

THE MASKS OF GREEK COMEDY.¹

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I. INTRODUCTION.

THE actors of Greek comedy wore masks and these masks belonged to a fairly small number of types. Can we say on what principles poets allotted masks to plays and how far they invented new masks or used traditional masks? We have a considerable wealth of illustration: for Old and Middle Comedy terracottas, mostly Athenian and Boeotian, and vases including a very few Attic and a large number of South Italian,² and for New Comedy, besides South Italian vases (which only last into the early years of the third century B.C.), terracottas, masks in various materials, frescoes, mosaics, and reliefs, which continue well into the Christian period.³ The fact that the New Comedy masks, whether painted, modelled or carved, whether by themselves, on statuettes, or in pictures, can be classified under a comparatively small number of types suggests that they ultimately go back to standard sets for productions such as are described in the catalogue of Pollux' lexicon (IV, 143-154); Pollux' list seems to be based on an Alexandrian scholar of the third century B.C.⁴ We can also find some help in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonika*, a treatise probably

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² See C.Q., xlii. 19 f.

³ The terracottas can be proved by their context to be later than 300 B.C. But pictures, mosaics, masks, and terracottas have been shown by Dr. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, 1938, 172, to derive ultimately from originals of the New Comedy period, however much transmuted into the style of the time in which they were actually made.

⁴ Robert, *Die Masken der neueren Attischen Komödie*, 1911, 60, ascribes it to Aristophanes of Byzantium; Gordziejew, *De Julii Pollucis fontibus*, Warsaw, 1936, to Eratosthenes.

of the third century B.C., which discusses the connection between physical and mental characteristics.

Pollux (or rather his source) clearly follows Aristotle (*Poetics*, 1449 b8, a33) when he says that the masks of Old Comedy were for the most part either caricatures of particular people or were shaped to cause the maximum of laughter. But the break between what we call Middle Comedy and New Comedy was not a complete break and it is probable that Pollux' list of New Comedy masks contains three strata, masks used in Middle Comedy which were dropped by New Comedy, masks of Middle Comedy which were taken over by New Comedy, and masks invented for New Comedy. This we can, to some extent, check by comparing the vases and terracottas which belong to the Middle Comedy period with the pictorial material of the New Comedy period. In Appendix B examples of the different masks are given and under each mask the material is classified by its probable date under the two headings, 'New Comedy' and 'Old and Middle Comedy'.

II. NEW COMEDY.

We have one valuable link between Menander and the pictorial tradition, a marble relief in the Lateran, which Studniczka¹ dates in the first century A.D. Much here is uncertain, but it is clear at least that we have Menander inspecting three masks, a young man, a girl and an old man; they are not the complete cast of the play, but perhaps the three speaking characters in a particular scene; they have been identified with three masks in Pollux' catalogue—the dark youth, first pseudokore, and the old man with wavy hair.² Let us consider these masks further.

The old man with wavy hair, according to Pollux, has a long fine beard, smooth brows, and looks lethargic (*νωθρός*). He is contrasted with the leading old man, who has a hooked nose (presumably, therefore, the old man with wavy hair has a straight

¹ *N. Jbb.*, xli, 25. Illustrated Robert, Fig. 96; Bieber, *Denkm.*, No. 129; *H.T.*, Fig. 223; Rostovtzeff, *Orient and Greece*, pl. lxxxvii.

² See Simon, 59, 119, 92 n. 59.

or snub nose), and one brow raised. The two appear together on a marble relief in Naples¹ where the leading old man restrains the old man with wavy hair from attacking his son, who is dancing drunkenly, supported by his slave; a rough parallel is afforded by the scene in the *Heautontimoroumenos* (1045) where Menedemus restrains Chremes from attacking Clitipho. The same pair appear, also on a terracotta relief known in various versions²; here the slave of the wavy-haired old man has taken refuge on an altar like Daos in the papyrus fragment of the *Perinthia*. Have we then here the masks of the pairs of fathers who are so common in Menander's plays?³ Let us consider how far they meet the requirements. There are four chief differences: hair, noses, brows, shape of face. Hair does not help much here except that, as we shall see later, wavy hair belongs also to the soldier and can therefore be a sign of irascibility; in the *Physiognomonika* the man of fierce temper has a great beard and his hair has a vigorous growth (808 a22). According to the same authority (811a 33 f.) straight noses are a sign of stupidity, snub noses of sensuality, and hooked noses of shamelessness or greatness of soul. Raised brows are a sign of conceit according to many texts⁴ and therefore in old men of a readiness to criticise their juniors. A long face signified lack of sensibility and a round face shamelessness (*Physiognomonika*, 807 b27, 32). Finally, Pollux' description of the old man with wavy hair as lethargic is glossed by the author of the *Physiognomonika*: 'lethargic movements betray softness of character' (816 b25). We have therefore two basic types: an energetic old man who can, however, be calm,⁵ and a normally calm old man, who may be subject to fits of anger, and these types can be varied further by minor alterations. Take, for instance, Nikeratos and Demeas in Menander's *Samia*; Nikeratos is a

¹ Illustrated Robert, Fig. 85; Bieber, *D.*, No. 130; *H.T.*, Fig. 252; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysus*, Fig. 77; Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, pl. xxii, 1. Robert, 6, gives the same interpretation.

² See Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, 219, Figs. 78-79; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 425.

³ For further illustrations see Appendix B, Nos. 3, 4.

⁴ E.g. Pollux II, 49; Lucian, cf. Ribbeck, *Alazon*, 12, n. 4; Caster, *Lucien et la pensée religieuse*, 1937, 122 ff.

⁵ Only one eyebrow is raised, cf. Rumpf, *A.J.A.* (forthcoming article).

straightforward, energetic old man and can wear the leading old man's mask ; Demeas combines moments of fury with moments of idealism, which makes Nikeratos describe him as ' soft ' (197), and may therefore be the old man with wavy hair.¹

Pollux also describes other old men's masks. The Lycomedian (Appendix B, No. 7) is curly-haired, long-bearded, with one eyebrow raised, and ' suggests interference ' (*polypragmosyne*) ; Megaronides in the *Trinummus* is an obvious candidate, perhaps also Smikrines in the *Epitrepontes*, as well as the characters designated by the title *Polypragmon* of plays by Heniochus, Timocles and Diphilus. The *leno* (No. 8) is ' generally like the Lycomedian, but has a slight smile on his lips and connected brows ; he has receding hair or is bald '. He is described in the *Rudens* and in the *Pseudolus* : in the *Rudens* he is ' curly, grey ' (125), ' bald like Silenus . . . twisted eyebrows, frowning forehead ' (317 f., cf. 1303 *inraso capite*) and ' bearded ' (769). Ballio in the *Pseudolus* differs in having a goat's beard² (957). Dr. Simon³ suggests that the *eikonikos* (No. 19), described by Pollux at the end of the young men as ' sprinkled with grey, shaven, richly dressed, and a foreigner ', was used for rich bankers who were usually foreigners ; she quotes Lyco in the *Curculio* and Misargyrides in the *Mostellaria*. The same mask may have been used for other elderly foreigners like Crito in the *Andria*, Hanno in the *Poenulus*, and Demeas in the *Misoumenos*.

On the Lateran relief Menander holds the mask of a youth. It is difficult to decide whether it is the ' dark youth ' or the ' delicate youth ', because the main distinction between them is colour, which of course is missing on the relief. The first four youths in Pollux' catalogue are arranged in order of age, but also differ in character. The oldest, the *panchrestos* (No. 10), is an athlete and is contrasted with the ' cultured ' dark youth (No. 11), who is younger : his darkness may correspond to ' the dull dark eye which betokens moderation ' in the *Physiognomonika* (807 b36) ; the slight redness of the *panchrestos* is a sign of health and

¹ For other instances see table in Appendix A.

² Simon, 84-85, suggests that this was the second Hermonian (Appendix B, No. 9).

³ *Op. cit.*, 94 ; cf. also Navarre, *R.E.A.*, xvi, 20 f. for relevant texts.



Photo, British Museum

1. DELICATE YOUTH



Photo

2. FLATTERER



Photo, British Museum

3. HOUSEKEEPER

[To face p. 101]

possible hastiness (806 b4, 808 a22) and his wrinkled forehead is a sign of courage (807 b4); these characteristics are repeated in the third young man, 'the curly-haired' (No. 12) who like the *panchrestos* has raised brows, a sign, as we have seen, of energy, contrasting with the smooth brows of the 'dark youth' and presumably of the 'delicate youth' (No. 13, fig. 1), the youngest of the quartette, whose 'whiteness' is not only due to his studies in the shade, but also betokens a certain lack of courage (812 a13). We have descriptions of two of these young men: Plesidippus (*Rudens*, 314), who is 'energetic looking, ruddy, and strong', is clearly the *panchrestos*; Philocrates in the *Captivi* (647) is described as 'thin-faced, sharp-nosed, pale, dark-eyed, reddish hair, curly' and will be the 'curly-haired youth', who is rare in Comedy. The surest pointer to the delicate boy in Menander is the presence of his pedagogue, e.g. in the *Dis Exapaton* (= *Bacchides*, Pistoclerus and Lydus), *Phasma*, and *Kolax*. The 'dark youth' is 'cultured rather than addicted to physical exercise'; Robert seems therefore justified in giving this mask to Charisios in the *Epitrepontes*.¹

The 'rustic' (No. 14) has a snub nose, flat lips, a dark complexion, and a crown of hair; he should therefore be sensual and cowardly according to the *Physiognomonika*. We have Donatus' authority that Chremes in the *Eunuch* is a rustic, and he shows himself a coward as well as getting drunk (another certain instance is Strabax in the *Truculentus*, who is clearly sensual). The rustic wears a skin according to Pollux (IV, 119), and Varro (*r.r.* 2, 11, 11) tells us that the young man in Caecilius' *Hypobolimaius*, based on Menander's *Hypobolimaïos* or *Rustic*, wore a skin; he was no doubt the true-born country son, Charippos, who is contrasted with the supposititious town son Moschion². It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that this mask was also worn by the country son, Ctesipho, in the *Adelphi*, who is both cowardly (537 f.) and sensual. Two other characters who presumably wear this mask because of their occupation, are quite different, Gorgias in the *Heros* and the *Georgos*.

Pollux then describes a contrasted pair of masks with wavy

¹ *Op. cit.*, 65.

