THE COSTUME OF GREEK TRAGEDY IN
THE FIFTH CENTURY AND IN
AESCHYLUS' PROMETHEUS BOUND AND THE PERSIANS

A Thesis

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CHAPTER I
THE CLOTHING OF TRAGEDY

A dramatic performance derives a great part of its impact and credibility from its visual aspects, especially scenic design and costume. The second of these, costume, serves a two-fold function: a particular character can readily be identified by the audience from his dress; the tone of the play can be supported and reinforced by the appropriate, dramatic costume. Costume is the audience's primary visual link with the characters.

The fifth century Athenians were well aware of the need for dramatic costumes which complimented and expanded the play as an art form. The ancient playwright dealt essentially with the same psychological and dramatic situations as the modern author and the evidence suggests that he, too, carefully chose correct dramatic dress for each of his players.

The purpose of this paper is two-fold: first, I will examine the literary and archaeological evidence for dramatic costume; second, I will apply the evidence of general costume design and contemporary dress to the text of Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound and The Persians in order to reconstruct a probable design of fifth century costume.
The literary evidence for dramatic costumes is abundant and varied, but it is almost all of a late date and for this reason must be treated with caution. The literary sources applicable to this investigation are, in chronological order, the following: Aristophanes, *The Frogs*; Aristotle, *The Poetics*; Horace, *Ars Poetica*; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*; Philostratus, the *Suidas Lexicon*; Julius Pollux, *Nomastikon*; and the *Vita Aeschyli*.

I must note that the most involved discussion, the *Nomastikon* of Julius Pollux, possesses within itself a unique set of problems. Book four is divided into two sections: the first is in the imperfect tense and is an account of costume; the second is in the present tense and deals only with masks. The two sections are separated by a lengthy account of the theater and theater building. Pickard-Cambridge feels that the difference in tenses and the separation of the two sections indicate two distinct sources, both Hellenistic. Unfortunately our knowledge of the accuracy of Hellenistic scholarship is extremely limited and thus we cannot be sure of the usefulness of the *Nomastikon*. Therefore I shall draw upon the *Nomastikon* chiefly for its testimony concerning tragic masks which it is generally agreed is fairly reliable.

The major archaeological source of information is vase painting, but it, too, offers problems. It will be necessary to decide whether the scene on a particular vase is stylized, whether it was inspired by a dramatic production, and whether
the scene faithfully depicts dramatic conventions of the period.

I shall begin with several statements from Aristotle's *The Poetics*, which provide significant distinctions between tragedy and comedy:

'Εν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία πρὸς τὴν κωμῳδίαν διεστίθηκεν ἢ μὲν γὰρ χείρους ἢ δὲ βελτίως ὑμεῖς ὑπεμείνας βουλεῖται τῶν νῦν.

The same distinction marks off tragedy from comedy; for comedy aims at representing men as worse, tragedy as better than ourselves.

μύησις ἐστὶν ἡ τραγῳδία βελτιώνων ἢ ἡμεῖς

Tragedy is an imitation of persons who are better than ourselves.

Since Aristotle characterizes tragedy as a noble creation surely the costume must have possessed comparable distinction. This same principle of nobility can be found in the visual art of the fifth century. Allen comments that the spirit of the fifth century is exemplified by the Apollo of the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The same aristocratic resoluteness appears in the figure as in Aristotle's definition of the tragic character.

The nobility of the tragic hero's character described by Aristotle is paralleled by the reputed dignity of the tragic costume, as reflected in the tradition of Aeschylus' influence on the development of robes and masks. Horace calls Aeschylus the *personae pallaeque repertor honestae* (the inventor of the robe and noble mask). A similar tradition is found in Athenaeus
and Philostratus.

καὶ Ἀισχύλος δὲ οὐ μόνον ἔξευρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐκρεάτειαν καὶ σεμνότητα, ἦν ἐπιλώσατος οὐ
ἐκθετόντας καὶ ὁδοῦχοι ἀμφιέννυνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πολλὰ σχήματα ὀρχηστικὰ αὐτὸς ἐξευρήσασαν ἀνεδούδου
τοὺς χορεύτας. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν πρῶτον αὐτὸν
φησι ... τοὺς χοροὺς τὰ σχήματα πουοῦντα τῶν
ὀρχήσεων, ... Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ... ποιεῖ αὐτὸν
Αἰσχύλον λέγοντα "τοῖς χοροῖς αὐτὸς τὰ σχήματι
ἐπούν."[3]

Aeschylus not only invented the dignity and
majesty of the robe, which the emulating[5] hiero-
phants and dadouchoi wear, but he also discovered
poses fit for dancing and gave them to the choral
dancers. Chamaeleon says ... that he first made
poses fit for the choral dancers ... Aristophanes ...
makes Aeschylus himself say, "I made the costumes
for the chorus."

ἔσθήμασι τε πρῶτος ἐκάσημεν, ἃ πρόσφορον ἤρως
τε καὶ ἥρωους ἡθησαν[4].

He (Aeschylus) first adorned them (the actors)
with costume in which it was fitting for his
heroes and heroines to be dressed.

eἰ γὰρ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐνθυμηθεύμεν, ὡς πολλὰ
τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ ξυνεβάλετο ἐσθῆτι τε αὐτὴν κατασ-
κευάζας[6].

We might consider Aeschylus, that he established
many things for tragedy having equipped it with
costume.

Even though Athenaeus and Philostratus are late, their similar
accounts probably reflect one, earlier source. Athenaeus cites
Chamaeleon (c. 300 B.C.) as his authority on Aeschylean inno-
vations in the theater. On the other hand, Athenaeus takes us
back to the fifth century by quoting Aristophanes. Unfortunately
the line which Athenaeus quotes is not from an extant play and
we must be wary of the evidence of Aristophanes because of his
comic exaggeration. Aristophanes, in *The Frogs*, only tells us that Aeschylus used stately robes.9

καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ὑματίας ἡμῶν χρώνται πολὺ σημαντέρονυν.
ἀμοῦ χρηστῶς καταδεξαμενος ὄξελυμην τί.

For they (the actors) even wear robes more statelier than ours.
You completely destroyed my (Aeschylus') invention.

More specific comments are found in the extremely unreliable *Vita Aeschyli*. The *Vita* was compiled by several authors and at different dates and thus its credibility is dubious.

τοὺς τε ὑποχριτας χελωτι σχεπάσας καὶ τῷ σύμωι ἐξογκώσας μείζονος τε τοὺς κοθόρνους μεταστράσας.10

(Aeschylus) adorned the actors with sleeves and made them more majestic with a greater robe; he also raised them up by boots.

This statement seems only to repeat the conventions of Athenaeus and Philostratus.11 The word σύμωι, however, appears late in Greek literature apparently to designate a type of robe with a long train.12

The literary evidence is at best difficult to assess. The only sound conclusion would seem to be that Aeschylus merely augmented the existing dramatic costume in a grander style.

Most scholars agree that a long robe was somehow associated with the worship of Dionysus.13 It is impossible, however, to determine if tragedy borrowed it directly from the Dionysiac festivals.

