GREEK COMIC COSTUME: 
ITS HISTORY AND DIFFUSION

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In an article published five years ago in this Bulletin I discussed the masks of Aristophanic comedy using the archaeological evidence of vases and terracottas to illustrate the texts. The illustrative material was not only Athenian but came also from other parts of Greece and from South Italy, and I pointed out in another article that the so-called phylax vases from South Italy provide illustrations of scenes which are either identical with or at least contemporary with Middle Comedy and later I extended the investigation to the masks and actors on Gnathia vases, which run from about the middle of the fourth century into the period of New Comedy. Still more recently, partly because of the reluctance shown in certain recent publications to accept the long established view that the actors of Aristophanes wore the padded obscene costume, partly because of the publication of new evidence, I have argued that starting from the two certain Attic comic monuments, the Lyme Park relief and the Aixone relief, it can be demonstrated that Aristophanes' plays were acted in the padded obscene costume, which is illustrated by vases and terracottas made in other parts of Greece and South Italy as well as in Attica. In the present article I want to try to explain this diffusion of Greek comic costume. The simple explanation

1 Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxxii (1949), 111 ff.
2 CQ, xlii (1948), 19 ff.
3 JHS, lxii (1951), 229 ff. Gnathia is a general term for South Italian vases with decoration in white or other colours on black glaze. The best were made in Tarentum and painted by Apulian painters.
5 Ephemeris Archaiologike (forthcoming). The Lyme Park relief (datable about 380) and the Aixone relief (dated 340) are conveniently illustrated in my Studies in Later Greek Comedy, Pls. 1 and III, and Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Figs. 89 and 18.

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that the diffusion is due to the diffusion of Attic comedy is, I believe, to a considerable extent valid but its validity is limited by the fact that comic costume is found over much of the Greek world a hundred to two hundred years before comedy was produced at the festival of Dionysos in Athens.

I start with the first half of the fourth century, to which many of the monuments belong and when Middle Comedy was flourishing in Athens. Athenian terracotta statuettes of comic actors are known in quantity. I resume here costumes and types very briefly, quoting those figured in Pickard-Cambridge's *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* where possible. Men wear either nothing (only on vases, Fig. 80), nothing with a cloak hanging from the arm, short chiton (Fig. 103), short chiton with pilos, short chiton and small himation (Fig. 104), short chiton, small himation, and pilos (Fig. 123), short chiton and long himation (Fig. 105), long chiton and long himation (men dressed up as women). Women wear long chiton and long himation or long chiton only. Costume alone does not distinguish between gods, heroes, citizens, and slaves. Among the recurring actions we may mention men seated on altars (Fig. 104); men standing scratching their chins or with their hands to their ears (Fig. 83), seated in a similar posture (Fig. 132), or with their chins pillowed on their hands or with their hands round their knees (Fig. 88) or shaking out a purse. Many of these are slaves. Men with water pots on their heads (cf. Ar. *Ekkl. 738*) are probably preparing for Middle Comedy feasting, as also men with baskets (Fig. 86), cauldrons, and sacks. Men with animals (Fig. 139) are presumably countrymen bringing their wares to town like the Megarian in the *Acharnians*. After the preparations the feast follows and we have comasts, dancers, drummers, and a man with a lyre. A man goes home unsteadily, supported by a slave (Fig. 109), a man makes a rough house (Fig. 103), a man espies a woman, a man converses with an old procuress (Fig. 108); several of the terracottas seem from their hair style to belong to the general class of hetairai (Figs. 140, 142-4), and the procuress appears in Middle Comedy in Euboulos' *Stephanopolides*.

One of the two groups of terracottas from a single Athenian
grave, now in New York, seems to me likely to be a set, i.e. inspired by a particular play; they show preparations for the feast (Figs. 86-7), an old countryman weeping because he has to pay or has been robbed, Herakles (Fig. 84), a woman veiling or unveiling invitingly (Fig. 140), a slave thinking out a plan (Fig. 88) and a nurse with a baby (Figs. 85, 141). Euboulos' Auge would be a possible source of inspiration, and Herakles and the woman recur on a Campanian vase of the third quarter of the fourth century, which has been supposed to represent the Auge story. The baby, if this is the Auge story, is Telephos. A traveller rushing to an altar with a baby may be Telephos with the infant Orestes. Other men standing with babies (Fig. 122) or seated with babies may be dealing with heroic children or children of everyday life: the unwanted child had already appeared in Middle Comedy.

One other general class completes our survey of the terracottas. They can be grouped together as travellers, porters, and soldiers. Soldiers are seen with basket and shield, and with shield alone. Porters may carry a roll of bedding as on an Attic oenochoe (Fig. 80), a roll, flask, and basket, a flask and basket (Fig. 123), or a roll and basket (Fig. 111); some of these are slaves in attendance, some free men carrying their own belongings. A traveller on a mule is known from several terracottas and has been compared with Xanthias in the Frogs, but he has no bundles and he may rather be Hephaistos; there is no reason why the return of Hephaistos should not be the subject of an Attic comedy.

We must not be too precise about dates. We have reliable bottom dates at the Kabeirion in Thebes 355, Olynthos 348, in the Koroplasts' dump in the Agora 330;¹ terracottas found at the Pnyx seem to date between 350 and 325,² and terracottas found at Halai between 370 and 350;³ terracottas were found in Southern Russia and at Delphi with vases datable between 400 and 350. It seems to me clear that these statuettes belong to Middle Comedy; New Comedy has many differences in costume, but there is no such break between Middle and Old

Comedy. Without trying to be more accurate we can regard the terracottas as a chronological link between the Lyme Park relief of a comic poet (about 380) and the Attic vases (420-380) on the one hand and the Aixone relief (340) on the other.

The number of these terracottas is considerable: I know 154 from illustrations excluding replicas. Of these at least thirty-eight (again excluding replicas) were actually found in Athens itself so that there is no doubt about their Athenian origin: of these the two groups of seven found in a single grave and now in New York\(^1\) and the collection, which includes replicas, in the Koroplasts' dump in the Agora\(^a\) are particularly significant. They travelled all over the Greek world: if we exclude Tanagra and Myrina (which were names given by dealers to secure customers), we can safely accept South Russia, the Troad, Larisa, Priene, Salonica, Olynthos, Rhodes, Melos, Cyprus, Cyrene, Delphi, Arcadia, Boeotia, and South Italy.\(^b\) To take one extremely popular example, replicas of the woman unveiling herself in the first New York set have been found not only at Athens but also at Olynthos, in the Cyrenaica, in South Russia, and in the Troad; in all eleven copies are known.\(^c\)

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\(^1\) New York 13.225.14-27. Bieber, *HT*, Figs. 122-38; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Figs. 84-8; Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxxii. 117, Fig. 4; Studies in Later Greek Comedy, 76, 85.