² See *Studies in Menander*, 100, n. 1.

hair, which we have suggested is a sign of irascibility. The first is 'a soldier and a braggart with dark skin and hair' (No. 15); the second is 'more delicate and has yellow hair' (No. 16). In Menander, Bias in the *Kolax* is the traditional type of the braggart soldier; Polemon in the *Perikeiromene* is an idealisation and the mask might be somewhat softened. The second young man has yellow wavy hair, which denotes courage according to the *Physiognomonika* (812 a16). As he is also 'delicate', he is presumably the same age as the 'delicate boy', but shares the soldier's wildness and irascibility and may have sometimes some connection with military service, which the delicate boy lacks. Dr. Simon¹ has suggested that Chairea in the *Eunuch* wore this mask because he was doing his ephebe service (296) and his character fits admirably; we can add Moschion of the *Samia* and Alcesimarchus of the *Synaristosai* since they both call for arms (*Sam.* 346; *Cist.* 284 ff.), and Clinias of the *Heautontimoroumenos* who has been on military service (100 f.), but is still very young (113). The Naples relief suggests that the connection with soldiers is not essential, but that the mask could be used for any wild young man about town, e.g. Moschion of the *Perikeiromene*, who is 'rich and always drunk' (22 f.). Then we may also follow Dr. Simon² in attributing this mask to Diniarchus in the *Truculentus* (610 f.) 'the soft, long-locked adulterer, lover of the shade, player of the tambourine'. This mask, with its yellow hair, pale face and straight nose, is the obvious contrast for the dark-haired, dark-complexioned, snub-nosed rustic in Menander's *Hypobolimaïos* (Moschion/Charippos), *Heros* (Pheidias/Gorgias), and *Georgos* (X/Gorgias).

Pollux mentions three parasite masks. There is no trace of the Sicilian parasite (No. 20) in Menander, but Dr. Simon has detected him in a fragment of Diphilus.³ The other two are both dark, hook-nosed (probably cowardly therefore and certainly shameless according to the *Physiognomonika*), and fat; the parasite (No. 18) is distinguished from the flatterer (No. 17, fig. 2) because his ears are more damaged and he looks more cheerful, the flatterer's brows are raised more maliciously.

¹ *Op. cit.*, 68.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ Simon, 54; Diphilus, 138K.

Gelasimus in the *Stichus*¹ and Gnatho in the *Kolax* are obvious examples of the two types in Menander.

Pollux lists six masks for slaves. The old slave's mask (No. 21, fig. 5) would be used for *paidagogoi* in the *Dis Exapaton*, *Phasma*, and *Kolax*, and for old men like Geta in the *Adelphi*. Two masks are assigned by Pollux to leading slaves: 'the leading slave (No. 22, fig. 6) has a roll of red hair (a sign of hastiness and shamelessness according to the *Physiognomonikā*), raised eyebrows, knitted brows; takes the same position among the slaves as the leading old man among the free . . . the leading slave with wavy hair (No. 27, fig. 8) is like the leading slave except for his hair'. The description in the *Pseudolus* (1217 ff.) and the *Asinaria* (400 ff.) would fit either. Of the other slaves the 'straight-haired' (No. 23) has receding red hair and raised eyebrows; the curly-haired (No. 24) has receding red hair and squints; Maison (No. 25) is bald and red; Tettix (No. 26) is bald and black with two or three locks on his forehead and in his beard. The last two are cooks and, according to Athenaeus (XIV, 659a) Maison was the citizen cook and Tettix the foreign cook; according to Festus (p. 134) the Maison mask was used for 'cooks, sailors, and such like'. It is interesting that these two masks are included among the slave masks, although cooks were usually free in New Comedy; Dr. Simon² rightly points out that the distinction in external appearance between poor citizen and slave was very small in Athens; the cook might be a citizen or a foreigner or a freed man or a slave. We are only concerned to note that Menander had two cooks to use, and the red-haired Maison is more energetic and courageous than the black-haired Tettix. Robert³ seems to me therefore to be right in giving the Maison mask to Congrio and the Tettix mask to Anthrax in the *Apistos* (*Aulularia*).

Pollux' list of female masks starts with three old women. The first (No. 28) is the withered, long-faced, wolfish woman with many thin wrinkles, a yellow complexion, and a roving eye (in the *Physiognomonikā* (808, a18) the outward signs of bitterness are a withered skin and a wrinkled, fleshless face). The fat old

¹ Note that Gelasimus carries strigil and lekythos, *Stichus*, 230, cf. Pollux IV, 120.

² *Op. cit.*, 74.

³ *Op. cit.*, 73, cf. however, Simon, *op. cit.*, 74.

woman (No. 29) has fat wrinkles in a fat face and a ribbon round her hair (it may be relevant to remember that the 'dissembler' in the *Physiognomonika* (808, a27) has fat surrounding his face and wrinkles round the eyes). The third (No. 30, fig. 3) is the little old housekeeper with a snub-nose and two teeth in each jaw. We may take Staphyla in the *Aulularia* as the typical wearer of the little housekeeper mask and the *lena* of the *Cistellaria*¹ as the typical wearer of the fat woman's mask. Many examples in literature can be given of both². The wolfish old woman still eludes us; Dr. Simon³, following Robert, divides the *lenae* between the 'wolfish old woman' and the 'fat old woman', because of the associations of the name in Greek and Latin. If, however, the long nose is the distinguishing feature of the mask it may rather have been worn by the more domineering kind of wife, like Menander's Krobyle whose nose is a cubit long (402K).

The next group of masks is all classed together by Pollux as young women. Three are going to be married: the maiden (No. 33) and the two false-maidens (Nos. 34 and 35). Dr. Simon⁴ has given a convincing explanation of the term false-maiden; she is a maiden because her parents will be discovered before the end of the play, but she is a false-maiden because she has already lived with the man whom she will marry. The obvious examples are Selenium in the *Synaristosai* (= *Cistellaria*), Antiphila in the *Heautontimoroumenos*, and Glykera in the *Perikeiromene*. It is difficult to see why there should be two such masks. Dr. Simon thinks that a distinction can be drawn between the gentle Antiphila and the stronger Glykera and Selenium, but this is too fine a distinction to warrant a different mask. There is another possible class of characters who could be called false-maidens—the women who have been raped in youth, who have brought

¹ The opening scene of the *Cistellaria* (= Menander's *Synaristosai*) may be illustrated by the Dioscurides mosaic (Appendix B, 29, i. (b)).

² *Little Housekeeper*: Sophrone (*Epitr.*, *Heros*, *Eun.*, *Phormio*); Nurse (*Samia*); Canthara (*Ad.*); Crocotium (*Stichus*); Gyddenis (*Poen.*) ancilla Calliclis (*Truc.*); Philinna (*Georgos*); Syra (*Mercator*); Pardalisca (*Casina*); Ptolemocratia (*Rudens*); Nurse (*Hecyra*); *Fat Woman*: Lesbia (*Andria*); Syra (*Truc.*); Cleareta (*Ad.*); Leaena (*Curc.*)

³ 131 and 129, n. 7, cf. also Navarre, *R.E.A.*, xvi. 27.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 101.

up their children, and who certainly (or probably) marry at the end of the play ; they are the priestess in the *Hiereia*, Myrrhine in the *Georgos*, and Dorippa in the *Epidicus*. The only other possible mask for them (they are not wives, they are hardly 'little old women' if they are going to marry) is the 'concubine', but a 'concubine' should surely be living with a man when the play opens and is not finally married. As Pollux' list places the oldest of each kind first, these women presumably wore the first 'false-maiden' mask ; the second type is, in fact, worn by Selenium on the Dioscurides mosaic.

The 'maiden' knows her citizen origin and has not yet lived with a man, but is in some misfortune like Palaestra in the *Rudens*, Krateia in the *Misoumenos*, the girl in the *Kolax*, or Adelphasium in the *Poenulus* (we must suppose that Anterastilis wore the same mask with slight variation). The maiden has straight dark brows, parted hair and a white face. The false-maiden has her hair bound about the front of her head and looks like a bride, the second version differs only in having her hair parted.

There are two masks for wives : the garrulous with a wreath of hair (No. 31) and the curly-haired (No. 32) ; Dr. Simon¹ suggests that the main distinction is between the garrulous wife who bullies her husband—Menander's Krobyle, the heiress wife of the *Plokion*, whose nose is a cubit long (402K) and who is more talkative than a dove (416K), is the perfect example²—and the curly-haired wife who is for some reason or other distressed, e.g. Pamphile in the *Epitrepontes*.³ This distinction is not maintained in the plays where two wives appear (e.g. *Casina*, *Hecyra*, *Stichus*) and Myrrhine in the *Perikeiromene* and Eunomia in the *Aulularia* do not fit into either category. We may therefore prefer to think that the 'garrulous' is the normal mask for the wife, and that the 'curly-haired' was introduced for the second wife, when a second wife was needed ; Menander's Krobyle and her like might, as we have suggested, more suitably wear the mask of the 'wolfish old woman'.

¹ *Op. cit.*, 104, 107.

² Cf. also Artemona in *Asinaria*, Nausistrata in *Phormio*, Dorippa in *Mercator*.

³ Cf. also Myrrhine in the *Heros*, Sostrata in the *Heautontimoroumenos* and *Adelphi*, Phanostrata in the *Synaristosai* (*Cistellaria*), who will then wear an older version of the curly-haired mask.

Pollux' list of hetairae is introduced by two which are not hetairae in the normal sense. The 'greying garrulous (No. 36) . . . signifies a hetaira who has ceased her trade' and 'the concubine (No. 37) is like her but has a wreath of hair'. The concubine's mask was worn by Chrysis in the *Samia*.¹ There are three candidates for the 'greying garrulous': Melaenis in the *Cistellaria*, Scapha in the *Mostellaria*, Syra in the *Hecyra*. Melaenis was a hetaira and must be distinguished from the *lena*; she therefore seems likely. Scapha and Syra are more doubtful; Scapha has been a concubine rather than a hetaira (*Most.* 199 f.); Syra shows a similar realism based perhaps on similar experience (*Hec.* 63 f.); they are not *lenae* and they are too old to wear the mask of the hetaira's maid; they may then be 'greying garrulous'.

Of the hetaira masks it is clear that the 'fullgrown' (No. 38) is older than the 'blooming' hetaira (No. 39) and the masks might be used for a pair of sisters like the Bacchides in their name play. The 'golden' hetaira (No. 40) must be a rich and independent hetaira; the 'blooming' hetaira and 'little torch' (No. 42) both appear as musicians and therefore are likely to be owned by a *leno* or under the control of their mothers. We have no evidence of the status of the wimpled hetaira (No. 41) except that, on the monuments, she generally looks young. We have, therefore, probably two masks for the independent hetairae and three for the dependent hetairae.

