as costume changes on stage reflect and enforce the gender relations that exist off-stage.

120 Taaffe 1993, 113.
CHAPTER THREE

MASKS

I. Masks in Ancient Theater

There is both textual and visual evidence that masks were an essential component of ancient theater, in tragedy as well as in comedy. In the *Ars Poetica*, Horace states that Thespis, the first person to separate an actor from the chorus, invented a new kind of tragedy, in which performers smeared their faces with wine lees (*faex*).\(^{121}\) Horace ascribes the invention of mask proper (*persona*) to Aeschylus, along with other conventions of tragedy,\(^{122}\) although masks were probably being used by earlier tragedians like Phrynichus. Phrynichus, a pupil of Thespis, is credited in the Suda with introducing ‘female’ masks, which Margarete Bieber interprets as meaning the initiation of the dark-light color code for male and female masks (see below).\(^{123}\) Edith Hall argues for a connection between tragic masks and ancient painting and sculpture, rather than Dionysiac rituals: “The mask was less a ritual hangover than a marker of the mimetic nature of the theater.”\(^{124}\)

\(^{121}\) *Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis, quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.* “The theretofore nonexistent Tragic genre was first invented, so they say, by Thespis, whose players went from town to town on wagons, their faces painted with the lees of wine.” Hor. *Ars.* 275-7. Trans. Ferry.

\(^{122}\) *Post hunc personae pallaeque repertor honestae Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.* “translation.” Hor. *Ars.* 278-80. Hall cites Suda s.v. οἱ 357 in which Aeschylus is reputed to be the first to stage *terrifying masks painted with colors:* προσωπεῖα δεῖνα χρώματι κυριακένα. Hall 2006, 118.

\(^{123}\) Stone 1981, 20. For evidence about Phrynichus see Suda, s.v. “Phrynichus.” Also see Bieber 1937, 2070-2105. Edith Hall supports this view; of the titles attributed to Thespis -- *Funeral Games of Pelias, Priests,* and *Pentheus* -- none require us to imagine female characters or choruses. Phrynichus’ plays, however, include such titles as *Alcestis* and *Phoenician Women,* tragedies in which women would have played central roles. Phrynichus therefore required a way to distinguish between male and female characters, hence the invention of different masks. Hall 2006, 120.

\(^{124}\) Hall 2006, 101.
Turning to comedy, comic masks do seem to derive their origin from Dionysiac ritual: Laura Stone notes that masks were used by priests and dancers in order to conceal identity during these revels, as well as during phallic processions.\textsuperscript{125} Similarly in ancient theater, masks concealed the identity of the actor in favor of the character they were portraying. Aristotle states in his \textit{Poetics} that certain conventions had already been established in comedy before there is any mention of comic poets.\textsuperscript{126} Masks were one of these conventions of comedy, as they were in tragedy, although “who introduced masks [to comedy] is unknown.”\textsuperscript{127} Vases from the late fifth and early fourth centuries, discovered in Greece and southern Italy, contain illustrations of what comic masks, what Aristotle calls \textit{τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον}, might have looked like.\textsuperscript{128} These masks represented human faces whose features were distorted for comic effect,\textsuperscript{129} and, in some plays, masks represented the faces of animals and gods as well.

On one level, masks functioned just as characters’ clothing did: as a distinguishing factor between the sexes and classes. Masks were painted different colors to convey certain information about a character’s sex or nature. Stereotypically, men’s complexions were tanned from being outside in the sun, so male characters usually wore masks painted a dark red color.\textsuperscript{130} Stone cites a passage in \textit{Ecclesiazusae} in which a woman is explaining that, in order to disguise herself as a man, she oiled herself and sat out in the sun.\textsuperscript{131} The scholia to this passage explain the purpose of sitting in the sun: ὅστε μέλαινα γενέσθαι ὡς ἀνήρ, in order to become dark like a

\textsuperscript{125} Stone 1981, 20.
\textsuperscript{126} ἰδὶ δὲ σχῆμα ἰνα αὐτῆς ἔχοντος οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μημονεύονται. Arist. \textit{Poet.} 1449b. “Comedy had already taken definite shape when comic poets, distinctively so called, are heard of.” Trans. Butcher.
\textsuperscript{127} τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν … ἦγονται. Ar. \textit{Poet}. 1449b. It is also unknown who ‘invented’ (ἀπέδωκεν) prologues (ἡ προλόγως) and the numbers of actors (ἡ πλῆθος ὑποκριτῶν).
\textsuperscript{128} McCart 2007, 258. Also see the Appendix of Stone 1981 (p. 453) for pictures of vases and statuary.
\textsuperscript{129} Aristotle briefly states that: τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης; “the comic mask is ugly and distorted, but does not imply pain.” Arist. \textit{Poet.} 1449a. Trans. Butcher. See n.149 below for a discussion of portrait masks.
\textsuperscript{130} Stone 1981, 23.
\textsuperscript{131} ἀλειψα ἡ τὸ σῶμα ἐλειχα ἡμέρας ἔχοντος ἕστωσα πρὸς τὸν ἑλίον. “I oiled myself all over and stood in the sun all day to get a tan.” Ar. \textit{Eccl.} 63-4. Trans. Sommerstein.
Women, on the other hand, had paler complexions, usually described in Aristophanes as ἱεράς, which can be translated as ‘light’ or ‘white,’ since idealized women tended to stay inside away from the sun. The pallor of women’s complexions was seen as attractive: Stone cites a passage from *Birds* in which Pisthetaerus praises the Nightingale for being beautifully ἱεράς as well as several passages from *Ecclesiazusae.*

