

Fig. 50.—Boys at School. Vase signed by Durs. Berlin.

CHAPTERS  
ON  
GREEK DRESS

BY  
MARIA MILLINGTON EVANS

*ILLUSTRATED*

o

London  
MACMILLAN AND CO.  
AND NEW YORK

1893

[*All rights reserved*]

↓



A.102044

GT  
550  
E92

X

o

,

-

TO THE  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY  
DRAMATIC SOCIETY

IN REMEMBRANCE OF  
THEIR PERFORMANCE

OF  
**THE FROGS**  
OF  
**ARISTOPHANES,**

1892.



# CONTENTS.



## CHAPTER I.

|                          | PAGE |
|--------------------------|------|
| HOMERIC 'DRESS . . . . . | 1    |

## CHAPTER II.

|   |    |
|---|----|
| DRESS IN HISTORIC GREECE—UNDER-GARMENTS OF THE<br>WOMEN . . . . . | 15 |
|---|----|

## CHAPTER III.

|  |    |
|--|----|
| DRESS OF THE FEMALE FIGURES IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM,<br>ATHENS . . . . . | 35 |
|--|----|

## CHAPTER IV.

|                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| UNDER-GARMENTS OF THE MEN . . . . . | 43 |
|-------------------------------------|----|

## CHAPTER V.

|   |    |
|---|----|
| OUTER GARMENTS OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN OF GREECE<br>IN HISTORIC TIMES . . . . . | 48 |
|---|----|

## CHAPTER VI.

|  |    |
|--|----|
| GIRDLES, FABRICS, COVERINGS FOR THE HEAD AND<br>FEET, ETC. . . . . | 57 |
|--|----|



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

| FIG. NO. | SUBJECT AND SOURCE.  | PAGE |
|----------|--|------|
| 1.       | <i>a.</i> Peleus, from a Vase Painting. Pub. in Heydemann's<br>" <i>Griech. Vasenb.</i> ," T. 6, 4<br>(Smith's " <i>Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.</i> ," <i>s.v.</i><br>" <i>Pallium</i> ," vol. ii., p. 318. Murray, 1891.)                       | 6    |
|          | <i>b.</i> Apollo with the lyre. Pub. in Gerhard's " <i>Etrus. and<br/> Campan. Vasenb.</i> ," T. 3. . . . .<br>(Studniczka's " <i>Beiträge</i> ," Fig. 15, p. 66.)   | 6    |
|          | <i>c.</i> Flute-player, from Gerhard's " <i>Auserl: Vasenb.</i> ," iv.,<br>T. 272.<br>(Studniczka's " <i>Beiträge</i> ," Fig. 16, p. 66.)  | 6    |
| 2.       | " <i>Apollo Citharoedus</i> ." Vatican . . . . .<br>(Smith's " <i>Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.</i> ," <i>s.v.</i><br>" <i>Palla</i> ," vol. ii., p. 318. Murray, 1891.)   | 7    |
| 3.       | " <i>Hermes</i> ," from the François Vase, Florence . . . . .<br>(Smith's " <i>Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.</i> ," <i>s.v.</i><br>" <i>Pellis</i> ," vol. ii., p. 362. Murray, 1891.)   | 8    |
| 4.       | <i>a.</i> Gold Seal from Mycenae . . . . .<br>(Schliemann's " <i>Mycenae and Tiryns</i> ," Murray, 1878,<br>p. 354, No. 530.)  | 10   |
|          | <i>b.</i> Rutenu Woman . . . . .<br>(Studniczka's " <i>Beiträge</i> ," Fig. 11, p. 34.)  | 11   |
|          | <i>c.</i> Gem from Vapheio. Pub. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1889. Pl. x., 34<br>(From a drawing by Mr. Anderson.)   | 11   |
| 5.       | " <i>Moiræ</i> ," from the François Vase. Florence . . . . .<br>(Smith's " <i>Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.</i> ," <i>s.v.</i><br>" <i>Palla</i> ," vol. ii., p. 316. Murray, 1891.)   | 12   |
| 6.       | Women at a Fountain. From a Vase, British Museum, <i>face</i><br>( " <i>Ancient Pottery</i> ," S. Birch. Vol. i., p. 273, No. 130.<br>Murray, 1858.)   | 12   |
| 7.       | From a Terra-cotta. Santangelo Coll., Naples Museum.<br>Pub. in the " <i>Mittheil. des Kais. Deutsch. Archæol.<br/> Instituts. Röm. Abtheil.</i> " Band vi., 1891, p. 253. <i>face</i><br>(From a photograph of the cut in the " <i>Mittheil.</i> ") | 13   |

| FIG. NO. | SUBJECT AND SOURCE.   | PAGE              |
|----------|---|-------------------|
| 8.       | Scheme of the Dorian Chiton<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 6, fig. 1.)   | 17                |
| 9.       | Selene, from the great altar, Pergamos.<br>(Reproduction from Baumeister's "Denkmäler," p. 1258,<br>fig. 1423.)                                       | <i>face</i> 17    |
| 10.      | Hesperid, from one of the Metopes. Olympia<br>(Reproduction from Baumeister's "Denkmäler," p. 1081,<br>fig. 1286.)                                    | <i>face</i> 18    |
| 11.      | Chiton fastened on the Shoulders<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 99, fig. 30.)  | 18                |
| 12.      | Dress Open at the Side<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 7, fig. 2.)  | 18                |
| 13.      | Dress Open at the Side<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 7, fig. 3.)  | 18                |
| 14.      | Scheme of the closed Dorian Chiton<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 10, fig. 6.)   | 19                |
| 15.      | Girl wearing the closed Dorian Chiton<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 10, fig. 5.)  | 20                |
| 16.      | Girl putting on the partially-closed Dorian Chiton. From<br>Herculaneum. Naples Museum<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 10, fig. 4.)                   | 20                |
| 17.      | Bronze Figure from Herculaneum. Naples Museum.<br>(From a photograph.)  | <i>face</i> 20    |
| 18.      | Figure of Athena, from one of the Metopes. Olympia.<br>(From a photograph.)   | <i>precede</i> 21 |
| 19.      | Vase Painting. Procne and Philomela<br>(From a photograph.)   | 21                |
| 20.      | Scheme of the "Peplos" of Athena<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 142, fig. 46.)   | 22                |
| 21.      | The "Varvakeion" Statuette. Athens<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 142, fig. 45.)   | 22                |
| 22.      | Statuette of Athena. Athens<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 142, fig. 47.)  | 23                |
| 23.      | Dress of Modern Egyptian Woman<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 118, fig. 42.)   | 23                |
| 24.      | Illustration of Sleeve of Chiton made by placing pins at<br>intervals. From a Vase<br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," Taf. xii.<br>10.) | 24                |

| FIG. NO. | SUBJECT AND SOURCE.   | PAGE   |    |
|----------|---|--|----|
| 25.      | Mounted Amazon. Athens . . . . .<br>(From a photograph.)  | <i>face</i> 24   |    |
| — 26.    | Scheme of the Ionian Chiton . . . . .<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 13, fig. 7.)  | 24   |    |
| — 27.    | Women wearing the Ionian Chiton . . . . .<br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," vii. 1.)   | 25   |    |
| 28.      | The Charites. Relief in the Vatican . . . . .<br>("Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens,"<br>J. E. Harrison. Macmillan, 1890, p. 375, fig. 13.)  | 26   |    |
| 29       | $\left. \begin{array}{l} a. \\ b. \\ c. \\ d. \end{array} \right\} \text{Etruscan Fibulae from the collection of Sir John} \left. \begin{array}{l} a. \\ b. \\ c. \\ d. \end{array} \right\}$<br>Evans . . . . .<br>(From the Originals.) | 31   |    |
|          |   | 32   |    |
| 30.      |   | Medea. From a Vase Painting . . . . .<br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," lxxxiv. 1.)   | 33 |
| 31.      |   | Amazon. In the Berlin Museum . . . . .<br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary of Classical Antiquities."<br>Translated by Nettleship and Sandys. Swan Son-<br>nenschein & Co., London, 1891, p. 25. <i>s.v.</i> "Ama-<br>zons.") | 33 |
| 32.      | The Running Girl. Vatican. . . . .<br>(From a photograph.)  | <i>face</i> 34   |    |
| 33.      | Figure ascribed to a base with the name of the artist<br>Antenor. Athens . . . . .<br>(From a photograph.)  | <i>face</i> 36   |    |
| 34.      | Female Figure discovered on the Acropolis, Athens<br>(From a photograph.)   | <i>face</i> 36   |    |
| 35.      | Female Figure discovered on the Acropolis, Athens<br>(From a photograph.)   | <i>precede</i> 37  |    |
| 36.      | Female Figure discovered on the Acropolis, Athens<br>(From a photograph.)   | <i>face</i> 38   |    |
| 37.      | Bacchante. From a Vase Painting . . . . .<br>(Reproduction from Baumeister's "Denkmäler," p. 847,<br>fig. 928.)   | <i>precede</i> 39  |    |
| 38.      | Female Figure found on the Acropolis, Athens<br>(From a photograph.)  | <i>face</i> 41   |    |
| — 39.    | Bas-relief. Soldier in a short Chiton . . . . .<br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 130 (1). <i>s.v.</i> "Chiton.")   | 45   |    |
| — 40.    | Charon, wearing the Exomis . . . . .<br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," Introd.,<br>p. 10, Vign. 9.)  | 47   |    |



| FIG. NO. | SUBJECT AND SOURCE.   | PAGE |
|----------|---|------|
| 41.      | Terra-Cotta Figurine from Tanagra . . . . .<br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 295 (2). <i>s.v.</i> "Himation.")   | 49   |
| 42.      | Terra-Cotta Figurine from Tanagra . . . . .<br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 510 (3). <i>s.v.</i> "Pottery.")  | 49   |
| 43.      | Slab. Central Museum, Athens . . . . . <i>face</i><br>(From a photograph.)  | 50   |
| 44.      | Sophocles. Lateran Museum, Rome . . . . . <i>precede</i><br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 597. <i>s.v.</i> "Sophocles."<br>By permission of Messrs. Longman.)      | 51   |
| 45.      | Penelope and Telemachos. From a Vase Painting . . . . .<br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," lxxv. 1.)  | 51   |
| 46.      | Figure from the François Vase. Florence . . . . .<br>(Smith's "Dictionary of Antiq.," vol. ii., p. 319.<br>Murray, 1891. <i>s.v.</i> "Pallium.")                  | 52   |
| 47.      | Caryatid from the Erechtheum, Athens. British<br>Museum . . . . .<br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 116. <i>s.v.</i> "Caryatides.")                                 | 53   |
| 48.      | Eirene with the Infant Ploutos. Glyptothek, Munich.<br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 208. <i>s.v.</i> "Eirene.")   | 53   |
| 49.      | Youth wearing a Chlamys . . . . .<br>(Smith's "Dictionary of Antiq.," vol. ii., p. 428.<br>Murray, 1891. <i>s.v.</i> "Pilleus.")                                  | 54   |
| 50.      | Boys at School. Vase signed by Duris. Berlin <i>Frontispiece</i><br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 674. <i>s.v.</i> "Vases.")                                       | 54   |
| 51.      | Greek Babies. Terra-Cottas from Boeotia . . . . .<br>(From a photograph.)   | 54   |
| 51a.     | Diana of Gabii. Fastening the "Diplax." Louvre . . . . .<br>(Studniczka's "Beiträge," p. 78, fig. 21.)  | 55   |
| 52.      | Stele of Hegeso. Athens . . . . . <i>face</i><br>( <i>"Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens."</i><br>J. E. Harrison, p. 591, fig. 25. Macmillan.)            | 56   |
| 53.      | Athena. Part of slab from the great altar, Pergamos.<br>Berlin . . . . . <i>face</i><br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 470. <i>s.v.</i> "Pergamene<br>Sculptures.") | 58   |
| 54.      | Fragment of a Robe. Crimea . . . . . <i>face</i><br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," lxxiv. 11.)   | 60   |
| 55.      | Vase signed by Hieron. "Departure of Triptolemos."<br>British Museum . . . . .<br>(Harrison's "Mythology and Monuments," p. 1., fig. 8.<br>Macmillan.)            | 62   |
| 56.      | Athlete with his hair bound up. Olympia . . . . .<br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," lxxxv. 1.)   | 64   |

| FIG. NO. | SUBJECT AND SOURCE.  | PAGE |
|----------|--|------|
| 57.      | Hair bound with a fillet. Coin of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 161.)                                   | 66   |
| 58.      | Female Head, from a Coin of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 162.)   | 66   |
| 59.      | Female Head. The hair bound with beads. Coin of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 154.)                     | 67   |
| 60.      | Hair bound with a "Sphendone." Coin of Segesta. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 133.)                               | 67   |
| 61.      | "Sphendone," wound several times round the head. Coin of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 160.)            | 68   |
| 62.      | Instance of a short, wide "Sphendone." Tetradrachm of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 167.)               | 68   |
| 63.      | Head bound with a "Sphendone." Tetradrachm of Syracuse, by Phrygillos. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 168.)        | 69   |
| 64.      | Female Head wearing the "Ampyx." Coin of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 164.)                            | 69   |
| 65.      | Female Head wearing "Ampyx" joined to hair-net by a buckle. Coin of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 162.) | 70   |
| 66.      | Hair in a Net, with Frontlet. Decadrachm of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 175.)                         | 70   |
| 67.      | Female Head wearing the "Sakkos." Coin of Syracuse. British Museum<br>(British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins, Sicily," ed. by R. S. Poole, London, 1876, p. 160.)                           | 71   |
| 68.      | Fragment of a Vase with Female Figures and Geometrical Patterns<br>( <i>"Tiryas,"</i> by H. Schliemann. Murray, 1886, p. 95, No. 18.)  | 72   |

| FIG. NO. | SUBJECT AND SOURCE.  | PAGE |
|----------|--|------|
| 69.      | Varieties of Boots, Shoes, and Sandals . . . . .<br>(Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities," vol. i., p. 332.<br>Murray, 1891. <i>s.v.</i> "Calceus.")    | 74   |
| 70.      | Female Figure found on the Acropolis, Athens . <i>face</i><br>(From a photograph.)   | 74   |
| 71.      | Varieties of the "Petasos" . . . . .<br>(Smith "Dictionary of Antiquities," vol. ii., p. 428.<br>Murray," 1891. <i>s.v.</i> "Pilleus.")                | 75   |
| 72.      | "The Foot-washing of Odysseus." Wearing of the<br>"Pilos." From a Vase painting . . . . .<br>(Reproduction from Schreiber's "Bilderatlas," lxxiii. 3.) | 76   |
| 73.      | Sailors wearing the "Pilos" . . . . .<br>(Smith's "Dictionary of Antiquities," vol. ii., p. 427.<br>Murray, 1891. <i>s.v.</i> "Pilleus.")              | 77   |
| 74.      | Hephaistos wearing the "Pilos" . . . . .<br>(Seyffert's "Dictionary," p. 277. <i>s.v.</i> "Hephaestus.")   | 78   |

## INTRODUCTION.

---

IN attempting to give a sketch of the main principles on which the ordinary dress of the ancient Greeks was based, I do not propose to deal with the subject in an exhaustive manner, nor do I for a moment pretend that the materials used are entirely original. But, having noticed in pictures of classical scenes and in Greek costume when exhibited on the stage, some ignorance of the elements of the subject, I venture to make public the following pages in the hope that they may be of service to those who, from archæological or artistic causes, wish to obtain a correct insight into the character of the Greek dress in classical times. In the desire to make the national collections as useful as possible, I have made frequent reference to examples in the British Museum, Bloomsbury, or in the collection of casts at the South Kensington Museum.

My debt to the labours of others, specially of German archæologists, is great. To Dr. Studniczka I tender my best thanks for permission to reproduce many illustrations from his work. My thanks are also due to Messrs. Murray, Macmillan, and Swan Sonnenschein, as well as to the trustees of the British Museum for the loan of woodcuts. The sources of the illustrations are acknowledged in the

list at p. ix. My friend Professor Gardner, of Oxford, has added to his many kindnesses that of reading my proofs.

I subjoin a list of works consulted that may be of use to other students of the subject.

“Beiträge zur Geschichte der Altgriechischen Tracht,” von Franz Studniczka. Karl Gerold’s Sohn. Wien, 1886.

“Quaestiones de re Vestitaria Graecorum.” J. Boehlau. Weimar. 1884.

“Quaestiones Vestitariae.” W. Müller. Göttingen, 1890.

“Lehrbuch der Griechischen Privatalterthümer.” Hermann. Dritte Auflage von H. Blumner. (Band iv. of Hermann’s Lehrbuch der Griech. Antiquitäten.) J. C. B. Mohr. Freiburg, 1882.

“Die Tracht bei Homer.” Friederich. “Realien” (p. 248 and foll.), zweite Ausgabe. F. Enke. Erlangen, 1856.

“Das Homerische Epos.” Helbig. Leipzig, 1884.

“Social Life in Greece.” J. P. Mahaffy. 5th edition. Macmillan. London, 1888.

“Journal of Hellenic Studies,” vol. viii., p. 170. E. Gardner. 1887. Published for the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies, by Macmillan & Co.

“Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque.” Maxime Collignon. Paris, 1882.

“A Companion to the Iliad.” Walter Leaf. Macmillan. 1892.

“Olympia,” “Bronzen.” A. Furtwaengler. Taf. xxi. and foll. (Band iv. of “Olympia,” herausgegeben von E. Curtius und F. Adler). A. Asher. Berlin, 1890.

Hope’s “Costume of the Ancients.” London, 1812.

Articles on special garments in Daremberg and Saglio’s “Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines.” Hachette & Co., Paris (still in progress).

Similar articles in Baumeister’s “Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums.” Munich and Leipzig, 1885; etc.

Articles in the “Jahrbuch des Kais. Inst.” Berlin, 1892. vii. 4., by Mayer, and 1891, vii. 1., by Hauser.

“Observations sur les statues archaïques de type féminin du Musée de l’Acropole.” H. Lechat in the “Bulletin de Correspond. Hellénique,” 1890.

“Die Griechischen Meisterschalen,” by Paul Hartwig. Published by Spemann, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1893.

The following table of the periods of Greek Art is given for convenience of reference :—

- I. PREHISTORIC (Mycenæ, Tiryns, &c.). To about 700 B.C.
- II. ARCHAIC. (Artists as Antenor, Calamis, &c.) *Circa* 700 to 460 B.C. Period of the Vases with Black Figures.
- III. EARLY FINE ART. (Sculptures of Temple of Olympia, Parthenon, &c.) *Circa* 460 to 400 B.C. Period of the earlier vases with Red Figures.
- IV. LATE FINE ART. (Artists of the Mausoleum, Praxiteles, Scopas, &c.) *Circa* 400 to 300 B.C. Period of the later vases with Red Figures.
- V. DECLINE. (Artists of Pergamene sculptures, &c.) *Circa* 300 to 100 B.C. Period of the vases of Apulia and Campania.

MARIA MILLINGTON EVANS.

NASH MILLS,  
*Hemel Hempstead,*  
*November, 1893.*



# GREEK DRESS.

---

## I.

### HOMERIC DRESS.

To some persons it may seem a trivial undertaking to set to work to describe the garments worn by a people so far removed in time from our own day as the ancient Greeks. But though removed in time, there is no race whose spirit is more vitally present as an influence in modern thought. True, that the spirit of a great past can be caught without technical accuracy as to its dress—as witness the fact that Mrs. Siddons, in an ordinary ball-dress of the period, could so play the part of Shakespeare's heroines as to make spectators forget the anachronism of her clothes. But there can be little doubt that a clearer idea of ancient life is obtained if we can picture the people "in their habit as they lived." To use the words of quaint old Hope,<sup>1</sup> "To clothe, as Paul Veronese has done, Alexander in French brocade and Statira in Genoa cut velvet, is beforehand wantonly to mar the best fruits of one's labour, the applause of the judicious. It is offering a masquerade instead of a historic subject, a riddle in place of a tale clearly told."

But the subject is not without its difficulties. It is

<sup>1</sup> *Costume of the Ancients*, 1812.



easy to speak of the "Greeks," but Greece was at no period a uniform whole, with customs common to every part of it. No two towns could have been more dissimilar in habits and thought than Sparta, where everything was subservient to the military ideal, and Athens with her "grace without softness." How great, even, were the differences between Corinth the commercial and Thebes the prosperous, and those more distant centres, Miletus, Cyrene, Syracuse, each tinged by influences of their surroundings!

The sources of information, too, are not quite so numerous as those available for other branches of ancient history. For example — inscriptions, usually such sure guides in Greek matters, throw but little light on the subject, though certainly one list of the temple treasures at Samos gives the wardrobe of the image of Hera,<sup>2</sup> a list almost as long as the inventory of the ornaments and apparel of a mediæval abbey, or as that of the clothes left by Queen Elizabeth. Other lists of garments dedicated in temples also occur.

But the sources readily available for our inquiry are mainly two, viz. :—

1. The literary, *i.e.* mention of garments, in Greek literature, and especially the express statements of some ancient Greek historians on the subject.

2. The artistic, by far the larger class, *i.e.* garments as shown in ancient Greek sculpture, terra-cottas and vase-paintings. But here some allowance has constantly to be made either for the personal vagaries of the artist, or for the limitations of his art.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius *Urkunde und Studien*; "Samos," p. 15; Taf., 15—16.

In the case of dress in Homer, it is difficult to conclude by the light of existing monuments how far the state of culture represented in the poems actually existed, how much of what is described was a setting of past and present realities tinged by the glamour of poetry, and in the case of monuments, how long forms were retained in art after they had fallen out of daily use.

Thus much, however, may be safely inferred from the Homeric writings. Garments (*ἔιματα*, *ἔσθῆς*) are woven by the lady of the house and her maidens.<sup>3</sup> Athena, the patron of the arts among the gods, does not disdain such womanly pursuits. Among mortals the Phœnicians are conspicuous. The finest robes in the Trojan king's treasure are the "work of Sidonian women."<sup>4</sup> Woven garment-stuffs in Homer are stored in large quantity. They form part of the treasure (*κεϊμήλια*) of a house. When the body of Hector is ransomed from Achilles, robes are part of the price paid. They are favourite offerings to the gods.<sup>5</sup> These robes were each woven as one garment, separate and complete in itself. There was no weaving of a long piece of stuff from which a length could be cut as required, a method with which we are nowadays so familiar. Such commercial convenience was alien to the Greek idea of simple fitness and completeness.

These woven materials are stated to have been of wool.<sup>6</sup> There is no special record of the working of flax in Homer, but yet linen (*λίνον*) is mentioned, as in the case

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, iii., 388; *Od.*, xviii., 316; *Iliad*, xxii., 511, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, vi., 289.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Iliad*, xxiv., 229, VI., 90, 271.

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad*, xvi., 224; *Od.*, iv., 50, 135, &c.

of bed-clothes,<sup>7</sup> a linen corslet,<sup>8</sup> a fishing-line,<sup>9</sup> and fishing nets<sup>10</sup> of flaxen twine. The thread of the Fates was of flax.<sup>11</sup> From this frequent mention of flax it has been conjectured that linen cloth was a home production of Greece in Homer's time, though it may have been imported from the East, or the thread may have been imported and woven in Greece by the women. Linen was known in the East at a very early period, and even in classical Roman times the wearing of linen garments was considered a sign of oriental effeminacy. In those days Cos was the centre of a manufacture of transparent garments, as may be gathered from the mention of "Coea vestes" by Tibullus and Propertius.

With regard to the dress of the men in Homer, the chiton (χιτών) played an important part, but the text gives no precise information as to its material or form, though its appearance is denoted by various epithets, as "shining," "soft," and the like.<sup>12</sup> By all accounts it seems to have been a sewn, shirt-like garment, not fastened with fibulae or pins, and probably made of linen, as its brilliancy is insisted upon.<sup>13</sup> In the representations of the human figure on some of the gems, vases, and other relics belonging to the prehistoric period of Greece, the men wear a kind of bathing-drawers or short double apron (*cf.* the "Man and Bull" wall-painting from Tiryns<sup>14</sup> and the gold cups from Vapheio<sup>15</sup>). In

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad*, ix., 661.    <sup>8</sup> *Iliad*, ii., 529.    <sup>9</sup> *Iliad*, xvi., 408.

<sup>10</sup> *Iliad*, v., 487.    <sup>11</sup> *Iliad*, xx., 128; *Od.*, vii., 198.

<sup>12</sup> *Iliad*, ii., 42, &c.    <sup>13</sup> *Cf. Iliad*, xviii., 595.

<sup>14</sup> Given in Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations*. English translation by E. Sellers. Macmillan, 1891, p. 120.

<sup>15</sup> Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 350; *cf.* Dr. Leaf's Introductory chapter to that same work, pp. xxvii.—xxix.

Greek art of what is known as the early "archaic" period, the short chiton sits closely, jersey-fashion, to the skin. On later archaic Greek monuments the short chiton worn under armour is fuller and falls in folds (*cf.* Warrior of west pediment of Temple of Aegina, cast in British Museum, Archaic Room, 160). The length of the Homeric chiton does not seem to have been uniform in all cases. That worn by Odysseus as a beggar (*Od.*, xiii., 434; xix., 450) must have only reached to the knee, or else the scar would not have been visible, but some passages<sup>15a</sup> may be taken to imply that, at least in the case of elder and more venerable wearers and the "Ionians," it was longer; and this is borne out by the evidence of archaic monuments, where the long chiton falls to the feet. (Fig. 1, *a, b, c.*)

The ordinary daily dress of middle-aged men in Homer, when engaged in active pursuits, such as war or hunting, seems to have been a kind of jerkin, perhaps of felt or leather, worn under the harness to prevent friction to the skin, and to promote general comfort (*cf.* British Museum, "Euphorbos pinax," 1st Vase Room, Case D, No. A 268). This dress is evidently short. When Menelaos is wounded in the side, the blood runs down over his legs, implying that these are bare. Sometimes, even, the word "chiton," instead of being used for the jerkin, designates the actual coat of mail. Idomeneus wounds Alcathoos through his *χιτῶνα χάλκεον*,<sup>16</sup> but the word is not generally used in this sense.

As we now find it represented on early black-figured

<sup>15a</sup> *Iliad*, v., 734—736, but *cf.* W. Müller: "Quaestiones Vestiariae," p. 1; xiii., 685; *Od.*, xix., 242.

<sup>16</sup> *Iliad*, xiii., 439.

vases made in Greece (for example, in the instances in the British Museum, Vase-room II., No. B. 53, pedestal 1; pub. in Miss Harrison's *Myths and Monuments*, p. 432)



Fig. 1 (a).—Peleus, from a Vase Painting.

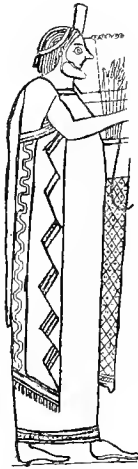


Fig. 1 (b).—From a Vase Painting.

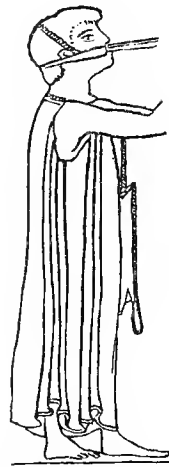


Fig. 1 (c).—From a Vase Painting.

and as shown in Fig. 1, the long Homeric chiton of peace is ungirdled. This custom of wearing the long chiton was retained for all "cultus" garments of classical Greece, that is for garments worn on solemn and religious

occasions; for example, in representations of Apollo playing the lyre ("Citharoedus") as in Fig. 1 *b*, or in the well-known statue of this god in the Vatican (Fig. 2), or in the figure of the priest of the east frieze of the Parthenon (British Museum, Elgin Room, Slab No. V., Fig. 33).

For ordinary informal dress in the house in Homeric times the woven chiton, long or short, seems to have been worn alone. Out of doors a cloak (*χλαίνα*), apparently an early variety of the later himation (*ἱμάτιον*), made of wool and dyed in colours, was put on scarf fashion or like a shawl folded lengthwise (Fig. 1, *a*, *b*). Being evidently rather long and cumbrous it is thrown off to increase facilities of speed. Odysseus tells how it is discarded for convenience in moving actively among the men.<sup>17</sup> Telemachos,<sup>18</sup> when about to make trial of the bow, "rising, puts off from his shoulder his purple cloak."



Fig. 2.—Apollo Citharoedus.  
Vatican.

As an outer covering the skins of animals were worn in Homeric times. Agamemnon,<sup>19</sup> Diomedes,<sup>20</sup> Menelaos<sup>21</sup> wear the skins of lions and leopards. Representations of such skins, with the paws of the animal hanging

<sup>17</sup> *Od.*, xiv., 500.

<sup>19</sup> *Iliad*, x., 23.

<sup>21</sup> *Iliad*, x., 29.

<sup>18</sup> *Od.*, xxi., 118.

<sup>20</sup> *Iliad*, x., 177.

down as a finish in front, are not at all rare on some early Greek vases (Fig. 3), where Heracles, Meleager, Iris, and Hermes all wear them. In the country men wear goat skins.<sup>22</sup> Pan, as a country god in the Homeric hymn (19, 23), wears on his shoulders the pelt of a spotted lynx.



Fig. 3.—Hermes.  
From the François  
Vase, Florence.

The dress of the women in Homer consists chiefly of the “Peplos,” *i.e.* an under-garment which probably reached to the feet and sometimes trailed behind, worn with a girdle. The word “peplos” is one that occurs in the Greek tragedians also, but by them it is not used in quite the same sense as by Homer. Thus Aeschylus uses it both of men’s and women’s dress.<sup>23</sup> In fact, in the tragedians the words *πέπλος*, *πέπλωμα* seem to be the general poetic term for “garment.” The “peplos” in Homer may be taken as the equivalent of that dress known in later times as the “Dorian” chiton, the typical classical dress of Greece, of which I shall have a good deal to say later. It is distinguished from the chiton of the men by the fact that, whereas theirs is a sewn garment put on like a shirt, the women’s peplos is a piece of cloth merely fastened with pins. The peplos presented by Antinoos to Penelope had twelve such pins (*περόναι*).<sup>24</sup> The garment was all of one piece, and was probably left open at one side like the dress of the Dorian maidens that I shall subsequently describe. When Aphrodite

<sup>22</sup> *Od.*, xiv., 530.

<sup>23</sup> *Persae*, 468, 1031; *Cf. Soph. Trach.*, 602; and *Eur. Hec.*, 465—473.

<sup>24</sup> *Od.*, xviii., 292.

would protect her son Aineias, she flings open her peplos and veils him in its shining folds as a protection against the darts.<sup>25</sup> The most frequent epithet applied to women in Homer is "white-armed" (λευκώλενος), which implies the absence of a sleeve. This was also a characteristic of the true Dorian chiton, which originally seems to have been without sleeves and therefore distinct from the dress of the Easterns.

The stuff of the Homeric peplos is never expressly mentioned. Its colour is spoken of as "variegated" (ποικίλος),<sup>26</sup> and it is described as μαλακός, soft, and λεπτός,<sup>27</sup> thin or fine. Hence it may, in some degree, have resembled our Indian shawls.

For an over-dress, a veil-like piece of stuff, the "Kre-demonn" (κρήδεμνον), or "Kaluptre" (καλύπτρη), is worn by ladies in Homer;<sup>28</sup> Penelope and other ladies of high degree are mentioned as wearing it. The maidens of Nausicaa lay it aside. Perhaps it may have been an addition worn by women of rank. The mourning Thetis<sup>29</sup> when preparing to go to Olympus wears a dark-coloured veil, but it seems that only in the direst grief was the countenance completely covered. The veils in Homer are spoken of as white and shining, and may probably have been linen, inasmuch as wool would have been too heavy. The veil of Hera<sup>30</sup> is compared to the sun for brilliancy, a simile that would hardly be applied to the dead surface of wool, and evidence for silk in Homeric times is hardly forthcoming. Many pieces of small, generally folded, drapery occur in the Homeric descriptions, such as the

<sup>25</sup> *Iliad*, v., 315.

<sup>26</sup> *Iliad*, v., 735.

<sup>27</sup> *Od.*, vii., 97.

<sup>28</sup> *Od.*, i., 334.

<sup>29</sup> *Iliad*, xxiv., 94.

<sup>30</sup> *Iliad*, xiv., 185.



“lope” ( $\lambda\acute{o}\pi\eta$ )<sup>31</sup> and others, as well as those I have mentioned, but I will not linger over a detailed consideration of them.

It is not easy to reconcile the account given in Homer with the very earliest prehistoric representations of women’s dress found in Greece, though a fairly close parallel may be established between the decorations of early black-figured vases and the Homeric account.



Fig 4 (a).—Gold Seal from Mycenae. Twice linear measure.

On the gold seal from Mycenae (Fig. 4, *a*) the women seem to wear an extremely tight-fitting bodice and a frilled or tucked skirt. These frills may represent the dress of the period, or the gem may be of foreign workmanship denoting foreign, probably oriental, styles of dress. A curious parallel is found in the dress of the Rutenu women of Egyptian wall-paintings (Fig. 4, *b*). A similar dress seems to be represented in a wall-picture

<sup>31</sup> *Od.*, xiii., 224.

from the group of buildings on the south wall,<sup>32</sup> Mycenae, and on the gem from Vapheio (Fig. 4, *c*).<sup>32a</sup> It may, perhaps, be assumed that the inhabitants of Greece at the period represented by the tombs of the "shaft" form at Mycenae, wore a somewhat similar dress, though the pin, one of the necessities of the Doric chiton, has been found there. In the tombs outside the citadel, fibulae of the "safety-pin" form have lately been discovered.

Some authorities (as Studniczka and Müller) find that



Fig. 4 (*b*).—Rutenu Woman.



Fig. 4 (*c*).—Gem from Vapheio.  
Twice linear measure.

the Homeric peplos is pretty much the same as the women's dress on the François vase in the Etruscan Museum at Florence, a piece of painting that may be referred to about B.C. 550 or earlier, some figures from which are given in Fig. 5. On other early black-figured vases also the women's garments frequently agree very closely in detail with the Homeric description. They generally show the straight chiton, shorter or longer as may be, sometimes with a girdle, sometimes without, but frequently of so narrow a

<sup>32</sup> Figured in Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* p. 291, fig. 288.

<sup>32a</sup> Cf. *Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική*, 1889, pl. x., 34.

shape that walking comfortably in such garments would have been out of the question. This excessive narrowness can hardly have existed as a fact, but must be set down as in a great measure due to the limitations of early art and the difficulty it experienced in the adequate repre-



Fig. 5.—Moirae. From the François Vase, Florence.

sentation of falling folds. Instances of such garments are given in Fig. 6. For further instances of them the reader is referred to the British Museum, 2nd Vase Room, Nos. B 333, Case 45, or B 379, Case H.

Down the front of these garments broad bands of decoration are frequently found. Some writers think

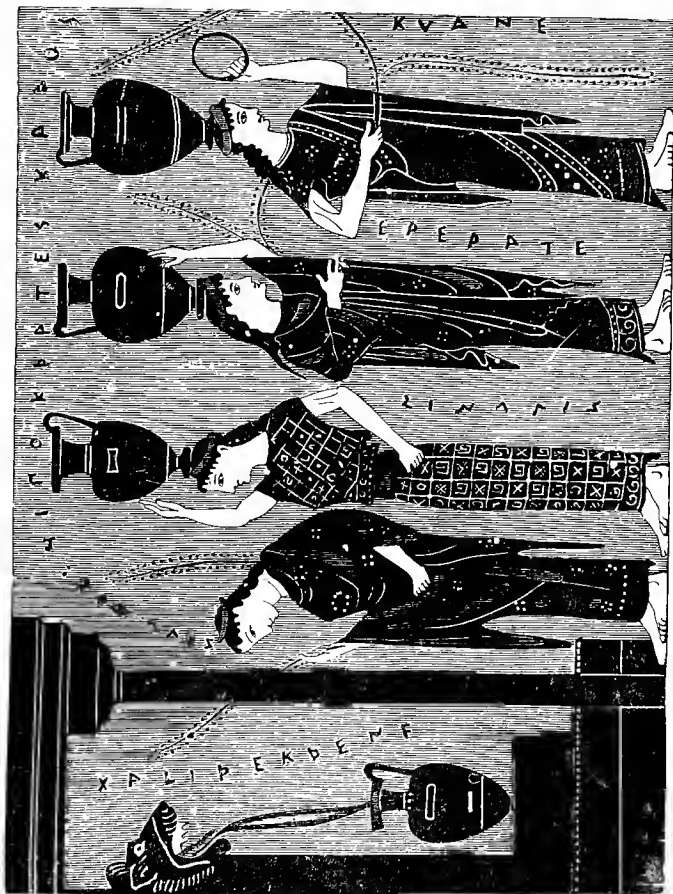


Fig. 6.—Women at a Fountain. From a Vase Painting, British Museum.



that these served as an edging to an actual opening down the front, or were, at any rate, a survival from an opening that once existed and was so trimmed. But it is a well-known fact in archaic art that, like a child attempting to depict the human figure, the early artist loves to represent the upper part of the body full-face,

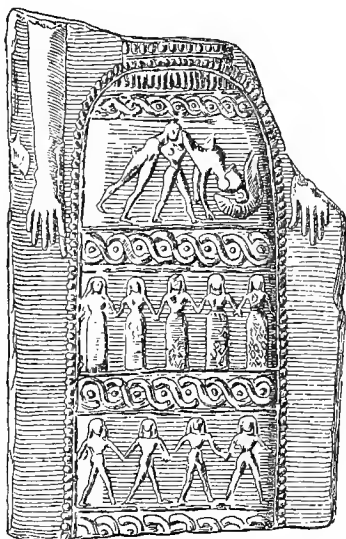


Fig. 7.—From an archaic Terra Cotta. Santangelo Collection, Naples Museum.

and the lower in profile, and *vice versâ*. It has been suggested by Helbig that to this custom the stripe down the centre of either the body or skirt drapery may be referred, being derived from an opening that really ran down the side of the wearer—a characteristic in the Laconian-Dorian chiton—a pattern of which I propose to give later. In archaic black-figured vases, as in Figs. 5 and

6, it is usual to find the surface of the dresses covered with minute, elaborately scratched patterns. An instance of a richly-decorated robe is given in Fig. 7, where a "choros" of dancing men and maidens and a Homeric subject (?) are represented on the stiff foldless surface of a dress. Occasionally, as I shall subsequently have to insist, these patterns on dresses in Greek Art vary suddenly on the same surface, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the artist, wishing to make his work as pretty as possible, may have been moved to add a band of decoration here and there regardless of the actual make of the garment. Or, such bands of embroidery may have been imported from the East and sewn on as a trimming by the Greeks, in similar fashion to the "orphreys" on copes and chasubles in mediæval days. But it is time to return to the Homeric description.

From what I have said I hope it is clear that the main divisions of dress in Homeric time, were broadly *two*, both for men and women, viz. :

1. The class of "endymata" (*ἔνδυματά*), *i.e.* garments worn near or next the skin.

2. The class of "epiblemata" (*ἐπιβλήματα*), *i.e.* mantles of various cut thrown over these in shawl or veil fashion as a suitably modest out-of-doors dress and a protection against the weather.

These two classes of garments prevailed also in historic Greek times, both for men and women. For men two garments were generally sufficient. In the case of women these two were often supplemented by two or three others. This may easily be seen in the course of a walk round the galleries of the British Museum or the Cast Collection at South Kensington.

## II.

### DRESS IN HISTORIC GREECE.

#### UNDER-GARMENTS OF THE WOMEN.

I NOW propose to enter more in detail into the two classes of garments, the "endymata," or garments worn next the skin, and the "epiblemata," or wraps thrown over these, which prevailed in Historic as they seem to have done in Homeric times. Dates in such matters are exceedingly difficult to give. They have rather to be extracted from the evidence than laid down in any arbitrary fashion. For instance, the date assigned for the commencement of the "Historic" period in Greek history has changed a good deal even since Grote's day, and is still ever liable to be shifted in consequence of fresh results from the excavator's spade. But I will endeavour to give a few "milestone" dates, leaving the rest to the reader's own industry.

Taking first the class of "endymata" to which the generic name of "chiton" ( $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ ) may be given. The origin of the dress is not to be affirmed with certainty. The word used ( $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  = Kuttonet, Kethoneth (Heb.), and Kittûn (Chald.), as given by Dr. Studniczka (p. 15, op. cit.), seems to point to an oriental source. The short chiton, according to Dr. Müller (p. 8, op. cit.), is



found among the peoples in Asia Minor before the ascendancy of the kingdoms of Lydia and Persia. In a slightly longer form it is found among the Egyptians. From the East this garment may have made its way into Greece through Phœnician agency. It is mentioned in Homer as an accepted and ordinary garment for the "Ionians," and may have come into Greece from the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor. From the fact that the chiton is not found, so far as is at present known, on the monuments of prehistoric art at Mycenæ and other centres, it can hardly be supposed that it was, in the very earliest times, known to the Greeks in Greece. The Asiatic peoples mentioned above may (I again cite Dr. Müller) have obtained it from Babylon, for the short chiton appears on some of their very oldest rock-sculptures as having been worn by the Babylonians.

The long tunic or chiton seems to have come into Greece later than the short, though it occurs in the East among very much the same people, viz., the Chaldæans and the Assyrians.<sup>33</sup>

Dr. Müller assumes that the long chiton probably passed from Assyria to the Phœnicians, thence to the coast of the Asiatic side of the Ægean, and so to Greece itself. After the age of Homer the Greeks seem, except for wear on solemn and religious occasions, to have preferred the short woollen tunic to the long linen one.

The following is a description of the Dorian or long woollen chiton of the women, the *χιτὼν ποδήρης*, which in the main seems to correspond with the peplos of Homer, together with what appears to have been the ancient method of arranging it:—

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Hdt.*, I., 195.



Fig. 9.—Selene. From the Great Altar, Pergamos.

A large piece of material is chosen,  $A B C D$  (*cf.* Fig. 8), in the direction  $A D$  and  $B C$  about a foot longer than the extreme height of the figure of the wearer, and in the direction  $B A$  and  $C D$  as long as the distance from tip to tip of the hands with the arms stretched out to their widest extent. This piece is then taken, and the upper edge of it folded over (*ἀπόπτυγμα*, *apotygma*) about the depth of from the neck to the waist,  $A E$ ,  $B F$ , of the diagram. Then the whole

piece is doubled at  $G H$ , and the lengths  $F G$ ,  $E G$ , are divided into three. It is generally supposed that these were three equal parts, but it is found in practice that this leaves too much for the neck, and that when a garment so divided is put on it immediately falls off again. This difficulty seems to have been felt by the Greeks, and at a later period (about 200—168 B.C.) some-

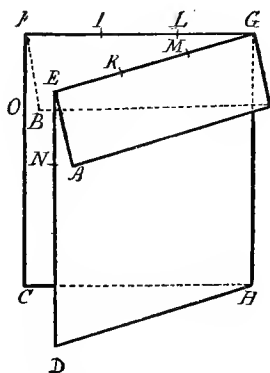


Fig. 8.—Scheme of the Dorian Chiton.

thing very like “gathers” is found on the monuments in this part of the dress, and even then it seems slipping off! (Fig. 9.) At the finest period a pleated fold occurs in the front of the neck, *i.e.* in the middle section  $K M$ ,  $I L$  (Fig. 10), but how this was produced is not very clear. It may have been secured by pinning.

The points  $I L$  and  $K M$  being taken, the garment is folded round the body; these points are made to correspond, and are fastened on the shoulder by means of pins (Fig. 11).

Thus one gets one side of the person covered by the closed side  $G H$ , and the side  $A E D$  and  $B F C$  remains open.



Fig. 11.—Dress fastened on the Shoulder.  
From a Vase Painting.

Epithets, such as *φαινομηρίς* (“showing the thigh”), used of Laconian maidens, imply that this side was so left open among them,<sup>34</sup> and instances of this custom are found in Art (Figs. 12, 13). The “Iris” of the Parthenon Pediment (British Museum,

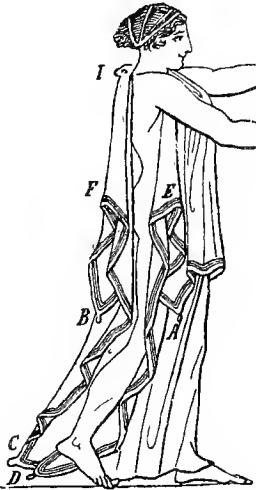


Fig. 12.—Dress open at the side.



Fig. 13.—Dress open at the side.

Elgin Room, No. G) and the woman in the group from the Temple at Bassae (British Museum, Phigaleia Room, No. 524) wear chitons open at the side.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Eur. Androm.* 598, and *Hec.* 933. Cf. also Müller's *Dorians*, iv., 2, 3.



Fig. 10.—Figure of a Hesperid. Olympia.

But in practice this seems to have been generally modified. The open side was closed by some means (either sewing or pins), partially, at *D N, C O* (see Fig. 8), or wholly (Figs. 14, 15).

After putting on the chiton, the wearer of the garment stands up, with extended arms, and a girdle is passed round the waist by some one standing behind, and the superfluous length is pulled up through the girdle, and allowed to hang over it in a kind of bag, the *κόλπος*, "kolpos" (Fig. 15). To this class of the wholly or partially closed Dorian chiton belongs the dress of the maidens of the Parthenon frieze (British Museum, Elgin Room, No. 324, Slabs VII., VIII., Figs. 52 — 60), the Caryatid of the Erechtheum porch (same room, No. 407), the bronzes from Herculaneum, now in the Naples Museum (Figs. 16, 17), and the metope from the Temple of Zeus, Olympia (Fig. 18), of which a cast may be seen in the South Kensington collection. (Perry's Catalogue, No. 78e.)

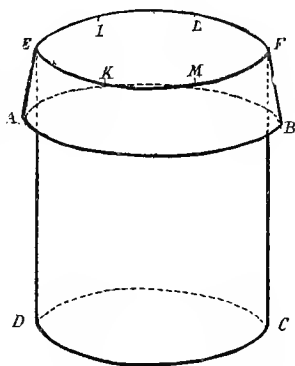


Fig. 14.—Scheme of the closed Dorian Chiton.

Sometimes the piece of the apotygma falling down the back is drawn over the head as a veil. The girl, in Fig. 17, seems about to draw hers up.

Another way of dealing with the large square of material is to omit the folding over of *A E, B F*, and to take points parallel to *I L, K M*, in the upper edge of the

unfolded stuff, thus having no apotygma, and then to draw the whole superfluous length through the girdle (*cf.*



Fig. 15.—Girl wearing the closed Dorian Chiton.



Fig. 16.—Girl putting on partially closed Dorian Chiton. Naples Museum.

the figure with the child in Fig. 19). Or the piece folded over at A E, B F, may be made so deep that no girdle is required, since there is nothing left to be drawn through



Fig. 17.—Bronze figure from Herculaneum. Naples Museum.





Fig. 18.—Athena wearing the closed Dorian Chiton.  
Olympia.

it, Figs. 12, 13 (*cf.* the "Iris" of the East Pediment of the Parthenon, British Museum, Elgin Room, No. G).

A third method, known by the name of the "Peplos of Athena," since the goddess generally affects this form of chiton, is given in Figs. 20, 21, 22. A glance



Fig. 19.—Proene and Philomela. From a Vase Painting.

at the scheme, Fig. 20, will make the arrangement clear, and show that the girdle is put on over a larger "apotygma" (or "folded-over piece") than in scheme Fig. 8, and that no hanging bag, or *κόλπος*, is drawn over the girdle. Fig. 21 is from the "Varvakeion" statuette, in the Central Museum at Athens, which may be a far-away echo of the celebrated gold and

ivory statue set up by Pheidias in the Parthenon about the middle of the fifth century B.C. (A cast of the Varvakeion statuette will be found in the corner of the Elgin Room, British Museum, No. 300). In Figs. 21, 22, over the peplos the goddess wears her "aegis," with the head of Medusa in the centre of the chest.

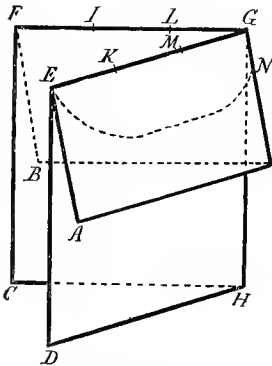


Fig. 20.—Scheme of the "Peplos of Athena."



Fig. 21.—From the Varvakeion Statuette. Athens.

The Dorian chiton was made of fine wool, and was of a kind more or less common to all Indo-Germanic tribes. A modern parallel also still exists in the dress worn by some Egyptian women (Fig. 23). Very often a sleeve is formed, in the Greek edition of the garment, by placing buttons or pins at intervals from  $IK$ ,  $LM$ , downwards to the elbow (*cf.* the woman with the goat,

Fig. 24; or the woman with the child, Fig. 19; or the so-called figure of "Alcestis," British Museum, Ephesus Room, H 1). More elaborate girdlings formed by the addition of extra cords crossed on the breast, and attached to the ordinary girdle, are often found. (Fig. 25.)

On monuments it is not always easy sharply to dis-



Fig. 22.—Statuette of Athena.  
Athens.



Fig. 23.—Dress of modern  
Egyptian Woman.

tinguish the closed Dorian chiton from the variety that must now be discussed, viz., the *Ionian chiton*. The chief distinctive feature of the Dorian chiton consists in the pins seen on the shoulders. From this peculiarity it received the name *περονατρῖς* (*cf.* Theocritus, xv., 21).

The *Ionian chiton* was entirely a sewn garment, with *no pins*. It was made of linen, and came to Greece, more

especially to Athens, in the first half of the sixth century, from the Ionians of Asia Minor, who borrowed it from the peoples of Asia proper.



Fig. 24.—Illustration of Sleeve of Chiton, made by placing pins at intervals. From a Vase Painting.

A plan of it is given in Fig. 26. It will be seen that the piece of material, as a whole, is less than that required for the several varieties of the Dorian chiton, being at least a foot less in height. This garment may consist either of two pieces (one in front and one at back), or of one piece double the size and folded. Instead of the one side being closed by pins as in Fig. 14, these two pieces are joined, and both sides are closed by sewing at G C, H D,

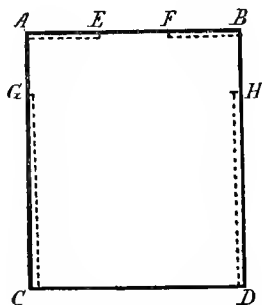


Fig. 26.—Scheme of the Ionian Chiton.

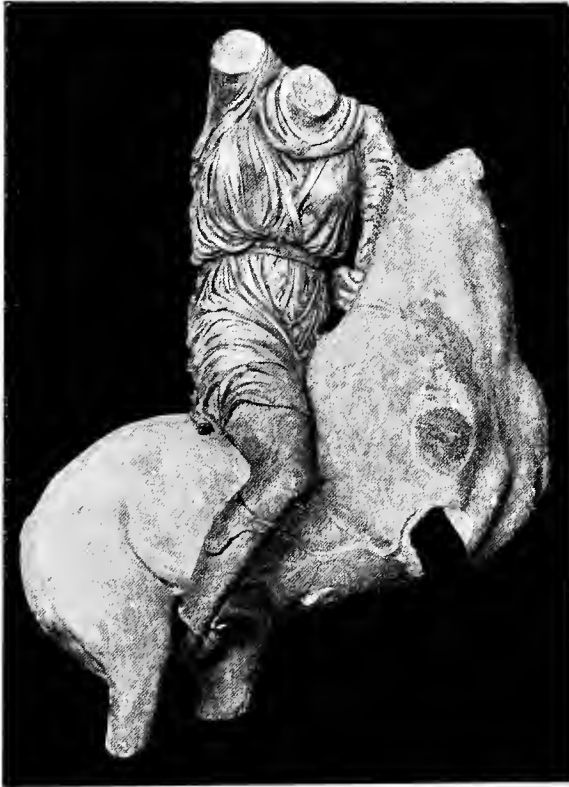


Fig. 25.—Amazon, with crossed bands from the girdle. Athens.

and also at the shoulders A E, F B, as indicated by the dotted lines. The distance from A to B being half the full span of the wearer with the arms stretched out, a long hanging sleeve is thus obtained (Fig. 27). The girdle is put on, as in the Dorian variety, and the extra length is drawn up through it so as to hang over and form a "kolpos." For an example of a girl arranging



Fig. 27.—Women wearing the Ionian Chiton. From a Vase Painting.

her own girdle, the reader may be referred to the vase from the Branteghem Collection lately acquired by the British Museum. (Third Vase Room, Turret Case C).

Good instances of this Ionian chiton may be studied in the British Museum Archaic Room, Cast No. 156, or on the figures of the so-called "Harpy Tomb," No. 94, in the same room. This dress seems to have been generally made

of linen. The material, judging from the instances depicted on monuments, is of a finely crinkled kind, apparently elastic in nature, similar to a stuff still to be found among the home productions of modern Greece. It is finished off with a selvage, not a hem. This elastic material

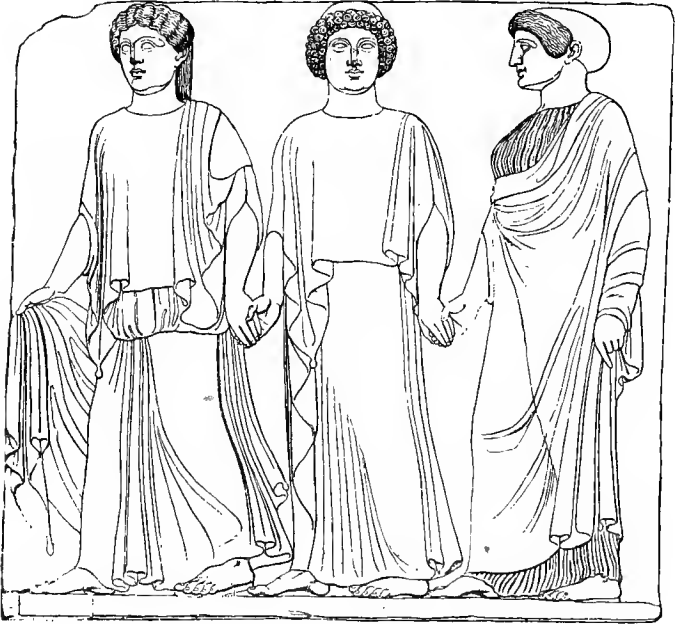


Fig. 28.—Relief of the Charites (Graces). Vatican.

would close round the neck of a wearer of the Ionian chiton after the head had been inserted, as in the case of our modern vests and jerseys. A band of decoration is occasionally seen round the neck, as in Fig. 27.

The two great varieties of chiton, the Dorian and the Ionian, may be clearly seen side by side in Fig. 28,



from the "Chiaramonti" collection in the Vatican, Rome, of which a cast will be found in the South Kensington collection (Perry's Catalogue, No. 54).

In this group of "Graces" the figure to the extreme left wears the ordinary closed Dorian chiton with "kolpos" and "apotygma," as given in Fig. 14. That in the centre has the same chiton, apparently open down the left side, and arranged as in Fig. 16, while the one to the right wears the Ionian chiton of Figs. 26, 27, made of the crinkled fine linen material just described.

In the two figures of this relief that wear the Dorian dress, I am bound to say I cannot see the pins as in Fig. 15, but the work of the relief is coarse and the style heavy, and it may only be an "archaistic" copy of an archaic original. The artist in such a case might not be very careful to represent exactly what he was copying, but there is small doubt of the fact of these two being instances of the Dorian chiton.

With regard to these two kinds of dress (the "Dorian" and the "Ionian") Herodotus makes a definite statement in his history.<sup>35</sup> The land of the Epidaurians, he says, yielded no fruit, so the oracle at Delphi was consulted as to a remedy, and the Epidaurians were bidden to set up images of Damia and Auxesia (goddesses of increase). The material of which these statues were to be made was to be cultivated olive wood. The Epidaurians therefore besought the Athenians to allow them to take some from their olive-trees as they had a large supply. The petition was granted on condition of their sending, in return, yearly offerings to Athena Polias and Erechtheus in Athens. These terms were agreed upon, the wood was

<sup>35</sup> Herod., v., 82; *cf.* Pausanias, ii., xxx., 5.

cut, the statues carved, the gods appeased, and the earth of the Epidaurians yielded her fruit in due season.

But it came to pass that the Aeginetans subdued the Epidaurians by sea, and carried off the statues to their own land. Thereupon no more tribute was paid to Athens by the Epidaurians, and the Athenians, complaining of its cessation, were referred to the Aeginetans, who possessed the images. In consequence, the Athenians sent a company of men to Aegina to demand the statues. Their request was refused. Then force was tried, and the Athenians attempted to drag the images from their pedestals. But dreadful consequences ensued. It thundered, and the earth shook, the statues are said to have fallen upon their knees, and madness to have overtaken the men, so that they slew one another, and only one returned alive to Athens. When he got there and told his tale, the widows of the dead men were very indignant at his safety. They came round him demanding their lost husbands, and finally, in their rage, stabbed him with the pins, or clasps (*περόνησι*), of their garments till he died. The Athenians, in horror at the women's deed, as the most terrible punishment they could devise, changed the fashion of women's dress from the "Dorian" to the "Ionian," so that they might have no further need of clasps or pins, while the Greeks of Argos and Aegina made their fastenings larger than before.

As to this statement of the historian's there is little doubt that somewhere about 570 B.C., war was raging between the two always hostile peoples of Aegina and Athens, and that somewhere about the same time a change took place in the dress of Athenian women, and the fame of the two things was connected. From monumental evidence it would appear that one of the early forms of

women's dress is of a "sewn" kind, while dress on monuments that must be dated after the Persian Wars is of the "Dorian" variety, as may be seen in the instances quoted above, Figs. 10, 12, 13. The "Dorian," as Herodotus points out (v., 88), was in all probability the old universal dress of all Hellenic women. Afterwards in Athens, about the first half of the sixth century, the so-called "Ionian" kind came into fashion, and was in vogue, contemporaneously with the Dorian, till about the time of the Persian Wars, 490—479 B.C. Then, in the wave of renewed Hellenism which spread over Greece in the national reaction against everything Eastern, the old Hellenic fashion revived, bearing the name "Dorian" (*ἡ αὐτὴ ἣν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν*. Hdt. v. 88), because it was among such conservative people as the Spartans that it had been preserved.

But, strong as the reaction was, the "Ionian" dress was not absolutely ousted from its place, since Oriental influence was still too powerful for its radical rejection.