Moreover, some scholars contend, along with Athenaeus, that
Aeschylus gave the long robe to the Eleusinian priests, although the contrary view is also evident. All the monuments representing Iacchus, a minor deity connected with the Mysteries, are too late to directly apply to fifth century Athens. Pickard-Cambridge completely denies any connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries on the basis of sixth and fifth century vases. The exact origin of the dramatic costume, then, remains a mystery.

Why, then, did the use of the long robe persist? Bieber contends that the religion of Dionysus came from the east bringing with it an outlandish costume which became indissolubly connected with Dionysiac worship. The most likely reason, however, is a purely utilitarian one: the robe which covered an actor from head to foot made him unrecognizable and thus facilitated his portrayal of a particular character. The advantage is great particularly since male actors had to portray female roles.

Before turning to the specific archaeological evidence a general discussion of the everyday dress of fifth century Athens might be helpful. The clothing of the theater would have reflected essentially the same design and fabrics.

Greek dress was based on right angles and straight lines. Apparently, popular dress until the time of Alexander was composed of pieces of cloth draped over the body without any cutting or sewing. The principal garment was the chiton which was sleeved or sleeveless and fastened at the shoulders. The sleeves were fastened with pins or brooches. The chiton was usually worn with
a cord or belt around the waist. The normal male chiton was knee length while women wore an ankle length robe.\textsuperscript{21}

There are two distinct types of chitons: the Doric chiton which was simple and worn by the working and fighting men, and the more elaborate Ionic chiton which was sometimes pleated. Both types are characterized by voluminous folds of material.

A shorter garment called a chlamys or peplos was worn over the chiton. The chlamys was a sort of cloak fastened at one shoulder. This garment is particularly associated with young men, soldiers, and messengers.

Most scholars agree that dramatic costume was essentially a tailored garment which eliminated unnecessary material.\textsuperscript{22} The robe was either ankle or knee length. Brooke maintains that a tailored garment was used because it facilitated quick change and easy movement and it could be relied upon, because of its simplicity, to define immediately the role of the actor.\textsuperscript{23}

The design of daily dress was also determined in part by fabrics and dyes. By far the most important textile was wool from which garments were universally manufactured. Linear B tablets from Mycenae provide us with the word MA-RU (wool) as the prominent textile. The word RI-TA (Homeric LITA - linen cloth) is mentioned only in connection with soldiers' tunics.\textsuperscript{24} Most scholars agree that linen was also in use at this time.

Polychromatic dyes were undoubtedly used in the ancient world. The methods of dyeing were primitive and lacked controls causing
results to be poor compared to modern standards. For example, there was probably little difference between violet, scarlet, and purple. The sources for dyes were fruits, berries, extracts of crushed flowers, roots of a few small plants, tree bark, and ocean plants and animals. The consequent colors were shades of blue, red, purple, and yellow complimented by the different colors of natural wool.

The archaeological evidence for tragic costume consists of vase paintings, sculpture, and reliefs. The earliest representation of a tragic actor is an oinochoe from the Athenian Agora (c. 470-460 B.C.). The figure on the bottom left wears a soft boot with an ankle length chiton and a shin length himation, or shawl. The top figure is shown in a chlamys, a short tunic, and dress similar to that worn by the figure above. Only the end of a soft, laced boot with a pointed toe is preserved in the lower right. But archaeological evidence has as its main points of interest the development of the robe with fitted sleeves and the increased use of ornamented fabrics.

The purpose of sleeves for an actor's costume was two-fold: to provide warmth and to hide the arms of a male actor playing a female role. The origin of the sleeved chiton, however, is less clear. The sleeved chiton appears in art as early as the second quarter of the sixth century. It is worn by Poseidon on a Corinthian clay tablet; it appears on a neck amphora from the Louvre; and a priestess of Ephesus wears this type of robe on an ivory
statuette. Later evidence includes an Attic oinochoe (c. 530 B.C.) on which a girl playing the aulos wears the sleeved chiton.

A sleeved chiton is also worn by Dionysus on an Attic black-figured amphora (c. 500 B.C.). It has been inferred from this vase and other similar evidence that the sleeved robe was particularly associated with Dionysus. But artistic evidence often shows Dionysus clothed in a sleeveless garment.

The first evidence of fitted sleeves on a vase inspired by tragedy is a flute player of the second quarter of the fifth century. Sleeves next appear on actors with heavily ornamented costumes on a vase of the second quarter of the fifth century. From this point a gap exists ending with the famous Pronomos vase which depicts the cast of a satyr-play, but which most authorities consider as being representative of developed tragic costume.

The robed figures here do have long sleeves.

That the sleeved chiton was already an established form of personal dress seems likely from the evidence of the second quarter of the sixth century. Furthermore, it is reasonable that a long sleeved garment was used to add solemnity to Dionysiac worship. But in view of our uncertainties about the origin of tragedy and its relationship to Dionysus, it would only be safe to say that tragedy copied already established clothing design and adapted it to the needs of the stage.

The second important feature observed from archaeological evidence is the use of ornamentation which is also confirmed by
literary testimony. Euripides in the Ion describes the shawl which Creusa shows to Ion,\textsuperscript{36}

\begin{Verbatim}
Γοργών μὲν ἐν μέσωσιν ἡπτάδος ἐχλών.
Κεκρασιώτατοι δ' ὀφεσιν αἰγίδος τρόπον.
\end{Verbatim}

A gorgon in the middle of a peplos.
It is fringed with serpents in the style of an aegis.

This statement undoubtedly indicates the advanced state of embroidery and weaving. The highly suspect Suda tells us that Aeschylus used many-colored ornaments or embellishments (πολύχλους χρύσων);\textsuperscript{37} their exact nature, however, is unclear. Lastly, Athenaeus comments that a certain Acesas and his sons Helicon and Pathynias were famous among the Greeks for their tapestries.\textsuperscript{38}

So the Greeks were surely capable of producing reasonably exotic embroidery or weaving. It is useless to attempt to categorize types of decoration because each play could conceivably demand slightly different styles.\textsuperscript{39} Moreover, the playwright would have had at his disposal material ranging from the plainest white wool to elaborately embroidered and colored fabric. Evidence of the survival of rich patterns can be found on the Pronomos vase and the Andromeda vase,\textsuperscript{40} both of which are dated in the late fifth and early fourth century.

The remaining feature of clothing to consider is jewelry which is of minor importance. Pins or brooches (fibulae) were probably used to fasten the components of the robe. The type of metal is difficult to determine, although it is reasonable to assume that beaten gold was used. Brooke\textsuperscript{41} is likely correct in
saying that diadems or crowns were the only really important types of jewelry associated with the theater. The primary function of jewelry would have been to denote a regal character.
NOTES

1 A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, The Dramatic Festivals of Athens (1968), 177.

2 Aristotle, The Poetics 1448a, 1454b.

3 James T. Allen, "On the Costume of the Greek Tragic Actor in the Fifth Century," CQ 1 (1907), 228.

4 Ars Poetica, 278.

5 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 1,21d.