It was not only women who had pale complexions, however; in one passage from the *Ecclesiazusae,* a man comments on the light complexions of the women at the Assembly, assuming they are shoe-makers who stay inside all day when working. Women’s masks were pale because they reflected the stereotypes of the day, but the passage from *Ecclesiazusae* points to the fact that some men also had lighter complexions, if their professions required them to stay indoors. Effeminate men and philosophers were types of characters who would also wear masks painted a lighter color, instead of the dark masks usually worn by male characters. Effeminate men wore white masks because of their similarity to, or desire to be like, women, whereas philosophers did so because they stayed inside studying, away from the sun. Stone observes, however, that the words chosen to describe the pale faces of each of these two groups are different: effeminate men’s faces were usually proclaimed to be ἱεράς, a word which maintains the positive connotation it held when describing women’s pale faces, whereas

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133 See Ar. Av. 668, Ar. Thesm. 191, Ar. Ran. 1089-93, Ar. Eccl. 428; 699.
134 LSJ gives the definitions light, bright, and clear for ἱεράς and notes that it is opposite to μύλος (dark) in all senses.
136 ἄν οὖν ἀδικίαν ἐπιτεθηκέν τόσοις, ὡς καὶ τά σκοτάδια ἠδύναμον. “And actually, seeing them, we thought they all looked like shoemakers; it really was extraordinary how full of white faces the Assembly was to look at.” Ar. Eccl. 385-7. Trans. Sommerstein.
137 The fact that philosophers’ faces were pale from staying indoors studying will be important in my discussion of Pheidippides in *Clouds.*
philosophers’ were ὀχροί: pale or sallow.\textsuperscript{138} Agathon, in *Thesmophoriazusae*, is an effeminate man, who dresses himself and acts like a woman in order to better write female theatrical roles; his face, Euripides notes, is λευκός.\textsuperscript{139} The students of Socrates, on the other hand, stay inside most of the time,\textsuperscript{140} causing Pheidippides to label them as “ὠχριῶντας” or “pale-faces.”\textsuperscript{141} When men wear white masks that would normally be donned by women, the audience is able to recognize them as men either by their beards or, in the case of Agathon, an introduction by another character.\textsuperscript{142}

Stone also argues that different masks were used for different types of characters: although these types were more clearly defined by the time of New Comedy, she argues for five different sets of type masks, based on the fact that lines of text were not wasted on establishing the status and circumstances of all persons; instead, characters’ age or status could be determined by their masks. The types of characters, and therefore masks, Stone presents are: older men, younger men, slaves, older and middle-aged women, and younger women.\textsuperscript{143} Men were distinguished from women not only by mask color but also by beards -- unless they were

\textsuperscript{138}Stone 1981, 24. Stone suggests that the difference in terminology was reflected in the color of the mask, and that the masks of the philosophers were yellowish, while those of the effeminates were pure white. Barnard translates ὀχριῶντας in *Clouds* 103 as “having yellowish skin,” noting that it is “neither the desirable pallor of women nor the ruddy tone of normal men.” Barnard 1987, 8. LSJ notes that ὀχρός is also used frequently in Lucan of philosophers.

\textsuperscript{139}Ar. *Thesm.* 191.

\textsuperscript{140}ἀλλ’ ὦ γ̄ιν τ’ αὔτοισι πρὸς τὸν ἄερα ἔξω διατρίβειν πολὺν ἐστὶν χρόνον. “No, they aren’t allowed to spend too much time in the air.” Ar. *Nub.* 198-99. Trans. Sommerstein. Starkie notes that this “aversion to the open air” was “un-Greek.” Starkie 1911, 53. Also see Barnard 1987, 13.

\textsuperscript{141}τοὺς ὀχριῶντας τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις, ἂν ὁ κακοδαίµων Σωκράτης; “you’re talking about the palefaces, the men with no shoes, such as that god-forsaken Socrates.” Ar. *Nub.* 103-4. Trans. Sommerstein. Starkie translates ὀχριῶντας as “suffering from the disease of pallor” -- the hue “produced by jaundice,” which was a “natural trait of bookworms and philosophers of the shade.” Starkie 1911, 35. Dover adds that “the intellectual is characteristically pale, because of his indoor life, but a ‘normal’ man is expected to be sunburnt, either, if poor, through long hours of work on the farm, or, if rich, through outdoor sports.” Dover 1968, 108.

\textsuperscript{142}Stone 1981, 25. Agathon, in fact, needs to be introduced very explicitly as a man because Euripides’ Relative mistakes him for a woman, since his appearance is so feminine. Eur: Ἀγάθων ἐξέρχεται. Rel: κ αἰ ποῦ <ˈθ̃>; Eur: ὅποιον ῥίζειν ὄτις, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦδος ὀκτυβλαδέμος. Eur: “Agathon is coming out.” Rel: “And where is he?” Eur: “Where is he? He’s this man here being wheeled out.” Ar. *Thesm.* 95-6. My translation. This sort of introduction, which prepares the audience for a dissonance in Agathon’s appearance, parallels the introductions characters receive when their appearance has changed significantly: for example, Demos, Plutus, and Pheidippides when they reappear on stage wearing new masks.