In the plays we find the independent hetaira who may be either voracious (Thais in her name play, Phronesium in the *Truculentus*) or good-hearted (Thais in the *Eunuch*, Bacchis and perhaps Philotis in the *Hecyra*), and the dependent hetaira maintained by a *leno* (the harpist in the *Adelphi*, Habrotonon in the *Perikeiromene* and *Epitrepontes*, the two harpists in the *Epidicus*, Phoenicium in the *Pseudolus*, Philematium and presumably Delphium in the *Mostellaria*) or by her mother (Gymnasium in the *Cistellaria*, Philaenium in the *Asinaria*) or by a citizen (Pasicompsa in the *Mercator*, Acroteleutium in the *Miles*)².

¹ I assume that Chrysis was not finally recognised as an Athenian citizen and married to Demeas. Cf. *Studies in Menander*, 46.

² Perhaps, however, when Acroteleutium and Milphidippa appear, they wear the masks suitable to the parts that they play: wife and wife's maid.

Pollux finally describes the masks of the wife's maid (No. 43) and the hetaira's maid (No. 44). The former would be worn by Stephanium in the *Stichus* and by the disguised Milphidippa in the *Miles*, probably also by Doris in the *Perikeiromene* who is Polemon's slave, and the latter by Mysis in the *Andria*, Pythias in the *Eunuch*, Astaphium in the *Truculentus*, and probably by Ampelisca in the *Rudens*¹.

This completes our survey of Pollux' list and we can provisionally answer one of our questions: how far were the masks of New Comedy traditional? The answer appears to be that the pictorial material gives no evidence before the New Comedy period for the following masks: leading old man, old man with wavy hair, *eikōnikos*, *panchrestos*, dark youth, curly youth, delicate youth, and the blooming hetaira. If we consider the characters to which we have allocated these masks, they include (except for the *eikōnikos* who is a minor and unimportant invention) many that would naturally be regarded as typical creations of the New Comedy, such as Demea and Micio of the *Adelphi* (Menander), Plesidippus of the *Rudens* (Diphilus), Charisois of the *Epitrepontes* (Menander), Philocrates of the *Captivi*, the terror- and love-stricken boy of the *Phasma* (Menander), and Philematium of the *Mostellaria* (Philemon). We can see them as the outcome of two strains in New Comedy: the two old men, the dark youth, and the delicate youth spring from the character comedy of Menander; the *panchrestos*, the curly-haired youth, and the little hetaira belong rather to the adventurous comedy of Philemon and Diphilus.

To answer our first question—on what principle poets allotted masks to plays—we must make an assumption and consider how far it is justified. Two of the new masks are the masks of fathers of families, who are distinguished by their hair (Quintilian², describing the leading old man, calls him *pater ille*). Pollux says that the leading slave, who has the same hairdressing as the leading old man, 'stands in the same relation to the slaves as the leading old man to the free' and then that 'the wavy-

¹ Oeri, *Typ der komischen Alten*, Basel, 1949, 58 f., makes Pythias in the *Eunuch* and Astaphium in the *Truculentus* old. I see no reason to follow this.

² xi, 3, 74.

haired leading slave is in all respects like the leading slave except for his hair'. He (or rather his source) seems to indicate a distinction of two households by hairdressing, and this is made possible by introducing the two old men's masks to correspond to the two traditional slave masks. The *panchrestos*, 'dark youth', and 'tender youth' are added as possible sons for the leading old man; the rustic, who has a similar 'wreath of hair', already existed. The first and second youths with wavy hair already existed as possible sons for the new 'father with wavy hair'—we do in fact know of one case where a soldier's father appeared, the *Misoumenos* of Menander. Finally, the introduction of the 'curly-haired youth' made a third household possible with the curly-haired old man (the Lycomedian) and the curly-haired slave. The white-haired slave, according to monumental evidence, should belong to the household of the leading old man, but, as we shall see, his role may be less restricted.

The representations of New Comedy scenes give us a little evidence that masks were allotted on this principle. We have already noticed two examples¹; on the Naples relief wavy-haired old man flies out at wavy-haired son, who is supported by wavy-haired slave, and on the terracotta relief wavy-haired slave escapes from wavy-haired old man by sitting on an altar; in both the leading old man, who protests, clearly represents another household. Among the pictorial representations collected by Dr. Simon, the following show the same principle: No. 1 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 238), *panchrestos* with little torch listens to white-haired slave addressing the public (general situation as *Ad.* 300 f.); No. 5 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 228), white-haired slave looks on in horror as leading slave revels with blooming hetaira (general situation, end of *Stichus* and beginning of *Mostellaria*); No. 7 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 229) leading old man leaves young wife in fury, wavy-haired slave (belonging to husband) overhears (general situation, *Stichus* and *Epitrepontes*); No. 8 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 239)² *panchrestos* and delicate boy (elder and younger brother) revel with young hetaira (general situation, assumed in first act of *Adelphi*); No. 14 (= Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 237) leading

¹ See above, p. 99, n. 1 and 2.

² See Appendix B, 10, i (a).

slave flatters and persuades wavy-haired soldier slave (= *Pseudolus* and Harpax in the *Pseudolus*); No. 16 (= Robert, figs. 54 and 61) white-haired slave watches delicate boy night-walking (= Menander, *Epikleros*, 164K with Turpilius, Ribbeck 91, I(12)50); No. 18 (= Robert, fig. 86) wavy-haired old man interrogating wavy-haired slave (Robert regards as illustration of *Samia* 91 f.); No. 21 (= Robert, fig. 53, Haigh, fig. 27) leading old man tells a story to pensive white-haired slave (Simon suggests first scene of *Andria*; but perhaps rather *Heautontimoroumenos*, 749 ff.).

In all these, the principle of distinguishing households by hairdressing seems to be upheld. We may therefore interpret three other monuments in the same sense. The Menander relief shows three masks, the dark or delicate boy, the older pseudokore, and the wavy-haired old man. The *Hiereia* would be a possibility; the mask of the first pseudokore is the priestess herself; the old man is the chief character who finally discovers his children and marries her; the boy is the son of her neighbour, whom the old man mistakenly addresses as his own son. There are two well-known marble reliefs, each with four masks; in one (Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 259) the masks are leader, leading slave, delicate youth, and in the background second wavy-haired boy (not, as Bieber says, a satyr); this would fit the *Heautontimoroumenos*—Chremes, Syrus, Clitipho and Clinia. The other (Bieber, fig. 258) shows flatterer, wavy-haired old man, wavy-haired slave and delicate boy; in the *Phormio*, Phormio is the flatterer, his chief intrigues are directed against Demipho and he operates with Demipho's slave Geta, but the son of Chremes, Phaedria, is also a necessary character in the plot. I do not claim these as illustrations of the plays named; I only maintain that they are intelligible in the light of the plays.

We can now examine the surviving plays to see how far it is justifiable to assume that masks were allotted on the principle of distinguishing households by hairdressing. The accompanying table (Appendix A) shows the male characters arranged under the three households, which are distinguished by the three forms of hairdressing, 'wreath or coil of hair, wavy hair, curly hair'; the characters on which the attributions are based are *italicised*;

the reasons for identification have for the most part been already discussed, but the notes discuss debatable points. The order within each form of hairdressing is (1) old man, (2) young man, (3) slave. The exceptions are not many or important. We notice that another type of white-haired slave is needed to fit into the wavy-haired household and in the *Adelphi* the aged Geta stands outside both households, and we may assume in these cases the use of one of the traditional masks without the roll of hair which seems to appear in the New Comedy illustrative material. There is a similar difficulty in the *Casina*, *Rudens* and *Miles*, where an extra slave is required in the wavy-haired household who is not an aged slave. Only in the *Eunuch* have we to assume two similar masks slightly differing in age for the brothers ; a parallel is afforded by the two girls in the *Poenulus* (see above). The table shows up a few points of greater interest. Adopted sons wear the hairdressing of the family into which they have been adopted (*Adelphi*, *Aulularia*), and sons who will be recognised wear the hairdressing of the family which will claim them (*Heros*, *Georgos*, *Captivi*, cf. also *Hiereia*) ; in the same way daughters who will be recognised are marked by the masks of maiden, or false-maiden, although they may be in fact at the moment slave or concubine (e.g. *Rudens*, *Cistellaria*).

There is no clear difference in character between the two leading slaves, with and without wavy hair, and the masks were allotted to fit the household to which the slave belonged. But where father and son wore masks with the same hairdressing, this could signify more than community of household. In Menander particularly fathers got the sons that they deserved. The sons of the leading old men have three masks available ; for the sons of the old man with the wavy hair there is normally only one mask, since the soldier son, as far as we know, was extremely rare. There is, however, a common quality, perhaps best described as emotionalism and often expressed in a momentary desire to go to war, which unites the youths with wavy hair. In their fathers this quality shows itself in various ways ; one form is mildness, or a refusal to act consistently by conventional standards ; clear cases are Demeas in the *Samia*, Micio in the *Adelphi*, Chremes in the *Phormio*, and Daemones in the *Rudens*. A rather different form is

seen in the anxiety and troubles which Menedemus in the *Heautontimoroumenos* and Charmides in the *Trinummus* give themselves on behalf of their sons. A less pleasant form of emotionalism is the prurience of Nicobulus in the *Bacchides*, Lysidamus in the *Casina*, and Demipho in the *Mercator*. I think it quite possible that these three types were all given the same mask on the ground that they were all deviations from the strictness of the severe father.

The developed system of New Comedy masks emphasises the contrasts which the poet wants to point between characters differing in age, household, position, or sex. Menander perhaps makes the fullest use of this technique; for instance, in the *Epitrepontes*, Charisios is contrasted with Chairestratos, but also with Pamphile, Onesimos and Smikrines; Pamphile is contrasted with Habrotonon as well as with her father; Onesimos is contrasted with Habrotonon as well as with Charisios and Smikrines; Syriskos is contrasted with Daos. But we can see the same technique in the other poets—in Diphilus' *Rudens* Palaestra and Ampelisca, in Philemon's *Mostellaria* Grumio and Tranio or Lysiteles and Lesbonicus in his *Trinummus*.

There is another kind of contrast which is important. It is generally accepted that Menander gave an entirely new and sympathetic interpretation of certain traditionally satiric characters, notably the soldier (Polemon in the *Perikeiromene*), the rich hetaira (Chrysis in the *Eunuch*), and probably also the flatterer (Gnatho in the *Kolax*). He does not seem to have invented new masks for these, but rather to have played on the contrast between the original mask and the new conception of the character. We may perhaps therefore explain the use of the rustic mask for such differing characters as Chremes in the *Eunuch* and Gorgias in the *Georgos* in the same way; Gorgias is the sympathetic new edition of the traditional rustic.

