

GREEK DRAMATIC MONUMENTS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA AND PNYX

(PLATES 65–68)

THE excavations of the Athenian Agora and of the Pnyx have produced objects dating from the early fifth century B.C. to the fifth century after Christ which can be termed dramatic monuments because they represent actors, chorusmen, and masks of tragedy, satyr play and comedy. The purpose of the present article is to interpret the earlier part of this series from the point of view of the history of Greek drama and to compare the pieces with other monuments, particularly those which can be satisfactorily dated.¹ The importance of this Agora material lies in two facts: first, the vast majority of it is Athenian; second, much of it is dated by the context in which it was found. Classical tragedy and satyr play, Hellenistic tragedy and satyr play, Old, Middle and New Comedy will be treated separately. The transition from Classical to Hellenistic in tragedy or comedy is of particular interest, and the lower limit has been set in the second century B.C. by which time the transition has been completed. The monuments are listed in a catalogue at the end.

TRAGEDY AND SATYR PLAY

CLASSICAL: A 1-A5 HELLENISTIC: A6-A12

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, representations of Greek tragedy is found on the fragmentary Attic oinochoe (A 1; Pl. 65) dated about 470 and painted by an artist closely related to Hermonax. Little can be added to Miss Talcott's interpretation. The order of the fragments is A, B, C as given in Figure 1 of Miss Talcott's article. When we examined them in 1955, Miss Barbara Philippaki pointed out that raised lines can be seen both down the left edge of fragment C and on the projecting point on the left of fragment B. It is therefore highly probable that B belongs under or just to the left of C and that the figure represented was a man wearing a short chiton with one foot already in a laced boot and the other raised because he was

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pulling on his laced boot (compare the chorusman dressing on the Boston pelike of about 440).² From left to right the vase had a woman facing left, a man (perhaps a warrior), a boy attendant holding the mask of a young woman, and a woman moving rapidly towards the right. The two women are identically dressed, and they may therefore be members of the chorus; the one on the right is already in action, the mask held by the boy may be intended for the one on the left. Miss Talcott decided that this was the mask of a shorn maiden, but she noted that a similar broad fillet could be worn by a maenad; the short hair is no obstacle and the probability that the mask belongs to a member of the chorus makes the interpretation as a maenad now seem more likely.

Two vases which were painted within ten years of the Agora oinochoe, a pelike in Berlin³ and a bell krater in Ferrara,⁴ both show stage maenads, and it is possible that the chorusmen in short peploi on the Boston pelike should also be interpreted as maenads; if so, the earliest female tragic chorus *not* composed of maenads is that on the fragments in Würzburg⁵ from the very end of the fifth century. I suspect therefore that from the beginning of the fifth century, particularly on wine vessels, stage maenads were occasionally substituted for mythical maenads just as stage satyrs were occasionally substituted for mythical satyrs.⁶ The bell krater in Ferrara has a stage maenad wearing himation, fawnskin and sakkos, dancing in front of a man wearing a long chiton, himation and boots, who holds a mask in his left hand. The mask has hair which falls to the level of the chin and could belong either to a woman or a very young man. The boots suggest a man, and an effeminate Dionysos, as we know him from contemporary fragments of Aeschylus,⁷ is at least a possibility. The man on the Agora oinochoe with his short chiton is a more strenuous character, and if the women are maenads he must be Pentheus, Lykourgos, or another of the resisters.

² Boston 98.883. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 655,38; Bieber, *H.T.* (*History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1939), fig. 108; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals (Dramatic Festivals of Athens)*, Oxford, 1953), fig. 39; Webster, *G.T.P.* (*Greek Theatre Production*, London, 1956), A 7 (2).

³ Berlin 3223. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 397,39; Weinreich, *Epigrammstudien*, 1948, pl. 1; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 6 (104); Beazley, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 312.

⁴ From Valle Pega. I owe photographs to the kindness of Dr. G. Riccioni who is to publish the vase in *Archaeologia Classica*.

⁵ Würzburg, fragments of a volute krater. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 965; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 40; Buschor, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, II, p. 91; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 12 (41). The echo of another early chorus of maenads may be seen in the Kleophrades Painter's frontal maenad on his hydria in the Wilhelm Collection, Beazley, *Antike Kunst*, I, 1958, p. 6.

⁶ For stage satyrs see note 10. Other early tragic choruses: the Persians on the Attic hydria, Corinth T 1144, Beazley, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 305, pl. 45, and the chorus rehearsing on the red-figure cup, New York 27.74, Bieber, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 529; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 267,10; Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 38, note 2. An echo of a special mask in the frontal Io on the pelike in Cancellio, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 390,1; Engelmann, *Jahrb.* XVIII, 1903, p. 46.

⁷ *Edonoi*, fr. 59 Nauck; *Isthmiasai*, P. Oxy. no. 2162, line 68 (see Loeb *Aeschylus*, II, Appendix, pp. 546 ff.).

Three terracottas of the first half of the fourth century represent performers in the satyr play.⁸ All come from the Pnyx. The most interesting is **A 2**, a chorusman from a satyr play with his hands on his hips and wearing shaggy loincloth and phallos. He is a direct plastic parallel to the painted satyrs of the nearly contemporary Pronomos vase.⁹ On the Pronomos vase all the satyr chorusmen except one have shaggy loincloths; he has a smooth, presumably fabric, loincloth decorated with a star. The shaggy loincloths are too shaggy for horses and must indicate the goat element in the satyr's composition. Both types can be traced both backwards and forwards, but the Pronomos vase is unique in mixing them.¹⁰ But on this vase or elsewhere satyr chorusmen are only shaggy round the middle, whereas the father of the satyrs, Papposilenos, is shaggy all over, because the actor who took the part wore tights covered with flocks of white wool—actor, because he is distinct from and may converse with the satyr chorusman who leads the chorus. Therefore in a satyr play in which a single satyr played an important role the actor would presumably be dressed as Papposilenos. This, I think, explains why Papposilenos appears on a fourth century

⁸ I have omitted from the catalogue, because they are not dramatic, three interesting objects: 1) wine amphora fragment, Agora SS 7614, from Mende, last quarter of fifth century, profile satyr mask (not necessarily dramatic), P. Corbett and V. Grace, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 336, no. 106, pl. 18. 2) fragment of Attic red-figure bell krater, Pnyx P 169, 400-390 B.C., satyr wearing a brassiere and dancing to the right, L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 56, no. 249, pl. 23; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 118 a. (Cf. also J. D. Beazley, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XXXIII, 1946, p. 40 on Dionysos dancing in a short chiton). 3) terracotta statuette, Agora T 1468 and T 1575, satyr wrapped in a long thin cloak and dancing forwards. Note also the following: Corinthian plastic vase, satyr with earrings, Athens, N.M. 12476, early sixth century, R. J. H. Jenkins, *J.H.S.*, LV, 1935, p. 124; Attic red-figure oinochoe, satyr dressed as woman with Dionysos and maenads, London (N. Hamilton Smith), late sixth century, J. Boardman, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies (London)*, V, 1958, p. 6; Corinthian vase fragment, satyr with chous in very short chiton, Corinth Museum (unpublished). The tradition of satyrs dressed as women thus lasts from the early sixth century into the Hellenistic Age (cf. Brommer, *loc. cit.*); they have nothing to do with the stage but are a translation into mythical terms of men dressed as women (e.g., Anakreon and his boon companions, cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vases in Boston*, II, p. 55 for examples).

⁹ Naples 3240. Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 849,1; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 20; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 28; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 9 (D 2); Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 4.

¹⁰ Earlier: smooth, i) red-figure hydria, Boston 03.788, Beazley *A.R.V.*, p. 377,5; *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 310; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 1; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 3 (D 19); ii) red-figure kalyx krater, Vienna 985, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 413,15; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 13; hairy, i) red-figure stamnos, Louvre, Campana fragments 275, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 156,40; *Misc. Libertini*, p. 91; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 23 (the satyrs are spotted, which represents hair, but they also wear loincloths; the painter has transferred the hair from the loincloths to their bodies); ii) red-figure cup, Munich 2657, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 312,191; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 5 (the spots on the loincloth represent hair). Later: smooth, South Italian bell krater, early 4th century, Sydney 47.04, Trendall, *Frühhellenistische Vasenmalerei*, p. 41, B 73; Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, no. 8; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 27 (D 71); hairy, mosaic in Naples from Pompeii (original early Hellenistic), Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 21; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 69; Beazley, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 314.

red-figure vase as an assailant of Amymone; the artist was thinking of a stage performance.¹¹ Papposilenos was a very popular figure with coroplasts and other artists in the fourth century and later, and the other two Pnyx terracottas represent him standing by himself with a himation folded round his stomach (**A 3**), very much as he stands serving Dionysos on a relief from Aixone celebrating a successful dramatic performance¹² and holding the child Dionysos on his left shoulder (**A 4**) like the marble group from the Theater of Dionysos.¹³ The type was evidently created in the first half of the fourth century as the dated examples¹⁴ like ours show. Sometimes the artist is thinking of the mythical Papposilenos, sometimes of the stage Papposilenos, as he shows by the wide-open mouth of the mask, e.g. in the Pnyx example. He may then be thinking of a particular play such as the *Dionysiskos* of Sophocles,¹⁵ but in the marble group the child Dionysos holds the mask of himself as a young man and the sculptor must have thought of a satyr play in which the god appeared as a youth.

It will be convenient to add here the early Hellenistic satyrs from the Agora. The earliest is the Papposilenos head (**A 10**) recently published by Mrs. D. B. Thompson and dated by her to 300 B.C. or a little after. It seems to me to connect in style with another head from the Agora, which in its turn has been connected by Mrs. Thompson with a Papposilenos head (not dramatic) and some comic masks to be discussed later.¹⁶ It also explains the confusion which interpreters often feel as to whether they are faced with a satyr or a comic slave or a bald old man of comedy. There is no doubt that this head is a Papposilenos; bestial ear and flowing beard show that, but the mouth is trumpet-shaped like a comic slave's and the artist has apparently adapted a slave head to Papposilenos. I think that the large mask with flowing beard on a Megarian bowl (**A 11**) from the Pnyx is also Papposilenos, but the tell-tale ear is not clear. However, the mask on another Megarian bowl (**A 12**) must be a satyr because of its ear, although it looks like a wreathed, trumpet-mouthed comic slave. A terracotta (**A 13**) from the Agora of the fourth to third century gives the body of a seated Papposilenos.

¹¹ Red-figure bell krater, New York 56.171.55, early fourth century; cf. also Papposilenos and Sphinx, Paestan bell krater, Naples 2846, Trendall, *Paestan Pottery Supplement*, no. 156; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 22; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 40 (D 8); Brommer, *Satyrs Spiele*, no. 178.

¹² Marble relief from Aixone, Leningrad, *I.G.*, II², 1202; Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 785 b (Scheffold); Buschor, *Misc. Acad. Ber.*, II, 2, pp. 25 f.; Webster, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 222, note 7.

¹³ Athens, N.M. 257; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 29; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 13 (D 21).

¹⁴ i) Halai 390-50 B.C., H. Goldman and F. Jones, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 405, pl. 23, no. V-i-1; ii) Leningrad, 370-60 B.C., *Compte Rendu*, 1869, p. 11, pl. 2, 1 (dated by gold finds, Scheffold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 69, no. 3); iii) Olynthos, before 348 B.C., D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIV, no. 380 f.; iv) Rosarno, 420-370 B.C., Orsi, *Not. Sc.*, 1917, p. 55, fig. 29.

¹⁵ Cf. Brommer, *Satyrs Spiele*, p. 82, on his nos. 175-177.

¹⁶ D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 115 ff., no. 6, pl. 35. Cf. below note 112.