6 This word is difficult to translate because of its connotations of both praise and envy.

7 Philostratus, Vit. Apoll. 6,2,219k.

8 Philostratus, Vit. Soph. 1,9,11k.

9 1060-1061.


11 Note also Lucian, De Saltatione 27.

12 Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, 198.

13 Some scholars, notably Bieber ("Die Herkunft des tragischen kostüms," Jahrb. Arch. 32 [1917], 19ff.) infer that the long robe was especially connected with Dionysus.

14 Margaret Bieber, History of the Greek and Roman Theater (1961), 24-25 in particular.

15 See especially George Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (1961), 209.

16 Winnion pinax (4th c. B.C.) — Ephemeris Arch. (1901) 1ff., pl. 1; Journal Int. d'Arch. 4 (1901), 169ff., pl. 10; Pringsheim, 64ff.; Roman urns — Lovatelli, Ant. Monumenti, 25ff., pl. 2-3;
Rizzo, Rom. Mitt. 25 (1910), 130, fig. 9, pl. 7; Moebius, Ath. Mitt. 60-61 (1935-1936), 235ff. and 250; Sarcophagus from Torre Nova — Pringsheim, 7; Foucard, Les Grandes Mystères, 32.

17 Loustrophoros (6th c. B.C.) — Kourouniotes, Arch. Ephemeris (1937), 240-7, figs. 12-14, 16-18. This vase clearly shows a dadouchos, the torch-bearing attendant of Iacchus, who is dressed simply. Furthermore, an official on a sixth century pinnax (Ibid., fig. 15) is as elaborately dressed as the dadouchos (Ibid., 235ff., figs. 1-4) whose dress was supposedly influenced by Aeschylus.

18 Pringsheim (Archaeologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Eleusinischen Kults [1905], 14) assumes that the two costumes derived independently of each other from the festival robes of the Peisistratic Age. Others assume a Thracian origin.

19 Bieber, Greek and Roman Theater, 27.

20 I have relied solely on surveys of ancient Greek dress in this section; scholars generally agree in their descriptions.

21 A notable exception to this is the dress of the bronze charioteer of Delphi (c. 475 B.C.) in the Delphi Museum which may represent ceremonial or festive garb.

22 Brooke (Costume in Classical Greek Drama, 65) says that costume was modelled on a peplos/tunic and not a chiton, while Pickard-Cambridge (Dramatic Festivals, 202) calls the garment a "tailored chiton".

23 Brooke, Costume, 66.

24 Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (1956), 313-323. Obviously, there is a large gap between the Bronze Age and the fifth century, but it is reasonable to assume that wool was still the main textile. For further discussion, see R.J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology 4 (1964), 99.

25 A.R.V., 495; Talcott, Hesperia 8 (1939), 267ff., fig. 1.

26 Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, 200.


28 Hogarth, Excavations at Ephesus (1908), pl. 22.

29 A.B.V., 154, no. 45.

30 Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, fig. 62.
Bieber, Greek and Roman Theater, 24-25. Bieber also offers as examples a black-Figured vase which she says dates from the time when tragedy was taking shape, JDAI 32 (1917), 19ff., fig. 1, pl. 1; Neo-Attic marble vases and bases -- Bieber, JDAI 32 (1917), 22ff., fig. 2-6; Greek and Roman Theater, fig. 81-82; and a pedestal in the style of Praxitiles -- Bieber, Greek and Roman Theater, fig. 83.

Note especially the Amasis Painter who always painted Dionysus in this way.

Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, fig. 36-40; Beazley, Hesperia 24 (1955), 308 with fig. 61.

Pickard-Cambridge (Dramatic Festivals, 199, fig. 36) feels that these actors are portraying Orientals.

Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, fig. 49; A.R.V., 1336, no. 1; Buschor, Furtw-Reich, 3, 132-150, pls. 143-5; Beazley, Hesperia 24 (1955), 313; Trendall and Webster, Monuments Illustrating Greek Tragedy, pl. 21.

Guidas Lexicon, ed. Ada Adler, 1,3,15,27.

Deipnosophistae, 2,30.

See Brooke, Costume, 14, for such a list.

Bieber, Greek and Roman Theater, fig. 110-111; Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, fig. 60a-b.

Brooke, Costume, 59.
CHAPTER II

FOOTWEAR

I shall now turn to a discussion of the footwear of tragedy. The problems found here are similar to those involved with clothing. The origin of the dramatic footwear is obscure, but it may also be connected with Dionysus.

I have already shown in my discussion of dress that the Romans and other late sources thought that Aeschylus had been primarily responsible for the development of the dramatic robe. Therefore, it is not surprising that they also attributed the design of footwear to him. Horace tells us in the Ars Poetica,\(^1\)

\[ \text{et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno} \]

He taught (the actors) to speak loudly and to support themselves in the cothurnus.

A similar tradition is found in Philostratus and Themistius.\(^2\)
The Vita Aeschylis further elaborates this idea,\(^3\)

\[ \text{τοὺς τε ὑποκριτὰς χειλῶσιν σχειδότας καὶ τῇ σύρματι εξογκώσας μεῖζον τε τοῖς κοθῦροις μετεωρίζονς} \]

(Aeschylus) covered the actor's arms, he swelled them out with greater robes, and he raised their height with cothurni.

Aeschylus probably used a type of shoe which was already in existence, one which would allow maximum comfort and the greatest ease of movement to the actor. I must now deal, however, with the
claim that Aeschylus raised the height of the actors.

High-soled shoes are not found in any monuments of this period. The earliest representation of an actor, on a red-figured oinochoe (c. 470 B.C.) from the Athenian Agora, shows on the bottom left an actor who is wearing a tight-fitting boot with a pointed toe. The height of the shoe, however, is not exaggerated. The Piraeus relief⁴, the Pronomos vase, and the Andromeda vase, all dated to the close of the fifth century, show boots without any peculiar elevation. In fact, there is no evidence at all for the use of raised boots until the Hellenistic Age.⁵ K.K. Smith has correctly shown, I think, that a boot with a sole more than a few inches high would have presented great difficulties for quick or violent movement on the stage.⁶

Like most other parts of tragedy, the boots have been associated with Dionysus. In fact, Dionysus is shown on vases as wearing various types of boots. A stamnos⁷ (490-480 B.C.) shows him wearing loose, decorated boots, while he is depicted wearing a laced boot on an amphora of c. 450 B.C.,⁸ and cuffed boots on a late sixth century amphora.⁹ The cothurnus may also have become associated with Dionysus because it was originally a women's shoe.¹⁰ This is certainly possible in view of Dionysus' characteristic effeminacy. It is not necessary to conclude, however, that tragedy borrowed the boots directly from Dionysiac worship, even though it is curious that actors should choose to wear high boots underneath long robes unless they were traditional.
There are two types of boots connected with tragedy: a loose-fitting and a laced boot, each with or without a tab at the top. The loose-fitting boot is worn by a boy holding the white mask on an oinochoe of the early fifth century,\textsuperscript{11} by a maenad and an aulos-player on a pelike (475-450 B.C.),\textsuperscript{12} and by men preparing for a female chorus also on a pelike of the same date.\textsuperscript{13} These monuments seem to indicate that if choruses wore any type of footwear, it was this loose type of boot.