The original pin used for the fastening of garments among early races appears to have been one made from the small bone of the leg of an animal, whence the name "fibula," or *περόνη*. This is next reproduced in metal, furnished with a round head, and decorated with balls of bronze, a characteristic Greek type of which may be seen on the shoulder of the woman to the left in Fig. 5. In some instances the point of such a pin has been bent back, evidently to prevent its falling out of the garment when once stuck in. It is a tempting hypothesis that from this bending back of the point arose that developed form of "fibula" of which the modern "safety-pin" is the direct

and almost unmodified descendant. Such safety-pins in bronze have lately been discovered at Mycenae during the works carried on by the Greek Archæological Society in 1888 and following years.<sup>36</sup> Fibulae occur among the oldest bronzes of Olympia, as will be seen in the works of Drs. Furtwängler and Curtius, published by the German Archæological Institute, and included in the list of books in my Introduction. They are also found in the early graves of Thebes, Athens, Austria, Sicily, and other places. Golden fibulae (περόναι) are mentioned in Homer (as in *Il.* v. 425, &c.), but it is difficult to determine whether the Homeric form is that of the straight pin or the "safety-pin."

Most representations on vases seem to depict in long or short variety the characteristic Greek type of pin found in tombs (*cf.* Fig. 5). The "safety-pin" type, for some reason, seems almost or altogether absent from Greek tombs of the sixth and fifth century B.C.

Wounds would be more deadly and more easily inflicted by such pins as those of Fig. 5 than by the point of a "safety-pin." The Greek tragedians mention dresses worn by women both with and without pins. Polyxena, in the *Hecuba* of Euripides, takes hold of her dress near the shoulder and tears it open to the waist, implying a sewn garment that could not be simply unpinned at the shoulder; but in the same play Polymnestor is blinded by means of the pins or brooches (πόρπη=περόνη) that the women take from their garments for the purpose. In

<sup>36</sup> *Cf.* Schuchhardt, *op. cit.* pp. 296, 313; Daremberg and Saglio's "Dictionnaire," art. "Fibula," p. 2004, Fig. 2977; and Montelius "Archiv für Anthropologie," Brunswick, 1892, p. 31, Fig. 35.

the *Persae* of Aeschylus (*circa* 472 B.C.) Hellas wears the "Dorian" as the real Greek dress.

Some typical instances of the developed "safety-pin" form of fibula are given full-size in Fig. 29, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, from my husband's collection.

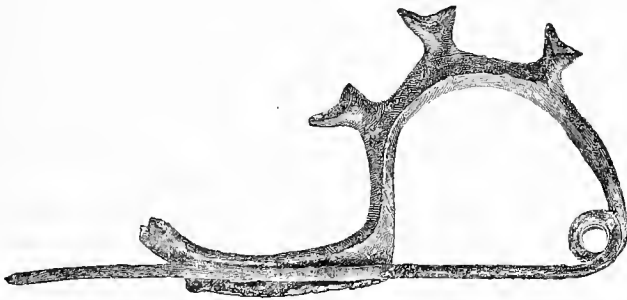


Fig. 29 (*a*).

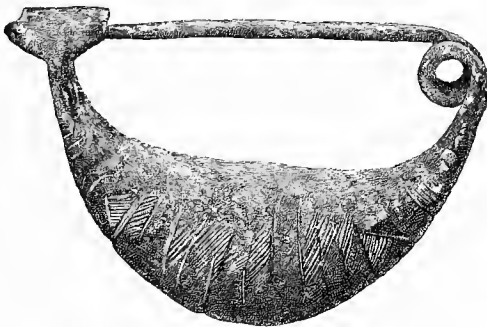


Fig. 29 (*b*).

Existing specimens of pins and fibulae may be studied in any good collection, such as that in the Bronze Room of the British Museum, or in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Those of very large size in these col-

lections may not have been worn, but were perhaps used for "ex-votos," or offerings in temples,<sup>37</sup> or for fastening curtains or other decorative hangings, or, as they are found in graves, they may have been made for the decoration of the dead. A fibula from Halstatt belonging to my husband was evidently made for funeral purposes, as it

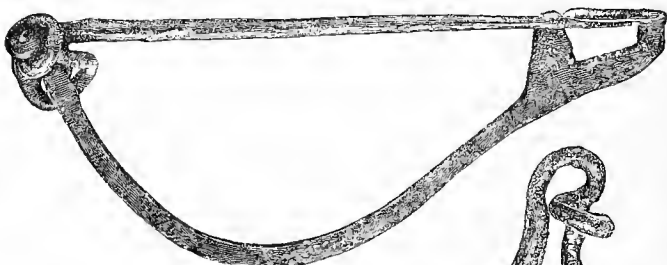


Fig. 29 (c).

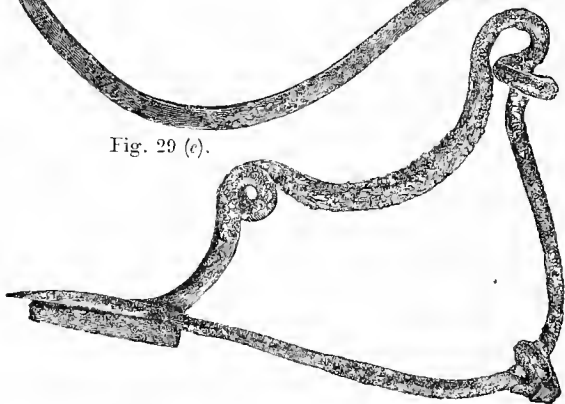


Fig. 29 (d).

still contains some of the clay used as a core in its manufacture, and the edge of its decoration still feels sharp and rough to the finger, in evidence that it was not worn previously to its interment.

In later times, when the conquests of Alexander had let loose a new flood of Orientalism on Greece, the "Ionian" style with many rich varieties of Eastern decoration

<sup>37</sup> Hdt., v. 88.

seems to have been largely worn. (*Cf.* Fig. 30.) This figure, however, represents Medea, who can perhaps be hardly counted among the pure Greeks. Other instances of rich dress may be found in the British Museum



Fig. 30.—Medea. From a Vase Painting.



Fig. 31.—Amazon. Berlin Museum.

(Fourth Vase Room. Case 18. Vase signed by Python (no number), and case 54, F 326, and F 117 pedestal case.)

The *short chiton* of the women is also found on monu-

ments, together with the long. It follows the longer style in its varieties of sewing, pinning, and arranging, but it is not so full, and only reaches to the knee. It is worn by women and girls engaged in active exercise or when speed is desired. Iris the messenger, Artemis the huntress, girls in running contests and warring Amazons, all wear it. Instances are numerous in the frieze from the Mausoleum, Halicarnassos, in the British Museum, of which casts exist at South Kensington (Perry's Catalogue, No. 137). Others are given in Figs. 25, 31, 32.

Sometimes (*cf.* Fig. 32) it is fastened on one shoulder only, and the figure is supported by a broad belt. This statue may represent one of the girls who used, according to Pausanias (v. 16, 2), to take part in a race at the Festival of Hera at Olympia, wearing a garment that hardly reached to the knee and left the right shoulder and part of the breast uncovered. The race was run in the stadium, but only over one-sixth of the course. In Fig. 31, a second belt is put on over the top of the "kolpos," or bag of material drawn up through the girdle beneath it.





Fig. 32.—The "Running Girl." Vatican.

### III.

#### DRESS OF THE FEMALE FIGURES IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS.

AT this point, before proceeding to a discussion of the dress of the men of Greece in historic times and the outer garments (*epiblemata*) of both men and women, it will be well, I think, to notice the garments on that remarkable series of statues of archaic female figures, found in the course of the excavations conducted on the Acropolis, under the direction of M. Cavvadias in the years 1882-8, of which a description is given in M. Collignon's *History of Greek Sculpture*,<sup>38</sup> and in Professor Gardner's book.<sup>39</sup>

These statues, which were discovered between the Erechtheum and the north boundary wall of the Acropolis, have, owing to the variety of surfaces represented in their garments and their brilliant colouring, attracted much attention and have given rise to opposite opinions. Their brilliant polychromatic decoration is very remarkable, hair, eyes, and borders of garments sharing in the

<sup>38</sup> *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, M. Collignon, p. 340, &c.

<sup>39</sup> *New Chapters in Greek History*, Percy Gardner, p. 247, &c. (Cf. Cavvadias' *Les Musées d'Athènes*, and the "ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική," 1883—88).

colours which do not always follow natural laws; for instance, the eyes of the figures are sometimes coloured red, a tint that seems, to our notions, most abnormal and undesirable.

I have on an earlier page spoken of the great difficulty of giving precise dates in Greek art. In the case of these figures this difficulty is, to a great extent, removed. After the Acropolis was sacked by the Persians in 480 B.C., and, spoiled and ruined, had once more come into the hands of its rightful owners, the victorious Greeks buried the fragments of statues and other objects that had decorated their citadel before its spoliation.

This was done partly in reverence to the gods, since anything once dedicated to a deity was always sacred and could not be put to profane usage; partly to hide the traces of the Oriental invaders' brief triumph; and partly from utilitarian motives to increase the level space on the summit of the Acropolis, since, in the full spring of renewed patriotism, the Athenians desired to make "all things new," and required other and enlarged temples filled with fresh statues. Probably many of the objects found in these excavations had only just been made at the time of their destruction. Be this as it may, the last of the series, which ranges over a considerable period of time, cannot be later than 480 B.C. One of the series, Fig. 33, is held to belong to a base inscribed with the name of the sculptor Antenor.<sup>39a</sup> With regard to this artist we know that he made the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew the tyrant Hipparchus, 514 B.C. Those statues must have been set up soon after the murder, and

<sup>39a</sup> Cf. Collignon's *Histoire*, p. 365 and ἐφημ: ἀρχ: 1886; No. 6, Pl. IV., p. 81; and C. I. A. iv. 373.

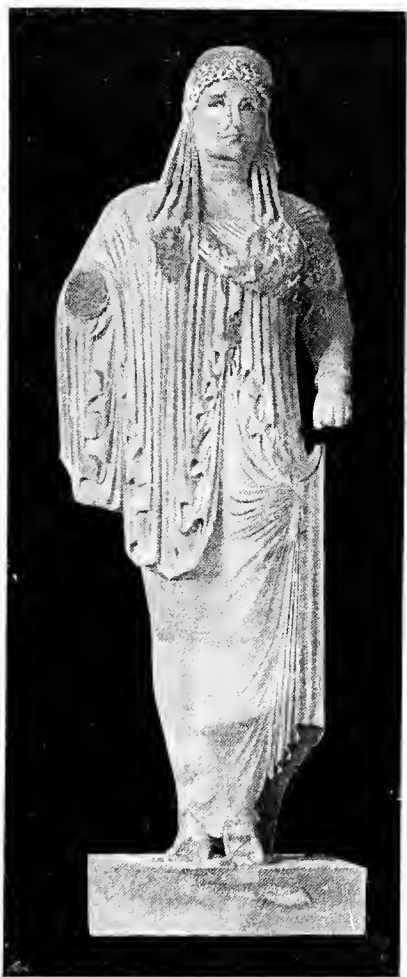


Fig. 33.—Figure ascribed to a base with the name of the artist Antenor. Athens.

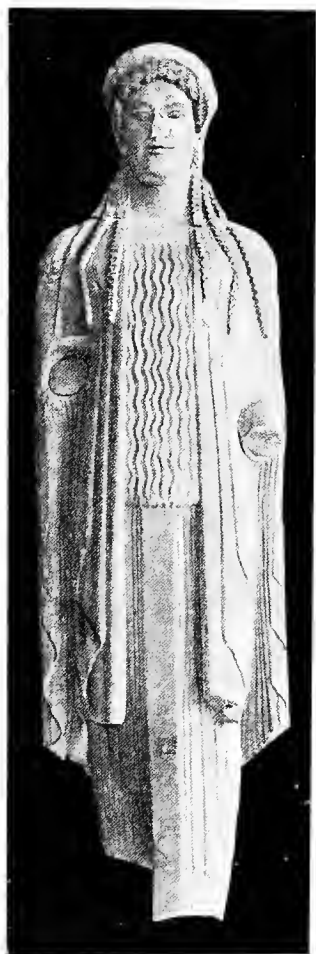


Fig. 34.—Female figure discovered on the Acropolis. Athens.



Fig. 35.—Female figure discovered on the Acropolis. Athens.

probably the Acropolis figure to which the Antenor base is ascribed is of the same period. By this means we get two points of date for the Acropolis series, viz., B.C. 480 back to *circa* B.C. 514—510. Another of the series may, on the evidence of style, even go back to 600 B.C. Fourteen of these figures came to light at once in February, 1886, having been buried together in a single pit, and others were found later. The series has given rise to much discussion as to whether the figures represent portraits of the priestesses of the goddess, of the actual goddess, or of the votaries who dedicated the images. Whomsoever they are intended to represent, they doubtless portray for us the costume of Athenian ladies of good position in the years preceding the great Persian invasion of 480 B.C. Some of the more typical varieties of dress found on them are given in Figs. 34, 35, 36. It cannot, however, be denied that the sculptor has allowed himself considerable latitude in the treatment of the garments. In consequence of this latitude two schools of disputants on their dress have arisen, the one typified by M. Lechat,<sup>40</sup> the other by Dr. Müller.<sup>41</sup> It is evident to the most casual observer that the drapery is not always true to actual fact, the curves going across the body when in repose in a way that could only be produced by rapid motion.<sup>42</sup> Again, it is not unusual to find a garment that shows some special and well-defined pattern or border covering one part of the body, while where we should expect to find the same garment continued, another pattern or

<sup>40</sup> *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, 1890.

<sup>41</sup> *Quaestiones Vestiariae*. W. Müller.

<sup>42</sup> See notes on these figures, by Ernest Gardner, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii. 1, p. 170.

border suddenly comes out without apparent reason. There can be little doubt that the upper and lower portions of such a dress (*endyma*) do really belong to one and the same garment—the Ionian chiton—with sleeves close fitting and often elaborately bordered, while over this is thrown the ordinary himation (*epiblema*). But some archæologists (like M. Lechat, already mentioned) have endeavoured to make out a separate garment for every piece represented by a different pattern or border till, by this means, each figure seems to be clothed in three or four separate garments, of a kind otherwise unknown, for which distinctive titles have to be invented. To such critics a difference of *pattern* always implies a difference of *material*. Thus for Fig. 34, the existence of an under-chiton and a “chitoniscus,” or knitted vest put over the chiton under the himation is assumed.

For my own part, I must confess that, in spite of its apparent absurdity, the possibility of such a multiplication of garments as that indicated by M. Lechat, and adopted by M. Collignon, did remain in my mind, until in April, 1892, I had the good fortune, in the course of a cruise among the Greek islands, to visit the rough wooden shed that does duty for a museum in the little island of Mykonos, where are housed some fragments of the objects found on neighbouring sites. There, with some difficulty, owing to the intense interest taken in our visit by every man, woman, and child of the place, I came across a piece of sculpture that, to my mind, solved the question. I found a headless female figure, apparently belonging to the same period of art, and dressed in the same manner as the Acropolis statues, *i.e.* in the Ionian chiton, with a himation over it. On



Fig. 36.—Female figure discovered on the Acropolis.  
Athens.





Fig. 37.—A Bacchante. From a Vase Painting.

the left breast of the figure, for a space of about six inches square, without the slightest semblance of a join in the material of the chiton, the sculptor had suddenly changed the pattern of the garment-stuff from one of three deeply-crinkled lines, with interspaces of plain material, to a patch of close and continuous wavy lines with no interspaces. Unfortunately, so far as I know, this figure is not published, and I cannot give an illustration of it. But after my visit to Mykonos, I found, in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, a similar instance on a female statue (No. 598 in the official catalogue, edit. 1891), and the same thing may be noticed in Fig. 35, where the lines of the pattern coalesce on the right side in a way impossible in fact. Since then I have had it brought to my notice, in an excellent article by Dr. Hauser,<sup>43</sup> that the same is the case in the dress of the so-called "Woman getting into a Chariot" (cast in British Museum, Archaic Room, No. 155), where the sleeve only of an under-garment that falls in heavy folds to the feet is shown with a crinkled surface, the remainder being smooth. This figure (be it a woman or a male charioteer) seems to me, as Dr. Hauser suggests, to wear a long, linen, sleeved, "Ionian" chiton, with a shawl-like wrap over it. These differences of creased or crinkled surface, therefore, occurring irregularly, do not represent a difference of material, and consequently a separate garment, but are attempts to show the various ways in which the same garment may appear, owing to the folds which it assumes and the shape of the body it covers; falling in close, fine folds over the chest and shoulders, and in

<sup>43</sup> *Jahrbuch des Kais. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* vii. 1, 1892, p. 55.

larger, freer style over the legs (Fig. 37). Other instances, both in sculpture and vase-painting, might be cited.

By this view the "chitoniscus" of Lechat and Boehlau,<sup>44</sup> or the "wollene Wams" of the catalogue of vases in the Berlin collection, by Dr. Furtwängler, disappears as a separate garment, and becomes merely the upper portion of the Ionian chiton, arranged over the girdle in a "kolpos," in the manner described in my previous chapter, Figs. 26, 27. There is little doubt that the "chitoniscus," mentioned by classical writers,<sup>44a</sup> is the short form of chiton given above (Figs. 25, 31, 32).

In the case of artists who could so indiscriminately use their colours as to paint the eyes of a woman red, as the sculptors of the Acropolis figures did, it seems an affectation to imagine that the lines and patterns on the garments, graved by their tools and coloured by their brush, must necessarily be exactly true to reality. It is, therefore, unwise to argue from their productions a subservience to the exact representation of actual material, only to be equalled in the work of the draughtsman of the modern fashion-plate. In such early art as that of the period to which these figures belong the artist was free and untrammelled, and could change at will from one pattern to another in the same garment, without thereby giving good grounds for inferring that the material was really different. The fact that the garments themselves of this series vary in a parallel manner cannot be taken to count

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Boehlau's *Quaestiones de re vestiaria Graecorum*, fig. 14, p. 38, &c.

<sup>44a</sup> *E.g.* by Aristoph. *Birds*, 946, 955; Demosth., 583, 21, 403, &c.



Fig. 38.—Female figure found on the  
Acropolis. Athens.

for much as evidence, since, whomsoever they may represent, they were dedicated to the divinity, and the intense conservatism of the Greeks in matters of religion is well known.

That these statues vary from each other as much as they do is an important advance on statues of the class that precedes them—a class marked by an almost unvarying similarity of treatment down to the smallest details.

One figure of the series, Fig. 38, by exception, seems to wear the Dorian chiton, very stiffly depicted. The girdle is noticeable for curious hanging bands depending from it to relieve the severity of the drapery.

The outer garment of these female figures is the ordinary himation that I shall shortly describe. In these instances it is often passed under the left arm and, crossing the chest, secured on the right shoulder (Figs. 35, 36). Sometimes it is laid over both shoulders like a cloak (Fig. 34). In either case the himation seems of a shape more oblong than the square it usually assumes. The exact regularity of the zigzag folds is not necessarily true to life, as these folds occur everywhere in Greek art of a certain period, and are the results of a rigid archaism and conventionality. The curious way in which the arm comes from out of the cloak (Fig. 34), without causing any such hanging folds as would be expected, may either be another instance of the artist's limitations, or the garment may have been scalloped in some manner or holes cut in it to allow the arms to pass through.

Across the breast in Figs. 35, 36, some of the length of the himation seems drawn up through the band caused by its being fastened tightly on the shoulder, and a frill-

like effect is thus gained. The key to this arrangement is found in the right-hand figure of the Chiaramonti relief (Fig. 28), where its scheme can be very plainly made out.

The chitons worn by the Acropolis figures (*cf.* Fig. 34) are girdled in the same manner as that suggested for putting on the Ionian chiton, but after the "kolpos" or bag has been drawn up, the folds of the "petticoat" part are neatly arranged in pleats. Sometimes in this series, as on the right shoulder of Fig. 35 no very rigid distinction is made between the lines of the chiton and the himation.

## IV.

### UNDER-GARMENTS OF THE MEN.

HERODOTUS, in his narrative mentioned above, is, as we have seen, only concerned with the dress of Hellenic women.<sup>45</sup> Thucydides, in the archæological preface to his history,<sup>46</sup> deals with the dress of the men.

His words are as follows :—<sup>47</sup> “ The fashion of wearing arms among these continental tribes is a relic of their old predatory habits. For in ancient times all Hellenes carried weapons because their homes were undefended and intercourse was unsafe. . . . They went armed in their everyday life. And the continuance of the custom in certain parts of the country proves that it once prevailed everywhere. The Athenians were the first who laid aside arms and adopted a more easy and luxurious way of life. Quite recently the old-fashioned refinement of dress still lingered among the elder men of their richer class, who wore under-garments of linen and bound back their hair in a knot with golden clasps in the form of grasshoppers (Gr. *τεττίγων*). The same customs long survived among the elders of Ionia, having been derived from their Athenian ancestors.

<sup>45</sup> Hdt., v., 82.

<sup>46</sup> Thuc., i., 6.

<sup>47</sup> Professor Jowett's translation.

“On the other hand the simple dress which is now common was first worn at Sparta, and there, more than anywhere else, the life of the rich was assimilated to that of the people.”

This review of the dress of Greek men by Thucydides falls into three periods:—

(1.) The oldest period, when armour was universally worn in ordinary life, a period to which the references in Homer may belong with more or less accuracy—a fashion preserved in Thucydides' day (B.C. *circ.* 471—404) only in the country parts of Greece, as Epirus, Acarnania, and the like.

(2.) The succeeding period when, as he puts it, “men adopted a more easy and luxurious way of life,” probably denoting by these words that influx of Oriental customs from Ionia typified by the linen chiton of the women (the “Ionian chiton” of Chapter II.) worn also by men, and the wearing of the long hair bound with gold.

(3.) The fashion of the date of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C., “the present fashion” (ὁ νῦν τρόπος) of Thucydides' day, *i.e.* the simple so-called “Dorian” chiton, made of woollen material, a revival from older days, due to the Hellenic reaction against Orientalism after the victory over the Persians, B.C. 480—79.

Wool probably then became the prevailing fashion, partly as “un-Oriental,” and partly as being considered more healthy at a period when the “sound mind in sound body” was the aim of the Athenian state on behalf of her citizens. The hair at this period, too, was cut short, giving more freedom and ease.

The short woollen chiton of the third period was a



moderately wide garment on the same lines as the Dorian chiton of the women given in Fig. 8, with the part below the girdle sewn together, the upper part left open and fastened on the shoulders with fibulae or buttons. The girdling was done in the same way as for the women, but there seems to have been no "folded-over" piece or "apotygma," such as was general in their case.

But, contemporaneously with this practical and useful garment of everyday life, the longer and more dignified linen chiton of the Period II. of Thucydides was retained as a dress for religious and festival occasions in which men took part.

Period III. of Thucydides, therefore, carries on many of the characteristics of Period II., but puts them on a basis of solemnity, retaining them in the service of religion—always the most conservative of mistresses.

In Fig. 39 the soldier wears the short, girdled chiton with a "kolpos," or bag, drawn over the girdle in a way that was usual when the free use of the limbs was wanted for war, hunting, manual work, or speed. (Cf. Brit. Mus., 3rd Vase Room, No. E 463, Case G.)



Fig. 39. — Soldier wearing Short Chiton. From a bas-relief.

In the text of Hartwig's *Meisterschalen*, mentioned in the list of books in my Introduction, there occurs, at p. 219, Fig. 30*b*, an instance from a painting on a vase representing a youth putting on a short chiton. This dress is very curiously drawn as if the wearer was about to put it on *after* it has been drawn in at the waist by a girdle. The lines of the

folds of the chiton, too, above the waist are differently drawn to those below; but I hope I have said enough to prove that this need not necessarily denote two sorts of material. With regard to the chiton having the appearance of being already drawn in at the waist before being put on, Dr. Hartwig makes the ingenious suggestion that it is probably due to the fact that the artist was accustomed to see the chiton so drawn in when in wear, and therefore so depicted it when he wished to represent it in process of being put on.

Artisans and fisher-folk fastened the short chiton on one shoulder only, the left, when the name *ἐξωμίς* (*exomis*) was given to it. Charon, the ferryman, so wears it in Fig. 40.<sup>47a</sup> (Cf. Brit. Mus. 3rd Vase Room, No. D 24, Case F.)

The long chiton remained at the same period (*c.* 431 B.C.) as the dress of men of middle life and distinguished rank. It was also worn by younger men when engaged in certain functions, as, for instance, when acting as priests, flute-players, or charioteers. For a figure of a charioteer so clothed, of a period slightly later than this, the reader is referred to the slab, perhaps the most beautiful of the whole series, from the Mausoleum, British Museum, Mausoleum Room (cast at South Kensington, Perry's Catalogue, No. 137).

In the chitons on vases of the late Black-figured and Red-figured periods the same fine fan-like folds are discernible that can be noticed in the Acropolis figures (Figs. 34, 35, 36). Endless instances will reward the student who looks, even casually, through the 2nd and 3rd Vase Rooms of the British Museum. They are pro-

<sup>47a</sup> *ἑτερομάσχαλος χιτῶν δουλικὸς, ἣν ἐξωμίδα λέγουσι*, Photius, *s.v.*

bably due to the artist's desire to show his skill, and to archaic conventionality. But some German critics have conjectured that these folds were actually so worn and



Fig. 40.—Charon, wearing the “exomis.”

produced by some artificial process akin to our plan of starching, goffering, or ironing. The evidence for such a practice in the case of the Greeks does not, I believe, exist, though similar customs were well known in Egypt.

## V.

### OUTER GARMENTS OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN OF GREECE IN HISTORIC TIMES.

UNDER this head come all kinds of garments put on in shawl or wrap fashion both by men and women, to which the general term "epiblemata" (ἐπιβλήματα) was applied.

The chief of these garments is the *Himation* (ἱμάτιον), to which I have from time to time referred in the foregoing pages. The "chlaina" (χλαίνα), of Homeric times must have been merely a variety of the himation.

Both men and women seem to have worn a himation of the same shape—a large square, sometimes rather oblong than square, varying in size according to the taste of the wearer and the state of the weather. Both sexes followed in the main the rules of arrangement given below, but the women did not adhere so rigidly as the men to these rules, and were addicted to coquettish variations in their draperies. Their himation must usually have been larger than that worn by the men, since it was often drawn over the head as a covering. Figs. 41 and 42, terra-cottas from Tanagra, Bœotia, illustrate this use. Fig. 43, a slab now in the Central Museum at Athens, shows another pretty way of arranging the folds. In deep grief the mantle was used to completely muffle the

figure of the wearer. Demeter, in the Homeric hymn, when going to Metaneira's house as an old nurse, is "wrapped and covered from head to foot so that her dark



Fig. 41.—Terra-cotta figurine from Tanagra.



Fig. 42.—Terra-cotta figurine from Tanagra.

robe clung to her as she walked." The general rule for putting on the himation in classical times seems to have been as follows:—One corner of the square, or oblong, was folded or gathered up and grasped by the hand and pulled

over the left shoulder from the back, then tucked in securely and held firmly between the body and the left upper arm pressed against the ribs. Then, with the right hand, the mantle was pulled out across the wearer's back by its right-hand top corner, opposite the corner already secured, till the lower edge of the garment hung about half way across the calf of the leg. Then the wrap was brought round over the right side of the body (*ἐπιδέξια*)<sup>48</sup> to the front, when two ways of disposing of this right-hand corner were possible, viz. : (A) If the right hand and arm were wanted to be free, the himation was brought *under* the right shoulder, drawn across the chest, and the end thrown over the left shoulder. (B) In the way considered the more suitable for honourable citizens, the mantle was brought *over* the right arm and shoulder (the arm being bent at the elbow) so that only the right hand appeared in a sling-like fold in the front, and then the end was thrown over the left shoulder. Fig. 44, from the well-known figure of the Sophocles of the Lateran, illustrates this second method.

The youth in Fig. 45 has begun to put his himation on in the first method, but, standing at ease, the superfluous end has slipped from his left shoulder to his arm. To us who find it necessary to use pins if we try to drape a himation for a wearer who has to move rapidly on the stage or elsewhere, it is matter for marvel *how* the ancient Greeks kept theirs in position. The himation was the dress of the dignified citizen, and he, though an excitable Southern in disposition, had to learn to control his feelings in a suitable fashion. Aristotle, in his picture of the great and high-souled gentleman, takes it for granted

<sup>48</sup> Plato, *Theaet.*, 175 E., ἐπιδέξια ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἐλευθέρως.

that it would not become him to walk "swinging his arms about."<sup>48</sup> But all the same it would be very clever of anyone, however dignified, to keep a himation well in position through a long day in the jury-courts or the senate of Athens, without a sly pin inserted craftily some-

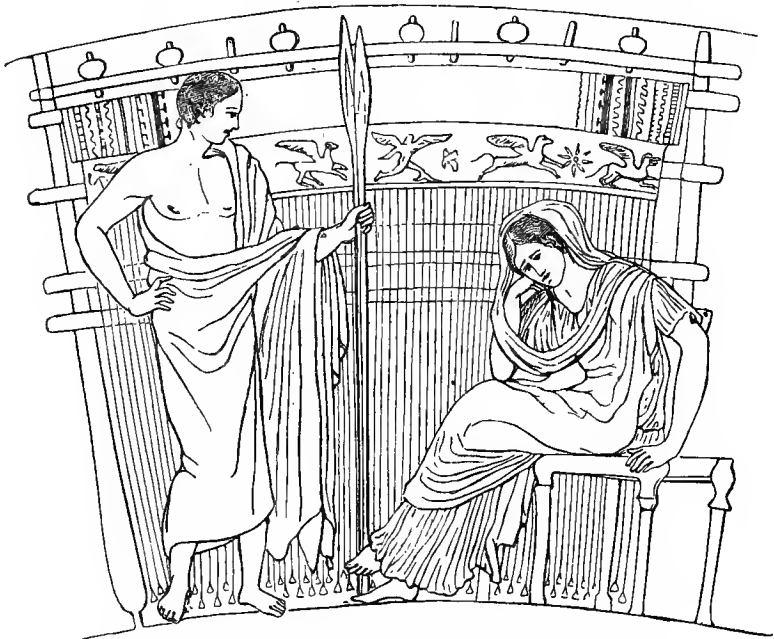


Fig. 45.—Penelope and Telemachos. From a Vase Painting.

where to keep his drapery steady. Little weights of clay or lead fastened to the corners of garments were certainly used.<sup>49</sup> The himation, however, may have been thrown on and off at will, or readjusted from time to time. But the arrangement of this garment was always considered

<sup>48</sup> Aris., *Nic. Eth.*, iv., 3—15.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Figs. 21, 22, 45, 50 (Frontispiece).

a difficulty, requiring practice and assistance. A man's character and culture were judged from its folds. In the "Characters" of Theophrastus the boor's himation does not reach to his knee; the oligarch goes about with his gracefully adjusted. Alcibiades is said to have let his trail behind him.

The narrow doubled himation may be seen on archaic

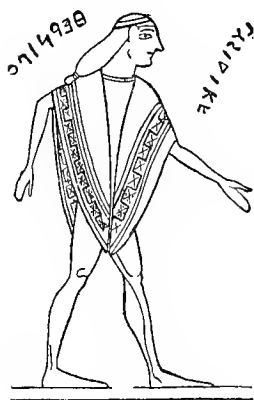


Fig. 46.—From the François Vase.

vases, as, for example, in the British Museum, 2nd Vase Room, No. B 197, Case K. Another instance from the François vase (Fig. 46) has been taken to be of Ionian origin, coming in with the longer Ionian chiton, which did not require so complete an outside wrap as the shorter Dorian chiton of the men. But still it is found on some of the oldest vases (from one of which our figure is taken), and women on the most archaic

Attic vases also wear it put on cloak-wise from the back. A curious survival of it to later classical days may be noticed in the dress of the maidens of the Parthenon frieze (British Museum, Elgin Room, No. 324, Slabs VII., VIII., Figs. 52—60), the figure of the Caryatid of the Erechtheum (same room, No. 407 given in Fig. 47) and in the "Eirene" of Munich, reproduced here in Fig. 48. They, it will be noticed, wear the Dorian chiton of Fig. 14 with apotygma, kolpos, and shoulder-fastening complete. But these shoulder-fastenings are made to do double duty and to support an extra piece of



oblong drapery at the back—in fact the long, narrow himation of older days now fixed securely instead of coming cloak-wise over the shoulders as in the dress of the Acropolis statue, Fig. 34.

The *chlamys* (χλαμύς) was another wrap for men's use, originating in Thessaly as a rider's dress worn over armour. From the fifth century onwards it was universal in Greece.



Fig. 47.—Caryatid. British Museum.



Fig. 48.—Eirene, with infant Ploutos. Munich.

It was a short light mantle, made of wool, oblong in shape, with square or rounded corners, fastened with a clasp either in front or on the right shoulder. With the "Petasos" (or flat traveller's hat with flaps), it became the general dress for young men of "Epehebos" standing

(*i.e.* "just at the threshold of manhood") in Athens, serving in the cavalry. Endless instances of this dress can be discovered in the frieze of the Parthenon in the British Museum. An example from a vase painting is given in Fig. 49. (*Cf.* British Museum, 3rd Vase Room, Case A, No. E 3.)



Fig. 49.—Youth in Chlamys.

Gods of "Epebos age" in art, as Hermes and Apollo, and men both young and old wear the chlamys, if engaged in active pursuits. Boys below this age wear a wide himation (Fig. 50, Frontispiece), quite covering the person, since it was not correct for a boy of good rank to have his

hands free—perhaps a wise precaution for other nations than the Greeks. Infants were closely swaddled in modern Italian fashion and wore conical caps (Fig. 51).



Fig. 51.—Greek Babies. Terra-cottas from Bœotia.

In Sparta, from their twelfth year onwards, men wore

winter and summer as an only dress, the *Tribon* (τρίβων), *i.e.* the small oblong shawl of the Doric tribes. This was also worn in Athens as a special dress for active military work. But in the city this old dress, except for such occasions, was considered boorish and affected, and was only worn by philosophers and persons of peculiar views. It was not correct for a dignified citizen to go beyond his own door in the chiton only without an upper garment. It was also considered improper to wear chlamys or himation without the chiton. Yet instances of such wearing of one garment only are undoubtedly found in art, and some of them are figured in these pages, as, for example, the Sophocles of Fig. 44.

These may only be instances of artistic latitude and of the desire, at the fine period in Greek art, to show as much as possible of the human form, for in real life in Athens only poor people and philosophers wore the upper without the under garment in public or *vice versâ*.<sup>49a</sup>

A pretty variety of outdoor wrap for women, very much on the lines of the men's "chlamys," is the "diplax" (δίπλαξ) of Fig. 51a, where, as its name implies, the garment is "doubled" before being adjusted.

<sup>49a</sup> Cf. Dio. Chr. Or., lxxxii., p. 628, M. Xen. Mem., 1, 6, 2.



Fig. 51a.—“Diana of Gabii.” Fastening the Diplax.

The custom of doubling the himation that prevailed among men in early times has already been mentioned at page 52 (Fig. 46.).

Curious isolated instances of garments are often found represented in Greek art, especially in vase paintings. They are difficult to classify, and have rather to be considered individually. They occur in almost any collection. In the British Museum I would refer the student to a consideration of the curious jacket worn by the woman on the Vase E 120, Case 25; or to the chequered top garment that looks almost as if distended by artificial means worn by the flute-player on the Vase E 286, Turret Case H.

When trousers are found in Greek art they denote un-Greek peoples, as Scythians or Persians. Long sleeves to the wrist are, in the case of women, a mark of the slave. In the accompanying Fig. 52, from a tombstone relief in the Central Museum, Athens (cast in the British Museum, Phigaleia Room, No. 619), the maid, in a long-sleeved dress, is assisting her mistress to prepare her toilet for the last time. When men are represented as wearing long sleeves they are generally foreigners. The origin of such sleeves may be assigned to the fashion of the Asiatic Greeks. On the Tower of the Winds, Athens, the fierce outlandish god of the north-west wind (Skiron) and his fellow of the north (Boreas), wear long sleeves. An instance of a young man, however, who is presumably Athenian, but who may after all be merely a colonist possibly from the Euxine, in a long-sleeved chiton, will be found in the British Museum (Elgin Room, Parthenon Frieze, No. 325, Slab 42, Fig. 109).



Fig. 52.—Stele of Hegeso. Athens.

## VI.

### GIRDLES, FABRICS, COVERINGS FOR THE HEAD AND FEET, ETC.

THE girdle was an important part of the women's dress in Homeric times. Those of Calypso and of Circe seem to have been decorated with gold.<sup>50</sup>

This custom of decoration of the girdle lasted on to classical times. The Acropolis figure, No. 38, has her girdle decorated with pendent ornaments, very probably of leather, with gold or silver studs, in the way that Greek peasants' belts are decorated at the present time. The figure given in cut No. 7, wears a girdle fringed below the waist. The height of the girdling of the chiton in Greek art varies at different times and is a fairly safe guide for assigning a date to monuments. In archaic times, when found with the stiff, narrow foldless garments of the Black-figured vases it is at the waist line. At the period of the finest art (*circa* B.C. 450), it is slightly lower, as may be noticed in the dress of the maidens of the Parthenon frieze. Gradually, after this time the girdle creeps up, till at the period of the frieze of

<sup>50</sup> *Od.*, v., 231; *Od.*, x., 544, &c.

the great altar of Pergamos, Fig. 53 (*circa* B.C. 200—168), it has almost reached the arm-pits.

With regard to material there is considerable difference at different times ; and a certain amount of evidence as to the date of Greek monuments can be extracted from the stuff of which garments appear to be made. As I have already mentioned, in quite early art and up to the time of the Persian invasions, 480 B.C., chitons are frequently made of a soft crinkled material, very like crape, edged with a woven selvage which drapes beautifully. But this material goes out of use about the time of Pheidias. It was no doubt very like the crape-like material still woven in the Greek islands, and procurable in Athens, very elastic and fine. I have slept in a peasant's cottage in Arcadia in fine creamy crape-like sheets, each sheet finished off with selvages, and the crape lines occasionally crossed with single threads of red or even of gold. This was in a village where old forms were very likely to have come down from remote times. There the peasant proprietor existed in an ideal fashion, and nearly everything in his house was made by the family itself or in the village, an excellent example of Aristotle's *αὐτάρκεια*, or "self-containedness."

Apart from the use of wool and linen, a sort of cotton (Byssus) was used for head-dresses and smaller pieces of the women's dress. It grew in Elis, was rather yellow in colour, and so expensive that its use for large garments must have been out of the question. Some of the earliest gold staters of Tarentum have as their obverse a beautiful head of Demeter or Persephone-Gaia wearing a stephane from which hangs a diaphanous veil. This veil is doubtless the *Ταράντιον* or *Ταραντινίδιον*, woven from the "byssus"

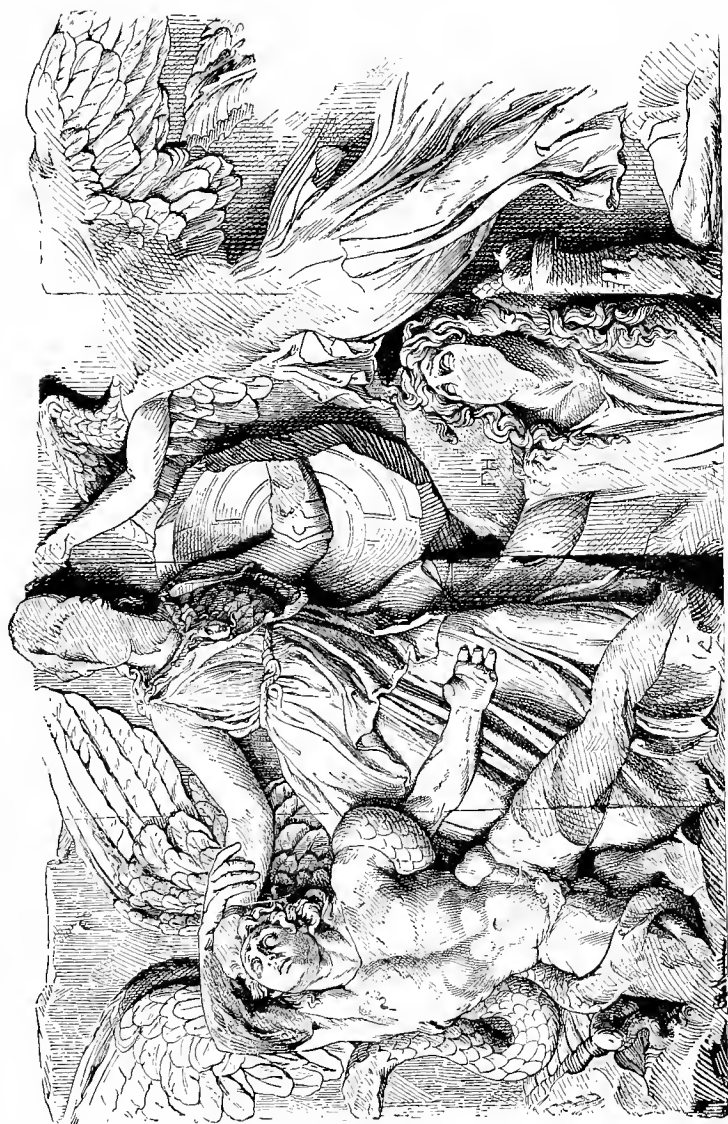


Fig. 53.—Athena. Slab from the Great Altar, Pergamos. Berlin.



of the "Pinna" shell, a form of textile industry that still survives among the inhabitants of modern Taranto.<sup>51</sup>

After the time of Pheidias, the woven selvage of garments seems to have been cut off, and the edges finished with the ordinary hem. This may be noticed on the drapery hanging by the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia. (Cast in the British Museum, Ephesus Room, No. K 2, also in the South Kensington Cast Collection, Perry's Catalogue, No. 114.) This hem does away with a great deal of the grace of the falling folds of the Parthenon draperies (as No. 324, Slabs VII., VIII., Figs 50—60) making the edge much clumsier and stiffer.

Finest of all materials must have been the muslins of Amorgos which are mentioned in Attic Comedy, and were no doubt extraordinarily dear.<sup>52</sup> These, together with the garments from Cos, remarkable for their transparency, and frequently mentioned by authors, specially by the Latin poets of the Augustan age,<sup>53</sup> were worn, in all probability, chiefly by the class of the "hetairae," though respectable married ladies may have used them in the extreme heat, in the strict privacy of the house. On vases of the severe and fine Red-figured period it is very usual to find the forms of the body showing through the garments. This may reflect a current fashion of transparent garments, or it may be due to an artistic custom of drawing the nude figure on the clay, before clothing it with appropriate draperies.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Pliny., N.H., xix., 20, J. E. Forster *de Byssu Antiquorum*, London, 1776; and *The Horsemen of Tarentum*, by Arthur J. Evans in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. ix., 1889, p. 66.

<sup>52</sup> Aristoph., *Lysist.*, 736.

<sup>53</sup> Hor., *Carm.*, iv., 13, 13; Ov., *Ars Am.*, ii., 298.

Silk has been supposed by some critics to have been the material of which the "Coae vestes" were composed. It certainly seems to have been spun and woven at Cos at an early period,<sup>54</sup> but it was rare and dear in Alexandrian times, and not improbably imported from the East. Mr. Rennell Rodd notes the present silk industry of modern Greece<sup>55</sup> at Achmetaga, a village in Euboea, "an industry of historic antiquity in Greece which might be much developed in a country where the mulberry tree flourishes as it does here." Perhaps some of the "shining" garments of which Homer makes such frequent mention were, after all, of silk, though imported.

The discovery of oriental objects at Mycenae and elsewhere, and the finding of "Mycenaean" objects far up the Nile, have made it unwise to insist too much on the impossibility of close contact with the East in the very earliest days of Greece. But the prehistoric presence of silk in Greece is a debateable point, and I leave it with the Homeric commentators.

Gibbon points out the curious suitability of the Greek climate to silk-worms, and notices that until the twelfth century, when the victorious Roger, the Norman King of Sicily, carried off to Palermo the weavers of Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, Greece alone of all European countries, possessed the silk-worm. It is, however, said by some not to have been introduced into Greece before Byzantine times.

The Eastern fashion of embroidering or weaving stripes across the material is of high antiquity in Greece. The

<sup>54</sup> Arist., *Hist. An.*, v., 19.

<sup>55</sup> *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, by R. Rodd. London, Stott, 2nd Edit., 1892.

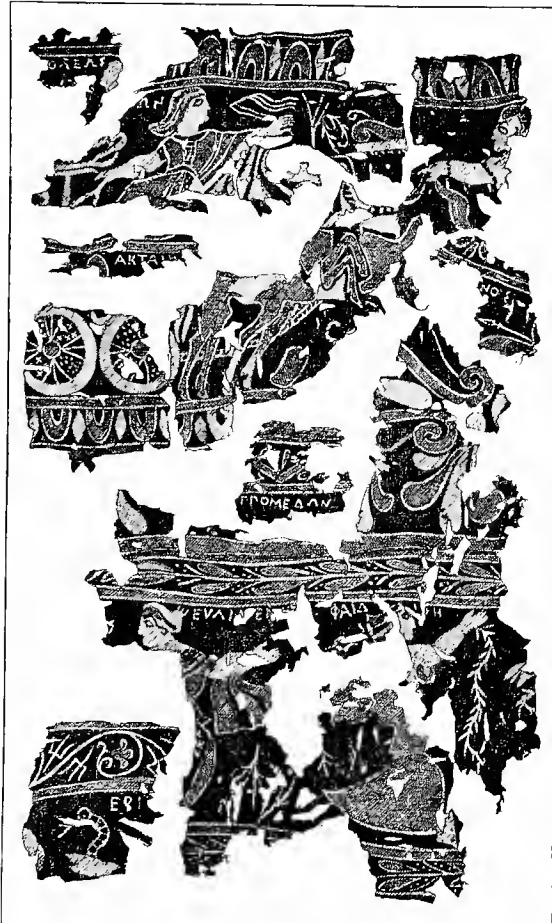


Fig. 54.—Fragment of a robe. Crimea.

decoration of the garments on countless archaic vases testifies to the prevalence of this fashion (*cf.* The Naples terra-cotta of Fig. 7). Fringes were also largely used on the edges of garments, a fashion derived more or less from Asiatic styles.

In Fig. 45, where Penelope sits sadly at her loom, a curious pattern of winged human and animal forms is in process of production in a frieze-like band on the web. This vase is exceedingly interesting as giving a good idea of an ancient Greek loom. The threads at the bottom are held down, it will be seen, by small weights.

So far as I am aware only one set of fragments of a Greek dress, on which a pattern can be made out, still survives. It is given in Fig. 54. It was found in a grave in one of the Greek colonies in the Crimea. The decoration (human figures between floral bands) is much like what may be found on many Greek vases. In the British Museum, 3rd Vase Room, No. E 137, Case E, on a vase signed by Hieron (Fig. 55), Demeter wears a gorgeous himation covered with small figures. As the drapery becomes more graceful, after the archaic period in art, plainer stuffs as a rule come into use, depending for their effect on the hanging of their folds rather than on the pattern of the material.

As to colour, saffron seems to have been a favourite with women, together with red. Gentlemen wore white, as is specially mentioned by Theophrastus.<sup>56</sup> These white garments were frequently cleaned by the fuller,<sup>57</sup> their spotlessness being a test of good breeding. Workmen and field labourers wore grey or brown. On the white

<sup>56</sup> *Characters*, 7, &c., Jebb's Translation, Macmillan, 1870.

<sup>57</sup> *Cf.* Theoph., *Characters*, 23, 24.

Athenian lecythi, of which some fine specimens can be seen in the British Museum (3rd Vase Room, Cases F and 41, 42) the colours of the garments are very well preserved, and can be easily made out. From them it is clear that very brilliant colours were often worn by the relations of a deceased person at times when we should



• Fig. 55.—Vase signed by Hieron. Departure of Triptolemos. British Museum.

expect to find black or neutral tints. In fact I believe that on the whole series of these white lecythi, of which some thousands exist in the museums of Europe, only a very few of the figures of mourners appear dressed in black.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Cf. M. Pottier's book, *Les Lécythes Blancs* (Paris, 1883), which deals at some length with the whole subject of this particular class of vases.

The statues of the Acropolis series (Chap. III.) have garments of very noticeable brilliancy. The chief colours used are blue, red, and green. It is unfortunate that these colours are surely if slowly fading from exposure to the light and air, but they are extremely interesting both from the way in which they illustrate Greek dress and from the evidence they afford of the Greek method of tinting statues.

The *hair* of the men in Homeric times is long. They are the "long-haired Achæans." Euphorbos<sup>59</sup> binds his locks with gold and silver. Little spirals of gold have been found lying beside the heads of skeletons in graves at Mycenæ and other sites excavated by Dr. Schliemann, which, it is conjectured, were used to encircle locks of hair, though they may be only girdle rings. Mr. Leaf<sup>60</sup> points out that various fashions of hair-dressing may have prevailed as distinguishing tribal marks; for example, the Thracians "wear the top-knot," &c.<sup>61</sup> In the account given by Thucydides of the dress of the men in early times it will be remembered that ornaments in the form of the *tettix* are mentioned. It used to be thought that this meant a kind of fibula or clasp in the form of the *tettix*, and that the Athenians chose this as a symbol of their being "earth-born" (autochthonous) and not tainted by descent from any other nation. But, in more recent times, by the aid of marbles discovered in various places in Greece, it has been found that the long hair of the athlete before the middle of the fifth century was braided in a heavy lump behind, bound round and round with bands of gold or other metal till it resembled the ringed body of

<sup>59</sup> *Iliad*, xvii., 51.

<sup>60</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>61</sup> *Iliad*, iv., 533.

the tettix, which is more properly the "tree cricket" and not the "grasshopper." Fig. 56 gives an instance of such a method of hair-dressing. Athletes often bound their hair up with a simple ribbon or fillet only. Another plan of disposing of the long hair of the men when engaged in active exercise was to plait it in one or two long tails and wind these round the head. An instance can be studied in the British Museum, Archaic Lobby, No. 209,

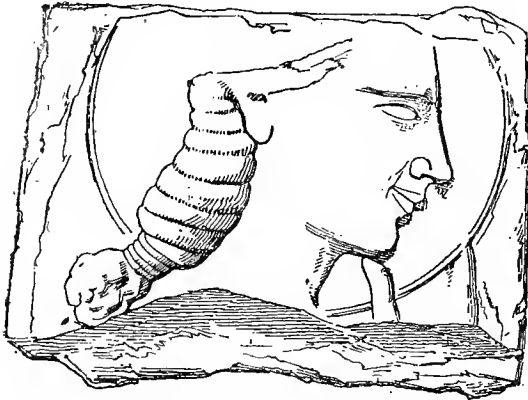


Fig. 56.—Athlete with his hair bound up. Olympia.

the so-called "Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo." A cast of a similar coiffure is in the South Kensington Cast Collection, Perry's Catalogue, No. 34. This long plait was often dedicated by its owner to a river or marine god at some critical moment. The companions of Patroclus sacrifice their hair at his pyre; Orestes offers his to the Inachos.<sup>62</sup>

In the British Museum (Mausoleum Annexe, No. 798, No. 163 in "Gr. Insc. in Brit. Mus.") is an interesting

<sup>62</sup> Il. xxiii., 135, and Aesch. Cho. 6.

votive tablet from Phthiotic Thebes in Thessaly, dedicated by two young men, Philombrotos and Aphthonetos, to Poseidon, with a curious representation of two long straight plaits of hair (eminently suggestive of the Misses Kenwigs), typical of the owners sacrificing this proof of their manly vigour to the marine deity who was supposed to have life and growth more especially under his care.

From the time of the Persian Wars, 490—479 B.C., men in Greece wore their hair shorter than before, but not too short—that was the mark of the slave. It will be remembered that one of the things that astonished the Persian spies at Thermopylæ was the care with which the Spartans were seen to be dressing their long hair before the engagement.<sup>63</sup>

The hair of Greek women in classical times was arranged in an endless variety of ways, which are best studied from the monuments themselves, as it is impossible to give any adequate idea of them by means of illustrations. Many interesting varieties can be found in the vase-rooms of the British Museum. The terra-cotta statuettes (or “figurines”) of Tanagra, reproductions of which, from the museums of Berlin and Vienna, are now so universal, abound in varied methods of hair-dressing. Similar instances exist in the terra-cotta room of the British Museum. Young girls in Greece seem to have worn the hair loose. In the so-called “Homeric” hymn to Demeter, “the daughters of Celeus, like fawns gambolling through a spring meadow, rushed down the narrow way, holding up the folds of their lovely garments, and their hair waved about their shoulders like

<sup>63</sup> Herod., vii., 208.



saffron-coloured bloom." Older women wore various ornaments to keep the hair in place. Gold pins, of all sizes, for this use, are found in women's graves. A fine specimen, in elaborate gold-work, set with a fresh-water



Fig. 57.—Hair bound with a fillet. Coin of Syracuse. British Museum.

pearl, rewarded the excavators in Cyprus a few years ago. It is now in the "Gold Ornament Room" of the British Museum. A visit to this room will, I may mention, give all necessary information on the subject of Greek jewellery.

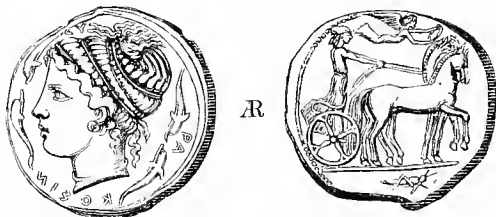


Fig. 58.—Female head, from a coin of Syracuse. British Museum.

The Greek fillet, or braid wound several times round the head, is proverbial as a classical head-dress. It is given in Fig. 57 from a coin of Syracuse of the Fine Period, in the British Museum. A similar arrangement of a cord passing five times round the hair, leaving loose

locks at the crown, appears in Fig. 58, also from a coin of Syracuse in the same collection. Fig. 59 gives an earlier version of the same, with one simple row of beads keeping the hair in place.

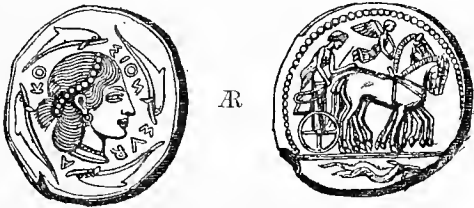


Fig 59.—Female head, with hair bound with beads. Coin of Syracuse. British Museum.

The “Stephane,” or metal circlet rising in front and narrowing at the back, where it was tied by a ribbon either forming a visible bow or one concealed by a knot of hair, was the suitable adornment of dignified,



Fig. 60.—Coin of Segesta. Hair bound with a “Sphendone.” British Museum.

noble matrons. Hera, the Queen of Heaven, generally wears it. A fine instance occurs in the British Museum, Elgin Room, No. 504.

Casts of similar ornaments may be found in the South

Kensington Collection, from the well-known busts of Hera in foreign museums.

The "Sphendone" (like a sling in shape, as its name implies) was a band of ornamented cloth or leather put on either from the back or front, and ending in a tie



Fig. 61.—Coin of Syracuse. "Sphendone" wound several times round the head. British Museum.

or band. Fig. 60 gives an example of the art of the Finest Period on a coin of Segesta, now in the British Museum. Fig. 61, a coin of Syracuse, also in the National Collection, shows how the long ends of the



Fig. 62.—Tetradrachm of Syracuse, with legend "Εὐμενον." Instance of a wide, short "Sphendone." British Museum.

sphendone might be wound several times round the head as a finish. In Fig. 62, from a tetradrachm signed by Eumenos in the British Museum, the sphen-done is shorter and wider than in the previous example, ornamented with stars, and tied on the top of

the head with a small bow. In Fig. 63 it comes lower at the back of the head, and ends in a band across the brow.

The "Ampyx" was a metal diadem or snood, of which



Fig. 63.—Tetradrachm of Syracuse, by Phrygillos. "Sphendone." British Museum.

an instance is given in Fig. 64, also from a coin of Syracuse signed by Eumenos.

The "ampyx" is sometimes worn in conjunction with the hair-net, as in Fig. 65, again from a coin of Syracuse



Fig. 64.—Coin of Syracuse. Female head wearing the "ampyx." British Museum.

in the British Museum. The two ornaments are connected by a flat buckle above the ear.

The net, with the "ampyx" reduced to a very small frontlet, occurs on the famous decadrachm of Syracuse

signed by the artist Kimon, of which the Museum is justly proud (Fig. 66).

A head-dress very similar to the "sphendone" but



Fig. 65.—Coin of Syracuse. Female head wearing "ampyx," joined to hair-net by a buckle. British Museum.

more completely covering the head, called the "sakkos," from the goat's-hair cloth of which it was made, will be found in the cut (Fig. 67) also from a Syracusan coin. In archaic monuments, as, for example, in the Acropolis series



Fig. 66.—Decadrachm of Syracuse. Signed by Kimon. Hair in a net with frontlet. British Museum.

(*cf.* Figs. 33, 34, 35, 36,) very elaborate crimping and curling seems to have been in vogue. The forehead is covered with neatly-set wig-like locks that sometimes look almost

like snail-shells. Long tresses that have been compared variously to ropes of pearls or of onions are depicted in a painstaking way, very dear to the early artist. At a later period much freer modés of treatment prevailed, as our illustrations (Figs. 57—67) have shown.

A great deal has been written and said about the great beauty of the figures of the Greek women owing to their severe disregard of any garment at all corresponding to the modern corset. But there is little doubt that under the chiton, ladies often wore a broad supporting band round



Fig. 67.—Female head wearing the “Sakkos.” Coin of Syracuse.  
British Museum.

the body over the ribs or breast, (*στηθόδεσμος*, “fascia pectoralis”). An instance of such a support can be clearly made out on a vase in the British Museum (3rd Vase Room, No. E 246, Case 29), where a lady is either putting on or taking off her chiton at the bath. This band was probably stiffened in some way or made of leather—occasionally it seems to be supported over the shoulders by strings and buttons, like braces. The famed “cestus” of Aphrodite (*Il.* xiv., 214) may have been worn next the skin, but its elaborateness suggests something that could be seen, therefore it may have been an outer girdle. (*Cf.* Fig. 31).

In later times some kind of band was used to repress a tendency to over-stoutness.<sup>64</sup>

In very early vase-paintings with geometrical patterns the waists of the women are so unaturally narrow that they have raised a suspicion of tight-lacing, even at that remote period, but as the men share in this anatomical



Fig. 68.—Fragment of a Vase, with female figures and geometrical patterns.

peculiarity it is probably due to the artist's early endeavours to portray the human form, emerging as his art was from purely geometrical forms of triangles and squares (Fig. 68).

As may be seen in Fig. 32, the "Running Girl" of the Vatican Museum wears a deep supporting belt when

<sup>64</sup> *Mart.*, 16, 66.

actively exercising, and at such times this must have been usual for women of all ages. The elaborate cross-girdlings to which I have referred (Fig. 25), and which remain in the popular mind as the recognised Greek style, were probably a reminiscence or repetition of a similar girdling beneath the chiton.