III. OLD AND MIDDLE COMEDY

For Old and Middle Comedy we have not so much help either from monumental and literary evidence or from the plays and fragments themselves. New Comedy arose suddenly and

fixed the style for all succeeding comic masks ; Old Comedy developed from rudimentary performances which we can trace back at least to the early sixth century B.C., and continued developing, as I suggested in an earlier lecture ¹, until superseded by New Comedy. We are therefore dealing with something which is changing all the time.

Some of the masks in Pollux' list—the first old man, second old man, first Hermonian, wedge-beard, and second Hermonian—appear so rarely in the New Comedy material that they must be survivals from the preceding period ². Others, though common in New Comedy, can also be traced back on vases or terracottas into the Middle Comedy, or even into the Old Comedy period ³ : they are the Lycomedian, the *leno*, the rustic, the second youth with wavy hair, the flatterer, the parasite, the Sicilian parasite, all the slaves, the old women, the young women (except the little blooming hetaira), and the maids. We can suggest when a few of these masks were introduced ⁴ : although the parasite was already a character in Epicharmus' comedy and Eupolis' *Kolakes*, produced in 420 B.C., had a chorus of parasites (159K), the single parasite was much more common in the fourth century and the three different types of parasite masks belong to Middle Comedy rather than Old Comedy ; similarly, although a flute girl has a small part in Aristophanes *Wasps* and *Thesmophoriazusae* and Pherekrates introduced two hetairae into his *Korianno* ⁵, hetairae became much more common in Middle Comedy and with the hetairae were presumably introduced both their maids and, for the younger hetairae, their owners the *lena* and the *leno*, who first wore the second Hermonian mask and then later his own mask. The various adventures which can be classed under

¹ *R.B.*, xxix, 153. Cf. also *C.Q.*, xlii, 19, where I have argued for the survival of the Old Comedy costume through the period of the Middle Comedy.

² Hermon, who gave his name to two of these masks, was an actor of Aristophanes' time.

³ I include only those masks which survive comparatively unchanged. I have omitted the beardless Neopotolemus (see Appendix B, 15, ii, B) because I think he is much younger than the normal Middle Comedy soldier.

⁴ For the dating of the Middle Comedy parasite (before 350 and possibly before 360 B.C.) hetaira (390/380 B.C.) intrigue (350-340 B.C.), and recognition (350-30 B.C.) plays see *Studies in Menander*, 164 f., 171 f.

⁵ We have no clear reason for dating any play of Pherekrates after 420 B.C.

the general headings of rape and rescue also belong to Middle Comedy and for them the masks of maidens and false-maidens were needed. Auge, who wears the second false-maiden mask on an Attic terracotta and a Campanian vase, is a mythological ancestress of false-maidens.¹

Pollux follows his list of tragic masks with 'special masks' which he concludes with the words: 'these could also be comic masks'. Some of them we can connect with Old or Middle Comedies of various dates: Argos for the *Panoptai* of Cratinus, Centaur for the various plays entitled *Centaur* or *Cheiron* (one is illustrated by an Athenian vase of the late fifth century), Titan for the *Ploutoi* of Cratinus,² Giant for the *Giants* of the younger Cratinus, City for the *Cities* of Eupolis, Anaxandrides, and Heniochos³ (cf. the *Islands* of Plato and Pseudo-Aristophanes; the *Demes* of Eupolis and the *Laws* of Cratinus (126K) must however be male), Muses for the *Muses* of Phrynichus, etc., Seasons for the *Seasons* of Aristophanes and Anaxilas and presumably for individual seasons like Autumn in Aristophanes' *Peace*,⁴ and finally Drunkenness, who appears as Cratinus' mistress in his *Pytine* and presumably later spoke the prologue of Menander's *Methe*. Aristophanes himself tells us something of the masks worn by two personifications: the Clouds are 'like mortal women' and 'have noses' (341, 394), and Poverty in the *Plutus* (423 ff.) is a cross between a tragic fury and a landlady; Clouds and Poverty may therefore both have worn the mask ascribed above to the wolfish old woman.⁵

We can form some idea of the masks of the animal choruses

¹ Cf. C.Q., xlii, 21. We probably have the casts of three Middle Comedies, the originals of Plautus, *Amphitruo*, *Persa*, and *Menaechmi*. On the *Amphitruo* see below. *Persa* needs three slave masks, parasite, hetaira, hetaira's maid, maiden, *leno*; *Menaechmi* two identical young men, slave, hetaira, hetaira's maid, cook (*Maison*), old man, wife, doctor (see below).

² Cf. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, fr. 38, 9. Pieters, *Kratinos*, Leiden, 1946, 88 f. For the Centaur vase see Appendix B, 15, ii, B (a).

³ The play from which fr. 5K comes was presumably called *Cities*. On the *Islands*, cf. Beazley, *Vases in Poland*, 63.

⁴ Eirene herself was a colossal figure; we may perhaps recognise her on a Campanian kalyx krater in Glasgow (Appendix B, 5 f.); if so, this mask was later adopted for the curly-haired wife.

⁵ Cf. my *Interplay*, 15.

of the Old Comedy from the masks worn by the earlier animal dancers who are represented on vases.¹ Satyr choruses occur in comedies by Ecphantides, Cratinus, Phrynichus, and Timocles ; the satyrs cannot have worn the normal costume of satyrs in a satyr play but must have been caricatured ; it seems to me at least possible that they looked like the fat hairy satyrs which we know from Corinthian plastic vases². A chorus of Pans on a vase of about 460 B.C. in the British Museum³ may represent a chorus from Comedy ; a young Pan mask survives on a Gnathia fragment in the possession of Professor Sir J. D. Beazley (it will be remembered that Pan spoke the prologue in Menander's *Dyskolos*).

Pollux says that the masks of Old Comedy were for the most part made like the persons who were represented in the comedies. We must therefore assume that characters from contemporary life wore masks which were either portraits or caricatures and that this practice continued at any rate to the time of Aristophanes's *Plato*. There were sometimes exceptions : Aristophanes tells us in the *Knights* (230) that the Paphlagonian does not wear a portrait mask of Cleon. Pericles appeared as Zeus in the *Thracian Women* (71K) and *Nemesis* (111K) and as Dionysus in the *Dionysalexandros*⁴ of Cratinus ; Professor Schmid⁵ says that in the *Nemesis* Pericles wore the mask of Zeus ; for this there is no evidence and it is more likely that in each case the actor wore a portrait mask of Pericles and the attributes of the god with whom Pericles was identified ; in the *Dionysalexandros* (38K) we know that he had the thyrsus, saffron robe, coloured cloak, and drinking cup of Dionysus. For Aeschylus and the

¹ Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, etc.*, 245-247 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Figs. 76-79, Brommer, *A.A.*, 1942, 65, perhaps also Dugas, *B.C.H.*, lxx, 172.

² E.g. Maximova, *Les Vases Plastiques*, Nos 158 and 159. The Silen on an Apulian vase (Appendix B, 26, ii) wears a *tettix* (slave) mask and may therefore be a satyr in comedy.

³ London, E 467 ; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, 420-422 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 39, pl. 51 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dith.*, Figs. 14-15 ; Webster, *Niobidenmaler*, pl. 15 a, b.

⁴ Demianczuk, *Supplementum Comicum*, 235.

⁵ *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, iv, 76. So also Pieters, *Kratinos* 1946, 56, although he admits that Perikles wore his own mask in the *Thracian Women*, but the similar terminology of 71K and 111K implies the same mask in both.

leading Athenian statesmen of the fifth century back to the time of the battle of Marathon paintings or statues were well known and could be copied, but what about Hesiod, Archilochus, Sappho and Alcaeus? If Zahn was right in interpreting the two figures on an Apulian bell krater as Sappho and Alcaeus, both wore standard masks with no sign of individual portraiture.¹ Moreover the natural explanation of the plural titles, *Archilochoi*, *Hesiodoi*, etc., is that the chief actor and the chorus wore the same masks; twenty-five portraits of Archilochus would be unlikely, but twenty-five bitter ancients led by one named Archilochus is feasible.

Portrait masks may sometimes have survived as standard masks, but we lack conclusive evidence. Masks of course bore some relation to contemporary styles of hairdressing, etc.; the New Comedy mask of the braggart soldier undoubtedly reproduces a fashion which originated with Alexander. The masks of the hetairae probably derive from individual hetairae, who may have themselves figured in comedy. It is very tempting to say that we can see the beginning of clean-shaven masks for young men in the portrait masks of Cleisthenes and Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (191, 575). We have, as far as I know, no evidence in the Old Comedy for beardless masks of men except these two, who are both luxurious effeminate; twenty years later in the *Ecclesiazusae* (24) Praxagora and her friends still put on beards to disguise themselves as men and she is described as 'a good-looking fair young man like Nicias' (428), which shows that young men still normally wore beards. The mask of Kotilos on a Paestan vase² of the mid-fourth century is a link between Aristophanes' Agathon and the beardless youths of New Comedy, but the monuments show that the normal masks of youths in Middle Comedy were bearded.

Special masks might have been expected for the gods but such evidence as we have is against it. Apollo on another Paestan vase³ wears the same mask as Kotilos. Similarly the

¹ Zahn, *die Antike*, 1931, 90 f., cf. also C.Q., xlii, 23.

² See Appendix B, 16, ii, B.

³ Bell krater, Leningrad; Bieber, *D.*, No. 105, *H.T.*, Fig. 355; Heydemann, q.; Trendall, *Paestan*, No. 35.

mask worn by Zeus on an Attic vase and on a Paestan vase is worn on other vases by an old man, Odysseus, Kreon, and a slave.¹ The long nose of this mask may well be the inspiration of a line preserved from Archippus' *Amphitryon* (1K) : ' and this though your snout is so long '. This mask would also be worn by Zeus and Amphitryon in the original of Plautus' *Amphitruo* (*Amphitruo* is an old man, 1032) ; Hermes on the other hand wore the mask of a bearded slave (445). A fragment of Plato (188K) suggests that Hermes had no fixed mask, and he appears on vases both as a rustic youth and as a bearded man.² Herakles (fig. 7) on the other hand had a special mask which we know both from Attic terracottas and from South Italian vases.³

Our chief evidence for the normal masks of Old Comedy is Aristophanes. The plays show a great variation in the number of characters, from five in the *Knights* to twenty-one in the *Acharnians* and different masks cannot have been provided for all the characters in the larger casts. It would obviously be convenient in the *Acharnians* if the ambassador wore the same mask as Theoros, and the Megarian the same mask as the Boeotian (all four parts according to van Leeuwen were taken by the second actor) and if the sycophant, Nikarchos, and the servant of Lamachos and the two messengers wore the same mask (all parts taken by the third actor) but we must not forget one very quick and certain change of mask ; in the *Ecclesiazusae* the first old woman goes off at l. 1044 and the actor comes on again at l. 1049 as the second old woman, who is yet more hideous than the first⁴ ; but this change of mask does not involve a change of costume. Two further pieces of evidence suggest that different characters wore similar masks. In the set of terracottas in New York, which I have associated with Eubulus' *Auge*,⁵ three characters wear the same mask—the man with the basket, the man with the water-pot,

¹ For references see Appendix B, 2.

