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GREEK AND ROMAN BARBERS.

BY FRANK W. NICOLSON.

THE barber's profession was a more important one among the Greeks and Romans than it is in modern days. The barber's implements were then comparatively scarce, and men as a rule made their morning toilet in the barber-shop, because they had not at home the necessary combs, razors, and mirrors. Moreover, the razors and shears were so rude and unwieldy that it no doubt required a skilful hand to use them. The original and chief occupation of the barber was probably that of cutting the hair; that of shaving came later. In the very earliest times we must suppose that every man was his own barber.

We cannot say exactly when the profession of barber first arose in Greece, but we know that it was at a very early date. We have several references to barbers in the Old Comedy. Aristophanes, though he does not use the word *κουρεύς*, has several references to shaving and hair-cutting. Eupolis refers distinctly to the *κουρεύς* (Eup. *Χρ. γένος* VI.). Cf. also Philyllius *Πόλ.* V. and Cratinus *Διον.* II.

As to the Romans, however, the case is different. We know exactly when the first barber appeared in Rome. Varro (*R. R.* II. 11. 10) says that barbers first came to Italy from Sicily, A. U. C. 454, under the leadership of P. Ticinius Mena. These barbers brought over from Sicily may have been Greeks.

The profession of the barber was most flourishing in Rome in the time of the Empire. To their shops the young nobles used to flock to have their locks trimmed and curled. Cf. Seneca, *De Brev. Vitae*, XII. 3. The profession became so popular at last that the barbers occupied elegant shops, finely fitted up with large mirrors, and grew to be a rich class. At last the Emperor interfered. Ammian (XXII. 4), describing the luxurious habits of the time (A.D. 361), tells us that one day the Emperor Julian sent for a barber to cut his hair. He entered, "ambitiose vestitus." The Emperor, astonished at his

magnificent appearance, said, "ego non rationalem iussi sed tonsorem acciri." He then went on to ask the barber how much he made by the practice of his profession; the latter replied that he made enough every day to keep twenty persons and as many horses, besides enjoying a large annual income and many sources of incidental gain. The Emperor, indignant at hearing this, expelled from the kingdom all the men of this trade, together with the cooks and all who made similar profits. In this connection it is interesting to note that Plato (*Rep.* 373 c) classes both barbers and cooks with those personal servants (*διάκονοι*) which are not necessary to an ideal state, but which would be required in a luxurious city.

We have no description of a barber-shop, as a whole, in Greek or Latin literature; but we can get an idea of what it must have contained from the references to implements used in it. These will be described later. In general, it may be said that the barber-shop did not differ in appearance, externally, from the various other shops of Athens or Rome. Horace (*Ep.* I. 7. 50) refers to the "vacua tonsoris umbra," on which passage Orelli has this note: "Finge tibi tonstrinam Romanam a fronte prorsus apertam, superne et a postica parte atque a lateribus centonibus vel sipariis adversus solem tectam." The word "vacua" in this passage implies that the shop was free from idlers, those who had come for business being gone, while the loungers had not yet come.

Both the Greek and Roman barber-shops were celebrated lounging places. It was to the barber-shop that the Greek or Roman resorted to hear the gossip and the news of the day. The barber-shop was to them what the daily newspaper is to us. Allusions to this custom of gathering at the *κουρείον* are to be found in the literature as early as the Old Comedy. Cf. Eupolis *Mar.* III.; Aristophanes *Av.* 1439, and *Plut.* 338. For later references, cf. Athenaeus XII. 520 e; Lysias XXIII. 3; Demosthenes *in Arist.* 786; Theophrastus *Char.* XI. Plutarch (*Symp.* V. 5) quotes a saying of Theophrastus concerning these gatherings: *δοῖνα συμπόσια παίζων ἐκάλει τὰ κουρεία, διὰ τὴν λαλιὰν τῶν προσκαθιζόντων.*

These "wineless symposia" existed also among the Romans, and were equally well patronized. For references cf. Martial *Epig.* II. 17; Horace *Sat.* I. 7. 3; Plautus *Amph.* 1013; and Terence *Phor.* 89.

The ancient barbers, like those of our own day, had a great repu-

tation for garrulity. It is easy to understand how they gradually developed this fault. From the earliest times crowds used to flock to their shops, as we have seen, at first from necessity, afterwards, perhaps, because it was the fashion. Being thus compelled, even against his will, to hear all the news, the barber would in turn be led, perhaps also sometimes against his will, to impart the news to others. In this way a habit of excessive talking would easily be formed. Plutarch (*De Gar.* 508) tells an anecdote of King Archelaus who, when asked by the barber πῶς σε κείρω; responded σιωπῶν. Cf. also Plutarch *Nic.* 30.

The work of the modern barber is confined to cutting the hair and caring for the beard. Greek and Roman barbers in addition cleansed and pared the finger-nails of their patrons, besides cutting their corns, plucking stray hairs from their bodies, and removing warts and other corporeal disfigurements. Their chief work, however, consisted in caring for the finger-nails, beard, and hair.