Decorated, laced boots are prominent on the Pronomos vase. This type of boot appears also in everyday dress as shown by an Athenian rider on a vase of the mid-sixth century.\textsuperscript{14} The laced boot was perhaps worn by characters other than those of the chorus.
NOTES

1280.

2Philostatus, Vit. Apoll. 6.2; Themistius, Orations, 316d.

3P. 333. I have commented in Chapter 1 on the credibility of this source.


5E.g. a relief of Archelaus of Priene of the mid-second century B.C. (the so-called Apotheosis of Homer), Brit. Museum Cat. Sculpt. 3, 219L.


7A.R.V. 292, no. 29.

8A.R.V. 987, no. 2.

9A.R.V. 154, no. 4.

10Herodotus, 1, 155 and Aristophanes, Lysistrata 657 and Ecclesiazousae 11; 313-319; 344-346 clearly speak of the cothurnus as a woman's boot.

11Talcott, Hesperia 8 (1939) 269, fig. 1; Dramatic Festivals, fig. 25; Greece and Rome (1954), pl. 41.

12A.R.V. 397, no. 39.

13A.R.V. 655, no. 38; Greece and Rome (1954), pl. 141.

14Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung, 499.
CHAPTER III

THE MASK

The final aspect of costume which I shall examine is the tragic mask. The mask may have been the most useful part of the costume to the actor and the poet. Most scholars agree that the principle uses of the mask were to identify the character to the audience and to allow one actor to play several roles merely by changing his mask. Webster extends the use of the mask by suggesting that the poet employed it to portray his personal conception of the character.\(^1\) The importance of the mask to the actor of post-Classical times is clearly shown by two Hellenistic inscriptions which record the dedication of masks by grateful performers.\(^2\)

In my discussion of the tragic mask of the fifth century I shall rely, as in the other chapters, on literary and archaeological evidence. The literary sources are Horace, Ars Poetica; Julius Pollux, Onomastikon; Suidas Lexicon; and Hesychius, Onomatologi. The archaeological evidence includes both vase paintings and terracottas of the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.

Most scholars agree that the mask owes its origin to religious convention inherited from the sixth century.\(^3\) The mask was perhaps used in cult worship, especially of Dionysus, to strike
terror into the hearts of the audience. Thus, as drama developed from Dionysiac worship, the mask remained an important and sacred element. Even though this explanation cannot be proven, archaeological evidence has shown that masks were used in some ritualistic worship, so it is not unlikely that the tragic mask, along with the robe and cothurni, never lost their religious significance and remained with drama after it had completely crystallized.

The literary evidence for the origin of the mask, although of considerably later periods, is more varied. The tradition was well-established in the Roman period that Thespis was responsible for the development of the tragic mask. Suidas gives the sixty-first Olympiad (536/5-533/2) as the date when Thespis became the first to present a tragedy in the Greater Dionysia. Horace tells us,

\[ \text{dicitur et plautus vexisse poemata Thespis, quae canerent aegerentque peruncti faecibus ora.} \]

Thespis is said to have carried his plays in a wagon, which they (his troupe) performed and sang with their faces painted.

A similar tradition is found in the Suda,

\[ \text{καὶ πρῶτον μὲν χρῶσα τῷ πρόσωπῳ φιλωθῆσθαι ἐπηρεασθῆναι, εἴτε ἀνδραχνῆ ἐκεῖκασσι ἐν τῷ ἐπιδεύχεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσέλθει καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπεύων χρῆσιν ἐν μορφῇ διδυμῇ κατασκευάσσαι.} \]

He (Thespis) performed his first tragedy having rubbed his mask with white lead, next he covered
(it) with flowers in the performance, after this he also introduced the use of masks made only from linen.

Brooke\(^7\) comments, and correctly I think, that Thespis was probably not the very first to use a mask, but that he did initiate a significant change through the use of the linen mask. Suidas also tells us,\(^8\)

\[
\text{o\"d\'os } \text{d\'e } \text{pr\'ot\'os } \text{o } \text{phr\'ynik\'os } \text{gynaikaik\'e\'an } \text{pros\'ynon}
\]
\[\text{e\'is\'y\'agn\'e\'n } \text{e\'v } \text{t\'h } \text{sk\'u\'nh}\]

Phrynichus first introduced the woman's mask on the stage.

Hesychius\(^9\) adds that Choeirilus did something unspecified to the mask,

\[
\text{o\"d\'os } \text{kata } \text{t\'h\'an } \text{to\'s } \text{pros\'o\'k\'e\'oun } \text{kat } \text{t\'h } \text{sk\'u\'nh}
\]
\[\text{t\'h\'an } \text{stol\'\'aw } \text{ek\'e\'k\'e\'r\'h\'se}\]

(Choeirilus), some say, set to work on masks and robes.

Phrynichus and Choeirilus were both tragedians who wrote in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. The evidence seems to indicate that some sort of mask was already extant during the time of Thespis, that Thespis adapted it to tragedy, and that Phrynichus and Choeirilus further refined the mask as a viable part of dramatic costume. The final reference that I shall examine is another from Suidas and concerns the improvements made by Aeschylus,\(^10\)

\[
\text{o\"d\'os } \text{pr\'ot\'os } \text{e\'upr } \text{pros\'o\'k\'e\'e\'a } \text{de\'\'na } \text{kr\'\'y\'ma\'sa}
\]
\[\text{ne\'k\'r\'o\'m\'e\'na}\]

(Aeschylus) first invented frightening, painted masks.
Even though the Romans felt that Aeschylus had been personally responsible for most of the important theatrical innovations, there is no reason to doubt this statement. It suggests, along with the other evidence, that some sort of tragic mask was already in use and that Aeschylus added significantly to its effect.

The final piece of literary evidence for the tragic mask is from the Onomastikon of Julius Pollux. Pickard-Cambridge\textsuperscript{11} has clearly shown that this work was not written earlier than the fourth century B.C. because Pollux repeatedly refers to the ὑγος, or raised forehead, a feature which was not used until this period. Although Webster\textsuperscript{12} agrees, he feels that Pollux' list of tragic masks is based on good Alexandrian sources compiled no later than the third century B.C. Webster\textsuperscript{13} even contends (and Bieber\textsuperscript{14} agrees) that the list reflects the practices of the fifth century B.C., arguing that correlations may be found in the archaeological evidence. Brooke\textsuperscript{15} however, does not think that Pollux' list can be applied to the theater of Aeschylus' day. Pickard-Cambridge\textsuperscript{16} finds Bieber's and Webster's attempts at correlation to be confusing and misleading. Yet he admits that the list does give a good idea about the variety of masks which were probably available to the poet.\textsuperscript{17} It is reasonable to assume from the archaeological evidence which we will examine that the fifth century poet would have fashioned his masks, as Pollux indicates, on the basis of hair color, age,
and complexion (e.g. white hair would signify an old man; shorn hair, a character in mourning; and a pale complexion, a ghost or sick character). Pollux also appends a list of special masks, such as a Fury, a blind Oedipus, or a many-eyed Argos. These types of masks probably existed in the fifth century so that the audience could easily identify an unusual character. Furthermore, the freedom of design which Pollux seems to allow, even with his standardized masks, would support the belief that the poet of the fifth century had a free hand in the design of the tragic mask.

