The appearance of the poet Agathon as it is revealed in the first 265 lines of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*[1] corresponds almost precisely to a figure which recurs several times in the vase-paintings of the first half of the 5th century: a man who sings to the accompaniment of his βάρβιτος and who wears shoes, an elaborate χιτών and girdle, a ἱμάτιον, and a κεκρύφαλος, or turban-like headdress. Agathon may thus be added to the list of Aristophanic characters who can reliably be related to figures shown in near-contemporary pictorial sources[2].

The presence of the κεκρύφαλος[3], normally worn by women, caused difficulty in the identification of the βάρβιτος-playing figures in the vase-paintings until the late Sir John BEAZLEY showed that they almost certainly represent the poet Anacreon or his companions[4]. BEAZLEY's Anacreon figures are found on twenty-eight different vases[5], and despite many variations in detail, constitute an easily recognizable type, especially since many of the figures play the distinctively-shaped, long-armed lyre identified as the βάρβιτος[6]. The portrait on a λήκυθος in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 13. 199, 470—460 B. C. ARV[2] 588 and 1660), will serve as a representative example for the

[1] Except where noted otherwise, the text is that of the Budé edition by Victor COULON (1958).

[2] Problems of costuming in the plays of Aristophanes and the correlation between verbal descriptions and pictorial representations have been often discussed. See, for example, T. B. L. WEBSTER, Greek Theatre Production, London 1970, 2nd edition, p. 55—73 on costume in old and middle comedy, and p. 66—67 on Mnesilochus' disguise as a woman. His translation of κεκρύφαλος as 'veil' is perhaps misleading.

[3] The same headdress may also be called a σάκκος; see DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, Paris 1877—1919, vol. IV, p. 933 b—c; this work also contains a thorough, illustrated discussion of the κεκρύφαλος in vol. III, p. 812—815.

[4] L. D. CASKEY and J. D. BEAZLEY, Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, text to Part II by BEAZLEY, Oxford 1954, p. 58—60. The identification is based on three inscribed portraits of the poet, particularly the fragments of a calyx-krater, Copenhagen, Inv. 13365 (ARV[2] 185), which includes the name ANAKPE[ON] written on one arm of the βάρβιτος. A good reproduction of the fragment which includes the βάρβιτος and inscription is available in Bruno GENTILI, ed., Anacreon, Rome 1958, facing page XVII.

[5] Two vases which may be added to his list are a pelike in Rome, Capitoline Museum 176 (ARV[2] 283), and a kylix in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 1777. The former shows a bearded man in κεκρύφαλος (playing the βάρβιτος) between two women with κρόταλα; the latter has only the single musician, whose costume lacks the χιτών (CVA Austria, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I, pl. 3).

[6] Max WEGNER, Das Musikleben der Griechen, Berlin 1949, p. 42—45. (BEAZLEY prefers to use the general term 'lyre' in his descriptions, but WEGNER points out that the long-armed type is properly called the βάρβιτος.) See also my article, »The *Barbitos* in the Classical Period«, forthcoming in Classical Journal.

Lekythos
Attic Red-Figured 470—460 B. C.
(Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

sake of comparison with Aristophanes' description of Agathon [7]. On this vase, a single figure, a bearded man, leaning slightly backward, walks toward the left and prepares to sing to the accompaniment of the βάρβιτος. He wears a spotted κεκρύφαλος (or σάκκος) which completely enfolds his hair (apparently knotted in a chignon), a ἱμάτιον, a gracefully flowing, ornamented χιτών which falls nearly to the ground, and shoes whose tops disappear into the folds of the χιτών. A large κόλπος is visible, indicating that he also wears a στρόφιον girded around his waist.

Agathon's costume in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, while it elicits Mnesilochus' mocking questions as to Agathon's sex, seems to be attested (if unusual) male attire; it is not a costume worn exclusively by women, although the various items of apparel do prove useful later in the play in disguising Mnesilochus as a woman.