Both in Greece and Rome it was considered very unseemly to appear with the nails unpared. Theophrastus (*Char.* XIX.) describes the "offensive" man (ὁ δυσχερής) as τοιοῦτός τις οἶος ἔχων τοὺς ὄνυχας μεγάλους. The Oligarch, on the other hand, who pays much attention to his personal appearance, is ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένος. Barber-shops were provided with small sharp knives (ὄνυχιστήρια λεπτά) for use in paring nails. The "cultellum tonsorium" is mentioned by Valerius Maximus (III. 2. 15). To the barber-shop therefore men would naturally resort to have their nails pared, not being supplied with the necessary implements themselves. The Greeks, however, seem not to have patronized the barber so much for this purpose as did the Romans, and probably in the earliest times men pared their own nails. Cf. Xenophon *Mem.* I. 2. 54, Hesiod *Op.* 742.

Among the Romans, on the other hand, it was the common custom to go to the barber's to have the nails pared. Cf. Horace *Ep.* I. 7. 50, where the fact that the young man in the barber-shop is attending to his own nails, contrary to the usual custom, is emphasized by the use of the word "proprius." But the custom is best illustrated by a passage from Plautus (*Aul.* 267), where he describes the miser who, though mean enough to gather together and save the parings of his finger-nails, does not think of trimming them himself, but goes to the barber to have it done.

We learn from a passage in Plautus (*Cap.* 266) that the ancient barbers used either to clip the beard, making use of a comb (*tondere per pectinem*), or shave close to the face (*strictim attondere* or *radere*). A third method of getting rid of the hair on the face is mentioned by Martial (*Ep.* VIII. 47), namely, plucking out the hairs by means of the *τριχολάβιον* (*volsella*). This was the method resorted to by effeminate youths. Cf. Gellius VI. 12. Still other methods of removing the hair from the face were resorted to. Some destroyed them by means of salves (*psilothrum*, *dropax*), of which the ingredients are given by Pliny (*N. H.* XXXII. 47). The tyrant Dionysius being afraid to trust himself in the barber's hands, made his daughters learn to shave him. When they grew up, he dared not trust even them with a razor, but made them burn off his beard and hair with red-hot nut-shells ("candentibus iuglandium putaminibus"). See Cicero *Tusc.* V. 20, and cf. Plutarch *Dio* 9.

That the Romans did not have to depend altogether on the barber, but sometimes shaved themselves, is proved by a passage in Plutarch (*Ant.* 1). With the rough and unwieldy razors of the time, it was but natural that the ancients should have more reason to complain of wounds received in a barber-shop than have we. Pliny (*N. H.* XXIX. 36) recommends cob-webs as excellent to stop the bleeding of such wounds.

The ancients, and particularly the Romans, were careful to have their hair cut when it grew too long. Pollux (II. 33) gives the origin of the word *κουριᾶν*: *κουριᾶν τὸ κομᾶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι κουρᾶς*. Theophrastus uses the phrase *πλειστάκις ἀποκείρασθαι* of the "man of petty ambition" (*Char.* 21). They were also particular as to the cut of their hair, the essential being that the hairs be cut evenly, so that all be of the same length. Thus Horace (*Ep.* I. 1. 94): "Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos occurri, rides." So also a man is described as ridiculous in appearance who is "rusticius tonsus" (Horace *Sat.* I. 3. 31). How great was the dependence of the ancients upon the barber in the matter of hair-cutting is shown by a passage in Artemidorus (*On.* I. 22), who says that to dream of having the hair cut by a barber is a good sign, since no one ever cuts his own hair unless he is in poor circumstances or suffering from some calamity.

There were different modes of cutting the hair ; hence the barber's question (quoted above), *πῶς σε κείρω*. The principal varieties are given by Pollux (II. 29) : *κῆπος, σκάφιον, πρόκοττα, περιτρόχαλα*. (Cod. *περιτροχαλάτη* and *-την* ; emended by Salmasius.)

The distinction between *κῆπος* (or *κηπίον*) and *σκάφιον* is given by Suidas (s.v. *κῆπος*) : *τὸ μὲν οὖν σκάφιον τὸ ἐν χρῶ, ὁ δὲ κῆπος τὸ πρὸ μετώπῳ κεκοσμηθῆναι*. He also defines the phrase *ἐν χρῶ* as relating to a close crop : *ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένος· πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ χρωτί· οἶον σύνεγγυς καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δέρματος τὰς τρίχας ἐξυρημένους*. Thus the main distinction between *κῆπος* and *σκάφιον* seems to have been that in the latter the hair was cut short, while in the former it was worn moderately long over the forehead.