\(^a\) Hesperia, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, nos. 43-7.

\(^b\) Instances of the woman veiling or unveiling in the first New York set (Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 123) were found in Taman (Körte, Jb, viii (1893), 85, no. 95), the Troad (Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde), Olynthos (*Olynthos*, iv. 364), Cyrenaica (Körte, no. 97). Instances of the Herakles from Melos in the British Museum (C 80, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxxii, 117, Fig. 7; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Fig. 82) were found in the Pnyx at Athens (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 7, p. 147, no. 64) in the Crimea (Körte, no. 22), in Larisa on the Hermos (*Larisa*, I, 111, no. 112), in Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, V, no. 294), in the Kabeirion at Thebes (Boston 01.8014, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 110), in Tarentum (Trieste, Museo Civico 650; Bieber, D, 190). The following terracottas from very different sites are also Attic: from Priene, Istanbul 1505, Wiegand, *Priene*, Fig. 444. From Salonica, Istanbul, Winter, *Terrakottatypen*, 418/2, cf. *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, no. 44. From Rhodes, Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, 2939, replica of seated slave in first New York set, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 128; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Fig. 88. From Cyprus, Louvre, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 114. From Arcadia, O. Jh. iv, 43, Fig. 49, cf. *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, no. 43 from the Agora.

\(^c\) Cf. preceding note. In addition to the five examples listed there other examples are known: (6) Heidelberg TK 45, from Tanagra (?), Bieber, D,
The circle is, however, even wider (as Mr. R. Higgins pointed out to me) because we also know local copies of Attic terracottas from Larisa, Olynthos, in Corinth, in Sikyon, in Cyrene, in Boeotia, in Sicily and in South Italy. Further, we know local original terracottas of the same general type but with no demonstrable Athenian prototype from Corinth, Megara, Sicily and South Italy.

We have then to ask whether this diffusion is in any way related to the diffusion of Attic comedy. I have no positive or negative evidence about Larisa on the Hermos or Cyrene or Olynthos. In Boeotia the same costume appears in the late fifth century on the Kabeiran vases. In the Peloponnese there was some kind of comedy at Megara probably before the beginning of the fifth century, and in Corinth the comic costume, besides being found on fourth century vases, can be traced back to the seventh century. In South Italy the same costume appears on Apulian, Campanian, and Paestan vases (some of which were exported to Sicily) mostly of the first half of the fourth century and very few later than 330. These vases are

no. 95; Neutsch, *Welt der Griechen*, p. 61, no. 10. (7) London, British Museum, 1907.5.18.7. Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, Fig. 140. (8), (9), (10) In Athens, one from Peiraeus, one from Tanagra (9), Körte, op. cit. nos. 93, 94, 96. (11) From Vari (Attica), *AJA* (1903), p. 333, no. 61. Some of these are larger and some smaller: on the reduced size of later stages of copying, see R. V. Nicholls, *BSA*, xlvi (1952), 217.

1 E.g. Larisa, *Larisa*, III, no. 114. Olynthos, *Olynthus*, VII, 297. Corinth, mould, *Corinth*, XV, i, 102 (cf. cast, *Corinth*, XV, ii, group xix, 11). Sikyon, terracotta plaque, *Praktika*, 1941-4, 63, Fig. 3 (cf. British Museum, C 239, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 90). Cyrenaica, British Museum, C 828 (cf. *Hesperia*, xxi (1952), Pl. 38, no. 44 from the Agora). Boeotia, Winter 414/8 (cf. Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 127, first New York set). Sicily, British Museum, C 44 (cf. C 239, noted above). South Italy (Reggio and Tarentum, as well as Syracuse), Bieber, D, no. 98. The numbers of these local copies in Olynthos are very considerable; the new volume, *Olynthus* XIV, adds 7 which are replicas or variants of known Athenian terracottas.


3 Demosthenes, xix, 192 is not evidence for production in Olynthos (Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, 287). The Olympia was held in Macedonia. But Olynthos probably had a theatre (Robinson, *Olynthus*, II, 6).
not imitations of Attic vases: South Italian vase painting is largely independent of Attic by the end of the fifth century, and many of them reproduce actual stage scenes whereas the only example of an actual stage on an Attic vase is on the Vlastos oenochoe. They are therefore illustrations of performances in South Italy.

Let us take South Italy and Sicily first. We have found so far (1) that Attic terracottas, local copies of Attic terracottas, and local comic terracottas for which we know no Attic prototype are found there, (2) that the stage which appears on the Vlastos oenochoe has parallels in simple and elaborate forms on Apulian, Campanian, and Paestan vases, (3) that costumes, masks, and attitudes of the Attic terracottas constantly remind us of South Italian vases. To these facts we can add the following: (a) for the majority of the mythological historical scenes on the vases we can suggest an Attic comedy which could chronologically have been the inspiration of the vase-paintings, and where they give comic representations of everyday scenes, they are scenes which we can parallel in Attic comedy, (b) the one inscription which gives a line of a play shows no trace of Doric but appears to be an iambic tetrameter catalectic of a kind well known in Attic comedy, (c) the other inscriptions on these vases known to me are names: (i) Apulian: Philotimides, Charis, Xanthias; Daidalos, Hera, Eneualios; 

1 Athens, National Museum. JHS, lxv (1945), Pl. 5 etc., cf. my article in Ephemeris (forthcoming).
2 A glance through Bieber, HT, Figs. 86-135 (terracottas) and 354-402 (vases) will confirm this. Many parallels are given in my articles quoted in notes 1-3 and 5. Add to these the young man in longish chiton, terracotta from Olynthos (xiv, 388) with the Apulian vase, Naples 118333, Bieber, HT, Fig. 385. A complete collection of the vases is to be published by Professor A. D. Trendall, to whom I am indebted for much help.
3 Examples are given in CQ, xlii (1948), pp. 19 ff. Add to literary references for the old man defending his money-chest (p. 26, n. 11) Kock, CAF, iii, 464, no. 308, ‘misers being dragged on to the stage’.
4 New York, 24.97.104. Bieber, HT, Fig. 381; Trendall, Frühitaliotische Vasen, Pl. 28b. The scene has been interpreted by Sir John Beazley in AJA, lvi (1952), 193. I have discussed the inscription in Schweitzerfestschrift (forthcoming).
5 Bari (private collection). Bieber, HT, Fig. 374. Reverse, Bieber, HT, Fig. 23; Brommer, Satyrspiele, no. 91.
6 British Museum, F. 269. Bieber, HT, Fig. 370.
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Chiron, Xanthias, Nymphai, Chironos, Gymnilos, Kosilos, Karion; Sikos; Kassandra, Hieria, Chironos, Gymnilos, Kosilos, Karion; Sikos; Kassandra, Hieria, Xanthias, Karion, Sikos; Kassandra, Hieria, Campanian: Santia. Of the non-mythological names Chironos, Xanthias, Karion, Sikos are known to us from Attic comedy and none of the other names is impossible for Attic comedy. (d) Apulian, Campanian, and Paestan vases have also scenes which are inspired by local performances of Attic tragedy. Two vases link comic scenes with other performances: the back of one has a scene from a satyr play, and on another the comic scene is watched by TRAGOIDOS, a tragic actor.