Sunshades occur with considerable frequency on Greek monuments, but, as in the case of the East, whence the fashion probably came to Greece, they are generally held by an attendant over the heads of persons of importance. Eros, in the Parthenon frieze (British Museum, Elgin Room, No. 324, Slab 6, Fig. 41), holds one for Aphrodite. In the Berlin Museum is a vase on which is painted a satyr advancing with mincing steps behind a veiled lady, carefully holding a parasol to shield her. On later vases of post-Alexandrine times (as for instance, in Nos. F 276, Case 55; F 236, Case 50-51; F 336, Case 12; F 375, Case 13, of the 4th Vase Room of the British Museum) they can be noticed in great numbers among the various adjuncts of beauty used by the ladies of the time.

In the house the Greeks seem frequently to have gone barefooted, especially in summer. This fashion was followed by philosophers who affected simplicity, by artisans when working out of doors, as well as by Spartans old and young. But in Athens the feet were generally covered out of doors either by sandals, or mere soles tied on with straps, or "made" boots and shoes of leather. Hunters, country-folk, and travellers wore high boots. Shoemaking is frequently mentioned by Greek authors, and various kinds of cut are spoken of as the "Laconian," the "Amyclean," and others; but, although Greek monuments show an extensive variety of boots and shoes, the



different kinds cannot be identified with any certainty. Fig. 69 gives a few of the varieties met with. Well-fitting shoes were a token of good breeding in Athens; mended shoes are given in Theophrastus<sup>65</sup> as one of the signs of avarice, over-large or nailed shoes were "boorish" except for military wear.

Ladies out of doors covered the head with a fold of the himation. On some of the Tanagra figurines outside the himation a parasol-like disc is seen on the heads of ladies, balanced in a manner impossible in reality (Fig.

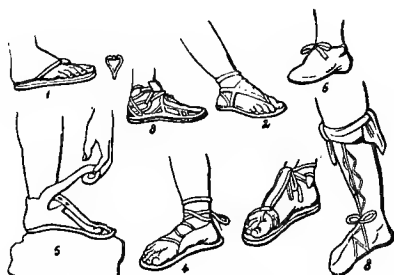


Fig. 69.—Varieties of boots, shoes, and sandals.

42). Foreign catalogues still define these discs as "straw-hats," but it has been suggested that they may be curious instances of a survival. On many of the figures found on the Acropolis an iron spike is inserted in the crown of the head (Fig. 70), in a way that seemed unnecessary and puzzling, until the view was propounded that these spikes probably supported a wooden conical disc which served to protect the fine colouring of the figures from damage by rain or birds. And so, when the artist of the smaller kind of statue, the "figurine" of Tanagra, set to work, he copied

<sup>65</sup> *Characters*, Nos. 14, 25.



Fig. 70.—Female figure found on the Acropolis. Athens.

the disc on occasions when it was no longer wanted as a protection from the weather, and made it appear as part of the dress of ladies of the period. Against this view it may, perhaps, be urged that the art of the figurines of Tanagra is too fresh to be merely a "derived" art. In that case the puzzle of the head-dress is still unsolved. A covering for the head for men in Greece of very general use is the "Petastos" (*πέτασος*), or flat felt hat with flaps at the front and back and over the ears, these flaps being

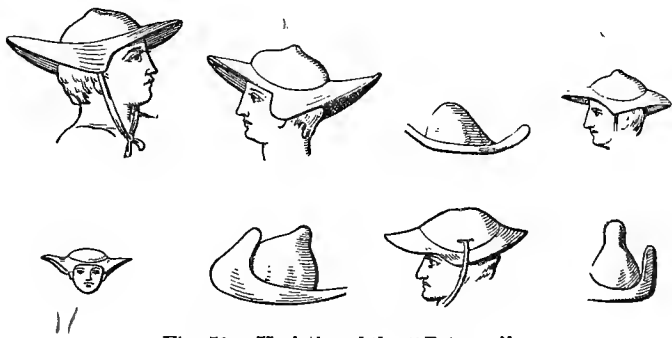


Fig. 71.—Varieties of the "Petastos."

sometimes tied on the crown or under the chin in the fashion of the modern "fore-and-aft" cap. Fig. 71 gives some of the various ways of wearing the Petastos. In later times ladies seem to have occasionally donned it as it occurs on some of the figurines from Tanagra. With the chlamys the Petastos is worn in Greek art by all travellers and hunters, and therefore, by Hermes, the travelling messenger of the gods.

Artisans and fishermen wear the "Pilos" (*πίλος*) a conical cap of felt or leather. Odysseus as a wanderer and seafarer, Charon as ferryman of the dead, and

Hephaistos as the workman god, all wear it in Greek art.



Fig. 72.—Instance of the "Pilos." Vase Painting representing the foot-washing of Odysseus.

Fig. 72 from a vase (being the reverse of the vase, Fig. 45, representing Penelope at the web), shows Odysseus in

the Pilos undergoing the foot-washing at the hands of the aged attendant, Eurycleia. In Fig. 73 some sailors wear it, and in Fig. 74 it is the headgear of Hephæistos. The Pilos seems to have taken the place now filled by the skull-cap as a head covering for invalids and hypochondriacal patients. Plato<sup>66</sup> thus amusingly refers to the custom: "When a carpenter is ill he expects to receive a draught from his doctor that will expel the disease and get rid of it, but if anyone were to prescribe to him a long course of diet, and to order him to put little caps (*πικίδια*) upon his head with other treatment to cor-



Fig. 73.—Sailors wearing the Pilos.

respond; he would soon tell such a doctor that he had no time to be ill, and wishing his physician a good morning he would enter on his usual course of life, or, should his constitution prove unable to bear up, death puts an end to his troubles."

There is little doubt that Greek ladies were in the habit of rectifying, by artificial means, any defects of complexion induced by their confined indoor life and want of exercise. In the British Museum (3rd Vase Room, Case 43) is a pot, found at the Greek colony of Naucratis, in Egypt, which still contains some of the rouge it used to hold.

<sup>66</sup> *Republic*, Bk. iii.

In the *Oeconomics* of Xenophon, where the whole duty of a Greek wife is set forth in most delightful terms, the bride is admonished by her husband to abjure rouge

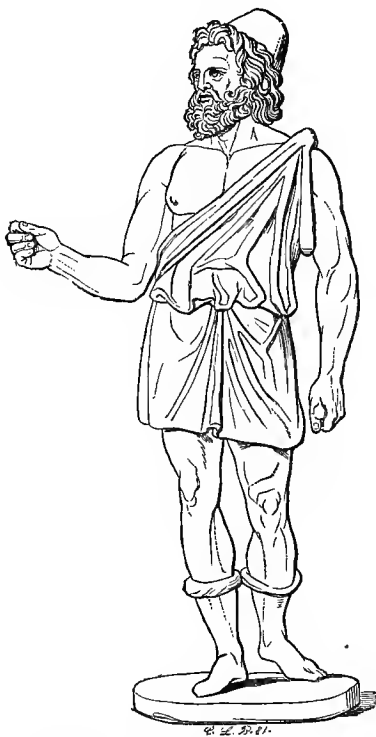


Fig. 74.—Hephaistos with the Pilos.

or powder, false or dyed hair, and high-heeled shoes, as, if she manages well, she will not need artificial aids to beauty, for time will not damage her influence.

These artificial additions to personal charms can, however, hardly be regarded as properly forming part of my

subject. The object I had in view in undertaking the task which I have now completed was threefold. I desired, if possible, to concentrate the light already thrown on the nature and character of the dress of Ancient Greece, if not indeed to increase it; but I also had in view the necessities of those who from taking part in dramatic representations, or from other causes, wished to impersonate ancient Greeks, whether male or female. My third desire was to induce my readers to visit the National Museums to study the subject at first hand. If I have succeeded in any of these aims my work has not been in vain.

# INDEX.

---

- | A.   | C.   |
|--|--|
| <p>Acropolis, Athens, statues from,<br/>35 <i>et seqq</i> : 63, 70, 74.</p> <p>Aeginetans, their feud with the<br/>Athenians, 28.</p> <p>Amazon from Athens, 24.<br/>,, in Berlin Museum, 33.</p> <p>Amorgos, muslins of, 59.</p> <p>Ampyx, the, 69.</p> <p>Antenor, the artist, 36.</p> <p>Apollo Citharædus, 7.</p> <p>Apotygma, 17.</p> <p>Archaic dress, 5, 13, 35.</p> <p>Aristotle on demeanour, 50.</p> <p>Athena, from Athens, 23.<br/>,, ,, Olympia, 21.<br/>,, ,, Pergamos, 58.</p> <p>Athens, Persian conquest of, 36.<br/>,, slab from, 50.</p> <p>Athlete, head of, from Olympia, 64.</p> | <p>Caryatid, figure of, 52.</p> <p>Cestus, the, 71.</p> <p>Charites, the, 26.</p> <p>Charon, figure of, 47.</p> <p>Chiton on archaic monuments, 5.<br/>,, ceremonial, 6, 45.<br/>,, Dorian, 16, 41, 44.<br/>,, etymology of, 15.<br/>,, in Homer, 4.<br/>,, Ionian, 23.<br/>,, origin of, 16.<br/>,, short, of men, 44.<br/>,, ,, ,, women, 33.</p> <p>Chitoniscus, the, 38, 40.</p> <p>Chlaina, the, 7, 48.</p> <p>Chlamys, the, 53.</p> <p>Colour, use of, 35, 40, 61, 62, 63.</p> <p>Cos, transparent garments of, 4, 59.</p> <p>Crape-like material, 58.</p> <p>Crimea, robe from, 61.</p> |
| B.   | D.   |
| <p>Babies, dress of, 54.</p> <p>Bacchante on vase, 39.</p> <p>Bands, decorated, 12, 51, 60, 61.</p> <p>Belts, 34, 71.</p> <p>Boots, 73.</p> <p>Boys, dress of, 54.</p> <p>Brooches, 30 <i>et seqq</i> :</p> <p>Byssus, 58.</p>   | <p>Decorated bands, 12, 51, 60, 61.<br/>,, robes, 14, 33, 61.</p> <p>Demeter on vase, 61.</p> <p>Diana of Gabii, 55.</p> <p>Diplax, the, 55.</p> <p>Disc on head, 49, 74.</p>  |



Dorian chiton, 16 *et seqq* :  
 ,, ,, on Acropolis figure,  
 41.

Dress open at side, 18.

## E.

Egyptian woman, dress of, 22.  
 Eirene, figure of, 52.  
 Endymata, 14.  
 Ephebos, dress of, 53.  
 Epiblemata, 14, 48.  
 Epidaurians and their statues, 27.  
 Exomis, the, 46.

## F.

Fabrics, 57.  
 Feet, coverings of, 57, 73.  
 Fibulae, 29 *et seqq* :  
 ,, at Mycenæ, 11, 30.  
 Fillet for hair, 66.  
 Folds, zigzag, 41, 46.  
 François vase, the, 11, 12, 52.  
 Frilled skirts, 10.

## G.

Geometrical vase, 72.  
 Girdles, 19, 21, 25, 34, 42, 45, 57.  
 ,, varying height of, 57.  
 Girdlings, crossed, 23, 73.  
 Girls, dress of, 20, 34, 65.

## H.

Hair, the, 63.  
 ,, dedication of, 64.  
 ,, of women, arrangement of,  
 65, *et seqq* :

Hair-net, 69.  
 Hartwig, Dr., quoted, 45.  
 Hauser Dr., quoted, 39.  
 Head, coverings of, 57.  
 Hegeso, stele of, 56.  
 Hem, use of, 59.  
 Hephaistos, figure of, 77.  
 Hera, wardrobe of, 2.  
 Herculaneum, figure from, 20.  
 Hermes on vase, 8.  
 Herodotus on Athenian women's  
 dress, 27.  
 Hesperid, figure of, 18.  
 Hieron, vase signed by, 62.  
 Himation, the, 41, 48.  
 ,, method of wearing, 49  
*et seqq* :  
 Homeric dress, 1.

## I.

Ionian chiton, 23 *et seqq* :  
 ,, ,, its introduction, 27  
*et seqq* :

## K.

Kaluptre, the, 9.  
 Kolpos, the, 19, 45.  
 Kredemnon, the, 9.

## L.

Leaf, Mr., quoted, 63.  
 Lechat on Acropolis figures, 37.  
 Linen as a material, 3.  
 Loom, representation of, 51, 61.  
 Lope, the, 10.

## M.

- Materials, varieties of, 58 *et seqq* :  
 Medea on vase, 33.  
 Men, under-garments of, 43.  
 Moiræ, the, 12.  
 Müller, Dr., on Acropolis figures, 37.  
 „ „ „, the chiton, 15.  
 Muslin, 59.  
 Mycenæ, fibulæ from, 11, 30.  
 „ gold spirals from, 63.  
 „ seal from, 10.  
 „ tombs of, 11.  
 Mykonos, statue at, 38.

## N.

- Narrow dresses, 12.

## O.

- Odysseus on vase, 76.  
 Outer garments, 48.

## P.

- Patterns, variety of, 38 *et seqq* :  
 Peleus on vase, 6.  
 Penelope on vase, 51, 61.  
 Peplos, the, 8.  
 „ of Athena, 21.  
 Pergamos, Athena from, 58.  
 Persian conquest of Athens, 36.  
 Petasos, the, 53, 75.  
 Pilos, the, 75.  
 Pinna, byssus of, 59.  
 Pins, 8, 23, 29.  
 „ for hair, 66.  
 Plato on invalids, 77.  
 Prehistoric dress, 4, 10.  
 Proene and Philomela, 21.

## R.

- Rouge, use of, 77.  
 Running girl, Vatican, 34, 72.  
 Rutenu women, dress of, 10.

## S.

- Sailors wearing pilos, 77.  
 Sakkos, the, 70.  
 Sandals, 73.  
 Scheme of Dorian chiton, 17.  
 „ „, closed do. do. 19.  
 „ „, Ionian chiton, 24.  
 „ „, peplos of Athena, 22.  
 Selene, figure of, 17.  
 Shoes, 73.  
 Silk, 60.  
 Skins worn in Homeric times, 7.  
 Skirts, frilled, 10.  
 Sleeves, absence of, 9.  
 „ formed by buttons, 22.  
 „ „ „ pins, 24.  
 „ „ „ sewing, 25.  
 „ long, 56.  
 Sophocles, statue of, 50, 55.  
 Sparta, dress in, 18, 54.  
 Sphendone, the, 68.  
 Spike on head, 74.  
 Stephane, the, 67.  
 Stripes down dress, 13.  
 Sunshades, 73.  
 Syracuse, coins of, 66 *et seqq* :

## T.

- Tanagra, figurines from, 48, 63, 74.  
 Tarentum, byssus fabrics of, 59.  
 Telemachos on vase, 51.

# GREEK DRESS

# G R E E K D R E S S

A STUDY OF THE COSTUMES WORN IN  
ANCIENT GREECE, FROM PRE-HELLENIC  
TIMES TO THE HELLENISTIC AGE

BY ETHEL B. ABRAHAMS, M.A.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1908

A. 231722

GT  
550  
A15

Sage

DB

TO MY FRIEND  
ETHEL STRUDWICK

## PREFACE

THE object of this book is to give a continuous account of the dress worn by the people inhabiting Greek lands, from the earliest times of which we have any record down to the Hellenistic age. The first chapter stands somewhat apart from the rest, since it deals with the costume of the race which occupied the Ægean shores before the real Hellenic races arrived on the scene, and of which we have abundant remains in Crete and elsewhere within the Ægean area. The remains found at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and other so-called Mycenæan sites, seem to be the last efforts of this dying civilization, which was replaced in the period of invasion and conquest recorded in the Homeric poems. I have been unable to trace any continuous development from the dress of this pre-Hellenic people to that of classic Greece, and the marked difference in the type of costume between the two periods bears out the theory of a difference of race.

I have endeavoured to show that the dress described in the Homeric poems is of the same type as the dress of classic Greece, and of this I have traced the historic development, classifying

it into two main divisions, namely, Doric and Ionic. The simple and severe Doric dress contrasts with the more luxurious costume of the Ionian Greeks, although there are many instances, from the fifth century and onwards, in which the two styles are blended. I have noted also the elements which probably came in from Northern Greece; these are chiefly the chlamys and petasos.

The bulk of the following pages constituted a thesis approved for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of London. In revising the work for the press, however, some alterations and additions have been made. The chief of these is the addition of the section on the toilet; the illustrations have been carefully selected from extant monuments.

My sources for the chapter on pre-Hellenic dress have been mainly the finds of Mr A. J. Evans at Knossos, which I had the opportunity of seeing in the Candia Museum; these have been supplemented by the figures found at Petsofa, in Crete, and by various Mycenæan objects, notably rings and gems. The papers published by Mr Evans and Mr J. L. Myres in the *British School Annual* have been of very great value.

For the chapter on Homeric dress, my chief authority has been the poems themselves; in the absence of contemporary monuments, I have used the François vase to illustrate this section, since the figures upon it seem to tally most closely with the descriptions of dress found in the poems. Of



modern literary authorities, the most valuable has been Studniczka's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Altgriechischen Tracht*.

For the dress of the classical period, the evidence from extant art is abundant, and I have based my study chiefly upon it. Sculpture and vase-paintings have furnished the majority of my illustrations. I have noted many references to dress scattered up and down the ancient authors, and a passage from the fifth book of Herodotus has furnished a starting-point for the classification into Doric and Ionic dress.

My theory as to the shape and "cut" of the himation worn by the archaic ladies in the Acropolis Museum at Athens is, I think, a new one; it is based on a very careful examination of the statues, supplemented by some practical experiments in draping a living model.

For the sections on head-dress, materials, and footgear, I have referred to passages in ancient literature, and have used extant remains for illustrations, chiefly vase-paintings; except in the case of materials, for which I have cited the actual fragments of fabric found in Greek tombs at Kertch, in the Crimea.

In describing individual garments, I have in each case suggested dimensions and given diagrams, which, it is hoped, may be of practical use to those who wish to make Greek dresses for themselves.

Throughout the work, in addition to ancient

authorities, I have consulted the various articles in the current classical dictionaries. These include Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Gardner and Jevons' *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, and the *Companion to Greek Studies*. Other works, to which single references have been made, are mentioned in the footnotes.

In addition to written authorities, I have received personal help from several scholars and friends, to whom I should like to express my thanks.

In the first place, I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Reid Trustees of Bedford College, who elected me to a Fellowship in 1905, which enabled me to work for my second degree, and to spend some months in Greece as a student of the British School at Athens.

The suggestion that a thesis on the subject of Greek Dress might be of some value beyond getting me a degree, was due to Mr A. B. Cook, of Cambridge, under whom I had already worked for three years at Bedford College, and whose constant readiness to stimulate my leanings towards Archæology encouraged me to continue my studies in that direction. Mr Cook very kindly read this work in manuscript for me, and gave me the benefit of his criticisms. I owe a very great deal, also, to Professor Ernest Gardner, of University College, London, whose M.A. courses I attended regularly

for two years, and from whom I constantly received help and guidance.

While in Athens, I devoted my attention chiefly to the dress of the archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum, and had the opportunity of discussing this subject with Mr R. C. Bosanquet, then director of the British School. I must also thank Herr Fritz Röhrig, the German sculptor, who placed his studio in Athens at my disposal, and procured a model for me, for the purpose of making my first experiments in reproducing the archaic style of draping the himation.

Special acknowledgments are due to Mr A. J. Evans, Mr J. L. Myres, and the Committee of the British School at Athens, for their courtesy in allowing me to reproduce subjects published by them in the *British School Annual*; to the Trustees of the British Museum, for permission to secure photographs of objects in the Museum for publication; to Mr Cecil Smith, for giving me free access to the library of the Department of Antiquities; and, particularly, to Mr H. B. Walters, who went through the illustrations with me, and greatly facilitated the task of securing suitable ones.

Lastly, my grateful thanks are due to Mr John Murray, for undertaking to publish the book, and to Mr A. H. Hallam Murray, for his constant courtesy and assistance during the progress of the work of publication.

E. B. A.

July 1908.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

|   | PAGE           |
|---|----------------|
| Fig. 1.—Cupbearer of Knossos . . . . .  | <i>face</i> 6  |
| Figs. 2 and 3.—Snake Goddess and Votary . . . . .   | " 11           |
| Fig. 4.—Fresco of a Dancing Girl . . . . .  | " 12           |
| Fig. 5.—Statuette from Petsofa . . . . .  | " 12           |
| Fig. 6.—Studniczka's Diagram . . . . .  | 18             |
| Fig. 7.—(a) Vase—British Museum. (b and c) Vase-paintings<br>by Klitias and Ergotimos, Florence . . . . . | <i>face</i> 26 |
| Fig. 8.—From the François Vase . . . . .  | " 30           |
| Fig. 9.—Diagram of the Doric Peplos . . . . .   | 43             |
| Fig. 10.—Metope from the Temple of Zeus, at Olympia   | <i>face</i> 44 |
| Fig. 11.—Bronze Statue from Herculaneum, Naples . . . . .   | " 45           |
| Fig. 12.—Vase-painting—British Museum . . . . .   | " 46           |
| Fig. 13.—Vase-painting in the Polygnotan Style—Louvre   | " 47           |
| Fig. 14.—Vase-painting by Hieron—British Museum . . . . .   | " 49           |
| Fig. 15.—Terra-cotta Statuette—British Museum . . . . .   | " 49           |
| Fig. 16.—Vase-painting by Euxitheos—British Museum  | " 50           |
| Fig. 17.—Vase-painting by Falerii—Rome, Villa Giulia  | " 50           |
| Fig. 18.—Athena of Velletri . . . . .   | " 51           |
| Fig. 19.—Bronze Statuette—British Museum . . . . .  | " 53           |
| Fig. 20.—Vase-painting—British Museum . . . . .   | " 54           |
| Fig. 21.—The Doric Himation . . . . .   | " 54           |
| Fig. 22.—Vase-painting by Euphronios—Munich . . . . .   | " 55           |
| Fig. 23.—The Chlamys and Petasos . . . . .  | " 55           |
| Fig. 24.—Diagram of the Chlamys . . . . .   | 55             |
| Fig. 25.—Vase-painting from Lucania—British Museum  | <i>face</i> 61 |
| Fig. 26.—Diagram of the Ionic Chiton . . . . .  | 61             |
| Fig. 27.—The Delphi Charioteer . . . . .  | <i>face</i> 62 |
| Fig. 28.—Vase-painting—Munich . . . . .   | " 63           |
| Fig. 29.—Vase-painting by Brygos—British Museum . . . . .   | " 66           |

|   | PAGE            |
|---|-----------------|
| Fig. 30.—Diagram of the Sleeved Chiton with Overfold . . . . .  | 66              |
| Fig. 31.—Archaic Statue—Athens, Acropolis Museum . . . . .  | <i>face</i> 75  |
| Fig. 32.—Archaic Statue—Athens, Acropolis Museum . . . . .  | ,, 78           |
| Fig. 33.—Diagram of the Archaic Ionic Himation . . . . .  | 90              |
| Fig. 34.—Drapery in the Style of the Archaic Statues in the<br>Acropolis Museum, Athens . . . . .   | <i>face</i> 91  |
| Fig. 35.—Vase-painting—British Museum . . . . .   | ,, 93           |
| Fig. 36.—Vase-painting—Ionic Dress . . . . .  | ,, 94           |
| Fig. 37.—The Artemis of Gabii—Louvre . . . . .  | ,, 95           |
| Fig. 38.—Vase-painting—Dress with two Overfolds . . . . .   | ,, 96           |
| Fig. 39.—Fragments of a Sarcophagus Cover from Kertch . . . . .   | ,, 103          |
| Fig. 40.—Embroidered Fragment from Kertch . . . . .   | ,, 105          |
| Fig. 41.—(a and b) Fragments of a Sarcophagus Cover from<br>Kertch. (c) Embroidered Fragment from Kertch . . . . .  | ,, 106          |
| Fig. 42.—Men's Head-dress—Archaic . . . . .   | ,, 108          |
| Fig. 43.—(a) Head of Apollo from the Temple of Zeus, at<br>Olympia. (b) Head of an Athlete—Athens Acro-<br>polis Museum . . . . .   | ,, 110          |
| Fig. 44.—Archaic form of Petasos . . . . .  | 111             |
| Fig. 45.—Women's Head-dress . . . . .   | <i>face</i> 112 |
| Fig. 46.—Sandals and Shoes . . . . .  | ,, 116          |
| Fig. 47.—Boot . . . . .   | 118             |
| Fig. 48.—(a) A Bronze in the British Museum, (b) Foot of the<br>Hermes of Praxiteles (from a cast in the British<br>Museum). (c) A Terra-cotta Flask in the British<br>Museum . . . . . | <i>face</i> 118 |
| Fig. 49.—Sandals . . . . .  | 119             |
| Fig. 50.—Diagram of an Aryballos . . . . .  | 121             |
| Fig. 51.—Diagram of a Lekythos . . . . .  | 121             |
| Fig. 52.—(a) A Pyxis in the British Museum, (b) A Toilet-<br>box in the British Museum . . . . .  | <i>face</i> 122 |
| Fig. 53.—(a) Bronze Box Mirror—British Museum, (b) Bronze<br>Stand Mirror—British Museum . . . . .  | <i>face</i> 124 |
| Fig. 54.—Diagram of an Alabastron . . . . .   | 125             |

# GREEK DRESS

## I

### INTRODUCTION

#### PRE-HELLENIC

IN seeking to conjure up a vivid picture of the life of an ancient people, it is the task of the archæologist to neglect no point that can in any way throw light on the manners and customs which that people practised from day to day, both in the exercise of their public duties and in the privacy of their own homes.

Just as the habits and dress of an individual frequently give a true impression of his character and type of mind, so the salient characteristics of a nation are reflected in the external details of their manners and their costume. In making a careful study of the Greeks, therefore, whose innate feeling for beauty was part of their very being, and whose sense of the fitness of things rarely if ever played them false, we shall expect to find our efforts amply repaid, both by the satisfaction given to the æsthetic sense and by the knowledge we

shall have gained of the development of the national character. The study of costume has, moreover, an ethnological significance which in itself justifies a detailed investigation of the subject.

Professor Ridgeway, in *The Early Age of Greece*, has pointed out that the civilization reflected in the Homeric poems differs in many essential points from that which is revealed by the monuments found at Mycenæan sites on the mainland of Greece and in the Ægean islands. Confirmation has since been added to his convincing arguments by the discoveries of Mr Arthur Evans in Crete, which prove that the so-called Mycenæan remains were but the last efforts of a dying civilization which stretched back at least as far as the third millennium before our era. The culture revealed by the excavations at Knossos and other sites in Crete presents a striking contrast to that of the Greeks of the classic period; whereas the state of society described in the Homeric poems seems to contain analogies with both periods.

The palace of Alcinous and the house of Odysseus, as described in the *Odyssey*, correspond in plan to the palace of Mycenæ excavated by the Greek Archæological Society in 1886, which undoubtedly belongs to the older stratum of civilization;<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, the methods of dis-

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Myres, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xx. Cp. also, for general principles of ground plan, "The Palace at Knossos," *British School Annual*, VIII.

posing of the dead, and the underlying principles of costume, are utterly different in the two cases. The Homeric heroes burn their dead, whereas the remains found in Mycenæan graves prove that in the state of society to which they belong burial was the common method of disposing of the dead. The difference in costume is equally striking; the women's dress, illustrated by the Mycenæan gems and the wall-paintings and faïence statuettes from Knossos, consists of elaborately made garments, with tight jackets fitting closely to the figures at the waist, and full and frequently flounced skirts; there is no indication of fastening by means of brooches or fibulæ. In Homer the brooch is almost invariably mentioned as an essential detail of female costume, and the garments described are of a simple character, and such that they can be spread out and used for other purposes. For example, Aphrodite, when protecting Æneas from his assailants, shields him from their weapons by drawing a fold of her peplos over him (*Iliad*, v., 315); and again, at the funeral rites of Hector, the body is covered, *πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι μαλακοῖσιν* (*Iliad*, xxiv., 796), "with soft purple robes."

The contrast between the forms of dress represented in Mycenæan art and in the Homeric poems can only be explained by supposing that there is a difference in race between the two peoples, and that the older civilization was almost entirely swept away by a great series of invasions carried out by men of a different race. The



Homeric dress is closely akin to that of the Greeks of the classic period, whereas that represented on Mycenæan rings and gems belongs, as will be shown later, to the stratum of civilization revealed by the Cretan excavations.<sup>1</sup> We must suppose, then, that the Homeric heroes belonged to the invading race, which was full of youthful vigour and succeeded in superimposing its manners and customs upon those of the older, decadent society, and in finally ousting the older inhabitants from their homes altogether. The process was one which must have lasted over some centuries, and it is probable that the Homeric poems were composed whilst it was still incomplete, and that the siege of Troy represents one incident in the long wars which were waged between the two peoples. This view accounts for the fact that the Homeric house belongs to the older civilization, while the costume is that of the later. The invaders, having conquered or driven out the inhabitants, finding their houses strongly built and luxuriously decorated, would refrain from destroying them and settle themselves peacefully and comfortably there, naturally retaining their own style of dress and customs of disposing of their dead. Any new houses built after their settlement would be constructed after their own plans, and so the Homeric house would gradually give place to the Hellenic. The absence of brooches and fibulæ from the graves on the Acropolis of Mycenæ, and their presence in

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. i., 2nd ed., chap. i.

those of the lower city, adds confirmation to this theory. The Acropolis graves are earlier than the others, which in all probability belong to the time when the invaders had already imposed some of their characteristic customs upon their predecessors at Mycenæ and elsewhere in Greece. The use of the fibula is common to the early peoples of Central Europe, from which region it must have been introduced by the Achæan invaders into Greece.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest remains found on Greek soil are those which have been unearthed by Mr A. J. Evans, in his series of excavations at Knossos, in Crete. They represent earlier stages of that civilization which has hitherto been known as Mycenaean. The costume revealed by the art of this pre-Hellenic age forms a study in itself, since it presents a striking contrast to that of the classic period in Greece, and also to that of contemporary Asiatic peoples. The costume of the men is simple; when not entirely nude, they wear sometimes a waist-cloth rolled round a girdle, with a loose end hanging down like an apron in front;<sup>2</sup> in a lead statuette of the same period found near Abbia, in Laconia, the waist-cloth appears to take the form of a triangular piece of material wrapped round the girdle, the apex of the triangle being drawn up between the legs and tucked into the

<sup>1</sup> Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, chap. viii.; S. Müller, *Urgeschichte Europas*, pp. 95, 96.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 1, Cupbearer of Knossos. Cp. also, Vaphio Cup, gems, Perrot and Chipiez, VI., 426. 21.

belt in front. In some terra-cotta figurines from Petsofa,<sup>1</sup> a third garment appears, consisting of a rectangular piece of material with the long side tucked into the belt all round and the short sides hanging down perpendicularly in front. In the later Mycenæan period, the garment takes the form of short breeches reaching half-way down the thigh. These are probably a development from the earlier waist-cloth.<sup>2</sup>

In most cases the upper part of the body appears to be quite bare, but in some instances a line is drawn at the neck and wrists which may indicate the edges of a close-fitting, long-sleeved tunic. It is more probable, however, that these lines are meant to represent a necklace and bracelets, such as have been found in considerable numbers in Mycenæan graves. On a siege scene represented on a fragment of a silver vase from Mycenæ,<sup>3</sup> the majority of the fighting warriors are represented quite nude; but in one case (at the lower right-hand corner) a tunic and head-dress are worn; but in this instance the tunic has sleeves reaching only half-way to the elbow, as is also the case with the inhabitants, who are watching the progress of the battle from behind the city wall; two figures, which appear to be just leaving the city, wear square cloaks fastened on the right shoulder and leaving both arms free; they do not appear to

<sup>1</sup> *British School Annual*, IX., pls. ix. and x.

<sup>2</sup> Dagger blade from Mycenæ. Perrot and Chipiez, VI., pl. xviii., 3.

<sup>3</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, VI., fig. 365.



FIG. 1.—Cupbearer of Knossos.

be fighting, and probably represent heralds about to make some proposal to the enemy. The covering here described as a cloak has been regarded as representing an oblong shield (*ἦντε πύργος*); but in view of the fact that the men carry no weapons and that both arms are exposed, it seems more reasonable to suppose that a mantle is intended. The warriors in front are fighting without protection; and if any shield were represented, we should expect it to be of the usual Mycenæan shape, which appears as a decoration on the upper left-hand corner of the fragment. A fragment of a wall-painting from Mycenæ represents a warrior wearing a short-sleeved tunic and having a double bracelet at the wrist; it appears, then, that when the pre-Hellenic man wore a tunic, it was not furnished with long sleeves, and even when his clothing was of the scantiest possible nature, he was not far enough removed from primitive barbarism to prevent his adorning his person with bracelet and necklace.

The indication of some kind of footgear is frequent: it is represented on the Vaphio cups; and on a wall-painting from Tiryns depicting the capture of a bull, it takes the form of pointed shoes turned up at the toes and fastened by a series of bands above the ankles. Such pointed shoes were common to the Assyrians and the Hittites, and are worn to this day by Greeks and Turks, and frequently also in other rocky countries.<sup>1</sup>

In the wall-painting from Tiryns, and on a

<sup>1</sup> The characteristic Cretan boots may possibly be a direct survival.

Mycenæan intaglio (Perrot and Chipiez, VI., 426. 21), a number of bands is indicated just below the knee. Possibly the boots were fastened by leather laces crossed round the legs and then passed two or three times round under the knees. At present these bands have only been found in cases where the wearer is engaged in some violent occupation, such as the bull-taming scene; it has been suggested that they represent a leather thong wound round the knees to act as a protection; on stony ground some such guard would be necessary.

The head-dress, of conical shape, finished by a button or flattened knob on the top, represents a helmet, made sometimes probably of metal, as was the case in Assyria, but in some cases certainly of felt or leather, covered with rows of overlapping boar's tusks, turned alternately in opposite directions. A large number of boar's tusks were found by Dr Schliemann<sup>1</sup> at Mycenæ, flattened on one side and with several holes in them, which obviously served to fasten them to some object; such a helmet is to be seen in an ivory fragment from Mycenæ,<sup>2</sup> and would exactly correspond to that described in *Iliad*, X., 261.

ἀμφὶ δ' οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκεν  
 ῥινουῖ ποιητὴν· πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἰμᾶσιν  
 ἐντέτατο στερεῶς, ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὄδοντες  
 ἀργιοδότος ὑὸς. Θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 εὔ καὶ ἐπισταμένως.

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, pp. 272, 273.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, VI., fig. 380; 'Εφημέρις Ἀρχαιολογική, 1888, pl. viii.

“And about his head he set a helmet made of leather ; and inside it was stiffly wrought with many thongs, and outside the white teeth of a boar with shining tusks were set close together, this way and that, well and cunningly arranged.”

In some cases the helmet presents a strikingly Egyptian appearance, and may quite possibly have been derived from Egypt ; evidence of direct intercourse between the Cretans and Egyptians is not wanting ; indeed the clearest representation of the costume of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the Ægean shores is to be found on an Egyptian tomb fresco,<sup>1</sup> where the Kefts are depicted bringing vases as tribute to the Egyptian monarch, their costume is identical with that of the cupbearer from the Knossian fresco, and they are carrying vessels of the same shapes as many which have been found in Crete and on other Mycenæan sites. It has been pointed out by Mr H. R. Hall<sup>2</sup> that the Keftiu were the people of the Ægean islands, including Crete, and that sometimes the name was applied exclusively to the Cretans. The Keftiu were formerly mistaken for Phœnicians ; but their whole appearance and costume on the Egyptian fresco is utterly unlike anything Phœnician ; so we are quite justified in considering that they represent the Cretans faithfully as they appeared to the Egyptians, especially in view of their similarity to the cup-

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, III., fig. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *British School Annual*, IX., “Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea.”

bearer of the fresco at Knossos, a native product of Cretan art.

A striking analogy to the pre-Hellenic male costume is to be observed in the Etruscan wall-paintings from the tombs at Corneto, now in the British Museum. The waist-cloth, shoes, and head-dress are there represented in a form almost identical with that found in Mycenæan art. So little is known of the origin of the Etruscans, that it is difficult to say whether this similarity of dress indicates any racial connection between the two peoples; it is interesting to note that among ancient authorities Hellanicus of Lesbos states that the Etruscans were of Pelasgian origin, and modern writers have claimed a Pelasgian origin for the Cretans; there is not sufficient evidence forthcoming at present to determine whether they are right or wrong; but in any case, it is not improbable that both the Etruscans and the Cretans were branches of a common civilization, which spread itself all round the shores of the Mediterranean Sea in pre-Hellenic times, and that the Etruscans maintained some of their early characteristics down to a later date than other peoples of the same race.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to the female costume of the pre-Hellenic age, we find we have something far more complicated to deal with. The same style of dress is found on the early faïence figures from Knossos

<sup>1</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v. "Etrusci."





FIGS. 2 and 3.—Snake Goddess and Votary. (*British School Annual*, IX.,  
figs. 54 and 56.)

and Petsofa, and extends right on until quite late Mycenæan times.

It consists of a short-sleeved jacket, fitting closely to the figure, and a full skirt, standing out round the feet in a manner suggestive of the hoops of the early Victorian age. The juncture of the two garments is hidden by a thick double girdle worn round the waist, which is pinched into the smallest possible compass.

The snake goddess and her votary<sup>1</sup> from Knossos have, in addition, a kind of apron reaching almost to the knees in front and behind, and rising to the hips at the sides. The costume is completed by the addition of a high hat or turban.

Looking at the snake goddess more in detail, we find that the jacket is cut away into a V-shape from the neck to the waist, leaving both the breasts quite bare; the two edges are laced across below the breast, the laces being fastened in a series of bows. The jacket is covered with an elaborate volute pattern, the apron with spots and bordered with a "guilloche." The horizontal lines on the skirt probably represent stripes in the material, the edge being ornamented with a reticulated band. The girdle of the goddess is composed of two snakes intertwined. The head-dress here consists of a high turban, probably made of cloth or linen wound round some kind of framework. The principle of the costume is always the same, though the fashions vary considerably in detail: for example, the skirt of

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 2 and 3 from *British School Annual*, IX.

the votary is composed of a series of seven flounces, one above the other, the lower edge in each case just covering the upper edge of the flounce below, the whole being probably sewn on to a foundation. On a fresco<sup>1</sup> representing a lady dancing, the skirt seems to consist of three such flounces. On the same figure the breast is not left bare, but a chemisette seems to be worn under the jacket, possibly made of some fine linen material, the edge of which is distinctly indicated at the neck. In one of the statuettes from Petsofa<sup>2</sup> the jacket terminates at the back in a high "Medici" collar, and in another fresco, from Knossos, a high sash appears on the back, the loop reaching to the nape of the neck, and the fringed edge hanging down to the waist; at first sight this sash recalls the Japanese "Obi."<sup>3</sup> The millinery of the Cretan ladies, as illustrated by the terra-cotta fragments from Petsofa, exhibits an abundant variety of styles. The hat seems to have consisted of a flat, circular, or oval piece of material pinched up into any shape to suit the taste of the wearer; sometimes it is fastened down towards the nape of the neck, and curves round the head, rising high up in front over the face; in one case<sup>4</sup> the brim has a wavy edge and is trimmed with rosettes underneath; frequently it is

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 4, only a very small fragment of the skirt remains; but the painting has been restored. Reproduced from the *British School Annual*, VIII., fig. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 5 from *British School Annual*, IX., pl. viii.

<sup>3</sup> The large sash worn over the "Kimono" and tied rather high up at the back. <sup>4</sup> *British School Annual*, IX., pls. xi. and xii.



FIG. 4.—Fresco of a Dancing Girl.



FIG. 5.—Statuette from Petsosa.

done up into a large "toque" shape, narrowing to a point in front; this form occurs also on late Mycenæan terra-cottas.

On none of the examples of costume quoted above is there any indication of fastening; the garments are obviously constructed by an elaborate system of sewing, but the means by which they were held in place on the figure is not represented, except in the case of the bodices of the goddess and her votary, which are laced across by cords. The use of fibulæ is nowhere indicated in art; and no fibulæ have been found, except in the later Mycenæan graves, which in all probability belong to the Achæan civilization introduced into Greece by the invasions from Central Europe.<sup>1</sup> A fragmentary hand from Petsofa has a bracelet represented in white paint, which is clearly fastened by means of a button and loop; since this method of fastening was known to the Cretans, it is probable that the ladies' skirts were fastened at the waist by buttons and loops, the fastening being concealed by the belt, as is the case with the modern blouse and skirt costume.

It has been pointed out by Mr J. L. Myres<sup>2</sup> that this jacket and apron type of dress is commonly worn at the present day by the peasants of the mountainous districts of Europe, chiefly in Italy, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Norway, and the Pyrenees. In Norway and Switzerland, moreover, we find the

<sup>1</sup> On "fibulæ," see Sophus Müller, *Urgeschichte Europas*, p. 95. O. Montelius, *Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*.

<sup>2</sup> *British School Annual*, IX.

addition of a fan-like head-dress analogous to that represented in Minoan art. The appearance of the same kind of costume in Crete in the third millennium before our era merely serves to show that the type of dress need not necessarily be a modern development, but may possibly claim greater antiquity than has hitherto been supposed. The question of survival in the Ægean is interesting; as late as Tournefort's<sup>1</sup> time, the inhabitants of some of the islands—for example, Mycone—appear to have worn a dress composed of a tight jacket and flounced skirt, with the addition of some Turkish elements; in the remoter islands there is a possibility—but it is little more than a possibility—that this may be a case of survival; in any case, the type seems to have disappeared in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tournefort, I., 109.

<sup>2</sup> See also, Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, Paris, 1809, where the women of the islands are represented wearing a tight corslet over a chemisette. A high head-dress, not unlike that of the Petsofa statuettes, was commonly worn by the island women as late as the eighteenth century.

## II

### HOMERIC

TURNING to the various passages in the Homeric poems which refer to dress, we find that there is very little likelihood that they can be intended to describe the kind of costume dealt with above under the name of "Pre-Hellenic Dress." The words used, and the accounts of the process of dressing, have no meaning, unless we suppose them to refer to the draped type of costume as opposed both to the close-fitting jacket type and to the dressing-gown type, consisting of a loose-sleeved garment opening down the front. The question of the kind of dress actually worn by the Trojan and Achæan heroes is not one to be entered into here; possibly it may have been the same as that reflected in the art of the Minoan and Mycenæan peoples; indeed, if the Trojans represent the older race which inhabited the shores of the Ægean, and the Achæans the invaders who came down upon them from the north, there is every probability that the former wore the pre-Hellenic dress, and the latter introduced the new Hellenic draped type. The use of the epithets *βαθύκολπος* and *βαθύζωνος*,



“deep-bosomed” and “deep-girdled,” in the Homeric poems perhaps has some bearing on this point. Referring respectively to the deep hollow between the breasts and to the girdle cutting deep into the figure, they might well be applied to the wasp-waisted ladies of Knossos. It is significant to notice that *βαθύκολπος* is used only of Trojan women,<sup>1</sup> *βαθύζωνος* only of barbarian captives;<sup>2</sup> possibly the poet may be unconsciously referring to the difference between the dress of the older race and that of their Achæan conquerors.

However that may be, in most cases Homer ascribes the same kind of costume to Achæans and Trojans alike; he is singing of deeds that happened many years, perhaps even two or three centuries, before his day, and being no archæologist, he imagines his heroes to have dressed as his own contemporaries did; he is acting no differently from the Italian masters, who painted their Madonnas in mediæval costume.

We find in Homer many differences in the nomenclature used when speaking of men's and women's dresses respectively. The words *χιτών* and *χαλίνα* are applied exclusively to men's costume, *πέπλος* and *κρήδεμνον* exclusively to women's, whereas the word *φάρος* is the only one used indifferently for either; both men and women alike fasten their garments with brooches or pins of some kind (*περόνη, ἐνετή*) and with girdles (*ζώνη, ζωστήρ*). Many of the words applied to articles of wearing-apparel

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, 18. 122, 389, 24. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 9. 594; *Odyssey*, 3. 154.

are also used to signify coverings for beds, seats, etc. : such are *χλαίνα*, *ρήγεια*, *πέπλος*, *φᾶρος*; the last is used also of sails and of the shroud of Laertes.<sup>1</sup> This being the case, we must infer that they were not made-up garments, but large square or oblong pieces of material which could be used for other purposes besides clothing; the Homeric dress, therefore, must belong to the draped type rather than to any other.

The men's dress in Homer regularly consists of two pieces—the *χιτών*, or undergarment, and a cloak called variously *χλαίνα*, *φᾶρος*, or, in one case, *λώπη*.<sup>2</sup> Warriors sometimes wore a skin instead of the mantle. For example, in *Iliad*, x., 22, Agamemnon is described as putting on a lion's skin, and a few lines further on Menelaus appears wearing a dappled leopard's skin.

The description of the process of dressing in the *Iliad* is simple and straightforward. Agamemnon<sup>3</sup> awakes in the morning, and prepares to meet the assembly of the Achæans :

ἔξετο δ' ὀρθωθείς μαλακὸν δ' ἔνδυσε χιτῶνα  
καλὸν νηγατέον, περὶ δὲ μέγα βάλλετο φᾶρος·  
πόσσι δ' ὑπὸ λιταροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,  
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον.

“He sat upright and drew on his soft tunic, fair and new, and threw around him his great cloak : and beneath his shining feet he bound fair sandals, and around his shoulders he slung his silver-studded sword.”

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xix., 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii., 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, ii., 42.

The χιτών was apparently, then, a garment which could be drawn on (ἐνδυνε) while in a sitting position. No mention is made, either in this or other similar passages, of pins or girdle to fasten the χιτών, so we may infer that it was a rather narrow garment sewn up at the two sides, with openings left for the head and arms.

Studniczka<sup>1</sup> gives a diagram of such a garment, which he describes as a sack left open at the bottom, with openings in the top and side-seams for head and arms.

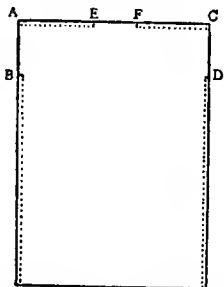


FIG. 6. Studniczka's Diagram. The dotted lines mark the seams, the spaces A B, C D, E F being left open for arms and head respectively.

The words ἐνδύω, ἐκδύω, are commonly used for "to put on" and "to take off" a χιτών, which seems to imply that the garment was drawn over the head; although occasionally περί is used with the simple verb δύνω instead of the compound ἐνδύω.<sup>2</sup> In

no case is there any mention of pins or brooches in connection with the χιτών, so we are justified in inferring that it was a sewn garment; and in *Odyssey*, xxiv., 227, the χιτών of Laertes is actually described as sewn:

ῥυπόωντα δὲ ἔστο χιτῶνα  
ῥαπτὸν ἀεικέλιον.

"He wore a sewn tunic, dirty and unseemly."

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, xv., 60.

As a rule, the χιτών was worn ungirdled, except when the wearer was engaged in vigorous action, when he is usually described as girding himself for the purpose. For example, in the *Odyssey*,<sup>1</sup> when Eumæus is going to slay pigs, he prepares himself by confining his χιτών with a girdle :

ὡς εἰπὼν ξωστῆρι θοῶς συνέεργε χιτῶνα.

Little mention is made in the Homeric poems of the length of the χιτών, but the distinguishing epithet of the Ionians is ἔλκεχιτῶνες—with trailing chitons—so that trailing garments were evidently customary only among the Ionians ; warriors while fighting and slaves occupied in active work would probably wear very short garments reaching only to the thigh, as they are to be seen on the earliest vase-paintings. The princes and elders of the people, engaged in peaceful pursuits, in all probability wore them reaching to the ankles. The word *τερμίσεις*, applied to the χιτών in *Odyssey*, xix., 242, is usually taken to mean “reaching to the feet,” and to be equivalent to *ποδήρης*, used by later writers.

With regard to the material of which the χιτών was made, the word itself is connected with a Semitic root signifying linen;<sup>2</sup> and from the various epithets applied to it in Homer, it is reasonable to infer that the garment was ordinarily made of that material. It is described as *σιγαλόεις*, “shining” or “glossy” ; and although

<sup>1</sup> xiv. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, s.v. “χιτών,” Studniczka, p. 15 f.

this particular epithet need mean no more than “dazzlingly clean,” its comparison for softness and brightness with the skin of an onion<sup>1</sup> would hardly be very apt, if it were made of a stuff that did not present a very smooth surface; a hand-woven woollen material might possibly be called μαλακός, “soft,” but could hardly be described as shining like the sun. Two passages in Homer show clearly that oil was used in the weaving of linen, which would have the effect of producing a shiny appearance. The maidens in the palace of Alcinous are described as weaving linen from which the oil runs off:

καιρουσσέων δ' ὀθονέων ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον.  
[*Odyssey*, vii., 107.]

“And from the close-woven linen the liquid oil runs off,” and in *Iliad*, 596, the youths in the dancing place on the shield of Achilles are described as wearing χιτῶνας εὐνήτους, ἦκα στίλβοντας ἐλαίῳ, “well spun, shining softly with oil.”

The epithet στρέπτος applied to the χιτῶν<sup>2</sup> requires comment; it was taken by Aristarchus, the grammarian, to mean a coat of chain mail. There is no evidence to show that such a piece of defensive armour was known to the early Greeks, and we find

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, xix., 232:

τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα περὶ χροῦ σιγαλδεντα  
οἶβν τε κρομύοιο λοπὸν κατὰ ἰσχαλέοιο  
τὼς μὲν ἔην μαλακός, λαμπρὸς δ' ἦν ἥελιος ὤς.

“And I saw the shining tunic on his body, like the skin of a dried onion—so soft it was, and bright as the sun.”

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, v., 113; xxi., 31.

no reference to it until Roman times; there is, therefore, no justification for the inference that *στρέπτος χιτών* in Homer means a coat of mail.

The word *στρέπτος* means primarily "twisted," and could be applied to a coarse kind of linen whose texture showed very clearly the separate threads of which it was woven; but other uses of the word in Homer, and the second of the two passages in which it is applied to a *χιτών*, suggest a different interpretation. In *Odyssey*, ii., 426, in the description of the rigging of a ship, the expression *εὐστρέπτοισι βοεῦσιν* occurs. The adjective here can very well retain its simple meaning—"well-twisted"; the noun can mean nothing else but "ropes of ox-hide"—that is to say, the whole expression will signify ropes made of well-twisted thongs of leather.

The passage referred to in the *Iliad* runs as follows:—

δῆσε δ' ὀπίσσω χεῖρας εὐτμήτοισιν ἱμάσι  
τοὺς αὐτοὶ φορέεσκον ἐπὶ στρέπτοισι χιτῶσι.

[*Iliad*, xxī., 30.]

The subject is the sacrifice of the twelve boys at the funeral of Patroclus.

Achilles bound their hands behind them with the well-cut thongs which they wore on their twisted chitons. The word *ἱμασι* implies leather, and the only kind of chiton which would be likely to have leather thongs attached to it would be a jerkin made of leather, perhaps plaited in some way and fastened by means of leather laces. Such a

garment might be worn in war under a metal breast-plate, or if very stoutly made might even serve as defensive armour, without the addition of any corslet; in any case, it would afford more protection than an ordinary linen chiton such as was worn by those engaged in the pursuits of peace.

Another garment worn by men is the ζῶμα, which appears at first sight to mean simply a girdle, but in one or two passages signifies something more. The word is obviously connected with the verb ζώννυμι, "to gird on," and means a "thing girt on." The word might well apply to a girdle, but it might also be used of anything put on round the waist, and so of a waist-cloth; there can be little doubt that it has this meaning in *Iliad*, xxiii., 683, where a description is being given of the preparations for a boxing match; and a few lines further on the participle ζωσαμένω, applied to the wrestlers, in all probability means putting on their waist-cloths. In other passages where the word occurs, its meaning is less obvious, although here too there is nothing to render the same interpretation impossible. In *Iliad*, iv., 186, a weapon is described as not inflicting a mortal wound:

εἰρύσατο ζωστήρ τε παναίολος ἠδ' ὑπένερθεν  
ζῶμά τε καὶ μίτρη, τὴν χαλκῆες κάμον ἄνδρες.

"But the shining belt checked it, and the waist-cloth beneath, and the kirtle which the coppersmiths fashioned."



FIG. 2c.—Vase-painting—British Museum.







FIG. 21.—The Doric Himation.



FIG. 22.—Vase-painting by Euphronios—Munich.  
[Fürtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 22.]



FIG. 23.—The Chlamys and Petasos.

Here the *ζωστήρ* and the *μίτρη* are obviously pieces of armour, and the *ζῶμα* is a garment worn under the *ζωστήρ*, and can very well bear the meaning of a waist-cloth. Such garments were worn at all periods; they formed the regular dress of the men of the pre-Hellenic age; they occur also on vases of the classical period.<sup>1</sup> There is no necessity, therefore, to suppose, as Studniczka does, that the word here is synonymous with *χιτών*. Studniczka supports his interpretation of this passage by another, *Odyssey*, xiv., 478 f., where Eumæus is describing to Odysseus an occasion when he and comrades had to sleep in the open air, and he felt the cold because he had foolishly left his cloak behind him, and had only his shield and *ζῶμα φαειόν*. The expression could here maintain its signification of "waist-cloth"; only, the simple meaning is obscured by a phrase some five lines further on, when Eumæus continues:

οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χλαῖναν· παρὰ μ' ἤπαφε δαίμων  
οἰοχίτων' ἔμεναι.

"I had no cloak: some god beguiled me to go with only a single garment."

The simple meaning of *οἰοχίτων* is, "wearing only a chiton," or under-garment; but without stretching the meaning of the expression very far, we can easily suppose its being applied to a man clad only in a waist-cloth; so that even here it is not necessary to suppose that *ζῶμα* is another word for *χιτών*.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Fig. 7 (a); the human figure struggling with the Minotaur.

We must next consider the over-garment worn by the Homeric heroes, for which several words are used, the most common being *χλαίνα* and *φᾶρος*.

The *χλαίνα* was used not only as an article of dress, but also as a blanket to sleep under ;<sup>1</sup> as a rug to cover couches and seats ;<sup>2</sup> a constant epithet is *οὔλη*, so that its material was evidently woollen ; and the adjectives *ἀλεξάνεμος* and *ἀνεμοσκεπής*, “warding off winds,” show that it was worn for warmth, as a protection against cold winds.<sup>3</sup> It was thrown off for exercise or when speed in running was required.<sup>4</sup> The style in which the *χλαίνα* was worn varied somewhat ; the verbs regularly used for the act of putting it on are *ἀμφιβάλλω* and *ἀμφιέννυμι*, “to throw round” ; *περιβάλλω* also occurs, and sometimes it is described as being placed *ἐπ’ ὤμοισι*, “upon the shoulders” ; for taking it off, *ἀποβάλλω* and *ἀποτίθημι* are used, and in one case *ἐκδύνω* occurs, though this word should more correctly be applied to the *χιτών*. The constant use of *ἀμφί*, “around,” shows that the *χλαίνα* was not a garment which was drawn on over the head, like the *χιτών*, but was a square or rectangular piece of material wrapped round the figure or laid over the shoulders. We read in Homer of the *χλαίνα ἀπλόϊς*, “single cloak,” and the *χλαίνα διπλῆ*, “double cloak” ; the former expression must mean a cloak worn single, without being folded over ; such a garment might possibly be put on as the *himation* was in later time, one end

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, iii., 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii., 86.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv., 522.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, ii., 183.

being laid on the shoulder, so that the mass of the material hung down towards the back; this mass of material would then be drawn across the back under the arm which was then left exposed, and across the chest, and the end would be thrown over the shoulder towards the back. The garment could easily be drawn up so as to cover both arms if the temperature required greater warmth, or it might be worn over both shoulders like a shawl, without being doubled, and the frequent mention of the shoulders in connection with the *χλαίνα* seem to point to this style as the most common.<sup>1</sup> The *χλαίνα διπλῆ* is mentioned twice in Homer—once in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*; in both cases it is described as being fastened with a brooch:

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίναν περονήσατο φοινικέεσσαν  
διπλῆν ἑκταδίην. [Iliad, x., 133.]

“And about him he fastened a purple cloak, doubled, with no folds.”

χλαίναν πορφυρενὴν οὐλήν ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
διπλῆν· αὐτὰρ οἱ περόνη χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο  
αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι. [Odyssey, xix., 225.]

“Goodly Odysseus had a purple cloak, woollen and doubled; and it had a brooch wrought of gold, with a double groove for the pins.”

In these cases the *χλαίνα* was obviously folded over double, though in what way is not expressly stated; if the garment consisted of a wide rect-

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 7 (a), where the second figure from the right is represented wearing only the *χλαίνα ἀπλόη*.

angular piece of material, it might be doubled along its length horizontally and fastened with a brooch on one shoulder, like Apollo's himation in the Thasos relief.<sup>1</sup> This method, however, is not found on the earliest vases, which, though not contemporary with Homer, are yet the nearest monumental evidence obtainable; moreover, the additional expression, *ἐκταδίην*, seems to be against this interpretation; the meaning of *ἐκταδίην* seems to be "stretched out straight," and the word could hardly be applied to a garment draped in such a way as to fall in many folds; it is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the *χλαίνα διπλή* consisted of a large square<sup>2</sup> of woollen material folded along the diagonal, so that two opposite corners lay on each other; it would be laid on the shoulders so that these two corners hung down in the middle of the back, no folds being formed (*ἐκταδίην*), and the other two points hung down one on each side of the front; a brooch would prevent the cloak from slipping off the shoulders; this shawl-like method of wearing the mantle is frequently represented on the black figured vases.<sup>3</sup> The *δίπτυχον λάπην*, "double cloak," which Athena wears, *ἀμφ' ὄμοισι*, when disguised as a shepherd,<sup>4</sup> is probably a garment worn in this same fashion,

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Unless the garment were square, the diagonally opposite corners would not coincide when folded corner to corner; they are invariably represented on the vases as coinciding.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 7 (*b*) is taken from the "François" vase.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, xiii., 223.





a



b



c

FIG. 7.—(a) Vase—British Museum. (b and c) Vase-paintings by Klitias and Ergotimos, Florence.

[Fürstwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I and II.]



and the *δίπλακες* which Helen and Andromache are described as weaving in the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> are perhaps intended for cloaks to be so worn.

The place of the *χλαίνα* is frequently taken by the *φᾶρος*, constant epithets of which are *καλὸν* and *μέγα*, "fine" and "large," so that we may conclude that the *φᾶρος* was an ample and somewhat luxurious garment. The word is used not only for an article of wearing apparel, but also for the shroud of Laertes,<sup>2</sup> and for the sails of a ship,<sup>3</sup> so that Studniczka's conjecture that it was made of linen is probably right, and the difference of material probably constitutes the chief distinction between the *φᾶρος* and the *χλαίνα*. The *φᾶρος* is several times described as "white" and "well-washed," and the epithets *ἀργυφεόν*, *λέπτον*, *χαρίεν*, "silvery," "fine," and "graceful," which are used of the *φᾶρος* of Calypso, are more applicable to a linen than to a woollen garment. *Φᾶρος* is the only word used in Homer for the dress of both men and women. When worn by men, the *φᾶρος* was in all probability draped in the same fashion as the *χλαίνα*, but the woman's *φᾶρος* would be draped differently, as will be shown later.