We first encounter Agathon singing an ode, after which Mnesilochus questions him, τί βάρβιτος / λαλεῖ κροκωτῷ; τί δὲ λύρα κεκρυφάλῳ; / τί λήκυθος καὶ στρόφιον; (Thesm. 137—139)[8]. The elements of Agathon's costume are more fully enumerated some lines later (253—262) as he lends his clothing to Mnesilochus: the κροκωτός, στρόφιον, κεκρύφαλος and μίτρα, ἔγκυκλος (i. e., ἱμάτιον)[9], and, lastly, ὑποδήματα. The picture of Agathon is clear: he plays the βάρβιτος; he wears a girded χιτών of saffron color which was normally worn by women but could be worn, for example, by Dionysus (Cratin. 38; Ar. Ra. 46)[10]; in addition to ἱμάτιον and shoes, he wears the κεκρύφαλος and μίτρα. With the exception of Agathon's lack of a beard, the resemblance to the Boston Anacreon figure is striking. Both men are robed in an elaborate, long χιτών girded at the waist; both wear a ἱμάτιον; and both have shoes. It is the headdress, however, together with the βάρβιτος, which most distinctly links the description of Agathon to the vase-painting representations of Anacreon, since, as DAREMBERG-SAGLIO point out, the κεκρύφαλος generally does not appear in representations of male figures except in the case of these lyre-players (or types very similar to them)[11].

[7] See the illustration which accompanies this article.

[8] Literally, »Why does the βάρβιτος chirp to the κροκωτός? Why the lyre to the κεκρύφαλος? Why the (athlete's) oil jar and the (woman's) girdle?«. There is no need to emend (as COULON does) the mss. reading λύρα to δορὰ (ROSCHER); here λύρα is synonymous with βάρβιτος. Compare, for example, the synonymous use of the two terms in Anacreontics 2.

[9] Cf. the scholiast on line 261 (DÜBNER, p. 266): δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἔγκυκλον ἱμάτιον.

[10] See also DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, op. cit., vol. III, p. 218b.

[11] Ibid., vol. III, p. 816. The question of *why* the Anacreon figures are clothed as they are does not seem to have been fully answered; DAREMBERG-SAGLIO and BEAZLEY claim that they are simply involved in a Dionysiac κῶμος, but BEAZLEY, op. cit., p. 56, points out that some interpret the scenes as a specific festival such as the Skirophoria and claim that some of the figures are men dressed as women, others women dressed as men.

The μίτρα, or headband, is also commonly worn by women[12], but on some occasions by men as well, since the word describes, for example, the chaplet awarded the victor at games (Pi. O. 9, 84). Pictorial evidence is mentioned by BEAZLEY, who calls attention to the Anacreon figure on an amphora, Paris, Louvre G 220 (ARV² 280); in this painting, the poet plays the βάρβιτος and wears the μίτρα instead of the κεκρύφαλος[13]. The main peculiarity of Agathon's headdress seems to be that he has chosen to wear both items at once, an exaggeration which could perhaps be used for good comic effect.

While each item of Agathon's clothing may thus constitute an article of female apparel (as Mnesilochus' antithetical pairs in 137 ff. make clear), the costume as a whole appears to be that of the Anacreon type identified by BEAZLEY. Agathon himself is portrayed as being aware of the ambiguity of his garb; he first defends his choice of costume on the grounds that to write poetry about women, one must dress as a woman: αὐτίκα γυναικεῖ' ἢν ποιῇ τις δράματα, / μετουσίαν δεῖ τῶν τρόπων τὸ σῶμ' ἔχειν (151—152). After Mnesilochus and Euripides exchange a few ribald jokes over such an absurd rationale, Agathon continues his explanation: it ill becomes a poet to appear rough and boorish; think of Ibycus, Anacreon, and Alcaeus, he says, who made their music gentle, wore the μίτρα, and dressed in fine raiment according to the Ionian fashion: οἵπερ ἁρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν, / ἐμιτροφόρουν τε καλλίδων Ἰωνικῶς (162—163)[14].