The remaining five terracottas are tragic. I have discussed elsewhere¹⁷ the question of when the *onkos*, the tower of hair over the forehead which made certain tragic masks look both solemn and archaic, was introduced and have suggested that "this change was due to the statesman Lykourgos in the sense that when the Theater was rebuilt in stone (between 338 and 330) and adorned with the statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, the new masks were also introduced to match the stately new setting," and this archaic solemnity chimes in with the beginning of historical scholarship by Aristotle. My evidence for the latest pre-*onkos* masks was an Attic relief (dated by style alone) and a Roman copy of a Greek painting of about 340 B.C. and for the earliest *onkos* mask the Roman Aeschylus which is believed to reproduce the statue set up in the Theater by Lykourgos. A red-figure fragment from the Agora (**A 1a**), probably of the second quarter of the fourth century, has a man holding a white-faced long-haired mask not essentially different from the mask of the heroine on the Pronomos vase but considerably later. The posture of the actor may have been much the same as the man on the Attic relief in Copenhagen to which I have just referred; the actor on the vase, however, holds the mask with his thumb through the attaching band and his fingers resting on the hair of the mask. The mask has no *onkos*. This vase cannot be precisely dated. But the mask (**A 5**) from the Pnyx, which dates from before the rebuilding by Lykourgos in 330-326,¹⁸ and one of the Agora masks (**A 6**), which comes from a cistern filled in the last quarter of the fourth century, provide closer contemporary evidence for the change. The mask from the Pnyx (**A 5**) with its full brows and heavy overlids recalls the Aberdeen Herakles of Praxiteles and is unlikely to be much earlier than 340. The hair is luxuriant, and in contrast to the later heads the line of the eyebrows is not emphasized. I believe this may be the mask of the young Dionysos, which we know earlier from the sculptured group of Papposilenos and the child Dionysos and from a South Italian vase.¹⁹ Our mask, like the others, has no *onkos*, but later masks of the youthful Dionysos have a considerable *onkos*.²⁰ The Agora mask (**A 6**) from the last quarter of the fourth century is broken in a way that suggests that it had originally a considerable mass of hair above the forehead (I owe this observation to Mrs. Thompson), and therefore it is highly probable that it had an *onkos*. Thus the Athenian evidence combines with the other evidence to put the introduction of the *onkos* near to the date of Lykourgos' rebuilding of the Theater.

¹⁷ Most recently in *G.T.P.*, pp. 43 f.

¹⁸ Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 300.

¹⁹ Sculptured group, cf. above note 13. South Italian bell krater, Bari 1364, Trendall, *Frühitaliotische*, p. 26, note 41; Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 40; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 41; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 29 (48).

²⁰ Cf. *G.T.P.*, pp. 48, 124 f.; a good example, marble mask, Naples 6608, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 59.

Mrs. Thompson²¹ has recently discussed this Agora mask with an Agora mask (A 7) from the Altar Well of about 300-275 B.C. and with the statuette of a tragic actor (A 8) from a cistern filling of the mid-third century. To these can be added a fragmentary mask (A 9; Pl. 65), which cannot be dated but may not be very much later. The heads can be divided into two distinct types by the treatment of the eyebrows. On two (A 6, A 7) the brows slope downwards from the nose; on two (A 8, A 9) the brows swing upwards from the nose. All except A 9 are bearded (in A 7 the beginnings of the moustache can be seen); A 9 may come from a bearded or a clean-shaven mask. For these Hellenistic masks it is justifiable to use Pollux' list (IV, 131), which seems to go back to a good Alexandrian source.²² The upward swinging brows can be identified with Pollux' "raised brows," which can be seen on a number of comic masks, e.g., the leading old man, both leading slaves, the admirable young man, and the flatterer; all these are energetic or angry characters, and the only tragic mask in Pollux' list with "raised brows" is the "curly-haired" youth, "who is virile in expression." If A 9 was beardless, then it was the curly-headed youth; the other youths as we know them from the monuments have level brows.²³ But the characterization of the comic masks with raised brows as energetic or angry allows us to identify the tragic "healthy complexioned fair man" and "the dark man who is fierce in expression" with bearded masks which have raised brows like our A 8 (and A 9, if it was bearded).

The other type Pollux calls "drooping brows" (and once in the comic list "falling brows"). He attributes these to the "white" old man's mask, and this I should recognize in A 6 and A 7; if Mrs. Thompson is right in finding an Oriental King in A 7, he will presumably be the aged Priam. Drooping brows are very clear on the very fine stone mask of an old man from Leriza,²⁴ which may still be Hellenistic in date, and in several female masks,²⁵ particularly those which can be identified with Pollux' "long-haired pale" mask; this he characterizes as wearing an expression of grief. Grief or pain are expressed by drooping brows, just as energy or anger are expressed by raised brows.

If we look back at earlier tragic masks, it appears that this sharp distinction into raised, level, and drooping brows was made only a little earlier than the introduc-

²¹ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 141-142.

²² For details see *G.T.P.*, pp. 45 ff.

²³ E.g., painting from Herculaneum, actor as King, Naples 9019, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 217; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 43; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 57 (20). Pollux uses the expression "straight brows" of the wife in his list of comic masks.

²⁴ Marble mask (from relief), Corinth 2622, from Leriza (perhaps from Phleious), *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, Suppl. pl. 1, g; *B.C.H.*, LXXXI, 1957, p. 532, fig. 14.

²⁵ E.g., wall painting from Pompeii, Naples 9036, Bieber *H.T.*, fig. 218; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 44; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 58 (45); silver cup from Boscoreale, Louvre, *Mon. Piot*, V, 1899, p. 58; Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 167, fig. 4 (both perhaps from early Hellenistic originals).

tion of the *onkos*. The masks of Herakles and the King on the Pronomos vase both have level brows when raised brows might have been expected; the old man's mask on the Peiraeus relief ²⁶ has level brows when dropping brows might have been expected; the long-haired Kore mask on a Lucanian squat lekythos of the third quarter of the fourth century still has level brows although she can be identified as Elektra.²⁷ The earliest upward swinging brows, and they are much less exaggerated than in the Hellenistic examples, are on the mask of the fair-haired man held by the tragic actor of the Tarentine fragment in Würzburg which can be dated about 350 B.C.²⁸ The earliest sloping brows, and again they are less exaggerated than later, are on a little group of female masks ²⁹ which can probably be dated about 340; two marble masks with clearly marked drooping brows may perhaps be rather later but probably still belong to the fourth century.³⁰

The Agora statuette (A 8) represents Herakles. The inside edges of the lion's jaws can be seen on both sides just below the break; they cut into the hair just as they do on an early Hellenistic silver cup, on the Herakles mask held by the Vatican Melpomene and, I suspect, on the bearded tragic mask on the second century frieze from Pergamon.³¹ The hooked nose, raised brows and curling hair are closely akin in all these four. The same type also can probably be detected in the late terracotta ³² of an actor holding the mask in his left hand and the club in his right and dressed like our Herakles in short cloak and long robe with a broad girdle (worn higher

²⁶ Pronomos vase, see above, note 9. Peiraeus relief, Athens, N.M. 1500, Bieber, *H.T.*, figs. 66, 67; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 26; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 11 (11).

²⁷ British Museum, Webster, *B.M. Quarterly*, XXIX, 1959, p. 100.

²⁸ Würzburg 832, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 216; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 34; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 34(3).

²⁹ Marble masks from frieze, Acropolis Museum 2292, Walter, *Beschreibung*, 1923, no. 413; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 37; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 18 (76). Marble relief, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 233; Poulsen, *Billedtavler*, pl. 17, 233; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 20 (151). Painting on marble from Herculaneum, Naples 9563, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 423; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 70; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 56 (22). (On date of original, Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, p. 136).

³⁰ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2294, 2367 + 2353, Walter, *Beschreibung*, nos. 415, 417; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 16, 17 (77, 78).

³¹ Vatican, Sala delle Muse 499, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 64; Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 23. Berlin, Pergamon Museum, *Pergamon*, VII, 2, no. 404, b; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 53, b; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 77 (107). Compare also the Herakles mask on the Tarentine silver cup, dated 300-275, Nachod, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1918, p. 115, pls. 7-8; Wuillermier, *Tarente*, pp. 338 f.; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 8 (301). Q. von Ufford, *Bull. ant. Beschaving*, XXXIII, 1958, p. 43, dates down to 250 B.C., but Nachod's date, which is in agreement with the coins, still seems to me to hold. Hooked noses show a great soul, and flaring nostrils are a sign of spirit (Aristotle, *Physiognomonica*, Ch. VI). The wrinkled nose on this Herakles and our A 8 and A 9 (and many other Hellenistic masks) shows hatred and disgust, cf. A. S. F. Gow, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 84.

³² Louvre CA 1784, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 203; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 52; Webster, *G.T.B.*, A 75 (51).

than on the Peiraeus relief), a costume very like that of the tragic actor in the picture from Herculaneum.³³ Our Herakles has his left hand wrapped in his cloak and his right arm raised. His right hand may have held his club; it is conceivable that an actor would stand thus to deliver the lines in Euripides' *Hercules Furens* (565 ff.) when Herakles returns from Hades to find his father, wife, and children threatened by Lykos: "But—for now the action of my hand is needed—I will first go and destroy the palace of the new king, cut off his unhallowed head and throw it to the dogs to tear."

OLD COMEDY

B 1-B 6.

By Old Comedy I mean comedy down to the end of the fifth century. The earliest representation of a comic actor is on a fragment of a cup interior from the Tholos dump (**B 1**; Pl. 67), which comes from the workshop of the Penthesilea painter and cannot be later than 430 B.C. Part of one figure is preserved and there was room for another figure to the right in the tondo. The preserved figure is male, wears tights seen on his arm and over them what is probably a short chiton, like that worn by the actor with a torch on the later oinochoe in the Louvre³⁴ and by the seated actor on the well-known oinochoe in Leningrad.³⁵ His right hand holds something which presses into his chiton, because the chiton shows folds here; it must be either a short staff or a stick. Similar figures can be seen on several of the so-called phryx vases; the most like is an old man leaning on a shortish stick greeted officiously by an old woman who has come out of her house (possibly a parody of Odysseus and Circe?).³⁶ I think we may claim our man as a traveler or at least a walker, who was in conversation with another figure who is lost.

Miss Crosby has published and interpreted the four oinochoai (**B 2-B 5**; Pl. 65) which were discovered in an Agora well in 1954 and has included with them the very similar oinochoe in the British Museum which was said in 1898 by the dealer in Athens to come from Egypt.³⁷ They are technically unique (polychrome paint laid directly on the clay). I think we may ask whether they could not have been a set or part of a set made for a particular occasion, of which one escaped destruction and found its way whole to the British Museum. If so, the occasion must have been the produc-

³³ Cf. above, note 23.

³⁴ Louvre CA 2938, Van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 854, fig. 147; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 3 (64).

³⁵ Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 121; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 80; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 4 (1); 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1953-1954, II, p. 198.

³⁶ Harvard University, formerly Hirsch Collection 703, Sale Catalogue, no. 30; cf. also Heidelberg U 8, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 392.

³⁷ British Museum 98.2-27.1, M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 76, no. 5, pl. 37; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 5; *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 112.

tion of a successful comedy; the oinochoe in the Louvre with the comic Herakles driving his team of comic centaurs, the Pronomos vase with the actors and chorus of a satyr play by Demetrios, and the fragments³⁸ by the same painter showing the actors and chorus of a tragedy must have been made originally for similar dramatic occasions and then found their way possibly by the second-hand market to the Cyrenaica, Vulci, and Tarentum respectively. Old Comedy would lend itself to such a series of pictures; for instance the *Birds* might be celebrated by five jugs portraying Euelpides, a Bird chorusman, Kinesias, Prometheus, and Poseidon and Basileia. It is not therefore difficult to conceive a contemporary play with a chorus of fish-men (British Museum) containing scenes for Tyro, Pelias, and Neleus (**B 2**), a sexless, clean-shaven reveller (**B 3**), two men carrying a giant cake (**B 4**), and Dionysos (**B 5**).