1. *κῆπος*. From other sources we learn that the above explanation of *κῆπος*, while correct as far as it goes, is incomplete ; that the hair according to this mode was worn long, not only over the forehead, but in a ring around the head, that on the crown of the head being cut short. Schol. Eur. *Trö*. 1175 : *κῆπος κουρᾶς εἶδος, ἣν οἱ κειρόμενοι διεβάλλοντο, κατελίμπανον δὲ τὰς ἕξω τῆς κεφαλῆς περὶ τὰ ἄκρα τρίχας*. Pollux (IV. 140), describing *τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν πρόσωπα*, seems to refer to this form of hair-cut in the words : *ἡ δὲ μεσόκουρος ὠχρὰ, ὁμοία τῇ κατακόμῳ, πλὴν ὅσα ἐκ μέσου κέκαρται*. From the following passages it appears that the form of shears known as the *μία μάχαιρα* (described below) was used to cut the hair on the crown of the head. Hesych. (s.v. *κῆπος*) : *εἶδος κουρᾶς ἣν οἱ θρυπτόμενοι ἐκείροντο ὡς ἐπίπαν (ἐν)¹ μίᾳ μαχαίρᾳ* ; also (s.v. *μίᾳ μαχαίρᾳ*) : *τὴν λεγομένην κῆπον κουρὰν μίᾳ μαχαίρᾳ ἐκείροντο*. Poll. (II. 32) : *ἔλεγον δέ τι οἱ κωμῶδοι καὶ κείρεσθαι μίᾳ μαχαίρᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν καλλωπιζομένων*. The reason for using this form of shears will be given later.

2. *πρόκοττα*. It seems best to consider here the third variety of hair-cut mentioned by Pollux (*πρόκοττα*), inasmuch as there is reason to believe that it was not a distinct form at all. For the explanations we have of it do not differ in any respect from those of *κῆπος*, given above. Pollux (II. 29) defines it thus : *τὴν δὲ πρόκοττάν φασιν εἶναι ὅταν τις τὰ ἔμπροσθεν κομῆ, τὰ πρὸ τῆς κοττίδος. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ Δωριεῖς καλοῦσι τὴν κεφαλὴν*. (Cf. Suidas' description of *κῆπος*,

¹ Apparently inserted by some scribe through ignorance of the meaning of *μίᾳ μαχαίρᾳ*, though perhaps a mere blunder in copying.

given above: τὸ πρὸ μετώπῳ κεκοσμηῆσθαι.) οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ κουρὰν οἴονται εἶναι τὴν πρόκοτταν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτωπον τρίχας. Hesych. (s.v. πρόκοττα): εἶδος κουρᾶς ἢ κεφαλῆς τρίχωμα· κοττὶς γὰρ ἢ κεφαλῆ· καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρύονες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον. Phot. (s.v. πρόκοτταν): τὴν πρὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχων· κοττὶς γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἢ κεφαλῇ λέγεται. If πρόκοττα was the name of a form of hair-cut, it does not appear from any of these passages that it differed in any respect from the κῆπος, described above. On the other hand, it is reasonable to conclude from the above quotations that the word was used merely as a name for the hair which, as in the κῆπος, grew long over the forehead. It is not found in the literature proper as the name of a hair-cut, but only in the glossaries, as quoted above. It is of Doric origin, as appears from Pollux (loc. cit.).

From a comparison of the words of Hesychius quoted above (οἱ ἀλεκτρύονες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον) with the phrase used by Herodotus (IV. 175) of the African tribe Μάκαι (οἱ λόφους κείρονται), we may infer that the hair thus allowed to grow long was combed on end, so as to resemble a crest. If the hair was worn in this fashion all around the head in the κῆπος, we can see a reason for the use of the μία μάχαιρα to trim close the hair on the crown of the head. For, as will be shown later, the μία μάχαιρα was a smaller form of shears than the ordinary διπλῆ μάχαιρα, and was operated by one hand. Cf. Steph. Thes. (s.v. ψαλῖς): “ψαλῖς derivatum esse videtur a ψάλλω. . . . Instrumentum, tonsorium scilicet, quo in tondendis crinibus utuntur: quod et ipsum in tonsura velociter agiliterque moveri notum est.” With such an instrument it would be comparatively easy to trim the hair on the crown of the head without cutting the surrounding ring of hair; while such an operation would be difficult with the more clumsy διπλῆ μάχαιρα, which required two hands to manipulate it.