² Appendix B, 14B ; 10d.

³ Appendix B, 15, B.

⁴ According to Van Leeuwen's allotment of parts a still quicker change is necessary in the *Thesmophoriazusae* when Euripides, wearing a portrait mask, goes off at 927 and the actor comes on again at 929 as the Prytanis ; the solution here, I think, is that Kritylla is not taken by the third actor but by a member of the chorus and the third actor is free to take the Prytanis.

⁵ C.Q., xlii, 21.



Photo, Metr. Mus., N.Y.
4. FIRST HERMONIAN



Photo, Ashmolean Mus., Oxford
5. OLD SLAVE



Photo, Stein, at Trent
6. LEADING SLAVE



Photo, British Museum
7. HERAKLES



Photo, British Museum
8. WAVY-HAIRED SLAVE

[To face p. 117

and the seated man (Bieber, *H.T.*, figs. 126-8); they may be the same character at three different moments, but, as the other New York set has no repeated masks, I prefer to think that three different characters wore the same mask.

The other piece of evidence needs more discussion. In Comedy the gap between the homogeneous mass of chorus and the actors is often lessened in various ways. The members of the chorus may be differentiated from each other. In Ameipsias' *Konnos* (cf. particularly 9, 11K) some at least of the chorus wore portrait masks—of Socrates and the Sophists; in the *Peace* the chorus are 'farmers, merchants, carpenters, craftsmen, resident aliens, foreigners, and islanders' (296 f.) but were presumably differentiated by equipment (cf. 729) and dress rather than by mask.¹ The fragments of the *Odysseus* of Cratinus (142-4K) show that the chorus was composed of the sailors of Odysseus, and Odysseus himself evidently took the chief part: the plural title probably signifies that Odysseus and his sailors all wore the same mask.²

In the *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae* chorus women have speaking parts either when they first come on or in the course of the play.³ *Lysistrata* is distinguished from the chorus by being younger and having raised eyebrows (8,707): but there is no evidence that Praxagora differs from the other women in the *Ecclesiazusae*.

In New Comedy each character had a different mask and we can see this practice beginning with the masks newly introduced in Middle Comedy; in Old Comedy it seems likely that there was no such rule. Our best approach to the masks of Old Comedy will then be to examine those scenes where a multiplicity of masks is desirable, particularly when the characters are of the same general type, and to note the rather rare descriptions of characters' appearances. We can start with a certainty; at the end of the

¹ Cf. the birds which come on singly before the main body of the chorus (*Birds*, 267 f.).

² Cf. Cratinus *Archilochoi*, *Cheirones*, *Kleoboulinai*, *Teleclides*, *Hesiodoi*.

³ In the *Lysistrata* I take Kalonike, Myrrhine, and the three women (437 f., 434 f.), to be members of the chorus; in the *Thesmophoriazusae* the third woman (760 f., see above p. 116, n. 4), in the *Ecclesiazusae* the three women of the opening scene.

Ecclesiazusae the three old women, each uglier than the last, must be distinguished by mask ; the first, who is snub-nosed (940), presumably wears the 'little housekeeper' ; the third, who is like a toad and a monkey (1072, 1101) is the fat woman ¹ ; the second by elimination should be the wolfish old woman. At the beginning of the *Lysistrata* three masks are needed, for Lysistrata who has raised brows (8,707), the chorus who are older (8, 197, 319, 637), and Lampito. Presumably Lampito and Lysistrata wear the straight and snub-nosed masks of middle aged women and the chorus the snub-nosed mask with smooth brows like the choreuts on the krater in Heidelberg.² As the chorus are called 'seed of the agora, sellers of eggs and vegetables' (456), the same mask would suit the bakeress in the *Wasps*.

We have also some indication of the masks worn by men. In the *Plutus* Chremylos, Ploutos, and Blepsidemos must be distinguished : Blepsidemos is characterised as interfering (335), which is the mask of Pollux' Lycomedian ; Ploutos is described as 'wrinkled, bald, and toothless' (265) and is as bitter at his first appearance as he is cheerful when he returns with eyesight restored ; he might well wear on his return the mask of the first *Pappos*, whom Pollux characterises as cheerful, and a special variant for his first entry. The *Birds* provides us with another hint. Pisthetairos is contrasted with Euelpides, a 'plucked blackbird' with 'a caricature of a goose' (805/6) ; Euelpides therefore wears a long-nosed mask and Pisthetairos a short-nosed mask. Pisthetairos must later be distinguished from Poseidon (1565) ; in that scene Herakles will wear the normal Herakles mask and Triballo the mask of a foreign slave. Poseidon should wear the long-nosed mask worn by Zeus on the Attic oenochoe ³ and the same may have been worn earlier by Euelpides. On the Campanian kalyx krater which may illustrate the *Peace* ⁴ the old man has thick but receding hair and a long, blunt beard and may be the First Hermonian (fig. 4). If he is Trygaeos he is a

¹ So also the old woman in the *Plutus* (1035-1036).

² Lampito : see Appendix B, 37, ii ; Lysistrata and chorus, 31, ii. They are listed under *garrulous* and *concubine* because they are the probable origin of these New Comedy masks.

³ Appendix B, 2a.

⁴ Appendix B, 5 f.

countryman and in fact the mask of one of the New York terracottas,¹ who must be a rustic because of his skin cloak, is very similar. So, perhaps we should think also of the old countryman Dikaiopolis in the *Acharnians* and Strepsiades in the *Clouds*.

In the *Peace* Trygaios must first be distinguished from his two slaves, who form a pair as Nikias and Demosthenes, Kleon and the Sausage-Seller in the *Knights*, Sosias and Xanthias in the *Wasps*, Xanthias and Aiakos in the *Frogs*. For slaves the pair of masks, leader and wavy-haired leader, seem to have been already available and would suit *Peace*, *Wasps*, and *Frogs*. In the *Knights* Nikias and Demosthenes wear portrait masks, the Paphlagonian wears a slave mask and the Sausage-Seller the Maison mask. To return to the *Peace*, we cannot tell the mask of Hermes; Polemos presumably wears a soldier's mask and Kydoimos the mask of the wavy-haired leader as the soldier's slave. The chorus as sympathisers with Trygaios may wear the same mask as he; so may the maker of sickles (1196). The arms manufacturers must be distinguished from them and could all wear the Maison mask.

In the *Acharnians* the arrangement may be similar. Dikaiopolis would wear the same mask as Trygaios but the Acharnians must be distinguished from him and they may therefore wear the 'rather embittered' wedge-beard mask (also used for a rustic).² The Megarian and the Boeotian and the Farmer on the other hand could wear the same mask as Dikaiopolis. We have suggested that it would be convenient if the sycophant, Nikarchos, the servant of Lamachus, and the two messengers all wore the same mask; the mask of the wavy-haired leading slave would suit the last three, and Aristophanes might well give Nikarchos and the sycophant a slave's mask, just as he gives Cleon a slave's mask in the *Knights*.

The ambassador and Theoros belong to the class of younger men, which we must now examine. Both are described as *alazones*, 'braggarts' (134), a term also applied to the pale students in the *Clouds*,³ but particularly connected with the braggart soldier. The New Comedy masks of the two young

¹ Appendix B, 5a.

² Appendix B, 6b.

³ And much more widely. Cf. Ribbeck, *Alazon*. The doctor of the *Menaechni* is also an *alazon*.

men with wavy hair are anticipated by two bearded masks ; one of them is the soldier's ¹ mask and may have been used with difference of colouring for the other forms of *Alazon*. The other is used for a rake, ² who might well be the long-haired Pheidippides of the *Clouds* (14), the young man of the *Ecclesiazusae* (955), or the debauched son of the *Banqueters*.³ There seem also to be three masks for more sober characters ⁴ which may also be regarded as bearded anticipations of New Comedy youths ; here we have little to guide us ; Amphitheos in the *Acharnians*, the chorus in the *Knights*, and the sober youth of the *Banqueters* must have worn such masks, and in the Middle Comedies, both mythological and otherwise, the part of the young hero obviously increased at the expense of the old countryman.

Much is doubtful but the study of masks has its purpose if it helps us to visualise Greek Comedy and defines more clearly the distinction between New Comedy and its ancestors.

¹ Appendix B, 15, ii, A.

² Appendix B, 16, ii, A.

³ Probably also for the Unjust Argument in the *Clouds*.

⁴ Appendix B, 10, ii ; 11, ii ; 12, ii.

APPENDIX A.