The *χλαίνα* and the *φᾶρος* were not worn in battle, since they would encumber the wearer too much; armour was put on over the chiton, or in some cases warriors wore the skin of some wild beast slain in combat; we hear, for example, of

<sup>1</sup> iii., 126; xxii., 440.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, ii., 97; xix., 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 257.

Agamemnon wearing a lion's skin,<sup>1</sup> and of Menelaus and Paris wearing leopards' skins.<sup>2</sup> A man's costume was completed by sandals, *πέδιλα*, which we are told were made of leather;<sup>3</sup> no mention is made of any head-covering worn in the pursuit of peaceful occupations; if any protection were needed, a fold of the mantle might easily be drawn up over the head; in battle, of course, some kind of helmet was worn, which was made usually of bronze, or sometimes of hide,<sup>4</sup> covered with boars' tusks, such as have been found at Mycenæ.

The women's dress in Homer consists of two garments, the *πέπλος* and the *κρήδεμνον* or *καλύπτρη*, called also in one case the *κάλυμμα*;<sup>5</sup> the word *ἐάνος* which is used sometimes as a substantive instead of *πέπλος*, sometimes as an adjective, simply means "something to be worn."

The principal garment of the women was the *πέπλος*. The derivation of the word is uncertain; it is probably connected with some root meaning to cover or wrap; the word is used in the *Iliad* to signify things other than dress; for the covering of a chariot<sup>6</sup> and for the wrappings of the vessel which held the ashes of Hector;<sup>7</sup> the *πέπλος*, therefore, like the *χλαίνα* and *φᾶρος*, consisted of a square or rectangular piece of material which could be used for various purposes. When worn as a garment, it was held in place by means of brooches

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, x., 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 29; iii., 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, xiv., 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, x., 261 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiv., 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 194.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiv., 795.

or pins (*περόναι, ἐνεταί*) and a girdle. A passage in the *Iliad*<sup>1</sup> gives a description of an elaborate toilette made by Hera when she is setting out to beguile Zeus :

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβρόσιον ἑανὸν ἔσαθ' ὃν οἱ Ἀθήνη  
 ἔξυσ' ἀσκήσασα, τίθει δ' ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πολλά·  
 χρυσεῖης δ' ἐνετῆσι κατὰ στῆθος περονάτο,  
 ζώσατο δὲ ζώνην ἑκατὸν θυσάνοις ἀραρυῖαν,  
 ἐν δ' ἄρα ἔρματα ἦκεν εὐτρήτοισι λοβοῖσιν,  
 τρίγληνα μορόεντα· χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή.  
 κρηδέμνω δ' ἐφύπερθε καλύψατο δία θεάων  
 καλῶ νηγατέφ, λαμπρὸν δ' ἦν ἠέλιος ὤς.  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα.

“Then she clad her in her fragrant robe that Athena wrought delicately for her, and therein set many things beautifully made, and fastened it over her breast with clasps of gold. And she girdled it with a girdle arrayed with a hundred tassels; and she set ear-rings in her pierced ears—ear-rings of three drops and glistering—and therefrom shone grace abundantly. And with a veil over all the peerless goddess veiled herself, a fair, new veil, bright as the sun, and beneath her shining feet she bound goodly sandals.”—LANG, LEAF, AND MYERS.

We gather from this passage that the garment was fastened on the shoulders by brooches or pins inserted, *κατὰ στῆθος*, which Studniczka rightly explains<sup>2</sup> as meaning “down towards the breast,” a method of fastening which is represented on the

<sup>1</sup> xiv., 175 f.

<sup>2</sup> p. 97 f.

François vase<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere; the material is drawn from the back, and wraps over that which covers the front; the pins are then inserted downwards, and hold the two thicknesses of material together; the dress is held in to the figure by a girdle worn round the waist, over which any superfluous length of material could be drawn, forming a *κόλπος* or pouch. No mention is made in Homer of the *ἀπόπτυγμα*, or overfold, which is a common feature of the women's dress in historic times; but from its constant appearance on the earliest monuments, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it formed an element in women's costume of the draped type from the very earliest times. It is formed by folding over the upper edge of the garment before it is put on, in such a way that a double thickness of material covers the figure from the neck to a distance a little above the waist in front and behind. The original purpose of this overfold may have been either to secure greater warmth, or to prevent the dress from tearing at the points where the brooches were inserted; such a thing might easily happen, if only the single stuff were used, since the whole mass of material hung down from the two points where it was secured on the shoulders.

Another question which arises in connection with the Homeric peplos is as to whether it was worn open or closed at the side; a passage which has been much discussed in this relation is the one

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 8.



FIG. 8.—From the François Vase.





which describes the peplos given by Antinous to Penelope, with its twelve brooches :

Ἄντινόῳ μὲν ἔνεικε μέγαν περικαλλέα πέπλον  
 ποικίλον· ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν περόναι δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσαι  
 χρυσεῖαι, κληῖσιν εὐγνάμπτοις ἀραρυῖαι.

[*Odysey*, xviii., 292.]

“For Antinous, his henchman, bare a broidered robe, great and very fair, wherein were golden brooches, twelve in all, fitted with well-bent clasps.”

—BUTCHER AND LANG.

The point in dispute is the purpose of the twelve brooches. Studniczka maintains that two were used to fasten the dress on the shoulders, and the remaining ten to hold it together down the open side; he states in support of this theory that sewing was not commonly practised by the Homeric women, although he has previously pointed out that the men's chiton was always sewn; this being the case, it is only natural to suppose that the women applied the art of sewing to their own garments also where necessary. There is no example in early art of a peplos fastened in this way with brooches; it is invariably joined round, the seam being covered by a band of ornament either woven in the edge of the material or embroidered upon it afterwards. In fifth century art we sometimes find representations of the peplos worn open down the side; it may have been worn so also in Homeric times; if the garment were wide, one edge could easily be wrapped over the other and held in place by the girdle, so as not to

leave the figure too much exposed. It is more probable that the twelve brooches in question were used to fasten the dress on the shoulders and down the upper arms six on each side, forming a kind of sleeve to the elbow. That the ample Ionic chiton was worn in this way in later times is manifest from the numerous vase-paintings and other monuments of the late sixth and early fifth centuries; it may have been a fashion peculiar to the East in Homeric times, but Eastern fashions and customs were not unknown to the author of the Homeric poems. We read<sup>1</sup> of rich robes that were the work of Sidonian women whom Paris brought from Sidon, and it is not unlikely that Antinous, wishing to offer Penelope some rich gift, would choose a luxurious garment brought from the East.

However, we must regard the use of twelve brooches as exceptional, and consider that the peplos was ordinarily fastened with only two, and with a girdle round the waist. That it was a fairly ample garment and trailed on the ground behind, is proved by the epithets *τανυπέπλος* and *έλκεσιπέπλος*, "with trailing robes," frequently applied to women. Athena finds it certainly too cumbersome to fight in; for when she is preparing for battle, we are told that she lets her peplos slip to the ground, and puts on the chiton of her father,<sup>2</sup> Zeus. A very constant epithet of the peplos is *ποικίλος*, or sometimes the intensified form, *παμποίκιλος*.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vi., 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 733; viii., 385.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, xv., 105; xviii., 292.

adjective is, "bright, varied, covered with patterns." Whether these patterns were woven in the material at the loom or embroidered is a question not easy to decide.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases they were apparently woven, in others probably embroidered.

The silver-shining *φᾶρος* which Calypso puts on<sup>2</sup> takes the place of the peplos, and was probably worn in the same way,<sup>3</sup> with the overfold and girdle, over which the superfluous length was drawn, forming the *κόλπος*, or pouch, which varied in depth according to the wearer's fancy. That it was sometimes fairly roomy is proved by the fact that the nurse of Eumæus was able to hide three cups *ὑπὸ κόλπω*<sup>4</sup> "under the folds of her dress."

The material of which the girdle (*ζώνη*) was made is uncertain. We hear of golden girdles of Calypso and Circe, and of a fringed girdle of Hera with a hundred tassels, but these are exceptional. The ordinary girdle may have been of metal, or cord, or leather; this last material is suggested by the magic *κεστὸς ἰμᾶς* of Aphrodite, which may have been a girdle; or, since we are told that the goddess took it *ἀπὸ στήθισφιν*,<sup>5</sup> "from her bosom," and that Hera received it and *ἐὼ ἐγκάτθετο κόλπω*, "put it on her own bosom," perhaps it was something of the nature of Athena's *ægis*, which also possessed magic power. On a vase in the British Museum<sup>6</sup> a god-

<sup>1</sup> See section on "Materials and Ornamentation."

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, v., 230.

<sup>3</sup> The passage is repeated word for word of Circe, *Odyssey*, x., 543.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, xv., 469.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, xiv., 214.

<sup>6</sup> B., 254.

dess is represented wearing an ægis, and would naturally be interpreted as Athena, were it not that the vase-painter has clearly written her name, "Aphrodite," by her side. It has been suggested that he has made a slip, and meant to write "Athena"; but in all probability he knew what he was doing, and it was his intention to represent Aphrodite wearing her *κεστὸς ἱμάς*.

The second garment which was essential to the completion of a woman's dress, at least when she appeared in public, was the *κρήδεμνον* or *καλύπτρη*,<sup>1</sup> which served both as cloak and veil. It was probably put on over the shoulders like a shawl, without being folded, in such a way that it could be drawn over the head without difficulty, and across the face, serving as a veil.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes it may have been doubled corner to corner diagonally and laid on the shoulder. That it was worn over the head is clear from *Odyssey*, v., 229, where Calypso puts on her *φᾶρος*; *κεφαλῇ δ' ἐρύπερθε καλύπτρην*, "and over her head a veil." From the description of Penelope, when she appears among the suitors "holding her shining veil before her cheeks," we may gather that it was customary for women to veil themselves before men.<sup>3</sup> No woman would think of leaving

<sup>1</sup> The *κάλυμμα κνάμεον*, "dark blue veil," of Thetis (*Iliad*, xxiv., 93) is the same garment.

<sup>2</sup> Hera is represented wearing it so on the François vase, Fig. 7 (c), and although her head is not covered, yet, from the way in which the folds lie high upon the nape of the neck, it is clear that they could easily be drawn up over the head (cp. also, Aphrodite, on the same vase).

<sup>3</sup> Thetis is represented in the François vase just about to veil or unveil her face; though the head is missing, it is clear, from the position of the arm, that the *κρήδεμνον* was worn over the head.

the house without her κρήδεμνον. Helen, though she quits her house in haste, first veils herself with shining linen,<sup>1</sup> ἀργεννήσι καλυψαμένη ὀθόνησιν, and it is only when they are far from the town and enjoying the quietude of the river bank, that Nausicaa and her attendant maidens throw off their veils for the ballplay.<sup>2</sup>

From the constant use of the epithets λιπαρός and λαμπρός, "shining" or "bright," we may infer that the κρήδεμνον was usually made of linen, and, in summer at least, it was probably a fine, light garment, possibly even semi-transparent. In no case are any pins or brooches mentioned in connection with it; and from the ease with which it can be slipped off,<sup>3</sup> it is reasonable to infer that it was worn without fastening of any kind, like a shawl or scarf. In the passage where Andromache casts off her head-dress in her anguish at the death of Hector,<sup>4</sup> Studniczka supposes that because the κρήδεμνον is mentioned as falling off last, the other δέσματα must have been worn over it and held it in place; this seems to be putting a too literal and even prosaic interpretation upon the lines. There is no occasion to suppose that the poet enumerated the various parts of the head-dress in the order in which they fell; and if we read in that spirit, we shall frequently find that the Homeric heroes put on their cloaks before their undergarments; for more than once the φᾶρος or χλαῖνα is mentioned before the χιτῶν.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, iii., 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, vi., 100.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Iliad*, xxii., 406, 470.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xxii., 468 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Odyssey*, xvi., 173; xxiii., 155, etc.

The various parts which composed this head-dress have given rise to much discussion. The passage runs :

τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα,  
 ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τέ ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμη  
 κρήδεμνον θ'. [*Iliad*, xxii., 468.]

“And far from her head she flung the shining bonds, diadem and kerchief, and meshy net and veil.”

The δέσματα σιγαλόεντα are explained by the words which follow, and which stand in apposition. No question is raised as to the nature of the ἄμπυξ; it was a metal diadem like the στεφάνη, worn across the front of the hair. The κρήδεμνον has already been explained; the κεκρύφαλος and the πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη need some comment. The former is sometimes taken to mean a “net,” but it will be shown later that this meaning is better applied to the πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη; the word κεκρύφαλος is obviously connected with the verb κρύπτω to cover, and therefore means “something which covers,” “a covering.” In all probability, then, the κεκρύφαλος is simply a kerchief worn on top of the head behind the ἄμπυξ. The ἀναδέσμη is obviously something which serves to bind up (ἀναδέω) the hair and hold it in place, which is the proper function of a net. The epithet πλεκτὴ, which Helbig<sup>1</sup> has tried to explain as “folded,” means primarily “plaited”; it is applied elsewhere in the Homeric poems to baskets,<sup>2</sup> which shows its perfect appropriateness to the meshes of a net. We

<sup>1</sup> *Die Homerische Epos*, p. 157, f.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xviii., 40.

need give no other meaning, then, to the *πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη*, but can easily explain it as a net that confined the long hair behind. This completes the head-dress proper, the *κρήδεμνον* being a separate scarf or shawl worn over it.

The women's dress in Homer is completed by sandals, and for ornament they wore, in addition to the brooches which fastened their clothes, ear-rings and necklaces of varied workmanship; the *γναμπταὶ ἔλικες* and *κάλυκες* of which we read<sup>1</sup> are perhaps spiral-shaped brooches and ear-rings or necklaces in the shape of lilies, such as have been found in the later Mycenæan graves.

Few colours are mentioned in Homer in connection with dress. The epithets "white" and "shining" are frequently applied to the chiton and *κρήδεμνον* and to the *φᾶρος*. *Φοινικόεις* and *πορφύρεος* are frequently used of the *χλαίνα* and the *δίπλαξ*, the former meaning "red," and the latter probably "dark purple"; the word is used also of the sea and of clouds. The veil of Thetis<sup>2</sup> is described as *κυάνεος*, indigo, probably, or blue-black, since we hear immediately afterwards that "no garment ever was blacker." The dark veil may be a sign of mourning; but in any case, the epithet might be used of the garments of the sea-goddess, just as *κυανοχαίτης*, "blue-haired," is applied to Poseidon. Only once is yellow mentioned, and that in the case of "saffron robed dawn." The veil of Hera, that was "bright as the sun,"<sup>3</sup> might have

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, ix., 247.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xxiv., 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, xiv., 182.

been yellow-gold. Yellow is a favourite colour among the Greek peasant women of to-day for the kerchiefs with which they cover their heads; and in the clear atmosphere and brilliant sunshine of Greece, it is natural to wear bright colours.

The embroidered robes of the women would naturally be worked in various colours, among which red and blue probably predominated, as they do on the sixth century statues on the Acropolis at Athens, and also in more modern Greek embroideries.

Enough has been said on the subject of Homeric dress to show that it differs entirely from the pre-Hellenic type of costume which appears on the monuments from Knossos and elsewhere. The absence of contemporary monumental evidence renders it impossible to make any very definite statements as to the details of Homeric dress; but the poems themselves afford sufficient proof of the fact that it was of the draped type, and resembled Greek dress as we know it from the monuments dating from historic times; the dress of the classical period is simply a development of that described in the Homeric poems, with the addition of some foreign elements which blended with it and somewhat transformed it in its details, while still preserving the main types unaltered.



### III

#### DORIC

WHEN we come to the question of Greek dress during the classical period, we find that the literary evidence is somewhat scanty ; however, in addition to the various casual references to dress that are to be found chiefly in the plays, there are a few passages which bear directly on the historical development of dress in Greece. The most important of these is a passage in Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> in which he describes a disastrous expedition against Ægina undertaken by the Athenians during the first half of the sixth century, probably in the year 568 B.C. ; only one man returned alive to Athens, to meet with an ignominious death at the hands of the wives of those who had perished. Herodotus shall tell the story in his own words :

Κομισθεῖς γὰρ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγειλε τὸ πάθος  
πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἴγινα στρατευσαμένων  
ἄνδρων δεινόν τι ποιησάμενας ἐκείνον μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων  
σωθῆναι, περίξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας  
τῆσι περόνησι τῶν ἱματίων εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὃ κη εἴη  
ὁ ἐωυτῆς ἀνὴρ. Καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρήναι, Ἀθην-

---

<sup>1</sup> v., 87.

αίοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθεος δεινότερον τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. Ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεω ζημιώσῃσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα τῇ Κορινθίῃ παραπλησιωτάτην· μετέβαλον ὦν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρεώνται. Ἔστι δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ ἴασι αὐτῇ ἢ ἔσθῃς τὸ παλαιόν, ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἢ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθῆς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὐτὴ ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλεῦμεν.

“When he came back to Athens bringing word of the calamity, the wives of those who had been sent out on the expedition took it sorely to heart, that he alone should have survived the slaughter of all the rest; they therefore crowded round the man and struck him with the brooches by which their dresses were fastened, each, as she struck, asking him where he had left her husband. And the man died in this way. The Athenians thought the deed of the women more horrible even than the fate of the troops. As, however, they did not know how else to punish them, they changed their dress, and compelled them to wear the costume of the Ionians. Till this time the Athenian women had worn a Dorian dress, shaped nearly like that which prevails at Corinth. Henceforth they were made to wear the linen tunic, which does not require brooches.

“In very truth, however, this dress is not originally Ionian, but Carian; for anciently the Greek women all wore the costume which is now called the Dorian.”—RAWLINSON.

He goes on to say that after this the Argive

and Æginetan women, out of rivalry with the Athenians, wore much larger brooches than before.

The importance of the passage is that it tells us of the two types of dress worn by Greek women. We learn that down to the early years of the sixth century all the Greek women wore the Dorian dress fastened with pins of such size and strength that they could become dangerous weapons in the hands of women excited by grief or passion. Later the Athenian women adopted a different dress, which did not need these large pins to fasten it, and which Herodotus calls the linen Ionic chiton, afterwards correcting himself and explaining that this kind of dress was really Carian in its origin.

The story of the slaying of the sole survivor of the Æginetan expedition, and of the punishment meted out to the Athenian women, seems in itself far-fetched and highly improbable; but there is probably some foundation of truth in it. Possibly the tale was invented by Herodotus, or, more probably, was current in his day as an explanation of a change in the style of dress which actually took place in Athens at the beginning of the sixth century, or more probably even earlier. Among the sumptuary laws introduced by Solon was one regulating women's dress, and forbidding them to wear more than three garments when they went out to funerals or festivals.<sup>1</sup> The passing of such a law could only be necessary if the Athenian women had already adopted a luxurious and

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, "Solon," 21.

extravagant style of dress. Now, the essence of the Doric dress, as will be shown later, is simplicity ; it did not admit of great variety or elaboration. On the other hand, that the Ionic dress was somewhat luxurious is clear from Thucydides, i., 6 ; so we may infer that by the time of Solon's archonship, 594 B.C., the Athenian women had already adopted the Ionic dress, and had perhaps elaborated it by some modifications added by their own invention. If this is so, Herodotus's story places the change at least a generation later than its actual occurrence ; but as he is writing at a distance of more than a century from the event, we need not be surprised if he is a generation or so out in his dating.

The simple Doric dress mentioned by Herodotus as being universally worn by Greek women down to the sixth century, finds abundant illustration in early art, especially in the Attic black-figured vases. It consists of a large oblong piece of material, in length about 1 ft. more than the height of the wearer, in width about twice the distance from elbow to elbow when the wearer's arms are held out horizontally at shoulder level. The additional foot in height is used up by folding the upper edge over so that the material is double from neck to waist. The garment is put on by folding it round the body and pinning it on the shoulders at points a third of the distance from the middle line and the edges respectively. A diagram will make the arrangement clear.

*a, b, c, d* represents the original rectangular

piece of material,  $ab$  being twice the wearer's distance from elbow to elbow—that is to say, about 5 ft. 9 in.— $ac$  being 1 ft. more than the wearer's height—namely, about 6 ft. 6 in.

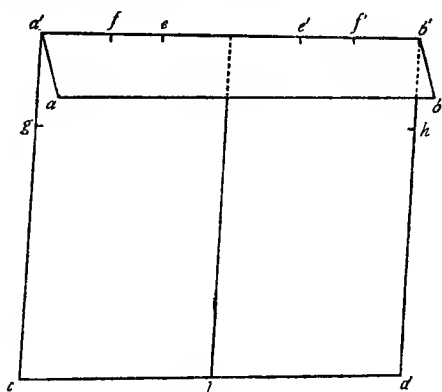


FIG. 9.

After the upper edge  $ab$  has been folded over to a width of about 1 ft., the dress is pinned on the shoulders at the points  $e e'$  and  $f f'$ ; the part which covers the back is drawn slightly forward over the front, so that there are four thicknesses of material where the pins are inserted; the garment is then girded at the waist, the position of which is indicated by the points  $g$  and  $h$ , and any superfluous length is drawn up over the girdle.

The distance between the points  $a' f$ ,  $f e$ ,  $e' f'$ , etc., varies slightly, but is always approximately one-sixth of the whole width of the material. In practice, a better effect is produced if the width of stuff  $e' f'$ , which covers the back of the neck, is shorter than the other sections.

The garment is usually represented as being sewn up along the side, sometimes along the whole length *ac*, *bd*, sometimes only along the length from the waist to the feet—that is, along the edges *gc*, *hd*; sometimes it is left open, being held in place only by the girdle. On the black-figured vases it is usually the closed Doric dress which is represented, probably because it offered the least difficulty to a technique which necessarily imposed somewhat close limitations on the artists who practised it. A good example is to be found in the figures of the Fates from the François vase, which has already been quoted in illustration of the Homeric peplos.

A freer and more realistic representation is to be found in the sculptured metopes from the temple of Zeus, at Olympia. Athena in the metope representing the cleaning of the Augean stables wears the closed Doric dress; here the *ἀπόπτυγμα*, or overfold, falls slightly below the waist, and below it the kolpos is clearly visible, the slight pouch formed by drawing the superfluous length of the material over the girdle.<sup>1</sup> On the vases the pouch is almost invariably absent, and the girdle is always visible. This is also the case in one of the archaic statues on the Acropolis at Athens, where the Doric dress is worn over an Ionic chiton. A slight variation of the dress is to be seen on the nymph of the Atlas metope at Olympia, where the overfold hangs considerably below the waist and no girdle or pouch is visible; here the additional length of the overfold

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 10.



*Photo. by The English Photographic Co.]*

FIG. 10.—Metope from the Temple of Zeus, at Olympia.









*Photo. by Brogt, Naples.]*

FIG. 11.—Bronze Statue from Herculaneum, Naples.

probably obviated the necessity of a pouch, and the girdle, which is hidden, simply served to hold the dress in to the figure. A bronze statuette from Herculaneum shows the dress sewn up only from the waist downwards (Fig. 11).

As time went on, the dimensions of the Doric dress became more ample, or at least were represented so in art; both pouch and overfold become deeper and the folds of the garment generally grow fuller; the distance of the shoulder pins from the points which hang immediately under the arms becomes proportionately larger, no longer being an exact sixth of the whole width of the dress. The most perfect examples in art of the Doric dress in its full development are to be found in the maidens of the Parthenon frieze and the Caryatids of the Erechtheum. Here the pouch is emphasized, and its graceful curve dipping over the hips, though idealized, is at the same time perfectly naturalistic, as can be shown at once by practical experiment.

The Munich copy of Cephisodotus's Eirene holding the infant Plutus presents a very good example of the closed Doric dress as it was worn in the fourth century; it will be seen that the folds are more ample, and the overfold and pouch fall to a distance considerably below the waist, so that the garment must be larger than that originally worn, if we are to accept early monuments as faithful representations of the style of dress actually worn.

The simpler form of the Doric dress, namely, that which is unsewn and left open down the side, is

not found represented in art before the fifth century ; it becomes fairly common on red-figured vases, where it is very frequently depicted ungirt.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes it is the only garment worn ; in other cases it is worn over an under-dress. A sculptured example is to be found in an Artemis in Dresden,<sup>2</sup> for the original of which Fürtwängler claims Praxitelean authorship. This was probably the dress worn by Laconian girls, to whom the term *φαivουμηρίς*, "showing the thigh," was applied by some ancient writers.<sup>3</sup>

A variety of this dress appears in art about the middle of the fifth century ; it is sometimes known as the "peplos of Athena," because Pheidias chose it as the style in which to drape his statue of the Athena Parthenos. The word "peplos" is usually reserved for the Doric dress whether open or closed, the word "chiton" for the Ionic, though the latter is frequently applied to the Doric, and is invariably used of the under-dress, when the two styles became confused. The "peplos of Athena" is similar to the ordinary open Doric dress, except that the over-fold is longer and reaches to the thighs and the girdle is worn over it.<sup>4</sup> The material is pulled up very slightly over the girdle, but not sufficiently to hide it in front, the purpose of the slight pouch being merely to prevent the dress from dragging under the arms, and from trailing on the ground at the sides. The girdle is at first worn round the

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Fürtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux, II., 187.

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 13.



FIG. 12.—Vase-painting—British Museum.







FIG. 13.—Vase-painting in the Polygnotan Style—Louvre



waist, but later it is put on higher, until, on the Athena from the frieze of the altar at Pergamon, it is worn immediately under the breasts. The clearest representation in art is to be found in the Varvakeion copy of the Athena Parthenos, and it occurs also in many representations of Athena which were obviously influenced by Pheidias. In the Dresden "Lemnia,"<sup>1</sup> the girdle is passed not only over the overfold, but also round the ægis; in the "torso Medici"<sup>2</sup> this overgirt peplos is worn over an under-dress of the Ionic type. The date of the introduction of this style of wearing the Doric dress is a point of some uncertainty. The question arises as to whether it was invented by Pheidias or was already commonly worn and adopted by him as being most appropriate for his great representation of the maiden goddess. Certainly, in sculpture we have no example of it before the time of Pheidias, unless we assign an earlier date to the little relief of the "mourning Athena," which seems improbable; the Iris of the Parthenon frieze wears it; and among slightly later works the Victory of Pæonius at Olympia is a good example, though here the dress is slightly varied by being fastened only on one shoulder. Further evidence is afforded by the vases, but even these do not give any certain proof; the dress does not appear before the middle of the fifth century, but after that date it becomes fairly frequent, and is given not only to Athena but to other divine or mythological personages, such as

<sup>1</sup> Fürtwängler, pl. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 6.

Persephone,<sup>1</sup> Nike, Cassandra, and also to handmaids attending on ladies in more elaborate costume. In some of these vases the work is obviously post-Pheidian, but many of them were probably made before the completion of the Athena Parthenos, and the fact that the overgirt dress is so frequently represented on slaves renders it likely that it was a style of dress actually worn, and not merely the invention of the great sculptor's imagination; it was probably selected by him for the Parthenos because of its extreme simplicity and the possibilities of statuesque dignity which it contained.

It has been mentioned incidentally that the Doric peplos is sometimes found worn over another garment, but it is ordinarily the only garment worn indoors, and for outdoor wear another is sometimes put on over it. The overfold of the peplos could itself be used as a veil by drawing the back part up over the head; it is so used by a woman on a red-figured vase in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup>

The outer garment worn by women in classical times corresponds to the Homeric *κρήδεμνον* and is called the *ἱματίον*, although this term is applied by Herodotus to the Doric peplos. By derivation the word simply means "a piece of clothing," being connected with *εἶμα* and *ἔννυμι*. It consisted of a large oblong piece of material about 7 or 8 feet in length, and in breadth about equal to the wearer's height. Considerable variety was possible

<sup>1</sup> B.M., E. 183.

<sup>2</sup> E. 307.





FIG. 14.—Vase-painting by Hieron—British Museum.





FIG. 15.—Terra-cotta Statuette—British Museum.

in the arrangement of it. It could be worn both as head covering and cloak, by placing the middle of the upper edge over the head and letting the two sides fall down over the shoulders like a shawl; it is often so depicted on the vases both black- and red-figured; the figure of Eleusis wears it so on the Triptolemus vase by Hieron in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> It was frequently worn over the shoulders in this fashion without covering the head, and could easily be pushed back or drawn up over the head at will. A second very common way of arranging the himation was to draw one end over the left shoulder from the back towards the front, so that it hung down in a point in front, then to pass the mass of material across the back and under the right arm and throw the other end over the left shoulder again, so that the second point hung down towards the back: this was a very common style both for men and women.<sup>2</sup> If additional warmth were required, it could easily be obtained by drawing the cloak up over the right shoulder, so as not to leave the right arm and chest exposed. A combination of these two styles is seen in some of the Tanagra statuettes, where the himation is put on over the head. Both shoulders are covered; but instead of the two ends being allowed to hang down symmetrically one on each side of the front, one is taken up and thrown over the other shoulder, so that the whole figure is covered in the ample folds of the cloak.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 14, the figure to the right in the upper band.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 15.

A rather exceptional variant of the second style of wearing the himation is to be seen on a vase of Euxitheos in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> where Briseis is represented wearing it with one end placed on the left shoulder, the mass of the cloak being drawn across the back; the other end is passed under the right arm, but instead of being thrown over the left shoulder again, is turned back over the right shoulder, and so leaves the front of the figure exposed.

A third fashion is somewhat similar to the second, except that it leaves the front of the figure exposed to the waist or a little below. Instead of being drawn across the chest and thrown over the left shoulder, the second end is simply thrown over the forearm and held in place by the bend of the elbow.<sup>2</sup> A cloak worn in this style would be very likely to slip, so another fashion was adopted, which produced approximately the same effect, but which prevented the possibility of slipping. Instead of throwing the end over the left arm, the wearer secured it at the waist under the arm either by a brooch or more probably by simply tucking it under the girdle. To prevent the garment from hanging down too low and dragging on the ground, a large corner was usually doubled over before it was secured at the waist. The part thus fastened was sometimes passed over the end which hung down from the left shoulder, sometimes under it. The himation is so worn by Mausolus and Artemisia in

<sup>1</sup> E. 258, fig. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 17.





FIG. 16.—Vase-painting by Euxitheos—British Museum.





FIG. 17.—Vase-painting by Falerii—Rome, Villa Giulia.  
[Fürtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 17 and 18.]







*Photo. by A. Giraudon.]*

FIG. 18.—Athena of Velletri.

their portrait statues from the Mausoleum. A very good example is the Athena of Velletri published by Fürtwängler.<sup>1</sup>

On many of the monuments of the Pheidian period and the time immediately preceding it, we find that the Doric peplos is worn alone or with a small cloak or shawl laid on the shoulders and hanging down the back, as in the case of the maidens carrying sacrificial vessels on the Parthenon frieze. This small shawl was perhaps worn more for ornament than for the sake of warmth, and an ample peplos of warm woollen material might be found sufficient protection.

It may be objected that in the majority of the examples chosen as illustrations the himation is worn not over the Doric peplos, but over the Ionic chiton, and it has indeed been sometimes regarded as an element of the Ionic dress rather than of the Doric.

It does, however, appear over the Doric peplos, *e.g.*, in Fig. 18 and on many black-figured Attic vases,<sup>2</sup> and it is not difficult to trace its development from the Homeric *κρήδεμνον* worn symmetrically over the head and shoulders. It is an easy step in advance to throw one end of the cloak over the opposite shoulder, push it back off the head, and bring one arm out free instead of letting it remain covered. Fig. 15 might serve to illustrate an intermediate stage between those represented in Figs. 14 and 17.

An attempt will be made later to show that the

<sup>1</sup> *Masterpieces*, p. 142, fig. 18.

<sup>2</sup> B.M., B. 331.

Ionic himation was fastened with brooches, and had a different development. The wearing of the unpinned himation over the Ionic chiton is an instance of the blending of Doric and Ionic dress.

The Doric dress of men was similar to that of women, both with regard to under-dress and cloak. The name *χιτών* is used for the under-dress, as it was in Homer, the word *peplos* being restricted to women's garments. The outer garment of men as well as of women is called the himation.

The Doric men's chiton is fastened by brooches on the shoulders and girt in at the waist. It was a short garment reaching midway down the thighs, or to a distance just above the knees, had no over-fold, and was narrower than the women's *peplos*. No *kolpos* was worn, there being no superfluous length to dispose of. The side was sewn up so that the garment before being pinned was cylindrical in shape. This somewhat scanty garment was the only one worn by slaves, and men engaged in active pursuits and workmen frequently wore it fastened only on one shoulder, leaving the other bare and the arm quite free. When worn in this way it was called the *χιτών ἑξωμῖς* or *ἑτερομάσχαλος*; the god Hephaistos is usually represented wearing it in this way in his capacity as craftsman. We learn from Pollux, vii., 47, that the *ἑξωμῖς* was a *περιβλήμα* as well as an *ἔνδυμα*, from which we may gather that a small cloak was sometimes worn fastened on one shoulder and girt round the waist, but left unsewn down the side. Fig. 19 represents the *χιτών ἑξωμῖς*.







FIG. 19.—Bronze Statuette—British Museum.

Representations of Amazons and of Artemis the huntress are frequent, wearing the *χιτὼν ἔξωμις*; but in these cases it is usually a longer garment than that worn by men, and its superfluous length is drawn up over the girdle, forming a pouch; and then a second girdle is worn over this to prevent it from flapping in the wind. The Amazons of the Mausoleum frieze wear the short Doric dress without overfold and unsewn down the side; this, however, is perhaps merely a device on the part of the sculptor to afford an opportunity of displaying the physical forms, as well as the drapery. Various references in literature show that the Spartan women wore more scanty clothing than the Athenians; they are described as *μονοχίτων*, "wearing a single garment," and we learn from Pausanias that the girls who competed in the running races at Olympia wore the short *χιτὼν ἔξωμις*. As monumental testimony to the truth of this statement, we have the statue of a girl runner in the Vatican Museum.

The *τρίβων* worn by Spartans and people of austere or Laconizing tendencies, like Socrates and the Cynic philosophers, was probably a scanty Doric chiton made in some coarse homespun material; men of leisure and elderly men preferred to wear a longer chiton with sleeves either sewn or fastened with brooches; this was the case even after the reaction against anything savouring of Orientalism which followed the Persian wars. If we are to consider the monuments, both sculpture and vases, as giving a realistic picture of Greek life, we

shall see that men frequently wore only the himation; but it is difficult to believe that this was so, except, perhaps, in the height of summer.

The methods of draping the himation were the same for men as for women, except that after the period of the early black-figured vases we do not find men represented wearing it laid on both shoulders like a shawl; nor do they ever wear it drawn up over the head, although in the sunshine of a southern summer some such protection against the heat might be considered indispensable. The favourite style for men was that of laying the one end on the left shoulder and drawing the rest round the body from the back and throwing the other end either across the left forearm or over the shoulder.<sup>1</sup> This was called wearing the himation ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, presumably because it was drawn closely round the right side of the body. It was considered a mark of good breeding to throw it over the shoulder and let it hang down in such a way as to cover the left arm completely.<sup>2</sup> To wear it ἐπ' ἀριστερά, "over the left side," was a mark of boorishness, as we gather from Aristophane's *Birds*,<sup>3</sup> where Poseidon taunts the barbarian Triballus for wearing it so.

Another variety of over-garment worn by men is the χλάμυς, a cloak used for riding or travelling. It is considered to be of Macedonian origin,<sup>4</sup> another form of it being the ξειρά, a rough Thracian riding-

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 20 and 21.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 20.

<sup>3</sup> i., 1567.

<sup>4</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*.

cloak sometimes depicted on Greek vases.<sup>1</sup> It was probably brought into Greece from the north by the Dorian invaders when they came down, and in its origin may have been no different from the Homeric *χλαίνα*. In classical times it was always worn over the short chiton by travellers and riders, and was the characteristic dress of Ephebi.<sup>2</sup> The Parthenon frieze affords abundant illustration of the

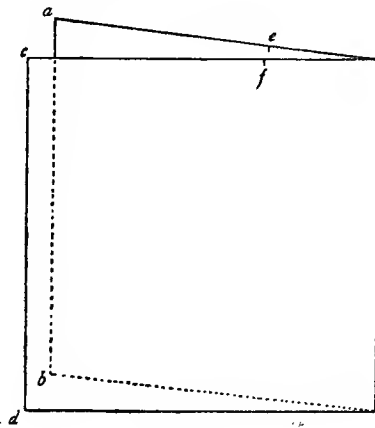


FIG. 24.

way in which it was worn. Like the himation, it consisted of a rectangular piece of material, but was of a slightly different shape, being rather more oblong; in fact, when doubled it would form almost a perfect square. Its normal dimensions would be about 6 to 7 feet long by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide. In putting it on, the wearer would double it round him and stand inside it, so that the middle line came along the back of the left arm and shoulder; he would

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 22.<sup>2</sup> Fig. 23.

then fasten the two sides together with a brooch on the right shoulder, close to the neck, at the points *e* and *f* in the accompanying diagram ; the corners *d* and *b* would hang down in front and behind respectively at a distance of about 1 foot from the ground, and the corners *a* and *c* would hang down together along the right side ; the left arm which held the reins in riding would thus be covered, while the right would be free to hold spear or whip. The left could easily be freed also by swinging the cloak round so that the brooch came under the chin instead of on the shoulder ; the two corners *a* and *c* could then be thrown back over the arms. The *χλάμυς* is frequently represented in art worn in this way, especially in cases where the wearer is occupied in vigorous action.

## IV

### IONIC

WE must now turn to a consideration of the Ionic dress, which Herodotus tells us was adopted by the Athenian women in the sixth century B.C. According to his account, it was Carian in its origin; our knowledge of the Carians is somewhat vague and indefinite. We learn from Thucydides<sup>1</sup> that they originally inhabited the Cyclades, but were driven out by Minos of Crete; and a little later on<sup>2</sup> he speaks of them, together with the Phœnicians, as islanders who practised piracy. Herodotus<sup>3</sup> gives a slightly different account, saying that the Carian inhabitants of the islands were subjected by Minos and used by him to man his ships, and were not driven out until later by the Dorian and Ionian immigrants. He also mentions the belief of the Carians themselves that they were autochthonous in Caria, and attributes to them various inventions afterwards adopted by the Greeks. According to Thucydides, their method of burying the dead seems to have differed from that of the Greeks; and from the various accounts of the two historians,

57 <sup>1</sup> i., 4.

<sup>2</sup> i., 8.

<sup>3</sup> i., 171.

we may gather that their race was different, although possibly they were soon hellenized by their Ionian neighbours. If, as Herodotus tells us, the Greeks adopted some Carian inventions, it is not unlikely that they may also have adopted the Carian dress, or at least may have modified their own by assuming some Carian elements.<sup>1</sup>

In his account of the assumption of the Ionic dress by the Athenians, Herodotus speaks only of the women; but we know that it was worn by men also, partly from the evidence of the monuments and partly from Thucydides, who tells us<sup>2</sup> that not long previously to the time at which he is writing the elder men of the wealthy classes gave up wearing linen chitons and fastening their hair with the *τέττιξ*, "cicala," a luxurious mode of dress common to them and their kinsfolk the Ionians. The Ionic dress was probably discarded by the Athenians shortly after the outbreak of the Persian war, when a reaction set in against Orientalism and a tendency towards greater simplicity began to manifest itself; Thucydides is writing more than a generation after the Persian wars, but his expression, *οὐ πολὺς χρόνος*, "no great length of time," is sufficiently vague, and he probably recollected the change which took place in his youthful days; moreover, he speaks only of the elder men of the wealthy classes, who would naturally be of conserva-

<sup>1</sup> According to Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, the Carians, like the Leleges, were a Pelasgian people.

<sup>2</sup> i., 6.



tive tendencies and the last to adopt any change in their mode of life or dress. The exact period at which the Athenians adopted the Ionic dress is unknown; the Æginetan expedition of 568 B.C., of which Herodotus makes use in dating the change, is too late, for we know that already in Solon's days luxury in dress had reached such a pitch as to necessitate the passing of a sumptuary law to regulate it, and such luxury could hardly have been reached so long as the simple Doric dress was retained. It may not be unreasonable to assume, then, that constant intercourse with the Ionians in the islands on the coast of Asia Minor led the Athenians to adopt their dress at some time towards the end of the seventh century.

The Ionic chiton differed from the Doric in length, material, and method of fastening. We read in Homer already of the *Ἰάωνες ἐλκεχιτῶνες*, "long-robed Ionians," and Pollux tells us of the *λινοῦς χιτῶν ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφόρουσαν ποδῆρη, καὶ ἀθῆις Ἴωνες*,<sup>1</sup> "the linen tunic which the Athenians wore reaching to the feet, and the Ionians too." This *χιτῶν ποδῆρης* is a long chiton reaching to the feet; that its material was linen is testified by Thucydides and Pollux, as well as other writers.<sup>2</sup> The story of Herodotus shows that its fastening was different from that of the Doric, since the Athenian women were forced to adopt it, *ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρεώνται*, "so as not to

<sup>1</sup> *Poll.*, vii., 49.

<sup>2</sup> Studniczka has pointed out that the word *χιτῶν* is of Semitic origin, and connected with a root signifying "linen," *Beiträge*, p. 17 f.

need brooches." This expression is usually taken to mean that the characteristic difference between the Doric and Ionic chitons is, that the Doric is fastened by means of pins or brooches, the Ionic is always sewn on the shoulders. That this is not invariably the case is proved by many examples both in sculpture and vase-painting, where a chiton is represented, which, from its length and fulness and the fine texture of its material, is clearly Ionic, but which is not sewn on the shoulders, but fastened together down the upper arm by a series of small round brooches; this fastening forms a kind of loose sleeve which reaches frequently to the elbow.

(It is the formation of this sleeve, whether sewn or pinned, which, apart from size or material, distinguishes the Ionic from the Doric chiton, which is sleeveless. The Ionic chiton in its simplest form is cylindrical in shape, and varies considerably in length, but is always longer than the height of the wearer; the superfluous length is drawn up through the girdle to form a kolpos, which varies in depth according to the length of the chiton. The Mænad vase of Hieron gives a good idea of the size to which this kolpos sometimes attained.<sup>1</sup> Being made of a fine linen material, the Ionic chiton is naturally fuller than the coarser woollen Doric garment, and its folds are consequently more numerous and more delicate; it is the greater width of the garment which necessitates the formation of the sleeve, as a single fastening from the shoulder

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Fig. 14, the second figure to the right in the lower band.

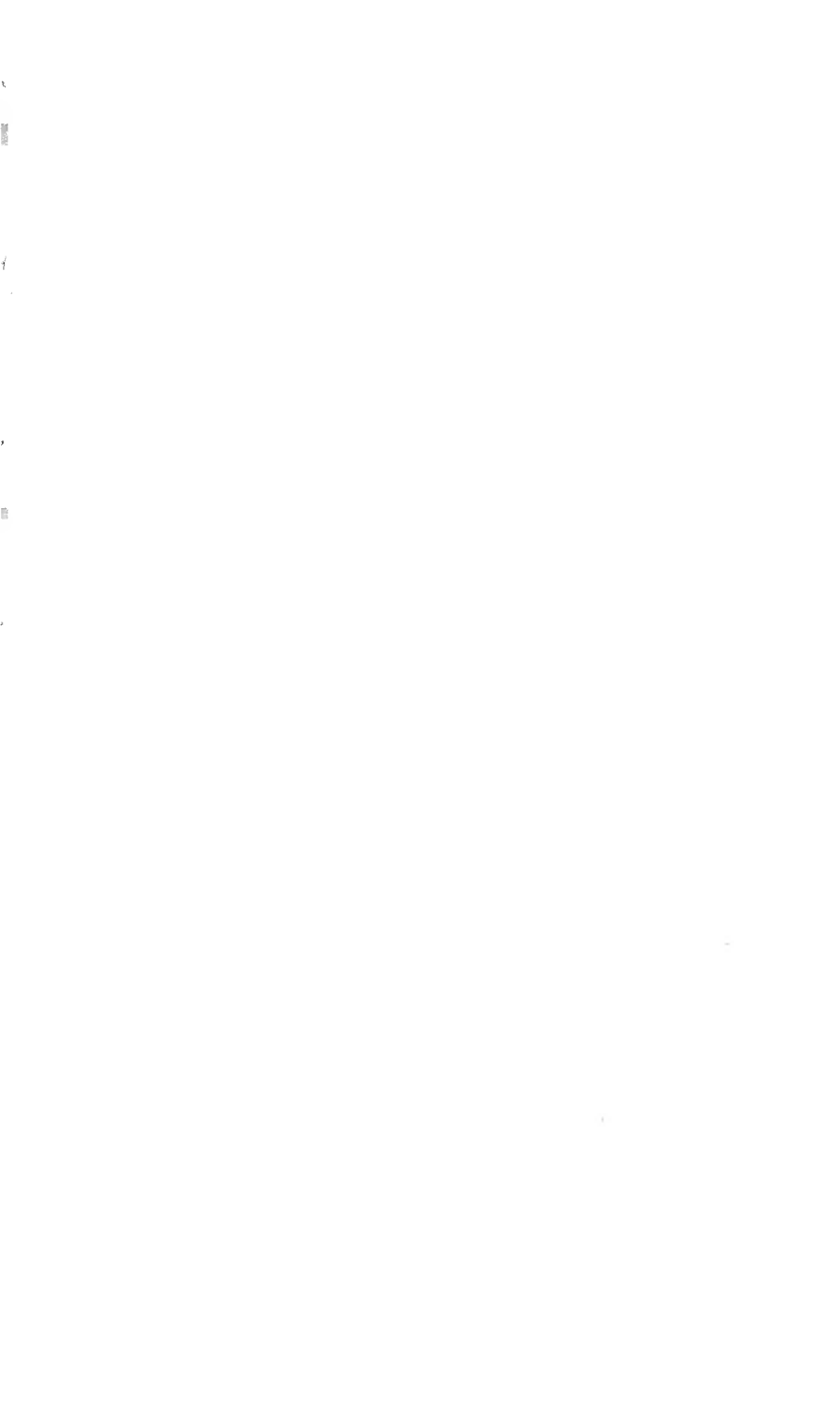




FIG. 25.—Vase-painting from Lucania—British Museum.

would leave too great a mass of material hanging down under the arms. The sleeve is made by joining the two top edges of the garment together and gathering them up so as to form regular folds; an opening is left in the middle for the neck and one at each end for the arms. The arm-holes were probably not formed, as some believe, by lateral openings in the side-seams, since this method produces a clumsy effect in practice; and moreover, in many vase-paintings<sup>1</sup> the ornamental border which runs along the neck and upper arm passes also round the arms without being continued down the side, which shows that it was embroidered or woven along the top edge of the chiton before the sleeves were made. A diagram will best show how the sleeves were formed, and the position of the openings for neck and arms: *ab* represents the upper edge of the chiton, along which a

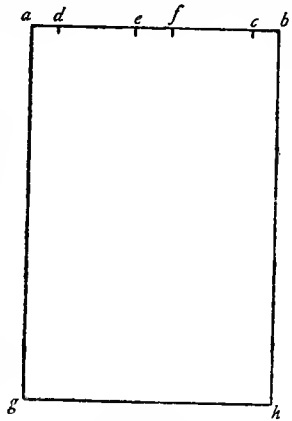


FIG. 26.

border is frequently woven or embroidered; *ef* represents the space for the neck, through which the head is thrust; *ad* and *bc* represent the arm-holes, which hang down parallel to the wearer's sides when the arms are held down in a normal position; the side-seams *ag* and *bh* are sewn along their whole length; the distances *de* *fc* are

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, B.M., E. 73; cp. Fig. 25, the two male figures.

joined and gathered to form the full sleeve. [The fulness is frequently held close to the figure by the addition of cross-bands, either crossing both in front and behind and attached to the girdle at the sides, or crossing only at the back and passing round the front of the shoulders.) A very excellent sculptured representation of this, the simplest form of the Ionic chiton, is to be found in the famous Delphi charioteer, where the gathering of the sleeves is very clearly marked.<sup>1</sup> In cases where the sleeve is not sewn, the spaces *de* and *fc* are joined by a series of brooches, varying in number from four to six on each side. The fulness is produced by taking up a little group of folds at each fastening and leaving the spaces between quite plain; the two edges are usually parted in these spaces, so as to show the arm through. These groups of folds are perhaps more effective than the continuous row of gathers which we get with the sewn sleeve. The Euxitheos vase reproduced above<sup>2</sup> will furnish an illustration of the chiton with pinned sleeves. A short chiton, with sleeves pinned in several places, was frequently worn by men, as is proved by many vase-paintings. We sometimes find women represented wearing a full chiton without overfold, fastened only once on each shoulder, like the Doric dress. This is one of the many modifications which the Ionic dress underwent when introduced into the mainland of Greece. We frequently find on vases figures in rapid motion wearing the long Ionic

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 16.



FIG. 27.—The Delphi Charioteer.









FIG. 28.—Vase-painting—Munich.

[Fürtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 33.]

chiton with many folds, represented by fine close lines, in which the lower edge of the chiton in front is drawn up to an angle on one or often more places. It was supposed by Böhlau<sup>1</sup> that this was meant to indicate that the garment had been cut at the bottom in a series of points. The object of this cutting is difficult to see, and on examination it will be found that wherever the lower edge of the chiton is so drawn up, immediately above it the kolpos hangs down deeper over the girdle; the figures are usually in rapid motion, and the lower edge of the back of the garment, which shows behind the feet, is represented by a continuous curve, without being drawn up anywhere.<sup>2</sup> It is obvious, then, that the artist intended to indicate that the wearer had drawn the dress up through the girdle, so as not to impede progress. Anyone who has ever moved about freely wearing a chiton of this kind, will know that unless the girdle is uncomfortably tight the dress has a habit of slipping down, so that it is necessary to pull it up sometimes, so as to prevent treading on it in front.

A feature of the Ionic chiton not very easy to understand is the overfold, which occurs very frequently, especially in vase-paintings of the severe red-figured class; it is not a normal feature of the Ionic chiton, and may very possibly have been added by the Athenian women when they adopted the dress, since they had always been accustomed to wearing it with the Doric peplos. The view

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones vestiarum.*

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 28.

that Herodotus (v., 87) is wrong, and that the Athenian women never wore the Doric dress at all, is hardly tenable in the face of such evidence as the François vase and others like it, which are certainly of Attic workmanship.

[The Ionic chiton with overfold is really, then, an instance of the blending of the two types of dress, which later became so complete that it is frequently difficult to decide whether a particular garment should more correctly be called Doric or Ionic.]

In some instances the overfold of the Ionic chiton is formed in exactly the same way as that of the Doric dress, only it is frequently shorter: it is turned over before the garment is put on, then back and front are fastened together along the arm, either by sewing or by brooches. In this latter case the only distinction from the Doric dress, in addition to those of size and material, is that instead of being pinned only once on each shoulder, and so being sleeveless, it is pinned along from shoulder to elbow, so as to form sleeves. An example of this is to be seen in a figure of Aphrodite from a vase-painting in Paris reproduced by Miss Harrison.<sup>1</sup> This style of dress, with the sleeves sewn instead of pinned, is found on the first of the so-called Fates of the Parthenon pediment, and on one of the Nereids from the Nereid monument, on a torso at Epidaurus, and on many vase-paintings. Although not always represented in art, shoulder-cords or cross-bands were probably actually worn with this dress, as a

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, p. 292.

general rule, since without some such contrivance it would slip inconveniently.

A type of dress very commonly found on vases is that which has full sleeves to the elbow and an overfold covering the chest and back, and passing under the arms without covering the sleeves, as was the case in the chiton described above. The Mænads on the famous Hieron vase are represented wearing this kind of dress, and numerous examples could be quoted from other vase-paintings.<sup>1</sup> Some such effect might be produced with the ordinary cylindrical-shaped chiton with overfold, if shoulder-bands were worn such as those worn by the Delphi Charioteer and by one of the so-called Fates of the east pediment of the Parthenon; but in actual practice such an arrangement would produce a somewhat clumsy mass of folds under the arm, and could not be managed at all unless the overfold were considerably deeper than that usually represented on the vases. We must look, therefore, for some other explanation; and it will not be far to seek, if we allow the Ionian women and their Athenian imitators a freer use of scissors and needle than their Doric sisters were accustomed to make. A close examination of the monuments will show that although the sleeve of the Ionic chiton was frequently formed in the manner described above, yet in a very large number of cases, in almost all of which the overfold is present, the sleeve is more like our modern notion of a sleeve—

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Fig. 29.

that is to say, it fits closer to the arm, as though shaped to some extent, while the rest of the garment fits closer to the figure. The vase-painter Brygos is fond of depicting women in this kind of dress: the accompanying illustration<sup>1</sup> is taken from his representation of Hera and Iris pursued by Silenoi. This dress is obviously not composed simply of a cylindrical piece of material

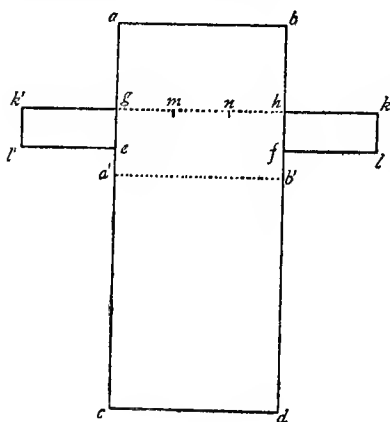


FIG. 30.

folded over at the top and fastened on the arms, for the rather deep overfold leaves the sleeves quite free, and covers only the body of the wearer. This effect could be produced in two ways, in both of which, however, the sleeve-pieces must be sewn in separately. In the

first method, we may suppose that two rectangular pieces of material are taken, equal in size and shape, represented in the diagram as *abcd*.

These are sewn together along the sides up to the points *e* and *f*, at a distance of about 5 feet from the lower edge; when the dress is worn, these points will come immediately under the arms. We may next suppose that two rectangular pieces of material measuring about 18 by 20 inches are taken

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 29.



FIG. 29.—Vase-painting by Brygos—British Museum.





for the sleeves ; these are folded double, so that the longer sides lie upon each other, and then sewn on to the body of the chiton at the points *f*, *h*, *g*, and *e*, so that the fold lies in the position indicated by the lines *fl* and *el'* in the diagram ; the openings *kl* and *k'l'* will form the arm-holes ; that part of the chiton *abgh* which still extends above the sleeve-pieces is then folded over, so that it hangs down in the position *gha'b'*. The line *kk'* now represents the upper edges of the garment, which are fastened together (leaving the space *mn* for the neck) either by sewing and gathering or by groups of folds held in place by a series of brooches. The front and back part of the overfold would then hang down separately, but they could be joined together under the arms, provided that the space round the shoulder were left free for the arm to pass through into the sleeve.

The second method of making this dress is nothing but a modification of the first. It consists of taking two smaller rectangles in the first place, *ghcd*, to form the body of the chiton ; two pieces *abgh* are sewn on back and front, after the sleeve-pieces, to form a sort of false overfold, which will have exactly the same effect as if it were in one piece with the rest of the chiton.

It is possible to conceive of the sleeve-pieces being originally in one piece with the rest of the chiton, which would then be a dress composed of two cross-shaped pieces of material sewn together along the edges *dfl* and *cel'* ; it is more reasonable

to suppose, however, that the sleeve-pieces were sewn on separately. That such sleeve-pieces were attached to the ordinary Ionic chiton without overfold seems likely from many vase-paintings. The addition of sleeves was certainly not unfamiliar to the Greeks, for we find slaves wearing a narrow, ungirt chiton, with tight sleeves reaching to the wrists. A familiar example of this is to be found in Hegeso's attendant on the well-known grave relief in Athens. In an inscription, dating from the middle of the fourth century,<sup>1</sup> and recording a large number of garments dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, the expression *χειριδωτός* occurs, which can only mean "sleeved." In the same inscription special mention is frequently made of the fact that the chiton, or *χιτωνίσκος*, is *ἐμπλαισίω*, "oblong," from which we may infer that it was not always so. Now, the ordinary simple Ionic chiton would be oblong in shape when not worn, so that we may take the others, which are not described as oblong, to be chitons with separate sleeve-pieces attached.

The false overfold was sometimes attached also to the simple cylindrical Ionic chiton. In these cases it covered the chest only, leaving the arms covered only by the sleeves; it was probably simply sewn on at the neck in front only. Kalkmann has collected and stated the evidence for this false overfold to the chiton in an article in the *Jahrbuch*, vol. xi., where he shows that it was sometimes applied to

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. A.*, ii., 754.

the over-garment also. Very clear examples of it are to be seen in some of the archaic female statues on the Acropolis at Athens, especially in those cases where the himation is worn like a shawl over both shoulders.<sup>1</sup>

That the long Ionic chiton with sleeves was worn by men as well as women, is abundantly evident from the monuments. On the vases, Zeus and Dionysus and other gods are almost invariably represented wearing it; and in sculpture also, kings, priests, and others are represented so dressed. Together with the himation, it probably constituted a sort of state dress for priests and other officials, even after it had been discarded for daily use, as being too luxurious.

A short chiton, with or without sleeves, and made of some fine material, is to be found on the vases worn by men engaged in active pursuits. It sometimes has an overfold; although, with the long chiton, this feature is usually confined to women. A good example of the men's short chiton with overfold is to be seen on the vase of Brygos representing the exploits of Theseus.

The cross-bands and shoulder-cords already mentioned are, strictly speaking, an element of the Ionic chiton, though they are sometimes represented in art over the Doric peplos. Their object is to hold the ample folds of the full chiton close to the figure, and to prevent the sleeves from slipping or flapping about with every movement of the wearer. The

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 687 and 688.

cross-bands are usually attached to the girdle and can be of one piece with it; their place is sometimes taken by a second girdle, worn rather high over the kolpos, as is the case with the Artemis of Gabii reproduced below (Fig. 37).