The simplest explanation of this seems to me to be that Attic comedy was performed in South Italy during the fourth century and is reflected on these vases. There are, however, two questions: what are we to make of the literary allusions to the phlyakes and what are we to make of the vases where "comic actors" appear in other contexts than stage scenes? Phlyakes is a word used in various connections by our sources: (1) Suidas uses it of Sotades of Maroneia (dated early third century), who wrote in Ionian dialect and in prose and is included by Athenaeus in a whole list of hilarodoi, simodoi, magodoi, lysodoi, etc., most of whom came from the East of the Greek world, but Theodores came from Syracuse. They are all too late to have anything to do with our vases and there is no reason to suppose that they were not maskless soloists, (2) Athenaeus talks of Sopatros of Paphos as a writer of phlyakes; he seems to have lived in Alexandria in the early third century; his fragments are very like Middle Comedy but he is too late to be connected with our vases. (3) Rhinthons of Tarentum is mentioned with various others as a writer of phlyakes, which

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1 British Museum, F. 151. Bieber, HT, Fig. 362.
2 Berlin, F. 3044. Bieber, HT, Fig. 373. Now Trendall, Paestan Pottery: Supplement (= PPS), BSR (1952), no. 37.
3 San Simeon (once Ruesch). Trendall, Paestan Pottery, Fig. 10; PPS, no. 16.
5 British Museum, F. 233. Bieber, HT, Fig. 402.
6 The vases quoted above in p. 568 n. 5 and 4 respectively.
7 Suidas s.v. Sotades; Athenaeus 620e; Strabo, xiv, 648; RE, s.v. Sotades. Texts in Powell, Collectanea Alexandranea.
8 Kaibel, CGF, 192. RE, s.v. Sopatros.
9 Kaibel, CGF, 183.
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are also called *hilarotragoidia* (this name may account for the *hilarodoi*, etc., being called writers of *phlyakes*). He lived in the time of the first Ptolemy, i.e. too late for our vases, and his fragments (and those of his fellows) are largely parodies of Euripides in broad Doric. This seems to be a sort of continuation of Middle Comedy in Doric. (4) Athenaeus (621d) gives a collection of names which he equates with the Spartan *deikeliktai* among which he includes the Italian *phlyakes*; to this list I shall return later. Whatever this jumble of information means, it is certain that our vases have nothing to do with the literary South Italian *phlyakes* of Rhinthon and his associates in the third century.

Nevertheless we have the fact that Athenaeus equates the *phlyakes* with the *deikeliktai*. The common characteristics of these performances, which took place in many different towns, seem to have been that authors were usually unknown, that they often included personal abuse, and that they included certain very ancient incidents and characters.

We shall have occasion to return to the list later. For our present purpose it suggests that some performance by *phlyakes* in South Italy went back far earlier than the various third century authors recorded as writers of *phlyakes*. The fat men on the vases, as we have said, can be traced back to the beginning of the fourth century. It should be noted that they do not only occur in stage scenes. On an Apulian askos a fat man and an ugly naked woman (her mask appears on other vases in comic scenes) appear in the thiasos with three satyrs and three maenads; on Paestan vases "comic actors" often appear with Dionysos in the company of maenads or without, as themselves or characterised as Hermes or Eros; once a fat man is beside a turntable with a tumbler as if to show that the tumbler's performance also belongs to Dionysos.
We have then to choose between two alternatives: either the fat men came to South Italy with Attic comedy and were accepted so readily that they became servants of Dionysos just like the satyrs, or they were already there and were in costume so like the actors of Attic comedy that they could easily become actors of Attic comedy when Attic comedy became popular in South Italy. We have not, I think, enough evidence to decide. The latter alternative seems to me rather more likely since it will be remembered that we find in South Italy not only Attic terracottas of comic actors and local imitations of them but also local terracottas for which no Attic prototype can be adduced. If this is so we may ask one final question: had similar phlyakes previously performed the comedies of Epicharmos?

I have no intention of discussing the very difficult problems connected with Epicharmos. I want only to ask two questions. (1) Is it conceivable that the fat men appeared in Epicharmos? (2) Do the fragments of Epicharmos yield any evidence of a later Sicilian comedy contemporary with our vases? In subject-matter—lists of food, parasite, occasional obscene references, parody of mythology—the fragments of Epicharmos are not unlike Middle Comedy, which we have shown to have been acted by the fat men. In form we can imagine that Epicharmos was very different. We are told for instance that two plays were written completely in anapaestic tetrameters. His comedy certainly admitted dancing and singing, and seems to have had a chorus: Komastai or Hephaistos is a well-attested title and the komasts must have been the satyrs who brought Hephaistos back, and they must have been a chorus; therefore we are justified in assuming at least that the Choreuontes and Bakchai and probably that the Dionysoi (Dionysos and satyrs?) also had a chorus. There is therefore no reason why the predecessors of the fat men whom we know from South Italian

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1 Cf. above, p. 566-7 for examples of all three types.
2 See Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, pp. 352 ff.
3 Hephaestion 49, 2.
4 Fr. 127 Kaibel, probably also fr. 123; not frs. 75 and 210, which Pickard-Cambridge appears to accept, op. cit. 405.
vases of the fourth century should not have acted Epicharmos in the early fifth century.

The answer to the second question seems to me to depend on the interpretation of a single fragment. We have good evidence both that genuine Epicharmos contained allusions to contemporary philosophy and that pseudo-Epicharmos was being written early in the fourth century. The fragment in which a wise man discusses the relation of flute-playing to flautists with a man who answers πανί μὲν οὖν cannot have been written before the fourth century; the ideas, the phraseology, and the interjections are Platonic. This fragment is certainly not by Epicharmos, but we cannot exclude the possibility that it comes from a Dorian comedy of the fourth century. Diels' suggestion that it was interpolated into Epicharmos by Dionysios the Younger for a stage production to amuse Plato rests only on Suidas' record that the younger Dionysios wrote On the Poems of Epicharmos. This is therefore a pure guess and there is no reason to suppose that the fragment is Sicilian or West Greek; it could equally well be Megarian. It seems therefore, that we have no evidence of a living Sicilian comedy in the fourth century.