ATTRIBUTION OF MALE MASKS IN NEW COMEDY TO HOUSEHOLDS.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Wreath or Coil of Hair</i>	<i>Wavy hair</i>	<i>Curly hair</i>	<i>Characters dealt with in notes</i>
MENANDER	<i>Epitrepontes</i>	2. <i>Charisios</i> (dark) 3. <i>Onesimos</i>	2. <i>Chaires- tratos</i> 3. <i>Syriskos</i>	1. <i>Smikrines</i>	<i>Simias</i> <i>Daos</i> <i>Karion</i>
"	<i>Perikeiromene</i>	1. Husband of Myrrhine 3. <i>Daos</i>	1. <i>Pataikos</i> 2. <i>Moschion</i> 2. <i>Polemon</i> 3. <i>Sosias</i>		 <i>Polemon</i>
"	<i>Heros</i>	1. <i>Laches</i> 2. <i>Gorgias</i> (rustic) 3. <i>Daos</i> 3. <i>Sangarios</i>	2. <i>Pheidias</i> 3. <i>Getas</i>		 <i>Sangarios</i>
"	<i>Samia</i>	1. <i>Nikeratos</i>	1. <i>Demeas</i> 2. <i>Moschion</i> 3. <i>Parmenon</i>		(Cook is Maison)
"	<i>Andria</i>	1. <i>Simo</i> 2. <i>Pamphilus</i> (dark ?) 3. <i>Sosias</i> (White- haired) 3. <i>Davus</i>	1. <i>Chremes</i>		<i>Sosias</i> <i>Crito</i>
"	<i>Heautontimor- oumenos</i>	1. <i>Chremes</i> 2. <i>Clitipho</i> (delicate) 3. <i>Syrus</i>	1. <i>Menedemus</i> 2. <i>Clinia</i>		
	<i>Eunuch</i>	2. <i>Chremes</i> (rustic)	1. <i>Simon</i> 2. <i>Chaerea</i> <i>Thraso</i> 3. <i>Daos</i>		<i>Phaedria</i>
	<i>Adelphi</i>	1. <i>Demea</i> 2. <i>Clitipho</i> (rustic) 3. <i>Geta</i>	1. <i>Micio</i> 2. <i>Aeschinus</i> 3. <i>Syrus</i>	1. <i>Hegio</i>	<i>Geta</i> <i>Aeschinus</i>
"	<i>Aulularia</i>	1. <i>Euclio</i>	1. <i>Megadorus</i> 2. <i>Lyconides</i> 3. <i>Strobilus</i>		 <i>Lyconides</i>
"	<i>Bacchides</i>	1. <i>Philoxenus</i> 2. <i>Pistoclerus</i> 3. <i>Lydus</i> (white- haired)	<i>Nicobulus</i> <i>Mnesimachus</i> <i>Cleomachus</i> <i>Chrysalus</i>		

<i>Author</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Wreath or Coil of Hair</i>	<i>Wavy Hair</i>	<i>Curly Hair</i>	<i>Characters dealt with in Notes</i>
MENANDER	<i>Cistellaria</i>	1. Demipho 2. 3. Lampadio	Father of Alcesimarchus <i>Alcesimarchus</i>		
"	<i>Poenulus</i>	2. Agorastocles (? <i>panchrestos</i>) 3. Milphio	<i>Antamoenides</i>		Hanno Collybiacus Syncerastus Advocati
"	<i>Stichus</i>	2. Pamphilipus (? <i>panchrestos</i>) 3. Stichus (leader) 3. Pinacium (white-haired)	Epignomus Sangarinus	1. Antipho	Epignomus
"	<i>Georgos</i>	1. Kleainetos 2. <i>Gorgias</i> (rustic) 3.	Youth Daos		
APOLLO- DORUS	<i>Phormio</i>	1. Demipho 2. Antipho 3. Geta (? white-haired)	Chremes <i>Phaedia</i>		<i>Advocati</i> Phormio Davus
"	<i>Hecyra</i>	1. Laches 2. <i>Pamphilus</i> (? dark) 3. Parmeno (white-haired) 3. Sosia (leader)	Phidippus		
PHILEMON	<i>Mercator</i>	1. Lysimachus 2. <i>Eutychus</i> (<i>panchrestos</i>) 3.	Demipho <i>Charinus</i> Acanthio		Lysimachus Acanthio
"	<i>Mostellaria</i>	1. <i>Theoropides</i> 2. Philolaches (<i>panchrestos</i>) 3. Tranio (leader) 3. Grumio (white-haired)	Callidamates	Simo	Theoropides Philolaches Callidimates
"	<i>Trinummus</i>	1. Philto 2. <i>Lysiteles</i> (<i>panchrestos</i>) 3.	Charmides <i>Lesbonicus</i> Stasimus	Megaronides	Callicles Sycophanta

<i>Author</i>	<i>Play</i>	<i>Wreath or Coil of Hair</i>	<i>Wavy Hair</i>	<i>Curly Hair</i>	<i>Characters dealt with in Notes</i>
DIPHILUS	<i>Casina</i>	1. Alcesimus 2. 3. 3.	Lysidamus (Euthynicus) (Slave) <i>Chalinus</i> Olympio (straight- haired)		Slaves
"	<i>Rudens</i>	1. 2. <i>Plesidippus</i> (<i>panchrestos</i>) 3. Trachalio 3.	Daemones Sceparnio Gripus (straight- haired)		Charmides Fishermen Gripus
UNKNOWN	<i>Asinaria</i>	1. 2. 3. 3.	<i>Demaenetus</i> Argyrippus Libanus (white- haired) Leonida	Diabolus	Demaenetus Diabolus
"	<i>Captivi</i>	1. Hegio 2. Philopole- mus (<i>panchrestos</i>) 2. Tyndarus (dark) 3. Stalagmus (white- haired)	Aristophontes	<i>Philocrates</i>	Tyndarus
"	<i>Curculio</i>	2. <i>Phaedromus</i> (delicate) 3. Palinurus (white- haired)	<i>Theraponti- gonus</i> (soldier)		Curculio Lycus
"	<i>Epidicus</i>	1. Apocides 2. Chaeribulus (<i>panchrestos</i>) 3. 3.	Periphanes <i>Stratippocles</i> Epidicus (white- haired) <i>Thesprio</i>	Soldier	Epidicus Moneylender
"	<i>Miles</i>	1. 2. Pleusicles (<i>panchrestos</i>) 3. Palaestrio	<i>Pyrgopolinices</i> Sceledrus	<i>Periplectome- nus</i>	Periplecto- menus Lurcio
"	<i>Pseudolus</i>	1. <i>Simo</i> 2. Calidorus 3. Pseudolus	Callipho	Charinus Simia	Callipho Charinus Simia
"	<i>Truculentus</i>	1. 2. Strabax (rustic) 3. Truculentus	<i>Diniarchus</i> Geta	Callicles <i>Stratophanes</i>	

NOTES TO TABLE.

Epitrepontes. Karion as cook is Maison. Daos who is unattached can be the straight-haired slave. Simias seems to be the pedagogue of Chairestratos (see *Studies in Menander*, 36); it seems to me possible that we should allow for a wavy-haired pedagogue as well as the normal pedagogue; Pollux says nothing about his hair and, as he is traditional, he may belong to either household. Other instances are Acanthio in the *Mercator* (90), the old slave in the *Casina* (37), Libanus in the *Asinaria*, Epidicus in the *Epidicus*.

Perikeiromene. Polemon and his batman are clearly distinguished by their clothing as well as their hairdressing; therefore confusion with Moschion and Pataikos could be risked; Moschion is the typical wild young man-about-town and must be the second young man with wavy hair. His mask would help to remind the audience of his ultimate identification as Pataikos' son.

Heros. I have argued elsewhere (see *Studies in Menander*, 31) that Sangarios comes back with Laches; either he or Daos must be the white-haired slave and the other the leader. Gorgias is finally recognised as son of Laches.

Andria. Sosias is the white-haired slave (or rather freedman). Crito is probably *eikōnikos*. I have suggested (*Studies in Menander*, 78) that Charinus and Byrria in Terence came from Menander's *Perinthia*; they would belong to a third household.

Eunuch. There is a real difficulty here; Chremes is fixed as a rustic by Donatus on 507. Chaerea (see above) seems to be the second youth with wavy hair. What is Phaedria? Either the principle breaks (but then no mask suits the hetaira's lover so well as the mask of the second youth with wavy hair) or we have to assume a slightly older version of the second youth with wavy hair for Phaedria (Chairestratos).

Adelphi. Geta must be the white-haired slave here, but does not belong either to the household of Demea or to the household of Micio; there is no possibility of confusion. Aeschinus seems to me more like Moschion of the *Samia* than Pamphilus of the *Andria*; he may therefore be the second youth with wavy hair and so reckoned into the household of his adopted father Micio rather than of his real father Demea. Sannio, of course, wears the *leno's* mask.

Aulularia. Lyconides' character suits the mask with wavy hair; again the adopted son (as he probably is) wears the hairdressing of the household.

Poenulus. Hanno may be *eikōnikos* as already suggested. Collybiscus probably wears the Maison mask (see above). Syncerastus cannot be decided; wavy-haired, straight-haired, and curly are free for him. *Advocati* perhaps wear one of the traditional masks for old men.

Stichus. The two brothers are grown up and married, therefore represent different households; only so can their slaves be kept apart.

Phormio. The *Advocati* may wear one of the traditional masks for old men. Phormio is flatterer rather than parasite. Davus can be either straight-haired, curly, or Maison, since all have red hair (51); he does not belong to either household.

- Mercator.* The households are fixed by the scatterbrained Charinus who belongs to the same breed as Moschion in the *Samia* and the steadier Eutyclus. Charinus must be the second youth with wavy hair (particularly 644 f., 908 f.) ; Acanthio may be a pedagogue (90) ; if so, he has white wavy hair, cf. above on *Epitrepontes*. An old man is described (639) as *oblongis malis* ; this description would suit the old man with wavy hair better than the leading old man who is ' flat faced ', but as both old men went to the harbour (466), we need not necessarily refer it to Lysimachus.
- Mostellaria.* Sonnenschein notes on 1105 : ' Theoropides assumes an amiable expression of countenance to persuade Tranio that he has nothing to fear ' ; this would be possible if Theoropides wears the leading old man's mask which has one raised and one smooth brow. Philolaches' own description of himself suits the *panchrestos* (150), and Callidamates' call for arms fits the second youth with wavy hair (384).
- Trinummus.* If Megaronides' interfering makes it certain that he is the ' curly-haired ' Lycomedian, Callicles must wear one of the traditional masks of old men. The sycophanta, who looks like a toadstool in his hat (851) and is younger than Charmides, who addresses him as *adulescens* (871, 968), presumably wears the *Maison* mask.
- Casina.* Chalinus is *armiger* (55, 263, etc.) of Euthynicus, i.e. the bearded (929) slave with wavy hair. This fixes the household of Lysidamus. The old slave who clinches the recognition is then the white-haired slave with wavy hair (cf. above on *Epitrepontes*). Then Olympio may perhaps wear the straight-haired mask which we also assumed for the countryman Daos in the *Epitrepontes*. It is doubtful if either Euthynicus or the old slave appeared in the original.
- Rudens.* Charmides is a foreigner and may be the *eikōnikos*. The fishermen wear the *Maison* mask (cf. above on *Poenulus*). Gripus is a slave of Daemones ; Sceparnio (who is *adulescens*, 416, 563) is the leading slave with wavy hair ; Gripus is also *adulescens* (1303) and cannot therefore be the white-haired slave ; Gripus may therefore be the straight-haired slave as Olympio in the *Casina*.
- Asinaria.* Demaenetus as the mild father under the tyranny of his wife is more likely to be the old man with wavy hair than the first old man. Diabolus' behaviour to his parasite and his rival is more like Thraso in the *Eunuch* than anyone else and he is therefore possibly the first young man with wavy hair.
- Captivi.* Tyndarus wears the mask of the dark youth because he will ultimately be recognised as Hegio's son ; Hegio cannot tell which is slave and which is free (270) ; Aristophontes knows at once Tyndarus' identity. Here the distinction between slave and free is slurred, not as in *Pseudolus* 609 because the lower class freeman and slave are indistinguishable (cf. above on *Maison*) but because Tyndarus has been brought up with Philocrates *bene pudiceque* ; the parallel is therefore, e.g., Selenium in the *Cistellaria* (173), who is false- maiden and not hetaira, and will also be recognised.
- Curculio.* Curculio as the modern energetic type of parasite wears the flatterer's mask and when he plays the soldier's freedman wears a *causia* (389) and a shade over one eye (392). Lyco as the foreign banker is *eikōnikos* (see above.)