This high girdle was known as the *ταυρία*, or *ἀποδέσμος*, whereas the low girdle was called *περιζῶμα*. A broad band, known as the *στρόφιον*, was sometimes worn by women under the breasts, to serve the purpose of modern corsets.<sup>1</sup>

A word or two must be said about the diminutives of *χιτών*—namely, *χιτώνιον*, *χιτωνάριον*, and *χιτωνίσκος*. We should naturally expect the words to mean a small or short chiton, but this does not seem always to be the case. The *χιτώνιον* and *χιτωνάριον* are frequently described as *διαφανές*, “transparent,”<sup>2</sup> and Eustathius (iii., 1166) explains the words as referring to a fine and luxurious dress worn by women. In the inscription to Artemis Brauronia<sup>3</sup> we read more than once of a *χιτώνιον ἀμοργίνον*—that is, a garment made of linen from Amorgos, which we know was very fine and expensive; we may infer, then, that the diminutives *χιτώνιον* and *χιτωνάριον* refer to fineness of material rather than to shortness of cut. The case of the *χιτωνίσκος* is somewhat different; it is not referred to as being transparent, and is usually described in the inscription cited above as being very ornate. Women are frequently repre-

<sup>1</sup> B.M., Vase, E. 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Ar. Lys.*, 48; *Menander Meineke. frag. incert.*, 141.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. A.*, ii., 754.

sented on vases<sup>1</sup> wearing over the long Ionic chiton a short and sometimes very ornate garment, which cannot be described as a himation. Possibly this short over-chiton is the garment indicated by the name *χιτώνισκος*.<sup>2</sup> A similar garment was worn by musicians over the long ungirt chiton (*ὀρθοστάδιος*).<sup>3</sup> Another instance of a special dress worn for a special purpose is the costume worn by actors; it had long sleeves, and was probably padded to complete the impression of increased size produced by the high masks and buskins.

The himation worn over the Ionic chiton presents considerable variety of shape and arrangement. In very many cases we find that the Doric himation is worn, whether over both shoulders or only over one. In the Harpy monument, where we might have looked for Ionic dress in its purest form, we find the Doric himation worn over the fine linen-sleeved chiton, and on very many of the red-figured vases of the severe style this is the case. There is one set of monuments, however, which may be considered as Ionic in origin, or at least of Ionizing tendencies, where a far less simple garment takes the place of the Doric himation. This set includes the archaic female statues and flying victories of the Acropolis Museum at Athens, and a large number of small painted terra-cotta statuettes

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrbuch*, i., pl. 102a; Gerhard, *Anserlesene Vasenbilder*, 79, 80; Dumont and Chaplain, pl. 8; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1890, pl. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Amelung in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Chiton," p. 2322.

<sup>3</sup> B.M., E. 270.

in the same museum, the sculptures of the Treasury of the Cnidians at Delphi, and a number of other statues and reliefs from Athens, Eleusis, Delos, and elsewhere. The dress presents a somewhat complicated appearance at first sight, and has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion. The following section is based upon a careful study of the original monuments and of the literature already written on the subject.

## V

# THE MAIDENS OF THE ACROPOLIS

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IONIC HIMATION

THE problem of the drapery of the archaic female figures in the Acropolis Museum has been considered by various archæologists, but has not yet been satisfactorily solved in all its details by any of them. The questions to be decided are: Firstly, are we to suppose that the draperies of the statues give us a faithful and realistic reproduction of a costume actually in fashion among the Athenian ladies at the close of the sixth century, or must we take into account the fact that the work is still archaic and the artists have not yet sufficiently mastered their material to be able to reproduce exactly what they saw before them? Secondly, what are the separate garments which constitute the elaborately complicated whole? And thirdly, how are these garments arranged so as to produce the effect seen in the statues?

The answer to our first question is to be found in a compromise lying somewhere between the two hypotheses suggested. The early artist, struggling

with the technical difficulties of his art, is always ready, as soon as he has solved one problem to his satisfaction, to pass on to something which presents still greater difficulties and demands the exercise of still greater skill. The makers of the Acropolis maidens have advanced so far as to be able to infuse some sort of life into their work ;—witness the lively expression on some of the faces. Moreover, in the modelling of some parts of the human figure they have reached a high degree of excellence. In the few cases in which the feet of the statues are preserved, a great degree of delicacy and refinement is displayed, which shows that the artists had attained some considerable power over their material. Having advanced so far, they feel themselves equal to facing the problem of representing drapery in sculpture. It is not to be supposed that at this stage of artistic development they would invent difficulties which did not naturally present themselves, nor would they attempt to represent anything that they had not actually seen ; therefore, we must conclude that the Athenian ladies of the period actually wore a dress corresponding closely to that reproduced in art. At the same time, it must be remembered that the Greek artist in all probability did not work with a model constantly before him, so that we must expect some slight differences in detail on that account ; furthermore, we must make some allowance for archaism ; for example, in all the statues under discussion, the drapery does not fall freely away from the figure,







*Photo. by English Photographic Co., Athens.]*

FIG. 31.—Archaic Statue—Athens, Acropolis Museum.

but follows the lines of the form beneath in a manner impossible in real life.

Having determined that the artists have represented a dress which was actually worn, we must proceed to consider the character of the dress as a whole, and of the parts of which it consisted. In giving a general description it will be best to take an example which exhibits all, or nearly all, the characteristics that can be collected from the various statues. No. 594 will serve our purpose. (Perrot and Chipiez, pl. xii. ; Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, fig. 16.)<sup>1</sup> The under-garment which appears on the neck and left arm is represented by a series of fine wavy lines, running parallel to one another, which give a crinkled appearance, and may possibly be meant to indicate a material which has undergone some special treatment in the making. This garment is finished at the neck and down the upper part of the arm by an ornamental border, originally painted, but from which the colour has now almost entirely disappeared. The lower part of the figure is covered by a very long and ample garment, which I shall hope to prove to be the same as that which covers the left shoulder and upper arm. This garment is ornamented with a broad and elaborate meander pattern down the middle of the front ; and if the statue were not broken, we should probably see another border round the bottom. So far, the costume is comparatively simple ; but above this

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 31.

under-garment is worn a cloak which passes under the left arm and is drawn up to the right shoulder, where it is fastened so as to hang in heavy vertical folds down the right-hand side of the figure, back and front; in most cases we shall find that the cloak is fastened by a series of buttons along the upper part of the arm, as far as the curve of the elbow. The example before us now has an additional wrap, which conceals the fastening down the right arm. The rest of the cloak, passing under the left arm, hangs in a series of oblique but almost vertical folds, running parallel to a box-pleat which starts from the shoulder. These folds are apparently held in place by a band passing under the left arm and fixed on the other shoulder. The upper edge of the cloak hangs over this band in a sort of little frill with a zigzag edge. The mass of folds lying close to the figure under the left arm represents the material which forms the sleeve of the chiton. The additional wrap seen in one or two of the statues is a very simple matter; it consists of a large scarf worn over the shoulders, hanging down to a point on the left-hand side; it leaves the left arm uncovered, passes round the back, and over the right shoulder. Instead of hanging straight down to a point in the right-hand side, the end of the scarf is turned up and thrown over the arm. The end is broken away in No. 594, but appears in another instance (No. 684, Acropolis Museum; Perrot and Chipiez, fig. 297, p. 592). Both cloak and scarf are

bordered with patterns, of which the colour still remains to some extent.

Many theories have been advanced as to the various garments which compose the costume. It will be well to give a brief summary of them, and to point out wherein they fall short, and, if possible, to substitute one that is more satisfactory.

The chief point at issue is whether the skirt part of the drapery belongs to the chiton—that is to say, to the garment which appears on the neck and left arm—or whether it is part of the cloak which passes under the left arm and is fastened on the right shoulder. Collignon even distinguishes three garments; he believes that the skirt is the chiton proper, and that the crinkled texture of the piece which appears above the himation is meant to represent some sort of woollen jersey worn over the chiton, which he calls the “chitoniscus.”

The difference in texture comes out very plainly in those cases where the himation is worn over the shoulders like a shawl, or where it is omitted altogether; for example, in Nos. 670 and 671.<sup>1</sup>

At first sight it appears as though two separate garments were intended, but on close examination it will be found that the curved line which terminates the wavy lines of the upper section has not the appearance of an edge, but appears rather to turn under and to represent a pouch, formed by pulling the garment up through the girdle. Moreover, in

<sup>1</sup> Lechat, figs. 8 and 9; Perrot and Chipiez, 290 and 292.

some cases these parallel wavy lines appear on the skirt as well, and cover the whole surface with the exception of the mass of folds hanging down the middle of the front. This can clearly be seen in No. 687 (Lechat, p. 161), in a small statue of the same type from Eleusis, now in the National Museum, Athens, and in the relief of the Charites in the Acropolis Museum (Lechat, pl. 3). Again, the same technique is found sometimes introduced into the rendering of the himation. Frequently on the shoulder, when the cloak is fastened, a succession of these wavy parallel lines begins to appear, then stops suddenly, and the rest of the garment presents a smooth surface.<sup>1</sup> There can be no question here of a difference of material, nor of a separate piece of drapery, so that we must look for some other explanation of the different treatment. Lechat has offered one which is satisfactory and which finds confirmation in other monuments. He says "the difference in the appearance of the upper and lower part of the same garment is due to this: that in the lower part, all the superfluous material is gathered together in a single mass, and the rest is drawn tightly across the legs; while in the upper part, the material, being left free, falls in regular folds all round the body." He further suggests that the regularity of the folds may be meant to represent some artificial treatment of the dress, such as is applied to the modern *fustanella*. The archaism of the work, however, is sufficient to account for this

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 32.



*Photo. by Mansell & Co.]*

FIG. 32.—Archaic Statue—Athens, Acropolis Museum





regularity in representing a series of very full folds in a fine material held in rather closely to the figure. The same kind of treatment appears on many of the red-figured vases of the best period. One from a vase by Euphronios is reproduced by Kalkmann (*Jahrbuch*, vol. ix.); it occurs also on the well-known Troilus vase by the same artist, and in numerous other instances (Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 215). Above the girdle the folds are represented by fine parallel wavy lines drawn very close together below by straight lines. In these cases there is no questioning the fact that only one garment is intended, so that we may conclude that in the case of the Acropolis statues too, there is no need to suppose that the difference in texture represents two separate garments of different materials.

It has been suggested that there may be an intention on the part of the artist to indicate some kind of material that had a crinkled texture, such as that of some of the modern Greek stuffs; but if this were so, we might reasonably expect to find the same technique all over the garment, and the comparison with the vases shows that the supposition is not necessary.

We may conclude, then, that in those cases where the himation is omitted altogether, the figure is draped in a single garment, namely, the long Ionic chiton described above.

In the case of these statues, the chiton is exceptionally long; there is still some material left trailing on the ground after the formation of the

deep "kolpos," which necessitates the skirt being held up in one hand, so as not to impede walking. We are at once reminded of the Ἰάονες Ἐλκεχιτῶνες of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.

We have next to consider those cases—and they are in the majority—where another garment is worn over the chiton; and it is on this point that archaeologists are at variance. Many maintain that the chiton only appears on the upper left-hand side of the figure, and that a very large cloak is worn over it, which covers the whole of the rest of the chiton, and has a deep overfold at the top and trails on the ground behind, being held up in front and drawn aside in the left hand. Studniczka supports this view, and calls the garment an "ionisirende Peplos." Holwerda, in an article in the *Jahrbuch* for 1904, gives some drawings of some practical experiments he has made in draping a model in a garment of this kind. He supposes that it is cylindrical in shape, with a deep overfold, which is shorter on the shoulder than elsewhere, and so produces a zigzag line along its lower edge when draped; a girdle is worn underneath the overfold, through which the superfluous length left by shortening the overfold on the shoulder can be drawn. He supposes that the garment was drawn tightly round under the left arm, and that its upper edge formed the frill which we see in many of the Acropolis statues. A comparison between his finished model and the statue which he reproduces beside it serves to show the points wherein his theory falls short; it in

no way accounts for the vertical folds of the cloak, nor for the tight band which appears passing under the left arm and fastened on the right shoulder. Amelung, writing in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real Encyclopädie*, and Professor E. A. Gardner, in his *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, maintain that the garment is simply a Doric peplos fastened on one shoulder instead of both, and held in place by a tight band, under which the width of the peplos is arranged in vertical folds. The main objections to this theory are that the Doric peplos is invariably fastened in one place only on the shoulder, whereas the fastening of the garment in question is continued by a series of brooches down as far as the elbow; the result would be to leave a very heavy and cumbersome mass of material hanging from the right arm, which would seriously impede any active motion. Moreover, it leaves out of account a piece of material which appears almost invariably in front, below the zigzag edge, where it is drawn up highest.<sup>1</sup> Holwerda takes it to be a girdle, but it has not the appearance of a girdle; it hangs over the material that falls from below it, and does not cut into the soft stuff in the way in which a girdle would. That the makers of these statues knew how to represent a girdle is plain from No. 679,<sup>2</sup> where the Doric peplos is worn over the Ionic chiton. In this case the peplos is consider-

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, VIII., pls. 5 and 12.; Lechat, 22, 29, 30, etc. This feature comes out clearly in fig. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, VIII., fig. 303; Lechat, fig. 31.

ably shorter than the chiton, so that the latter garment is plainly seen below the peplos, which only hangs down to a distance somewhat above the ankles. The Caryatid of the Cnidian Treasury at Delphi has the girdle clearly represented below the box-pleat by two parallel, horizontal, incised lines. On the frieze of the same building some of the figures are represented wearing the Doric peplos as an over-garment; in these cases also it is shorter than the chiton, which invariably appears below it at the feet. An archaic statue from Rhamnus, in Attica, now in the British Museum, has the crinkly chiton showing at the feet, and over it a himation with a deep overfold reaching considerably below the waist; in addition to this overfold a pleated frill appears over the breast, but no band is visible; the frill, however, is deeper than is usually the case in the Acropolis statues, and might be intended to conceal a band. This over-dress is sewn up at the side, and in that respect resembles the Doric peplos. It is significant that in this case, where the garment might with more reason be regarded as a Doric peplos let down from one shoulder, the chiton is seen appearing below it at the feet, and the over-dress does not reach to the ankles. In the few cases where the feet of the Acropolis statues are preserved, it will be noticed that the skirt is held up fairly high towards one side, so as to display the ankle. If a long under-garment were worn, we should expect its lower edge to be seen here; but in no instance is that the case, so that we may conclude

that the skirt itself is the under-garment. Those who maintain that the skirt belongs to the upper garment support their opinion by the fact that very frequently the ornamentation on the two different parts is the same; the natural colour of the marble is left as a ground, and the decoration consists of coloured borders and patterns dotted somewhat sparsely over the surface. The part of the dress which appears on the left shoulder is frequently painted all over, and we might have expected that if the skirt belonged to the same garment it would also be painted all over. But before accepting this argument as conclusive, it will be well to consider the nature and purpose of polychromy as applied to Greek sculpture.

In the early days when inferior materials were used for sculpture, colour was applied to them to conceal the poverty of the stone and to produce a more pleasing surface than that offered by the rough material at the artist's disposal. These coarser materials were not capable of such careful finish, or of producing such a lively play of light and shade, as the marbles later used, and the only way to give them animation was by the application of colour all over the surface. It became, therefore, a regular practice for early Greek sculptors to paint their statues. When, however, they began to use more beautiful materials, such as marble, they recognised that it was a pity to conceal its texture by the extensive application of colour. They therefore adopted the practice of submitting the surface of

the marble to a process of polishing, and adding colour only in parts, the effect being that the beauty of the marble is enhanced by the contrast between its polished surface and the coloured parts of the statue. The range of colours used is somewhat limited and conventional. For example, in the early pediment groups from the Acropolis, we find red used for human flesh ; and the colours used in the draperies of the Acropolis female statues are limited to red and blue. Both eyes and hair are invariably red. We may infer, therefore, that colour was not added with a view to reproducing nature faithfully, but simply to decorate the statues. If, therefore, the artist felt that a white surface of marble with a few patterns sprinkled over it produced a more pleasing effect than a surface coloured all over, he would use this method of decorating his work, even if it were not realistic ; and he would prefer to treat large surfaces of drapery in this way, rather than colour them all over. When, therefore, in these statues, we find that the small surface of the chiton which appears on the upper part of the figure is coloured all over, we need not conclude that the skirt belongs to another garment because it is differently ornamented ; had so large a surface been painted all over, the effect would have been far less pleasing. The difference in the decoration of different parts of the same garment need in no way surprise us ; it occurs very frequently in the black-figured vases, where we get purple used for the upper part of a garment and black for the lower,

simply with the object of producing variety. The argument from the application of coloured ornament will not help us, then, in this case, especially when we find that it can be used to support either view. Professor Baldwin Brown has pointed out that some terra-cotta figures<sup>1</sup> in the Acropolis Museum, which are draped in the same style as the archaic statues, have the under-garment covering the shoulder and the skirt painted in one colour, and the part which passes round the figure under the left arm in another, and he uses this fact as a piece of evidence to show that the skirt is part of the chiton and the rest a separate garment.<sup>2</sup> It will be safer, therefore, in considering the different garments which constitute the dress, to leave the question of colour out of account altogether, and to base our arguments only on their form. Many who maintain that the skirt is part of the chiton, are of the opinion that the upper garment is the ordinary himation with a small over-fold, fastened on the shoulder and down the arm. Lechat supposes that the upper edge is taken up and drawn from beneath and folded over on itself, so as to form a sort of thick pad at the top, and he suggests that the pleats were folded before the cloak was put on, and perhaps even ironed; but this arrangement would not produce the vertical folds which we find in almost all the statues.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Jahrbuch*, 1893; Arch. Anz., H. 519; Winter.

<sup>2</sup> Another possibility which suggests itself is that the sculptor may not have painted the statue himself, but may have handed it over to a painter who did not understand how the drapery was constituted.

Kalkmann<sup>1</sup> calls the garment a "stilisirte himation," and suggests that the vertical lines are continued round the figure because the artist had great difficulty in representing the transition between the vertical folds which hang down from the arm and the horizontal ones of the overfold. This explanation, however, does not account for the frill-like edge which appears at the top of the himation. Professor Baldwin Brown<sup>2</sup> has published some good photographs of a model draped in this Ionian himation, but has not given a very full or satisfactory explanation of how the effect was produced. He says that the secret of the dress is that "the upper edge of it, with all the folds, is tightly rolled over so that it is shortened in the front, while at the same time the folds are kept in their places." He admits that the folds will only keep in place on a "motionless wearer of imperturbable patience," and therefore supposes that the dress was evolved for use on the wooden xoana. It seems unlikely that a special dress of such an elaborate nature should have been evolved to drape these early wooden images, and there is no reason to suppose that the series of Acropolis statues are merely reproductions of such images. They appear much rather to represent the grand Athenian ladies who dedicated themselves symbolically to their patron goddess by setting up statues of themselves in her honour. Since the statues were probably intended to be set up permanently in a conspicuous

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrbuch*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> *How Greek Women Dressed*.



place, it is natural that the votaries would like to see themselves appearing in their best clothes.

A careful study of the statues themselves and a consideration of all the evidence bearing on the question leads to the conclusion that the complete costume consists of two garments, a long under-dress, which may be regarded as the usual indoor costume of the Athenian ladies of the sixth century, and a mantle worn over it for out of doors; occasionally a scarf or shawl is worn as well over the mantle, perhaps for additional warmth, perhaps only for ornament. The under-dress consists of the long linen Ionic chiton, a wide cylindrical garment fastened by brooches or sewn down both arms so as to form sleeves; a girdle is worn round the waist, and the superfluous length of the material is drawn up over this girdle so as to form a deep pouch; sometimes this pouch is worn all round the figure, sometimes, as is apparently the case in a large seated figure of Athena, the pouch is formed only in front. On some occasions<sup>1</sup> we find that the chiton, in addition to the pouch, has an overfold from the neck resembling the *ἀπόπτυγμα* of the Doric peplos. This overfold sometimes only covers the chest and sometimes hangs down considerably lower. Such an overfold is very frequently found on vases; in some cases its material may be of one piece with that of the rest of the chiton, as it appears on one of the Nereids from the so-called Nereid monument; but in those many cases where it only appears

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Lechat, fig. 12.

between the shoulders and does not extend also along the arms, it is quite possible that it may be a separate piece of stuff sewn on to the chiton at the neck. It is probably the edge of such an overfold that appears at the waist below the himation on the Acropolis statues; no other satisfactory explanation of this detail of the costume has at present been suggested. It is unlikely that it represents the "kolpos," because in all cases, with one possible exception (No. 676; Lechat, fig. 29), a border is painted on it, indicating that it is an edge and not a pouch. It has been suggested that this overfold was sometimes made of a different kind of material from the chiton on to which it was sewn, and that this material was a silk or linen of a crinkled texture, indicated by the wavy parallel lines which appear on the statues. The fact that this treatment appears sometimes also on the skirt and on the upper part of the mantle, diminishes the probability of this hypothesis, and makes it appear more likely that this kind of technique was simply used to represent very full folds in a fine material. Such a treatment may have been suggested to the artist by familiarity with some material of a crinkled texture, such as that used for sheets and table-cloths in some Greek villages to-day.

With regard to the ornamental patterns which adorn the chiton, we find borders at the feet and at the edge of the overfold, also strips of ornamentation running round the neck and along the arms and round the arm-holes, and almost invariably a

broad band running vertically down the front of the lower part of the chiton. In addition to these strips and borders we also get stars or small floral designs scattered over the whole garment. The bands which appear at the edges are easy to understand; they were either woven in the material of which they were made, or, more probably, embroidered on to it afterwards; but in those cases where the overfold is worn and a pattern appears at its edge and also along the neck and arms, we must suppose that this latter was applied after the sleeves were formed and the overfold attached. Possibly, also, the vertical band on the lower part of the chiton represents a separate strip of embroidery sewn on to the garment. The Greek women probably occupied a large proportion of their time in embroidery; and since a good piece of embroidery lasts for very many years, it is quite possible that when the original garment was worn out, they may have cut off the strip of still good work, and sewn it on to a new dress. The only other explanation of the numerous patterns which appear on the statues, is that the artist simply applied ornamentation wherever it pleased his fancy to do so; this is less satisfactory than to suppose that he was representing something which he actually saw.

Turning to the himation or mantle worn over the chiton, the simplest method of producing the effect seen in the Acropolis statues was found by experiment to be by taking a piece of material between 5 and 6 yards long and about 18 or 20

inches wide. This was folded double, as in the diagram at the point *a*, so that the points *b* and *b'* met. Then at the points *c* and *c'*, at equal distances from the corners, and cutting off at little less than one-third of the wide length of the stuff, the two upper edges were fastened together on the model's right shoulder, a few pleats or gathers being taken in the material on each side. A series of such fastenings was made along the upper arm, as far as the points *d* and *d'*, which reached to the model's elbow; the rest of the stuff, as far as the points *b* and *b'*, was allowed to hang down from the elbow. The

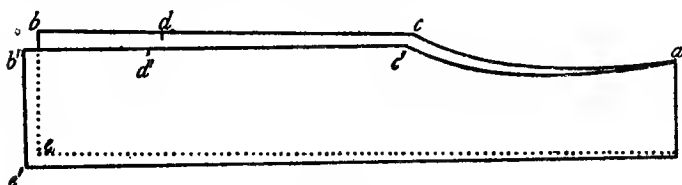


FIG. 33.

part of the material *c* to *c'* passed under the left arm and was arranged in a series of regular oblique folds running parallel to the box-pleat, which formed itself naturally at the first fastening on the shoulder—that is to say, at the points *c* and *c'*; these folds were held in place by a band passing under the left breast, drawn rather tightly round the figure and secured firmly on the right shoulder. In order to make the lower edge of the cloak rise in the middle, as it does invariably in the statues, it was found necessary to draw the folds up over the band and let the upper edge fall over, forming a kind of frill. The frill, however, hung down too low, and it was





*a*



*b*

FIG. 34.—Drapery in the Style of the Archaic Statues in the Acropolis Museum, Athens.

this fact that suggested cutting the upper edge of the cloak out in a curve, or rather in two curves, one at the back and one at the front, leaving the part under the left arm longer than that in front and behind. When these curves were cut out and the garment once more arranged in its pleats, the little frill-like edge hung of itself over the band, just in the way in which it appears in some of the statues. The band alone held the folds fairly well in place; but in order to prevent the possibility of their slipping, the Athenian ladies probably had them stitched on to the band. It would be quite easy to slip the garment on and off over the head without even unfastening it on the shoulder.<sup>1</sup>

The variations in detail which appear in the different statues can easily be produced by arranging the folds in a slightly different fashion. In some cases, as for example in No. 674 (Lechat, pl. 1), the folds hang quite upright instead of obliquely, and the box-pleat appears in the middle instead of hanging from the shoulder; this can easily be produced by turning the folds first in one direction and then in the opposite. The folds of the frill sometimes hang in the opposite direction to those of the main part of the mantle; this is simply a mistake on the part of the artist. Occasionally the frill does not appear at all, for example in No. 686 (Lechat, fig. 37), but the cloak hangs straight down from the broad band. In this instance we must

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 34, *a* and *b*, are photographs of a model draped in this manner.

suppose that the overhanging mass of material has been cut away entirely before the folds were attached to the band.

Sometimes the two ends were sewn together along the lines  $be$  and  $b'e'$ , and in this case the last fastening, indicated by the letters  $d$  and  $d'$ , approached nearer to the points  $b$  and  $b'$ , so as to leave an opening only sufficient for the arm to pass through.

The detail of the cloak which presents most variety is the little frill-like edge which falls over the band. Sometimes it appears to be a natural continuation of the vertical folds which hang down below it, and it falls over the band so as almost to hide it; sometimes it is shorter, and reveals the band and forms a sort of leaf-like pattern above it; in other cases it disappears entirely. Its most realistic representation is in one of the Victories in the Acropolis Museum, where the corners  $c$  and  $c'$ , formed by cutting the curves, are actually indicated on the shoulder, and the frill lies in an irregular zigzag, almost exactly as it was found to fall in practice.

In two cases in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, and in a statue at Delphi, the band does not pass under the arm, but from shoulder to shoulder, and the cloak covers both arms symmetrically, being fastened down both alike with a series of brooches. In these cases the box-pleat falls in the middle, and the curve must necessarily have been considerably smaller, since the upper edge lies much higher up towards the neck. When the cloak was worn in this way, it was probably sewn up



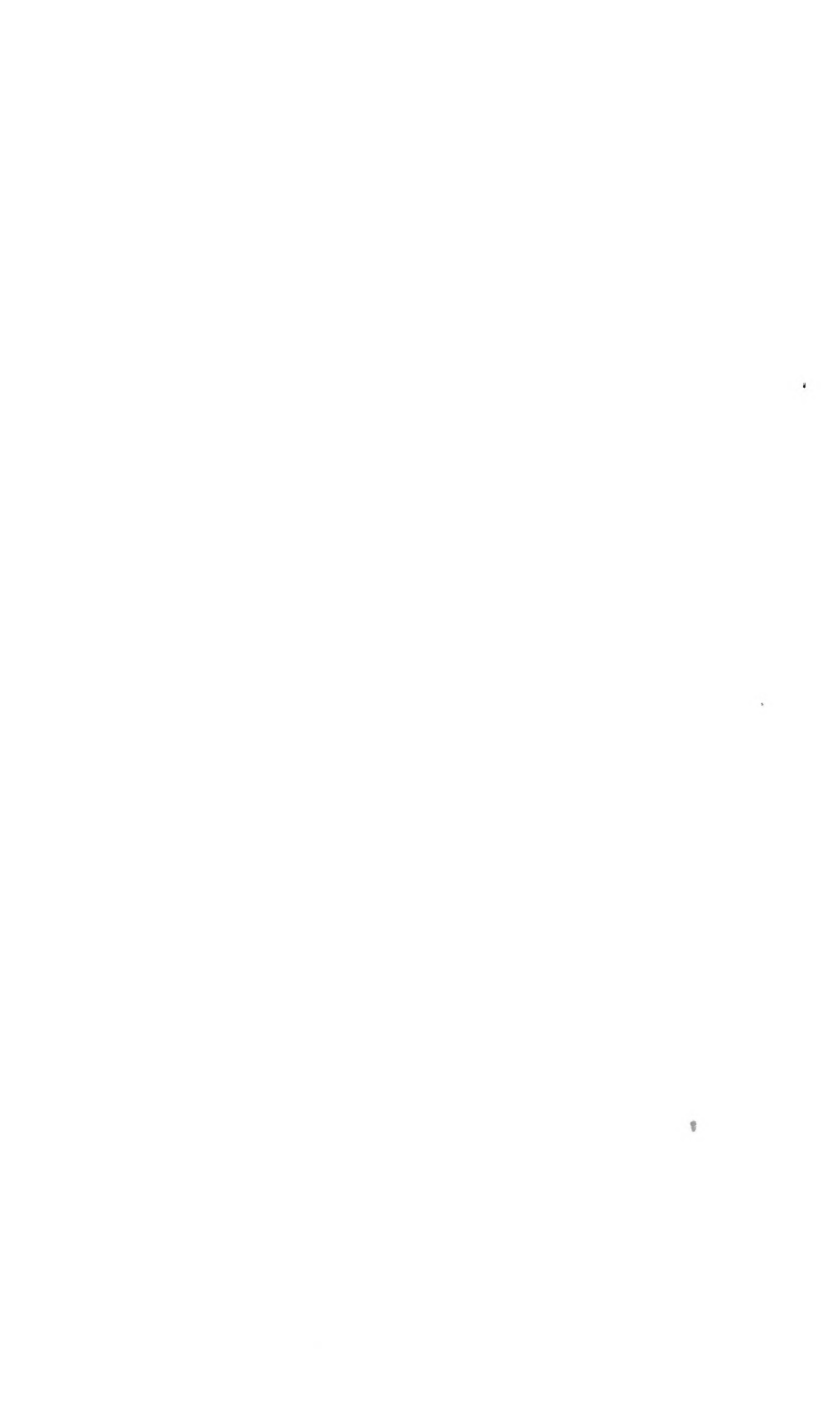




FIG. 35.—Vase-painting—British Museum.

down both sides, and the curves for the neck, back and front, were naturally equidistant from the two side-seams. The openings for the arms would come at the ends of the top edge, as in the case of the Ionic chiton.

The style of dress represented by this set of monuments is certainly the most luxurious which we find in Greek art at any period. Now the date of the Acropolis maidens can be fixed at some period certainly not later than the last quarter of the sixth century. Solon's sumptuary law regulating women's dress must have been enacted during the first years of the sixth century, so that we may conclude that these dainty ladies with their chitons, cloaks, and scarfs represent the height of luxury in dress which was possible after the passing of that law: their self-satisfied smile seems to be inviting approval of the degree of elegance to which their ingenuity could attain, even though a stern law-giver had limited the number of their garments to three.

This style of dress seems to have passed out of fashion at the end of the sixth century, or in the early years of the fifth, for we find it only in the early works of sculpture already mentioned. An attempt to render it is frequently made by the artists of the early red-figured vases—sometimes with some success; but more often the attempt results in a confusion between this somewhat elaborate style of cloak and the simpler development which it took later. Fig. 35 shows a fairly successful attempt to represent the dress. Here we have the band passing

round the right shoulder and the vertical folds falling from it, but the frill and the fastening down the right arm are omitted. Possibly they taxed the artist's skill too greatly; possibly the style had already passed out of fashion in real life. But he would be moderately familiar with the maidens on the Acropolis, although perhaps not sufficiently so to be able to reproduce their costume in detail. Working daily in his little shop down below in the Cerameicus, perhaps he did not very frequently mount the citadel, where he might study the art treasures that adorned it. Possibly even the vase is not earlier than 480 B.C., and the picture is but a reminiscence of the statues that the artist had seen on the Acropolis previous to their burial at the coming of the Persians. Very often on the vases we find the vertical folds represented falling from beneath a series of horizontal folds obviously formed by turning over the top of the cloak before fastening it on the shoulder. Here the band and fastening down the arm are omitted.<sup>1</sup> The place of the frill is taken by an overfold of the cloak before it is put on, and it is fastened by a single brooch on the shoulder; the material is allowed to hang in natural folds, and the necessity of cutting a curve in the upper edge is obviated by the fact that no band is worn, and the stuff is not arranged in artificial vertical folds. This style of cloak appears already on the figure of Apollo, on the relief from Thasos in the Louvre; it is seen most clearly in

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 36.



FIG. 36.—Vase-painting—Ionic Dress.







*Photo. by Mansell & Co.]*

**FIG. 37.—The Artemis of Gabii—Louvre.**



the Artemis of Gabii.<sup>1</sup> It was probably developed from the earlier and more elaborate form of cloak by gradual stages, first by omitting the artificial folds and the band which held them in place, and then by omitting the numerous fastenings on the arm. This would necessitate an alteration in the shape of the cloak; it would naturally become more square. Kalkmann, in the article already referred to, fig. 17, represents an intermediate stage in this development, where a large cloak is worn without band or frill, and is fastened by a series of several brooches down one arm. Were it not for this representation of the transition stage, we might be inclined to class the cloak of the Artemis of Gabii as a development of the Doric peplos, which it resembles in having an overfold and being fastened by a single large brooch on the shoulder; and indeed these two elements are probably due to the influence of the Doric dress, and we should therefore, perhaps, more rightly call the final form of the cloak a blending of the two styles rather than a development of either the one or the other.

As early as the beginning of the fifth century we find the two styles becoming confused and mingled together. The Doric peplos is worn as an over-dress over the Ionic chiton, even by one of the "Maidens" of the Acropolis, and later on the commonest form of outdoor dress for women was the Ionic chiton with the Doric himation over it. This combination appears in the so-called Fates of the Parthenon pediment. Frequently we find this

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 37.

blending of the two styles in a single garment ; we find also on vases the overgirt Doric peplos with sleeves formed by a number of brooches ;<sup>1</sup> and again, with cross-bands, which belong properly to the Ionic chiton.<sup>2</sup> Some authorities, pinning their faith entirely to Herodotus, consider that the the brooch is an element which belongs strictly only to the Doric dress ; they therefore regard the chiton with pinned sleeves as a mixture of the two. An over-garment not very simple in form, which can be regarded as neither Doric nor Ionic, but a mixture of both, is illustrated by Fig. 38. Kalkmann regards it as a number of overfolds or flounces sewn separately on to the chiton. It seems more reasonable, however, to regard the part of the dress which appears on the arms and at the feet, and which is made of a plain material, as the chiton, and the rest which is ornamented with a pattern, as a separate over-garment. This garment has three edges, at the waist, hips, and ankles, so that it is obviously not merely an ordinary rectangular himation, nor a simple Doric peplos with overfold. It seems simplest to explain it as a Doric peplos with deep overfold, ungirt, having a short false overfold to the waist sewn on over the real one at the neck. Such over-garments never occur in sculpture and only rarely on the vases, and may possibly be an error or invention on the part of the vase-painter ; if commonly worn, they would probably be more frequently represented in art.

<sup>1</sup> B.M., E. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Athens Central Museum, 1285.

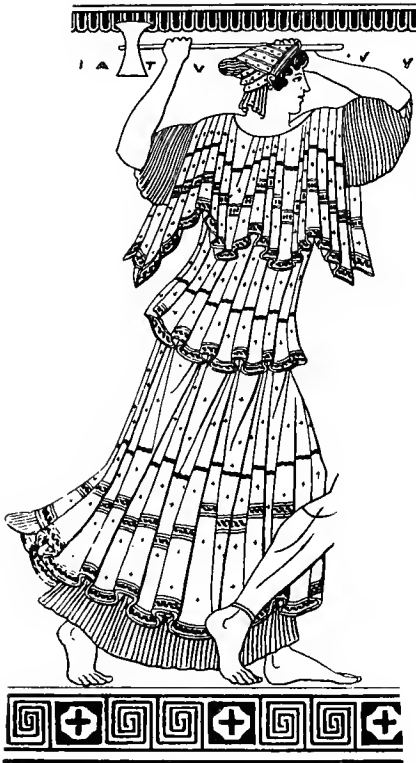


FIG. 38.—Vase-painting—Dress with two Overfolds.



## VI

### MATERIALS AND ORNAMENTATION

THE fabrics in use for Greek dresses presented considerable variety. The commonest materials were naturally woollen, but linen and silk were used for more luxurious garments, and a kind of leather jerkin known as *διφθέρα*<sup>1</sup> was sometimes worn by peasants.

That the woollen materials used themselves varied considerably in texture, is proved by some fragments actually found in a tomb at Kertch in the Crimea, and published in the *Comptes rendus* in 1878. These date for the most part from the fourth century B.C., but one at least probably goes back to the fifth century. They are in most cases rather loosely woven, so that the separate threads are clearly visible, and a bright object could be seen through the material. The oldest piece is composed of such fine threads that it is almost transparent; other pieces have a texture not unlike that of woollen crêpe. A somewhat coarser piece, the threads of which are very strong, has a portion of a seam remaining, which is oversewn with strong

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, 72; Plato, *Crito*, 53 D.

woollen thread. In addition to very finely woven woollen materials, the more luxurious of the Greeks wore also many varieties of linen, and in some cases even silk. Pollux tells us that the long linen chiton was worn by the Athenians and Ionians, and many references are to be found in ancient literature to different kinds of linen, coming from places usually in Asia or the more easterly of the Ægean islands. Of these the most commonly mentioned are *ἀμόργινα*, garments made of linen from the flax of Amorgos, and *βύσσινα*, made of *βύσσοσ*, a yellowish kind of flax, coming especially from India and Egypt. We learn from Aristophanes<sup>1</sup> that the *χιτώνιον ἀμόργινον* was transparent, so that we may conclude that the linen from which it was made was very fine indeed; perhaps it resembled a very fine cambric. That *βύσσοσ* was a linen of some kind, we are told by Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> and Pollux gives us the information that it came from India. That it was known in Egypt also, is testified by Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> who tells us of its use for mummy-cloths. It was probably rather a mark of luxury when worn by the Greeks, for Simætha<sup>4</sup> tells us that she wore a *χιτών* of it when going out on a festive occasion.

Of materials which come under the heading of silk, three kinds were known to the ancients. We read in Latin authors of *vestes coæ*, *bombycinæ*, and *sericæ*, and these were also known to the Greeks. Aristotle<sup>5</sup> is the first of the ancient writers who

<sup>1</sup> *Lys.*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> VI., 21.

<sup>3</sup> II., 86.

<sup>4</sup> Theocritus, II., 73.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Anim.*, v., 19.

tells us anything of the production of silk. After describing the various changes undergone by the worm before becoming a moth, he gives us the following information :—

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ζῴου καὶ τὰ βομβύκια ἀναλύουσι τῶν γυναικῶν τινὲς ἀναπηνιζόμεναι, κᾶπειτα ὑφαίνουσιν· πρώτη δὲ λέγεται ὑφῆναι ἐν Κῶ Παμφίλῃ Πλάτew θυγάτηρ.

“Some women undo the cocoons of this creature, winding off the silk, and then weave it; and Pamphile, daughter of Plateus, is said to have been the first to weave it in Cos.” This implies that the manufacture of silk was carried on in Cos, but no information is given as to whether the worm was reared in that island or whether the raw silk was imported. Pliny<sup>1</sup> tells us more on the subject; he seems to distinguish the three kinds of silk mentioned above. Of these three, only “sericum” is, strictly speaking, silk—that is to say, a material made by unwinding the cocoon of the silkworm reared on the mulberry tree. This worm is first mentioned by Pausanias.<sup>2</sup> It was the Chinese who discovered this method of procuring the silk, and it was apparently unknown to the Greeks and Romans. The “coa” and “bombycina” were procured by piercing and carding the cocoon instead of unwinding them entire; the result was a substance coarser and less brilliant than silk. Pliny draws a distinction between “coa” and “bombycina,” telling us that the latter was a product of Assyria and came from the ordinary mulberry worm, whereas the

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, xi.

<sup>2</sup> VI., xxvi., 6.

worm from which coan silk was procured was reared on other trees, notably the oak, ash, and cypress.<sup>1</sup>

*Coæ vestes* are frequently mentioned by the Latin poets, chiefly Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius, and from them we learn that they were chiefly worn by *Hetairæ* and were of a transparent texture ;<sup>2</sup> sometimes they were purple and had gold threads interwoven or embroidered.<sup>3</sup> One piece of silk was found amongst other materials at Kertch. In colour it is a bronze-gold, and is woven in a lozenge pattern.

If Greek dress lacked variety of cut and material, the deficiency was to some extent made up by considerable gaiety of colour and ornamentation. Probably none but slaves and artisans would wear garments of one colour without pattern or ornamentation of any kind, and even they would sometimes have their dresses adorned with a simple border, such as a broad stripe. From the numerous references scattered up and down through extant literature, it appears that the favourite colours were purple, red, and yellow. Pollux<sup>4</sup> gives us a list of the colours most commonly used. This list includes green (*βατραχίς*) and gray (*κίλλιον, ἀνάγρινον*), in addition to those mentioned above, but strangely enough no mention is made of blue. The word

<sup>1</sup> For silk generally, see Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.* "coa"; Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*, *s.v.* "sericum"; Yates, *Texterium Antiquorum*, pp. 160 f.; Pariset, *Histoire de la Soie*, Part I., chap. i.

<sup>2</sup> Propertius, I., 2; Horace, *Satires*, I., ii., 101.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, *Odes*, IV., xiii.; Tibullus, II., 6.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. lviii.



*κυνάνεος*, "dark blue," is seldom if ever applied to garments, yet it is scarcely likely that the colour was unknown to the Greeks. Possibly some shades described as *πορφύρεος* approached a violet, or blue, as distinguished from *ἀλοῦργος*, "true purple." For red we find the word *φαινίκεος*, "dark red," used especially of the military cloak of the Lacedæmonians,<sup>1</sup> and *κοκκοβαφής*, "scarlet"; for yellow *κροκωτός* and *θάψινος*. *Βατραχίς*, "frog-coloured," is the word applied to a green garment, and this is probably the colour described as *ὀμφάκινος*, "like unripe grapes." Pollux<sup>2</sup> tells us that for mourning the Greeks wore *φαιὸν καὶ μέλαν ἀλλήλοισ ἔγγυς*, "gray and black, very like each other." From this we learn that *φαιός* was a very dark colour, probably gray or dun.

The ornamentation applied to dress by the Greeks was very varied in character; it is comparatively rare to find on Greek vases a dress that is entirely free from decorations, and the patterns represented are very numerous. Sometimes the ornament consists of a simple border, often of a pattern distributed all over the dress, and these designs are frequently of a very elaborate character, including animal and even human forms. In sculpture, too, this feature was not neglected; the maidens of the Acropolis at Athens all have some pattern on their draperies added in colour, and one of them has no less than seven different designs distributed over her costume. We know that the

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, *Pax*, 1173; *Lys.*, 1140.

<sup>2</sup> 58.

himation of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias was richly decorated, and the fragment from Damophon's great group at Lycosura will serve as a later example of sculptured drapery highly ornamented with patterns in relief. This has not only geometric and floral designs as borders, but the whole surface is covered with fantastic dancing figures of human and hybrid forms.

References in literature are not very frequent; the most noteworthy occurs in the *Iliad*,<sup>1</sup> where Helen is described as working at a great loom :

*ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἴστον ὕφαινει  
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους  
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.*

“She was weaving a great purple web of double fold, and over it she spread many battles of horse-taming Trojans and bronze-clad Achæans.”

The epithet *ποικίλος*, applied to dress, undoubtedly means “richly decorated,” and the *ἀθινά*, “flowered garments,” frequently mentioned in inscriptions, presumably refers to garments ornamented with floral designs. In connection with the passage in Homer, the question has been raised as to whether these complex designs were woven into the material or embroidered afterwards. It seems hardly likely that they were woven in, unless the work were a heavy tapestry, such as would hardly be suitable for a costume; moreover, the word *ἐμπάσσω* means “to sprinkle on,” and is more easily applicable to the distribution of a design over a piece of material

<sup>1</sup> iii., 125.

•

•

•

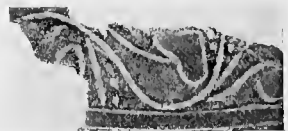
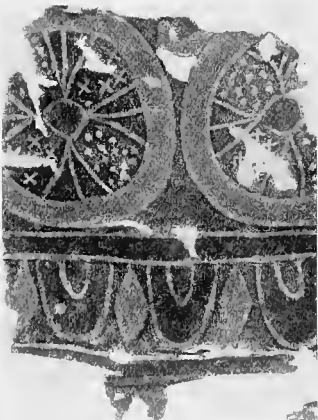


FIG. 39.—Fragments of a Sarcophagus Cover from Kertch.

already woven than to the formation of a pattern in the course of the weaving. The words *μέγαν*, *ιστόν*, and *ὑφαίνειν* would still be applicable, because when the garment was at this stage, it would still be regarded as incomplete, and the designs, however applied, would probably be at least sketched out while it was still on the loom.

Among the fragments of materials found at Kertch were some which were embroidered, others which had simple geometrical designs woven into the borders; in addition to these there were some considerable fragments of a large sarcophagus cover, the ornamentation of which is strongly reminiscent of Greek vase-painting of the fourth century. The ground is black and is covered with designs in red and light terra-cotta; the ornamentation is divided into bands, and consists of battle scenes with chariots, and birds and beasts scattered about the field of the design; the bands are separated by different patterns, many of which are frequently met with on vases. These include the egg and dart pattern, ivy and laurel wreaths, large palmettes, and many others.<sup>1</sup> Names are inscribed against some of the figures, among others ΝΙΚΗ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗ ΙΟΚΑΣΤΗ, (Ι)ΠΤΟΜΕΔΩΝ, etc.

These designs are not embroidered, nor are they produced in the course of weaving the cloth; they are apparently drawn out by means of some pigment applied after the material was woven. Herodotus tells us<sup>2</sup> that the people of the Caucasus

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 39 and 41 *a* and *b*.

<sup>2</sup> I., 203.

used to paint animals on their clothes with some vegetable pigment which they mixed with water. Some such procedure, then, must have been practised by the Greeks of the fourth century, which is the date assignable to the fragment in question, on the evidence of the inscriptions.

The designs applied to Greek dresses presented abundant variety, as is evidenced by extant monuments, especially by the vases; they may be roughly classed as geometric, floral, and those containing animal and human forms. Of the geometric designs some are rectilinear, others curvilinear. The favourite rectilinear borders are broad lines, parallel rows of zigzag lines, the mæander or key pattern in very many forms varying from the simple running mæander to a complicated double fret, broken at intervals by stars or chequers. In addition to these borders we frequently find a chequer pattern covering the whole surface of a garment. A kind of net pattern, often seen on vases, was very probably used in dresses also. Of the curvilinear designs the most common are the "guilloche" or plait-band, the simple spiral, and the *κυμάτιον* or wave pattern. On the black-figured vases a kind of scale pattern frequently occurs covering a wide surface.

A very great variety of floral designs was used by the Greeks for ornamentation of all kinds; they are very frequent as part of the scheme of decoration of vases, especially of those of Ionic origin. A favourite pattern is a simple laurel wreath like that depicted in Fig. 39; the ivy also forms the basis of



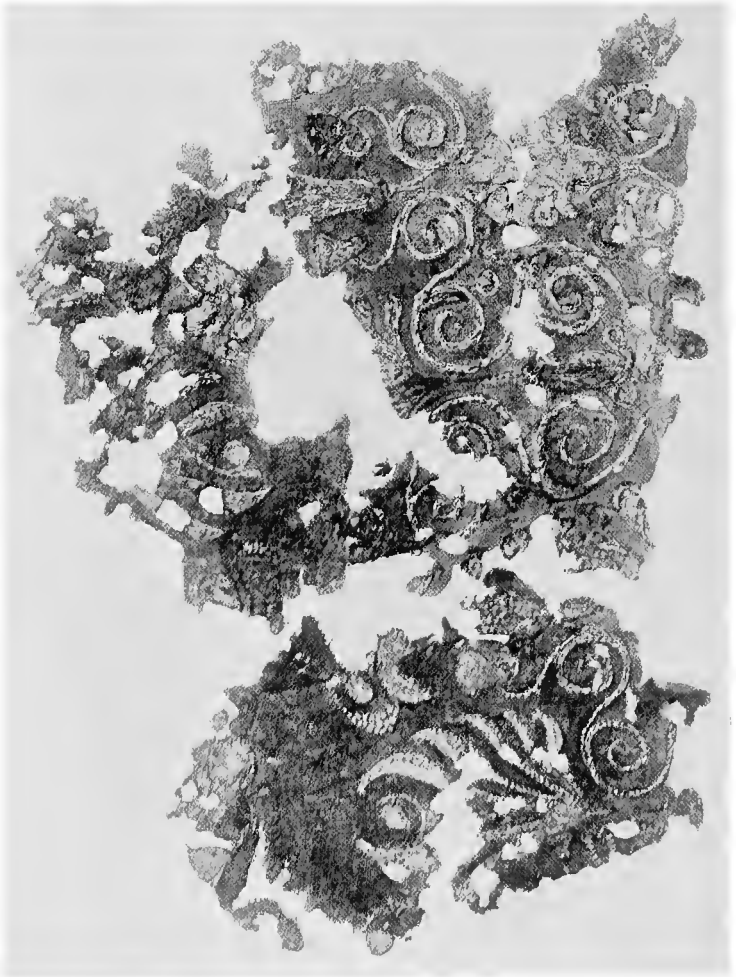


FIG. 40.—Embroidered Fragment from Kertch.



more than design. Sometimes it takes the form of a row of leaves on either side of a straight line; more often the leaves alternate with tendrils and berries. By far the commonest and the most beautiful of floral designs are those made up of lotus buds and flowers and palmettes. Sometimes we find the lotus alone forming the motive of the design, sometimes it alternates with palmettes. A very graceful pattern is composed of oblique palmettes turned in opposite directions and connected by spirals.<sup>1</sup> That these designs so commonly used for the decoration of pottery were employed also in the textile arts is proved by some of the fragments found at Kertch. Quite considerable remains were found of a piece of woollen material elaborately embroidered with a large floral design (Fig. 40), the main motive of which is a graceful palmette, from the base of which spring spirals terminating in heart-shaped leaves and flowers. The design is executed in gold and green on a violet ground.<sup>2</sup>

Animal and human forms are naturally less common than geometric and floral designs. Mention has already been made of the wonderful diplax woven by Helen, in which she represented scenes of battle between Trojans and Achæans. In art we find that goddesses are frequently depicted wearing garments covered with elaborate ornamentation of this kind. The François vase will afford several

<sup>1</sup> For patterns generally, see H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, ii., 209-235; Riegl, *Stilfragen*.

<sup>2</sup> For colouring, see *Comptes rendus*, 1878.

examples, and in later art the dress of Demeter on the Triptolemus vase by Hieron,<sup>1</sup> and the sculptured drapery from Damophon's group at Lycosura, may be quoted. That mortals also indulged in such luxurious ornamentation is proved again by the Kertch fragments. One of the most charming pieces found there had a very naturalistic design of ducks embroidered in gold and green on a dark-brown ground (Fig. 41 *c*); another piece had a figure of an Amazon riding on horseback; and mention has already been made of the sarcophagus cloth covered with battle scenes.

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, E. 140. Fig. 14, above.



*a*



*b*



*c*

FIG. 41.—(*a* and *b*) Fragments of a Sarcophagus Cover from Kertch.  
(*c*) Embroidered Fragment from Kertch.



## VII

### HAIR AND HEAD-DRESS

THE manner of wearing the hair seems to have varied considerably at different periods, both for men and women. In pre-Hellenic times it was, for the most part, if not invariably, allowed to grow long. On the frescoes from Knossos we find the cupbearer and other male figures represented wearing their hair in long, wavy tresses reaching to the waist or thereabouts. On Mycenæan gems and rings, where warriors are represented wearing helmets, the hair is frequently concealed, so that it is impossible to determine whether it was worn short or bound up in some manner, so as to be out of the way. The ivory statuettes of athletes from Knossos have long hair,<sup>1</sup> so that in all probability that was the prevailing fashion among men in Crete. Among women in pre-Hellenic times, the fashion was to wear the hair long; the snake goddess and her votary have hair that reaches far past the waist, and in almost all extant art of the period the hair of the women is represented as being abundant. It is frequently worn in long tresses down the back

<sup>1</sup> See *British School Annual*, 1901-2, VIII., 72, fig. 37.

(compare the dancing girl, Fig. 4) and arranged rather elaborately in front in curls, which sometimes suggest artificial treatment; sometimes the hair is done up at the back or top of the head, in modern fashion.

In the Homeric poems we read of the "long-haired Achæans,"<sup>1</sup> so that the sight of men with long hair was obviously familiar to the poet. From the passage which describes Andromache's swoon,<sup>2</sup> however, it is clear that the women of the poet's day bound their hair up, using nets and kerchiefs and other appurtenances both useful and ornamental.

Coming down to historic times, we find that before the Persian wars both men and women wore their hair long. After the middle of the fifth century a change took place, the men cutting their hair short for the most part, the women binding it up. The story of the Lacedæmonians combing their long hair when the Persians were close upon them is familiar (Herodotus, VII., 208). Extant monuments show us that before the Persian wars the men adopted various methods of disposing of their long hair: sometimes we see it worn loose with a simple fillet tied round the head;<sup>3</sup> sometimes the long ends are turned up and tucked in under the fillet;<sup>4</sup> sometimes they are turned up and held together by an additional band. This is the case with a bronze head from Olympia,<sup>5</sup> where, however, some locks seem to have been left free on the neck.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ii., 443, 472.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xxii., 468 f.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 42 (a).

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 42 (b).

<sup>5</sup> Fig. 42 (c).



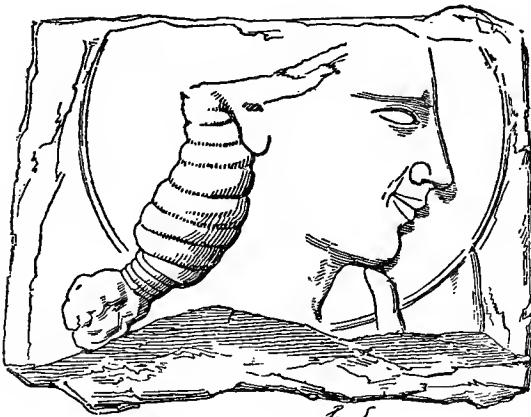
a



b



c



d

FIG. 42.—Men's Head-dress—Archaic.





A relief in Athens, representing a Discobolus holding the "discus" behind his head,<sup>1</sup> shows the hair probably divided and twisted together in two coils fastened tightly at a little distance from the end by a ribbon, or possibly by a metal spiral.<sup>2</sup> The golden *τέττιξ* mentioned by Thucydides (I., 6) was obviously some kind of ornament inserted in the hair to hold the "chignon" in place. It has been shown by Helbig<sup>3</sup> that this was probably a metal spiral or series of rings used to bind together the ends of the long hair; such a style is frequently represented in the art of the end of the sixth century and beginning of the fifth. The bands represented in Fig. 42 (c) are possibly intended for such metal rings. Helbig's view is supported and confirmed by Studniczka.<sup>4</sup>

Probably the knot of hair bound up on the nape of the neck, as in the above examples, represents the *κρωβύλος* or *κόρυμβος* mentioned in Thucydides and elsewhere in literature. In later times this name was applied to the knot of hair on the top of the head which occurs so frequently in statues of Apollo; but there is no evidence to show that it was worn in this position before the fourth century at the earliest.

A style very commonly exemplified by extant statues of Apollo, dating from the early part of the

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 42 (d).

<sup>2</sup> The hair of Euphorbus, described in *Iliad*, xvi., 52, was possibly dressed in this fashion.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Homerische Epos*, 166-170; cp. *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Instituts in Athen*, vi., pl. 7, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich Deutschen Instituts*, xi., 1896, pp. 284-291.

fifth century, is to tie a fillet round the head and roll the long hair tightly over it, tucking the ends in usually behind the ears.<sup>1</sup> These ends are, however, sometimes allowed to hang down on the neck. Athletes very frequently disposed of their long hair by braiding it into two plaits from behind; these they crossed or brought round the head, fastening the two ends together in front.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the short hair in front was combed down over the plaits, so as to conceal their union.

The date of the change of fashion is impossible to fix. We find the athletes of Myron and Polycleitus represented with short hair, but long-haired Apollos are found considerably after their date. The change took place, in all probability, shortly after the Persian wars; it then became the fashion for Ephebi to cut off their long hair, which they consecrated to Apollo and Artemis or to a river god.<sup>3</sup> When once the change had come about, long hair was considered, in Athens at least, as a mark of affectation or effeminacy. In *The Wasps* of Aristophanes,<sup>4</sup> Amynias, the typical fop, is designated by the name of οὐκ τῶν Κρωβύλου, "he of the 'chignon,'" and in *The Clouds* the wearing of the τέττιξ is spoken of as a fashion quite out of date, or, as we might say, antediluvian. There is some uncertainty as to whether the Lacedæmonians wore their hair short or long; some authorities

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 43 (a).

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 43 (b). It is interesting to note that little Athenian-school-girls of to-day wear their hair in this fashion.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, I., xxxvii., 2; *Æsch. Choeph.*, 6.

<sup>4</sup> 1267.



FIG. 43.—(a) Head of Apollo from the Temple of Zeus, at Olympia.  
(b) Head of an Athlete—Athens Acropolis Museum.



state that even in the fourth century they still wore it long as a mark of freedom, and since they were more conservative than the rest of the Greeks, it is quite possible that this was the case. With this possible exception, the custom of wearing the hair short continued, though Alexander probably set the fashion of wearing rather long and mane-like hair.

A covering for the head was rarely worn by men, except when riding or travelling long distances ; in these cases the *πέτασος* was worn as a protection against sun and rain. This consisted of a felt hat with broad brim, which could be turned up or down. Figs. 44, 22, and 23 represent its various shapes, Fig. 44 being the earliest form. The *πέτασος*, like the *χλάμυς*, which it almost invariably accompanies, probably came originally from Northern Greece, Thrace, or Thessaly, where more protection was needed against cold and inclement weather. Another head-covering, worn by sailors and by the god Hephaistos, is the *πίλος*, a felt cap of conical shape resembling the modern fez.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 44.

Extant monuments show that before the Persian wars women for the most part wore their hair down, although instances occur where it is fastened up with bands or fillets. When worn down it was usually held in place by a fillet, and frequently a metal ornament, rather high in front and narrowing towards the back, was added. This was known as

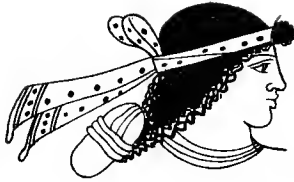
<sup>1</sup> Fig. 19.

the ἄμπυξ, or στεφάνη, and was probably made of gold; almost all the "Maidens" of the Acropolis wear it, and in several instances it is adorned with floral patterns.<sup>1</sup> The high πόλος or crown worn by Hera (Fig. 45 (a)) was probably also made of metal. Sometimes when the hair was worn down, the ends were prevented from flying in the wind by being tied together in a kind of little bag,<sup>2</sup> which reminds one of one of the many fashions adopted by men in the Georgian period in England. Sometimes, like the men, the women tucked the long ends up under the fillet, and let them hang out over it at the back. The fillet itself frequently assumed the dimensions of a scarf, the ends of which were tucked up at the sides and allowed to hang down behind the ears. When the hair was done up, the "chignon" was at first worn low on the nape of the neck and held in place by bands variously arranged.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the στεφάνη alone was worn,<sup>4</sup> and very often the hair was held up by a kerchief or snood (μίτρα, σάκκος). The styles in which it was worn present abundant variety: sometimes it covered the hair completely,<sup>5</sup> except for a curl or two allowed to escape in front of the ears; sometimes it left the hair visible over the forehead only;<sup>6</sup> sometimes over the forehead and on the crown of the head, and the ends of the kerchief might be tucked through at the side and allowed to hang down in front of the ears.<sup>7</sup> Fig. 45 (f) gives an example of the στεφάνη worn in addition to

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 32.      <sup>2</sup> Fig. 45 (b).      <sup>3</sup> Fig. 45 (c and d).      <sup>4</sup> Fig. 45 (e).  
<sup>5</sup> Fig. 45 (g).      <sup>6</sup> Fig. 45 (h).      <sup>7</sup> Fig. 45 (i and j).