It is possible then that the fat men on our vases are phlyakes and go a long way back, that in the early fifth century in Sicily they acted, danced, and sang the comedies of Epicharmos, that in the fourth century their successors acted Middle Comedy and in the third century Rhinthon. The connecting threads we cannot see because, as far as we know, what they performed was only literary at three moments: Epicharmos and his contemporaries, Middle Comedy, and Rhinthon. Both on the fourth century vases and in Epicharmos they seem to be sometimes equated with satyrs. So the West Greek evidence suggests that something very like Attic comic costume was known in

1 171 Kaibel, 3 Diels-Kranz.
2 E.g. 170, 173, 249 Kaibel = 1, 5, 12 Diels-Kranz.
3 Athenaeus 648d.
5 Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 6, p. 193. An embroidery of Wilamowitz' unjustifiable statement in Platon 9, II, 28, that the comedy ' was written under Dionysios II'.
the early fifth century in Syracuse and that those who wore it could be equated with satyrs.

Let us look again at Athenaeus' list. He starts with the Spartan deikeliktai, then gives local names for similar performers —phallophoroi in Sikyon, autokabdaloι elsewhere, phlyakes in Italy, ethelontai in Thebes. Then he leaves his early third century source Sosibios for a second-century source Semos of Delos, who tells us that the autokabdaloι were wreathed with ivy and were later called iamboi. The ivy suggests a connection with Dionysos. Athenaeus elsewhere (181c) speaks of iamboi at Syracuse. But we cannot get anything more from this except that the autokabdaloι evidently abused people.

Semos goes on to speak of the ithyphallos. 'They wear the masks of drunkards and are wreathed; they have embroidered sleeves, chitons with a white stripe, and a Tarantine robe falling to their feet.' They conduct the phallos pole representing Dionysos into the middle of the orchestra. They seem therefore to be men dressed as women, but it is also true that Dionysos himself wore such a costume and they may wear it as his servants. Semos does not tell where they performed, but we know them perhaps from an Athenian vase of the early fifth century and certainly from a fragment of Hyperides (50), where they also dance in the orchestra. Ithyphallos also sang the hymn in honour of Demetrios Poliorcetes and in the early third century appeared with jugglers at the feast of the Macedonian Karanos. Their songs (in so far as they had a personal reference) may have something to do with the

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1 621d. See Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, etc., pp. 228 ff.; Herter, Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel, pp. 19 ff. (with references to his earlier de dis atticis Priapi similibus).

2 ἰῇς implies speech rather than song. στέφων I take to mean 'close at hand'.


4 Athenaeus 253c. We cannot say that the chorus in the pompe of the Dionysia in the archonship of Demetrius of Phaleron was also composed of ithyphallos (542e).

5 Athenaeus 129.
origin of comedy but their costume has nothing to do with male comic costume; the nearest approach would be when men dressed up as women but Mnesilochos at least shaved for this operation, whereas they wore the masks of drunkards. It is possible that the existence of such choruses had some influence on the female choruses of comedy (to this subject I shall return). Satyrs dressed as women may be a translation of the *ithyphalloi* into mythical terms; they appear on Attic vases of the fifth century, and one Corinthian plastic vase of the early sixth represents a satyr with ear rings. Demosthenes' young friends were amateurs but shared with their official name-sakes their references to particular people.

Semos goes on to describe the *phallophoroi* of Sikyon, who wear no mask but an elaborate wreath and a thick woollen garment. They marched into the theatre singing a new song to Dionysos; they quizzed spectators; they then sang in the orchestra. The *phallophoros*, who was presumably their leader, had his face covered with soot. Again the costume has nothing to do with comedy, but the songs may, like those of the *ithyphalloi*, have been included by Aristotle in "phallic

1 So Pohlenz, *GGN*, 1949, 31, against Herter, *Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel*, 15. Buschor (*AM*, iii (1928), 99) interprets *tarantinon* as tights and thinks they wore comic costume, but *tarantinon* is habitually used of women's clothing.

2 *Ar. Thesm.* 213. The terracotta, Louvre 298, Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 117, I take to be not an *ithyphallos* but a "Mnesilochos"; the artist gives him an ordinary male mask to make it clear that he is a man dressed as a woman. An Attic cup (Amsterdam, inv. 3356) of about 550 B.C. by the Heidelberg painter (*CVA, Hague*, iii, He, Pl. 2, Figs. 4-5) has nine bearded dancers who wear pointed Thracian or Eastern caps and chiton down to the ankles. Three wear similar caps without points, which may be ornamented with *phalloi*.


5 Demosthenes, liv, 14.

6 An Eastern garment, cf. *Ar. Wasps*, 1135. Herter, op. cit. n. 83, quotes Pausanias according to whom *paideros*, with which they are wreathed, grows only in the precinct of Aphrodite at Sikyon.

7 This seems to me the easiest interpretation of *στασίμων*: they sang and danced a *stasimon*, cf. on *stasimon*, A. M. Dale, *Eranos*, xlviii (1950), 14.
songs, which are still the custom in many of the cities". Herakleitos attests such songs in sixth-century Ephesos. 1

We are left, therefore, with the Boeotian ethelontai and the Spartan deikeliktai. The Boeotian evidence is difficult to interpret. I am not clear that Aristotle, 2 when he says "the chorus was given late by the archon but they were volunteers (ethelontai)" , is not glancing at the Boeotian name for comic performers. We have also to consider two groups of vases. The first 3 belongs to the early part of the sixth century and shows dancers who are extremely like those on Attic comast vases, to which I shall return later; but on the earlier ones 4 some figures are grossly phallic and behave in a way unparalleled on the Attic vases. The second belongs to the second half of the fifth century. They are the so-called Kabeiran vases. 5 The scenes are often mythological; the male figures are both fat and phallic. Both male and female figures appear to be strongly influenced by comedy. Finally, we have noticed that Attic comic terracottas are found in the fourth century in Boeotia and were imitated by Boeotian koroplasts. It seems to me possible that the Boeotian ethelontai were originally padded dancers, that the phallic ones became actors, but that all the time there was a strong cross influence from Attica both on the vases and terracottas and on the performances which they illustrated.