- Epidicus*. The first scene fixes Thesprio as the leader with wavy hair (16, 29, cf. Chalinus in the *Casina*) and Stratippocles as the second youth with wavy hair. Epidicus must therefore be the white-haired slave with wavy hair (cf. above on *Epitrepontes*). The money-lender is a foreign *eikōnikos* (see above).
- Miles*. Dr. Simon (69) suggests that Periplectomenus is a Lycomedian, because he is slightly younger than the normal old man (629) and behaves like a young man; I do not feel certain that he is not the old man with wavy hair, a variant of Demaenetus in the *Asinaria*. If Lurcio is not a Plautine addition, he is perhaps the slave with straight hair.
- Pseudolus*. Callipho is described as mild (435), therefore is the wavy-haired old man. Charinus is no relation to him (730, his father is in Carystus), therefore he is the curly-haired young man, which suits *strenuum* (697); his slave Simia is therefore also curly haired.

APPENDIX B.

IDENTIFICATION OF MASKS IN POLLUX' LIST.

Pollux' list has been examined successively by C. Robert, *Die Masken der neueren Attischen Komödie*; by O. Navarre, *R.E.A.*, xvi, 1; by Margarete Bieber in *R.E.*, xiv, s.v. Masken; and by A. K. H. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, 1938. I am only concerned to give typical and accessible examples of each type; I have not argued the identifications at length. The identification of Old and Middle Comedy masks is more hazardous as there is no evidence for standard sets and new masks were gradually introduced over a long period; moreover, Pollux' list does not cover all the cases.

1. *First old man (pappos)*.

- i. Not in New Comedy, perhaps superseded by *old man with wavy hair*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy: Possible examples: (a) Attic rf. oenochoe, Leningrad, frontal mask, Bieber, *D.*, No. 97; *H.T.*, Fig. 121; Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, Fig. 23; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, Fig. 32; Bethe, *Griechische Dichtung*, pl. viii.
 - (b) Silver cup from Hildesheim, Robert, Fig. 36.
 - (c) Paestan bell krater, B.M., F189; Bieber, *D.*, No. 119; *H.T.*, Fig. 391; Heydemann, *Jb.*, 1886, 271, g; Trendall, *Paestan*, No. 139.
 - (d) Tarentine bell krater, Puvo; Bieber, *D.*, No. 121; *H.T.*, Fig. 374; Heydemann, *D.*

2. *Second old man (pappos)*.

- i. Not in New Comedy, perhaps superseded by *leading old man*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy: Possible examples: (a) Attic rf. oenochoe, Leningrad, profile mask with small crown (Zeus?) (See 1(a) for ref.).
 - (b) Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 121, Zeus; Bieber, *D.*, No. 101; *H.T.*, Fig. 368; Heydemann, I; Trendall, No. 48.
 - (c) Apulian bell krater, Ruvo Jatta 901, Odysseus; Bieber, *D.*, No. 120; *H.T.*, Fig. 389, Heydemann, A.

- (d) Apulian bell krater, Naples, Kreon ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 113 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 364 ; Heydemann, t.
- (e) Apulian kalyx krater, Bari, old man ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 118 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 393 ; Zahn, *F.R.*, iii, 180, p.
- (f) Campanian oenochoe, B.M., F233, Xanthias ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 125 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 402 ; Heydemann, c.

3. *Leading old man.*

- i. New Comedy : (a) Naples relief ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 130 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 225.
(b) Terracotta relief ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 425.
(c) Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario ; Robert, Fig. 53 ; Haigh, Fig. 27 ; Simon, 39, No. 21.
(d) Marble relief, Naples, 6619, bottom ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 138 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 259. See further, Simon, 88.
- ii. Not in Middle or Old Comedy.

4. *Old man with wavy hair.*

- i. New Comedy : (a) Menander relief, Lateran ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 129 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 223.
(b) Naples relief (cf. above, 3(a)).
(c) Terracotta relief (cf. above, 3(b)).
(d) Marble relief, Vatican, top left. Bieber, *D.*, No. 139 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 258. See further, Simon, 92.
- ii. Not in Old or Middle Comedy.

5. *First Hermonian.*

- i. Not in New Comedy, possibly superseded by *Rustic*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. Possible examples : (a) Attic terracotta, New York, Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 125 ; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. 30 ; here, Fig. 4.
(b) Attic terracotta, New York, rustic ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 134 ; cf. *Olynthus*, vii, 308.
(c) Apulian bell krater, Leningrad, rustic ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 115 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 383 ; Heydemann, r ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 804.
(d) Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin 3044, Charinos ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 116 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 373 ; Heydemann, P ; Trendall, No. 31.
(e) Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3045, Priam ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 111 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 361 ; Heydemann, Q.
(f) Campanian kalyx krater, Glasgow ; Heydemann, i ; *J.H.S.*, vii, pl. 62, 1 ; Pace, *Sicilia Antica*, ii, Figs. 338-340.

6. *Wedge beard.*

- i. Not in New Comedy, possibly superseded by *Rustic*.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. (a) Boeotian (?) terracotta, Berlin 6823 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 79 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 86 ; Körte, *Jb.* 1893, 78, Nos. 11-14.
(b) Terracotta, Louvre, rustic, Alinari, 23739/2.
(c) Apulian bell krater, Heidelberg, U8, old man ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 117 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 392 ; Zahn, q.

7. *Lycomedian*.

- i. New Comedy. (a) Fresco in Pompeii; *N.Sc.*, 1929, 408, Fig. 31; Simon, 6, No. 4.
 (b) Terracotta, Naples; Robert, Fig. 101.
 (c) Terracotta, Pompeii; Simon, pl. x, i. Bottom left.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. Perhaps Attic terracotta, New York; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 133.

8. *Leno*.

- i. New Comedy: Terracotta from Myrina, Louvre, 199; Bieber, *D.*, No. 146; Robert, Fig. 33; cf. British Museum, C520.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Perhaps Gnathia bell krater, Vienna; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 394; Bulle, *Festschrift für J. Loeb*, Fig. 24; Heydemann, V; but little before the New Comedy period; cf. *C.Q.*, xlii, 20, n. 3.

9. *Second Hermonian*.

- i. New Comedy. Mask on silver cup from Bari, *R.M.*, 1918, pl. vii, 3a; Simon, 83, n. 11.

10. *Panchrestos*.

- i. New Comedy. (a) Dioscurides mosaic, Youth with tambourine. Bieber, *D.*, No. 135; *H.T.*, Fig. 239; Simon, 14, No. 8; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, Fig. 85; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 684; Rostovtzeff, *Orient and Greece*, pl. lxxxvii.
 (b) Painting, Naples; Bieber, *D.*, No. 132; *H.T.*, Fig. 238; Robert, Fig. 72; Simon, 2, no. 1.
 (c) Terracotta from Sabouroff collection, Simon, pl. v, 3.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. The young lead is bearded; perhaps an anticipation of the *panchrestos* may be seen in the following: (a) Terracotta from Boeotia, B.M., C239; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 90; Körte, *op. cit.*, No. 10; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. xxvi.
 (b) Apulian bell krater, Ruvo Jatta, 901, Elpenor; see above, 2c.
 (c) Apulian skyphos, B.M., F124; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 388 Heydemann, d.
 (d) Campanian skyphos, Milan, Hermes, Bieber, *D.*, No. 108; *H.T.*, Fig. 360; Zahn, e; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, lxiii, 107.

11. *Dark youth*.

- i. New Comedy. Perhaps Menander relief (see above, 4(a)).
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Perhaps we may see a bearded anticipation in the following: (a) Attic oenochoe, Leningrad, mask on extreme right (see above, 1(a)).
 (b) Terracotta, Boston, 01.8013; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 89.
 (c) Apulian bell krater, Heidelberg, U8, young man (see above, 6(c)).

12. *Curly youth*.

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta disc from Selymbria, Berlin, 6623; Bieber, *D.*, No. 67, pl. 65, 2 (wrongly interpreted as tragic).

- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Perhaps anticipated in a bearded form :
 - (a) Terracotta from Boeotia, Berlin, 6892 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 84 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 95 ; Körte, *op. cit.*, No. 34.
 - (b) Terracotta, B.M., C238 ; Körte, No. 47 (cf. Antiphanes, fr. 16K with Plautus, *Mercator*, 851).

13. *Delicate boy.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Dioscurides mosaic, Naples. Youth with castanets. See above, 10(a).
 - (b) Marble relief, Naples, 6619 ; top left. See above, 3(d).
 - (c) Marble relief, Vatican, top right. See above, 4(d).
 - (d) Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario ; Robert, Fig. 61 ; Simon, 33, No. 16.
 - (e) Marble mask, B.M., 2440 ; Simon, pl. vi, 1 ; here, Fig. 1.

14. *Rustic.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens ; *A.J.A.*, 1903, 333, No. 62, pl. xi, 6 ; Simon, 63, n. 103.
- ii. Old and Middle Comedy. A. Bearded : see above, Nos. 5 and 6. B. Beardless : Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 121, Hermes ; see above, 2(b).

15. *First youth with wavy hair.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta from Delos, Athens. Bieber, *D.*, No. 57 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 207.
 - (b) Terracotta, Athens ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 56 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 205 (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, pl. xxii, 3).
 - (c) Terracotta, Heidelberg ; Neutsch, *Welt der Griechen*, 1948, 61, Fig. 29. Soldiers of New Comedy must be beardless, as they modelled themselves on Alexander (cf. particularly Pottier, *Myrina*, Nos. 321-322). Professor Rumpf first suggested to me the possibility that (a) and (b) are the soldier ; (b) wears civilian clothes (cf. *Perikēiromene*, 58) ; (c) a wreath (cf. *Perikēiromene*, 421).
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. A. Bearded mask with raised eyebrows and hooked nose.
 - (a) Terracotta, Louvre, 298 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 117 (cf. Copenhagen, Breitenstein, No. 328).
 - (b) Paestan kalyx krater, Milan, Ajax ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 112 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 367 ; Zahn, g ; Trendall, No. 32 ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 803.
- B. Note that a coarsened variant of this mask is used for Herakles, e.g.
 - (a) Attic oenochoe, Louvre, L9 ; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, 848/22 ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 572 ; Bieber, *D.*, Fig. 125.
 - (b) Attic terracotta, Pnyx ; *Hesperia, Supplement*, 7, 147, No. 65 (cf. B.M., C80, here, Fig. 7 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Figs. 110, 111, 124 ; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. xxix).
 - (c) Campanian skyphos, Milan ; see above, 10(d).
- C. Beardless ; Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3045, Neoptolemos ; see above, 5(e).