*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*



*e*



*f*



*g*



*h*



*i*



*j*



*k*



*l*

FIG. 45.—Women's Head-dress.





the snood. In the fourth century fashion seems to have dictated that the "chignon" should be worn higher up at the back of the head, and a small kerchief was used to hold it up, folded in such a way that it narrowed almost to a point over the forehead.<sup>1</sup> Apparently a net was sometimes worn over the back of the hair. Fig. 45 (*l*), from the Meidias vase, furnishes an illustration of this. In Hellenistic and Roman times the styles of dressing the hair became very numerous. The snood seems to have been discarded altogether, and adornment by means of artificial waving and curling apparently took its place. The modes of "coiffure" of the Alexandrian Greeks are as varied as those of modern Europe. Probably cosmetics were used for the hair and paint and powder for the face; for we learn from Xenophon's *Æconomicus* that as far back as his date, not only hetairæ but married women resorted to artificial means of beautifying the complexion.

More than one allusion is made in literature to some kind of hat worn by women; in Theocritus (*Idyll*, xv., 39), Praxinoa, when going out to the festival of Adonis, asks her maid for her wrap and hat (*θολία*).

In the *Ædipus Coloneus*<sup>2</sup> Antigone recognises Ismene from a distance by the Thessalian hat which she wears as a protection against the heat of the sun. The words used are *κυνῆ Θεσσαλίας*, which seem to imply that the hat was made of some kind of skin, probably felt, and resembled the men's

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 45 (*l*).

<sup>2</sup> 313.

“petasos,” which originated in Thessaly or Thrace; its shape may have been slightly different. The Tanagra statuettes frequently represent women wearing a broad-brimmed hat with high pointed crown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 15.

## VIII

### FOOTGEAR

THE practice of covering the feet seems to have varied somewhat among the Greeks. In all probability it was the custom to go barefoot indoors, and the habit prevailed among certain classes of going always unshod in the street also. It was a mark of hardihood in the Spartan youths always to go barefoot, and at Athens, in addition to the lower orders, who probably never wore shoes, philosophers and those who affected a simple life were in the habit of going unshod. That Socrates rarely covered his feet is proved by more than one reference in Plato's Dialogues;—Phædrus<sup>1</sup> speaks of him as *ἀεὶ ἀνυπόδητος*, "always unshod," and in the *Symposium*<sup>2</sup> we learn that for the occasion of Agathon's banquet Socrates has washed and put on his shoes, *ἃ ὀλιγάκις ἐποίει*, "which he seldom did."

Other references in literature show that he was not the only philosopher who preferred to have his feet untrammelled.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Phædrus*, 229 A.

<sup>2</sup> 174 A.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, 103; Theocritus, XIV., 6.

The normal fashion, however, for people of good breeding was to wear sandals or shoes out of doors, and we learn from Aristophanes<sup>1</sup> that the Athenians at least were particular about the fit;—to “swim about” in large boots was a mark of boorishness. Xenophon<sup>2</sup> notices the division of labour in the shoemakers’ trade, where he mentions at least four different hands employed in making a pair of shoes.

The simplest form of footgear was the sandal, the *πέδιλον* of Homer, the *ὑπόδημα* of later times; this consisted of a leather sole cut to the shape of the foot and fastened on by means of straps or thongs, passing sometimes round the instep, sometimes between the toes and round the heel and ankle.<sup>3</sup> At times a piece of skin was attached to the sandal at the back, so as to cover the back of the heel, or even to wrap round the instep entirely, leaving only the toes bare;<sup>4</sup> from this form of sandal the *ἔμβας*, or slipper, was probably developed. This is described by Pollux<sup>5</sup> as *εὐτελὲς μὲν ὑπόδημα, Θράκιον δὲ τὸ εὐρημα*, “a cheap shoe, of Thracian invention.” Its name suffices to show that the foot was inserted into the *ἔμβας*, in contradistinction to the sandal, which was bound under the foot; and the epithet signifies that it covered the foot completely. This description could be applied to many varieties of shoes and boots represented in extant art. Fig. 46 (*e* and *f*) gives two examples of shoes—*e* being

<sup>1</sup> *Knights*, 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyropædia*, xviii., 2, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 46 (*a* and *b*); Fig. 48 (*c*).

<sup>4</sup> Fig. 46 (*c* and *d*).

<sup>5</sup> VII., 85.



a

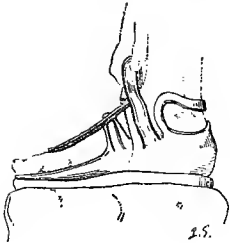


b



c

leather sandals



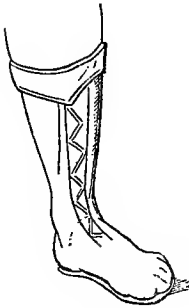
d



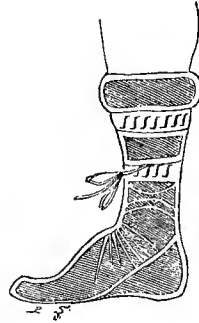
e



f



g



h



i



j

FIG. 46.—Sandals and Shoes.



an ordinary soft shoe covering the foot completely to the ankle, *f* is turned up at the toes, like a modern Greek shoe, and reaches above the ankle at the back. A vase at the British Museum represents a woman cleaning a shoe of this shape. We learn from Aristophanes<sup>1</sup> that shoes were cleaned with blacking made of pitch and applied with a sponge; they were usually black, except when the leather was allowed to retain its natural colour. The word *ἐμβας* seems to have been used for various kinds of foot-covering; in Aristophanes it refers sometimes to a kind of easy slipper worn by old men,<sup>2</sup> and in other instances it is used of any ordinary shoe or boot. The mention by Pollux of its Thracian origin perhaps refers to the high boot turned over at the top, frequently represented on vase-paintings as being worn by horsemen with the Thracian cloak and petasos.<sup>3</sup> Different varieties of this kind of boot are to be seen in Fig. 46 (*g, h, i, and j*).

An article in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire* suggests an Asiatic origin, and indeed the resemblance between Greek boots and those represented on Assyrian monuments is striking. A comparison is actually made by Herodotus<sup>4</sup> between Assyrian boots and Bœotian *ἐμβάδες*.

It is quite possible that boots of this kind may have come to Greece from the East by way of Thrace, and the fact that Dionysus is very frequently

<sup>1</sup> *The Wasps*, 600.

<sup>2</sup> *The Wasps*, 274; *The Clouds*, 719.

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 22.

<sup>4</sup> I., 195.

represented wearing them seems to add confirmation to this conjecture.

A variety of the *ἐμβάδες* is to be found in the *ἐνδρομίδες*, a kind of boot worn by runners, as also by Hermes, Artemis, and the Amazons. They seem to have had no flap at the top, and to have been laced over a tongue either through holes or round buttons.<sup>1</sup> Another kind seems to have consisted of strips of cloth or leather, or possibly felt, wound round the legs like the modern puttees.

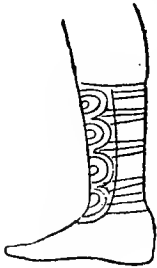


FIG. 47.

The word *κρηπίδες* is frequently used of some kind of foot-covering, and we learn from Theocritus<sup>2</sup> and from Pollux<sup>3</sup> that these were worn by soldiers. The *κρηπίς* was probably some kind of sandal with a thick sole and stout straps interlacing one another in such a way as to form a protection for the heel and instep.<sup>4</sup> Pliny<sup>5</sup> tells us that sometimes they had nails in them.

Many varieties of shoes or boots are mentioned by Pollux<sup>6</sup> and other ancient writers. We read of *ἀρβύλαι*, *ἀρβυλίδες*, a cheap kind of boot worn on journeys; *βλανταί*, light sandals with latches, called also *κοιπόδες*, from the fact that they allowed the feet to get covered with dust; *εὐμάριδες*, Persian slippers of yellow kid; *Περσικαί*, cheap white shoes worn by women, especially by hetairæ; *Λακωνικαί*,

<sup>1</sup> Figs. 47 and 48 (a).

<sup>2</sup> XV., 6.

<sup>3</sup> VII., 85.

<sup>4</sup> Figs. 48 (b) and 49 (a and b).

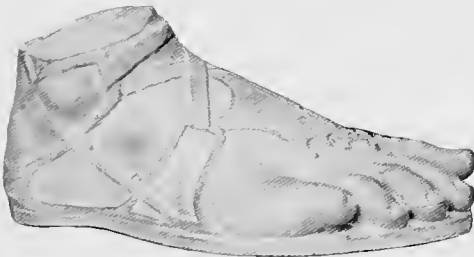
<sup>5</sup> XXXV., 25.

<sup>6</sup> VII., 84-93.





*a*



*b*



*c*

FIG. 48.—(a) A Bronze in the British Museum. (b) Foot of the Hermes of Praxiteles (from a cast in the British Museum). (c) A Terra-cotta Flask in the British Museum.



distinguished by their red colour—these were probably the same as the *Ἄμυκλαί* mentioned by Theocritus. One of the archaic female statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens wears red shoes. Wood was sometimes used for sandals. Pollux

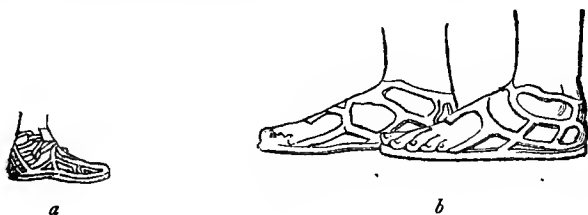


FIG. 49.

tells us that *κρουπέξια* were a special kind of wooden sandal used for dancing, and that Pheidias represented Athene Parthenos wearing *Τυρρηνικά*, sandals with high rectangular wooden soles and gold lachets.

Other shoes are too numerous to mention, and cannot be identified with certainty.

## IX

### THE TOILET

#### CONCLUSION

THE toilet of the ancient Greeks was quite as elaborate as that of any modern people, and much time and care was bestowed upon it. That of the men was usually performed at the barber's shop (Κουρείον), which became, as we gather from frequent allusions in Aristophanes, a regular resort for lounging and picking up news and scraps of gossip of all kinds. A fashionable Athenian would probably spend a whole morning at the barber's shop, where, in addition to having his hair cut and beard clipped or shaved, he could submit to the various operations of manicure and chiropody. An epigram in the palatine anthology<sup>1</sup> gives a list of barber's implements, some of which have survived in a few examples, and may be seen in our museums. The list includes: scissors (ψάλις), razor (ξυρόν), some sharp, pointed instrument for paring and cleaning the nails (στόνυξ). Mention is also made of a scraper (ψήκτρα), which was probably used after bathing.

<sup>1</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, vi., 307.

An ancient razor differs from a modern one, in that it is crescent shaped.

In addition to these implements, various ointments were used, one of which, *ψίλωθρον*, containing arsenic, was employed for removing superfluous hairs.

When repairing to the wrestling school or the gymnasium, a Greek would invariably be provided with an oil-flask (*ἀρύβαλλος*, *λήκυθος*) and a strigil (*ξύστρα*).

The aryballos (Fig. 50) was a small globular vessel, with an opening just large enough to allow the oil to trickle slowly out, the lekythos being a long narrow bottle with a foot and a narrow neck.<sup>1</sup> Both were used to carry the



FIG. 50.

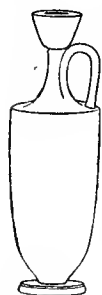


FIG. 51.

olive oil with which athletes were accustomed to anoint themselves. The strigil was a curved metal instrument used for scraping the oil and sand from the body after wrestling. The famous statue of the Apoxyomenos in the Vatican Museum represents an athlete engaged in this operation.

The processes and requisites of the feminine toilet were many and various, and toilet scenes are frequently represented in vase-paintings. Sometimes we may see the process of the bath: an attendant slave pouring water from a large vessel over the crouching figure of the bather; in other

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 51.

instances we find a lady engaged in binding her hair with a fillet, tying her girdle, or fastening her sandal. There is almost invariably a maid in attendance, who assists in the operations, holding a scent-bottle, or a casket from which her mistress selects jewels.<sup>1</sup> One vase-painting shows a lady applying powder or colour to her cheeks with a brush.

Many allusions in literature, and especially in Aristophanes, show that paint and cosmetics of various kinds were in use in Athens in the fifth century B.C. It is not surprising to learn that hetairæ made use of these artificial aids to beauty; but from a passage in Xenophon's *Œconomicus*<sup>2</sup> we gather that the wives and daughters of respected citizens did not despise such means of enhancing and preserving their appearance. The passage describes how Ischomachus found his young wife ἐντετριμμένην πολλῶ μὲν ψιμυθίῳ ὅπως λευκοτέρα ἔτι δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἦν, πόλλῳ δ' ἐγχούσῃ ὅπως ἐρυθροτέρα φαίνοιτο τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑποδήματα δ' ἔχουσαν ὑψηλά, ὅπως μείζων δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἐπεφύκει, "with much white lead rubbed into her skin, to make her look fairer than she was; and with much rouge, to make her appear rosier; and wearing<sup>4</sup> high sandals, to add to her natural height."

Ischomachus persuades her to give up these vanities, asking her if she will like him better if he goes about μίλτῳ ἀλειφόμενος καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπαλειφόμενος, "anointed with red ochre, and with pigment under his eyes."

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 52 (a).

<sup>2</sup> x, 2.



*a*



*b*

FIG. 52.—(a) A Pyxis in the British Museum. (b) A Toilet-box in the British Museum.





White lead was commonly used for producing a fair complexion ; it was prepared by laying lead in vinegar, scraping off, powdering, and heating the white rust thus formed.<sup>1</sup> Various substances were used for producing rouge—some mineral, some vegetable ; of the latter, the root of a plant (*ἔγχουσα* or *ἄγχουσα*), certain kinds of seaweed (*φῦκος*), and mulberry juice (*συκάμινον*), were common. That some kind of pigment was used for darkening the eyelids is further testified by Pollux<sup>2</sup> and Aristophanes.<sup>3</sup> Lamp-black and a sulphuret of antimony (*στίμμις*), were used for blackening eyebrows and eyelids. Perfumed powders and unguents were used for skin and hair, scented with myrrh or roses or other products. The simplest and most common unguent was, of course, olive oil. In addition to artificial complexions, we learn that false hair and wigs (*πηνίκη, προκομίον*), were not unknown, and that these came from the East.<sup>4</sup>

Many examples have survived of the various articles pertaining to the equipment of a Greek lady's toilet-table. Combs, hair-pins, mirrors, boxes, and bottles are numerous in our museums. Combs are usually made of ivory or bone, with a double row of rather fine teeth. Hair-pins of bone, ivory, or metal consist of a single pin with an ornamental head. Mirrors are of highly polished metal, usually bronze, though some have been found in silver. The mirrors may be divided into

<sup>1</sup> *Theophr. de Lapidibus*, 56.

<sup>2</sup> VII., 95

<sup>3</sup> Fragment 695.

<sup>4</sup> See Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, I., iii., 2.

two classes—disk-mirrors and box-mirrors. The former consists of a single disk polished on one side, the reverse being usually engraved. The disk is furnished with a handle, which is sometimes so constructed that it can serve also as a foot; the mirror can so be made to stand on a table. The handle of a mirror of this kind very frequently takes the form of a human figure.<sup>1</sup> The box-mirror consists of two disks, the lower one, with its polished upper surface, serving as the mirror, the upper one as a cover to protect it. The two are sometimes quite separate and fit closely on to one another, but more often they are joined by a hinge; the cover is usually ornamented with relief work, a favourite subject being Aphrodite and Eros, although other mythological scenes are also found.<sup>2</sup>

Of the various receptacles used for containing trinkets, hair-bands, cosmetics, and so on, the commonest is the pyxis, although we find also baskets and little square caskets represented in vase-paintings and on the Attic grave reliefs. A box for cosmetics in the British Museum is in the shape of a bird.<sup>3</sup> The pyxis is a circular box with a lid; its sides are sometimes straight, but more often concave, and it is frequently raised on a foot. Its material was originally boxwood, hence its name, *πύξις*; but the majority of those which are extant are terra-cotta, though they are known also in ivory, alabaster, and precious metals. A common

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 53 (*b*).

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 53 (*a*).

<sup>3</sup> Fig. 52 (*b*).

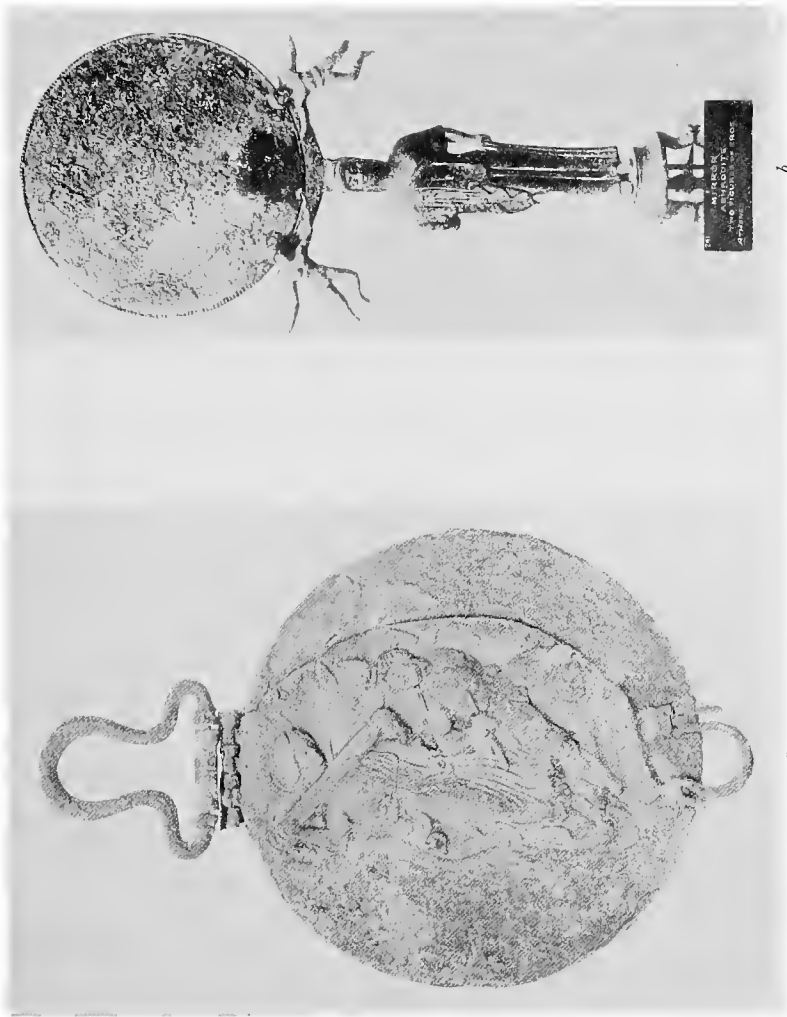


FIG. 53.—(a) Bronze Box Mirror—British Museum. (b) Bronze Stand Mirror—British Museum.



subject on a terra-cotta pyxis is a toilet scene or a marriage procession.<sup>1</sup>

The alabastron used to contain unguents or perfumes is a long narrow bottle with a spreading neck and small opening; it has no foot, and is round at the bottom, so that some kind of stand must have been necessary to hold it upright when not in use.<sup>2</sup> It was usually made of stone, alabaster, or terra-cotta. The lekythos also was sometimes used for the same purpose.

That Greek ladies wore abundant jewellery is proved by frequent representations both in sculpture and vase-paintings, as also by actual finds of jewellery, notably in the Greek graves of the fourth century at Kertch. These objects have been described and discussed by Mr A. B. Walters, in his book on *The Art of the Greeks*.<sup>3</sup> Rings, bracelets, necklaces, brooches, and ear-rings, were commonly worn, as well as ornamental hair-pins and metal diadems for the hair. Many examples of goldsmith's work are extant including some gold ornaments set with precious stones.



FIG. 54.

In summing up the results of the foregoing enquiry, we find that the nature and development of the costume of the Greeks is entirely in accordance with what we know of the nature and development of the national character. The chief

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 52 (a).

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Page 259 ff.

characteristics of the Doric dress, which was probably worn in early days by all the inhabitants of the mainland alike, is a certain broad simplicity; that of the Ionic dress, which was worn by the Asiatic Greeks, and for a short period at least by the Athenians also, is graceful elegance. These characteristics distinguish the Doric and Ionic temperaments as exhibited in art also, notably in architecture, and to some extent also in sculpture. Athens appears to have occupied a middle position between the Peloponnese and Ionia. The Peloponnesians seem to have clung throughout their history to the Dorian dress, as the Ionians probably did to the Ionic; but in Athens we find change and development most strongly marked. In very early days the Athenians wore the Doric dress; then in the course of the seventh and sixth centuries their intercourse with the East brought them into contact with Eastern ideas and Eastern customs, and they appear to have caught something of the luxury which was characteristic of the East. At any rate, for a time at least they adopted the Ionic dress, and carried it to a great degree of luxury and extravagance. Then with the Persian wars came a reaction against anything savouring of Orientalism, and a return to greater simplicity. This led to a resumption of the Doric dress, with certain modifications and the retention of some Ionic elements.

It can hardly be questioned that the freedom and simplicity of their dress was to a great extent the cause of the development of the splendid

physique which the Greeks undoubtedly enjoyed. Their loose draperies allowed their limbs perfect freedom, and their bodies were unhampered by constraint of any kind. In the palæstra and the gymnasium, air and sunlight were allowed to exercise their salutary influence, for the Greeks were not "ashamed of their own naked skin," and so discarded their clothing when in pursuit of their athletic occupations. The healthy state of body thus preserved no doubt had its share in fostering that healthy state of mind to which are due the sanity and sobriety that characterise all Greek thought, whether expressed in literature, art, or philosophy.





## ENGLISH INDEX

- ABBIA, statuette from, 5  
 Achæans, 5, 13, 15, 16, 17, 102, 105, 108  
 Achilles, 21; shield of, 20  
 Acropolis of Athens, 38, 78; archaic statues from, 44, 69, 71, 73-96, 101, 112, 119  
 Actor's dress, 71  
 Ægean islands, 2, 9, 14, 98  
 Ægina, 39, 41  
 Ægis, 33, 34, 47  
 Agamemnon, 17, 28  
 Alabastron, 125  
 Alcinous, palace of, 2, 20  
 Alexander, 111  
 Amazons, 53, 106, 118  
 Andromache, 27; head-dress of, 35, 108  
 Antinous, 31, 32  
 Aphrodite, 3, 33, 34, 64, 124  
 Apollo, 26, 80, 94, 109, 110  
 Apron, 5, 11, 13  
 Argive women, 40  
 Aristarchus, 20  
 Aristophanes, 54, 98, 101, 110, 115, 116, 117, 120, 122, 123  
 Aristotle, 98, 99  
 Arsenic, 121  
 Artemis, Brauronia, 68, 70; in Dresden, 46, 53; of Gabii, 70, 95  
 Artemisia, 50  
 Aryballos, 121  
 Assyria, 7, 8, 99, 117  
 Athena, 26, 29, 32, 33, 44, 46, 47, 48, 51, 87, 119  
 Athenians, 39, 40, 41, 42, 53, 57, 58, 59, 63, 65, 73, 74, 86, 91, 98, 116, 120, 126
- BARBER, 120  
 Bombycina, 99  
 Boots, 8, 116, 117, 118, 119  
 Bottles, 121, 123  
 Bracelets, 6, 7, 13, 125  
 Breeches, 6  
 Briseis, 50  
 Brooches, 3, 4, 16, 18, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 37, 40, 41, 52, 53, 56, 60, 62, 64, 67, 81, 87, 92, 94, 95, 125  
 Brygos, 66, 69  
 Bull-taming, 7, 8  
 Buttons, 13, 76
- CALYPSO, 27, 33, 34  
 Carians, 40, 41, 57, 58  
 Cassandra, 48  
 Charites, relief of the, 78  
 Chiton, Homeric, 18, 21, 22, 27, 31, 32, 37; Doric, 51, 52, 53, 60; Ionic, 19, 32, 41, 44, 46, 51, 58, 59-70, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 89, 93, 96, 98  
 Chitoniscus, 77  
 Chlamys, 54  
 Circe, 33  
 Cloak, 6, 7, 17, 24, 26, 34, 49, 52, 55, 76, 77, 78, 80, 92, 93, 95  
*Coa*, 99  
*Coæ vestes*, 98, 100  
 Colour, applied to sculpture, 83, 84, 85  
 Colours, 37, 100, 101  
 Combs, 123  
 Corsets, 70  
 Cos, silk from, 99  
 Cosmetics, 113, 122  
 Crete, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 14, 57, 107  
 Crossbands, 62, 64, 69, 70, 96

- Cupbearer of Knossos, 3, 9, 107
- DELPHI CHARIOTEER, 62, 65
- Demeter, 106
- Dionysus, 69, 117
- Doric dress, 39-56, 59; blended with  
Ionic, 52, 64, 95
- Draped type, 15, 17, 38
- Dressing-gown type, 15
- EAR-RINGS, 29, 37, 125
- Egypt, 9, 98; tomb fresco from, 9
- Eirene and Plutus, 45
- Elensis, 49, 72, 78
- Embroidery, 31, 32, 38, 61, 89, 100, 102,  
103
- Ephebi, 55, 110
- Etruscans, 10
- Euphronius, 79
- Eustathius, 70
- Euxitheos, 50, 62
- FALSE HAIR, 123
- Fibulæ, 3, 4, 5, 13
- Fillets, 108, 110, 111, 112, 122
- Flounces, 3, 12, 14, 95
- Footgear, 7, 115-119
- Frills, 76, 80, 82, 86, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95
- Fringes, 12, 29, 33
- Fustanella, 78
- GIRDLES, 5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 29, 30, 31,  
33, 34, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 53, 62, 63,  
70, 77, 79, 80, 81, 87, 122
- Gold, 29, 31, 33, 34, 100, 112, 119, 125
- HAIR NETS, 36, 37, 108, 113
- Hairpins, 123, 125
- Hats, 11, 12, 111, 113
- Head-dress, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 28, 36,  
37, 107-114
- Hector, 3, 28, 35
- Helen, 27, 35, 102
- Hellanicus of Lesbos, 10
- Helmets, 8, 9, 28, 107
- Hephaistos, 52, 111
- Hera, 29, 33, 37, 66, 112
- Hermes, 118
- Herodotus, 39, 41, 42, 48, 57, 58, 59,  
64, 96, 98, 103, 108, 117
- Hieron, 49, 60, 65, 106
- Himation, Homeric, 24, 25; Doric,  
48-52, 54, 95; Ionic, 52, 69, 71,  
73-96
- Hittites, 7
- Homeric civilization, 2
- Homeric dress, 4, 15-38
- Homeric house, 4
- Iliad*, 3, 8, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28,  
29, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 102, 108, 109
- India, 98
- Ionians, 19, 57, 58, 59, 65, 98, 126
- Ionic dress, 40, 42, 51, 57-72, 73-96
- JACKET TYPE, 3, 11, 12, 13, 15
- Jewellery, 122, 125
- KEFTS, 9
- Kerchief, 36, 38, 113
- Kertch, fragments of fabrics from, 97,  
103, 105, 106; jewellery from, 125
- Kimono, 12
- Knossos, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 16, 38, 107
- Kolpos, 44, 52, 60, 63, 70, 80, 88
- LAERTES, 18; shroud of, 17, 27
- Leather, 8, 9, 21, 28, 33, 97, 98, 116,  
117
- Lekythos, 121, 125
- Linen, 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 35, 40,  
41, 58, 59, 60, 70, 88, 97, 98
- MATERIALS, 19, 60, 70, 75, 79, 88, 97-  
99, 100, 105
- Mausoleum, 51, 53
- Mausolus, 50
- Medici collar, 12
- Menelaus, 17, 28
- Men's dress, pre-Hellenic, 5-10; Homeric,  
17-28; Doric, 52-56; Ionic, 58-72
- Minoan art, 13, 15
- Mirrors, 123, 124
- Modern Greeks, 7, 38
- Mourning, 37, 101
- Mycenæan dress, 3, 7, 107
- Mycenæan remains, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10,  
13, 15, 28, 37, 107
- Mycone, 14
- NAUSICAA, 35

- Necklaces, 6, 7, 37, 125  
 Nereids, 64, 87  
 Nike, 48, 103
- OBI, 12  
 Odysseus, 23; house of, 2  
 Odyssey, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37  
 Oil-flasks, 121  
 Ointments, 121  
 Olive-oil, 121, 123  
 Open Doric dress, 31, 44, 46  
 Ornamentation, 101-106  
 Overfold, 30, 33, 44, 45, 46, 48, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 80, 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 94, 96
- PÆONIUS, 47  
 Paris, 28, 32  
 Parthenon, 45, 47, 51, 55, 64, 65, 95  
 Patroclus, funeral of, 21  
 Patterns, 11, 32, 33, 61, 75, 77, 83, 88, 89, 96, 100-106, 112  
 Pausanias, 53, 98, 99, 110  
 Pelasgians, 10, 58  
 Penelope, 31, 32, 34  
 Peplos, 3, 28-33, 44, 48, 51, 52, 63, 69, 80, 81, 82, 87, 96; of Athena, 46, 47  
 Perfume, 123  
 Pergamon, 47  
 Persephone, 48  
 Petasos, 111, 114, 117  
 Petsofa, terra-cottas from, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14  
 Pheidias, 46, 47, 102, 119  
 Phoenicians, 9, 57  
 Pigments, 104, 122, 123  
 Pins, 16, 18, 28, 29, 30, 35, 43, 45  
 Plaits, 110  
 Plato, 115  
 Pollux, 46, 52, 59, 96, 100, 101, 116, 118, 123  
 Poseidon, 37, 38, 54  
 Powder, 113, 122  
 Pre-Hellenic dress, 1-14, 15, 23, 38, 107  
 Pyxis, 124
- RAZORS, 120, 121  
 Red ochre, 122
- Rouge, 122, 123  
 Rings, 4, 109, 125
- SANDALS, 17, 28, 29, 37, 116, 118, 119, 122  
 Sash, 12  
 Scarf, 37, 76, 87, 93, 112  
 Scissors, 65, 120  
 Scraper, 120  
 Seaweed, rouge prepared from, 123  
 Sericum, 99  
 Sewn garments, 12, 18, 31, 52, 60, 64, 66, 67, 87, 91, 96, 97  
 Shoes, 7, 10, 115, 116, 117, 119  
 Silk, 88, 97, 98, 99  
 Silkworm, 99  
 Skins, 17, 27  
 Skirt, 3, 11, 12, 13, 83, 88  
 Sleeves, 6, 11, 32, 53, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 87  
 Slippers, 116, 118  
 Snake-goddess, 11, 107  
 Snood, 113  
 Socrates, 53, 115  
 Solon, 41, 42, 59, 93  
 Spartans, 53  
 Strigil, 121  
 Sulphuret of antimony, 123  
 Sumptuary laws, 41, 59, 93  
 Survivals, 8, 13
- TANAGRA STATUETTES, 49, 114  
 Theocritus, 98, 114, 115, 118, 119  
 Thessaly, 111, 114  
 Thessalian cloak, 54  
 Thetis, 34, 37  
 Thrace, 54, 111, 116, 117  
 Thucydides, 42, 57, 58, 59, 109  
 Tiryns, wall-painting from, 7  
 Toilet, 120-125  
 Toilet-boxes, 123, 124  
 Toilet scenes on vases, 121, 122, 125  
 Trojans, 15, 16, 102, 105  
 Tunic, 6, 7, 17  
 Turks, 7
- UNGUENTS, 123
- VAPHIO CUPS, 7  
 Veil, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 48

Velletri, Athena of, 51

Victory, 47, 92

WAISTCLOTH, 5, 6, 10, 22, 23

White lead, 122, 123

Wigs, 123

Women's dress, pre-Hellenic, 10-14 ;

Homeric, 28-38 ; Doric, 39-52 ; Ionic,  
57-96

Woollen garments, 24, 25, 26, 27, 51,  
60, 97, 98, 105

XENOPHON, 113, 116, 122

Xoana, 86

ZEUS, 29, 32, 44, 69, 102

## GREEK INDEX

- ἀγχουσα, 123  
ἀλεξάνεμος, 24  
ἀλοῦργος, 101  
ἀμοργίνον, 70, 98  
ἀμπυξ, 36, 112  
ἀμφιβάλλω, 17, 24  
ἀμφιέννυμι, 24, 29  
ἀνεμοσκεπής, 24  
ἀνθινά, 102  
ἀπλῆς, 24  
ἀποβάλλω, 24, 36  
ἀποδέσμος, 70  
ἀποπτύγμα, 30, 44, 87  
ἀποτίθημι, 24  
ἀρβύλαι, 118  
ἀρβυλίδες, 118  
ἀρύβαλλος, 121
- βαθύζωνος, 15, 16  
βαθύκολπος, 15, 16  
βατραχίς, 100, 101  
βλανταί, 118  
βύσσινά, 98  
βύσσος, 98
- δέσματα, 35  
διαφανές, 70  
δίπλαξ, 27, 37, 102  
διπλή, 24, 25, 26  
διπτύχον, 26  
διφθέρα, 97
- ἐανος, 28, 29  
ἐγχουσα, 122, 123  
εἶμα, 48  
ἐκδύνω, 18, 24
- ἐκταδίην, 25, 26  
ἐλικες, 37  
ἐλκεσιπέπλος, 32  
ἐλκεχιτώνες, 19, 59, 80  
ἐμβας, 116, 117, 118  
ἐμπάσσω, 102  
ἐμπλαισίω, 68  
ἐνδρομίδες, 118  
ἐνδυμα, 52  
ἐνδύνω, 17, 18  
ἐνετή, 16, 29  
ἐννυμι, 48  
ἐξωμῆς, 52, 53  
ἐτερομάσχαλος, 52  
εὐμάριδες, 118  
εὐστρέπτοισι βοεῦσιν, 21
- ζείρα, 54  
ζῶμα, 22, 23  
ζώνη, 16, 29, 33  
ζώννυμι, 22, 29  
ζωστήρ, 16, 19, 23
- θάψινος, 101  
θολία, 113
- ἱμαντες, 21  
ἱματίον, 39, 48
- κάλυκες, 37  
κάλυμμα, 28  
κάλυπτρη, 28, 34  
κατὰ στήθος, 29  
κεκρύφαλος, 36  
κεστός ἱμάς, 34  
κίλλιον, 100

- κοκκοβαφής, 101  
 κόλπος, 30, 33  
 κονιπόδες, 118  
 κόρυμβος, 109  
 κουρείον, 120  
 κρήδεμον, 16, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 48,  
 51  
 κρηπίδες, 118  
 κροκωτός, 101  
 κρουπέξια, 119  
 κρωβύλος, 109, 110  
 κνάνεος, 37, 101  
 κυανοχαίτης, 37  
 κυμάτιον, 104  
 κυνή Θεσσαλίας, 113
- λαμπρός, 29, 35  
 λιπαρός, 35  
 λήκυθος, 121  
 λώπη, 17, 26
- μαλακός, 20  
 μέτρη, 23, 112  
 μονοχίτων, 53
- ξυρόν, 120  
 ξύστρα, 121
- ὀθόνη, 20, 35  
 οιοχίτων, 23  
 ὀμφάκινος, 101  
 ὀνάγρινος, 100  
 ὀρθοστάδιος, 71  
 οὐλή, 24, 25
- παμποικίλος, 32  
 πέδιλον, 17, 28, 29, 116  
 πέπλος, 16, 17, 28, 29, 31  
 περιβάλλω, 17, 24  
 περιβλήμα, 52  
 περιζῶμα, 70  
 περόνη, 16, 29, 31, 39, 59  
 περσικά, 118  
 πέτασος, 111  
 πηνίκη, 123  
 πῖλος, 111  
 πλεκτή ἀναδέσμη, 36  
 ποδήρης, 19, 59
- ποικίλος, 32, 102  
 πῶλος, 112  
 πορφύρεος, 3, 25, 37, 101, 102  
 προκομίον, 123  
 πύξις, 124
- ῥήγεα, 17
- σάκκος, 112  
 σιγαλδεις, 19, 36  
 στεφάνη, 36, 112  
 στίμμυς, 123  
 στόνυξ, 120  
 >στρέπτος χιτών, 20, 21  
 στρόφιον, 70—  
 συκάμων, 123
- ταινία, 70  
 τανυπέπλος, 32  
 τερμίσεις, 19  
 τέττιξ, 58, 109, 110  
 τρίβων, 53  
 -τυρρηνικά, 119
- ὑπόδημα, 116
- φαινομηρίς, 46  
 φαιός, 101  
 φᾶρος, 16, 17, 24, 27, 28, 33, 35, 37  
 φοινίκεος, 101  
 φοινικέεις, 25, 37  
 φύκος, 123
- χειριδωτός, 68  
 χιτών, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 35, 52,  
 59, 70, 98  
 χιτών ἔξωμυς, 52, 53  
 χιτωνάριον, 70  
 χιτώνιον, 70, 98  
 χιτωνίσκος, 68, 70, 71  
 χλαῖνα, 16, 17, 23, 24-28, 35, 37, 55  
 χλάμυς, 54, 56, 111
- ψάλις, 120  
 ψήκτρα, 120  
 ψίλωθρον, 121  
 ψιμυθίον, 122

PRINTED BY  
OLIVER AND BOYD,  
EDINBURGH.













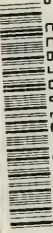












3 1761 0185932 9



Samuel Angell.

NOV 29 1994

APR - 3 1997

JUN 30 1999







C O S T U M E  
O F  
T H E A N C I E N T S.

---

*Price Two Guineas, Boards.*





COSTUME  
OF  
THE ANCIENTS.

---

---

BY  
THOMAS HOPE.

---

---

*IN TWO VOLUMES.*

VOL. I.

A NEW EDITION ENLARGED.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM MILLER,

ALBEMARLE-STREET;

BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW,  
ST. JAMES'S.

1812.

ERINDALE  
COLLEGE  
LIBRARY

ON THE

## COSTUME OF THE ANCIENTS.

---

A THOROUGH proficiency in drawing the external anatomy of the human frame must be confessed the first requisite of all historical painting. It is indispensable to the correct representation not only of the parts that are left bare, but even of the clothing in which others are enveloped. If the painter cannot draw correctly the naked figure, he cannot array it according to truth ; since the very folds of the raiment must depend on the forms and motions of the body and limbs underneath : above all, he cannot attire it with elegance ; since, in order to render his figure pleasing to the eye, the general attitude and proportions of the frame itself should ever remain distinctly perceptible even through the fullest drapery. Where the human figure, instead of only being covered, is con-

cealed by the garment, it no longer offers beauties superior to what the various articles of apparel might have displayed, collected in a mere bundle.

Even the most thorough knowledge, however, of those peculiarities of the human skeleton and muscle which remain unvaried from age to age, is not yet alone sufficient to constitute a correct historical painter.

To attempt representing a real event, and to violate in the execution all truth of costume,—to clothe (as Paul Veronese has done) Alexander in French brocade, and Statira in Genoa cut velvet, is before-hand wantonly to mar the best fruits of one's labour, the applause of the judicious. It is offering a masquerade instead of a historic subject, a riddle in place of a tale clearly told. The ignorant and the vulgar, who only notice the brilliancy of the hues, who hardly enquire into the particulars of the subject, may applaud; but the man of discernment, who expects that the performance should accord with the name, will remain dissatisfied. However masterly the touch, however fascinating the colours, he still will consider the work as being at best but a splendid absurdity, calculated to excite at least as much laughter as

admiration. Those who to a fine natural feeling join a cultivated taste, can only receive unqualified pleasure from that scrupulous imitation of historical truth, carried even into the minutest accessory parts, which alone gives every personage the peculiar physiognomy and every scene the individual locality that serve to distinguish them from all others; and that bring the place and the action at once home to the mind of a well informed observer.

It must be owned, indeed, that the knowledge of costume requisite for this purpose is not always as easily attainable as the proficiency in anatomy above urged. For while the natural forms of the human body remain nearly the same in all ages and climes; while the English youth, if well shaped, may still serve for the model of an Adam in the garden of Eden, it fares otherwise with the artificial clothing of that person. Every clime and every period have seen this latter vary, and have offered some modification of dress and furniture different from others. Authentic descriptions and faithful monuments alone can convey the accurate knowledge of these variations: and to these records of past ages the artist of our times must have access, who wishes to retrace them in his works.

This communication, at least with the memorials of the more classic eras of Greece and Rome, whose subjects offer the happiest mixture of beautiful naked forms with grand features of attire and armour, has always been rendered easier in France than in most other countries. A magnificent library, ever open to all in the most liberal way, supplied at Paris every species of representation which the graver could offer of originals not in the country; and so far back as Lewis XIV. a branch of the French Academy of Arts was established in the heart of Rome, in order that young painters of promise might there have an opportunity of studying at the public expense the originals themselves, of which elsewhere they could only behold the transcripts. Even now that the finest of the moveable works of art, formerly in Italy, are transplanted to Paris, this Academy at Rome has recently been placed on a better footing than before, in order that its inmates might be enabled to study with greater fruit those vaster monuments of ancient magnificence, whose roots are too deeply implanted in the native soil to bear being wrested from it.

I shall not dwell on the total want of all simliar provision with us. I shall not expatiate

on the penurious spirit with which our government has hitherto suffered its native artists to struggle unassisted with all their difficulties; on the scanty means of information the young painter and sculptor find at home; on the absence of all public assistance they labour under to pursue their studies abroad. The theme is ungrateful; and the circumstance causes many a young artist of an aspiring mind to curb his native genius, to throw aside his canvass ready to teem with gods and heroes, or to people it at best with clowns and beggars.

With a view to supply at least in a small degree the deficiencies here stated, and to afford artists a convenient and a cheap collection of those leading features of ancient costume of which the knowledge can least be dispensed with, was this work undertaken. I had in former days had the good fortune frequently to visit most of the celebrated Musea abroad; had taken some pains to distinguish, among their contents, from the genuine antique stock remaining, the spurious and often wretched modern restorations engrafted upon it; and had lamented that these indifferent additions should so seldom be pointed out as such in the engravings executed

from the originals in question, and should consequently render these latter so much more frequently calculated to mislead than to instruct the youthful student. I had moreover preserved memorials of several curious specimens of ancient art not hitherto published ; and the materials thus collected abroad, together with what my own little assemblage particularly of Grecian fictile vases afforded at home, proved of great utility in the execution. They enabled me to trace my sketches, however rude, in such a way as to offer separated from each other in distinct groups the forms that belonged to different eras, climes, or stations, and combined together in the same compositions the features that appertained to the same region, period, or profession. Thus was the substance of many expensive and cumbersome works condensed in the small compass of a portable volume or two, containing all that might be necessary to give to artists, nay even to dramatic performers, and to others engaged in classic representations, an idea of ancient costume, sufficiently ample to prevent their offending in their performances by gross and obvious blunders.

Small and restricted however must remain



even to the artist the use of my little book, while we continue to give to landscape and low-life subjects so decided a preference over the sublimer scenes of history and of mythology; while individuals in general testify so little feeling for the beauties of historical composition, that the most excellent and laborious performances in that class, remain precisely the longest unsold on the walls of our yearly exhibitions; while corporate bodies never dream of encouraging the production of historical works, by adorning with them their halls and meeting-places; while the nation at large seems unmindful of the importance of a sedulous cultivation of the higher branches of art, not merely to the promoting the national industry, but to the higher purpose of humanising the national manners, exalting the national character, and increasing the national spirit and happiness; while ministers, however lavish and profuse in other respects, continue so penurious with regard to what is most conducive to the pride and splendour of the country, as to withhold the comparatively trifling sums necessary to encourage by adequate premiums, those performances that inspire future heroes, by nobly displaying the achievements of past worthies;

while, consequently, the painter dares not encounter the expense and the labour attendant on high-wrought historical compositions, unless the fire of his genius be so vivid as not to be damped by the chilling prospect of want of bread; nay, not even by the still more discouraging dread of a total lack of well deserved and hardly earned fame.

To the professed but purely theoretic antiquarian I presume not in these pages to offer any thing likely to prove interesting or useful, either immediately, or at any future period whatever. A work, intended solely for the easy reference and the ready application of actual practitioners in art, not only required not but admitted not specimens so uncommon or speculations so recondite as to absorb all the leisure of the student, without proportionably increasing the store of essential forms transferable to his canvass. That very mode, besides, which I thought best suited to the painter's purpose, of frequently combining in a single figure the representations of articles collected from many different originals, has been precisely the greatest bar to my proving in every instance the faithfulness of my imitations, by quoting my authorities. A list of these would have added to the trouble of the

artist, in the same proportion in which it might have afforded satisfaction to the antiquary; since I must often, for the truth of a single collective transcript, have had to refer to so many distinct originals, as would greatly have swelled the volume, and increased the labour of the verification.

Most difficult is it, even in the slightest copies from the antique, entirely to obliterate all trace of the exalted and manifold perfections of the admirable originals. Perhaps, therefore, with regard to the single figures of portrait painters, even the sketches here presented, slight as they are, may still offer some hints not wholly without value, towards attaining in a greater degree than we usually find them displayed the more general beauties of mere ease, and grace, and unaffected simplicity of attitude. But as to the more detailed and minute excellencies of the ancient workmanship, such as that thorough knowledge of anatomy, that exquisite selection of forms, that sublimity of expression, that prodigious diversity in the texture of the stuffs and in the forms of the folds, which ancient relics every where exemplify, of these a compendium like the one here offered cannot be expected to retain the least vestige. This species of ancient

superiority, in order to be faithfully represented, would have required a work almost as elaborate as the originals themselves; and thence the student should ever remember that this small hand book, only intended to instill a few of the most essential rudiments, can afford no dispensation from studying either the antique itself, or the more important modern works which represent its beauties more explicitly, whenever he finds either of these accessible.

I shall begin the order of my figures with representations of the inhabitants of that corner of Africa, called Egypt, because these stand most aloof from the nations of the other parts of the ancient world, and would elsewhere break that uninterrupted connection which I have endeavoured to preserve throughout. I shall thence pass over to the Asiatics, inasmuch as the dresses, the manufactures, and the civilization of the natives of Asia were, in their commencement, of a much remoter date than those of any Europeans, and experienced much fewer subsequent changes,—many of the Asiatic modes of apparel recorded in the most ancient monuments, still resembling such as are worn to this day in the same regions. Next I shall proceed to the Greeks, because these not only were

prior in civilization to the Romans, but the very people who in process of time became the principal arbitri elegantiarum and fashion-mongers of the Romans themselves, and of all the later and more barbarous nations successively blended with, or sprung from the Romans; whence, on the one hand, the modification of attire and of building of the Greeks, offer an uninterrupted transition to those of the Romans; and, on the other, those of the Romans of the more civilized æras, can only be considered as those belonging to the Greeks of the same periods. In truth the Roman works of art only present those peculiar deviations from the purer primitive Greek models of prior ages, which the subsequent corruption and degeneracy of taste, insensibly introduced in the very cradle of art itself.

A hundred new plates have been added to those of the first edition; and I regret that I could not arrange these so as to enable their being purchased separately, and bound up with those before published. This however was impossible, since, to perfect and complete the work, it was found necessary to alter and to improve many of the old plates themselves, to substitute to many of these entire new ones, to intermix the old and new in an entire new order, and

consequently, to new number the whole series. The only thing, consistent with the improvement of the work, that depended on me, I have endeavoured to do—namely, to make it as cheap as possible.

## COSTUME OF THE EGYPTIANS.

---

THE ancient Egyptians were descended from the Ethiopians, and while their blood remained free from any mixture with that of European or Asiatic nations, their race seems to have retained obvious traces of the aboriginal Negro form and features. Not only all the human figures in their coloured hieroglyphics display a deep swarthy complexion, but every Egyptian monument whether statue or bas-relief presents the splay feet, the spreading toes, the bow-bent shins, the high meagre calves, the long swinging arms, the sharp shoulders, the square flat hands, the head, when seen in profile, placed not vertically but obliquely on the spine, the jaws and chin consequently very prominent, together with the skinny lips, depressed nose, high cheek bones, large unhemmed ears raised far above the level

of the nostrils, and all the other peculiarities characteristic of the Negro conformation. It is true that the practice prevalent among the Egyptians of shaving their heads and beards close to the skin (which they only deviated from when in mourning) seldom allows their statues to shew that most undeniable symptom of Negro extraction, the woolly hair; the heads of their figures generally appearing covered with some sort of cap, or, when bare, closely shaven. In the few Egyptian sculptured personages, however, in which the hair is introduced, it uniformly offers the woolly texture, and the short crisp curls of that of the Negroes; nor do I know a single specimen of genuine Egyptian workmanship, in which are seen any indications of the long sleek hair or loose wavy ringlets of Europeans or Asiatics. The black streak, which in the masks or faces carved and painted on the cases of the mummies, is carried from the outside corner of the eye-lids to the temple, seems to denote that anciently, as to this day, the natives of Egypt were in the habit of artificially deepening the hue and increasing the length of their eye lashes, by means of some species of pigment.

The inferior classes seem in Egypt to have



gone nearly naked ; and all the different orders of the community alike to have worn little and thin clothing. The lower extremities of the body appear to have been covered the most. Many male figures display no other garment than a short apron or piece of stuff, fastened round the waist by a belt, and descending half way down the thighs ; and in many representations of personages of both sexes, the whole upper part of the body appears entirely bare, or only adorned with a profusion of necklaces, belts, armlets, and bracelets ; while the afore-said apron, wrapped round the loins, descends like a petticoat down to the ancles. The complete tunic, reaching all the way from the neck to the feet, seems to have been reserved for the higher orders, and even this in the genuine Egyptian statues is so scanty, and drawn so tight round every part of the body and limbs, that not a crease appears throughout, and that all the natural forms shew themselves through it most distinctly ; so as to leave it difficult to conceive how the wearers could move a step, without rending it from top to bottom.

In later times, however, the Egyptian vestments seem, in imitation of those of the Greeks and the Romans, to have acquired more fulness.

The statues of Isis and of her priestesses found in Italy, indicate that under the Roman dominion the ladies of Egypt not only wore more ample tunics, falling in easy folds like those of their neighbours, but cast over these a fringed veil or mantle; of which the ends drawn from behind the back over the shoulders across the chest, were made in front by means of a large knot, to tie with and to uphold the middle part.

The byblus or papyrus plant seems to have furnished the material for some of the shorter and tighter coverings as well of the body itself as of the head and feet, if we may judge from the narrow ribs which even the little aprons wound round the thighs frequently display. The ampler dresses were in general made of flax; more rarely of cotton: and never of silk, I believe, until after the Roman conquest. Rich dyes of green, yellow, red, and blue, seem to have been very common.

The Egyptians adorned their heads with a variety of caps, sometimes rising to a great height above the head, sometimes descending very low on the chest, in the shape of lappets. Those of the priests and of their attendants are often loaded with a profusion of symbolical decorations, composed of feathers, lotus leaves,

and other natural productions; and in some of the head-dresses of Isis and of her followers we easily recognize the disk and the horns, representative of the orb and the phases of the moon.

In religious processions it was common to wear masks that encompassed the whole head and neck down to the shoulders. These represented the head and bust of various sacred animals, such as the ibis, the hawk, the bull, the dog, and the ram.

Numerous rows of rich beads were worn by both sexes round the neck; a belt encircled the body immediately under the paps of the breast, and another confined the small of the waist. Gorgeously worked straps or braces crossed the shoulders, and met or supported these zones.

Armlets, manacles, and rings round the ancles also were common. The Kings bore long staffs or sceptres, and the priests carried wands, decorated with the heads of birds and various other insignia.

The Egyptians were wont to consider the habitations of the living only as inns where no one tarried; and to the tombs of the dead alone they gave the name of permanent dwellings, which, when once occupied, their tenants no

more quitted. Thence all edifices of a private nature seem to have been of slight texture, and made of perishable materials; probably often only of the mud of the Nile, and of the reeds that grew along its banks. Even the kings were indifferent as to the permanence and sumptuosity of their palaces, and employed all their wealth in the construction of their sepulchral monuments. It was for the dead and for the immortals that they reserved every species of magnificence and durability which architecture could display; and those pyramids and those temples which were raised long prior to the ages of historic certainty, seem likely to reach the latest æras of mortal existence.

The roofs of the sacred edifices were supported by columns of enormous thickness, adorned with capitals representing the foliage and fruit of the palm tree, the leaf and the flower of the *nymphaea*, and other aquatic vegetables; the massy walls, often made, for the purpose of greater stability, to slope or spread downwards, were covered with hieroglyphics, whose faint relief, sunk beneath the level of the surface, was often rendered more conspicuous through means of various pigments as durable as they were vivid. Yet is there such breadth,

such repose of surface, combined with so much contrast and boldness of outline, displayed in these huge masses—the solid parts and the apertures are so happily intermixed and divided—that the effect of the whole is, in spite of the gawdy embroidery of the detail, indescribably grand and majestic.

Buildings of a more airy and light description seem to have been frequently coated with alternated horizontal stripes or layers of black and of white marble, somewhat like the cathedrals of the middle age in the cities of Tuscany. Couches, seats, and other articles of furniture generally offer their extremities terminating in the heads and claws of lions, and of other beasts of prey.

---

As Palestine, from its geographical situation, formed as it were the connecting link between Egypt and Syria, a few specimens of the Hebrew costume would have offered a desirable transition from that of Africa to that of Asia. Unfortunately the Jews have left no monuments of art behind them to assist us in this research. The circumstance of their inhabiting the intermediate tract of country between the Egyptians

and the Syrians, however, makes it fair to presume that their dress and their buildings partook of the character of both. Nor could the artist, I should imagine, greatly err, who, having to represent Hebrew personages during their abode in, or soon after their flight from Egypt, should make them partly preserve the garb of those Egyptians, of whom they retained so many rites and customs; and who again, having to picture the Jews of later periods, and during or subsequent to their intercourse with the nations of Syria and their captivity in Babylon, should present them as humble imitators of Assyrian pomp and manners. At any rate, the same deficiency of Jewish monuments, which prevents us from ascertaining the exact truth with regard to the cut of the Jewish cloak, will also prevent us from being offended at any involuntary error in this respect, which offers not a palpable deviation from Eastern fashions in general.

COSTUME OF THE ASIATICS.

---

I DO not, under this head, mean to notice the Chinese, the Hindoos, or other more remote eastern nations, who were hardly known by name to the Greeks, who were never represented on their monuments, and whose costume can be of little use to the historical painter. I only wish to offer a few observations, with regard to those less distant inhabitants of Asia, who, under the name of Medes, Assyrians, Persians, and Parthians, Amazons, Phrygians, Lycians, and Syrians, though a race totally distinct from the Greeks, had with these European neighbours some intercourse; and whose representations not unfrequently recur in their paintings and sculpture.

Of the male attire of the different nations inhabiting the region now called Asia Minor, the

prevailing features seem to have been a vest with long tight sleeves reaching down to the wrists, and long pantaloons descending to the ancles, nay often hanging over the instep, and losing themselves within side the shoes or sandals. These pantaloons even clothe those masculine ladies the Amazons, whenever they are represented on some warlike expedition; though at other times, when at home and engaged in peaceful pursuits, they appear (as on one of my fictile vases) in petticoats like other females. Sometimes these pantaloons were made of the skins of animals, at others of rich and fine tissues, embroidered or painted in sprigs, spots, stripes, cheques, zig-zags, lozenges, or other ornaments. Sometimes they fit tight, at others they hang loose, and fall in large wrinkles over the shoes. The vest, always of the same stuff and design with the pantaloons, seems like our modern waistcoats to have opened in front; and to have been closed by means of clasps or buttons placed at considerable distances from each other.

Over this vest was most frequently worn a wide sleeveless tunic of a different texture and pattern, clasped on the shoulders, confined by a girdle round the waist, and when long, gathered



up a second time by means of another ligature lower down; and of this tunic the skirts reached to about the middle of the thigh. To this thus far light and airy dress, aged and dignified persons still added a mantle or peplum, different from that of the Greeks in being edged round with a regular and distinct fringe, not interwoven with the body of the stuff, but purposely tacked on; and this studied enrichment, never observable in Grecian dresses, is in fact represented by Eschylus as a peculiarity characteristic of the peplum of the barbarians, or Asiatic nations.

The Parthian, and other more inland sovereigns of Asia, are sometimes, though seldom, represented on their coins bareheaded, with their long hair and bushy beards most finically dressed and curled. Often they wear a cylindrical cap, rather wider at the top than at the bottom, called *mitra* by the Greeks. Sometimes this cap was encircled by a diadem, and at others loaded with different emblematic ornaments. Its shape is to this day preserved in that worn by the Armenian priests.

The Medes and Persians seem more generally to have worn the *cidaris*, or conical cap, sometimes terminating in a sharp point, at others

truncated, and mostly loaded with ornaments. The prevailing male head-dress of the Asiatics, bordering on the Euxine and the Archipelago, appears to have been that which is generally known by the name of the Phrygian bonnet, and of which the characteristic features are its point or top bent down forward, and its long flaps descending on the shoulders. Sometimes this covering seems to have been a mere loose cap of the most soft and pliant stuff, unable to support itself upright, and hanging down in large wrinkles; at others it appears to have formed a helmet of the most hard and inflexible substance—of leather, or even of metal—standing quite stiff and smooth, and enriched with embossed ornaments.

In many of these helmets the flaps descending on the shoulders are four in number, and probably were cut out of the legs of the animals, whose hide or skin formed the body of the casque. In most of the lighter caps we only discern one single pair of flaps, which are often tucked up, and confined by a string round the crown.

In the figures of Amazons we often see the beak of the helmet terminate in the bill of a griffin, and the spine or back of the casque rise

in the jagged crest of that fabulous animal. When thus shaped this covering may be considered as a sort of trophy, worn in consequence of the defeat, and formed out of the very spoil of some of those griffins, with whom the Amazons are represented as constantly at war. Minerva herself sometimes appears in a Phrygian helmet of this species, probably when represented as worshipped at Troy; and Roma likewise wears it on many Latin coins—in order, no doubt, to indicate the kindred which the Romans claimed with the Trojans. This Phrygian bonnet seems to have been retained by many of the officers of the Byzantine emperors: and to have been, in its turn, again borrowed from these by several of the dignitaries of the Turkish empire; nay, to have travelled, during the intercourse of the Venetians with the Greeks, as far westward as Venice itself, where the Doge continued to wear it to the last day of his existence.