\textsuperscript{143}Stone 1981, 41.
effeminate men -- and older characters’ masks portrayed more wrinkles than younger characters’. 144

Another important feature of the mask in theater is that it froze a character’s face into a single, unchanged expression, preventing a range of emotions from being conveyed through the face. Thus, as Stone notes, “the resources of body gesture and dialogue were heavily taxed in order to compensate for the immobility of the face.” 145

II. Mask Changes

I have shown in my previous two chapters that characters’ costumes can and do change within the scope of a play. I would now like to extend that argument to the mask, and show what would be implied about a character if his mask were to change within the scope of a play. Masks, unlike hair and clothing, are a part of theater that replaces a real feature of the body -- the face -- with something that is constructed. 146 Clothing and hair on stage mimicked present day styles, but the mask creates a false face with exaggerated features that hides the true identity of the actor in order to produce a character. The audience is aware both that the faces they are viewing represent the faces of different characters, but also that the masks are props and therefore could be manipulated like any other part of costume. A change of mask, however, could only take place off stage, since, for the characters, the mask is not part of a costume but part of their body. Within the text of a play, a mask change is not a costume change at all, and only exists as such for the audience. Mask changes are not mentioned within the text of any

144 Marshall also argues for a set of six character types and masks based on age and sex, which he believed helped clearly communicate information about characters over a long distance. The mask types he argues for are: γέρων, ἀνήρ, ἑφήβος, γυναῖκα, γυνή, and κόρη. Marshall 1999, 191. I will use these distinctive types especially when discussing Demos’ transformation from old to young -- a γέρων to an ἀνήρ.
146 Easterling calls masks “a visible reminder to the audience of the fictive nature of the dramatic events.” Easterling 1997, 51.
play, so we can only speculate that they might have occurred.\textsuperscript{147} We do have references to characters’ faces changing -- their complexion or their attractiveness -- which I will argue could be effected visually by a mask change.

The use of masks in theater allowed a single actor to portray multiple roles within a play, which meant that each character wore a distinct mask, allowing the audience to distinguish between characters.\textsuperscript{148} Thus, if an actor changed his mask, it was assumed that he was taking on another role. I will argue that there are three instances in the surviving plays of Aristophanes in which a single character might undergo a change of mask. Because masks conveyed information about a character, and most importantly here type of character (e.g. philosopher versus everyday Athenian man, old man versus young man), a change of mask would imply that a character had undergone some internal change that might have been reflected in his outward appearance.\textsuperscript{149} These mask changes would nowadays be written into stage directions, but, as stated above, there is no mention of mask changes in Aristophanes’ texts themselves. I will argue that Demos in \textit{Knights}, Plutus in \textit{Wealth}, and Pheidippides in \textit{Clouds} undergo such significant changes of nature that these changes may be reflected outwardly by a change of mask. Demos’ change of mask would represent the fact that he has been transformed from an old man into a younger, rejuvenated one: the actor portraying him would perhaps swap the wrinkled, gray-haired mask of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{147} There is speculation that mask changes may have occurred in tragedy in addition to the ones I am arguing for in Aristophanic comedy. See n.175.

\textsuperscript{148} It has been theorized that portrait masks were sometimes created when a playwright was targeting a certain politician or well-known figure of the day, for example, Chaerephon or Socrates. The evidence for this type of mask comes mostly from scholia and later grammarians; there is very little archaeological evidence and so it is inconclusive (Stone 1981). One play whose characters and costume changes I will discuss is \textit{Knights}, in which the character of Paphlagon is theorized to have worn a portrait mask of the politician Cleon. My thesis is more concerned with \textit{changes} of costume within a play, however, so I will focus solely on arguing for Demos’ mask change and not on the type of mask worn by Paphlagon.

\textsuperscript{149} As Stone notes, mask changes within a single role are “rare, significant, and carefully chosen, and …will occur only when a character has undergone a profound psychological and physical change” (43).
\end{footnotesize}
a γέρων for that of an ἀνήρ.\textsuperscript{150} Plutus’ new mask would show that his eyesight had been restored and therefore his nature: he can now choose which houses he visits and to whom he distributes wealth. Pheidippides’ mask change -- swapping a mask painted reddish-brown for a pale yellow one -- would be caused by his transformation from an outdoorsy ‘horsey’ boy to a rhetorician who spends his time \textit{inside} at Socrates’ phrontisterion.

If a single character were to change his mask, it would have had to have been made very clear to the audience that they were viewing the same character as before the mask change. Other characters would have had to introduce the character as he arrived back on stage, calling him by name or somehow making it obvious to the audience who this character was. When the three aforementioned characters reappear on stage after their transformations, the texts of the plays emphasize their identities so that the audience is able to recognize them: the Sausage Seller introduces Demos as reborn, Carion announces that Plutus’ eyesight has been restored, and Socrates leads Pheidippides back on stage, having introduced him with two deictic pronouns. These re-introductions are essential to an argument \textit{for} mask changes, for they would have been unnecessary if Demos, Plutus, and Pheidippides wore the same masks throughout the entire play. I will also consider what these introductions would imply if Demos, Plutus, and Pheidippides appeared with the same mask, and if they might have undergone any other changes if not a mask change.

\section*{III. Demos’ Rebirth in \textit{Knights}}

Aristophanes’ \textit{Knights} was very much a product of the times in which it was produced: seven years into the Peloponnesian War, Athens had recently achieved a victory over Sparta at Pylos, for which the politician Cleon was given most of the credit. \textit{Knights} is not only an attack

\textsuperscript{150} See n.145 for Marshall’s mask types.
on Cleon, but also on the style of demagogic leadership that he represented.\textsuperscript{151} The play itself is centered on an agon between Paphlagon and a Sausage Seller as they woo the old man Demos, who is meant to represent the Athenian people. From the beginning it is clear that Demos is not the protagonist, but the object over which the two main characters fight. Alan Sommerstein judges the play to be deeply pessimistic: the Athenian people -- Demos -- is shown as being so stupid and gullible that the only way for a man like Cleon -- here, Paphlagon -- to be overthrown is by a man -- the Sausage Seller -- who outdoes him in those very qualities that make Cleon such a menace, i.e. demagoguery, lying, and bribery. \textit{Knights} is concerned with the declining state of Athens -- its people and government -- and presents a nostalgic outcome in which the Sausage Seller saves Demos and returns him to his state during the golden days of Marathon.