3. σκάφιον. We come now to a consideration of the second mode of hair-cut mentioned by Pollux, namely, σκάφιον. We have seen that this was a close crop (ἐν χρῶ). It is to be noted that the Greeks ordinarily wore the hair short after reaching the age of manhood (cf. Luc. *Herm.* 18: ἐν χρῶ κουρίας); while long hair was considered a sign of pride or foppishness (cf. Schol. Arist. *Eq.* 580: κομῶσι· τρυφῶσι, πλουτοῦσι· τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυφᾶν λέγεται καὶ γαυροῦσθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν). But that there was a distinction be-

tween σκάφιον and an ordinary close crop appears from Eustathius, p. 1292, 60 : κείρονται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ μὲν ἐν χρῶ καθὰ καὶ Ἄλανοι, οἱ δὲ σκάφιον ὁ παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ κείται. The nature of this distinction appears from the following definition of σκάφιον given by Hesychius (s.v.) : εἶδος κουρᾶς τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὃ κείρεσθαι φασι τὰς ἑταιρευούσας· εἶναι δὲ περιτρόχαλον. Cf. also Photius (s.v. σκάφιον) : κουρὰ περιτρόχαλος. The meaning of the term περιτρόχαλος is plain from Herod. III. 8 : κείρονται (οἱ Ἀράβιοι) περιτρόχαλα, περιξυροῦντες τοὺς κροτάφους (where the MSS. have also περιξυρῶντες and ὑποξυροῦντες). We may infer, therefore, that in the σκάφιον, in addition to a close crop, the hair on the outside was shaved off in a circle around the head.

It has been supposed by many that the words ἐν χρῶ in this connection refer to the part shaved, and that the hair on the crown of the head was allowed to grow long. The following facts, however, seem to show that the phrase refers to the appearance of the cut as a whole. First, σκάφιον is mentioned as the form of hair-cut common to slaves. Cf. Schol. Arist. *Thesm.* 838 : σκάφιον· εἶδος κουρᾶς δουλικῆς. That slaves wore the hair short appears from many passages; e.g., Arist. *Av.* 911 : ἔπειτα δῆτα δούλος ὦν κόμην ἔχεις; Again, σκάφιον is referred to (Plut. *Arat.* 3) as a characteristic mark of an athlete; and that men of that class wore the hair short we learn from Luc. *Dial. Mer.* V. 3 (καὶ ἐν χρῶ ὤφθη αὐτῇ καθάπερ οἱ σφόδρα ἀνδρώδεις τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀποκεκαρμένη), as well as from many representations that have come down to us. It is to be noted also that the *hetaira* referred to in the last quoted passage wore a wig; her hair must therefore have been clipped short all over the head, and not merely shaven around the edges. Still further, the fact that the form σκάφιον gave the appearance of a very closely cropped head is illustrated by two passages in Aristophanes; namely, *Av.* 806, where Peisthetairos, an old, bald-headed man, is compared to a κούψιχος σκάφιον ἀποτετιλμένος, and *Thesm.* 838, where the phrase σκάφιον ἀποκεκαρμένην is contrasted with κόμας καθείσαν. Finally, the words ἐν χρῶ are always found with κείρειν, which means "to shear or clip," and not "to shave."

4. περιτρόχαλα. It remains to discuss the fourth variety of hair-cut mentioned by Pollux, namely, περιτρόχαλα. In this form, the hair was shaven in a circle around the head, the hair on the

crown being either clipped short, as in the *σκάφιον* described above, or allowed to grow long, as seems to have been the case with some barbarian tribes. It is noteworthy that the word does not occur as descriptive of a Greek hair-cut, but is used altogether of barbarians. Thus Herodotus (quoted above) mentions it in connection with the Arabs; Priscus (Excerpt. p. 190, ed. Nieb. 1829) refers to it as a Scythian mode (*οὗτος δὲ τρυφῶντι ἐφκει Σκύθη εὐείμων τε ὦν καὶ ἀποκειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν περιτρόχαλα*); Agathias (*Hist.* I. 3) uses the phrase *περίτροχα κείρασθαι* of the kings of the Franks; and Choerilus (Frag. IV.) describes the Jewish tribe Solymi as *αὐχμαλείοι κορυφᾶς, τροχοκουράδες*. Näke, in his note on the last mentioned passage (p. 150 f.) shows that *περιτρόχαλα* is a general term for any form of hair-cut in which the hair is clipped in a circle. The *σκάφιον* above described should therefore be regarded as a variety of the *περιτρόχαλα*, its characteristics being a close crop on the crown, in addition to a circular shave around the head. Herodotus (IV. 175) alludes to another variety of the *περιτρόχαλα* in his description of an African tribe (*Μάκαι*): *οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνίεντες αὖξασθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔσθεν καὶ ἔσθεν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ*. Here the hair was apparently worn long on the crown of the head, while that around the edges was shorn close in places (not shaven), so as to leave tufts here and there resembling crests.