The Asiatics often wore half-boots laced before, with four long depending flaps, shaped like those of their bonnets, and, like those, probably formed out of the legs of the animals, whose skins were converted into these buskins. Frequently eastern personages appear in shoes or slippers; seldom, if ever, in mere sandals, that

leave the toes bare, like those worn by the Greeks.

In war the Asiatics never seem, like the Greeks, to have worn either breast plates or greaves, but frequently a coat or jacket, with sleeves, entirely of mail. A flap of mail frequently descended from under the helmet, to protect the neck and shoulders.

The chief defensive weapon of the Asiatics was the pelta, or small shield in the form of a crescent; sometimes with, and sometimes without its curved side divided by a point into twin concavities. The peculiar offensive weapons of the inhabitants of Asia were the bipennis, or double battle-axe, the club, and the bow and arrow, generally carried in two different partitions of the same case or quiver.

The Dacians, though inhabitants of the European shores of the Euxine, but near neighbours to, and probably of the same origin with the Asiatic nations here mentioned, seem to have deviated little from them in their costume. They wore their shoes or soles fastened with long strings, wound several times round the ankle, and their pantaloons very wide. On the Trajan column not only many of the Dacian soldiers themselves, but even many of their

horses appear entirely enveloped in a coat of mail or covering of small scales, in close contact with the body and limbs. Their helmets were conical, and ended in a sharp spike.

Many of the Asiatic nations were celebrated for their constant use and skilful management of horses; and are often represented as fighting on horseback against Greeks on foot.

## GRECIAN COSTUME.

---

IT is precisely in its earliest periods that the Grecian attire, whether of the head or of the body, exhibits in its arrangement the greatest degree of study, and if I may so call it, of foppishness. In those Grecian basso-relievos and statues which either really are of very early workmanship, or which at least profess to imitate the style of work of the early ages, (formerly mistaken for Etruscan) every lock of hair is divided into symmetrical curls or ringlets, and every fold of the garment into parallel plaits; and not only the internal evidence of those monuments themselves, but the concurring testimony of authors, shews that in those remote ages heated irons were employed both to curl the hair and beard, and to plait the drapery. It was only in later times that the

covering, as well of the head as of the body, was left to assume a more easy and uncontrolled flow.

At first, as appears both from ancient sculpture and paintings, men and women alike wore their hair descending partly before and partly behind in a number of long separate locks, either of a flat and zig-zagged, or of a round and corkscrew shape. A little later it grew the fashion to collect the whole of the hair hanging down the back, by means of a riband, into a single broad bundle, and only to leave in front one, two, or three long narrow locks or tresses hanging down separately; and this queue was an ornament which Minerva, a maiden affecting old fashions and formality, never seems to have quitted; and which Bacchus, though not originally quite so formal, yet when on his return from amongst the philosophers of India he also chose to assume the beard and mien of a sage, thought proper to readopt. Later still, this queue depending down the back was taken up, and doubled into a club; and the side locks only continued in front, as low down as the nipple. But these also gradually shrunk away into a greater number of smaller tufts or ringlets, hanging about the ears, and leaving the

neck quite unconfined and bare. So neatly was the hair arranged in both sexes round the forehead, and in the males round the chin, as sometimes to resemble the cells of a bee-hive, or the meshes of wire-work.

With regard to the attire of the body, the innermost article, that garment which does not indeed appear always to have been worn, but which, whenever worn, was always next the skin, seems to have been of a light creasy stuff, similar to the gauzes of which to this day the eastern nations make their shirts. The peculiar texture of this stuff not admitting of broad folds or drapery, this under garment was in early times cut into shapes fitting the body and arms very closely, and confined or joined round the neck, and down the sleeves, by substantial hems or stays of some stouter tissue. But even this part of the attire seems in latter times to have been worn very wide and loose round the body, and often at the shoulders; where, as in the figures of Minerva and of the bearded Bacchus, the sleeves are gathered up in such a way as totally to lose their shape.

The outer garment assumes in the figures of the old style an infinite variety of shapes, but seems always to have been studiously plaited;



so as to form a number of flat and parallel folds across its surface, a zig-zag line along its edge, and a sharp point at each of its angles.

Though the costume of the Greeks appears to have been more particular of the sort just described, at the periods when the sieges of Troy and of Thebes were supposed to have taken place, and is in fact represented as such in the more ancient monuments relative to those events, the later works of art, nevertheless, even where they profess to represent personages belonging to those early ages, usually array them in the more unconfined habiliments of more recent times. In the male figures even of such primeval heroes as a Hercules, an Achilles, and a Theseus, we generally find the long formal ringlets of the heroic ages omitted for the short crops of the historic periods.

I shall now enter into a somewhat greater detail with regard to the different pieces of which was composed the Grecian attire.

The principal vestment both of men and of women, that which was worn next the skin, and which, consequently, whenever more than one different garment were worn one over the other, was undermost, bore in Greek the name of *χιτών*; in Latin that of *tunica*. It was of a light

tissue; in earliest times made of wool, in later periods of flax, and last of all, of flax mixed with silk, or even of pure silk. Its body was in general composed of two square pieces sewed together on the sides. Sometimes it remained sleeveless, only offered openings for the bare arms to pass through, and was confined over the shoulders by means of clasps or buttons; at other times it had very long and wide sleeves; and these were not unfrequently, as in the figures of Minerva and of the bearded Bacchus, gathered up under the arm-pits, so as still to leave the arms in a great measure bare. Most usually however the body of the tunic branched out into a pair of tight sleeves reaching to near the elbow, which in the most ancient dresses were close, with a broad stiff band running down the seams, and in more modern habiliments open in their whole length, and only confined by means of small buttons carried down the arms, and placed so near the edge of the stuff as in their intervals to shew the skin. In very richly embroidered tunics the sleeves sometimes descended to the wrists; in others they hardly reached half way down the upper arm.

The tunic was worn by females either quite loose, or confined by a girdle: and this girdle

was either drawn tight round the waist, or loosely slung round the loins. Often, when the tunic was very long, and would otherwise have entangled the feet, it was drawn over the girdle in such a way as to conceal the latter entirely underneath its folds. It is not uncommon to see two girdles of different widths worn together, the one very high up, and the other [ very low down, so as to form between the two in the tunic a puckered interval; but this fashion was only applied to short tunics by Diana, by the wood nymphs, and by other females, fond of the chase, the foot race, and such other martial exercises as were incompatible with long petticoats.

Among the male part of the Greek nation, those who, like philosophers, affected great austerity, abstained entirely from wearing the tunic, and contented themselves with throwing over their naked body a simple cloak or mantle; and even those less austere personages who indulged in the luxury of the tunic, wore it shorter than the Asiatic males, or than their own women, and almost always confined by a girdle.

From Greek vases and paintings we learn that the tunic often was adorned with sprigs, spots, stars, &c. worked in the ground of the

stuff; and rich scrolls, meanders, &c. carried round its edges; and this tunic was frequently, as well out of doors as within, worn without any other more external garment. In mourning, when the Grecian ladies cut their hair close to the head, they wore the tunic black, as appears from two of my Greek vases, both representing Electra performing funeral rites at the tomb of Agamemnon.

Over this tunic or under garment, which was made to reach the whole length of the body, down to the feet, Grecian females generally, though not always, wore a second and more external garment, only intended to afford an additional covering or protection to the upper half of the person. This species of bib seems to have been composed of a square piece of stuff, in form like our shawls or scarfs, folded double, so as to be apparently reduced to half its original width; and was worn with the doubled part upwards, and the edge or border downwards next the zone or girdle. It was suspended round the chest and back, in such a way that its centre came under the left arm, and its two ends hung down loose under the right arm; and according as the piece was square or oblong, these ends either only reached to the hips, or descended to

the ancles. The whole was secured by means of two clasps or buttons, which fastened together the fore and hind part over each shoulder.

In later times this bib, from a square piece of stuff doubled, seems to have become a mere single narrow slip, only hanging down a very short way over the breasts; and allowing the girdle, even when fixed as high as possible, to appear underneath.

The peplum constituted the outermost covering of the body. Among the Greeks it was worn in common by both sexes, but was chiefly reserved for occasions of ceremony or of public appearance, and as well in its texture as in its shape, seemed to answer to our shawl. When very long and ample, so as to admit of being wound twice round the body—first under the arms, and the second time, over the shoulders—it assumed the name of *diplox*. In rainy or cold weather it was drawn over the head. At other times this peculiar mode of wearing it was expressive of humility or of grief, and was adopted by men and women when in mourning, or when performing sacred rites; on both which accounts it was thus worn by Agamemnon, when going to sacrifice his daughter.

This peplum was never fastened on by means

of clasps or buttons, but only prevented from slipping off through the intricacy of its own involutions. Endless were the combinations which these exhibited; and in nothing do we see more ingenuity exerted, or more fancy displayed, than in the various modes of making the peplum form grand and contrasted draperies. Indeed the different degrees of simplicity or of grace observable in the throw of the peplum, were regarded as indicating the different degrees of rusticity or of refinement, inherent in the disposition of the wearer.

For the sake of dignity, all the goddesses of the highest class, Venus excepted, wore the peplum; but for the sake of convenience, Diana generally had her's furled up and drawn tight over the shoulders and round the waist, so as to form a girdle, with the ends hanging down before or behind. Among the Greeks the peplum never had, as among the barbarians, its whole circumference adorned by a separate fringe, but only its corners loaded with little metal weights or drops, in order to make them hang down more straight and even.

A veil of lighter tissue than the peplum was often worn by females. It served both as an appendage of rank, and as a sign of modesty.

On the first account it is seen covering the diadem of Juno, the mitra of Ceres, and the turreted crown of Cybele, and of the emblematical figures of cities and of provinces; and on the latter account it is made, in ancient representations of nuptials, to conceal the face of the bride. Penelope, when urged to state whether she preferred staying with her father, or following her husband, is represented expressing her preference of the latter, merely by drawing her veil over her blushing features.

Gods and heroes, when travelling, or on some warlike expedition, and men in inferior stations or of simple manners, at all times, used instead of the ample peplum to wear a shorter and simpler cloak called chlamys, which was fastened over the shoulder or upon the chest with a clasp. Such is the mantle we observe in the Belvedere Apollo; and in many statues of Mercury, a traveller by profession; as well in those of heroes and of other simple mortals.

Besides these dresses common among all ranks and stations, the Greeks had certain other vestments appropriate to certain peculiar characters and offices. Apollo, when in the company of the Muses, wore in compliment to the modesty of those learned virgins, a long flowing robe

similar to that of females. Bacchus, and his followers of both sexes, often appear wrapped up in a faun or tiger skin; and heralds distinguish themselves by a short stiff jacket, divided in formal partitions, not unlike the coats of arms of the same species of personages in the times of chivalry. Actors, comic and tragic, as well as other persons engaged in processions sacred or prophane, wore fantastical dresses, often represented on vases and other antique monuments.

The numerous colourless Greek statues, still in existence, are apt at first sight to impress us with an idea that the Grecian attire was most simple and uniform in its hue, but the Greek vases found buried in tombs, the paintings dug out of Herculaneum and of Pompeya, and even a few statues in marble and in bronze, enriched with stained or with inlaid borders, incontestably prove that the stuffs were equally gaudy in their colours and varied in their patterns. The richest designs were traced upon them, both in painting and needle-work.

Greatly diversified were, among the Grecian females, the coverings of both extremities. Ladies reckoned among the ornaments of the head the mitra or bushel-shaped crown, pecu-



liarly affected by Ceres ; the tiara, or crescent-formed diadem, worn by Juno and by Venus ; and ribands, rows of beads, wreaths of flowers, nettings, fillets, skewers, and gew-gaws innumerable. The feet were sometimes left entirely bare. Sometimes they were only protected underneath by a simple sole, tied by means of thongs or strings, disposed in a variety of elegant ways across the instep and around the ancle ; and sometimes they were also shielded above by means of shoes or half-boots, laced before, and lined with the fur of animals of the feline tribe, whose muzzle and claws were disposed in front. Ear-rings in various shapes, necklaces in numerous rows, bracelets in the forms of hoops or snakes for the upper and lower arms, and various other trinkets were in great request, and were kept in a species of casket or box, called pyxis, from the name of the wood of which it was originally made ; and these caskets, as well as the small oval hand mirrors of metal, (the indispensable insignia of courtesans,) the umbrella, the fan formed of leaves or of feathers, the calathus or basket of reeds to hold the work, and all the other utensils and appendages intended to receive, to protect, or to set off whatever appertained to female dress and

embellishment, are often represented on the Grecian fictile vases.

The men, when travelling, protected their heads from the heat or the rain by a flat broad brimmed hat tied under the chin with strings, by which, when thrown off, it hung suspended on the back. Mercury, and heroes, on their journies, are represented wearing this hat. There was also a conical cap, without a rim, worn chiefly by sea-faring people, and which therefore characterises Ulysses.

The same variety in the covering of the feet was observable among men as among women. Soldiers fastened a coarse sole, by means of a few strings, round the ankle; philosophers wore a plain shoe. Elegant sandals, with straps and thongs cut into various shapes, graced the feet of men of rank and fashion.

Crowns and wreaths of various forms and materials were much in use among the Greeks. Some of these were peculiarly consecrated to particular deities, as the turreted crown to Cybele, and to the figures emblematic of cities; that of oak leaves to Jupiter, of laurel leaves to Apollo, of ivy or vine branches to Bacchus, of poplar to Hercules, of wheat-ears to Ceres, of gold or myrtle to Venus, of fir twigs to the

fauns and silvans, and of reeds to the river gods. Other wreaths were peculiarly given as rewards to the winners in particular games. Wild olive was the recompense in the Olympic, laurel in the Pythiac, parsley in the Nemean, and pine twigs in the Isthmic games. Other similar ornaments, again, served to indicate peculiar stations or ceremonies. The diadem or fillet called *credemnon*, was among gods reserved for Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, and Bacchus, and among men, regarded as the peculiar mark of royalty. The radiated crown, formed of long sharp spikes emblematic of the sun, and always made to adorn the head of that deity, was first worn only on the tiaras of the Armenian and Parthian kings; and afterwards became adopted by the Greek sovereigns of Egypt and of Syria. A wreath of olive branches was worn by ordinary men at the birth of a son, and a garland of flowers at weddings and festivals. At these latter, in order that the fragrance of the roses and violets with which the guests were crowned might be more fully enjoyed, the wreath was often worn, not round the head, but round the neck.

As a symbol of their peaceful authority, gods, sovereigns, and heralds, carried the sceptre,

or hasta, terminated not by the metal point, but by the representation of some animal or flower. As the emblem of their missive and conciliatory capacity, Mercury and all other messengers bore the caduceus, twined round with serpents.

The defensive armour of the Greeks consisted of a helmet, breast-plate, greaves, and shield.

Of the helmet there were two principal sorts; that with an immoveable visor, projecting from it like a species of mask; and that with a moveable visor, sliding over it in the shape of a mere slip of metal. The helmet with the immoveable visor, when thrown back so as to uncover the face, necessarily left a great vacuum between its own crown and the skull of the wearer, and generally had, in order to protect the cheeks, two leather flaps, which, when not used, were tucked up inwards. The helmet with the moveable visor, usually displayed for the same purpose a pair of concave metal plates, which were suspended from hinges, and when not wanted were turned up outwards. Frequently one or more horses manes cut square at the edges, rose from the back of the helmet, and sometimes two horns or two straight feathers issued from the sides. Quadrigæ, sphinxes, griffins, sea-

horses, and other insignia, richly embossed, often covered the surface of these helmets.

The body was guarded by a breast-plate or cuirass; which seems sometimes to have been composed of two large pieces only, one for the back and the other for the breast, joined together at the sides; and sometimes to have been formed of a number of smaller pieces, either in the form of long slips or of square plates, apparently fastened by means of studs on a leather doublet. The shoulders were protected by a separate piece, in the shape of a broad cape, of which the ends or points descended on the chest, and were fastened by means of strings or clasps to the breast-plate. Generally, in Greek armour, this cuirass is cut round at the loins; sometimes however it follows the outline of the abdomen; and from it hang down one or more rows of straps of leather or of slips of metal, intended to protect the thighs.

The legs were guarded by means of greaves, rising very high above the knees, and probably of a very elastic texture, since, notwithstanding they appear very stiff, their opposite edges approach very near at the back of the calf, where they are retained by means of loops or clasps. Those greaves are frequently omitted, particu-

larly in figures of a later date. The most usual shield was very large and perfectly circular, with a broad flat rim, and the centre very much raised, like a deep dish turned upside down. The Theban shield, instead of being round, was oval, and had two notches cut in the sides, probably to pass the spear, or javelin through. All shields were furnished inside with loops, some intended to incircle the arm, and others, to be laid hold of by the hand. Emblems and devices were as common on ancient shields as on the bucklers of the crusaders. Sometimes, on fictile vases, we observe a species of apron or curtain suspended from the shield, by way of a screen or protection to the legs.

The chief offensive weapon of the Greeks was the sword. It was short and broad, and suspended from a belt, on the left side, or in front. Next in rank came the spear; long, thin, with a point at the nether end, with which to fix it in the ground; and of this species of weapon warriors generally carried a pair.

Hercules, Apollo, Diana, and Cupid, were represented with the bow and arrows. The use of these however remained not, in after-times, common among the Greeks, as it did among the Barbarians. Of the quivers some were calculated

to contain both bow and arrows, others arrows only. Some were square, some round. Many had a cover to them to protect the arrows from dust and rain, and many appear lined with skins. They were slung across the back or sides by means of a belt passing over the right shoulder.

Independent of the arms for use, there was other armour of lighter and richer texture, wrought solely for processions and trophies; among the helmets belonging to this latter class some had highly finished metal masks attached to them.

The car of almost each Grecian deity was drawn by some peculiar kind of animal: that of Juno by peacocks, of Apollo by griffins, of Diana by stags, of Venus by swans or turtle doves, of Mercury by rams, of Minerva by owls, of Cybele by lions, of Bacchus by panthers, of Neptune by sea-horses.

In early times warriors among the Greeks made great use in battle of cars or chariots drawn by two horses, in which the hero fought standing, while his squire or attendant guided the horses. In after times these *bigæ*, as well as the *quadrigæ* drawn by four horses abreast, were chiefly reserved for journeys or chariot races.

The Gorgon's head with its round chaps, wide

mouth and tongue drawn out, emblematic of the full moon, and regarded as an amulet or safeguard against incantations and spells, is for that reason found not only on the formidable ægis of Jupiter and of Minerva, as well as on cinerary urns, and in tombs, but on the Greek shields and breast-plates, at the pole ends of their chariots, and in the most conspicuous parts of every other instrument of defence or protection to the living or the dead.

Of the Greek galleys, or ships of war, the prow was decorated with the *cheniscus*, frequently formed like the head and neck of an aquatic bird; and the poop with the *aplustum*, shaped like a sort of honey-suckle. Two large eyes were generally represented near the prow, as if to enable the vessel, like a fish, to see its way through the waves.

I shall not make this short sketch an antiquarian treatise, by launching into an elaborate description of Grecian festivals. In the religious processions of the Greeks masks were used, as well as on their theatre, in order to represent the attendants of the god who was worshipped. Thus, in Bacchanalian processions, (the endless subject of ancient bas-reliefs and paintings,) the fauns, satyrs, and other monstrous beings are



only human individuals masked; and in initiations and mysteries, the winged genii are in the same predicament: and the deception must have been the greater, as the ancient masks were made to cover the whole head. Of these masks (which together with all else that belonged to the theatre were consecrated to Bacchus) there was an infinite variety. Some representing abstract feelings or characters, such as joy, grief, laughter, dignity, vulgarity, expressed in the various modifications of the comic, tragic, and satyric masks; others offering portraits of real individuals, living or dead. The thyrsus, so frequently introduced, was only a spear, of which the point was stuck in a pine cone or wound round with ivy leaves; afterwards, in order to render less dangerous the blows given with it during the sports of the Bacchanalian festival, it was made of the reed called ferula.

Infinitely varied were the Greek dances; some slow, some quick, some grave, some gay, some voluptuous, some warlike. It was common at feasts to have women that professed dancing and music, called in to entertain the guests.

As of musical modes, so of musical instru-

ments there was a great diversity. The phorminx, or large lyre, dedicated to Apollo, and played upon with an ivory instrument, called plectrum, seems, from certain very intricate and minute parts always recurring in its representations, to have been a very complicated structure. It was usually fastened to a belt slung across the shoulders, and sometimes suspended from the wrist to the left hand, while played upon with the right. The cithara, or smaller lyre, dedicated to Mercury, and, when its body was formed of a tortoise shell and its handles composed of a pair of goat's horns, more strictly called chelys, was played upon by the fingers.

The barbitos was a much longer instrument, and emitting a graver sound.

To these may be added the trigonum, or triangle; an instrument borrowed by the Greeks from Eastern nations, and much resembling the harp.

Independent of these instruments with cords, the Greeks had several wind instruments, principally the double flute, and the syrinx, or Pan's flute. To these may be added certain instruments for producing mere noise, such as the tympanon or tambourine, a metal hoop covered

with skin and adorned with ribands or bells, chiefly used in the festivals of Bacchus and of Cybele; the *crembala*, or cymbals, formed of metal cups: and the *crotals*, or castagnets, formed of wooden shells.

With respect to Grecian architecture I shall only observe, that the roofs and pediments of buildings were generally very richly fringed with tiles of different shapes to turn off the rain, and with spouts of various forms to carry off the water. The *Sarcophagi*, made to imitate the forms of houses, generally had covers wrought in imitation of those roofs.

*Terms*, or square pillars, first only surmounted with heads of Mercury, from whom they derived their name, afterwards with those of other gods, of heroes, of statesmen, and of philosophers, were much used for the division and support of book-presses, of galleries, of balustrades, of gates, and of palings. Tripods, some of marble, and with stationary legs, others of metal and with detached legs, made to unhook from the basin and to fold up by means of hinges and sliders, were in great request both for religious and for domestic purposes; as well as candelabra and lamps, either supported on a base or suspended from a chain.

To afford repose to the frame, the Greeks had

couches covered with skins or drapery, on which several persons might lie with their bodies half raised; large arm chairs with foot-stools, called thrones; other more portable small chairs, divested of arms, and with legs frequently made of elephants' tusks; and finally stools without either arms or backs, but with legs imitated from those of animals, and made to fold up.

Endless was the variety of Greek vases for religious rites and for domestic purposes. Among the most singular was the rhyton, or drinking horn, terminating<sup>r</sup> in the head of some animal. These vessels depended for their beauty on that elegance of outline which may make the plainest utensil look graceful, and not on that mere richness of decoration which cannot prevent the most costly piece of furniture, where the shape is neglected, from remaining contemptible to the eye of taste.

## COSTUME OF THE ROMANS.

---

THE pre-eminent dress of the Romans, and which distinguished them in the most marked way as well from the Greeks as from the Barbarians, was the toga. This they seem to have derived from their neighbours the Etrurians; and it may be called their true national garb. In the earliest ages of Rome it appears to have been worn by the women as well as by the men, by the lowest orders as well as by the highest, at home as well as abroad, in the country as well as in town. Love of novelty probably caused it first to be relinquished by the women; next, motives of convenience, by the men in lower stations; and afterwards, fondness of ease and unconstraint, even by the men of higher rank, when enjoying the obscurity of private life, or the retirement of the country. From the

unsuccessful attempts however, first of Augustus, and afterwards of Domitian, entirely to abolish a dress which still continued to remind the people more forcibly than was wished of their ancient liberty, it appears that the toga remained the costume of state and representation with the patricians, nay, with the emperors themselves, unto the last days of Rome's undivided splendor; and we may, I think, assert that not until the empire was transferred to Constantinople, did the toga become entirely superseded by that more decidedly Grecian dress, the pallium.

Infinite have been the queries of the learned, whether the toga of the Romans was, like the peplum of the Greeks, a square piece of stuff; whether it was a round one, or whether, preserving a medium between these two extremes, it offered one side straight, and the other rounded off in a semi-circle. To judge from the numberless statues dressed in togas, in none of which there appears any corners perfectly square, though in all of them may be traced some hems or edges describing a straight, and others, a curved line, I am most inclined to think the semicircular to have been the true form of the toga.

Great pains have also been taken to discover whether the toga derived its form on the body, like the pallium, from the mere spontaneous throw of the whole garment, or, like modern dresses, from some studious and permanent contrivance to model and to fasten together the different component parts. No tacks or fastenings of any sort indeed are visible in the toga, but their existence may be inferred from the great formality and little variation displayed in its divisions and folds. In general the toga seems only to have formed as it were a short sleeve to the right arm, which was left unconfined, but to have covered the right arm down to the wrist.

A sort of loop or bag of folds was made to hang over the sloped drapery in front, and the folds were ample enough in the back to admit of the garment being occasionally drawn over the head, as it was customary to do during religious ceremonies, and also, probably, in rainy weather.

The material of the toga was wool. The colour, in early ages, its own natural yellowish hue. In later periods this seems however only to have been retained in the togas of the higher orders; inferior persons wearing theirs dyed, and candidates for public offices bleached by an

artificial process. In times of mourning the toga was worn black, or was left off altogether.

Priests and magistrates wore the *toga pretexta*, or toga edged with a purple border, called *pretexta*. This toga *pretexta* was, as well as the *bullæ* or small round gold box suspended on the breast by way of an amulet, worn by all youths of noble birth to the age of fifteen; when both these insignia of juvenility were deposed together for the toga without rim or border, called the *toga pura*.

The knights wore the *trabea*, or toga striped with purple throughout; and the generals during their triumphal entries, were clad in a toga entirely of purple, to which gradually became added a rich embroidery of gold.

The tunic, of later introduction among the Romans than the toga, was regarded as a species of luxury; and was discarded by those who displayed an affected humility, such as candidates and others. The tunic of the men only reached half way down the thigh; longer tunics being regarded in the male sex as a mark of effeminacy; and left to women and to eastern nations. The inferior functionaries at sacrifices wore the tunic without the toga; so did the soldiers, when in the camp. The tunic of senators was edged



round with a broad purple border, called *lati-clavus*; and that of the knights with a narrow purple border, called *angusti-clavus*.

I shall here observe that the hue, denominated purple by the ancients, seems to have run through all the various shades of colour intervening between scarlet, crimson, and the deep reddish blue, called purple at the present day.

The *pallium*, or mantle of the Greeks, from its being less cumbersome and trailing than the toga of the Romans, by degrees superseded the latter in the country and in the camp. When worn over armour, and fastened on the right shoulder with a clasp or button, this cloak assumed the name of *paludamentum*.

The common people used to wear a sort of cloak made of very coarse brown wool, and provided with a hood, which was called *encullus*.

This hooded cloak, always given to *Telesphorus*, the youthful companion of *Esculapius*, remains to this day the usual protection against cold and wet with all the seafaring inhabitants both of the islands of the Archipelago and the shores of the Mediterranean.

The Roman ladies wore by way of under garment a long tunic descending to the feet, and more peculiarly denominated *stola*. This

vestment assumed all the variety of modification displayed in the corresponding attire of the Grecian females. Over the stola they also adopted the Grecian peplum, under the name of palla; which palla however was never worn among the Romans, as the peplum was among the Greeks, by men. This external covering, as may be observed in the statues of Roman empresses, displayed the same varieties of drapery or throw at Rome as at Athens.

The *togati* seem to have worn a sort of short boot or shoe with straps crossed over the instep, called calceus. The foot covering of the ladies at first had the same shape; but by degrees this latter assumed all the varieties of form of the Grecian sandal. Like all other nations in whom were combined great means and opulence wherewith to foment the exuberances of fashion, and little taste through which to check its prurencies, the Romans carried to a great pitch the shapeless extravagance of some parts of their attire, as may be seen in the absurd head dresses of the busts of Roman matrons, preserved in the capitol.

The Romans, like the Greeks, had peculiar dresses appropriated to peculiar offices and dignities. The Flamines, or priests of Jupiter, wore

a pointed cap or helmet, called apex, with a ball of cotton wound round the spike. The priests that ministered to other deities wore the infula, or twisted fillet, from which descended on each side along the neck flowing ribands.

Wreaths of various sorts were in use among the Romans as well as among the Greeks, and were chiefly given as rewards of military achievements. The *corona castrensis*, wrought in imitation of a palisadoe, was presented to whoever had been the first to penetrate into an enemy's camp. The *corona muralis*, shaped in the semblance of battlements, to whoever had been the first to scale the walls of a besieged city. The civic crown, formed of oak leaves, to whoever had saved the life of a citizen; and the naval crown, composed of the *rostra*, or beaks of galleys, to whoever had been the first to board the vessel of an enemy.

When the arts fell into a total decline, glitter of materials became the sole substitute for beauty of forms; and hence the Grecian and Roman portraits of the middle ages are loaded from head to foot with pearls and precious stones, intermixed with large cameos.

The armour of the Romans seems chiefly to have been that of the Greeks of the same

periods. The helmet with the fixed visor, and which required being thrown back in its whole, in order to uncover the face, fell very early into disuse in the very heart of Greece itself; and never appears on Roman figures. On these the cuirass or *lorica*, when belonging to distinguished personages, generally follows the outline of the abdomen; and appears hammered out into all the natural convexities and concavities of the human body. It was often enriched, on the belly, with embossed figures; on the breast, with a gorgon's head by way of amulet; and on the shoulder-plates, with scrolls, thunderbolts, &c. This cuirass was made to open at the sides, where the breast and back-plates joined by means of clasps and hinges. One or more rows of straps richly adorned and fringed, descended by way of protection, not only over the thighs, but also down the upper arms. The cuirass of the common soldiers often was cut simply round, and destitute of such straps. Sometimes this latter was formed of metal hoops or plates, sliding over each other; sometimes of small scales equally pliant; and sometimes of a plain surface of metal or leather. The Roman soldiers wore no greaves, but either used sandals tied with strings, or short boots laced before, and lined

with the skin of some animal of which the muzzle and claws were displayed as an ornamental finish.

The Roman shield seems never to have resembled the large round buckler used by the Greeks, nor the crescent-shaped one peculiar to the Asiatics; but to have offered an oblong square, or an oval, or a hexagon, or an octagon. The cavalry alone wore a circular shield, but of small dimensions, called *parma*. Each different legion had its peculiar device marked on its shields.

As offensive weapons the Romans had a sword, of somewhat greater length than that of the Greeks; a long spear, of which they never quitted their hold; and a short javelin which they used to throw to a distance. Their armies were moreover provided with archers and with slingers.

Infinite were the variety and the magnificence of their military insignia. These offered, fixed one over the other along the poles of spears, eagles, figures of victory, laurel wreaths, banners, tablets inscribed with the initials of the republic, and the number of the legion, *pateras* for libations, consecrated fillets, and other civil, military and religious emblems.

The prows of the Roman galleys had for ornament the *aplustum*; their prows, spurs shaped like swords, with which they hit and destroyed those of the enemy.

The architecture of the Romans was only that of the Greeks when on its decline,—that of the Greeks, divested of its primitive consistency, and breadth, and chastity. From the circumstance however of all the wealth and population of every other country flowing by degrees to Rome, certain descriptions of buildings, such as circusses, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, aqueducts, and baths, seem to have become not only more numerous but more splendid in that capital of the world, than any that could be erected in the small republics of Greece. The temples also, at Rome, from the greater variety of worships, assumed a greater diversity of shapes.

The altars of the Romans, as well as those of the Greeks, displayed a vast variety both of purposes and forms. Some were intended for burning incense only; others for receiving libations of milk or of wine; others for consuming the first fruits of the earth; others for the sacrificing of victims. Many were only meant for shew, and erected in commemoration of some signal event, or in gratitude for some important benefit.

Of these altars some were round, some triangular, some square. They displayed, by way of ornament, sculptured skulls of such animals and wreaths of such fruits and flowers as were consecrated to the deity which they served to worship, mixed with sacred fillets, instruments of sacrifice, inscriptions, bas reliefs, &c.

Among the sacred instruments, observable in the processions and sacrifices of the Romans, may be numbered the pastoral staff which Romulus made use of to mark out the different districts of his new city, and which afterwards, under the name of *lituus*, became the distinctive badge of honour of the augurs, who used it in the same way to mark out the different regions of the heavens, when drawing their prognostics. This *lituus*, together with the bason containing the lustral water, the *aspergillum* to sprinkle it, the *simpulum* or ewer for holding the consecrated wine, the cotton fillets for adorning the horns of the victim, the axe for slaying, and the single and double knives for cutting it up, are frequently represented in bas reliefs.

In the decoration and furniture of their houses the Romans were very sumptuous. Rich marbles and gay arabesques decorated the walls, elegant mosaics the floors of their apartments. On the

ornaments of the triclinia or couches, on which they reclined at their feasts, they bestowed immense sums. The curule chairs or seats of state of the patricians were wrought in ivory; and prodigious is the number of beautiful utensils in marble and in bronze, richly chased and inlaid with silver, that have been found among the ruins of that comparatively insignificant provincial city Pompeya. Natives of Greece seem at all times to have been employed to give and to execute the designs, intended to display the taste and opulence of the Romans.

The writings of these latter were contained in two different sorts of receptacles; namely in rolls of papyrus or parchment, called *volumina*; and on tablets of box, ivory, or metal, called *codices*. When travelling they used to carry their manuscripts in a little round case, called *scrinium*.

---



BEFORE I dismiss my reader entirely, I beg I may be allowed the pleasure of expressing my obligations to Mr. Moses, the young artist who has made the engravings from most of my drawings. Those especially that have been transferred on copper in the most superior manner.

In shadowed engravings, offering figures surrounded by accessories and back-ground, a small portion only of the collective merit of the whole performance depends on the peculiar excellence of the principal outline. Other objects by which that outline is obscured or confused, such as the darkness of the shadows, and the flicker of the lights, prevent both its beauties and its defects from becoming very prominent in this species of engraving. Hence it may be executed more mechanically, by artificers themselves less skilled in drawing.

Not so engravings in mere outline, destitute of shadow, of accessories, and of back-ground. In these every part of that outline stands as it were by itself, unassisted and undisguised, in the fullest light, and in the most prominent situation. In these, whatever does not positively add to the merit of the performance,

positively detracts from it. In these no part remains indifferent, none can be slighted. In these not a single unmeaning, or tame, or even superfluous stroke of the graver can remain concealed, or can become perceptible without immediately offending the eye, and producing deformity.

Of this species of engraving, consequently, no part can be executed mechanically, or by inferior hands. Every stroke here requires an artist skilled in drawing, and uniting with a correct eye a free and masterly touch. Hence many artists, deservedly applauded in shadowed engraving, would appear very contemptible in engraving in mere outline; and this probably is one of the reasons why, among the great number of copper-plate engravers employed on different works, I have found so few willing or able to engage in mine—a circumstance which has not a little increased my difficulties in its completion, and has even made me in some instances, unskilled as I was, take up the graver myself, and etch a few plates.

# LIST OF THE PLATES

IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

No.

1. Egyptian dresses.
2. Egyptian priest and priestesses.
3. Egyptian priest and priestesses.
4. Egyptian head-dresses.
5. Egyptian priests and harp.
6. Egyptian capitals and bases of columns.
7. Egyptian capitals.
8. Egyptian temple.
9. Egyptian priest.
10. Egyptian female.
11. Isis, with her sistrum.
12. Fronts of sepulchral monuments near Persepolis.
13. Parthian, with his bow and javelin.
14. Persians.
15. Armenian and Parthian monarchs.
16. Heads of Parthian, Persian, and Armenian kings.
17. Dacian and Phrygian helmets, standard, &c.
18. Phrygian helmet and vases.
19. Amazon.—Dacian king.—and Paris.
20. Phrygian shields, quivers, and bipennes.
21. Heads of Amazon, Paris, Trojan, Phrygian, and Roma.
22. Theseus.—Hyppolita.—and Deinomache.
23. Phrygian, attired for religious rites.
24. Sarmatian.—Vesta.—Paris.
25. Syrian lady.
26. Dacian warrior on horseback.
27. Amazon, carrying her battle-axe.
28. Amazon, carrying her javelin.
29. Phrygian lady.

LIST OF THE PLATES.

- No.
30. Phrygian armour, &c.
  31. Atys.
  32. Phrygian.
  33. Asiatic monarch.
  34. Dacian king.
  35. Dacian king.
  36. Amazon.
  37. Etruscan attire.
  38. Etruscan warriors.
  39. Etruscan warriors and archer.
  40. Etruscan attire.
  41. Etruscan warriors.
  42. Etruscan male and female attire.
  43. Etruscan helmets and head-dresses.
  44. Etruscan attire and warriors.
  45. Etruscan elder and youth.
  46. Etruscan warriors.
  47. Minerva.—Juno.—and Jupiter, in the old Greek stile.
  48. Mars.—Diana—and Venus, in the old Greek stile.
  49. Mercury.—Hebe—and allegorical figure.
  50. Minerva.—Indian Bacchus—and Juno.
  51. Grecian ladies in the old style, &c.
  52. Procession of priestess and her attendants.
  53. Grecian females.
  54. Grecian priestesses performing libations.
  55. Bacchus.—Priestess—and priest, in the old Greek attire.
  56. Various busts of the Indian Bacchus.
  57. Priest of Bacchus.
  58. Nymph, in the old style of attire.
  59. Grecian female.
  60. Grecian female.
  61. Diana.
  62. Grecian female.
  63. Grecian female.
  64. Grecian female.
  65. Grecian lady.

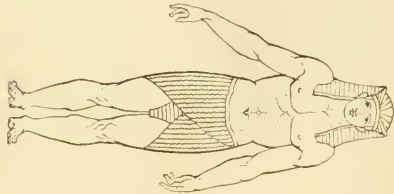
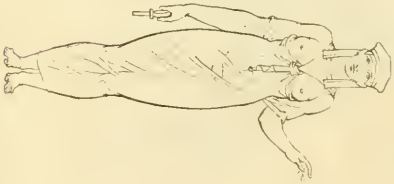
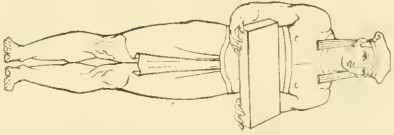
LIST OF THE PLATES.

No.

66. Greek warrior.
67. Greek warrior.
68. Greek warrior.
69. Greek herald.
70. Greek warrior.
71. Greek warrior.
72. Priestess.
73. Greek warrior.
74. Minerva.
75. Various helmets.
76. Theban shield and bow cases.
77. Grecian female.
78. Grecian victor in the chariot race.
79. Greek car or chariot.
80. Grecian warrior in his travelling dress.
81. Squire or attendant on a Greek warrior.
82. Female with lyre and plectrum.
83. Erato.
84. Greek warrior.
85. Greek warrior.
86. Grecian helmets.
87. Musical instruments of the Greeks.
88. Female flute-player.
89. Bacchanalian implements.
90. Bacchanalian, reclined on a couch.
91. Bacchante, with the rod of sesamum.
92. Bacchante, sounding the crotals.
93. Bacchante, carrying the thyrsus.
94. Priestess of Ceres.
95. Bacchante, carrying the sacred fillet.
96. Bacchante, carrying torches.
97. Female dancer.
98. Grecian head-dresses.
99. Grecian youth, crowned at the games.
100. Muse.
101. Priestess of Ceres.

LIST OF THE PLATES.

- No
102. Greck warrior.
  103. Greek warrior.
  104. Eneas.
  105. Ceres.
  106. Greek female.
  107. Greek philosopher.
  108. Ceres with the mitra—and Grecian head-dresses.
  109. Clio.
  110. Greek philosopher.
  111. Victorious warrior, descended from his ear.
  112. Apollo.—Minerva.—Jupiter.
  113. Lyres.
  114. Amazon.—Minerva pacifera.—Venus pacifera.—  
Spartan virgin.
  115. Jupiter.
  116. Grecian females.
  117. Greek poet.
  118. Grecian female, with a casket.
  119. Grecian female, going to perform funeral rites.
  120. Electra, in mourning for Orestes.
  121. Grecian female.
  122. Diana.
  123. Jupiter.
  124. Diana.
  125. Grecian lady.
  126. Theban shield and quivers.
  127. Bacehanalian group.
  128. Greek youth.—Philosopher—and damsel
  129. Greek females.
  130. Various Grecian helmets.

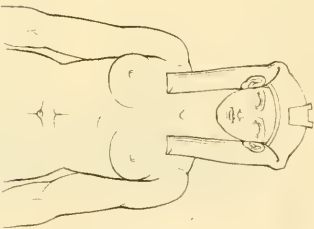
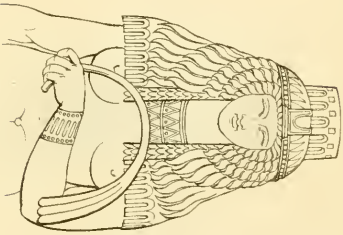
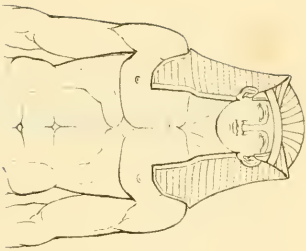


*Egyptian figures*

*from statues in the museum*

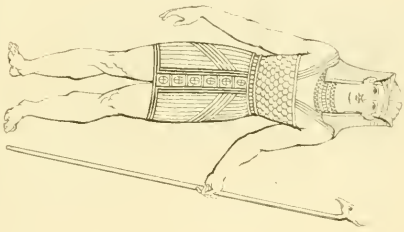
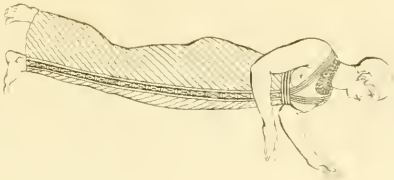






*Egyptian priest & priestess  
from reliefs in the temple*

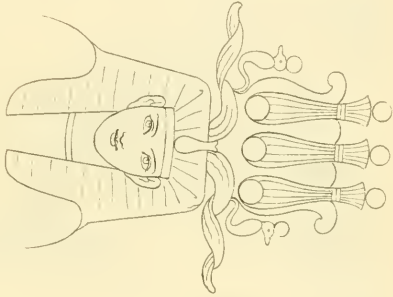
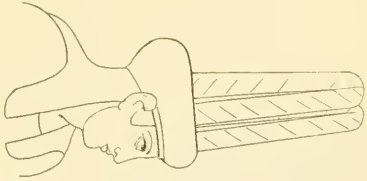




*Egyptian priests & priestesses.*

*from Yemen*

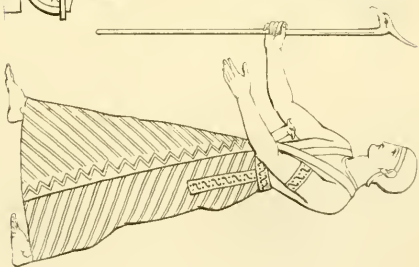
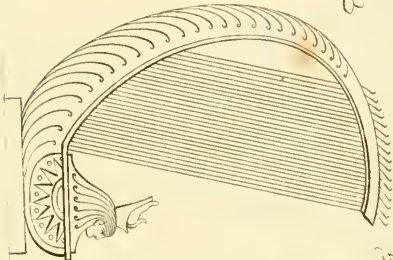
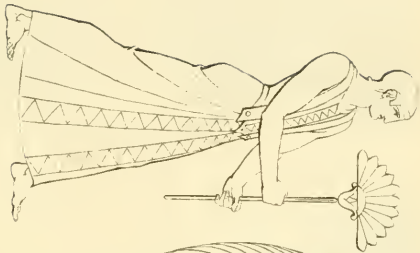




*Egyptian headdresses, worn in religious processions.*

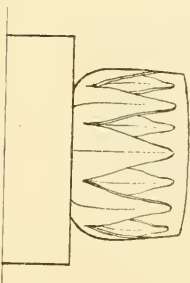
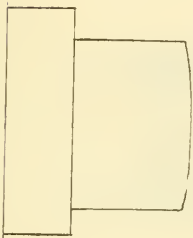
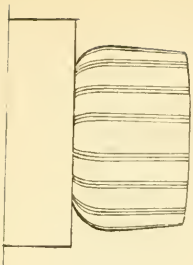
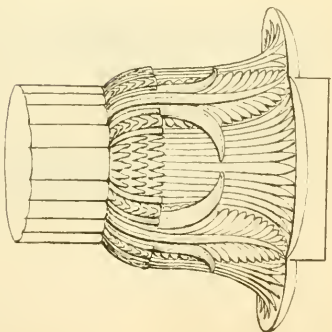
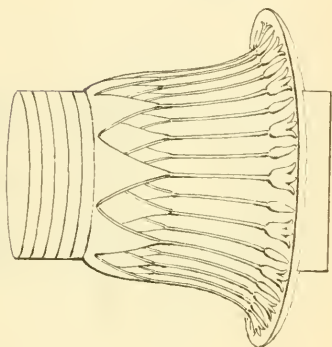
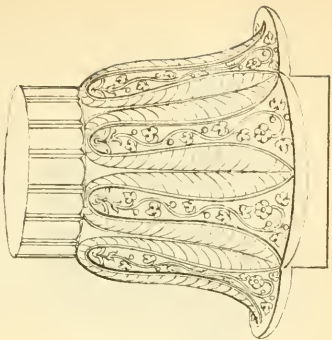


18  
Egyptian fresco's  
1870





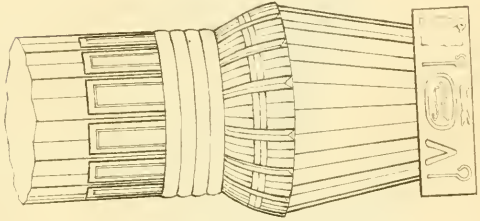
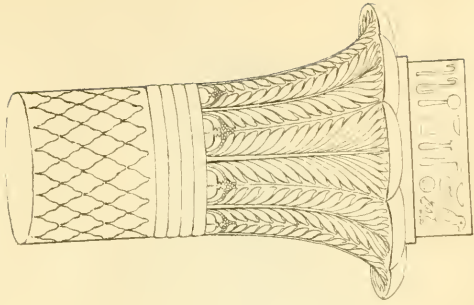




*Egyptian capitals & bases of columns*

*from Greece*

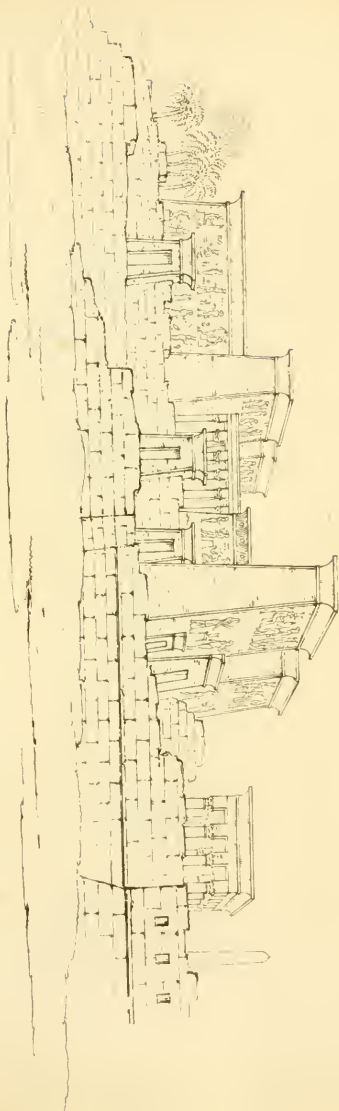




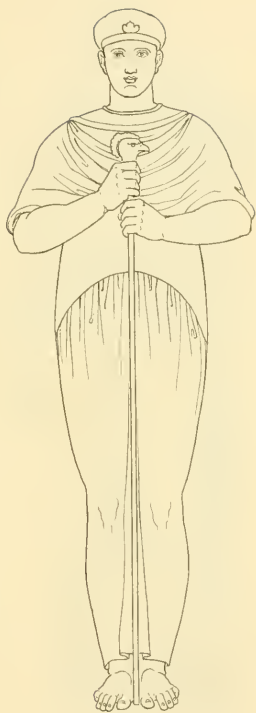
*Egyptian Vases*  
 from Lincoln



*Capitan temple*







*Egyptian Priest.  
from a statue in the Capitol*







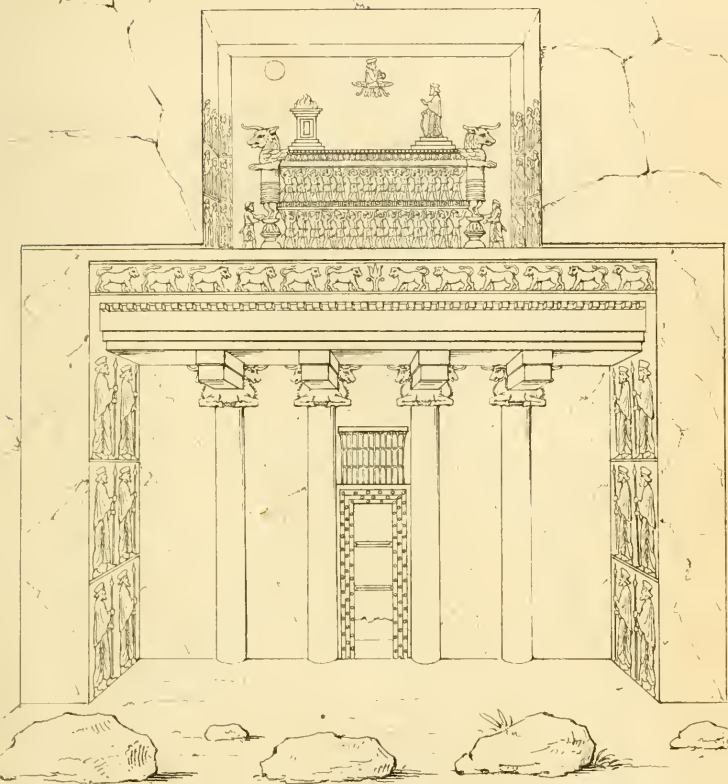
*Egyptian female*





*Justice*  
*with her Sistrum*





Plans of Sepulchral Monuments, excavated  
in the rocks near Persepolis.



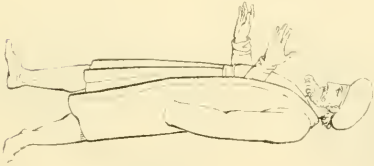
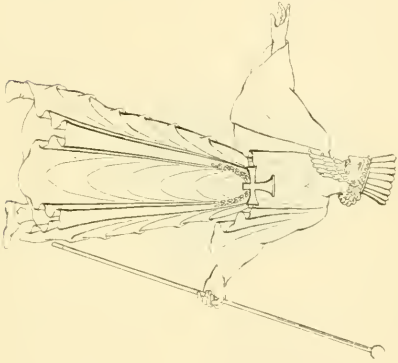


*Booth an*

*with his bow & arrow*





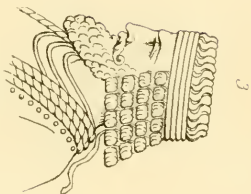
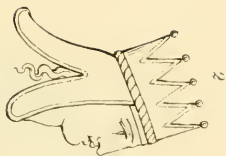


*Assyria.*

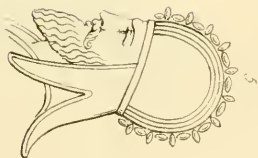
*From the museum of Leipsic.*



182. - Persian Kings.



183. - Persian Monarchs.





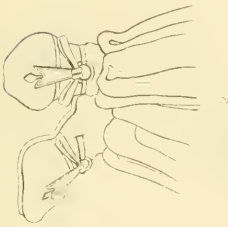




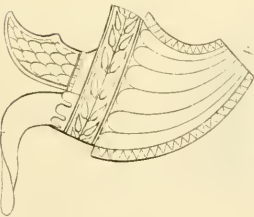
1. 8' 2. *Caravan helmets:*



3. 4. *Phyrgian helmets:*



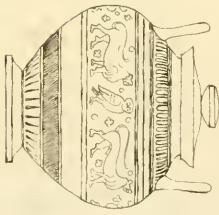
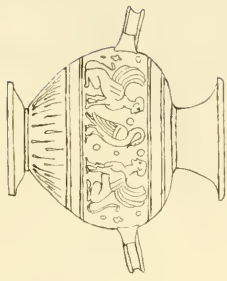
5. *Caravan standard:*



6. *Phyrgian nose:*



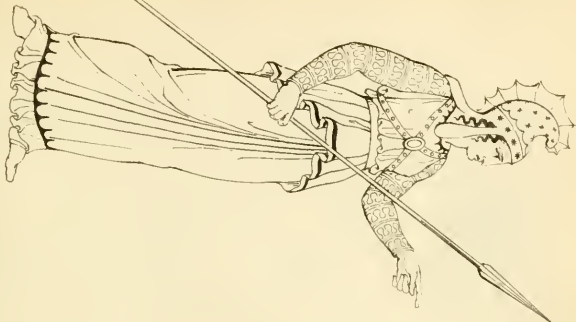




The latter in my collection

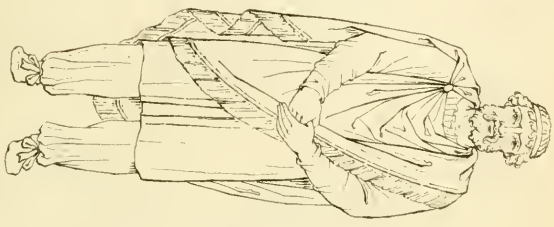
Thompson's  
B. 1111





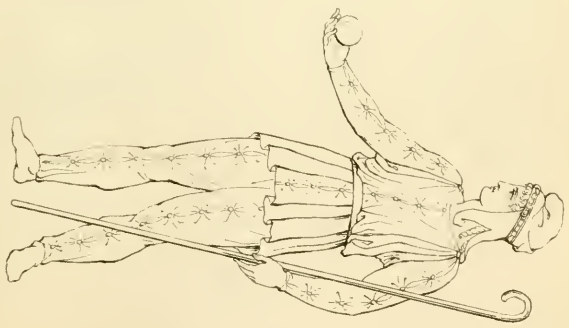
Amazon

from a Greek vase in my collection



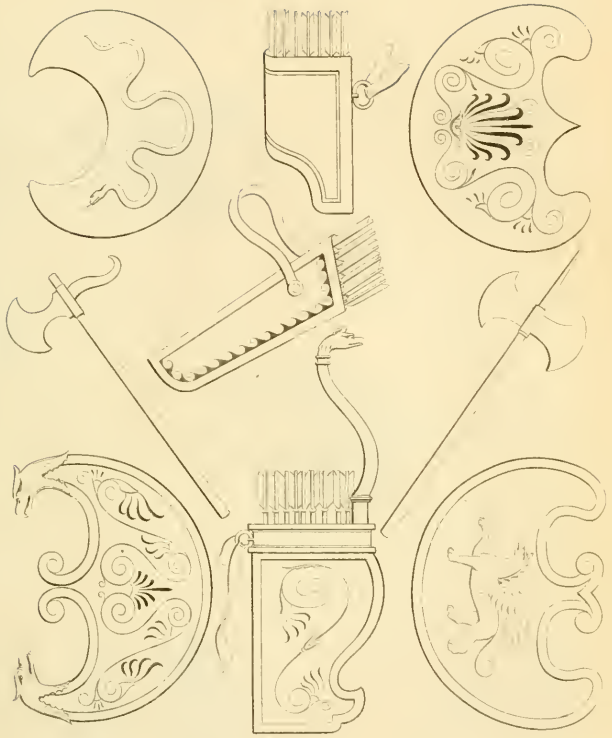
Dacian King

from a statue in the Capitol



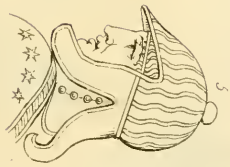
Paris on mount Ida





*L'hygienie s'écrit, qu'on a le moyen de l'atteindre.*





1 head of Amazon 2 of Paris  
4 of Roma with the Amazon helmet

3 of Trojan  
5 of Argonian







Tharus

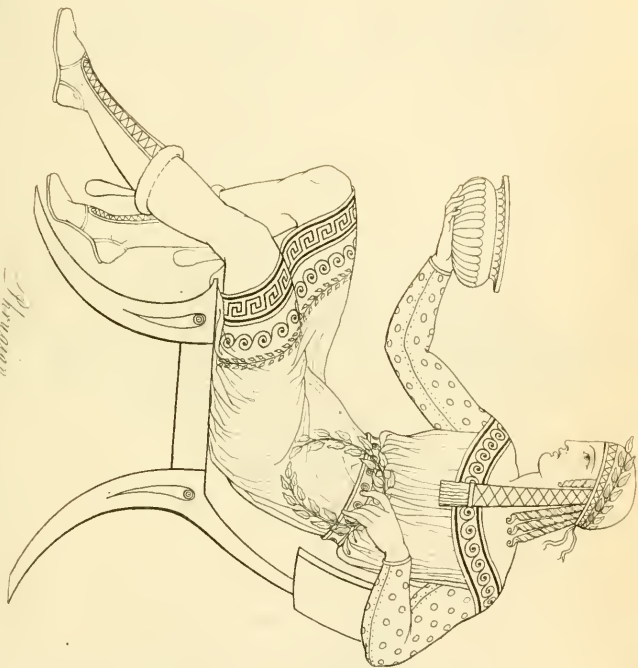
Myphobela

(2) rnmwachs

in the  
the presence of James Oswald Esq.



adapted for religious uses from a Greek vase  
Phrygian







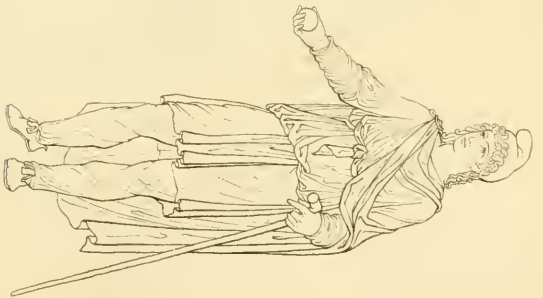
*Jarmathan*

in the *Angus column*



*Isida*

in the *villa di S. Maria Novella*



*Janus*

in the *British museum*



*Syrian lady*









*Barren warrior on horseback*

*It is well known that a set of mail made from the scales of a*





### Amazon

from one of my vases where she is represented fighting with a giffin. The crosses on the belt perhaps represent coins, like those which to this day the inhabitants of the borders of the black sea stud their leather belts with





Amazon  
clothed in leopards skin. from a greek vase in my possession

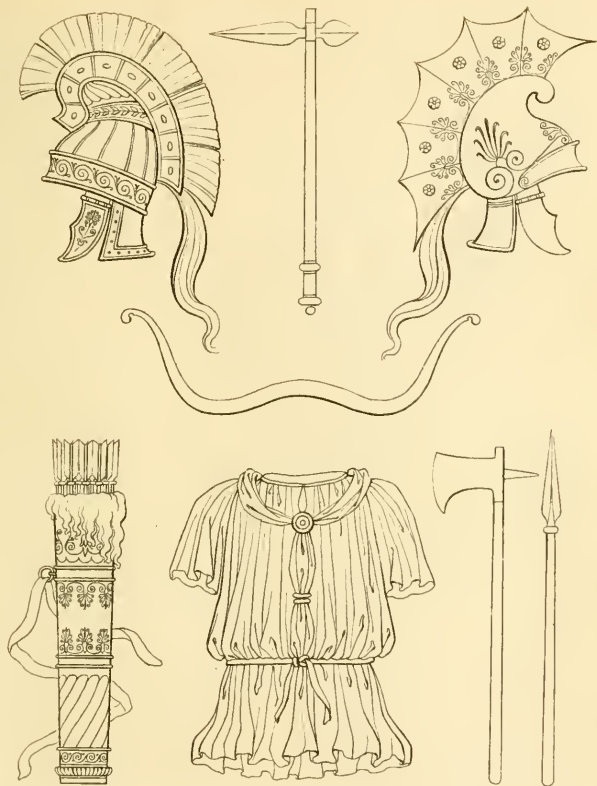




*Perygian lady*







*Phrygian helmet, iron spears  
quiver, tunic, axe and javelin*





*Alps*  
*the Phrygian shepherd*  
*from a statue in the Alcei palace*





*Phrygian*

*with his coat of mail thrown across his shoulder  
from an antique bronze in the possession of Isaac Newton Esq.*





*Asatic - Monarch*  
*From a statue at - Stworth*







*Pacian Ning*





*Dionysius*





*Cupid*

*from a fresco at*



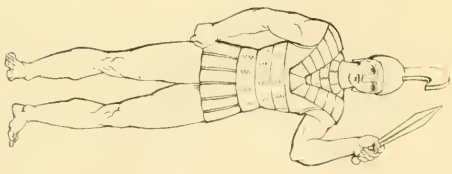
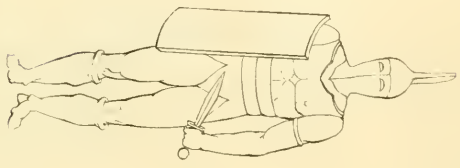
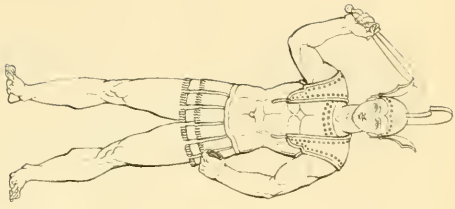


*Etruscan altare*

*from a bronze in the collection of R. P. Wright Esq.*





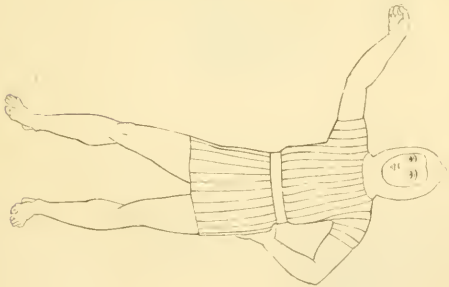
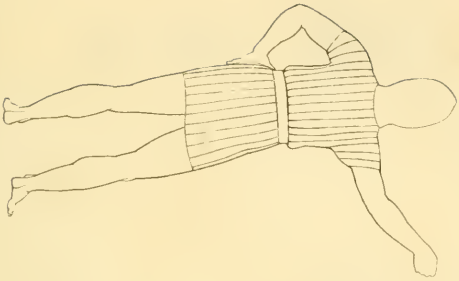


8. 11. 18.  
Eggleston  
Mason Brothers.