The earliest archaeological evidence for tragic masks belongs to c. 470 B.C. Fragments of an oinochoe found in the Athenian Agora show a mask which seems to cover only the face. The features are not exaggerated. Hair appears to be an integral part of the mask along with some sort of fillet or headband. The actor is carrying the mask by a string. Clearer evidence about the tragic mask comes from a bell-krater (c. 450–400 B.C.) which shows two members of a maenad chorus who are dressing up, one holding and another wearing a mask. Again, there is no hint of exaggeration; in fact, the features are rather generalized and undefined. Each mask has hair, although the hair on the right-hand mask is not so full. The third of these dressing-up vases is a pelike of 430 B.C. which shows a mask that covers the whole head. This mask is not unlike the others in that the
features are quite normal.

The archaeological evidence from the late fifth and early fourth century includes the following. Fragments of a volute-krater from Taranto in Wurzburg\textsuperscript{21} show curly-haired masks which have their mouths open and eyes painted. A relief from Piraeus\textsuperscript{22} depicts an old man's mask with longish hair. He has a wide forehead, a gaping mouth, and a beard. The last example is the Pronomos vase,\textsuperscript{23} which is considered by scholars to be the greatest single piece of evidence in existence for the Greek stage of the fifth and fourth centuries. This vase depicts masks of satyrs, who comprise the chorus, and actors. Again, the features are not exaggerated except for an occasional gaping mouth. All the masks have hair and some have beards. Age seems to be shown by hair color and the stylized treatment of facial features, i.e. an old man has a wrinkled face and a long, white beard; while a young man has a youthful complexion and a full, dark beard.\textsuperscript{24}

What, then, does the archaeological evidence suggest about the physical characteristics of the mask? There is nothing on the vase paintings or reliefs to contradict the use of the linen mask which was attributed to Thespis. Brooke\textsuperscript{25} suggests that masks could have been made from carved wood, cork, or leather, but there is no proof of this. Most scholars agree that the tragic mask was probably made from linen, which was artificially stiffened with diluted clay and then painted and adorned with hair or jewelry. Webster\textsuperscript{26} maintains that the mask would have been made over
a mould and that the Gorgon mask from the shrine of Artemis Orthia in Sparta is just such a mould; he adds that preservation of such moulds would have insured the standardization of masks, which is such a remarkable feature of Greek tragedy as we know it from the monuments.

As I have previously pointed out, the masks on the vases show no hint of exaggeration except for an occasional widening of the mouth. This distortion may have been an attempt to depict an emotion such as hate or fright. Allen\textsuperscript{27} suggests that actors appeared with the stature and figure of ordinary men. The features were simple and easy to recognize. Various colors, hair styles, wrinkles, noses, eyebrows, or headgear were probably used even though these elements have not been catalogued. In particular all the depictions of masks to which I have referred lack the δύκας, the unusually high forehead which was characteristic of later tragic masks. Archaeological evidence indicates that the δύκας first came into use in the last years of the fourth century.\textsuperscript{26} Webster\textsuperscript{29} suggests that the addition was due to the statesman Lycurgus. When he rebuilt the Theater of Dionysus in Athens between 338 and 330 B.C. and adorned it with new statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, new masks were introduced to match the new setting.

If, however, the tragic mask of the fifth century was generally not distorted and very simple in design, the facial expressions, except to a few spectators, must have remained almost
unseen in a large theater. Flickinger\textsuperscript{30} observes that delicate play of expression on mobile faces was impossible since the appearance could only be modified by a change of mask. It has been suggested that the mask, with its unchanging features, would have been a great obstacle to scenes of violence which would normally require great and rapid changes of facial expression.\textsuperscript{31} Allen,\textsuperscript{32} however, contends that the restraints put on the actor by the mask are greatly exaggerated; Flickinger\textsuperscript{33} tries to show that the Greek playwright often ignored or evaded the immobilities of the tragic mask by using dialogue suggestive of particular emotions. A more detailed study is offered by Shisler\textsuperscript{34} who suggests four ways to present joy on the Greek stage, all of which overcome the limitations of the mask. In a later article\textsuperscript{35} she discusses the importance of actions, gesture, and appearances to portray emotions on the stage.
NOTES


2 IG. 403 (Delos); Le Bas 3, no. 92 (Teos) from Webster, "The Poet and the Mask."

3 Flickinger (The Greek Theater and its Drama [1936], 221) concludes his discussion by admitting that this theory of origins has yet to be conclusively proven.

4 Note the mask found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, R.M. Dawkins, Artemis Orthia (1929), 153; and the masks associated with Dionysus, Wrede, Ath. Mitt. 53 (1928), 87.

5 Ars Poetica, 276-278.

6 S.v. Thespis.

7 Brooke, Costume, 76.

8 S.v. Phrynicus. I should note that this statement may only mean that Phrynicus introduced the female "character" into tragedy since κρόσωπον may mean either "mask" or "character".

9 Onomatologi, ed. J. Flach (1882), s.v. Choerilus.

10 S.v. Aeschylus.

11 Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, 193.


13 T.B.L. Webster, Greek Theater Production (1965), 38-55.

14 S.v. maske, RE, cols. 2077ff.

15 Brooke, Costume, 77.

16 Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, 193, no. 3.

17 Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, 193.
18 A.R.V. 495; Talcott, Hesperia 8 (1939), 267, fig. 1.

19 Riccioni, Arte antica e moderna 5 (1939), 37-42, pls. 17-18; Arias and Alfieri, Stima: guida al museo archeologico in Ferrara, 181, pl. 66. There is some dispute about the relevance of South Italian vases to the Attic theater. Webster ("South Italian Vases and Attic Drama," CQ [1948], 15) argues that South Italian vases, even those of the fourth century, threw light on earlier Athenian practices because the plays originally came from Athens. Pickard-Cambridge ("South Italian Vases in Attic Drama," CQ [1949], 57), on the other hand, observes that scenes on Italian vases may not have been inspired by dramatic performance, and if they were, there is no reason to believe that Italian producers or vase painters should have gone back to the Greek original; see also Webster's article, "Masks on Gnathian Vases," JHS 71 (1951), 222-232. I feel that even Italian vases are somewhat suggestive of theatrical practices which were probably generalized. I shall, however, confine my attention to the more trustworthy evidence of the fifth and early fourth centuries.