It has been shown that *πρόκοττα* was not the name of a distinct form of hair-cut, but should be classed with the *κῆπος*; also that *περιτρόχαλα* was a general term, embracing among other cuts the *σκάφιον*. In the passage of Pollux under discussion (II. 29) we may therefore consider *κῆπος* and *σκάφιον* to be the two chief forms of Greek hair-cuts. The distinction between them is marked. In the *κῆπος*, the hair was worn relatively long and combed on end around the head, while a round space in the middle was kept closely trimmed by means of the *μία μάχαιρα*. In the *σκάφιον*, the hair was worn closely clipped all over the head, the edges being shaven. The two forms are mentioned side by side in an interesting passage in Lucian (*Lex.* V.): *ἐγὼ μὲν ὑποδησάμενος ἐξυόμην τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ ὀδοντωτῇ ξύστρα· καὶ γὰρ οὐ κηπίον ἀλλὰ σκάφιον ἐκεκάρμην, ὡς ἂν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸν κόννον καὶ τὴν κορυφαίαν ἀποκεκομηκῶς*. Here the Scholiast remarks: *τὸ δὲ ἐξυόμην ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκτενζόμην· ὀδοντωτὴν γὰρ*

ξύστραν τὸ κτέμιον φησί. If this explanation is correct, and the use of a comb is alluded to by Lucian, we must infer that a comb could be used with the σκάφιον, but not with the κῆπος; whereas, from the explanation given above of the two forms, just the opposite would seem to be the case. Fritzsche, to remove the difficulty, has conjectured (note to Arist. *Thesm.* 846) that Lucian wrote οὐ σκάφιον ἀλλὰ κηπίον. This is a bold change, however, and not necessary. For the word ξύστρα is merely another form of ξυστρίς, and means "a strigil," in this particular case perhaps furnished with short teeth (ὀδοντωτῆ), and used by athletes for scraping (ἐξυμμη), not combing, their close-cropped hair. The Scholiast has apparently been misled, as have many commentators, by the word ὀδοντωτῆ.

The phrase which follows (ὡς ἂν . . . ἀποκεκομηκώς) makes it clear that the reference is here to a close crop. The allusion is to the custom followed by the young men of Greece (see Becker's *Char.* Sc. IX. Exc. 3) of wearing the hair long until they reached the age of ἔφηβοι, when it was cut off and consecrated to some deity. Sometimes a single lock of hair was kept long during boyhood for this purpose. This was variously called κορυφαία, as in this passage (see also Eust. to Od., p. 1528, 18 f.), σκόλλυς (Poll. II. 29, Eust. loc. cit., Hesych. s.v.), κρέξ (Hesych. s.v., Eust. loc. cit.), μαλλός (Hesych. s.v. σκόλλυς), πλόχμος or πλόκαμος (*ibid.*), κρωβύλος (Hesych., Suid., s.v.), σειρὰ τριχῶν (Poll. II. 30). The word κόννος, though defined by Hesychius (s.v.): ὁ πώγων, ἢ ὑπήνη, seems to have been also used in this signification of "a lock of hair." Cf. Hesych. s.v. ἱερόβατον: (Hemst. ἱέρωμα· τὸν) κόννον Λάκωνες ὄν τινες μαλλὸν, σκόλλυν. Also κονηφόρων· σκολλυφόρων. The word is found in the literature only in this passage, where it is commonly translated "the beard," in accordance with Hesychius. But even if we conceive the young man in question to have worn a beard, contrary to the usual custom of the young men of the time, the mention of the fact that he has shaved it off would have no bearing on the rest of the passage, since it was a close-cropped head and not a smooth shaven face that occasioned the use of the ξύστρα. It seems probable, therefore, that Lucian wrote ὡς ἂν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸν κόννον ἀποκεκομηκώς (meaning the lock of hair described above), and that the more common Attic word κορυφαία was added by a scribe as a gloss on the

rare Laconian word *κόννος*; this gloss may easily have been incorporated into the text by later scribes who did not know the word *κόννος*, and guessed, as Hesychius did, that it meant the beard. It is to be noted that it occurs in the latter sense in no place except in Hesychius. Lucian's fondness for using rare and obsolete words is noticed by Fritzsche, loc. cit.

The common form of hair-cut among the younger men was, as we have seen, a close crop (*ἡ ἐν χρῶ κουρά*). The *σκάφιον* was a modification of this employed by certain classes; namely, slaves (Schol. Arist. *Thesm.* 838), athletes (Plut. *Arat.* 3, Luc. *Dial. Mer.* V. 3), and *hetairae*, in imitation of the athletes (Hesych. s.v. *σκάφιον*, Luc. loc. cit.). The *κῆπος*, on the other hand, was the mode affected by the dandies of the time — *οἱ θρυπτόμενοι* (Hesych. s.v. *κῆπος*), *οἱ καλλωπιζόμενοι* (Poll. II. 32). Cf. also Schol. Arist. *Eg.* 580 (quoted above).

The original meaning of *κῆπος* is "a garden," and its applicability to a form of hair-cut has been variously understood. It seems best to consider the word as referring not to the appearance of the head as a whole, as many have supposed, but to the round plot, so to speak, in the middle, which was kept carefully trimmed, while the rest of the hair, worn comparatively long, surrounded it like a hedge. The word *σκάφιον* meant originally "a bowl"; hence it has been supposed that in cutting the hair after this fashion the Greeks used a bowl, placing it on top of the head and trimming around it. Cf. Salmasius (*De Caes. Vir. et Mul. Coma*, p. 249): "Rustici in ple-risque Galliae locis, alveolo ligneo profundo capiti imposito, comam in circuitu per oram alveoli extantem resecant. Videntur et Graeci hoc idem factitasse, qui *σκάφιον* appellarunt hoc genus tonsurae." This is not likely, however, if we suppose that the hair on the crown of the head was cut short itself, and that the hair on the outside was shaved off, and not clipped. It is more probable that the name arose from the resemblance of the closely cropped head to a bowl. Aristophanes (Frag. 502 D.) uses the word to mean the crown of the head: *ἵνα μὴ καταγῆς τὸ σκάφιον πλληγὲς ξύλω*.