The deikeliktai are called by Sosibios "an ancient form of comic entertainment in Sparta" and he gives as instances "men stealing fruit or a foreign doctor like the one in Alexis"

1 Poetics, 1449a 11. Herakleitos, B 15 (D-K). A similar but much later performance in Ephesus is illustrated on a relief (Keil, O. Jh., xxix (1934), 91) and described in the Acta Timothei: the performers wore masks and phalloi.


3 Typical specimens are listed by Payne, Necrocorinthia, 199; Greifenhagen, Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung, 88; Buschor, Satyrilänze, 58; Beazley, Hesperia, xiiii (1944), 46.

4 E.g. Ure, Sixth, Pl. ix, 31, 87; Aryballoi, Pl. xi, 86, 274. Leipzig, T 326. E. Bielefeld, Komödienszene, Leipzig, 1944. Rhiitsona, 50.765 (BSA, xiv (1905), 260, Pl. x, a) has a frontal naked man who is phallic. cf. Corinthian mentioned below, n. 3, p. 582.

5 Cf. Brun-Wolters, Kabiiren-Heligtum, particularly Pls. 10, 12, 26, 27, 37, and Bieber, HT, Figs. 137-8.
Mandragorizomene”. He explains the name as meaning “costumiers and actors” presumably because deikela means both “masks” and “performances”. They were therefore masked. “Men stealing fruit” gives us four valuable cross-references: (1) as Pickard-Cambridge notes, they were known to Epicharmos. (2) Padded dancers are so represented on a Corinthian vase (to which we shall return later). It is likely therefore that, although the Agesilaos story suggests that they still performed in the fourth century, we should equate the deikeliktai with the padded dancers on Laconian vases of the second and third quarter of the sixth century B.C. They frequently dance on either side of a krater with a flautist. They are beardless and bearded; the padded short chiton is often represented but sometimes left out so that the dancer only appears as abnormally fat, sometimes with a red belly. They are not phallic. These vases are much less interesting than the Corinthian vases with padded dancers, but they have their importance because they show that padded dancers existed in Sparta and suggest that they may have been deikeliktai. (3) Xenophon in the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians (II, 9) records “cheese-stealing” in the sanctuary of Ortheia. (4) Pollux speaks of Laconian dances in which they mimed men caught stealing stale meat. If this may be regarded as parallel with the fruit stealers and also ascribed to the deikeliktai, the deikeliktai were dancers. Pollux says that the dances took place on Malea and the first one he mentions is “Silens and with them Satyrs dancing in

1 Plutarch, Agesilaos, 1, equates them with mimoi but this tells us nothing about their costume: mimoi were not masked (cf. my article in Eph. Arch., forthcoming).
2 See below, n. 5, p. 579.
3 Payne, Necrocorinthia, p. 123, n. 7; Lane, BSA, xxxiv (1933), 160, n. 1; Beazley, Raccolta Guglielmi, Pl. 1, no. 3. Similar figures in lead in the sanctuary of Ortheia, Artemis Orthia, PIs. 183, 22, 25; 189, 12-15; 197, 30 and 35-7.
4 I am not clear how the very curious cup in Sparta (Lane, op. cit. Pl. 39a and 40) should be interpreted. I think only the padded women on the extreme right are actual performers. The rest may be the subject of their song, which will be the attack on two nymphs by a hairy Silen and a fat man. Terracotta and limestone phallic figures were found in the sanctuary of Ortheia, e.g. Pls. 40, 9; 63, 7.
5 Pollux, iv, 104. Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. p. 258.
panic". Pindar speaks of Silenos (fr. 142): "fierce is the dancer whom Malea reared, the bedfellow of Nais". Some such scene is depicted on the cup in Sparta with the attack on two Nymphs by a hairy Silen and a fat man.

Among the dances the brylli̇ka, which Pollux says were danced by women in honour of Apollo and Artemis, according to Hesychius were danced by men wearing ugly female masks and female clothing. This suggests several lines of thought. First, we wonder whether there is any connection between this account and the padded women on the cup in Sparta. Secondly, it provides a predecessor for the hag who dances with a comic actor in the Bacchic thiasos on an Apulian vase and for the other ugly female masks of comedy. Thirdly, a connection has been seen with the female masks of the early sixth century found in the sanctuary of Ortheia. These wrinkled masks have been regarded as the ancestors of the wrinkled fat old woman of comedy—there is a long history in between, but we may perhaps say that all the ugly old female masks of comedy and some of the dances of comedy have predecessors of which the Ortheia masks and the brylli̇ka provide Spartan examples. But the Ortheia masks themselves also point Eastwards: R. D. Barnett is completely justified in stating that the earliest clay masks at the Ortheia site are of purely Phoenician appearance. Another Eastern reference for Ortheia is given by the "Procession of Lydians" mentioned by Plutarch with an untenable historical explanation. Some at least of the Ortheia masks are gorgons, and Ortheia seems, therefore, to have been a Gorgon-headed queen of beasts such

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1 Cf. above, n. 4, p. 576.
2 Quoted above, n. 1, p. 570.
3 R. M. Dawkins, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Pls. 47-9, 55, 56, 2 and 3; 57-61; 62, 2 and 3; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. Figs. 19-26; Zervos, L'Art en Grèce, Figs. 90-5. Dawkins, Pl. 56, 2 and 3, are certainly Gorgons. I find it difficult to assert positively that the others quoted are not Gorgons; the boundary between Gorgons and ugly old women is not clear to me, although I think it probably exists; I see no justification for the further subdivision into "possibly Portraits" and "grotesques" and I find no old men.
4 JHS, lxviii (1948), 6, n. 35.
as appears on a Rhodian plate of the early sixth century B.C.\(^1\)
Again we are led Eastwards and we can, I think, take one step further. In the ninth book of the *Iliad* (502) Phoenix tries to persuade Achilles by his picture of Infatuation as a strong runner and the Prayers as wrinkled, squinting, lame old women. The pattern, beautiful leader and not quite so beautiful chorus, is well-known, e.g. Artemis and her nymphs in the sixth *Odyssey* (102-9); there may have been a similar pattern, ugly leader and not quite so ugly chorus. I suggest that Homer modelled his Infatuation and Prayers on a chorus of men dressed as wrinkled old women dancing in honour of a gorgon-headed Artemis. Finally, the *bryllika* have been connected with the dancing of the *kordax* in honour of Artemis Kordaka in Elis, a dance which Pausanias derived from Asia Minor and which seems to have been very like a dance performed by Lydian maidens in honour of Artemis at Ephesos. Thus the Spartan evidence suggests that (1) the *deikeliktai* wore the padded costume of comedy in the sixth century and continued till the fourth, (2) they sang of and therefore perhaps represented Silens and satyrs, (3) men representing women, both padded and ugly as in later comedy, danced in the sixth century to Ortheia and Artemis, (4) cross references for the last can be found in the East.