There are many interesting points in these pictures. Dionysos (**B 5**) is in no way distinguished from the ordinary mortals (he wears tights, short chiton, and phallos), and the little that remains of Neleus (**B 2**) shows that he wore a mask with wild hair, which I take to be the rake's mask perched on an inverted amphora on a red-figure oinochoe fragment from the Agora (**B 6**) and known also from Boeotian terracottas and South Italian vases.³⁹ If only Pelias had also been preserved, we should know whether they were a pair of sober and frivolous young men like the pair in Aristophanes' *Banqueters* (mentioned in the *Clouds*, 528 f.). The sexless man (**B 3**) is naked (he wears pink tights) and is clean-shaven; to be clean-shaven for Aristophanes means effeminacy and worse, and the clean-shaven Agathon is similarly sexless in Mnesilochos' description in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (141 f.). Agathon is clothed, but a naked poet appears in the *Birds* (934 f.); Miss Crosby suggested to me that the curved lines on and near his left arm may be a lyre; he may therefore be a poet on his way to or from a party, as his oinochoe and cuffed boots show. The padded man who rows a large fish with very long oars (British Museum) shows no phallos, and the painter would have shown it if he had been wearing one. Here another explanation is needed; the marble relief from the Agora (**B 7**; Pl. 66) shows that the chorus did not wear the phallos any more than their remote ancestors, the sixth century padded dancers (the Corinthian padded dancers had a phallic leader,⁴⁰ and from such a leader the phallic actors of comedy developed). He is therefore a chorusman like the "Gentlemen Fish," who formed the chorus of Archippos' *Ichthyes*. I think it is

³⁸ Louvre L 9, Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 848,22; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 2 (3). Pronomos vase, above note 9. Würzburg fragments, above note 5.

³⁹ Cf. *G.T.P.*, p. 63, mask D. Of the terracotta B 16 (204) (Munich Inv. 6929, Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 116) there are other examples in Munich Inv. 5391 and Stockholm N.M. 818; Mr. R. A. Higgins tells me that they are Boeotian. South Italian vases, e.g., Taranto 8953, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 395; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 49 (88).

⁴⁰ This is clearest on the aryballos in the Jensen Collection, Oslo, a photograph of which I owe to A. Seeberg; see *G.T.P.*, p. 135; *Wiener Studien* LXIX, 1956, p. 110.

possible that the very long oars are stilts, between which a canvas fish (smaller no doubt than the painter has represented it) was suspended. Pollux (IV, 104) speaks of Laconian dances on stilts, and an Attic dance on stilts, danced by men wearing pointed caps and skin breastplates, is shown on a black-figure amphora ⁴¹ of the third quarter of the sixth century; it is therefore perfectly possible that the stilt dance like other pre-dramatic performances survived into comedy.

MIDDLE COMEDY

The term Middle Comedy I use for comedy between 400 and 325; the nature of the change between Middle Comedy and New Comedy will have to be defined later and the material here presented will help to make the definition more precise. From Middle Comedy no complete plays survive except the two last plays of Aristophanes, *Ekklesiazousai* and *Ploutos*, and the archaeological remains greatly enrich the picture which can be drawn from the literary fragments. The material from the Agora and Pnyx adds new types and confirms by excavation the Athenian origin of existing types, showing at the same time how wide the diffusion of Athenian comic terracottas was and how much they were imitated. The terracottas from the Agora and Pnyx are for the most part dated by their contexts, but this particular batch of material is well cross-checked by other sites,⁴² to which I shall refer where the figurines are interesting from the point of view of comedy. The objects are so numerous that they will be presented in the following sections: marble relief, early group of terracottas, the New York group, other terracottas of the second quarter of the fourth century, a group which links forward to New Comedy, terracotta masks, pottery, amphora handles (black-glaze ware and amphora handles have not, as far as I know, been adduced as evidence before).

MARBLE RELIEFS: B 7, B 33.

Only four illustrations of comic choruses survive (unless the two black-figure vases ⁴³ of bird choruses are accepted as very early comedy rather than pre-dramatic). One is the fish-man who has just been discussed; the second is the pair of chorusmen dressed as women on the bell krater in Heidelberg,⁴⁴ and the others are represented on

⁴¹ Christ Church, N. Z., by the Swing painter, Trendall, *Felton vases*, p. 5; Webster, *Greek Art and Literature 700-530*, p. 64.

⁴² Cf. D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 118 f., particularly on Olynthos, South Russia, Corinth, Delphi.

⁴³ British Museum B 109, Beazley, *A.B.V.*, p. 473; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 76; Webster, *G.T.P.*, F 7 (36). Berlin 1830, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 77; Webster, *G.T.P.*, F 8 (37) I doubt if they can be dated precisely before or after 486 B.C., the official date for the introduction of comedy at the Dionysia.

⁴⁴ Heidelberg B 134, Kraiker, *Gr. Vasen in Heidelberg*, p. 239, pl. 48; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 9 (4).

the marble reliefs from the Agora (**B 7**, **B 33**; Pl. 66). The relief of **B 7** seems to run around the four sides of a block and may well have come from a choregic monument. Three letters [— —] XΩN of an inscription survive but are not sufficient to suggest a date; the style of the relief, however, suggests a date in the third quarter of the fourth century. It is probably therefore a little later than the choregic inscription from Aixone decorated with five comic masks, which can be dated 340 B.C., and contemporary with the relief of the Tyranny decree of 337/6 from the Agora.⁴⁵ Fragments of at least ten figures survive; three are preserved from head to knee and five from knee (or a little above) to foot. The former are not phallic; again therefore we have evidence that the comic chorus did not wear the phallos. The men are padded and wear tights (indicated by a fold over the ankles), short chiton, chlamys, flat hat, and carry a staff resting on the shoulder. I took the staffs, on which I thought I could see a differentiation for the blade of the spear, to be an abbreviation for spears and the hat to be a rather different stylization of the Macedonian *Kausia* worn with chlamys, chiton and spear by the braggart soldier's soldier slave in the lost Pompeian wall painting;⁴⁶ in that case the play had a chorus of soldiers. I still think that this is the most likely interpretation. The difficulties are 1) that the staff looks much more like a staff than a spear, and 2) that the *Kausia* is wider, has a sharp edge at the bottom, then a tight band, then an overlapping loose top. I suppose that paint made good these deficiencies. It is natural to look for parallels on fourth century vases.⁴⁷ The New York Scythian has a short staff but

⁴⁵ Athens, Epigraphical Museum 1338, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pl. 73; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 18; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 31 (25). Agora Museum, I 6524, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 355, no 5, pl. 90. Kyparissis and Peek date the Aixone relief 313/2 B.C. (archonship of Theophrastos) and were followed by Pickard-Cambridge in *Festivals*. On the other hand the earlier Theophrastos archonship 340/39 seems to me to suit better a) the personalities (cf. *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 222 note 7), b) the style of the relief and its framing (I owe this suggestion to Professor A. Rumpf), c) the masks, which fit better with what we know of late Middle Comedy than with New Comedy.

⁴⁶ Pompeii, House of the Great Fountain, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 237; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 98; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 25 (26). Cf. also the Hellenistic terracotta head Delos A 3701, Laumonier, *Délos*, XXIII, no. 1129, and a terracotta statuette in New York, 07.286.27 (unpublished).

⁴⁷ Vases: a) Scythian, New York 24.97.104, Trendall, *Frühitaliotische*, no. B 75; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 381; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 33; Beazley, *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, p. 193. b) Zeus with wide crown and short scepter, Leningrad 1775, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 354. c) Eurystheus with low crown, Catania, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 357. d) Kreon with short scepter, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 364; Webster, *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 114. e) Zeus with kalathos-like crown, Attic oinochoe in Leningrad, see above, note 35. f) Zeus on Paestan bell krater, Vatican U 19, Bieber, *H.T.* fig. 368; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 60; Trendall, *Vasi Dipinti*, I, p. 27. g) Zeus on Tarentine oinochoe, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 395; *G.T.P.*, B 49. Terracotta statuettes: a) Corinth KT24-11, *Corinth*, XV, ii, Group XIX, 12, pl. 29. Polos added to head made in mould which was possibly of Attic derivation (*Corinth*, XV, i, p. 102; R. V. Nicholls, *J.H.S.*, LXXXVIII, 1958, p. 174). b) Taranto, Winter, *TK*, II, 423-425; Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, p. 420, pl. 37, 3. c) Oxford 1884.571, from Tarentum.

provides no solution because the police force was apparently manned by ephebes at the time of our relief. Very short scepters are held by kings, Zeus on the Leningrad Phlyakes vase and Kreon (note 47, d); also Zeus and Eurystheus (note 47, c) wear crowns not unlike the hats on the Agora relief and much wider, lower on the head and straighter in outline than the crown of Zeus on the Leningrad oinochoe, the Paestan bell krater, and the Tarentine oinochoe. Intermediate between the high, narrow, curved crown and the low, wider, straight-sided crown are the hats on Corinthian and Tarentine terracotta actors, but the heads and figures give no clue to their identity. A chorus of kings cannot be completely excluded because Nikostratos wrote a *Basileis* and the plural title may refer to the chorus. Unless, however, more conclusive evidence appears, I think that the interpretation as soldiers is most likely. One of the Agora figures, of which unfortunately little more is preserved, has a round beard instead of a pointed beard and he must be an actor; Miss Harrison tells me that the veining of the marble suggests that he would come either from the same side as the inscription or from the opposite side. I think it is possible that his mask is the same as the mask on the left hand side of the Aixone relief and that the other men wear the wedge-bearded mask which appears in the background of the Lyme Park relief.⁴⁸ The men are led by a figure in a long chiton, who may be their flute player.

A relief (**B 33**) found recently in the Eleusinion shows a similar chorus wearing the same headgear. The members of this chorus neither wear cloaks nor carry sticks; they are dressed in tights, short chitons, and *exomis*. Like the other chorus they do not wear the phallos. The dancing step is the same, but the dancers are arranged in two rows. The heads in the front row are in much higher relief than the heads in the back row, but probably they all wear the same mask and it is the same as the mask worn by the other chorus. The costume is that of the ordinary comic actor except for the headgear. If it is the *Kausia*, they also are soldiers but there is nothing else to identify them.

EARLY GROUP OF TERRACOTTAS: B 8–B 10

The two statuettes (**B 8**, **B 9**) may be dated to about 375, partly because the two examples from the Coroplast's Dump are from worn moulds, and partly because the style, particularly the thin legs pressed close together, suggests the early part of the fourth century. Instances of **B 8** are found both in the Pnyx and in the Coroplast's Dump of the Agora and in another Agora context. It is an old man with a longish beard, in chiton and himation, with his hand to his brow spying something, probably

⁴⁸ Aixone relief cf. above note 45. Lyme Park relief, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 89; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 10; K. Schefold, *Antike Kunst*, I, 1958, p. 73.

a pretty girl (cf. Philokleon at the end of the *Wasps*). **B 9** is found in two versions in the Coroplast's Dump, with and without a roll of blankets on his back. This is a traveller or a traveller's servant in travelling cap (*pilos*), himation, and chiton, and his flask and basket hanging in front of him. Lamachos' servant in the *Acharnians* might so appear or the man in Diphilos (55K) who looked like a walking junk-shop. The figure was very popular and examples have been found with or without the roll of blankets. Yet another variant⁴⁹ has a wreath round his hair and a square box or basket on his left arm; this may be the *kiste* which Dikaiopolis fills with good things in the *Acharnians* (1097) contrasted with the *gylion* which Lamachos packs for his expedition. Then there are two other figures which on style I should like to associate with this early group: a small man in London⁵⁰ wrapped very tightly in a cloak and a fierce man in Amsterdam⁵¹ with elaborate hair and beard and raised left arm; the mask may be a very elaborate version of the wedge beard mask worn by the Agora chorusmen but should probably be distinguished from it.

The mask (**B 10**; Pl. 67) is included now because it was found in a context which was largely fifth century. The treatment of the eyes, cheeks and beard remind me of a head which was found at Olynthos,⁵² and I think that here again we have the wedge beard mask.

THE NEW YORK GROUP: B 11–B 13

By the New York group I mean the set of fifteen terracottas which were bought together in Athens for the Metropolitan Museum;⁵³ they consist of seven statuettes of yellow clay and seven statuettes of red clay said to have been found together in a single Athenian tomb and a single statuette on a smaller scale and of a different red clay. It is at least possible that the yellow set and the red set were chosen to form the cast of a play, the yellow set for a mythological comedy which parodied the story of Herakles and Auge, and the red set for an intrigue comedy, in which we may guess that the slave seated with his chin pillared by his hand (the *os columnatum* mentioned by the old man when he describes the slave's gestures as he thinks out a plan in Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, 200 f.) thinks out a method of diverting the money of the man with the purse in order to secure the girl for the young man. It is ex-

⁴⁹ Terracotta statuette in Larnaka District Museum, Cyprus, probably an Attic import (I owe a photograph of this to Dr. V. Karageorghis).