Two other forms of hair-cut are mentioned by Pollux (II. 29), concerning which we have very little information. The first is

described in the words: ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ πρὸς φθεῖρα¹ κείρασθαι τὴν πένθιμον κουρὰν, ὡς Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμικός. The reading ἡ φθεῖρα is supported by Photius: πρὸς φθεῖρα κείρασθαι· Εὐβουλος Δούλιφ (Δόλωνι). This would be a reference to a close crop, which was at Athens a sign of mourning. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 812, Plut. *Pel.* 33, Xen. *Hell.* I. 7. 8, Eur. *Or.* 966, and Schol. ad loc.

The second form is thus referred to: ἐκαλείτο δὲ τις καὶ Ἐκτόρειος κόμη, περὶ ἧς φησιν Ἀναξίλας, τὴν Ἐκτόρειον τὴν ἐφήμερον κόμην. Τιμαῖος δὲ τὴν κουρὰν ταύτην προεστάλθαι μὲν δεῖν περὶ τὸ μέτωπον λέγει, τῷ δὲ τραχήλῳ περιεχύσθαι. Cf. also Schol. *Lycorh. Alex.* 1133: ἔκτορος ἡ κόμη, εἶδος κεκαλλωπισμένης τριχός. κόμη τις λέγεται, ἣ τὰ ὀπισθεν καθειμένα, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν κεκαρμένα ἔχει. Hesychius: ἐκτόρειοι κόμαι· ὡς Δαῦνιοι καὶ Πευκέτιοι, ἔχοντες τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου τοῖς ὤμοις περιεκεχυμένην τρίχα. If we adopt Kuehn's emendation ὑπεστάλθαι for προεστάλθαι in the quotation from Timaeus given by Pollux, the above passages become consistent with each other, and we gain from them the idea of a close crop in front and long, flowing hair behind. This accords well with the description of Hector given by Homer (*Il.* XXII. 401): ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται κνάεαι πίνναντο. This form of hair-cut seems, like the κῆπος, to have been affected by the fops of the day. Cf. *Lycorh. Alex.* 1133: τοὺς ἐκτορείαις ἠγλαϊσμένους κόμαις, and Schol. (quoted above): εἶδος κεκαλλωπισμένης τριχός. Hence Toup's emendation to Anaxilaos (as quoted by Pollux above), reading ἐφίμερον for ἐφήμερον, seems probable. Cf. Theoc. I. 61: τὸν ἐφίμερον ὕμνον.

An almost complete list of the implements employed by the ancient barber may be obtained by a comparison of the following passages: Pollux X. 140; Anth. Pal. VI. 307; Plautus *Curc.* 577; Martial *Epig.* XIV. 36. The most important were the razor (*ξυρόν, novacula*), shears (*μάχαιρα, μαχαιρίδες, ψαλῖς, forfex*), mirrors (*κάτοπτρον, εἰσοπτρον, speculum*), combs (*κτεῖς, buxum*), tweezers (*volsellae*), and small knives for trimming the finger-nails (*δονχιστήρια λεπτά*).

The ancient barber seated his customer in a high chair; cf. Alciphron III. 66 (*ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου*). He threw over his shoulders a linen

¹ Inferior manuscripts, πρὸς φθεῖραν, προσφοράν, πρὸς ἐκφοράν.

cloth (ὠμόλινον, συνδών, *involutrum*). This is referred to in the following passages: Alciphron III. 66; Diogenes Laertius *Vita Crat.*, VI. 90; Plautus *Cap.* 266, *Curc.* 577. Large mirrors were hung up about the walls of the barber-shop. Cf. Plutarch *De Audit.* 8; Lucian *Adv. Ind.* 29. We learn from Vitruvius IX. 9. 2 that Ctesibius, a barber of Alexandria, invented hydraulic machines while engaged in the work of arranging a large mirror in his shop in such a way that it could be raised or lowered at will.

The combs used by the ancients were made of wood (generally box-wood), of ivory or bone, and sometimes of metal. Those that have been found are as a rule plain and smooth, and do not differ much from those of modern days. For references, cf. Ovid *Fasti* VI. 229; Juvenal *Sat.* XIV. 194. There is no evidence that the Greeks or the Romans used hair-brushes.

The curling-iron (καλαμίσ, *calamistrum*) was simply a long tube of metal, or a small, round bar. It was heated in the fire before being used; hence the person using it is called *cinerarius*.