Let us add here our scanty knowledge about the East. We have noticed the songs to the *phallos* in Herakleitos, the dances at Ephesos, the Phoenician masks, the Gorgon-headed goddess at Rhodes, the chorus of ugly old women in Homer. Dancers occur in several East Greek fabrics and their postures and gestures are not unlike those of the padded dancers that we have examined.\(^2\) Often they are naked, often they have loincloths, sometimes they have caps. Two points are possibly of interest here. (1) On Chiot pottery of the early sixth century

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\(^1\) British Museum, A 748. Nilsson, *Geschichte*, i, 211, 286, Pl. 30/2; Rumpf, *Jb*, xlvi (1933), 76, no. 18.

GREEK COMIC COSTUME

the dancers habitually wear a cap made of stuff rolled round like a turban and loin cloths, which look very like those of the padded women on the Laconian cup in Sparta. They may therefore be men dressed as women. (2) On a Caeretan hydria\(^1\) of the last quarter of the sixth century naked male komasts alternate with females wearing a very short chiton, which only comes down to the waist. These East Greek vases are evidence for the continuity of similar dances all over the Greek world. Besides the dancers a plastic vase of the early seventh century in the form of a fat, phallic being, presumably a satyr, was found in the precinct of Hera at Samos.\(^8\)

We can then turn to the much fuller Corinthian evidence.\(^3\) Besides the main body of vases with padded dancers, which date roughly from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century, we have two from the fourth century,\(^4\) roughly contemporary with the terracottas already mentioned. A young Norwegian scholar, A. Seeberg, has recently made a careful study of the early vases, which is to be published in a forthcoming number of *Symbolae Osloenses*, and I have had the advantage of reading his manuscript and discussing points with him. The fat men generally appear dancing, often round a mixing bowl, but sometimes in contexts which are for one reason or another interesting: (a) stealing wine\(^5\) (stealing fruit is, as we have seen, attested by Athenaeus for the *deikeliktai*). On the back of the vase: two figures who seem to be padded dancers, imprisoned in a cellar where a woman in long dress feeds them. On the front: two padded dancers, one with double flute; two naked men with a wine jar, named Eunos and Ophelandros—Eunos has marks on his arm which suggest a short chiton, Ophelandros is phallic—, a naked man

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2 Buschor, *BSA*, xlv, 32.
4 Corinth, *AJA*, xxxiv (1930), 342, Fig. 6. Athens 1391 (5815), Bieber, *HT*, Fig. 136. Professor Trendall assures me that this last vase is Corinthian.
with two sticks, grossly phallic, named \textit{Omrikos}. The names in spite of doubts seem to me to be fixed as names of \textit{daimones} by the next vase to be considered (\textit{Omrikos} was a name of Dionysos in Halikarnassos). It is possible that as for the Laconian cup in Sparta we should distinguish between the two padded dancers and the other figures, who may be the subject of their dance and song. (b) Herakles and hydra. \textsuperscript{1} Six dancers on the other side have the names \textit{Komios, Lordios, Loxios, Paichnios, Vhadesios : Lordios}, particularly, with its likeness to \textit{Lordo} in a fragment of the comic poet Plato (fr. 174K) must be a \textit{daimon} ; so therefore are the rest. The painter has carefully connected the two scenes by linking the end figures, but this may be an archaic mannerism and it is perhaps better here to think that the padded dancers dance and sing of their \textit{daimones} than that they represent their \textit{daimones} singing of Herakles and the hydra. (c) Return of Hephaistos : \textsuperscript{2} three vases represent this subject, which we have already met in Epicharmos and Attic Comedy. On the Musée Rodin mastos the attendants of Hephaistos are normal padded dancers. On the krater in the British Museum two are normal, two are naked. On the amphiinskosis in Athens all wear short chitons, all are walking rather than dancing. Two are grossly phallic ; of these one has a face like a satyr and a spotted chiton. The explanation seems to me again that the painters are somewhere between two poles : the actual dance, which the padded dancers perform, and the subject of their song and dance, which is the return of Hephaistos accompanied by Dionysos and satyrs.

Here then again padded dancers are very closely connected with Dionysos and can be thought of by the painter as satyrs. Let us add the other evidence that they may represent satyrs. (1) On three vases \textsuperscript{3} a bearded draped man reclines on a couch

\textsuperscript{1} Louvre, \textit{CA}, 3004. Amandry, \textit{Mon. Piot.} xl, 23 ff. Here Fig. 1, for which I owe the photograph to the kindness of M. Devambez. Other mythological subjects connected with padded dancers ; Poseidon (\textit{Ant. Denk.} ii, Pl. 40/3), Calydonian boar (\textit{Ant. Denk.} i, Pl. 8, 19a).

\textsuperscript{2} Payne, \textit{NC}, no. 1073 (Athens 664 ; Bieber, \textit{HT}, Fig. 83) ; no. 1176 (British Museum, B42) ; Paris, Rodin 503, \textit{CV}, Pl. 7.

\textsuperscript{3} Payne, \textit{NC}, no. 717, 1030, 1359. I am not clear from the rough drawing whether one of the dancers on no. 1030 is phallic or not (cf. Pickard-Cambridge, \textit{op. cit.} p. 266).
(once with a woman) among the padded dancers, who are once joined by naked women and once by clothed women. This is the scene familiar on Attic vases of Dionysos or Dionysos and Ariadne with satyrs or satyrs and maenads. (2) The dancers often dance with naked women. (a) A Corinthian krater in Dresden gives the names Dion, Syris, Varis, Poris, yros; Poris recurs as the name of a maenad dancing with satyrs on a Chalkidian krater. (b) On another Chalkidian krater padded dancers and naked women dance on the shoulder and are echoed by satyrs and maenads in the main scene. It is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that when a Corinthian painter paints satyrs dancing with naked women (i.e. maenads) he is not painting the mythical counterpart of padded dancers dancing with naked women. (3) Padded dancers occur once with a male and once with a female protome, just as Attic satyrs often dance as a goddess or god rises from the ground. (4) One vase is decorated with a padded dancer, Silen, and nude man. (5) A padded dancer once wears a panther skin, like a satyr. (6) On one vase a goat is tied to the krater round which they dance.