20 A.R.V. 1017, no. 46 (Phiale Painter), Caskey and Beazley, Ath. Vases in Boston 1, pl. 29/63.

21 A.R.V. 1336; Buschor, Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson 2, 90.

22 Webster, Theater Production, 41.

23 Chap. 1, no. 35.

24 Observe the actor depicting Heracles.

25 Brooks, Costume, 77.


28 The first evidence seems to be a Roman copy of a statue of Aeschylus which was incorrectly restored as Euripides. Webster (JHS 71 [1951], 229) thinks that the original adorned the reconstructed Theater of Dionysus in Athens.

29 Webster, Theater Production, 43.
30 Flickinger, Greek Theater, 221.

31 Gustav Freytag, Techniques of Drama, trans. by Elias J. MacEwan (1895), 221.

32 Allen, "Greek Acting," 286.

33 Flickinger, Greek Theater, 222f.

34 Famee Lorene Shisler, "The Technique of the Portrayal of Joy in Greek Tragedy," TAPA 73 (1942), 278.

35 Shisler, "The Use of Stage Business to Portray Emotions on the Greek Stage," AJP 66 (1945), 377-397.
CHAPTER IV

The Costumes of Prometheus Bound
and The Persians

The final chapter in my discussion of fifth century Attic tragedy concerns the specific attire in Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound and The Persians. However, before I examine the costume of particular characters, several general observations on the nature of dramatic costume would be helpful. Each robe was probably made of wool because this textile was plentiful and extremely durable, a characteristic which would allow the robes to be used again. The robe probably had some sort of sleeve. The length of the robe, from archaeological evidence, seems to have been based essentially on the sex, age, and status of a character, that is, women wore long robes regardless of age; most gods and older men wore long robes; younger men, warriors, and some gods (e.g. Hermes) wore short robes. Colors and decoration were totally dependent on the character. As I stated in Chapter 2, two types of boots were used in tragedy. A loose-fitting boot seems to have been worn by chorus members and women, if they wore any type of footwear at all. Actors probably wore a tighter-fitting laced boot. The size and shape of the tragic mask were discussed in the previous chapter. The expression and coloring were determined by the character and the play.
In this chapter, I shall rely essentially on the evidence of vase paintings and the texts of Prometheus Bound and The Persians. Vases painted subsequent to the performance of the plays often reflected visual characteristics of the performance. Furthermore, the poet was somewhat restricted by the standard depiction of a god or hero that had been established earlier. The poet also gives us hints about the appearance of characters in the text of a play. Moreover, he may take pains to describe a particular facial expression or emotion because the tragic mask was capable of only one.

The initial step in determining the costumes of a specific play is, as Brooke suggests, to determine the mood. Color and design must fit the mood so that costuming complements the work. For example, we would hardly expect Electra in Aeschylus' Choephori to be dressed in colorful garments. In Prometheus Bound, Prometheus, a Titan, is chained on a rock in the Caucasus because he gave fire to mortals against the wishes of Zeus. Torment, anger, and defiance characterize the play because Prometheus has been scorned by the gods; the costumes must have been in keeping with this somber tone.

Kratos, even though we have no illustrations of this character, probably wore a long, grey or dark-colored robe devoid of any decoration. Grey would have been appropriate because this color reinforces the idea of gloom and depression. His robe was probably not black, the traditional color of mourning, because he did not
mourn for Prometheus; on the contrary, he was the evil agent of Zeus. The lack of any colorful decoration would also have enhanced his somber role in the play.

Kratos' mask would have shown his hatred and the cruelty of his mission. Aeschylus tells us,

δυσομα μορφῆ γλῶσσα σου γηρύεται.

Your tongue matches your face.

This statement seems to imply that since Kratos' remarks were full of evil intent, his mask reflected his speech. We can envision the mask then as having a dark, rather somber complexion showing an angry expression. His hair would have been dark and perhaps unkempt. Large, coarse features would have reinforced this impression of an ugly brute. Bia, a mute character, was presumably dressed much like Kratos.

The costume of Prometheus is less uncertain than that of Kratos because this mythological character is a popular subject for vase painters. Prometheus is usually depicted as wearing a long robe, although a few vases show him in a short, knee-length garment. The long robe seems to be more appropriate, since Prometheus is a god. Furthermore, the robes are usually decorated with various types of woven or embroidered patterns. A bell-krater (c. 430 B.C.) shows Prometheus in a plain robe with a highly decorated overgarment. It is possible that the actor wore a white robe and indicated Prometheus' nobility merely by putting on a colorful, decorated overgarment which was probably a characteristic
costume of the upper classes. The vase paintings more frequently seem to indicate that the robe itself was patterned. Prometheus is also shown wearing a sleeveless robe which passes over only one shoulder. Although we cannot be sure that this garment was not particularly associated with Prometheus, it seems more likely that a robe of conventional design, i.e. passing over both shoulders and having sleeves, was worn since an essentially standardized design would allow the garment to be used in subsequent performances of this and other plays.

Prometheus is almost always represented as having a dark beard and dark, curly hair bound by a fillet, or headband. A cup (c. 430 B.C.), however, shows Prometheus as an old man with a white beard and a fillet of leaves in his hair. About this vase, Beazley says,

That Prometheus should be white-haired and white-bearded is not unnatural: as a son of a Titan, and a Titan himself, he belonged to an older generation and an older order than Zeus and the other deities of Olympus.

Aeschylus tells us, however,

σταθερὸς ὀ ἀλπὸν φούτη φλογὶ
χρωμός ὀψις ἐκ ἀνθῶς

Burned by the bright light of the sun
You will give up the flower of your youthful skin.

Thus the poet clearly indicates how the mask looked, i.e. the virile, dark-bearded face of a young man in the prime of life. Girard maintains, correctly I think, that the mask of Prometheus, in accordance with his role in the play, would only have
been able to be sad or painful. Aeschylus seems to corroborate this idea.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{verbatim}
ἀλλ', Ὡ ταλακκῷ, ὡς ἐξεπ ὑργάς ἀφες.
\
O sufferer, give up the anger which you hold.
\end{verbatim}

The Oceanids, like Kratos, are not illustrated on vase paintings. We do, however, find depictions of Nereids who were sea nymphs like the Oceanids. A vase\textsuperscript{14} of c. 450–440 B.C. depsects the Nereids as young girls with dark, flowing hair to show their origin. The safest assumption about the mask is that it was simply the face of a young girl with a sad expression. The color of their robes may have been either white, which was perhaps the standard color for the chorus, or some shade of blue to show their connection with the ocean. Decoration would have been arbitrary. The Oceanids apparently wore no boots at all.\textsuperscript{15}

\begin{verbatim}
οὐθην ὲὐξεδουλος ἅχῳ περῳτη.
\
I hastened unsandalled in a winged car.
\end{verbatim}

Much archaeological evidence is also available about the costume of Io. Hoppin\textsuperscript{16} has shown that all the monuments prior to the Persian War show Io as a heifer, but that after the influence of the dramatists, particularly Aeschylus, she was generally represented as a horned maiden. Aeschylus himself calls Io a βούκευσ ἄφγενος—a horned maiden.\textsuperscript{17} An oxyborphin\textsuperscript{18} of the mid-fifth century shows Io as a horned maiden. A red-figured skyphos\textsuperscript{19} of the late fifth century from Pisticci shows what may be either another interpretation of the myth in which Io is not
ashamed of her horns, or possibly an actor checking his "make-up". We see the figure seated, wearing a long, undecorated robe much like that of an actor, with horns behind her ears, dark hair and a wide fillet, and holding a mirror in her hand. Perhaps this person is an actor who is checking his mask or a separate pair of horns before entering the performance as Io. The facial expression of the figure cannot be discerned. The actor in *Prometheus Bound* probably would have worn a long, undecorated robe (since there is no evidence for any decoration) and a mask of a horned maiden which showed fright or pain because of her own predicament and that of Prometheus. This view agrees with the description of Io in the play,  

σκωπημένων ὡς νηστείλειν αἰκεῖας
λαβρόσουτος ἄλθον.