The small, sharp knives used for paring the nails (ὄνυχοστῆρια λεπτά) are referred to in the *Anthologia Pal.* VI. 307, in the words *συλόνηχας στόνηχας*. The *λιποκόπτοι φασγανίδες* in the same passage seem to have been also small, sharp knives, used for removing warts, corns, and other callous excrescences. (Jacobs has conjectured here *τυλοκόπτους*, Lobeck *λιθοκόπους*.)

We have no evidence that the ancient barber, in shaving his customers, used any of the various substitutes for soap known in those days. The only passage that bears on the subject is Plutarch *Ant.* 1, where Antony, after having had a silver basin full of water brought to him, ὡς ξύρεσθαι μέλλων κατέβρεχε τὰ γένηα. The barber may have used only water for wetting the cheeks, without any soap, as is the custom nowadays in some countries. The ψήκτρα *δονακίτις* mentioned in *Antholog. Pal.* VI. 307, the use of which is not clearly understood, would seem to imply the use of soap. It is defined by Jacobs as "strigilis genus ex arundine qua utebantur ad tollendum σμήγμα."

Razors of very great antiquity have been discovered among remains of the bronze period in Italy and in Greece. They are of a form very different from those of the present day, consisting of a half-moon or sickle-shaped blade, with a small ring-shaped handle.

They are exceedingly rough and clumsy-looking contrivances. Illustrations may be found in Baumeister (s.v. "Barbiere"), Helbig (*Hom. Epos*, p. 248).

Great confusion has always existed among the commentators as to the forms of the shears used by the ancient barbers, and, in general, as to the use of the words *μάχαιρα*, *μαχαιρίς*, etc. This confusion arises from the failure to distinguish the shears (*μάχαιραι*) from the razor (*ξύρόν*). Though the words *μάχαιρα* and *μαχαιρίς*, meaning "blade" in general, might apply very well to the razor, they seem to have been used solely to refer to the different forms of the shears. If this distinction is borne in mind, the question becomes much simpler.

Much of the confusion arises from a misinterpretation of Aristophanes, *Ach.* 849: *Κρατῖνος ἀεὶ κεκαρμένος μοιχὸν μῆ μάχαιρα*. The *μία μάχαιρα* is generally assumed to be a razor, and is so explained by Liddell and Scott. They translate the word *μαχαιρίς* also as "a razor," quoting among other places Arist. *Eg.* 413 and Lucian *Adv. Ind.* 29. In the first quoted passage, the word, used in the plural, apparently refers to knives of some sort, and not razors; while in the second it is fair to conclude that a razor cannot possibly be meant. For here the skillful barber is represented as having only a *ξύρόν*, a *μαχαιρίς*, and a *κάτοπτρον σύμμετρον*. If the *μαχαιρίς* is a razor, why mention that instrument twice, to the exclusion of the shears, which were even more important to the Greek barber than the razor?

Böttiger in his "Sabina" (*Exc. to Sc. V.*) has gone so far as to say that the ancient barber did not use shears to cut the hair, but only razors of different sizes, more or less sharp. In the line from Aristophanes, quoted above, he explains *μῆ μάχαιρα* as the name of one of the most elegant hair-cuts, being done with a razor. The latter fact would add nothing to the elegance of the cut, if all hair-cutting was done with razors; and if this was one of the most elegant hair-cuts, we should expect to find it mentioned in the list given by Pollux, quoted above; but he makes no mention of it.

To proceed, then, on the assumption that the words *μάχαιρα* and *μαχαιρίς* always refer to some form of shears and not the razor. Pollux' list of barber's implements, quoted above, is as follows: *κτένες*, *κουρίδες*, *μάχαιραι*, *μαχαιρίδες*, *ψαλῖς* (called also *μία μάχαιρα*), *ξύρόν*, *ξύροδόχη*, *ὄνυχιστήρια λεπτά*. The *κουρίς* is, according to Liddell and

Scott, a "razor," (in plural "scissors"). The form of the word (from κείρω) would lead us to expect that shears for clipping are meant, and not a razor. Pollux himself, in another place (II. 32), mentions μαχαιρίδες, called also κουρίδες. The three following words in the above list may be taken to refer to shears, while mention of the razor is reserved till the last. Another argument in favor of this view may be drawn from a second list given by Pollux (II. 32): κτένες, ξυρόν, θήκη (ξύροθήκη), μαχαιρίδες (or κουρίδες). If we understand μαχαιρίς here to refer to the razor, we have no mention at all of shears.

Next, to explain the word ψαλís. In X. 140 Pollux says it is the same as μία μάχαιρα. This agrees with Photius' definition: μίαν μάχαιραν · ψαλιδα · Ἀριστοφάνης, referring doubtless to *Ach.* 849, quoted above. Pollux (II. 32) says ἔλεγον δέ τι οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ κείρεσθαι μιᾷ μαχαίρα ἐπὶ τῶν καλλωπιζομένων. τὴν δὲ μάχαιραν ταύτην καὶ ψαλιδα κεκλήκασιν. Here the MSS. are divided between μιᾷ and διπλῆ, but by comparison with Pollux X. 140, and Photius, just cited, we must conclude that μιᾷ is the correct reading.