⁵⁰ British Museum 1907-12-19-1, Higgins, *Catalogue*, no. 724, dates early in fourth century.

⁵¹ Amsterdam 1325, *Algemeene Gids*, no. 294, bought at Livhadia.

⁵² Olynthos Inv. 407, *Olynthus*, IV, no. 390.

⁵³ Metropolitan Museum 13.225. 13, 14, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27 form the yellow set; 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 28 form the red set; 17 is the single statuette not reported as found in the tomb. I am most grateful to Miss Christine Alexander for the opportunity of examining these in detail. References: Bieber, *H.T.*, figs. 122-135; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 84-88; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 11 and 12; D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 143.

tremely interesting to have this kind of comedy securely dated before the middle of the fourth century.⁵⁴ The date is secure because copies of two of the yellow set and three of the red set have been found in Olynthos and must be earlier than 348;⁵⁵ also one of the yellow set and two of the red set were found in South Russia in a context dated 370-60,⁵⁶ and one of the red set is echoed in a terracotta of the third quarter of the fourth century in Gela.⁵⁷

The dating is confirmed by the two terracottas from Period III of the Assembly Place of the Pnyx; they must be earlier and may be much earlier than 330. **B 11** is the intriguing slave of the red set; the headless **B 12** is a replica of the New York statuette which was not found in the tomb with the rest. Another replica is known from South Russia and a head is in Copenhagen.⁵⁸ But this old woman is extremely like three other old women; an almost identical head with lean cheeks and continuous fringe of hair appears on the old woman of the red set in New York⁵⁹ who is however pulling her veil back, and on a terracotta in Athens⁶⁰ who is however moving forward. Yet another old woman,⁶¹ similarly clothed, has a much fatter face and is probably a procuress like the similar type in New Comedy—evidence again that the intrigue comedy in which a hetaira was wrested from her owner had already started by the middle of the fourth century. The thinner faced old woman (of whom **B 12** is the lower part) I suppose to be a concubine or an elderly wife.

B 13 (Pl. 67) from the Agora, which has no useful context, is the mould for the seated slave in the yellow set.⁶² Another replica was found in Lindos.⁶³ It is most interesting that a figure extremely like him but not, I think, an actual replica was found at Corinth.⁶⁴ R. V. Nicholls⁶⁵ has recently pointed out that three of the actor terracottas from the potter's quarter at Corinth, which can be dated before 338, may

⁵⁴ Cf. my *Studies in Latin Greek Comedy*, pp. 74 ff.: Euboulos, *Stephanopolides* can be roughly dated 350-320, probably nearer the earlier limit.

⁵⁵ *Olynthos*, IV, no. 364 with New York 13.225.23; XIV, no. 378c with 13.225.13; XIV, no. 380 d with 13.225.21; IV, no. 404 with 13.255.24; VII, no. 308 with 13.225.16.

⁵⁶ Copies of New York 13.225.23, 16 and 18 were found in the same tomb as the Papposilenos quoted above, note 14, ii).

⁵⁷ D. Adamasteanu, *Mon. Ant.*, XLIV, 1958, col. 643, no. 34, fig. 270, from Butera near Gela may be compared with New York 13.225.19. Cf. also now L. Bernabo Brea, *Castello di Lipari*, pl. 31, 4 with New York 13.225.25.

⁵⁸ New York 13.225.17. Leningrad, Winter, *TK*, II, p. 462,3; *Compte Rendu*, 1869, p. 164, pl. III, 10. Copenhagen, N. M., Inv. 7303, Breitenstein, no. 327 (head only).

⁵⁹ New York 13.225.25.

⁶⁰ Athens, N.M. 6074 (P 398), Winter *TK*, II, p. 462,4.

⁶¹ Berlin 7089, Winter, *TK*, II, p. 462,1; Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 105; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 19.

⁶² New York 13.225.20.

⁶³ Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, no. 2939.

⁶⁴ Corinth 7398, *Corinth*, XII, p. 39, no. 197, pl. 14.

⁶⁵ *J.H.S.*, LXXVIII, 1958, p. 174, on *Corinth*, XV, ii, Class XVII, 20, p. 125, pl. 24, Class XIX, 11 and 12, p. 144, pl. 29. New York sets cf. above note 53; Aixone relief cf. above note 45.

be of Attic derivation, a standing woman who belongs to the same family as the young woman of the red New York set, a bearded head which has the same treatment of eyes and brows as the basket carrier and pitcher bearer of the yellow New York set and a beard like that of the slave on the Aixone relief, and a man in *pilos*, short chiton, and himation, who has exactly the same padded stomach making a horizontal ledge to which the phallos is attached at both ends as, for instance, the similarly dressed man who wipes his eye in the yellow New York set. I should like to add one other: the mould of a man bearing an animal on his shoulders is extremely like a very fine Attic terracotta in the National Museum.⁶⁶ The text for such figures is now given by Menander's *Dyskolos* (394) when the cook enters saying: "This is a wonderful sheep. To hell with it! If I carry it on my shoulders, it gets the tip of a branch in its mouth and eats the leaves and pulls with all its might. If you put it down on the ground, it refuses to move at all." The little scene is beautifully alive, but Menander is evidently following a Middle Comedy tradition for which the statuettes provide evidence and which goes back to the Megarian and his pigs in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (729).

OTHER MID-CENTURY STATUETTES: B 14–B 18

The Megarian with his pigs is followed by the Boeotian with his pipers (*Acharnians*, 820). A rustic piper in the Louvre⁶⁷ wears a pointed hat and a garment made of fur. A fragment from the Agora (**B 14**; Pl. 67) gives the lower part of the body and the top of the legs of such a figure; the stylization of the fur is different but this means only that the Louvre statuette is a local adaptation⁶⁸ of a type proved Attic by the Agora fragment; the fur garment of the Agora fragment is like the fur cloak of the seated man wearing a *pilos* in the red New York group and is quite different from the stippled chiton worn by other New York figures which looks much like pigskin.

A mould from the Pnyx (**B 15**) and a mould from the Agora give examples of the very popular cross-legged Herakles; the early fourth century date is confirmed by the example in Delphi.⁶⁹ A running woman from the Pnyx (**B 16**) confirms the Attic origin of a statuette in Heidelberg.⁷⁰ A mould for a pair of legs with wrinkled

⁶⁶ Corinth KH 48, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 104, no. 50, pl. 36. Athens, N.M. 5848 (P 589), Winter, *TK*, II, p. 414.2. Apart from these statuettes which derive from Attic types, there are purely Corinthian comic actors, cf. *G.T.P.*, pp. 135 f.

⁶⁷ Louvre CA 376, Winter *TK*, II, p. 416.3; *Enc. Phot.*, p. 207 G.

⁶⁸ B. Neutsch, *Röm. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1953-1954, p. 63, note 4 notes this representation of fur on plaques from Lokri.

⁶⁹ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 163, no. 294, dated towards middle of fourth century by A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 102, note 117. The same date is demanded by the painted and relief vases, cf. Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 140, who dates them 365-350 B.C.

⁷⁰ Heidelberg, TK 46, Bieber, *Denkmäler*, no. 94.

tights from the Agora (**B 17**) may belong to the man with a cloak over his head.⁷¹ Another mould (**B 18**; Pl. 67) gives the top part of an old man in a cloak, which seems from its elaborate folds to be long rather than short, carrying a large wreath on his shoulder; it is as far as I know unique.

STATUETTES WHICH LOOK FORWARD TO NEW COMEDY: B 19–B 21

Was the transition from the obscene, fantastic comedy of Aristophanes to the respectable comedy of manners written by Menander gradual or sudden? It is clear both from the fragments and from the monuments that many of the situations and characters of New Comedy had already been introduced in the Middle Comedy period—love affairs, slave intrigues, parasites, hetairai, procurers and procuresses. The statuettes which we have been discussing, compared with the fifth century comic vases, show that the costume was unchanged from Old Comedy but at the same time give evidence of the Middle Comedy situations and characters, which look forward to New Comedy and were unknown in Old Comedy. The fragments give us little evidence of how the new situations were treated, and it is at least possible that the poets outstripped their producers. The old man with the wreath on his shoulder (**B 18**; Pl. 67) may wear a long cloak which covers his phallos, but this was always a possibility for the old as the Zeus of the Leningrad oinochoe shows.⁷² It is much more unexpected to find a young man wearing long clothes. Yet a statuette from Olynthos⁷³ shows a young man, clean-shaven, with a cloak that comes down below his knees; this statuette cannot be later than 348 and about the same time an Apulian vase⁷⁴ shows a clean-shaven man in a chiton which comes nearly down to his knees. There are two points here: 1) the respectability of the clothing and 2) that a respectable young man may now be clean-shaven, as were all the youths of Menander. These instances are moreover not quite isolated, because there is a mould for a clean-shaven mask at Olynthos⁷⁵ and the young man of the Aixone relief,⁷⁶ who is presumably the hero and the lover, is also clean-shaven.

It might be expected that obscenity of costume would survive longest with slaves and there is a clear allusion to the phallos in Plautus' *Rudens*,⁷⁷ the Greek original of which probably dates from 310–300; it must however be noted that the knockabout

⁷¹ Athens, N.M. 5738 (P 555), Winter, *TK*, II, p. 414,1.

⁷² Leningrad oinochoe, above note 35. Cf. also Vienna 928, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 394; Webster, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 230, no. 42.

⁷³ *Olynthus*, XIV, no. 388; *G.T.P.*, B 81.

⁷⁴ Naples 118333, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 385; *G.T.P.*, B 43.

⁷⁵ *Olynthus*, IV, no. 421; *G.T.P.*, B 80.

⁷⁶ Cf. above, note 45. Perhaps also **B 26** (see note 86).

⁷⁷ Plautus, *Rudens*, 429. On the date of the original, Webster, *Studies in Latin Greek Comedy*, p. 154.

scenes of the *Dyskolos*, which was produced in 316, have no trace of obscenity. From the Coroplast's Dump in the Agora come four legless seated slaves from the same mould (**B 19**; Pl. 67) and several pairs of legs belonging to similar figures (**B 20**, **B 21**; Pl. 67). Mrs. Thompson dates these about 330 B.C. on the ground that they are stylistically later than the New York group. A comparison with the seated slaves on the New York group shows the difference. The earlier slaves sit so as to display their large phallos; in the later slaves it is smaller and more discreetly displayed. This can be seen clearly from the legs (**B 20**, **B 21**) and from the statuette in the British Museum⁷⁸ which Mrs. Thompson compares. The two pairs of legs differ from each other; in one (**B 20**) the knees are wide apart; in the other (**B 21**) they are closer together as in the British Museum statuette; I should like to suggest that the wider pair belongs to the type of which bodies are preserved in the Coroplast's Dump and that the closer pair shows that statuettes of the British Museum type were already being made before 325. There is evidence here for a gradual change in the decency of slaves, and it is only a step forward to equip slaves with chitons reaching down to the middle of the thigh. The mask of these slaves is an anticipation of the leading slave's mask in New Comedy, but it had already been introduced in the first quarter of the fourth century if the Lyme Park relief⁷⁹ is rightly dated then. The stylization of the mask on the seated figures (**B 19**) from the Coroplast's Dump is repeated on a standing figure (**B 34**) with one hand to his ear found in a 2nd century deposit. He must in fact be from a mould of the same date as the figures from the Coroplast's Dump. The phallos is shown as on the seated figures and is much less obtrusive than on earlier standing figures such as **B 8** and **B 9**. Here again we have evidence for a gradual decrease of obscenity.