I stated earlier that for a character’s mask to change within a play, the character would have had to have undergone some significant change of nature, one that would make their original mask incongruous with their new nature. Thus it is necessary to present Demos as he first appears and then move to examining the change he undergoes later in the play. The first time the audience hears anything of Demos is when one of Demos’ slaves describes his nature, or τρόπος: Demos is δεσπότης ἰγροικός ὄργην κυμοπρώξ ἄκροχολος, Δήμος πυκνίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον ὑπόκωφον: a master who is rustic in his bad temper, a bean-chewer,\textsuperscript{152} quick to be irritated …a peevish little hard-of-hearing old man.\textsuperscript{153} This is a wholly negative characterization of Demos, one that emphasizes his unlikeability. We know nothing of his physical appearance in this description except that he is an old man (γερόντιον), which is likely reflected in his mask by wrinkles and gray or white hair. Of the man who is, quite obviously, by his name, meant to

\textsuperscript{151} Sommerstein 1981, 2.
\textsuperscript{152} Sommerstein notes that this epithet most likely denotes a peasant: “Greeks chewed beans to stay awake and concentrate when doing monotonous work, and bean-chewing may well have had associations with rusticity, low social status, and/or low intellect.” Sommerstein 1981, 146.
\textsuperscript{153} Ar. \textit{Eq}. 40-3. Trans. Sommerstein.
represent the Athenian people -- and thus the audience members -- we do not receive a very good
first impression. The two of Demos’ slaves who are conversing at the beginning of the play raise
the problem of Demos’ τρόπος, his “manner” or “character”: he is easily flattered and bribed by
anyone who comes along. The new slave, Paphlagon, has recognized and taken advantage of
this τρόπος and risen above the other slaves as Demos’ favorite. The problem, then, is both that
Demos is easily manipulated and that a demagogue has come along and taken advantage of him.

Demos himself does not come on stage until approximately halfway through the play,
having been disturbed by the argument between Paphlagon and the Sausage Seller. He barges
out of his house yelling, τίνες οἱ βοῶντες; οὐκ ἀπὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας: “Who are these people
shouting? Go away from the door, will you?”154 This reaction harkens back to the first
description of Demos as an irritable old man. Despite Demos’ short temper, Paphlagon and the
Sausage Seller still fight against each other to become the best lover of Demos possible, and to
act in his best interest.155

Demos remains largely on the sidelines as the agon between Paphlagon and the Sausage
Seller continues. The Sausage Seller eventually emerges victorious, and is the one to lead
Demos back on stage, having “boiled him down” and made him καλὸν ἐξ αἰσχροῦ --“handsome
instead of ugly.”156 This statement is the first clue that Demos’ appearance might have changed
from the beginning of the play: Demos started as an old, ugly, irritable old man, but now all his
negative features and qualities have been “boiled away.”157 The Chorus Leader then responds by
asking, πῶς ἂν ἰδομεν; ποίαν <τιν’> ἔχει σκευήν; ποίος γεγένηται: “How can we see him? What

154 Ar. Eq. 728. Trans. Sommerstein.
155 The conversation between Paphlagon and the Sausage Seller from lines 733-741 recall the Funeral Oration in
Thucydides 2, when Perikles urges the Athenian people to become lovers of their city (Thuc. Hist. 2.43.1). Neil
1901, 105.
157 Neil notes that the meaning of ἀφέψω is derived from metallurgy or magic. Neil 1901, 172. The word’s use
emphasizes that Demos is treated the same as an object -- a piece of metal; he can be melted down, manipulated, and
reformed.
sort of dress does he wear? What kind of person has he become?” All of these questions point to a change of costume, and ποίος γεγένηται especially points to a change in τρόπος, signaling to the audience that Demos is about to reappear on stage with an altered appearance to reflect his new nature. It is the change in τρόπος that would lead to his change of mask, since his outward appearance and inner nature are inextricably intertwined. The Sausage Seller tells the Chorus that Demos is the type of person (οἷς) as he was “in the days of yore [when] he had Aristeides and Miltiades for his messmates.” He also tells the Chorus to ὀλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἄρχαιαισιν Ἀθήναις ... ἔν' ὁ κλεινός Δήμος ἐνοικεῖ: “shout for joy at the appearance of the old Athens …where renowned Demos dwells.” Demos has now received, on behalf of the Sausage Seller, a new epithet: κλεινός. He is no longer ἄγροικος, κυαμοτρῶξ, or ἰκράχολος as he was in the beginning of the play.

Now that the Sausage Seller has described the new τρόπος of Demos, he can bring him back on stage so that the audience is able to see his physical transformation. At this point the audience is fully aware that the man coming on stage is Demos, despite any changes in costume he has undergone. The Sausage Seller’s first words once Demos appears are ὅδε ἐκείνος – “here is that very man” -- the same words that we will also see Socrates use when pointing to Pheidippides after his transformation. When the Sausage Seller presents Demos there are no specific references to his πρόσωπον, he simply states that Demos is τεττιγοφόρας, ἄρχαιῳ σχήματι λαμπρός, οὐ χοιρινῶν δζων ἀλλὰ σπονδῶν, σμύρνη κατάλειπτος: “wearing a golden cicada, resplendent in antique costume, smelling not of mussel-shells but of peace libations, and

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158 Ar. Eq. 1324. Trans. Sommerstein.
159 i.e. The time of the Persian Wars and the great Battle of Marathon, at which Miltiades was a victor. οἷς περ Ἀριστείδη πρότερον καὶ Μιλτιάδη ξωνεσίτει. Ar. Eq. 1325. Trans. Sommerstein.
161 An archaic word, most often used by Greek lyric poets, especially Bacchylides and Pindar. LSJ gives the definitions ‘famous,’ ‘renowned,’ and ‘illustrious.’
162 The ἐκεῖνος has the sense of “that man about whom you (the Chorus leader) were just talking,” while the ὅδε is a deictic pronoun implying that Demos is right by the Sausage Seller’s side.
anointed with myrrh. The only reference to a change of physical appearance, rather than clothing or ornamentation, is before Demos actually reappears on stage, when the Sausage Seller claims to have made him beautiful from ugly. The fact that Demos is introduced with a deictic ὁδ’ ἐκεῖνος, however, points to the fact that the audience may have needed help in recognizing him. The use of a new mask would also help fully transform Demos’ outward appearance so that it matched his new, brilliant τρόπος which recalled the greatly admired Marathon Men.