Frenzied in the hunger and pain of my leapings I have come.

ἀποχύνομαι ... ὀλαφθόραν μορφής.

I am ashamed ... at the change in my appearance.

Hephaestus is a character who by the presence of several elements would have been recognizable to the audience. The Homeric Hymn to Apollo tells us,  

αὐτῶς ὃ γ’ ἢκεδανὸς γέγονεν μετὰ τὰς θεοῦς
καὶς ἑαυτοῦ Ἡφαιστὸς ὁκυνὸς πόδας οὐ τέχουν αὐτῆν.

He was born weak among all the gods,
My child lame-footed Hephaestus whom I bore.

Archaeological evidence shows that Hephaestus usually carries the tools of his trade as a blacksmith, tongs or a hammer.  

Also he
is commonly represented as having a dark beard. Thus a bearded character who limped and carried a smith's tools would instantly be recognized as Hephaestus. The interchange between Kratos, Bia, and Hephaestus indicates that he felt sorry for Prometheus and that he disliked his job of nailing the Titan, a kinsman, onto a rock.\textsuperscript{23} His mask probably reflected sympathy and pain for the suffering of another. The evidence in the text or on vases is too limited, however, to determine the color of Hephaestus' robe.

Oceanus is perhaps the most difficult character to envision because we do not know what devices of identification he normally carried. A Roman bust\textsuperscript{24} shows Oceanus as having an abundant, flowing beard adorned with barnacles. Perhaps he, like his daughters, the Oceanids, had long hair. It is reasonable that, since Oceanus was a god of the old order, his hair was white as a sign of age. He probably wore a long, loosely-draped, white robe with some slight blue or purple decoration to indicate his sphere of power, the ocean. The text seems to indicate that Oceanus' mask showed concern,\textsuperscript{25}

\[\text{ταξις σαύς ἢ τὰς χαλκάς, ἡδων, συναλῆτε.}\]

Know that I grieve for your fate.

We can be fairly certain about the costume of Hermes, since he is so frequently represented on vases. Hermes, because he is the messenger of the gods, is usually represented as wearing a petasos, or traveller's hat, of which there are several varieties, some sort of robe or cloak, and carrying a caduceus or traveller's
staff. If Hermes wears any boots they usually have prominent flaps or wings to indicate his status as a travelling messenger who flies through the air. Hermes is always represented as being youthful, but both bearded and unbearded. Aeschylus tells us something about Hermes’ age,

νέον νέόν κρατέτε κατ’ δοξέτε δήναιευ ακενθη χέργαμ’.

Young you are and young you rule and You think that you live on unsuffering heights.

Hermes’ mask probably had dark hair and possibly was bearded. The expression is more difficult to determine, although we can be certain that Hermes does not pity Prometheus as most of the other characters do. He may have been depicted as angry because of Prometheus’ stubbornness or haughty and insolent because of his own powerful position.

I shall next turn to an examination of the costumes of Aeschylus’ The Persians. The archaeological evidence is minimal because the characters in this play are historical rather than mythological. The literary evidence consists of the text of the play and descriptions of the Persians by Herodotus.

Since the archaeological and literary evidence for Oriental dress is very general I shall discuss it separately and apply it afterwards, along with pertinent textual references, to the particular characters in The Persians. Herodotus tells us that the Persians wore loose caps on their heads called tiaras (also called a kidaris) and, on their bodies, sleeved tunics of various
colors. The limited archaeological evidence does seem to reinforce this description. Hydria fragments\textsuperscript{31} from Corinth (second quarter of the fifth century) by the Leningrad Painter show Persian figures in a very early portrayal of a tragic scene. The left-top fragment shows an aulos player in a sleeved robe which is partly patterned with black circles and brown centers, and partly with a large, meander pattern. His short hair is wreathed with red leaves. The top-center fragment shows a king, distinguished by his two scepters, rising from a pyre. His overgarment is decorated with a series of black circles, each marked with a dot. It is worn over an ornamental undergarment with sleeves. This undergarment, as shown on the lower-right fragment, is decorated with rows of lozenges alternating with wavy lines. Furthermore, each of the figures, except for the aulos player, wears the flapped headdress. The king is only distinguished by moderate decoration on his kidaris and a dark cloak with a light border. The faces are bearded and show no signs of masks. The actors' feet are bare.

An Apulian krater\textsuperscript{32} (c. 340-330 B.C.) shows what may be a scene from a lost tragedy, perhaps a fourth century version of Phrynicus' The Persians. The characters are dressed like those found on the preceding vase. Darius, enthroned in the center, is wearing an ornamented robe over a sleeved undergarment which is spotted. On his head he wears a kidaris made of some elaborate material. A soldier to his left is wearing a knee-length robe over a solid color, sleeved undergarment. To Darius' immediate right is a figure
who may be a messenger because he is wearing what seems to be a traveller's garb, i.e. heavy, laced boots, a long, unornamented robe with a cloak, and he is carrying a staff. The remaining soldiers are dressed like Darius and the soldiers to his left.

The Pronomos Vase also shows characters in Oriental dress. We can clearly distinguish the tiaras on the masks of two unnamed actors who most scholars agree are Laomedon and Hesione. Again, the costumes are elegantly decorated with several types of designs. Only the actor depicting Heracles wears boots: the high, laced type of the actor.

The Persians is ostensibly concerned with the fall of the once proud and powerful Persian Empire and its king, Xerxes. The tone of The Persians is the sadness and despair of lost grandeur.

We can safely say that the chorus consisted of elderly Persian men because they did not go to war with Xerxes and because of the address to the chorus,33

\[ \chi \alpha \iota \mu \omicron \varepsilon \gamma \nu \epsilon \varepsilon \omicron \upsilon \varepsilon \omicron \rho \omicron \delta \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \upsilon \kappa \eta \rho \eta \tau \omicron \chi \alpha . \]

Rend the white hair of your beards for me.