HEADS AND MASKS: B 22–B 32

A mid-fourth century terracotta mask from an Agora cistern (**B 22**; Pl. 67) has very full hair with a parting on both sides, large bulbous eyes firmly outlined, and a spade beard. The brows are differentiated into smooth and raised as in some of the New York group, and it is clear that this capacity of turning different expressions towards the audience was by no means confined to New Comedy but originated in the fifth century.⁸⁰ The same type of mask is found earlier on the statuette in Amsterdam already mentioned and it persists into the New Comedy period.⁸¹ The mask does

⁷⁸ British Museum 79.3.6.5, Higgins, *Catalogue*, no. 743; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 132; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 27; cf. also the terracotta from Larisa which probably can be dated late fourth century, K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos*, III, p. 47, no. 111, pl. 9,20.

⁷⁹ Cf. above, note 48.

⁸⁰ Cf. A. Rumpf, *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, p. 12.

⁸¹ Amsterdam, above note 51. A rather later example in Athens, N.M. 4453. Cf. also below on **C 3**. A mask on an Apulian pelike of the mid-fourth century in Warsaw (Museum Narodowe, Inv. 147105, *C.V.A.*, Poland, pl. 2, fig. 3a) is at least very close.

not fit any of the descriptions of Pollux; the second old man is ruled out because he is "well bearded," and the "wedge beard" because he has receding hair. Perhaps we should regard it as a variant of the "Lykomedeian," who is "curly-haired, long-bearded, raises one brow, and displays meddlesomeness."

Four comic masks come from the Pnyx. The first (**B 23**) has receding hair, wrinkled forehead, smallish eyes with pricked pupils,⁸² furrowed cheeks, small nose, moustache rendered by striations round the top of the mouth. I think that it is the same mask as is worn by the old man carrying a wreath (**B 18**). The second (**B 24**) is bald, wrinkled and has a large ear; I know no bald old man who is beardless and this may be an old woman, the fat old woman who appears, as already mentioned, as a statuette and again without head covering but with a thin fringe of white hair on a Sicilian vase (Herakles and Auge).⁸³ The third (**B 25**) is of the same type as one of the red set in New York,⁸⁴ but has an elaborate blue fillet with bunches of leaves and ends which hang down on either side of the face. He has red hair and so is a young man like the similar reveller in Boston.⁸⁵ The fourth mask (**B 26**) is female and has hair rolled above the forehead. The only other female mask with unparted hair is the old woman whom we have already discussed, but this woman is young and has yellow on her hair; if however she is, as Mrs. Thompson suggests, a concubine, she may have dyed her hair, and an old woman's mask with dyed hair is in fact found on a Gnathia oinochoe.⁸⁶

A fragment of a red-figure vase from the Pnyx (**B 27**) may be mentioned now since the head in a furry cap is so like some of the heads of the New York set, but it is by no means certain that it too represents an actor. Two of the deep phialai from the Agora have interesting embossed comic masks. Both have good fourth century dates, and vases of this type were found at Olynthos and in a context of the second quarter of the century in South Russia.⁸⁷ **B 28** (Pl. 67) has a wreathed wedge-

⁸² Similar treatment of eyes and beard occur on a terracotta mask in the Nicosia Museum, which was found with coins of Ptolemy I (I owe my knowledge of this to Dr. V. Karageorghis).

⁸³ Terracotta, above note 61. Sicilian kalyx krater: Lentini Museum, E. Z. Fiorentini, *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia*, VI, 1942, pp. 38 f.; Trendall, *Paestan Pottery Supplement*, p. 29.

⁸⁴ New York 13.225.28, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 131. Cf. above note 53.

⁸⁵ Boston 01.7758, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 91. Munich 6932 is the same type.

⁸⁶ Cf. above, notes 58-60. Gnathia oinochoe, Lecce, from Rocavecchia, Tomb 6, 350-325 B.C., ribbed group with yellow sprays and red scarves, *Not. Sc.*, XI, 1957, p. 414, fig. 23 (I owe a photograph of this to Dr. M. Bernadini); cf. for general outline of mask the old woman on the Hirsch bell krater, above, note 36. On reexamining **B 26** I wondered whether it might not be male. The eyes are large and round which seems usually to denote a man. If so, this might be the young lover of comedy like the young man of the Aixone relief (cf. above note 45).

⁸⁷ *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 526; South Russia, *Compte Rendu*, 1859, p. 11, cf. above note 14, ii). Cf. also Chatby cemetery, Alexandria, E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, p. 70, nos. 189-194; there is no reason to date these later than the last quarter of the fourth century, as is done by

bearded old man. **B 29** (Pl. 67) has a wreathed slave of the same type as the seated slaves of the Coroplast's dump (**B 19**).

Several of the Thasian wine amphoras found in the Agora have masks on their stamps. With the help of Miss V. Grace I have been able to include here other masks from Thasian amphora handles which are of dramatic interest.⁸⁸ The earliest (No. 595), probably before 340, has a full-bearded mask which is like the mask on the left of the Aixone relief (mask M). The rest belong to the period between 340 and 300. No. 1588 has a bald frontal young satyr mask, perhaps from the prologue figure of a comedy. No. 235 has the familiar wedge-bearded mask A. No. 406 has a girl's mask with parted hair but without long locks, like the mask on the right-hand side of the Aixone relief; four examples of this stamp have been found in the Agora (**B 30**; Pl. 67). No. 1023 has a bald head with connected brows and a longish beard; it is very like the procurer's mask of New Comedy but according to Miss Grace comes early in the series; the procurer was already known in Middle Comedy (Euboulos wrote a *Pornoboskos*) and he may have already had his later traditional mask. Two masks (Nos. 679, 1050), of which examples have been found in the Agora (**B 31**, **B 32**), may be either satyrs or slaves with pointed beards; the ears are not sufficiently clear to distinguish them certainly. No. 1071 is the most interesting of these amphora masks; it shows a girl with her hair dressed so as to have two projections above the center of the forehead; the strings for attaching the mask appear below her chin. In New Comedy this mask has been identified as the First False Maiden, but it is already known from Gnathia vases of the third quarter of the fourth century and from Attic terracotta statuettes which can be dated 350-325.⁸⁹ Finally No. 1204 is an example of the long-haired Kore mask, and No. 533 of the fat old woman. These masks are evidence of theater practice in Thasos not Athens, but the clear likeness between them and contemporary Athenian masks show that practice in Thasos was closely modelled on Athens.

Q. van Ufford, *Bull. ant. Beschaving*, XXXII, 1957, p. 62. The Agora masks are later in appearance than the masks on the handles of a kantharos in Reading (47.VI.3, *C.V.A.*, pl. 40,2), which are very like the traveller (**B 9**); the kantharos may be an early Alexandrian imitation of Attic and date not later than the last quarter of the fourth century.

⁸⁸ I have followed here the numeration of A. M. Bon, A. Bon, and V. Grace, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, École Française d'Athènes, Études Thasiennes IV, 1957.

⁸⁹ Gnathia: British Museum F 586, *C.V.A.*, pl. 38,4; *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, pl. 45 f.; *G.T.P.*, B 51 (48). Another example on a skyphos of the same group in the Otago Museum, Dunedin, and on oinochoai of the same group in the Taranto Museum from Oria and in Bari. Attic terracottas: Athens N.M. 6068 (P 926) etc., Winter, *T.K.*, II, p. 421, 3; Higgins, *Catalogue*, no. 745; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 22. Date is given by context of local imitation in Medma, P. Orsi, *Not. Sc.*, 1917, p. 48, fig. 19.

NEW COMEDY

When we think of the costume of New Comedy, we think of a set of masks known from Pollux, with which the monuments can be more or less satisfactorily equated, and of men and women, free and slaves, looking, except for the minor distortions of the slave masks, much as we suppose them to have looked in everyday life. This picture rests largely on mosaics and paintings of the first centuries B.C.-A.D. found in Herculaneum and Pompeii and on terracotta statuettes from Myrina, which cannot be dated before the second century B.C.;⁹⁰ two other good sources also date from the second century B.C., the mosaics and terracottas from Delos and the terracottas from Priene.⁹¹

It has been argued that the mosaics and paintings from Herculaneum and Pompeii go back to originals of the early third century B.C.⁹² Both the Comic Muse in the Vatican and the Comic Muse in Corinth⁹³ hold the canonical masks of the leading old man of New Comedy, and their originals have been dated by some authorities in the early third or latest fourth centuries B.C. This back-dating is in all probability true, but it is desirable to confirm our general picture by material, particularly Athenian material, certainly dated between 325 B.C. and the middle of the second century B.C. when the rich series from Delos, Myrina, and Priene begin.

A brief survey of early dated material from other places may be useful. A terracotta statuette from Corinth⁹⁴ is dated to the middle of the third century. The actor dressed in long chiton and himation with no sign of padding holds a long-haired girl's mask, which cannot be tragic because it has no *onkos* and has parallels on other comic monuments.⁹⁵ A terracotta group from grave 29 at Halai comprises a drunken youth supported by a small slave. Again there is no sign of padding and the youth (and probably also the slave) wears a chiton which stretches down to his knees. A bald, wreathed comic mask with a deepish smooth trumpet beard and inscribed pupils of the eyes comes from the same group of graves, which is dated 335-280 B.C.⁹⁶ A mask from Elatea which from its context seems not to be later than the early third century

⁹⁰ D. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina*, pp. 25, 76.

⁹¹ Delos: mosaics, Chamonard, *Délos*, XIV, Maison des Masques; terracottas, Laumonier, *Délos*, XXIII, p. 26, nos. 1217 ff. Priene: particularly T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 360 ff.; on the dating cf. D. Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹² Cf., e.g., A. K. H. Simon, *Comicae Tabellae*, 1938, p. 172.

⁹³ Vatican, Sala delle Musi, no. 503, Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 23, fig. 44. Corinth 842, *Corinth*, IX, pp. 23-24, no. 13.

⁹⁴ Corinth 1904, *Corinth*, XII, no. 336, from Deposit VI, p. 51, pl. 30.

⁹⁵ Cf. gold necklace, probably Attic, from Thessaly, 3rd to 2nd century B.C., Hamburg 1917.195, H. Küthmann-Kusel, *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1925, p. 174, pls. 8-9; mosaic borders from Pompeii, *G.T.P.*, C 21; and below notes 101 and 102.

⁹⁶ H. Goldman and F. Jones, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 407, 410, pl. 23, no. V-i-7 and p. 409, pl. 20, no. IV-c-1.

gives the Kolax or flatterer.⁹⁷ A head of the leading old man with a very square beard comes from the Chatby cemetery at Alexandria and must be third century, if not very late fourth.⁹⁸ A grave group of the late fourth or early third century in Alexandria⁹⁹ contains two good comic masks, a maiden and a wavy-haired slave with the canonical roll of hair round the forehead. Glazed pottery from Tarsus dated 250-220 B.C. carries plastic masks of a young man and a slave.¹⁰⁰

Italy and Sicily produce important evidence and there is no reason to suppose that their actors looked any different from Athenian actors. A silver cup¹⁰¹ from Tarentum with masks of the tragic Herakles (already mentioned), old man with copious hair and pointed beard, procurer with pointed beard, youth, slave with wide, twisted, striated trumpet, bald slave with wreath, maiden, and young Pan need not be dated later than the coins of 315-272 B.C. found with it. The Gnathia vases¹⁰² of the last quarter of the fourth and the first quarter of the third century give evidence for various types of masks and in one case for costume.¹⁰³ Two statuettes from a grave

⁹⁷ P. Paris, *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, p. 406, no. 443, pl. 3, fig. 10; Webster, *G.T.P.*, no. C 55.

⁹⁸ Alexandria 15915, E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, p. 154, no. 498, pl. LXXIV, 234.

⁹⁹ Alexandria 24129, 24130, Adriani, *Ann. Mus. Gr.-Rom.*, III, 1935-1939, pp. 97 f., pl. 34, 4 and 5.

¹⁰⁰ H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, p. 219, fig. 125 a, c.

¹⁰¹ Cf. above, note 31. I should have noted on *G.T.P.*, p. 120 that the mask of the old man has copious hair and pointed beard; he is *not* the leading old man but the by-form of the Lykomedeian noted above on **B 22**.