Demos has undergone such a transformation, in fact, that he cannot even remember how he acted in the beginning of the play. He asks the Sausage Seller: τί δ’ ἔδρων, κάτειπέ μοι, πρό τοῦ; ποιός τις ἦ; “Tell me, what did I use to do previously, and what was I like?” It is almost as if Demos has gone back in time, has aged in reverse, and has become a young man again. If this were the case, then we might speculate that Demos has exchanged the mask of an old man for that of a young one, one without wrinkles or gray hair. The fact that the Sausage Seller then calls himself the ἐραστής, usually the older male in a pederastic relationship, also points to Demos’ new youth, and increases the probability that he now dons the mask of an ἀνήρ.

The Sausage Seller answers the forgetful Demos by telling him about his former nature and errors: how easily he was bribed and manipulated. I would argue that Demos was so easily manipulated by others, Paphlagon in particular, that his mask could just as easily be manipulated by the playwright. If the very thing that defined Demos’ τρόπος was that others could manipulate him any way they wanted, to serve their own best interests, why would this not extend to his physical appearance -- his πρόσωπον? The change of mask at the end of the play

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163 Ar. Eq. 1331-2. Trans. Sommerstein. See the first chapter of this thesis for a discussion of Demos’ change of clothing.
164 Ar. Eq. 1339. Trans. Sommerstein. Neil notes that κατειπένι implies the disclosure of information that may be harmful to someone. Neil 1901, 175.
would only serve to reinforce Demos’ pliability, Aristophanes’ final statement that the Athenian people have wholly given themselves to the demagogues.

IV. Plutus’ Restoration in Wealth

Wealth revolves around Chremylus, an Athenian peasant, and his attempt to restore the eyesight of the god Plutus -- “blind Wealth” -- in order that the virtuous may become rich. Chremylus believes it may be better to raise his son to be a criminal, since it seems that that is how men become wealthy, whereas virtuous men like himself always seem to end up in poverty. These circumstances are due to the fact that the god of Wealth, Plutus, is blind, and cannot see that he is visiting only the houses of wicked men. Chremylus’ solution either to bring wealth to the virtuous and take it from the wicked, or to bring wealth equality to all of Athens is an example of the utopian ideals common in the plays of Aristophanes.

The idea that Wealth was a blind god dates back to at least the mid sixth century, when the iambic poet Hipponax wrote:

εμοὶ δὲ Πλοῦτος—ἐστι γὰρ λίθν τυφλός—
ἐς τὼκί’ ἐλθὼν οὐδὰμ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱππόνας,
διδωμί τοι μνέας ἁργώρου τριήκοντα
καὶ πόλλ’ ἐτ’ ἄλλα:” δείλαιος γὰρ τὰς φρένας.

“Wealth – for he is all too blind – has never come to my house and said ‘Hipponax, I’m giving you thirty minae of silver and many other things too;’ for he’s got a wretched mentality.”

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166 It is unclear which of these he actually hopes to -- and in the end, does -- accomplish. Revermann notes that, “once Wealth has regained his vision there is still the problem of distribution: is everyone supposed to be made rich or only the just?” Revermann 2006, 270.

167 We see other examples of idealistic utopian city-states in both Ecclesiazusae and Birds.

168 Hipponax fr. 36. Trans. Sommerstein
Willets notes that ancient Greeks personified both Wealth and Poverty, seeing them as divinities who entered a house and lived there. He cites fragments of Euripides wherein Wealth is seen as the cause of human misery, a god who “raises the worst men among the highest.”

Both Wealth and Poverty appear as characters in Aristophanes’ Wealth. The version of Wealth -- the god Plutus -- that appears here is not the wholly negative figure of Hipponax or Euripides, but one who offers hope of a better life to Chremylus, if only his eyesight is able to be restored. In Chremylus can accomplish this task, Plutus would then be able to visit only the virtuous and reward them with wealth, instead of the wicked. Plutus is treated in this play as a passive object, restored by Chremylus with the help of Asclepius, just as Demos was rejuvenated in Knights by the Sausage Seller. Poverty, on the other hand, is given agency and a chance to argue for her place in society, but is ignored by the characters in the play who have suffered through an impoverished life.

As in the literary tradition represented by Hipponax, Aristophanes’ Plutus is blind; the reason Plutus himself gives in the play for his blindness is the anger of Zeus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ὁ Ζεύς με ταῦτ᾽ ἔδρασεν ἀνθρώποις φθονὼν. } \\
\text{ἔγὼ γὰρ ὅν μειράκιον ἥπειλησ᾽ ὅτι} \\
\text{ός τούς δικαίους καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ κοσμίους} \\
\text{μόνονς βαδοίμην: ὁ δὲ με ἐποίησεν τυφλὸν,} \\
\text{ίνα μὴ διαγιγνώσκοι µὴδένα.} \\
\text{οὕτως ἔκεινος τοῖς χρηστοῖς χρηστοίς φθονεῖ.}
\end{align*}
\]

“Zeus did this to me, out of ill-will to mankind.