Thus these men probably would have worn long robes, symbolic of their age, which were ornamented like those on the vase paintings. It would be reasonable to assume that their robes were brightly colored so that they might contrast with the gloomy return of defeated Xerxes. Each chorus member's mask would have been wrinkled and adorned with white hair. The expression on each mask certainly reflected terror and sadness because the majority of their speeches
are concerned with the loss of the empire, especially in the long
interchange with Xerxes from 918 to the end of the play.

We have no sure clues about the costume of the messenger
although his clothing may have been similar to the messenger's
outfit on the Apulian krater which we examined earlier. His cos-
tume would have been simple and utilitarian: a design suitable
for a traveller.

Atossa, the queen of Persia, was surely regally attired in
luxuriant, brightly-colored, decorated fabrics befitting royalty.
She is described by the chorus,\(^{34}\)

\[
\text{ἀλλ' ἡδὲ θεῶν ζων ὀφθαλμόσις}
\text{Θόδος ὑμαται μήτηρ βασιλέως.}
\]

The mother of the king is coming,
A light equal to the eyes of the gods.

Perhaps she wore jewelry or a crown to emphasize her status. Atossa
could have had two costumes:\(^{35}\) a regal, splendid one to wear through
the messenger's speech (514) and mourning clothes to wear upon
her return to the stage to signify the downfall of Persia and the
defeat of Xerxes. I feel, however, that it would be more effective
to have Atossa wear the same clothing; her royal dress and intensely
sad face would then be ironically contrasted. Furthermore, the
richness of her gowns would represent the Persia which was lost, a
loss which is intensified by the return of Xerxes in rags. It
would follow, then, that Atossa had two masks: a mask with a rela-
tively neutral expression for use up to 514 and then one showing
grief and suffering to wear from 598 to her exit. I think that it
is reasonable to suppose that she changed masks so that her expression would be consistent with her speeches since she does grieve for the Persians' loss from 598 to the end.

The costume of Darius is notable because he appears in the play as a ghost. The most unusual feature would certainly have been his mask: a pale, wan, and lifeless-looking visage. The text suggests that Darius' expression was simply neutral, since there are no indications of anger or sadness. The hair and beard were white. The invocation to Darius offers some clues as to his appearance, 36

ελθ' ἐκ ἀκρου κόρυμβου δὲ-
χθου προκόβασθον ποδίς εὖ-
μαρτυ ύερων βασιλείου τυὴ-
ρας φάλαρον πιθανήκων

Come to the summit of your tomb,
Lifting up your saffron-dyed shoe
And showing the crest of your royal tiara.

Although this may only represent a formal invocation to a dead person, it would have been dramatically effective to have Darius, the past king of Persia and father of Xerxes, appear royally dressed since this would reinforce the irony if Xerxes appears in tattered rags.

The costume of Xerxes presents a unique problem because he may have been dressed in tattered rags. It is logical to suppose that he left Susa in royal attire. The text suggests, however, that he returned with his garments torn to pieces. The chorus tells Atossa that Xerxes has torn his robes apart because of grief at the loss at Salamis and advises her to bring new clothing from
the house fit for a king. Atossa agrees to fetch new clothing for her son, after hearing of his misfortune. Xerxes, upon arriving, asks the chorus,

Do you see the remnants of my robe?

Even though Aeschylus may only be describing what is not visually present, it would seem dramatically ineffective to have Atossa return with a new robe in her hands if Xerxes' robe was in perfect condition. Furthermore, the tattered robe would add to the poignancy of his defeat. Xerxes may also have worn a crested tiara like his dead father's, which would also be in ironic contrast to his tattered robe. His mask, adorned with dark hair and beard, undoubtedly reflected his great grief and despair.
NOTES


278.

3. Calyx krater—(c. 425-420 B.C.), A.R.V. 1056, no. 86; AJA 43 (1939), 622; column krater—(c. 430 B.C.), A.R.V. 1104, no. 6; AJA 43 (1939), 637, fig. 13; bell krater—(c. 430 B.C.), A.R.V. 1163, no. 33; AJA 43 (1939), 637, fig. 4; krater—(third quarter of the fourth century B.C.), Trendall and Webster, Illustrations of Greek Drama 3,1,27.

4. Calyx krater—(c. 440-430 B.C.), AJA 43 (1939), pl. 12; calyx krater—(end of the fifth century B.C.), AJA 43 (1939), fig. 10.

5. Calyx krater—(c. 425-430 B.C.), A.R.V. 1050, no. 86; calyx krater—(end of the fifth century B.C.), AJA 43 (1939), pl. 10; krater—(c. 440-430 B.C.), AJA 43 (1939), 623, fig. 5.

6. A.R.V. 1163, no. 33; AJA 43 (1939), 637, fig. 14.

7. Trendall and Webster, Illustrations, 3,1,27.

8. Calyx krater—(c. 425-420 B.C.), A.R.V. 1056, no. 86; calyx krater—(end of the fifth century B.C.), AJA 43 (1939), pl. 10; bell krater—(c. 430 B.C.), A.R.V. 1163, no. 33; krater—(third quarter of the fourth century B.C.), Trendall and Webster, Illustrations, 3,1,27.

9. A.R.V. 1269, no. 6; AJA (1960), pl. 53, fig. 2.


11. 22-23.


13. 315.

14. Trendall and Webster, Illustrations, 3,1,18-19; A.R.V. 1030, no. 33; C.V.A. Vienna 1, pl. 24.
15135.
17588.
18Overbeck, Grieschische Kunstmythologie, pl. 7, 13.
20599-600; 642-644.
22Neck amphora—(c. 330-320 B.C.), Trendall and Webster, Illustrations, 3,3,33; Cook, Zeus 1, pl. 16; column krater—(fifth century B.C.); A.R.V. 242, no. 81; C.V.A. Adria, pl. 5,4.
231-81.
24Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology (1959), 164.
25288.
26Hydra—(c. 470 B.C.), A.R.V. 555, no. 95; Dramatic Festivals, fig. 73; stamnos—(c. 470-460 B.C.), A.R.V. 217, no. 2; Dramatic Festivals, fig. 74; pelike—(c. 350 B.C.), HSCP 21 (1910), 128, pl. 2.
27Hydra from Vulci—(c. 470 B.C.), A.R.V. 555, no. 95; pelike—(late sixth century B.C. to early fifth century B.C.), A.R.V. 289, no. 3.
28955-956.
29Note 944ff.
307, 61ff.
31A.R.V. 571, no. 74; Dramatic Festivals, fig. 36; Beazley, Attic Vases in Boston 1, pl. 85.
32Trendall and Webster, Illustrations, 3,5b; Cook, Zeus 2, pl. 38; Webster, Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play, 76, TV15.
331056.
34150-151.
This question was initially raised by Girard, "L'Expression des masques dans les drames d'Eschyle," Rev. Etudes Grecques 7 (1895), 101.

36 659-662.
37 832-836.
38 849-850.
39 1017.
<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>C.V.A.</td>
<td>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum (Union Académique Internationale).</td>
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<td>I.G.</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Graecae, ed. Kirchoff, Kaibel et al. (Berlin 1873- ).</td>
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