¹⁰² In general the masks continue the earlier types; among these may be noted: a) the long-haired maiden on a ribbed oinochoe in the Museo Leone, Vercelli, (I owe my knowledge of this to A. Seeberg), cf. the terracotta from Corinth above note 94. b) the girl with melon hair: i) on a fragmentary oinochoe from Chatby, Breccia, *Necropoli di Sciatbi*, p. 189, no. 618, pl. 81, 279; ii) on a ribbed amphora in Vienna, Inv. 502, iii) on a ribbed oinochoe in Princeton, 33.50, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 91. c) a woman with a wreath of hair on a later ribbed oinochoe in the University of Michigan, *C.V.A.*, pl. 29, 7, Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 7 (29). This seems to be a later variant of the Middle Comedy mask discussed above, note 86, and may be identified with the New Comedy concubine. d) a mask with long side locks and a knot of hair on the forehead (as distinct from the bow of hair of the First False Maiden) is seen on three vases: i) a cup in Munich, Inv. 3336, *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 223, no. 10 a, pl. 45 e, wrongly identified as the maiden; the significance of the central knot is clear from the following examples; ii) an oinochoe of the ribbed group from Rocavecchia in Lecce, Museo Sigismondo Castromediano 4092, *Not. Sc.*, X, 1934, p. 194 (I owe a photograph to Dr. Mario Bernadini); iii) an oinochoe of the ribbed group in Cleveland Museum of Art 52.16, the John L. Severance Coll.; this mask is a later example of the mask worn by the young women of the New York group, above note 53, and may be identified with the New Comedy mask of the Second False Maiden, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 87 (I owe my knowledge of the vase to Dr. D. von Bothmer).

¹⁰³ The late kalyx krater in Naples, Inv. 82602 (1782), *J.H.S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 224, no. 43, has an elderly man walking with a stick who is not unlike the old man with a wreath from the Agora (**B 18**); he still wears the short chiton and his himation is draped in very much the same way as **B 18**; it hangs just low enough to conceal the phallos, if he is wearing one. The shape of the vase precludes a date before the last quarter of the fourth century.

in Tarentum¹⁰⁴ were found with early Hellenistic pottery and represent a decently clad slave and a decently clad cook. The pensive slave perched on a third century Canosa vase¹⁰⁵ has a chiton which comes down his thighs. Masks of a youth and a girl with melon hair from Ponticelli (near Naples)¹⁰⁶ are dated by their context to the first half of the third century. A terracotta marionette from Gela¹⁰⁷ of a slave with a chiton coming down his thighs cannot be later and may be considerably earlier than 280-250 B.C., the date of the latest pottery in the grave.

We have then a considerable amount of evidence from sites¹⁰⁸ other than Athens for the costume and masks of New Comedy before the second century. The complete figures from Corinth, Halai, Canosa, and Gela show that padding and obscenity were abandoned probably by the end of the fourth century even for slaves. On our evidence I think it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that in the Middle Comedy period not only were new masks introduced for new kinds of character but also particularly from 350 onwards the phallos was much less obtrusive, and that then with the New Comedy of Menander long clothes became the mode for all actors and padding was abandoned. The Agora adds one very fine statuette and a good deal of evidence on masks, both from terracottas and from pottery (West Slope and Megarian bowls).

TERRACOTTA STATUETTE: C 1

Professor Thompson recognized this figure striding forward in a fringed cloak as an actor (Pl. 68). He recalls the angry father on the Naples relief,¹⁰⁹ who rushes forward to beat his drunken son (the group of son and slave is interestingly anticipated by the Halai group). But he cannot be an old man because he wears a short chiton under his fringed cloak. He must be either a young man or a slave. A young man in a short chiton should be either a soldier or a parasite; a soldier should wear a chlamys, and a parasite, who carries a lekythos and a strigil, is perhaps unlikely to be burdened also with a stick, which our man evidently holds in his left hand, which was pierced. I think therefore that he is a slave arriving with news and that his raised right arm was bent back towards his mouth like the running slave in Vienna.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Arsenal, Grave 13, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 97; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 9 (96), 10 (99).

¹⁰⁵ Amsterdam 4712, *Algemeene Gids*, no. 1676.

¹⁰⁶ *Not. Sc.*, XIX, 1922, p. 274, fig. 15.

¹⁰⁷ Gela, from Butera, D. Adamasteanu, *Mon. Ant.*, XLIV, 1958, p. 254, fig. 30.

¹⁰⁸ I have omitted Larisa because the two relevant terracottas, *Larisa am Hermos*, III, p. 45, nos. 115 and 117, pl. 9, 21 and 22, cannot be dated before the destruction date of 280 B.C. and therefore must be excluded from this survey as undated.

¹⁰⁹ Naples 6687, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 225; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 94; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 48. The group of youth and slave also recalls the Halai group, above, note 96.

¹¹⁰ Vienna, Inv. 1567, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 215; Winter, *T.K.*, II, p. 427,8. Cf. for gesture terracotta in Syracuse from Centuripe, G. Libertini, *Not. Sc.*, I, 1947, p. 269, fig. 6 a. For fringed garment worn by a slave, Campanian oinochoe, British Museum F 233, *C.V.A.*, pl. 91,17; Bieber,

In Menander's *Dyskolos* (81) the huntsman-slave Pyrrhias enters out of breath to tell his story, believing that the angry Knemon is still chasing him.

TERRACOTTA HEADS AND MASKS: C 2–C 9.

It is convenient to separate the terracotta heads and masks from the masks on pottery and to deal with them in chronological order. The earliest (C 2; Pl. 68) is a slave mask of the very late fourth century with a roll of hair, small eyes, and deep rather pointed trumpet; it marks a stage between the seated slaves of the Coroplast's dump and the canonical masks of New Comedy.

I have already discussed the Papposilenos head from the Altar Well (A 10) and noted that the artist apparently adapted a slave head to Papposilenos. Stylistically, the head is not unlike the philosopher's head from the group of cisterns of the very end of the fourth century, which produced Group B of Hellenistic pottery.¹¹¹ This in its turn is connected with a Papposilenos and a comic mask, both from Olbia, in the Loeb collection at Munich, and a number of other comic masks which seem to show the same realistic style.¹¹² The Olbia mask is a wreathed parasite; the others in the same style are the youth with wavy hair and raised brows (the braggart soldier), the cook (*tettix*), the wolfish old woman, and the graying garrulous old woman.

A slightly later head from the Altar Well (C 3) proves that the mask which we have suggested as a by-form of the Lykomedeian survives into the New Comedy period; it is however rare now and this may be the latest or one of the latest examples.¹¹³ I should like to associate it with the hero of Menander's *Dyskolos* on the assumption that energy and anger, rather than meddlesomeness, are indicated by this form with the pointed beard. The canonical form of the Lykomedeian is given by a very fine head (C 4; Pl. 68) which recalls the seated man with a purse of the New York group and suggests that this form too had a Middle Comedy ancestry;¹¹⁴ it is the obvious mask for Smikrines in Menander's *Epitrepontes*. A pretty little mask

H.T., fig. 402, quoted by Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, p. 225 (cf. also D. B. Thompson, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 380 f.). Agora T 2523 from the Komos cistern is a fragmentary mould with a hand raising a fringed cloak.

¹¹¹ D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 115 ff.; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 f.

¹¹² Munich, Sammlung Loeb 335 Papposilenos, 334 comic parasite, J. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Bronzen, Terrakotten, u. Vasen*, pl. 24, 4-5. With which may be associated mask of cook (*tettix*) in Leningrad from South Russia, *Compte Rendu*, 1882-3, p. 83, no. 1, pl. 8, 1; old woman in Bonn, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 276; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 2; old woman in Copenhagen, N.M. Inv. Chr. VIII, 1922, Breitenstein, no. 599, Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 3; youth in Heidelberg, TK 98, Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 1 (Krien, *Jahreshefte*, XLII, 1956, p. 110, fig. 51 takes Munich 991 as a replica).

¹¹³ Cf. above B 22 and note 101. Perhaps also Copenhagen, N.M. 7658, Breitenstein, no. 324 (head only).

¹¹⁴ New York 13.225.18, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 133; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 12 e.

(C 5; Pl. 68) of a girl with the hair tied in a knot over her forehead is the mask identified with the First False Maiden, which was noticed above on a fourth century amphora stamp and occurs on the relief with Menander choosing masks.¹¹⁵ A fragmentary mask (C 6; Pl. 68) gives the upper part of a bald man with a wreath round his head and bushy eyebrows; he is the *pornoboskos* or procurer, whose mask has already been noted on a Thasian amphora stamp.¹¹⁶ A very fine mask (C 7; Pl. 68) with short curly hair, wrinkled forehead, raised brows, swollen ears and hooked nose corresponds very well with Pollux' description of the Flatterer, "Flatterers or parasites are dark in color (not darker than one gets in the palaestra), hook-nosed, well nurtured; the parasite's ears are more damaged and he is more cheerful, but the flatterer's brows are raised more maliciously."¹¹⁷ A pretty fragment (C 8; Pl. 68) of a girl with an earring and a fillet in her hair is probably the little hetaira of Pollux' list¹¹⁸ and the rest of the same mask may be recognized in a surface find (C 9; Pl. 68).

MASKS ON POTTERY.

West Slope: C 10-C 15.

The masks on Hellenistic pottery have not, as far as I know, been used before for dramatic history, but they are dated both in general and sometimes by particular excavation and they add a little to our information. On West Slope ware a mask which may be identified with the wedge-bearded variant of the Lykomedeian is found through the third century (C 10; Pl. 68); the leading slave mask has a marked roll of hair, small eyes, and a fairly deep trumpet (C 11; Pl. 68), but late third century wreathed slave masks show the shallower twisted trumpet that becomes very common in the second century and later (C 12). The wavy-haired slave and the bald Maison (the mask which according to Pollux is normally worn by the cook) are also represented (C 13, C 14; Pl. 68). An old head with full wavy beard may perhaps be a Papposilenos rather than an old man of Comedy (C 15).

Megarian Bowls: C 16-C 28.

On the series of Megarian bowls which run from the mid-third to the mid-second century B.C. masks may appear either alone or being crowned by either Nikai or Erotes. The masks can be distinguished as follows: leading old man (C 16-C 19), leading

¹¹⁵ Cf. above, note 89. Menander relief, Rome, Lateran 487, Bieber, *H.T.*, fig. 223; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 49. The same mask is held by a "Tanagra" statuette of the early third century B.C. in the British Museum, C 309.

¹¹⁶ Cf. above, p. 272. The whole figure is given by a statuette from Myrina, Louvre 199, Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 106; Webster, *G.T.P.*, C 65.

¹¹⁷ Pollux, IV, 148, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 82.

¹¹⁸ Pollux, IV, 153, cf. Webster, *G.T.P.*, p. 90.

slave with widish flattened trumpet mouth (C 20-C 22), Maison (C 23; Pl. 68), leading old man and slave (C 24), leading old man and maiden (C 25), leading slave and First False Maiden (C 26; Pl. 68), Maison and maiden (C 27). One fragmentary bowl (C 28; Pl. 68) has four masks very carefully done—old man, slave, maiden, and delicate youth; the emphasis on the old man's shock of hair and the hair over the slave's ears is so obvious here that I am inclined to claim them for the wavy-haired old man and the wavy-haired slave.

Thus these little masks on pottery provide additional evidence that the standard masks of New Comedy were known in Athens in the third century. If we look back for a moment at the whole of the evidence from the Agora for the period from 325 to 150 B.C. we find that the Agora provides one fine statuette of a running slave and thirteen of the forty masks in Pollux' list that are normally reckoned as New Comedy; if one the analogy of the Agora philosopher head we accept the five very good and realistically modelled masks as Athenian products of the very late fourth century, then the total comes to eighteen. The Agora also shows clearly that the mask which we have called a by-form of the Lykomedeian lasts on into New Comedy. Thus this Athenian evidence makes it possible to accept more confidently the monuments from Myrina, Delos, Herculaneum, and Pompeii as a source of reliable information for the external appearance of comedy in Menander's lifetime.

CATALOGUE

All objects listed in this catalogue are from the Agora except those from the Pnyx which carry a Pnyx inventory number or those stated to be from elsewhere. The precise context is indicated only when of significance for the dating of the object. Reference to Agora deposits is by means of the 20 m. grid, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 12. All objects are Attic except when it is stated otherwise; the conventional term "Megarian" bowl has been retained, even though the discovery of numerous moulds, both in the Agora and on the Pnyx, attests a very active local industry.