There are two other questions. Why are the padded dancers sometimes spotted and are they ever phallic? The spots connect them with Corinthian plastic vases made in the shape of squatting fat men, animals, etc., and among them the spots (as sometimes scales) seem to be a convention for hair. A figure very like the plastic vases of squatters occurs on a

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1 The padded dancers are also associated with women in long frocks on Clara Rhodes, vi-vii, Pl. 1, Figs. 5-6.
2 Payne, NC, nos. 1359, 1438, 1439, 1460, 1477; BSA, xxxv, Pls. 37, 34; Kraiker, Agina, no. 423.
3 Payne, NC, no. 1477.
4 Rumpf, Chalkidische Vasen, no. 13.
5 Ibid., no. 2.
6 Payne, NC, no. 1372, by the Tydeus painter as no. 1359.
7 Payne, NC, no. 461, 734a.
9 Payne, NC, no. 1282a. I am indebted to Professor C. Blümel for a drawing of this.
10 Payne, NC, no. 515.
11 Ibid., no. 724.
12 E.g. Payne, NC, no. 953; 1073; Oslo, Etnografisk Museum, 6922.
proto-Corinthian kyathos\(^1\) from Ithaca; I should like to interpret him as a satyr listening to Orpheus. If the chitons with spots are hairy chitons, then a mythical counterpart is the hairy tailless satyr who appears occasionally on Corinthian vases.\(^2\) Padded dancers may then be either hairy or hairless. The vast majority are not phallic and the instances that we have mentioned so far can be explained away as belonging to the mythical original rather than to the actual dancer. But on five vases\(^3\) one at least of the ordinary padded dancers is undoubtedly equipped with a *phallos*. It may be that he has, therefore, some special position. This is of great interest since the major distinction between the normal padded dancer and the comic actor is the absence of the *phallos*. Thus we find early instances of the complete comic costume in Corinth worn by some kind of leader of a chorus representing satyrs. The chorus was performing in the time of Arion: on one of the vases\(^4\) a chorusman looks at a dolphin. This may allude to Arion and these may be Arion's satyrs.

We have then to consider the Attic evidence. Padded dancers occur on a group of Attic vases of the first third of the sixth century, which have been much studied.\(^5\) On these we sometimes find padded dancers and naked dancers together on the same vase, but as time goes on the padded dancers seem to give place to naked dancers. The chief group, which is the work of four main painters and various other artists, is now recognized as Attic but under strong Corinthian influence. Thus Sir John Beazley\(^6\) writes: “They are the earliest of the countless revellers in Attic vase painting and they are borrowed from Corinth. . . . there can be no doubt that the new shape (the cup) is borrowed from Corinth.” The question, which

\(^1\) Robertson, *BSA*, xliii, 22, no. 52.  
\(^2\) Payne, *NC*, no. 1258.  
\(^3\) Payne, *NC*, no. 515 (one out of five dancers), 805 (two out of five dancers), 1158 (one out of six dancers), 1159 (one out of six dancers), 1004 (one out of thirteen dancers).  
\(^4\) Payne, *NC*, no. 989. The Triton on the other side also belongs to the sea.  
\(^5\) Greifenhagen, *Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*; Payne, *NC*, 194; Beazley, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 45; *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, pp. 19 ff. Note that Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit., frontispiece, and Figs. 34-5, 40 illustrate Attic and not Corinthian vases.  
\(^6\) *Development*, 20.
we have met also in dealing with Boeotian and Laconian dancers, is whether the Athenians bought these vases as imitations of Corinthian vases or as pictures of dances which they knew at home. The latter solution does not in the least preclude the possibility that painters of Attic vases first painted these Attic dances because they saw similar dances on Corinthian vases. If we cannot show that any of the fat distorted naked dancers, who occur on Attic vases of other groups over a long period, are convincingly earlier than the padded dancers, we have two lines of argument for suggesting that such dances existed in Athens, first, that the Attic pictures of dances contain elements unknown in the Corinthian, and secondly, that the mythical counterparts of the dancers can be shown at an earlier stage in Athens (provided that we can also show that the Attic dancers too are to be in some way equated with satyrs).

Whereas naked men are common from the beginning on the Attic vases, naked women are much less common than in Corinthian. Women dancing with padded men or their nude equivalents are normally either padded like the men or wear a very short chiton (like the women on the rather later Caeretan hydria discussed above) or wear a chiton reaching about half-way down the thighs. This seems to be a real difference of local custom and strongly suggests that the women who danced with padded men were thought of in Athens as clothed rather than naked. The second question, as to earlier Attic counterparts in myth for the padded dancers, cannot be answered with

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3 E.g. Payne, *NC*, Fig. 88a (Beazley, loc. cit., 48, manner of Ky painter, no. 1, says " Youths ", but the eye of the middle one seems to distinguish her as a woman, as Payne says); later British Museum, 1920.2.16.2, *CV*, Pl. 10/4.


5 Beazley, *Hesperia*, xiii (1944), 49, Palazzolo painter, nos. 1 (Pickard-Cambridge, Fig. 40), 2 ( *CV*, Hoppin, Pl. 11/1), and 4 ( *JHS*, xlix (1929), Pl. 16/2). A long chiton is rare but occurs on, e.g., *CV*, Scheurleer, IIIHe, Pl. 4, 1.
absolute certainty, but certain very curious figures on Attic vases of the mid-seventh century (particularly the three stone-throwers on a vase in Berlin, one hairy, two naked, all with large rosettes on their buttocks) are most easily explained as proto-satyrs. If this is right, then we must ask further whether the padded dancers show any signs of being satyrs or rather men representing satyrs. For this we have four different kinds of evidence. (1) On a dinos in the Louvre a bearded and unbearded dancers perform next door to satyrs and maenads who escort Hephaistos. This should be interpreted as the parallel Corinthian scenes: the dancers dance and sing the return of Hephaistos. Four of the ten dancers are phallic. Does this mean that they wore phalloi or merely that they are inspired by the power of the god? (2) On a vase by the Amasis painter already quoted two naked fat men stand on either side of Dionysos instead of his normal attendant satyrs. (3) On a Heidelberg cup in Copenhagen the maenads who dance with the satyrs wear a very short chiton and dance in exactly the same way as the women among the dancers. (4) On a cup in Florence both sides are decorated with a phallos pole carried by a row of sweating little men; on one side the pole is surmounted by a fat man and on the other by a hairy satyr. They seem to be equivalents. As in Corinth the explanation seems to be that the padded dancers are men representing satyrs. But in Athens the padding is frequently not shown and then they appear either as fat men or, indeed, as thin men, but I am not clear that we can argue from this, as Buschor does, to any change in the actual appearance of the dancers during the course of the sixth century.