Thus we have shears mentioned generally under the names μάχαιραι, μαχαιρίδες, κουρίδες, while we have the two special varieties μία μάχαιρα (called also ψαλís) and διπλῆ μάχαιρα. These varieties we must seek to distinguish.

1. μία μάχαιρα or ψαλís. This form of shears consisted of a single piece of elastic metal, bent on itself in the middle and having the two edges sharpened. While being used, these shears were held in the hollow of the hand, one blade being pressed by the thumb, the other by the four other fingers. By the pressure of the hand, the sharp blades were thus brought together. The word ψαλís in this connection has never been satisfactorily explained. It means originally a vault or an arch, and so a semi-circular building. It would seem reasonable to suppose that in this case the reference is to the curved or rounded end made by bending the metal on itself. This form of shears is represented in Baumeister, s.v. "Scheren." Also in a Pompeian wall-painting (see *Abh. der Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.* V. taf. VI. 5), where are shown a number of cupids, cutting strings of flowers, one of whom has in his hand a pair of shears of this description. O. Jahn (*ibid.* p. 316) says that shears like these have been found in large numbers at Pompeii and elsewhere.

2. διπλῆ μάχαιρα. The second variety of shears resembled in form that most common nowadays, consisting of two pieces of metal fastened together in the middle. A representation may be seen in a terra-cotta group from Tanagra (see *Arch. Ztg.* XXXII. taf. 14). Of the two blades, which are of equal length, one rests upon the head of the person whose hair is being cut, and is held between the thumb and the third and fourth fingers of the right hand; it is also steadied by the left thumb and the forefinger of the left hand, which are put under it to support it. The other blade is held between the thumb and the forefinger of the right hand. The under blade (the one first mentioned) is held firm, and forms a surface for the other blade to work upon. This form of shears is referred to by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* III. 11, p. 290) in the words: ταῖς δυοῖν μαχαίραις ταῖς κουρικαῖς.

It remains to explain the much disputed line in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 849). As we have seen, the μία μάχαιρα was the ψαλῖς, a form of shears. That the ψαλῖς was not the razor, as is generally supposed, is shown by a passage from Aristophanes, in his second *Thesm.* (see Meineke, II. 2, p. 1078), where he enumerates a woman's toilet articles: ξυρόν, κάτοπτρον, ψαλίδα, etc. We must infer from this that the ψαλῖς was not the same as the ξυρόν. This being the case, in the line of Aristophanes in question, clipping must be referred to, and not shaving.

The ψαλῖς seems to have resembled in form the old-fashioned sheep-shears still to be found in the rural districts. They were without doubt used for the purpose of shearing sheep by the ancients. Thus Hesychius defines μάχαιραι as οἷς ἀποκείρεται τὰ πρόβατα. Stephanus in his *Thesaurus* (s.v. κείρω) quotes from Galen the words: τοῖς κειρομένοις προβάτοις ὑπὸ τῶν ψαλίδων. The advantage which shears of this form possess over the διπλῆ μάχαιρα is obvious, inasmuch as they can be operated with one hand, leaving the other free to manage the animal that is being sheared.

Lucian (*Pisc.* 46) proposes as a punishment for a false philosopher, ἀποκειράτω τὸν πώγωνα ἐν χροῶ πάνυ τραγοκουρικῆ μαχαίρα. If a pair of goat-shears be used to clip a false philosopher's beard, what more likely than that a pair of sheep-shears, probably the same in form as the goat-shears, were used to clip an adulterer's hair?

That shears served the double purpose of shearing sheep and clipping men's hair appears from a fragment of Cratinus (*Διον.* II) :

ἔνεισι δ' ἔνταυθὸν μάχαιραι κουρίδες
 αἷς κείρομεν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας.

The words of Phrynichus (292), discussing the difference in the use of the aorist middle and passive, are interesting in this connection :
καρῆναι καὶ ἐκάρην φασίν, καὶ εἶναι τούτου πρὸς τὸ κείρασθαι διαφορὰν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ προβάτων τιθέασι καὶ ἐπὶ ἀτίμον κουρᾶς· κείρασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὃ δεῖ φυλάττειν.

If the above explanation be accepted, we must suppose a reference to a close clip of the hair, like the *κῆτος* above described, with perhaps some peculiar characteristic which would distinguish the victim as branded by the law. Liddell and Scott state that the "adulterer's cut" was the *κῆτος*. There is no proof of this, except that both were done with the *μία μάχαιρα*. So Hesychius : *τὴν λεγομένην κῆπον κουρὰν μίᾳ μαχαίρᾳ ἐκείροντο.*