16. *Second youth with wavy hair.*

- i. New Comedy : (a) Naples relief ; see above, 3(a).
(b) Terracotta, Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. ; Breitenstein, No. 720.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy : A. Bearded : (a) Terracotta, Munich ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 75 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 116 (cf. B.M., 1930/12-15-1).
(b) Gnathia oenochoe, Tarentum ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 395 ; *C.V.*, Italy, 743/3 ;
B. Beardless : Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin, 3044, Kotilos ; see above, 5(d),
see also above, p. 115, n. 2.

17. *Flatterer.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Marble relief, Vatican, bottom left. See above, 4(d)
(b) Terracotta, University College, London, Gayer-Anderson Coll, 90;
here, Fig. 2.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin, 3044, Gymnilos. See
above, 5(d).

18. *Parasite.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 144 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 249 ; Robert, Figs. 51-52 ; Simon 44, n. 1.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3047 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 122 ;
H.T., Fig. 375 ; Heydemann, S.

19. *Eikōnikos.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens, N.M. 5045. Bieber, *D.*, No. 141 ;
H.T., Fig. 230 ; Robert, Fig. 98 ; Simon, 63.

20. *Sicilian.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Berlin, 7395 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 145 ; *H.T.*,
Fig. 250.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Perhaps Attic terracotta, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*,
Fig. 132 (cf. Olynthus, iv. no. 404).

21. *Old Slave.*

- i. New Comedy. Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario ; see above, 3(c).
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Oxford, *Ashmolean Report*,
1939, vol. v, 3 : here, Fig. 5.
(b) Apulian bell krater, B.M., F151 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 109, *H.T.*,
Fig. 362 ; Heydemann, X.
(c) Gnathia krater, B.M., F548, *C.V.* pl. 38/3 ; Bulle, *op. cit.*,
Fig. 11a.

22. *Leading Slave.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Marble mask, Athens, N.M., 3373 ; Bieber, Fig. 266.
(b) Painting, Pompeii ; Robert, Fig. 69 ; Haigh, Fig. 25.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Attic terracotta, New York ; Bieber,
H.T. Figs. 126-128 ; Webster, *Greek terracottas*, pls. xxxi-xxxiii.
(b) Attic terracotta, B.M., C90 ; *Catalogue*, pl. xxxiv ; Körte, *op. cit.*,
No. 60.
(c) Paestan kalyx krater, Berlin, 3044, Karion. See above, 5(d).
(d) Apulian kalyx krater, B.M., F269, Daidalos ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 104 ;
H.T., Fig. 370 ; Heydemann, a.
(e) Hanley, City of Stoke-on-Trent Art Gallery ; here, Fig. 6.

23. *Straight-haired slave.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta from Myrina, Constantinople ; Robert, Fig. 34.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Perhaps Apulian bell krater, B.M., F151, Xanthias ; see above, 21(b).

24. *Curly-haired slave.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta from Myrina, Athens, N.M., 5048 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 150 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 236 ; Robert, Figs. 22-23.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly Apulian bell krater, Leningrad ; see above, 5(c).

25. *Maison.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta from Megara, Berlin, 7042. Bieber, *D.*, No. 86 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 98 ; Robert, Fig. 24 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, etc., Fig. 42.
(b) Terracotta from Myrina, Berlin, 7953 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 143 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 248 ; Robert, Fig. 26 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, Fig. 44.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Terracotta from Thespiae, Berlin, herdsman ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 81 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 88 ; Körte, *op. cit.*, 30 f.
(b) Apulian bell krater, Leningrad, right-hand slave ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 123 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 378 ; Zahn, s.

26. *Tettix.*

- i. New Comedy. Marble mask from Pergamon, Berlin ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 166 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 273 ; Robert, Fig. 28.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Apulian Askos, Ruvo, Jatta ; Silen, Robert, Fig. 128 ; Bieber, *Jb.*, 1917, 53, Fig. 25 ; Heydemann, C.

27. *Wavy-haired leader.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Naples relief ; see above, 3(a).
(b) Marble relief, Vatican, bottom right ; see above, 4(d).
(c) Terracotta, B.M., C827 ; here, Fig. 8.
(d) Painting, Bieber, *D.*, No. 134 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 237 ; Robert, Figs. 7-9 ; Simon, 28, No. 14. He cannot be the soldier himself because he has the slave mouth.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Attic oenochoe, Leningrad, held by standing naked boy ; see above, 1(a).
(b) Attic oenochoe, Louvre, L9 ; cf. above, 15, ii, B, a.
(c) Attic terracotta, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 135 ; cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement 7, 147, No. 64.

28. *Wolfish old woman.*

- i. New Comedy. Not recognised.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Possibly, if the long nose is the mark of the mask,
(a) Apulian bell krater, Berlin, 3047 ; see above, 18.
(b) Apulian bell krater, Heidelberg, U6 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 398.

29. *Fat old woman.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Berlin ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 171, *H.T.*, Fig. 275 ; Robert, Fig. 82 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, Fig. 27.

- (b) Dioscurides mosaic, old woman ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 136 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 242 ; Simon, 20, No. 10 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre*, Fig. 86 ; Pfuhl, *MuZ.*, Fig. 685.
- (c) Painting, Pompeii, Casa del Centenario ; Robert, Fig. 88 ; Simon, 37, No. 19.
- ii. Middle Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Vienna ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 107.
- (b) Campanian kalyx krater, Lentini ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 108 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 358 ; Heydemann, *M* ; Beazley, *J.H.S.* lxiii, 107.
- 30. *Little housekeeper.*
 - i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta mask, B.M., C749 ; *Catalogue*, Fig. 57 ; here, Fig. 3.
 - (b) Terracotta masks from Pompeii, Pompeii ; Simon, pl. x, 1.
 - ii. Middle and Old Comedy. (a) Attic terracotta, New York, nurse ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 122 (cf. B.M., C5).
 - (b) Early South Italian vase, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 381 ; Trendall, *Frühitaliotische*, B75, pl. 28b.
- 31. *Garrulous woman.*
 - i. New Comedy. (a) Terracotta, Berlin, 7401 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 156 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 244.
 - (b) Possibly a variant with raised brows, Copenhagen, Breitenstein, No. 599.
 - ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Possibly (a) Attic bell krater, Heidelberg, B. 134 ; Kraiker, pl. 48.
 - (b) Attic oenochoe, Louvre, 9, Nike : see above, 15 B, (a).
 - (c) Variant with raised brows : Apulian bell krater, Bari, Leda ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 110 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 365 ; Zahn, o.
- 32. *Curly-haired wife.*
 - i. New Comedy. (a) Marble mask, Rome Terme ; Simon, pl. xii, 1.
 - ii. Middle Comedy. Possible anticipation : Campanian kalyx krater, Glasgow ; see above, 5(f).
- 33. *Maiden.*
 - i. New Comedy. (a) Marble relief, B.M., 2448.
 - (b) Painting ; Robert, Fig. 69 ; Haigh, Fig. 25.
 - ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 120 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 401 ; Trendall, No. 113.
- 34. *First false-maiden.*
 - i. New Comedy. Menander relief ; see above, 4(a).
 - ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Gnathia situla, B.M., F586 ; *C.V.*, pl. 38/4.
- 35. *Second false-maiden.*
 - i. New Comedy. Dioscurides mosaic, central figure ; see above, 29(b).
 - ii. Middle comedy. (a) Campanian kalyx krater, Lentini ; see above, 29(b).
 - (b) Terracotta, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 123 ; Webster, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. xxviii ; (cf. Olynthus, iv, 364 ; B.M., 1907-5-18-7).

36. *Greying garrulous.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Berlin, 436. Bieber, *D.*, No. 173 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 282 ; Robert, Fig. 99.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, terracotta, New York ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 130.

37. *Concubine.*

- i. New Comedy. Unrecognised, unless Gnathia oenochoe, Michigan, *C.V.*, pl. 29/7.
- ii. Middle and Old Comedy. Possibly, Apulian bell krater, Ruvo, Jatta, 901 ; see above, 2(c).

38. *Full-grown hetaira.*

- i. New Comedy. Painting, Palermo ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 131 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 243 ; Simon, 9, No. 6.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Apulian bell krater, Naples, 118322 ; Bieber, *H.T.*, Fig. 385 ; Zahn, 1.

39. *Blooming hetaira.*

- i. New Comedy. (a) Mosaic, Capitoline Museum ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 137 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 270 ; Stuart Jones, pl. 35.
(b) Dioscurides mosaic, flautist ; see above, 10(a).
- ii. Middle Comedy. No instance.

40. *Golden hetaira.*

- i. New Comedy. Marble mask, Vatican ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 177 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 284 ; Robert, pl. i.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Possibly, Paestan bell krater, Vatican, 121 ; see above 2(b).

41. *Wimpled hetaira.*

- i. New Comedy. Marble mask, Naples ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 176 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 286 ; Simon, 113, n. 68.
- ii. Middle Comedy. Gnathia bell krater, B.M., F544 ; *C.V.*, Great Britain, pl. 40/15.

42. *Little torch.*

- i. New Comedy. Painting, Naples : see above, 10(b).
- ii. Middle Comedy. Apulian bell krater, Leningrad : see above, 25(b).

43. *Wife's maid.*

- ~~x~~ New Comedy. Marble mask, Naples ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 175 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 281 ; Robert, Fig. 63 ; Simon, 109, 119.
- ii. Middle Comedy : not known.

44. *Hetaira's maid.*

- i. New Comedy. Terracotta, Athens, 5032 ; Bieber, *D.*, No. 157 ; *H.T.*, Fig. 246 ; Robert, Figs. 64-65 ; Simon, 111, 116.
- ii. Middle Comedy, Paestan bell krater, Copenhagen, 257B ; *C.V.*, pl. 243 ; Trendall, *Paestan*, No. 129.