Once, when I was a lad, I vowed that

169 τὸν γὰρ κάκιστον πλοῦτος εἰς πρῶτους ἄγα. Euripides fr. 95. Trans. Willets. The other fragment he cites is Eur. fr. 20: μὴ πλουτοῦν εἶπης οὐχὶ θεαμάξῃ θεόν, ὃν γὰρ κάκιστος ῥαδίως ἐκτήσατο. “Do not speak of Wealth. I do not honor him as a god, for even the worst man easily takes possession of him.”
170 Sommerstein notes that this idea of Zeus’ anger towards humanity is an idea familiar from the Prometheus-Pandora myth (Hes. Thg. 551-612, Works 42-105) but here Zeus is acting in such a way not to harm humanity as a whole, but virtuous humans only. Sommerstein 2001, 140.
171 Olson comments that, “Aristophanes has altered the traditional idea of the blindness of Wealth to explain not the random distribution of money, but the complete moral inversion of the universe.” Olson 1989, 7. In the world of Wealth, all wicked men are rich and all virtuous men are poor; Plutus seems not to visit houses randomly but somehow only the houses of undeserving men.
Moments before this explanation, Plutus revealed his identity to Chremylus and Carion; here he is providing an explanation for his physical appearance -- what Chremylus calls his “wretched appearance” (ἀθλίως διακείμενος) -- his rags, his ugly old age, and his blindness. Revermann notes that Plutus is wearing the “ugly mask of a blind old man,” implying that Plutus’ blindness is apparent to the audience because of the mask he is wearing. Plutus’ mask was likely the typical mask of an old man (γέρων), manipulated slightly in order to show that he was blind.

A character wearing a mask with eyes that have been blinded has precedent in Oedipus Tyrannus; both Compton-Engle and Marshall argue that Oedipus wears an altered mask after his downfall. Because of the tradition that Plutus is blind, the audience might accept that Aristophanes’ character is blind without receiving visual confirmation from his mask. A blind mask at the beginning of the play, however, helps to visually emphasize Plutus’ transformation when he regains his eyesight and possibly receives a new mask.

As stated above, Plutus’ eyesight must be restored before he can distribute wealth to the virtuous: his presence in Chremylus’ house alone does nothing to help the protagonist or reclaim wealth from wicked men. Chremylus’ plan to cure Plutus’ blindness is for him to spend the night in the sanctuary of Asclepius, since, in the Athens of the play, all the doctors have left the

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173 Revermann 2006, 262. Revermann cites Plut. 266 for his choice of the word ‘ugly,’ a line in which Carion calls Plutus ρυπάντα, κοφόν, ἀθλίον, ρυσόν, μαδόντα, νοόν: filthy, bent, wretched, shrivelled, bald, and toothless.
174 Compton-Engle 2015, 134; Marshall 1999, 192. Marshall cites many instances in tragedy where multiple masks were used for one character: “The blinding of Oedipus (Oedipus Tyrannus), Polymestor (Hecuba), and Polyphemus (Cyclops) were almost certainly indicated by a second mask, as was the appearance of Helen in mourning, with scratched cheeks (Helen). In these cases, the presence of a second mask is always clearly anticipated in the text, and no audience confusion is possible.” Marshall does also note the possibility, however, that a vertically bisected half-blind, half-sighted mask was used. This type of mask would remove the need for a mask change, but would force the actor to reveal only one side of their body to the audience before their transformation, and the other side after their change in appearance.
city. The audience does not witness the transportation of Plutus to or from Asclepius’ temple; it is simply announced by Carion after a chorul interlude that Plutus’ eyesight has been restored:

\[ \text{ὁ δεσπότης πέπραγεν εὐτυχέστατα,} \]
\[ \text{μᾶλλον δ’ ὁ Πλοῦτος αὐτός· ἀντὶ γὰρ τυφλὸν } \]
\[ \text{ἐξωμάτωται καὶ λελάμπρυνται κόρας,} \]
\[ \text{Ἀσκληπιοῦ παιόνος εὔμενοῦς τυχών.} \]

My master has had the greatest of good fortune – or rather Wealth himself has: having been blind till now he has the bright orbs of his eyes restored, finding a friend and healer in Asclepius!

The fact that Carion needs to announce Plutus’ change before Plutus himself can come back on stage with an altered appearance follows the pattern of Demos in *Knights*, when the Sausage Seller announces that he has made Demos \( καλὸν \text{ ἀεὶ χροοῦ}, \) preparing the audience for a younger-looking Demos. Although the action of Plutus’ rejuvenation did not occur before the audience, just as Demos’ took place offstage, Carion, having announced that Plutus is cured, describes in detail for the audience the trip made to Asclepius’ temple and the process by which Plutus’ eyesight was restored.

Plutus does not reappear on stage until after Carion’s story and another chorul interlude; by this point the audience is fully prepared for the change in his costume. When Plutus does appear, he has likely traded his rags in for new clothes and is wearing a new mask -- perhaps

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175 *Ar. Plut.* 410-2. Olson notes that “Asclepius, god of healing, required those who wished to be cured by him to spend a night in his temple.” Olson 1989, 25. There are no doctors in Athens because, Chremylus explains: \( \text{o 아이ν γὰρ } \]
\( \text{ο μυσθὸς} \text{ οὔδὲν ἔστιν ἀλθείᾳ } \) \( \text{τέχνη.} \) “The pay’s not there, so the profession’s not there either.” *Ar. Plut.* 408. Trans. Sommerstein.