A. TRAGEDY AND SATYR PLAY

A 1. Red-figure oinochoe fragments. Chorusmen and actor of a tragedy. Pl. 65.

P 11810. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 268 ff., figs. 1, 2; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 25; Webster, *G.T.P.*, A 4(1); *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 108.

470 B.C.

A 1a. Fragment of red-figure bell krater. Actor holding mask of maiden. Pl. 65.

P 24828. Modern context, "Fauvel Collections" N 10:1.

For style cf. perhaps Pnyx P 240 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1943, p. 67, no. 327, pl. 33).

4th century B.C., probably second quarter.

A 2. Terracotta statuette. Satyr Chorusman. Pnyx T 139. From Long Stoa.

H. 0.091 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 147, no. 63, fig. 61; Brommer, *Satyrsplele*, p. 72.

Early 4th century B.C. (Mrs. D. B. Thompson now dates thus on technical grounds).

A 3. Terracotta statuette. Papposilenos.

Pnyx T 77. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.056 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 148, no. 66, fig. 61.

Before 325 B.C.

A 4. Terracotta statuette. Papposilenos with the child Dionysos.

Pnyx T 75. From north of retaining wall.

H. 0.061 m. *Ibid.*, p. 148, no. 67, fig. 61.

Before 350 B.C.

A 5. Terracotta mask. Male mask.

Pnyx T 83. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.042 m. Yellow paint in hair. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 149, no. 74, fig. 62.

Before 325 B.C.

A 6. Terracotta mask. Bearded man with sloping brows.

T 88. From cistern filling H 6:9.

H. 0.067 m. *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 141-142, pl. 29.

325-300 B.C.

A 7. Terracotta mask. Bearded man with sloping brows.

T 2292. From Altar Well B 20:7.

H. 0.048 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142, 151, no. 30, pl. 29.

300-275 B.C.

A 8. Terracotta statuette. Tragic actor as Herakles.

T 862. From cistern filling E 14:1.

H. 0.08 m. *Ibid.*, p. 142, pl. 29.

300-250 B.C.

A 9. Terracotta mask. Wrinkled nose of tragic mask. Pl. 65.

T 3516.

H. 0.053 m.

Undated.

A 10. Terracotta head. Wreathed Papposilenos with trumpet mouth.

T 2278. From Altar Well B 20:7.

H. 0.052 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, 151, no. 28, pl. 29.

About 300 B.C.

A 11. Megarian bowl. Bearded mask, possibly Papposilenos.

Pnyx P 390. From deposit over East Stoa. *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 94, no. 17, pl. 37.

Late 3rd century B.C.

A 12. Megarian bowl. Satyr mask.

Pnyx P 438. From deposit over East Stoa.

Ibid., p. 98, no. 46, pl. 41.

Late 3rd century B.C.

A 13. Terracotta statuette. Seated Papposilenos.

T 3296. From South Stoa I, Hellenistic filling over floor, N 16.

H. 0.11 m.

4th to 3rd century B.C.

B. OLD AND MIDDLE COMEDY

B 1. Red-figure cup fragment (interior). Man in comic costume. Pl. 67.

P 10798. From Tholos dump H 12:6.

Hesperia, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 130; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 619, 40.

Before 430 B.C.

B 2. Unglazed oinochoe fragment. Pelias, Tyro, Neleus. Pl. 65.

P 23856. From well Q 15:2.

Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 78, no. 1, pl. 34, a; Webster, *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 112.

About 400 B.C.

B 3. Unglazed oinochoe. Reveller. Pl. 65.

P 23900. From well Q 15:2.

H. 0.245 m. Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 79, no. 2, pls. 35, a, 37, b; Webster, *loc. cit.*

About 400 B.C.

B 4. Unglazed oinochoe. Two men carrying cake on spit. Pl. 65.

P 23907. From well Q 15:2.

H. 0.245 m. Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 80, no. 3, pls. 35, b, 36, a; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 6(402), *Wiener Studien*, *loc. cit.*

About 400 B.C.

B5. Unglazed oinochoe fragment. Dionysos and Phor. Pl. 65.

P 23985. From well Q 15:2.

Polychrome decoration. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, p. 81, no. 4, pl. 34, c; Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 7 (403); *Wiener Studien*, loc. cit.

About 400 B.C.

B6. Red-figure oinochoe fragment. Child approaching rake's mask on inverted amphora.

P 13094. From well O 19:4.

Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 215; Van Hoorn, *Choes*, no. 213, fig. 41; Webster, *Ἀρχ. Ἑφ.*, 1953-1954, II, p. 196, fig. 1.

About 400 B.C.

B7. Marble relief fragments. Chorusmen, actor and flute player of comedy. Pl. 66.

S 1025, 1586.

H. of largest fragment 0.21 m. Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 31 a; *Wiener Studien*, LXIX, 1956, p. 111; Bieber, *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 172.

4th century B.C.

B8. Terracotta statuette. Old man with hand to brow.

a) Pnyx T 73. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.066 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 147, no. 68, fig. 61.

b) T 1683. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.075 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 141, 161, no. 44, pl. 38.

c) T 2860. From pit C 19:2.

H. 0.089 m.

Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 15 (256); to references for the type add Winter, *TK*, II, p. 418, 2; Amsterdam Inv. 881 (H. 0.096 m. complete).

About 375 B.C.

B9. Terracotta statuette. Traveller.

a) T 1685. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.073 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 141, 161, no. 43, pl. 38.

b) T 1786. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.025 m. Fragment of blanket roll. *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 163, no. 71, pl. 41.

Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 23 (259); to references

for the type add Winter, *TK*, II, p. 414, 4; Art Museum, Princeton University no. 979; Canakkale, Calvert Collection 1278 (I owe this reference to Mrs. D. B. Thompson).

About 375 B.C.

B10. Terracotta mask. Elderly man with wedge beard. Pl. 67.

T 1098. From pit D 6:5, filling of 5th century with later disturbances.

H. 0.042 m.

Early 4th century B.C.

B11. Terracotta statuette. Seated comic slave with chin pillared on hand.

Pnyx T 76. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.077 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 147, no. 64, fig. 61.

Before 350 B.C.

B12. Fragmentary terracotta statuette.

Woman.

Pnyx T 98. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.064 m. Blue chiton, yellow himation. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 148, no. 69, fig. 61.

Before 350 B.C.

B13. Terracotta mould. Seated comic slave with legs crossed. Pl. 67.

T 2059. From filling probably associated with Terracotta Factory C 20:2.

H. 0.067 m.

Before 350 B.C.

B14. Fragmentary terracotta statuette. Lower part of body of comic actor in fur garment. Pl. 67.

T 3507. From packing below house floor of 4th century B.C., M 18.

H. 0.04 m.

Before 325 B.C.

B15. Fragmentary terracotta mould. Comic actor as Herakles, standing with legs crossed.

a) Pnyx T 153. From Assembly Place, surface.

H. 0.071 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 148, no. 65, fig. 61.

- b) T 3110. From the 4th century deposit
J 11:1.
H. 0.088 m.

Webster, *G.T.P.*, B 13 (20).
Before 325 B.C.

B 16. Fragmentary terracotta. Running woman.

Pnyx T 100. From disturbed area north of great retaining wall.

H. 0.046 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 148, no. 70, fig. 61.

Before 325 B.C.

B 17. Fragmentary terracotta mould. Chiton and legs of comic actor.

T 2866. From filling probably associated with Terracotta Factory C 20:2.

H. 0.055 m.

Before 325 B.C.

B 18. Terracotta mould. Old man in chiton and himation with wreath on shoulder. Pl. 67.

T 2485. From 4th century deposit C 19:5.

H. 0.055 m.

Before 325 B.C.

B 19. Fragmentary terracotta statuettes. Slave seated on altar. Pl. 67.

T 1651, 1672, 1684, 1742. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.047, 0.056, 0.06, 0.061 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 142, 161, no. 45, pl. 38; Webster, *G.T.P.*, no. B 27 (254).

About 330 B.C.

B 20. Fragmentary terracotta statuette. Legs of seated slave (as **B 19**). Pl. 67.

T 1771. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.043 m. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 142, 161, no. 47, pl. 38.

About 330 B.C.

B 21. Fragmentary terracotta statuette. Legs of seated slave (type related to **B 19**). Pl. 67.

T 1770. From Coroplast's Dump S 19:3.

H. 0.05 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 161, no. 46, pl. 38.

B 22. Terracotta mask. Head with elaborate hair and spade beard. Pl. 67.

T 2065. From cistern F 19:2.

H. 0.051 m.

About 350 B.C.

B 23. Terracotta mask. Bearded man with receding hair, wrinkled forehead and cheeks, eyes with pricked pupils.

Pnyx T 79. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.082 m. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 123, 148, no. 71, fig. 62.

Before 325 B.C.

B 24. Terracotta mask. Wrinkled, bald old woman.

Pnyx T 80. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.046 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 148, no. 72, fig. 62.

Before 325 B.C.

B 25. Terracotta mask. Man with wrinkled brow and elaborate fillet with bunches of leaves and ends on either side of the face.

Pnyx T 82. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.036 m. Blue on fillet, red on hair, yellow on flesh. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 149, no. 73, fig. 62.

Before 350 B.C.

B 26. Terracotta mask. Woman (?) with yellow hair rolled above forehead.

Pnyx T 81. From Assembly Place, Period III.

H. 0.041 m. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 149, no. 75, fig. 62.

Before 325 B.C.

B 27. Red-figure bell krater fragment. Head of man wearing conical fur hat.

Pnyx P 224. From Assembly Place, Period III.

Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 65, no. 314, pl. 32.

About 350 B.C.

B 28. Embossed mask of deep phiale. Wreathed head with wedge beard (Mask A). Pl. 67.

P 20303. From construction filling of Square Peristyle beneath Stoa of Attalos.

Before 330 B.C.

B 29. Embossed mask of deep phiale. Wreathed slave with trumpet mouth (Mask B). Pl. 67.

P 19463. From context of 4th into early 3rd century B.C., B 19.

4th century B.C.

B 30. Stamps of Thasian wine amphoras. Frontal female head with short parted hair. Pl. 67.

SS 1790, 5226, 5570, 7872.

A. M. Bon, A. Bon and V. Grace, *Timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, no. 406.

340-300 B.C.

B 31. Stamp of Thasian wine amphora. Profile head of slave (or satyr).

SS 7812. From outside Agora area.

Ibid., no. 679.

340-300 B.C.

B 32. Stamp of Thasian wine amphora. Profile head of slave (or satyr).

SS 772. From construction filling of Middle Stoa.

Ibid., no. 1050.

340-300 B.C.

B 33. Marble relief. Dancing Chorusmen. Pl. 66.

S 2098. From Eleusinion.

H. 0.50 m.

Figures in two rows, five preserved from front row, two heads from back row. All wear polos, tights which are visible on wrists and on ankles, chiton visible at right shoulder and neck, *exomis* which passes over left shoulder and falls low over buttocks.

4th century B.C.

B 34. Terracotta statuette. Bearded man.

T 2087. From well D 19:2.

H. 0.088 m.

Short himation wrapped round waist and over left shoulder. Left hand at hip; right hand to ear. Left leg slightly advanced.

Deposit is dated to 2nd century B.C., but this actor must belong to Middle Comedy, 350-330 B.C.

C. NEW COMEDY

C 1. Terracotta statuette. Man striding forward in short chiton and fringed cloak, left hand pierced, right arm raised. Pl. 68.

T 2509. From Komos Cistern M 21:1.

H. 0.095 m. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 160, pl. 42, 2.

225-200 B.C.

C 2. Terracotta mask. Slave with roll of hair and smooth, pointed trumpet mouth. Pl. 68.

T 942. From well to west of Tholos G 11:4.

Hesperia, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 100 (Shaft E).

H. 0.061 m.

Before 300 B.C.

C 3. Terracotta head. Wreathed head with elaborate hair and wedge beard.

T 2273. From Altar Well B 20:7.

H. 0.032 m. *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 140, 151, no. 27, pl. 29.

Early 3rd century B.C.