2 Louvre E 876, cf. above n. 1, p. 583. On the amphora, Louvre E 860. CF, Pl. 6, 2 and 9, three comasts join three satyrs in the return of Hephaistos.
3 AM, 1934, Pl. 4 ; cf. Berlin, 1690, AM, 1931, Beilage 50 ; Munich, 1383, CV, Pl. 21 ; Louvre, F. 36, CV, Pl. 15, 5 and 8. Contrariwise, satyrs among the dancers on Tyrrenian amphorae, e.g. CV, Louvre, Pl. 3, 5 and 11 ; CV, Copenhagen, Pl. 101, 1.
4 CV, Copenhagen, Pl. 113/3 = Beazley, JHS, li (1931), 280, no. 14.
5 Florence. Herter, RE, xix, 1674 ; Nilsson, Gesch., i, 558, Pl. 35, 2-3. Here Fig. 2 from photograph provided by Sopraintendenza antichita, Florence.
6 Satyrtdnze, 57.
The padded women represented maenads, but were they in fact women or men? The Spartan _bryllika_ according to Hesychius were danced by men wearing women’s masks. We have to consider three Attic vases here. On the first, a little black figure cup without handles of about 520 B.C.,\(^1\) we find with ordinary fattish dancers and a fluteplayer other young men who have a girl’s head on the top of their heads. The natural explanation is that this is a mask \(^2\) and that the chorus is a mixed chorus representing satyrs and maenads. With this information we can interpret another vase of the middle of the sixth century;\(^3\) a flute-player and five youths dressed in chitons which come down to their knees and over them a garment said to be a jacket but which I take from its long tail to be a skin. They again are maenads but here the painter has not represented the masks. A third vase \(^4\) shows men in a similar costume, a cup of the second quarter of the century in Amsterdam. On both sides six dancers are divided by a flautist. Nine wear chitons down to their ankles. Of these three wear caps surmounted by two upright objects which may be _phalloi_ and six wear pointed caps. The other three (and the two flute-players) wear pointed caps and chitons down to their knees. If we had these three alone, I think we should interpret them as maenads and say that the painter had drawn them without their masks. If we had the figures with _phalloi_ alone, I think we should interpret them as _ithyphalloi_. But each trio is joined to another trio with long chitons and pointed caps. They could also be maenads since at this time maenads in long chitons are at least as common as maenads in short chitons.

We cannot solve this riddle; we can only accept the evidence of choruses of men in women’s clothing \(^5\) and note that we cannot.

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1. Rome, Museo Artistico-Industriale, here Fig. 3 (photo : Gabinetto fotografico nazionale). Von Mercklin, _RM_, xxxviii (1923), 82.
2. If it is not a mask but the character which the young man represents, it is still evidence that the young man performed as a maenad.
5. The fact that they are a chorus of identical performers distinguishes them from the various red-figure pictures of men in women’s dress with umbrellas.
say for certain that they did not also wear masks and represent women.

Thus in Attica we have evidence for choruses of men representing satyrs and men representing maenads (as well as of men representing animals) long before the official commencement of comedy. The padded men presumably ceased to represent satyrs when the satyr play was introduced by Pratinas at the beginning of the fifth century: the new costume, which made satyrs appear on the stage as they had appeared for nearly a century in art—phallic slim men with horse tails and ears and snub noses—is soon reflected on vases—drawers attaching the phallos and tail show that a satyr chorus man is meant: the drawers are sometimes shaggy and goatlike, sometimes decorated with a rosette, which recalls the rosettes on the buttocks of the proto-Attic proto-satyrs. The padded dancers could then become the chorus of comedy, if the chorus represented ordinary citizens. The evidence of Attic vases does not allow us to assert that they had a leader who wore the phallos and could become the actor of comedy, but it is difficult to suppose otherwise. We have noted that in Corinth a leader seems occasionally to be marked out in this way, and we may wonder whether Arion's western tour originated or, as seems more likely, rejuvenated these dancers in the Greek cities of the West, where the dancers were called phlyakes. In Sicily as we have suggested the padded dancers probably provided chorus and actors for Epicharmus. His contemporary Phormis according to Suidas "first used clothes stretching to the feet and purple curtains instead of skins"—town scenery perhaps instead of country, or rather non-Dionysiac instead of Dionysiac, and women dressed in long collected by Buschor, Jb, xxxviii-xxxix (1923-4), 128 ff., and annotated by Nilsson, Act. Arch., xiii, 223. Cf. also, A. Rumpf in Studies presented to D. M. Robinson, ii, p. 84.

1 Cf. Beazley, Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum, p. 41; early examples, Brommer, Satyrspiele, Fig. 5, 6, 16.

2 Cf. above, n. 1, p. 584.

3 Kaibel, CGF, p. 148. Purple curtains were found in fourth-century Megarian comedy. Curtains in the parodos of Attic comedy are attested by the Vlastos oenochoe (cf. n. 1 above, p. 568).
chitons instead of the short ones that we have noted as the common wear of maenads. A similar transformation of the scene must have taken place in Athens before the time of Aristophanes; maenads in long chitons were already known there in the sixth century. Other elements in Old Comedy, certain dances and the masks of ugly women, we have traced back through the Peloponnese and Sparta to the Greek cities of Asia Minor, where the development of the dances took a rather different line in the sixth century, as we have seen.

Our scattered evidence, which I have tried to make clearer by the accompanying table, suggests that the elements of Attic comic costumes, to which men representing animals, men representing satyrs, men representing maenads, men representing ugly old women, men dressed in women's clothes, all made their contribution, were very old and practically universal in Greek cities so that any patriot, like the Dorians known to Aristotle, could claim the origin of comedy. The decisive step, however, was taken in Athens in the latter part of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century when tragedy first, then the satyr play, and then comedy (and I suspect dithyramb) received in turn their distinctive costume. But the dances went on in other places and probably also in Attica; sometimes they were transformed into local comedy and at other times they provided chorus and actors for imported Attic comedy; the Greek world was sufficiently closely interconnected for local comedy to have its influence also on Attica.

I cannot pursue this subject here: I think, as I have said, that the padded dancers probably were Arion's satyrs and sang Arion's dithyrambs. It is certainly possible that they also sang the sufferings of Adrastos in Sikyon (Mr. A. Seeberg pointed out to me that padded dancers appear at the entrance of an archaic tomb in Cyprus). They seem therefore to be the beginnings of tragedy, comedy, and dithyramb.
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<td>New Comedy</td>
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<td>300</td>
<td>Ithyphalloi (Demetrios Poliorketes)</td>
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