176 Both Olson and Sommerstein note the likeliness that this line is borrowed from Sophocles’ lost play *Phineus*. Whereas Sommerstein’s translation simplifies the line by eliminating the \( καί, \) Olson gives the translation “he has had his vision restored and been made bright in his eyes.” \( \text{ἐξωματόω} \) literally means “open the eyes of” and in the passive “be restored to sight.” LSJ. Its passive form here reinforces Plutus’ passivity and his appearance -- and costume -- as things to be manipulated.

that of an ἀνήρ and not a γέρων,\textsuperscript{178} but at least one from which the audience can see that he is no longer blind -- and so to make his identity known he speaks about his previous circumstances:

\begin{quote}
aἰσχύνομαι δὲ τὰς ἐμαυτοῦ συμφοράς, 
oἷς ἄρ᾽ ἀνθρώποις ξυνὸν ἐλάνθανον, 
tοὺς ἄξιους δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ὀμιλίας 
ἐφευγον. εἰδὼς οὐδὲν... 
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὰ πάντα πάλιν ἀναστρέψας ἐγὼ 
δείξω τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶσιν ἄνθρωποις ὅτι 
ἀκον ἐμαυτόν τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπεδίδον. 
\end{quote}

I am ashamed of my past circumstances – the kinds of men with whom I now perceived I consorted unawares, while in utter ignorance I shunned those who were worthy of my company… But I now mean to reverse all that completely, and for the future to show all humanity that it was not of my free will that I surrendered myself to the wicked.\textsuperscript{179}

When Plutus was blind, as he states himself, he lacked the ability to perceive which men he visited, distributing wealth to wicked men. Now that Chremylus and Ascelpius have done their part in healing Plutus, transforming his outward appearance and costume, Plutus seems to have gained the agency to distribute wealth in a just way. His change in costume, and especially the mask which reflects his new gift of sight, gives him the power to see and choose who receives wealth. A change in mask not only reflects for the audience the fact that Plutus is no longer blind, but allows the character to act in a different way -- a more just way -- than when he wore a blind mask.

V. Pheidippides’ Transformation in \textit{Clouds}

\textit{Clouds} is a play focused on the teachings of Socrates\textsuperscript{180} -- education in rhetoric -- as well as the tension between older and younger generations partially caused by this new education.

\textsuperscript{178} Stone notes that a change of mask would indicate his healing, and argues that a new mask would be perhaps younger and more handsome. Stone 1981, 403. See n.145 for Marshall’s classification of mask types.

\textsuperscript{179} Ar. \textit{Plut.} 774-7; 779-81. Trans. Sommerstein.
The comic hero, Strepsiades, having fallen into debt due to his son Pheidippides’ extravagant lifestyle, seeks out Socrates’ phrontisterion as a place to learn how to “make the worse argument into the better,” so that he may lie and cheat his way out of debt. After failing to learn from Socrates, however, due to his stupidity and forgetfulness, Strepsiades sends Pheidippides to the school in his place. It is during his time at the phrontisterion that Pheidippides slowly loses his tanned complexion, so that, I would argue, when he appears near the end of play, his new, pale complexion is reflected in a new mask.

We can assume that because Pheidippides is a young Athenian man, but also because of his passion for horses, he spends quite a bit of time outside and presumably has a fairly tanned complexion at the beginning of the play. This tanned complexion would be shown on his mask, which would have been painted some shade of dark brown or red. The students at Socrates’ school, on the other hand, as I mentioned above, had very pale complexions because they stayed inside studying all day, and would have worn white masks, possibly with beards to indicate their gender. When Strepsiades initially proposes the idea of attending the phrontisterion to Pheidippides, he tells his son that he wants him to ἐκστρεψον ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς ἐπιλήσαιν.

Sommerstein argues that Aristophanes is critical of sophism in general but chooses Socrates as his representative because he was a more familiar figure than Prodicus or Hippias, who mostly taught in private for high fees and were often away from Athens. Sommerstein 1982, 3. Dover notes that most of the elements in Aristophanes’ portrayal of Socrates can be identified either as general characteristics of the sophists or as conspicuous characteristics of some contemporary intellectuals. Dover 1968, xl. He also argues that Aristophanes knew and expected his audience to recognize characteristic peculiarities of Socrates’ methods and manners: for example, cf. Ar. Nub. 137 and Plat. Theaet. 150 E, in which Socrates refers to the ‘birthing’ of ideas. Ibid. xlii.


After Socrates dismisses from the phrontisterion for being too forgetful and dimwitted, the Clouds tell Strepsiades: ἡμεῖς μὲν ὁ προεβητὴς συμβουλέωμεν, εἴ σοι τὶς νῦς ἔστιν ἐκπτήσαμένος, πέμπειν ἐκεῖνον ἀντὶ σαυτοῦ μανθάνειν. Ar. Nub. 794-6. “Well, old man, our advice is, if you have a grown-up son, send him to be taught instead of you.” Trans. Sommerstein.

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184 See n.138 and n.139.

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σαυτοῦ τρόπους: “turn his way of life inside out as quickly as possible.”

The word τρόπος – way of life, character, nature – is connected to his appearance and his mask (πρόσωπον): because his τρόπος involves horses and the outdoors, his πρόσωπον is likely tanned. Strepsiades, in wanting his son to “turn his nature inside out,” could be implying that Pheidippides’ change will also alter his outward appearance – his πρόσωπον.

There are two possibilities of how Pheidippides’ reappearance after his time inside the phrontisterion could be staged. One possibility would be for Pheidippides to come back on stage looking exactly the same as before his schooling, without having changed his mask, although perhaps acting with new and different gestures. Strepsiades, however, comments on Pheidippides’ new complexion: ὡς ἡδομαί σου πρῶτα τὴν χρώαν ἰδών: “How pleased I am right away, seeing the color of your skin!”

No mask change would make Strepsiades’ comment about Pheidippides’ new complexion seem ridiculous, but at this point in the play we are used to Strepsiades acting foolishly. It does seem almost absurd that Pheidippides’ complexion could change from tanned to pale within the short time he spends at the phrontisterion during the play: he is absent for 300 lines, during the agon between the Better and Worse Arguments. It is important to remember, though, that comedy, and theater in general, do not necessarily perfectly reflect reality, and it is unclear how much time Pheidippides actually spends in the phrontisterion versus how much time passes for the audience.