C 4. Terracotta mask. Old man with curly hair and flowing beard. Pl. 68.

T 213. From well G 14:2.

H. 0.049 m.

300-250 B.C.

C 5. Terracotta mask. Girl with hair tied over forehead. Pl. 68.

T 1019. From Hellenistic context, B 10.

H. 0.062 m.

2nd to 1st century B.C. context.

C 6. Fragmentary terracotta mask. Bald man with wreath and knotted brows. Pl. 68.

T 2537. From debris of Terracotta Factory C 20:2.

H. 0.026 m. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 249, 268.

250-150 B.C.

C 7. Terracotta mask. Flatterer. Pl. 68.

T 211. From well filling G 14:2.

H. 0.037 m.

About 200 B.C.

C 8. Fragmentary terracotta mask. Girl with earrings and fillet in hair. Pl. 68.

- T 584. From Hellenistic context, F 14.
H. 0.054 m.
3rd to 2nd century B.C.
- C 9.** Fragmentary terracotta mask. Lower half of a girl's mask. Pl. 68.
T 3498.
H. 0.035 m.
3rd to 2nd century B.C.
- C 10.** Handle masks. Man with wedge beard. Pl. 68.
a) P 50. West Slope ware.
b) P 1086. Black kantharos.
c) P 11238. West Slope ware. From well B 13:7.
Cf. P 16149.
3rd century B.C.
- C 11.** Handle masks. Slave with trumpet mouth. Pl. 68.
a) P 6303. West Slope skyphos. From cistern E 14:1.
b) P 11234. West Slope ware. From well B 13:7.
Cf. P 26053.
3rd century B.C.
- C 12.** Handle masks. Wreathed slave.
a) P 16243. West Slope ware. From cistern N 21:4.
b) P 23080. West Slope ware. From Hellenistic context, I 14.
Cf. P 599, 600 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 374, nos. D 25, D 26).
Late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C.
- C 13.** Handle mask of West Slope ware. Slave with wavy hair. Pl. 68.
P 25991. From well F 17:3.
Late 3rd century B.C.
- C 14.** Handle mask of West Slope ware. Bald slave. Pl. 68.
P 16245. From cistern filling N 21:4.
About 275 B.C.
- C 15.** Handle mask of West Slope ware. Old man or Papposilenos.
- P 1443.
3rd century B.C.
- C 16.** Fragments of Megarian bowl. Masks of leading old man.
P 404, 405.
From cistern G 6:2, Hellenistic Group C.
Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 356, nos. C 22, C 23.
250-190 B.C.
- C 17.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of leading old man.
P 18666. From Komos Cistern M 21:1.
Cf. Pnyx P 367, 365, 400, 396, 423 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 95, no. 22, pl. 38; pp. 95-96, nos. 23, 25, pl. 39; p. 98, nos. 45, 49, pl. 41).
225-200 B.C.
- C 18.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of leading old man.
P 19780. From filling beneath Stoa of Attalos, antedating the building of the Stoa.
Early 2nd century B.C.
- C 19.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of leading old man.
P 4084. From pithos M 16:4, Hellenistic Group D.
Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 386, no. D 49.
About 160 B.C.
- C 20.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of leading slaves.
P 18663. From Komos Cistern M 21:1.
225-200 B.C.
- C 21.** Fragments of moulds for Megarian kraters (?). Masks of leading slaves.
Pnyx P 345, 346.
Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 106, nos. 117-118, pl. 49.
Early 2nd century B.C.
- C 22.** Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of leading slaves.
P 590. From pithos M 16:4, Hellenistic Group D.
Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 379, no. D 35. Cf. also P 20986, 24812.
Early 2nd century B.C.

C 23. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Mask of bald slave (Maison). Pl. 68.

P 17085. From cistern channel L-M 19:1.

Early 2nd century B.C.

C 24. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of old man and leading slave.

P 21045. From construction filling of Middle Stoa.

Early 2nd century B.C.

C 25. Mould for Megarian bowl. Masks of old man and girl with parted hair.

Pnyx P 280.

Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 96, no. 24, pl. 39.

Late 3rd century B.C.

C 26. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of slave and girl with hair tied over forehead. Pl. 68.

P 20946. From filling over floor of Square Peristyle, beneath Stoa of Attalos.

Late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C.

C 27. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of bald slave (Maison) and girl with parted hair.

Pnyx P 406.

Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 98, no. 47, pl. 41.

Late 3rd century B.C.

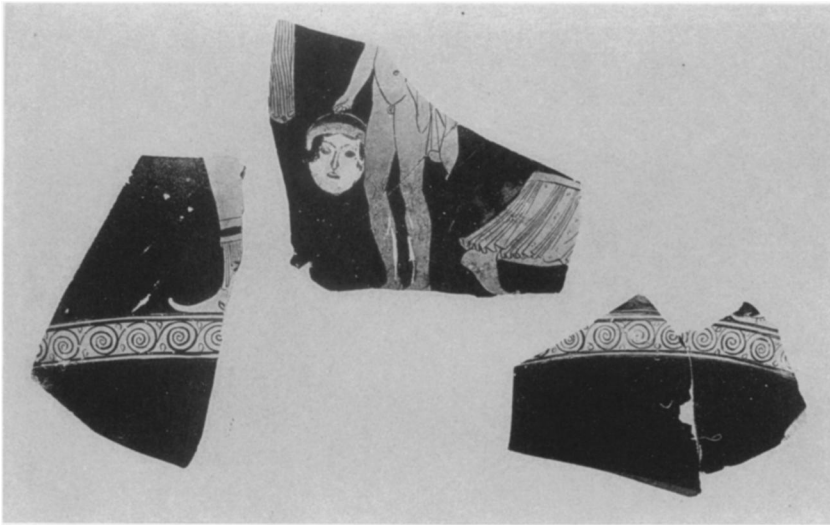
C 28. Fragment of Megarian bowl. Masks of wavy-haired slave, delicate youth, wavy-haired old man, and maiden. Pl. 68.

P 22191. From packing beneath floor of brick building beneath Stoa of Attalos.

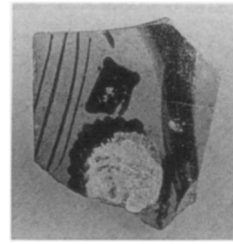
Early 2nd century B.C.

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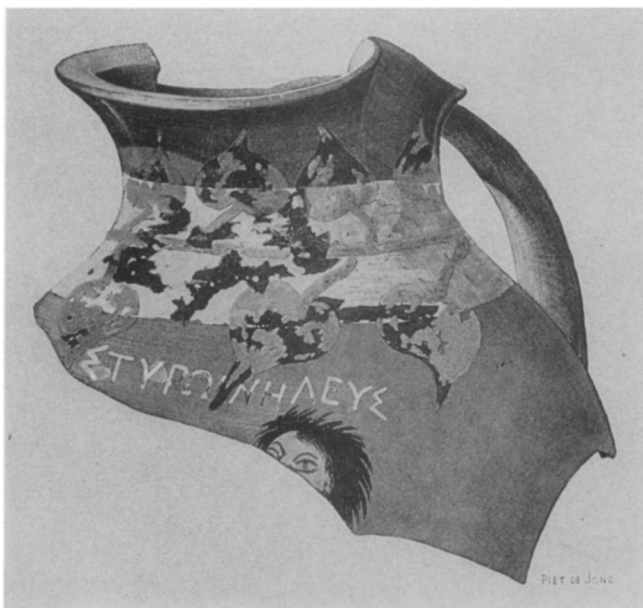
A 1



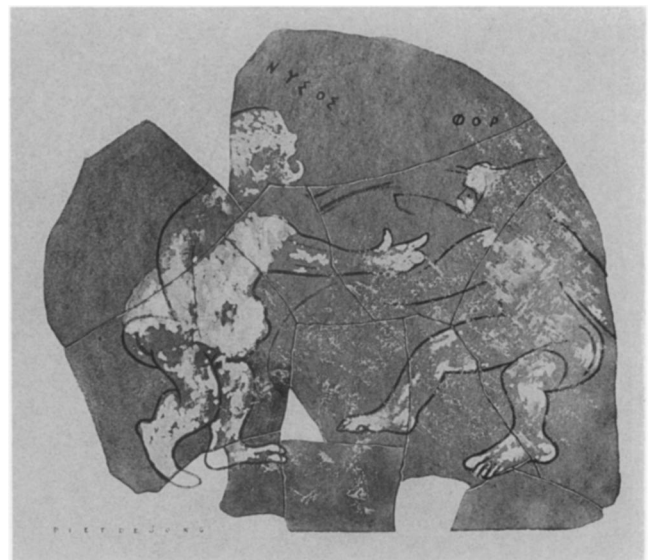
A 1a



A 9



B 2



B 5



B 4



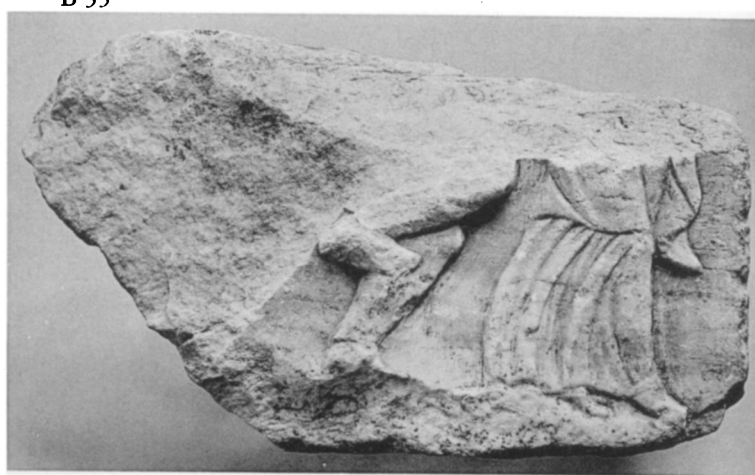
B 3



B 33



B 7a



B 7b



B 7c



B 7d



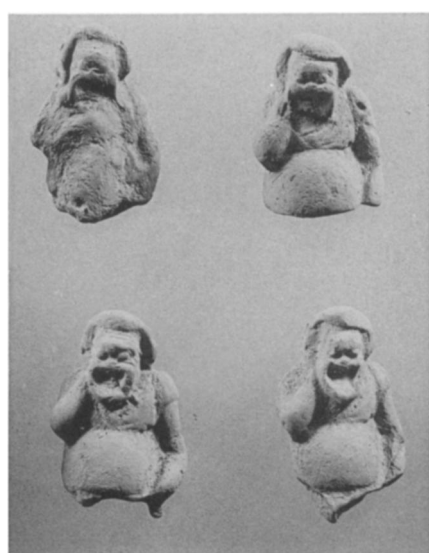
B 1



B 10



B 13



B 19



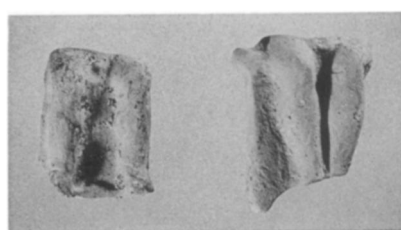
B 22



B 18



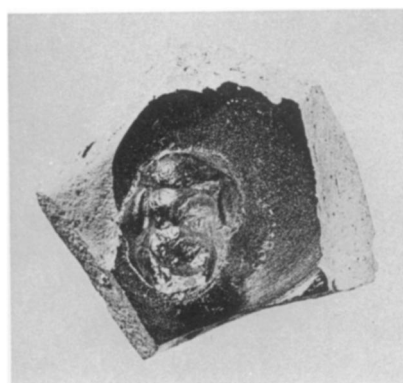
B 14



B 20



B 21



B 28



B 29



B 30



C1



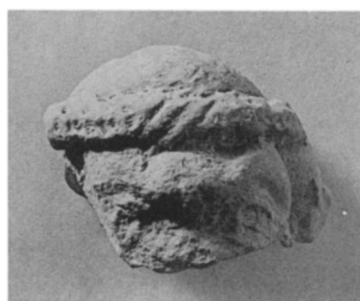
C2



C4



C5



C6



C8



C7



C9



C10



C11



C13



C14



C23



C26



C28