The humorous effect of Agathon's costume, then, is twofold. To Mnesilochus, Agathon looks like a woman, or, more accurately, half-way between a woman and a man. He finds his garb a ridiculous jumble of male and female apparel and accoutrements. But to anyone familiar with the elaborate, flowing costume worn by the Anacreon figures on the vase-paintings, the absurdity lies not so much in the costume itself as in Agathon's pretentiousness in wearing it; he seems to think of himself, in all his elegant finery, as a rival to the old Ionian poets, perhaps even to Anacreon himself.

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[12] DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, op. cit., vol. III, p. 1955 d.

[13] BEAZLEY, op. cit., p. 58; he also points out that the μίτρα is often seen on female figures.

[14] τε καλλίδων is MEINEKE's emendation (accepted by COULON) for the metrically incorrect reading of the mss., τε καὶ διεκίνων. The identification of Agathon's costume with that of the Anacreon figures lends support to this (or a similar) correction; in addition, one may note that in the previous lines there has been no reference to Agathon's movements, but only to his clothing and accoutrements.

EXPOSITION IN THE HEKYRA OF APOLLODORUS

Theories concerning the methods used by Terence for the composition of the *Hecyra* have been many and varied ranging from the view that he was a mere translator of Apollodorus to the view that he was an original dramatist who used only the outline of the Greek original and built around it his own play. The main focus of scholarship has been directed towards the monologues of Pamphilus (361—414) and Bacchis (816—840), where Terentian alteration of original dialogue has been suspected[1]. However, there have been in addition some attempts to analyse the exposition of the *Hecyra* in an effort to determine Terentian technique in an area where some originality on the part of the Roman playwright, namely the addition of the literary prologue, is clear. One such attempt, and by far the most comprehensive, is the recent examination of the technique of exposition in the plays of Terence by LEFÈVRE who has suggested that in the *Hecyra* Terence has replaced the prologue of the Greek original by inserting expository material into the body of the play in four places, the monologues of Parmeno (I. 2), of Pamphilus (III. 3), of Myrrhina (IV. 1) and of Bacchis (V. 3). In addition LEFÈVRE has conjectured that the introductory dialogue between the two protatic characters in Terence is a reworking of the original in which Bacchis took the place of Philotis, Philotis being a purely Terentian introduction[2]. This theory concerning the exposition of the *Hecyra* and other theories, to which I will refer, have suggested alteration of the Greek original on a considerable scale. I intend, in this paper, to reconsider the evidence for Terentian originality in the first two scenes of the *Hecyra* and to examine not only the internal evidence from the play itself but also possible parallels in the *Phormio*, the other play of Terence which is taken from Apollodorus, and the evidence available from the extant works of Menander.

It has been generally assumed[3] that the writers of Greek New Comedy, unlike modern authors, prepared their audience not only with background information on the antecedents of the play but also with information on the future development of the plot so that the audience could enjoy a position akin to that of the audiences of Greek tragedy[4]. Such an audience would be

[1] The major contributions to these problems are noted by H. MARTI, Terenz 1909—1959, Lustrum 8, 1963, 52 ff., and E. LEFÈVRE, Die Expositionstechnik in den Komödien des Terenz, Darmstadt 1969, 60 ff. [2] Op. cit. 60 ff., and 93 ff.

[3] See especially F. LEO, Plautinische Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie, second edition Berlin 1912, 188 ff., and P. E. LEGRAND, The New Greek Comedy, translated by T. LOEB, London 1917, 394 f.

[4] T. B. L. WEBSTER, Studies in Menander, second edition Manchester 1960, 186, suggests that »Menander took from tragedy not the form of his prologues but the idea of a