The other possible staging, and my preferred reading, is that Pheidippides comes back on stage with a new mask, one that reflects his new sophist τρόπος and is painted white like Socrates’ and his students’. When Pheidippides returns on stage near the end of the play, he is introduced by Strepsiades and Socrates:

Str: Run and call him [Pheidippides] from within.
   My child, my son, come forth from the house;
   hearken to thy father.
Soc: Here is the man you seek.
Str: Beloved, beloved!
Soc: Take him and depart.
Str: Hurrah, hurrah, my child! 189

Strepsiades and Socrates both give several verbal cues to the audience about who the character about to come on stage is: Strepsiades uses both the words τέκνον and παῖ in reference to Pheidippides, which Socrates follows with a deictic ὁδὲ ἐκεῖνος – this is the very man right here. These are the very words the Sausage Seller uses to re-introduce Demos; in both cases the words emphasize to the audience exactly whom they are viewing. After Pheidippides has presumably come on stage, Strepsiades once again addresses him as τέκνον, in case the audience is still unclear as to who this man is. The repetition of τέκνον and the multiple addresses to Pheidippides would have been unnecessary if Pheidippides’ appearance had not changed, since the audience would have recognized him from his appearances earlier in the play. Since the text here makes it very obvious for the audience that Pheidippides has returned, there must be some reason the audience might not have recognized him. If Pheidippides does not in fact undergo a mask change, the multiple verbal cues to re-introduce him – ὁ τέκνον, ὁ παῖ, and ὁδὲ – become excessive and unnecessary. I would also argue that Strepsiades’ exclamation about Pheidippides’ complexion likewise could also be evidence for a new mask with a different 188

Dover notes that these lines are a close parody of Eur. Hec. 171 ff: ὁ τέκνον, ὁ παῖ, δυστανοβάτας – ἐξελθ’ ἐξελθ’ οἶκον – ἀις ματέρος αὐδὰν. This is also the only occurrence in the play of Strepsiades addressing his son as τέκνον.

189 Aris, Nub. 1164-1170. Trans. Sommerstein
color, presumably one that could be described as ὀχρός. This new mask would explain why Socrates and Strepsiades took so much trouble to point out to the audience that it was Pheidippides who was coming on stage.

I stated earlier in this chapter, using Laura Stone’s observation, that if a single character’s mask were to change within the scope of a play it would imply a significant change of nature (τρόπος). Of course, Pheidippides’ complexion could have changed from tanned to pale simply by staying indoors, even if his τρόπος remained the same as in the beginning of the play. Yet we do see that Pheidippides has become argumentative and learned the power of rhetoric from Socrates in the scenes that follow his reappearance on stage. Strepsiades takes Pheidippides around with him to the houses of various creditors, and outwits them one by one. Pheidippides, however, then moves to physically attacking his own father, justifying his actions with the arguments he learned at the phrontisterion. It is clear, then, that although Pheidippides is just as hostile towards his father as he was at the beginning of the play, he has learned the art of rhetoric and sophistry, adopted the τρόπος and likely the πρόσωπον of a philosopher -- a new, white mask.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued for the mask changes of three characters whose τρόποι and thus outward appearance change throughout the play. All of these characters -- Demos, Plutus, and Pheidippides -- are transformed through the agency of other characters: the Sausage Seller, Asclepius, and Socrates, respectively. Their ability to be manipulated as characters extends to their costumes -- or, in this case, their body, since the theater mask is both a body part and a costume. Demos was able to be “boiled down” by the Sausage Seller and made “beautiful from

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190 Sommerstein states, “Pheidippides now has the pallor of an indoor-living student. It is likely that the actor changed his mask.” Sommerstein 1982, 217. Also see Barnard 1987, 49.
ugly;” his τρόπος changed from irritable to admirable and with his new clothing he likely received a new face that reflected his restored youth. Plutus, having had his eyesight cured overnight by Asclepius, can now act justly in his distribution of wealth; a mask change would serve as a visual cue to the audience of his new power. Phedippides’ is trained by Socrates in the ways of rhetoric, becoming argumentative and pale during his time at the phrontisterion; a new mask for Pheidippides would visually display his conformity to the sophist lifestyle. Although there will never be definitive evidence for these mask changes, as they can only be surmised from the texts themselves, mask changes would have served to outwardly reflect for the audience the inner changes these three characters underwent.
CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have argued that costume change within several plays of Aristophanes are consequential to the development of the plot and characters. I have shown how changes of clothing and manipulations of hair are used by characters to advance their own goals, and how mask changes could have been used to reflect a change of lifestyle. Aristophanes draws both from daily life and the Athenian ideal and utilizes what certain clothes and hairstyles symbolize, then conveys even more when his characters change their costumes.

The clothing in Aristophanic costume mirrors Athenian clothing of the day, but when characters change their clothing within the plays they do so in a way as to transgress gender and class boundaries. Demos’ new clothing is meant to aid in the appearance of his rejuvenation, whereas Philocleon’s is meant to aid in his transition to the lifestyle of a higher social status. The women in *Ecclesiazusae* successfully transgress this gender boundary when they disguise themselves as men, yet the relative does not, and his true sex is revealed.

Hair is transformed by the Athenian people off-stage as a part of their daily lives -- by shaving, trimming, or depilation -- and by manipulating hair on-stage, Aristophanes’ characters use conventional practices to their advantage for their own goals. The women in *Lysistrata* sculpt their pubic hair to conform to the male fantasy in order to lure their husbands from war back to bed. The women in *Ecclesiazusae* don beards in order to fully transform into men, and the relative in *Thesmophoriazusae* is entirely shaved to become a woman.

Mask changes differ from the other two types of costume changes in that the characters themselves do not effect the change; I have argued that the playwright could change a character’s
mask to more effectively show the audience the transformation of disposition or lifestyle that a character has undergone. Demos’ and Plutus’ mask changes would have helped to visually display their respective rejuvenations, whereas Pheidippides’ would have shown his conversion to a sophist lifestyle.
REFERENCES