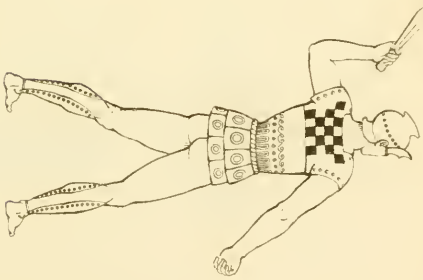
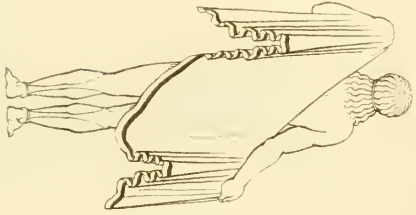
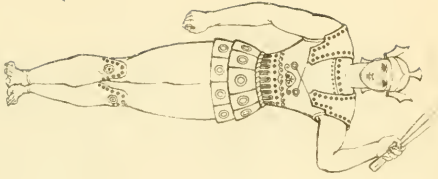




6  
*Polynesian attire*

*Barbadoes vol 7*





Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

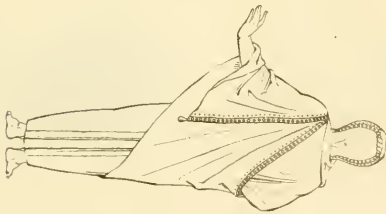
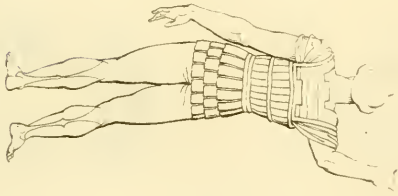
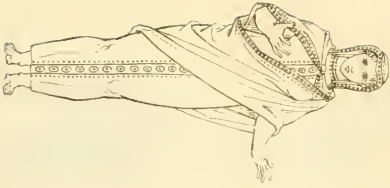
Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

43 III. Drawing of a woman's dress, a piece of silk in the shape of a second of printing

44 III. Drawing of a woman's dress, a piece of silk in the shape of a second of printing



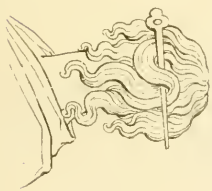
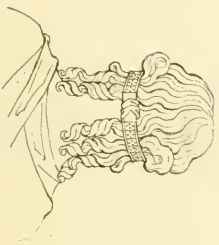
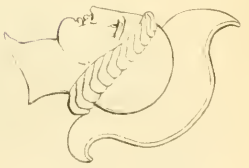
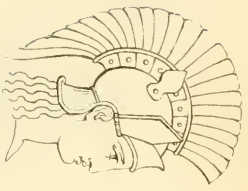




*Chosroes made by female artists.*

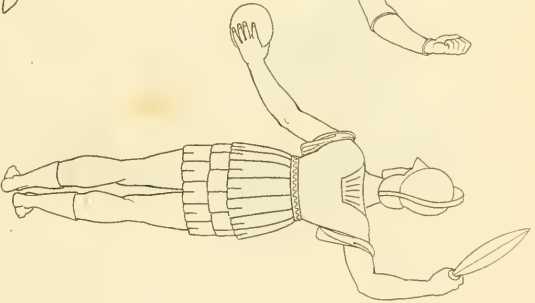
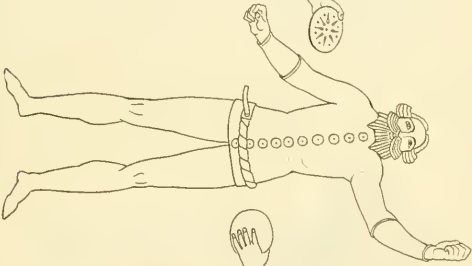
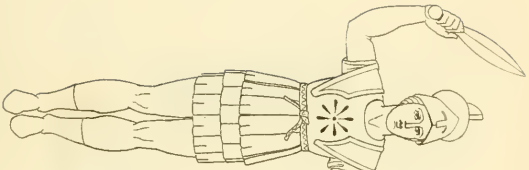
*Capitulum vol. 1*





*Illustration helmets & head dresses*

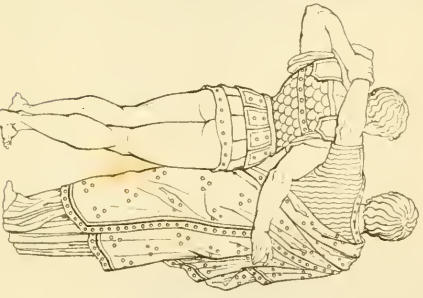
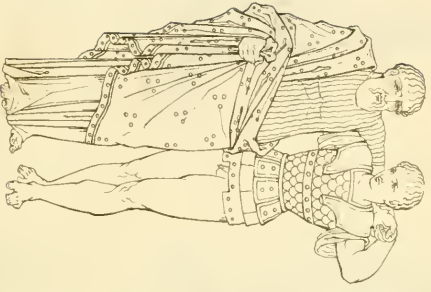




*German armor & warriors.*

*Tablet vol 6*





*Prætorum et doli*

*capitulum*





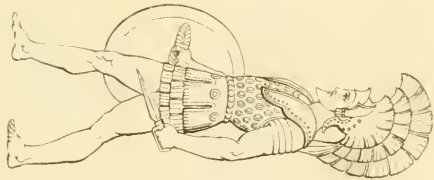
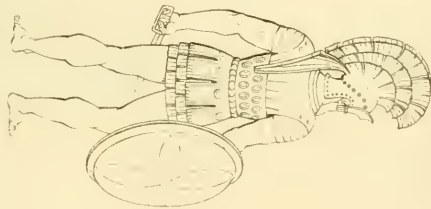
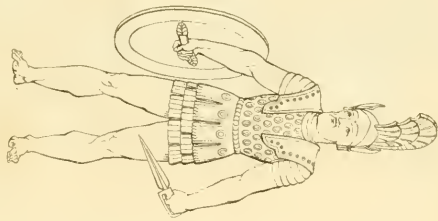
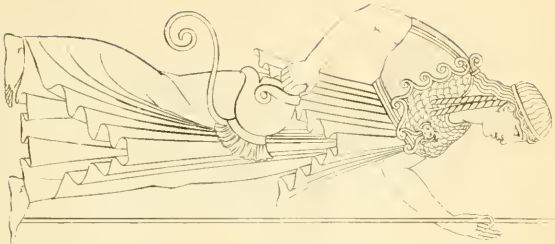


Fig. 1. Warrior with sword and shield.

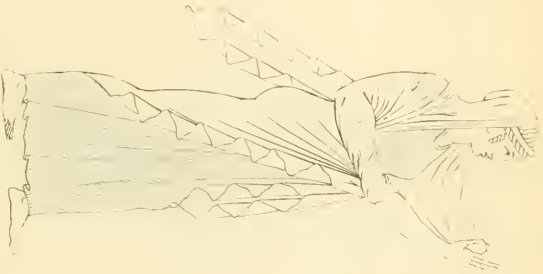
Fig. 2. Warrior with sword and shield.

Fig. 3. Warrior with sword and shield.



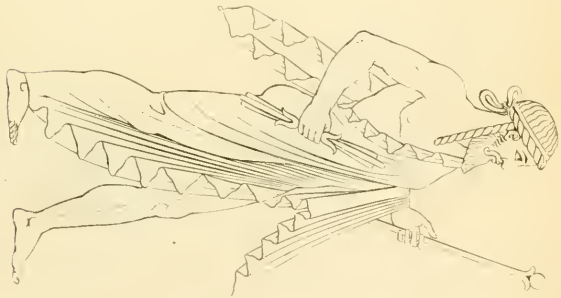


*Minerva*



*Venus*

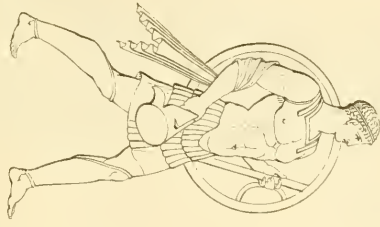
*the id. style*



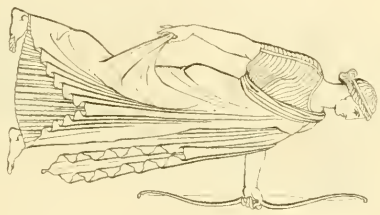
*Jupiter*

*from a high relief in the Vatican*





*Maori.*



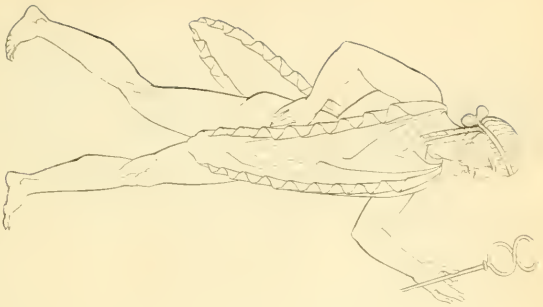
*Siama*

*In the ancient Greek style*

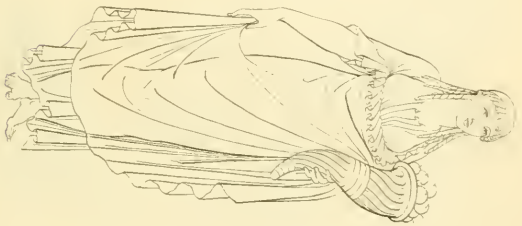


*Lenus*





*Mercy*



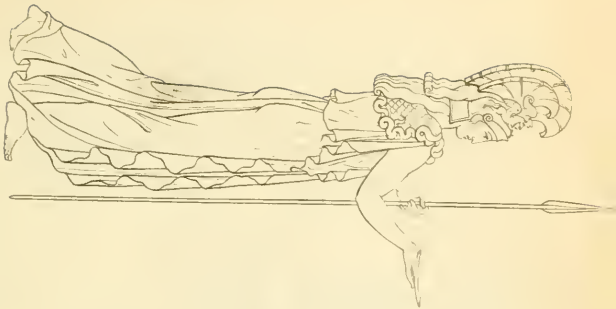
*Allegorical figures  
in the old Greek style of attire*



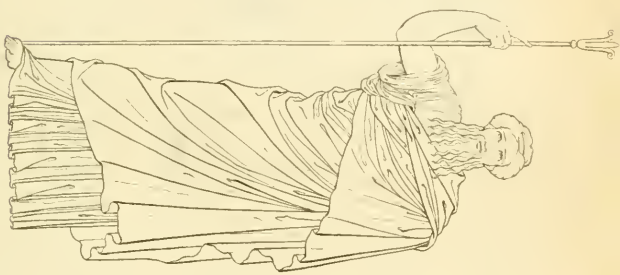
*Stella*







*Minerva*

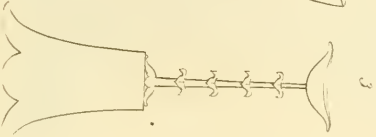
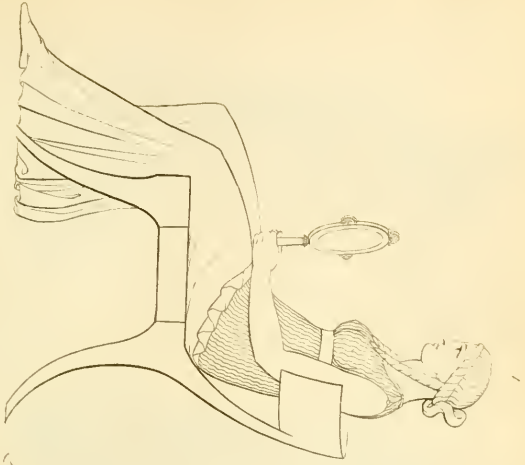


*Shardel or Sardan Sardus*



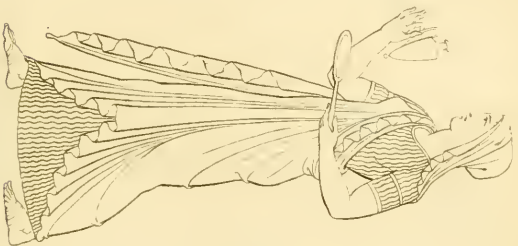
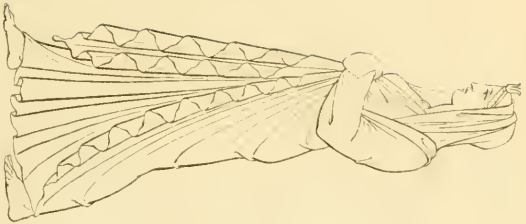
*Jane*





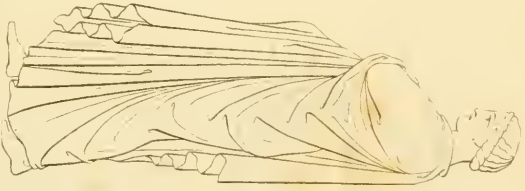
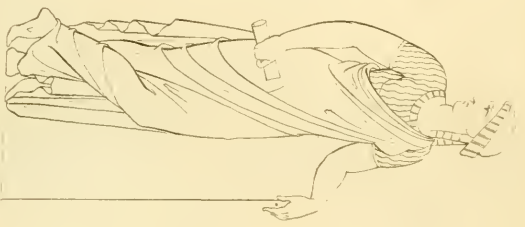
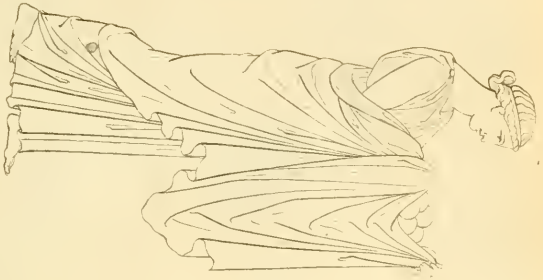
1 2 Persian ladies in dresses of the old style. 3 *Tyngkanum* or *manol* dress





*Reproduction of drawings by the attendants given to the painter at the  
from a palace in the city of Berlin*

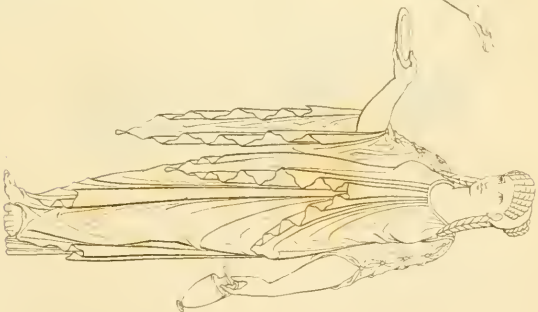
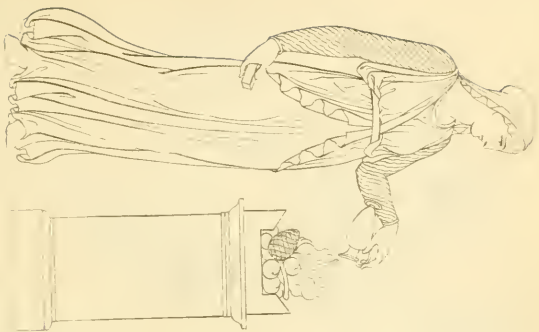




*grecian females*

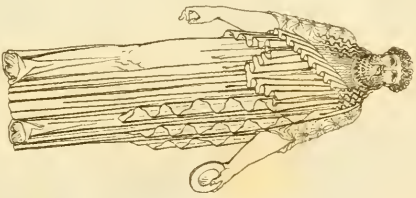
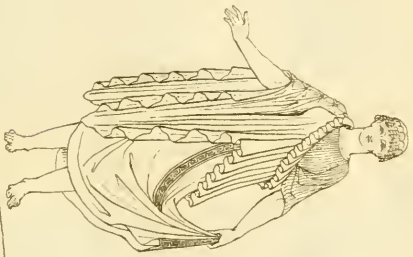
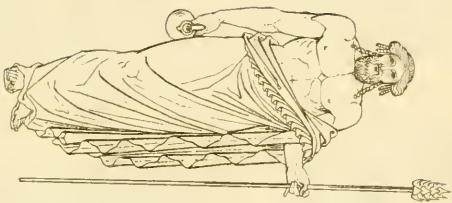






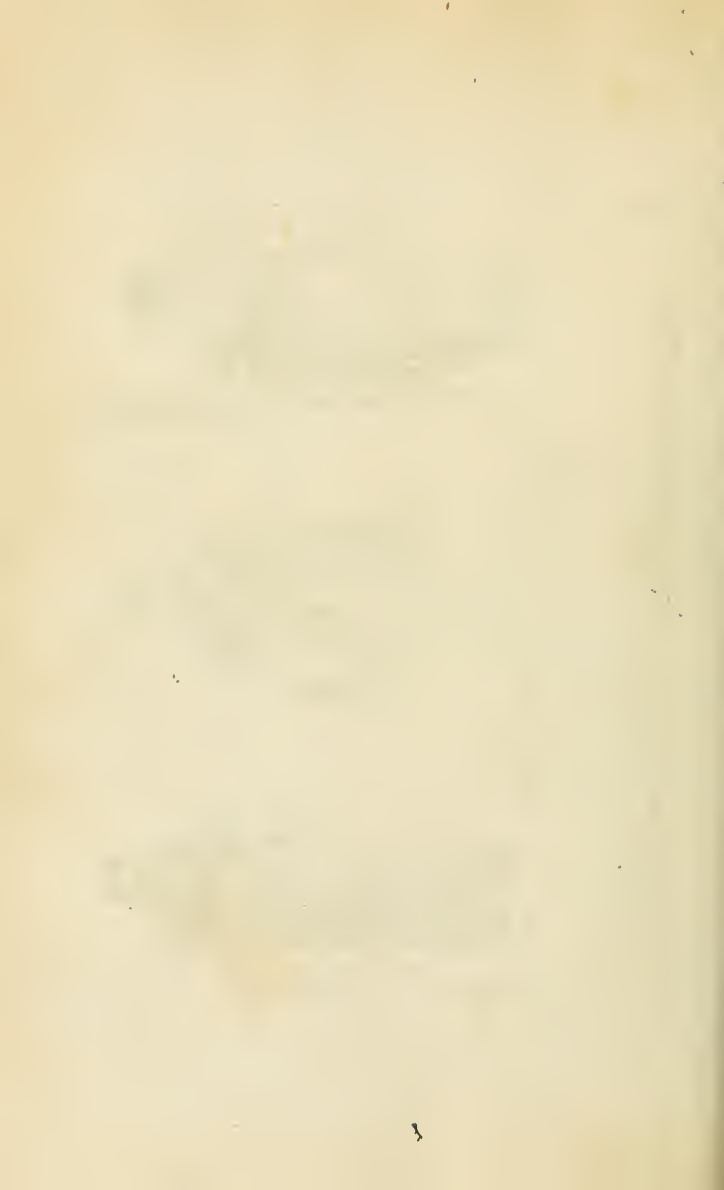
*Grecian pantomimes performing springs & motions.*

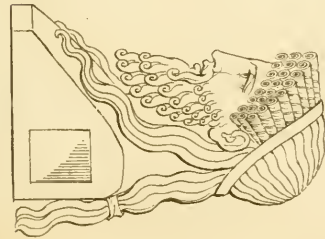
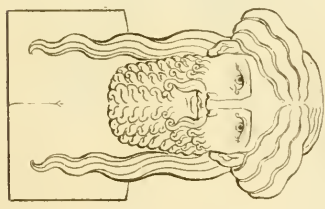
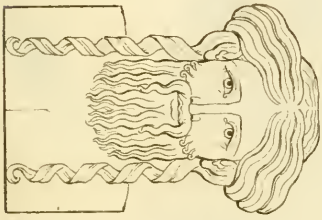
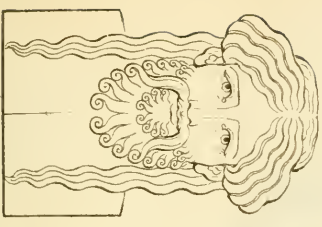
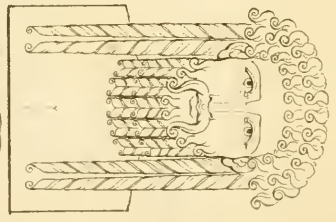
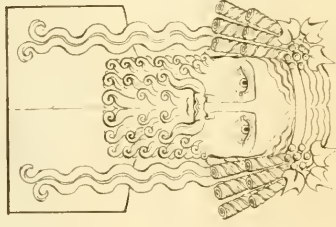
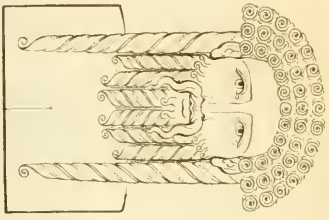
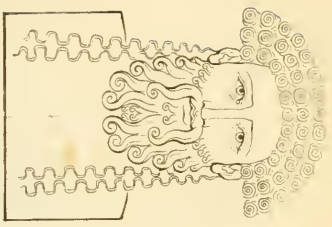




*These figures are found in the old Greek attire*

*in various important collections*





*various basis of the Indian or bearded - barbarian*





*Priest of Bacchus*  
*from a fictile vase*

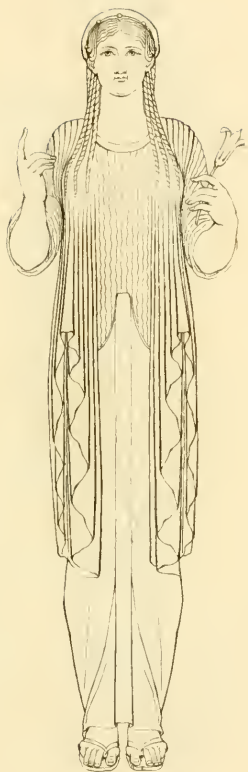






*Syphilis*  
\* the 1st work of art  
from small statue of J. J. J.





*Grecian female.  
from a statue in my possession.*





Grecian robe  
from a source in my possession





*Liona.*

*from a statue in the Gallery of San. Marco  
at Venice*

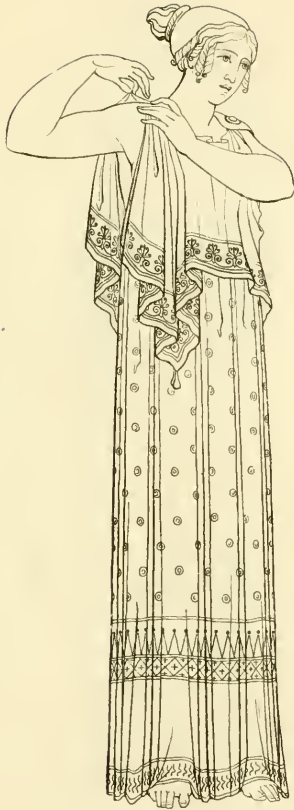






*Grecian female*

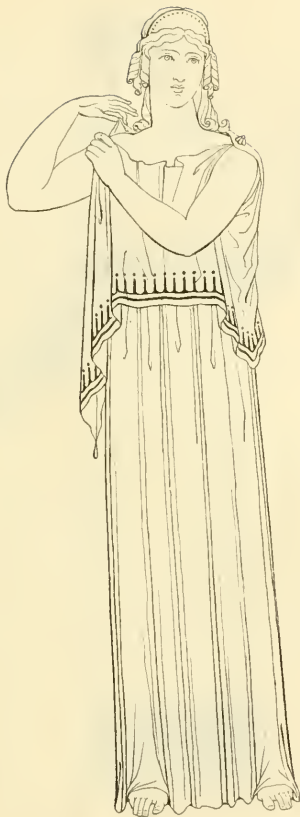




*Grecian female*

*adjusting her garment*





*Grecian female*





*Grecian Lady*







*Greek warrior  
skulking behind his shield  
from an intaglio*





*Greek warrior  
from a fictile vase*





Greek Warrior  
from a fiddle vase in my possession





Greek herald  
from a Greek vase in my collection







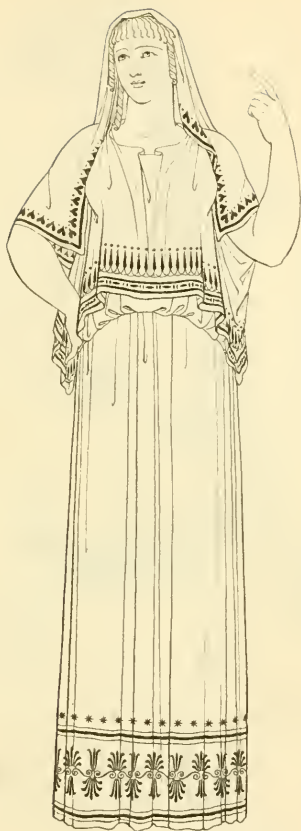
*Greek warrior*





Greek warrior  
in his travelling dress  
from a fictile vase in my possession





*Priestess*

*from a statue in the Louvre, now in the*





*Greek warrior  
with the visor of his helmet drawn over his face*







*Minerva*  
*from a statue at Florence*

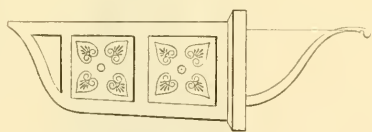
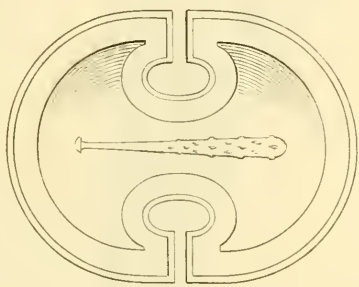
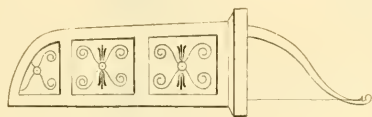




Various helmets  
with *furri* - movable visors



*Shaban shield & spear case*







*Grecian female*

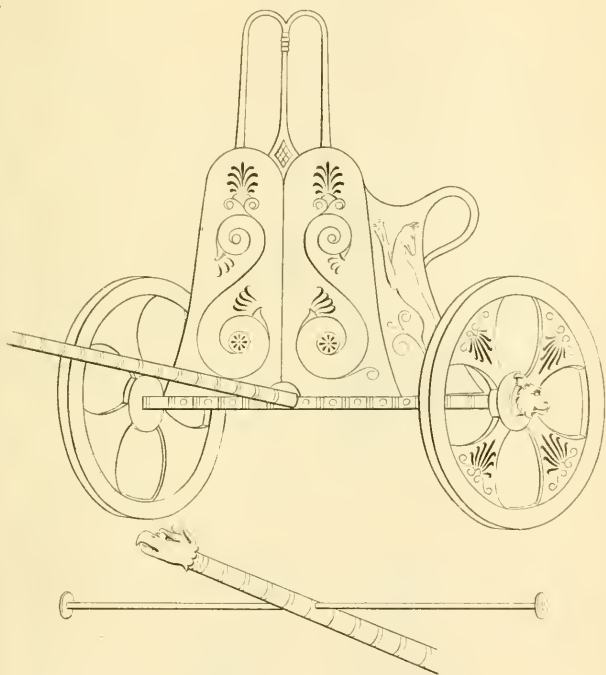






*Grecian victor  
on the chariot race*





*Greek car or chariot  
used in the games*





Greek warrior in his travelling dress  
with his pelisson or his thron 'ach on a shield





Figure de attendant on : grec. 1850  
from a fictile vase







Female with Lyre and Plectrum





*Erato.*

*per an intagli.*





*Greek warrior,  
from a bronze in the Florentine gallery.*

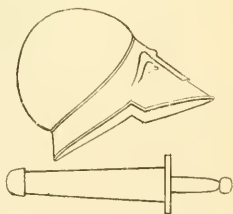
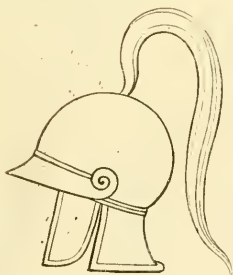
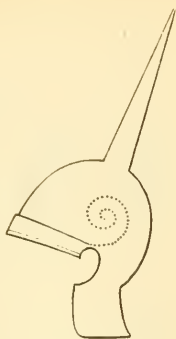
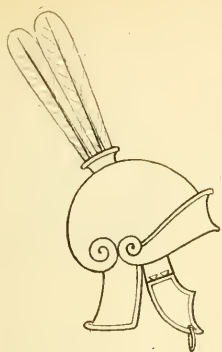




*Greek warrior*

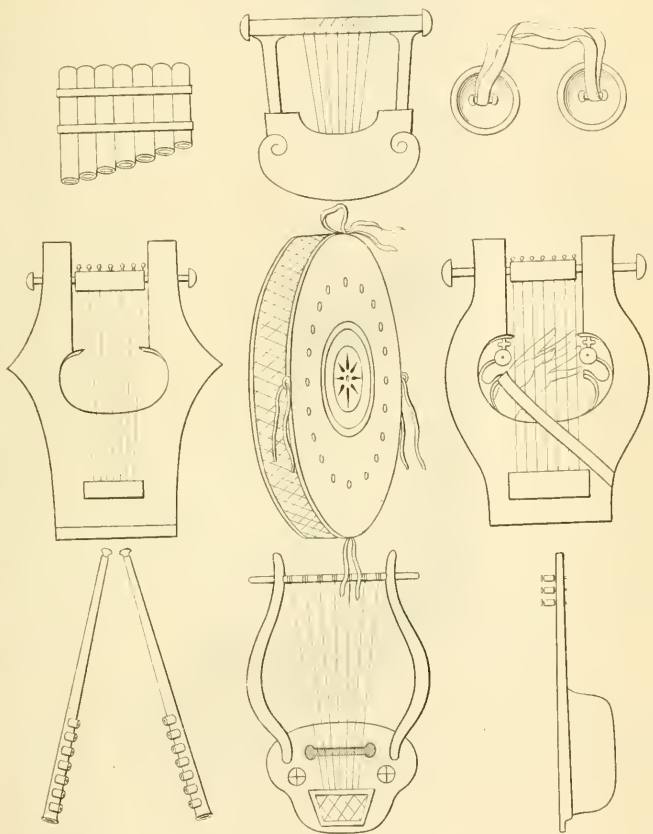






*Placas de Armadura*





*Musical instruments of the Greeks*

*... ..*





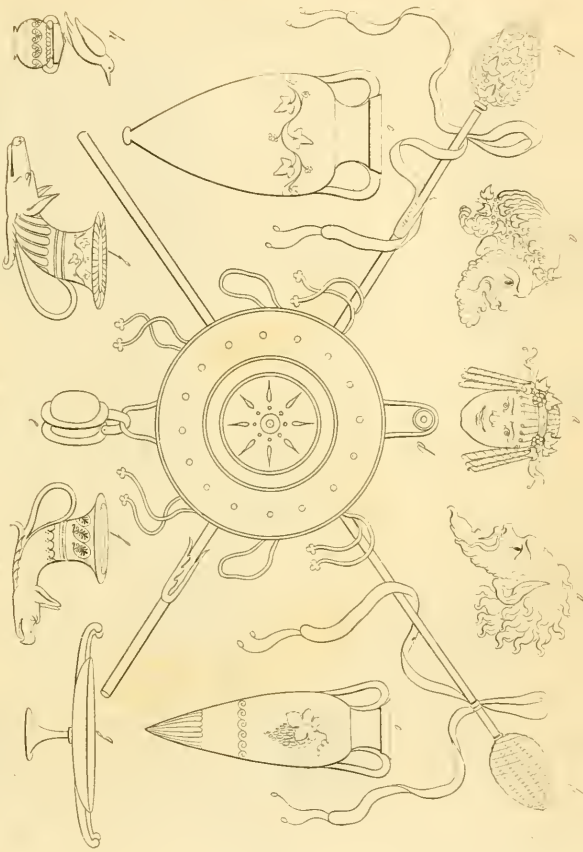
*Female flute player:*

*such as went about playing at entertainments:*

*from a vase in my possession.*

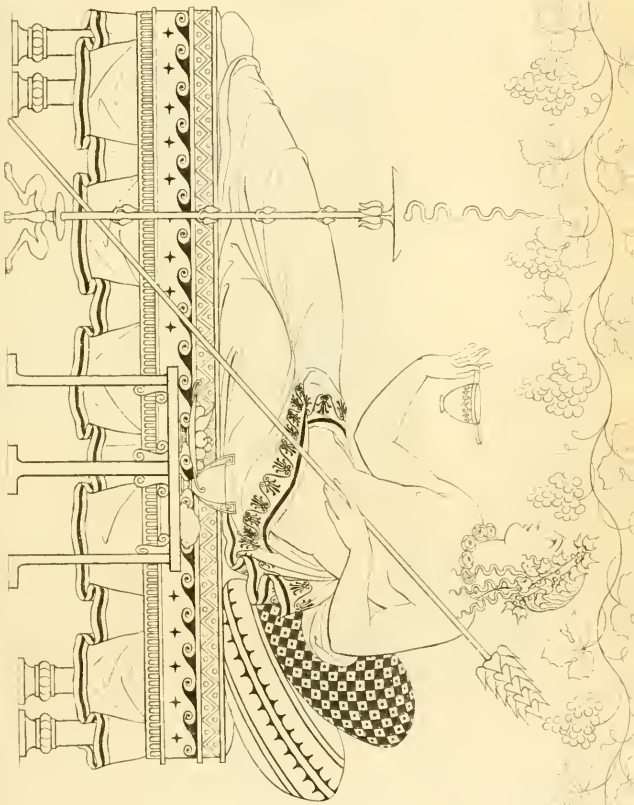


a. a. a. Masks of *Genus P. Barbante* & *Chryseus*, one with a top of very leaves the other with a horn cone  
c. a. *Symphoricar* & *Sanctuarin* c. *Symbals* of *Chryseus* or drinking horns of *Salvia* h. the *Sym.*  
a bird introduced in *barbantian* *prospens*.









*Bartharantia, reclined on a couch, with his thyrsus, a thyrsos & candlestick by his side.*





*Bacchante*  
 with the rod of Asclepius  
 from a Greek vase in my possession





*Bacchante.  
with the thyrsus*





Bacchante.  
winding the crotals







*Priestess of Circe*





*Bacchante.*  
*presenting the sacred fillet.*





*Bacchante*  
*carrying torches.*





*Female Dancer*







*Grecian head dresses*





60  
*Grecian Youth.*

*renowned at the games.*

*From a Greek vase*





*Muse.*

*from a statue in the gallery at Florence*





*Priestess of Ceres  
carrying a torch*







Greek warrior.  
from one of my fictile vasa.





*Greek warrior  
from one of my father's vases*





*Achilles.*

*from one of my old Sicilian Vases.*





*Ceres.*

*with her mitra*

*from a fictile vase lost in the Colosseum*







*Greek female:  
from a fictile vase*





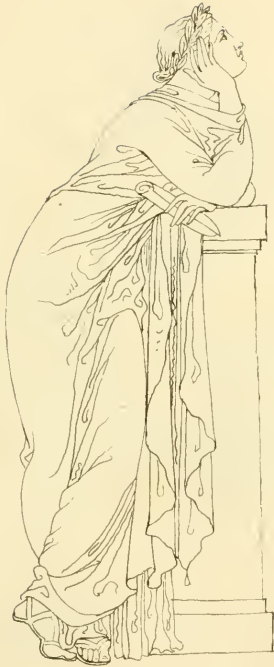
*Greek philosopher*





1. Ceres with the mitra.  
 2. 3 4 5. Grecian head dresses.





*Clara*

*from a statue in the Borghese vella*



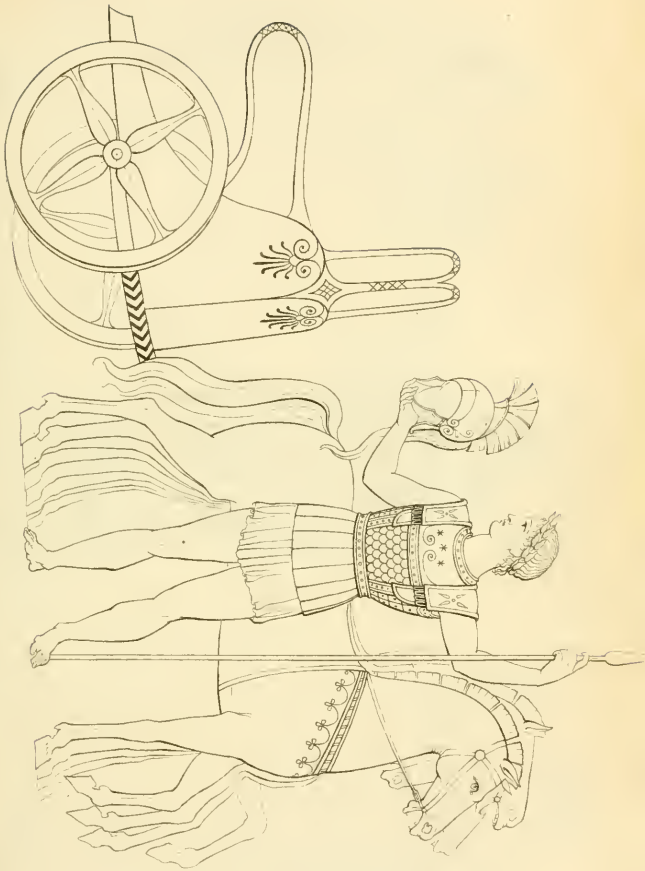




*Greek philosopher  
from the villa Borghese*

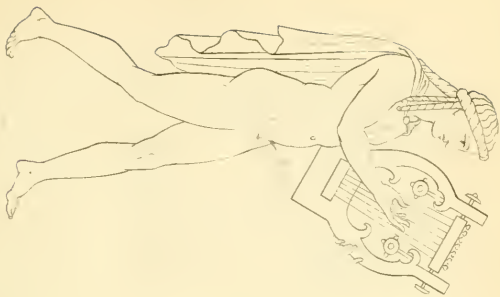


*Historians narrate descended from his car*





*Apollo*



*Minerva*



*Vulcan*





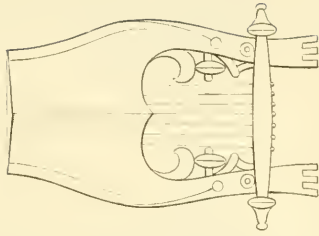
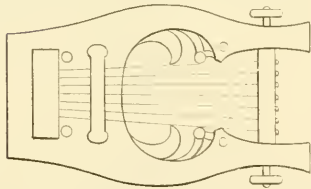
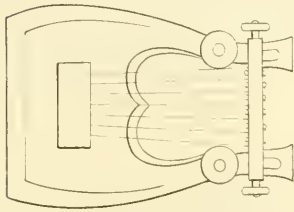


Fig. 1









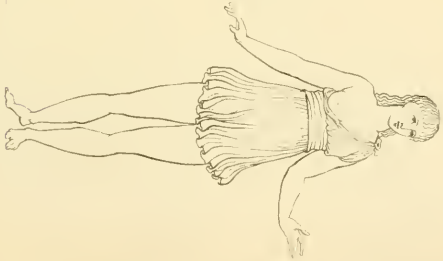
*maria*



*Minerva pacifica*



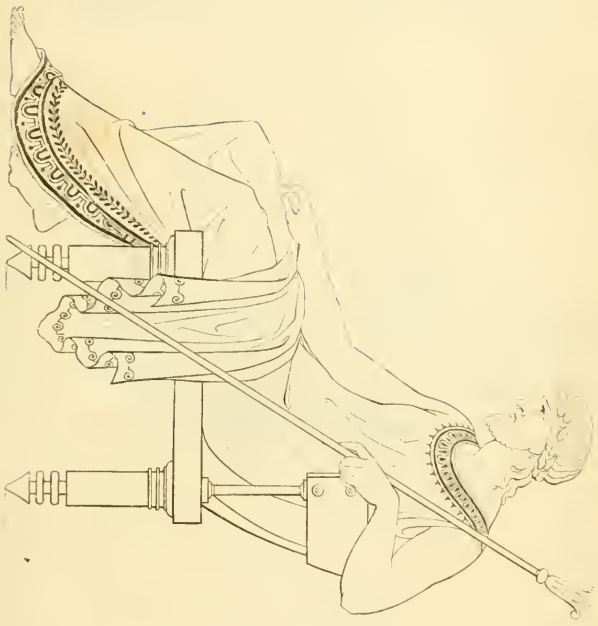
*bona pacifica*



*patia regina*

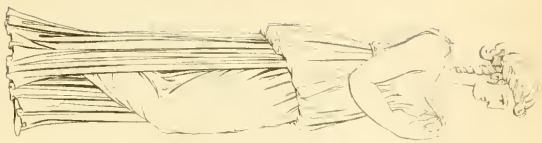


1892

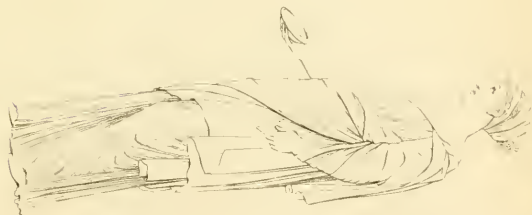


*gokhale*





*grecian female*







*Greek poet  
from a statue now at Paris*







*Grecian female,  
from one of my father's vases*





*Grecian female,  
going to perform funeral rites.*





*Electra.*

*in mourning for Orestes  
from one of my fictile vases*





*Grecian female.*







*Diana*  
*from a statue*





Jupiter  
from a greek vase





*Diana*

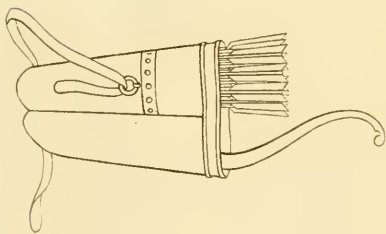
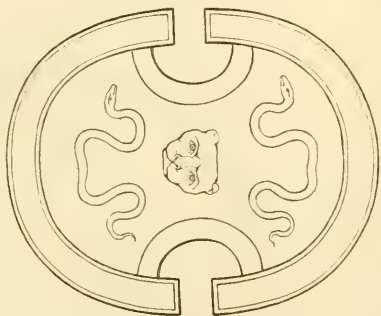
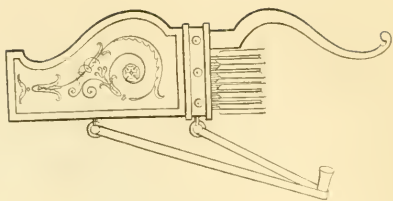




*gipsian lady*







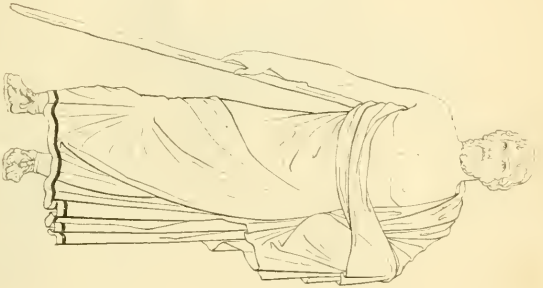
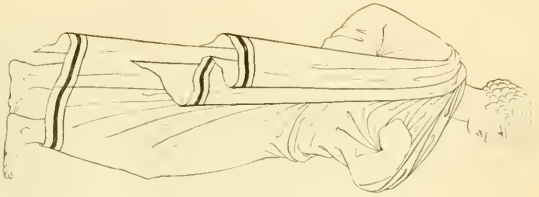
*Tibetan shield & quiver*





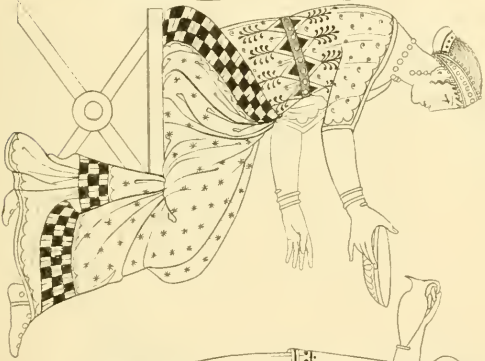
*Bharhandaen' speech*





*Greek youth, philosopher & woman  
on the pediment.*

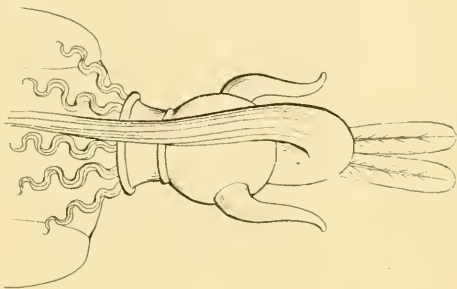
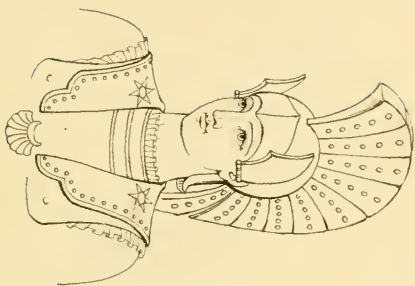




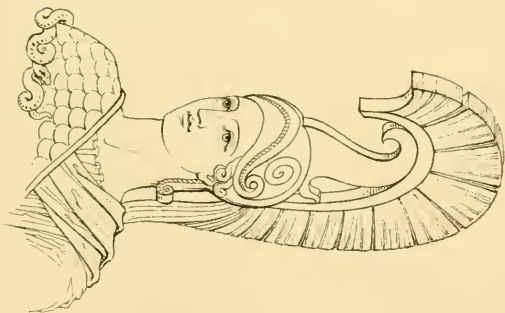
*Greek fashions*







various greek helmets.





C O S T U M E  
O F  
T H E A N C I E N T S.

---

*Price Two Guineas, Boards.*



COSTUME  
OF  
THE ANCIENTS.

---

BY  
THOMAS HOPE.

---

*IN TWO VOLUMES.*

VOL. II.

A NEW EDITION ENLARGED.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM MILLER,

ALBEMARLE-STREET;

BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW,

ST. JAMES'S.

1812.



## LIST OF THE PLATES

IN THE SECOND VOLUME.

No.

131. Grecian head-dresses.
132. Females dancing.
133. Females dancing.
134. Grecian ladies.
135. Greek shield, and other armour.
136. Greek combatants, separated by a herald.
137. Lady seated, with her umbrella, &c.
138. Female utensils and trinkets.
139. Warrior.—Diana.—Minerva.
140. Grecian head dresses of the kind worn by Ulysses,  
and Grecian helmets.
141. Minerva with the diplax.
142. Danaïd.
143. Grecian female.
144. Euterpe.
145. Greek female.
146. Cybele.
147. Ceres.
148. Diana.
149. Diomedes.
150. Ceres.
151. Neptune.
152. Grecian and Syrian helmets.
153. Ceres.
154. Jupiter.
155. Erato.
156. Grecian trumpeter.
157. Æsculapius.
158. Minerva.
159. Helmets of Minerva, of Roma, and of Grecian hero

LIST OF THE PLATES.

- No.  
 160. Telesphorus.—Hygeia.  
 161. Grecian female.  
 162. Grecian head-dresses.  
 163. From a painting at Herculaneum.  
 164. Juno Lanuvina.  
 165. Different Ptolomies, and their Queens.  
 166. Grecian head-dresses.  
 167. Bacchus.  
 168. Grecian scrolls.  
 169. Greek fictile vases.  
 170. Greek females.  
 171. Bacchanalian personages.  
 172. Muse.—Greek terra cotta jug.—Ceres.  
 173. Bacchanalian personages.  
 174. Grecian head-dresses.  
 175. Bacchanalian,—Mercury.—Bacchante.  
 176. Greek shields, and other armour.  
 177. Grecian helmets.  
 178. Grecian female.  
 179. Grecian female.  
 180. Bacchante dancing.  
 181. Juno, wearing the diplax.  
 182. Greek poet.  
 183. Diana.  
 184. Grecian female.  
 185. Grecian female.  
 186. Grecian female.  
 187. Jupiter Ammon.—Neptune.—Cybele.—Minerva.  
     —Apollo, and Mercury.  
 188. Grecian female.  
 189. Grecian female.  
 190. Grecian female.  
 191. Jupiter.—Juno.—Apollo.—Minerva.—Hercules, and  
     Bacchus.  
 192. Musical instruments.  
 193. Grecian female.



LIST OF THE PLATES.

No.

194. Grecian female.
195. Females dancing and playing on the lyre.
196. Jupiter.
197. Juno.
198. Diana.—Ceres.—Venus.
199. Scenic masks.
200. Musical instruments.
201. Grecian females.
202. Grecian lamps, candelabra, and other utensils.
203. Torches, tripods, cista, pyxis, &c.
204. Grecian peasants.
205. Grecian biga and candelabra.
206. Grecian females.
207. Muses, Diana.
208. Marble chair of Potamos.
209. Dancing girls.
210. Venus.—Muse.—Diana.
211. Apollo Musagetes, Diana succincta, Ceres.
212. Minerva.
213. Comedian.
214. Grecian female.
215. Canephora.
216. Grecian female.
217. Grecian lady.
218. Tripod, candelabrum, chair, &c.
219. Grecian female.
220. Diana succincta.
221. Greek vases.
222. Itinerant sanctuary.
223. Grecian heads.
224. Reception of Bacchus.
225. Gorgons.
226. Vases, pateras, lamp, &c.
227. Chair of state, &c.
228. Greek lady.
229. Apollo Musagetes.

LIST OF THE PLATES.

No

230. Vase with Bacchanalian.
231. Architectural orders.
232. Faustina.
233. Roman cisterns.
234. Flora.
235. Fortune.
236. Car of bronze.
237. Roman, in his toga.
238. Roman youth, with the bulla.
239. Roman orator.
240. Roman matron.
241. Roman ladies.
242. Marcus Aurelius.
243. Roman empress.
244. Faustina.
245. Roman empress, in the character of Ceres.
246. Roman head-dresses.
247. Roman emperor, assisting at a sacrifice.
248. Camillus.
249. Roman emperor, in his military tunic.
250. Roman standard-bearer.
251. Roman general.
252. Roman cuirass.
253. Roman soldier.
254. Roman emperor.
255. Roman general.
256. Roman general.
257. The goddess Roma.
258. Nemesis.
259. Roman empress, with the attributes of plenty.
260. Roman empress.
261. Roman empress.
262. Victorious auriga.
263. Biga.
264. Roman charioteer, driving in the circus
265. Bull adorned for sacrifice.

LIST OF THE PLATES.

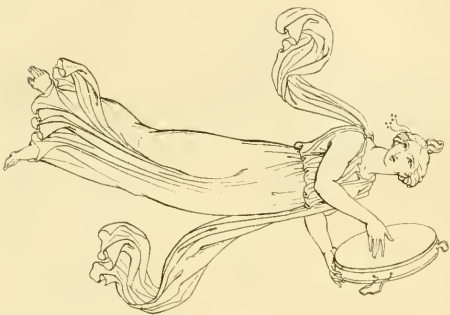
- No.
266. Pontifical insignia, and instruments of sacrifice.
267. Sacrificial instruments.
268. Candelabrum, altar, and tripod.
269. Lectisternium.
270. Fasces and curule chair.
271. Triumphal car.
272. Mile-stone.—Cage of sacred pullets.—Naval column.
273. Altar and sarcophagi.
274. Altars and sarcophagus.
275. Chair and tripod.
276. Roman study.
277. Lavacrum or bath.
278. Roman sarcophagus and altars.
279. Inferia and Etruscan altars.
280. Poops and prows of Roman galleys.
281. Poop, prow, anchor, and rudder of Roman galley.
282. Sacrificator.—Priest.—Camillus.
283. Tribunes.
284. Senators and knight.
285. Roman dresses.
286. Roman empresses.
287. Flamen.—Emperor crowned with laurel.—Emperor  
in the character of Frater arvalis.—Empress He-  
lena.—Emperor Constant.
288. Gloves worn by pancratiasti, and military buskins.
289. Different buskins and sandals.
290. Roman buskins and sandals.
291. Roman cuirasses and jacket worn by the night watches  
of the capitol.
292. Dacian, Imperial, and Roman cuirasses.
293. Roman soldiers.
294. Roman soldiers.
295. Roman officer.
296. Roman armour, and standards.
297. Roman standards, shields, and battering ram.
298. Sarcophagi.
299. Roman columbaria.
300. Roman columbaria.





*German head dresses*





*Females Drawing.*







*Maestri formata.*

*from a bas relief in the villa Borghese*

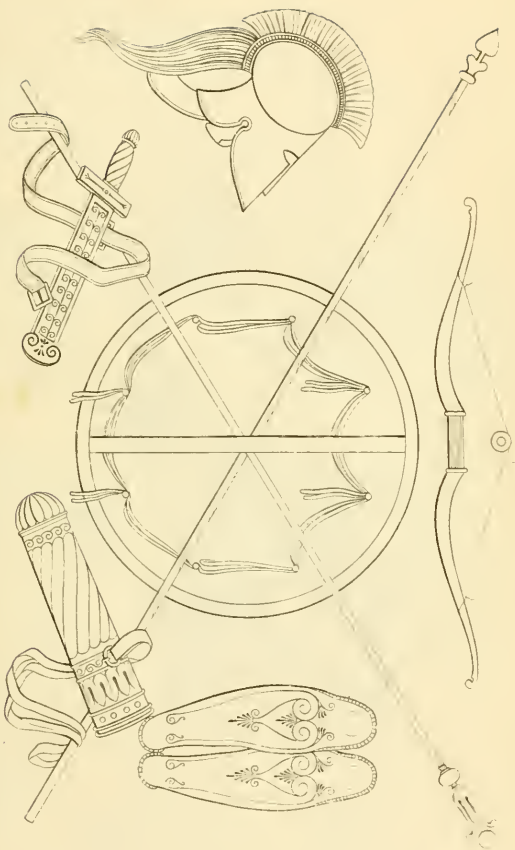




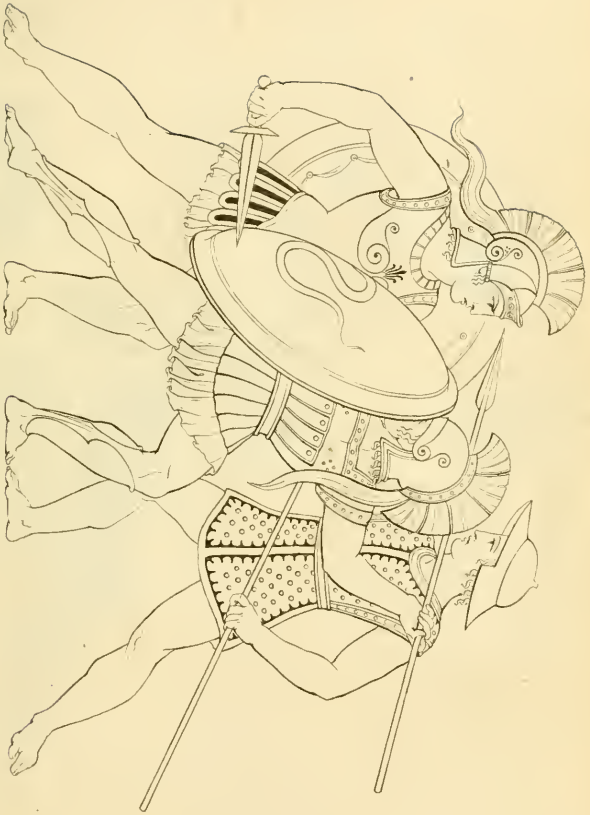
*Garman ladies*



Such shield armed with, helmet, greaves, sword, bow, quiver and his heraldic staff or scepter



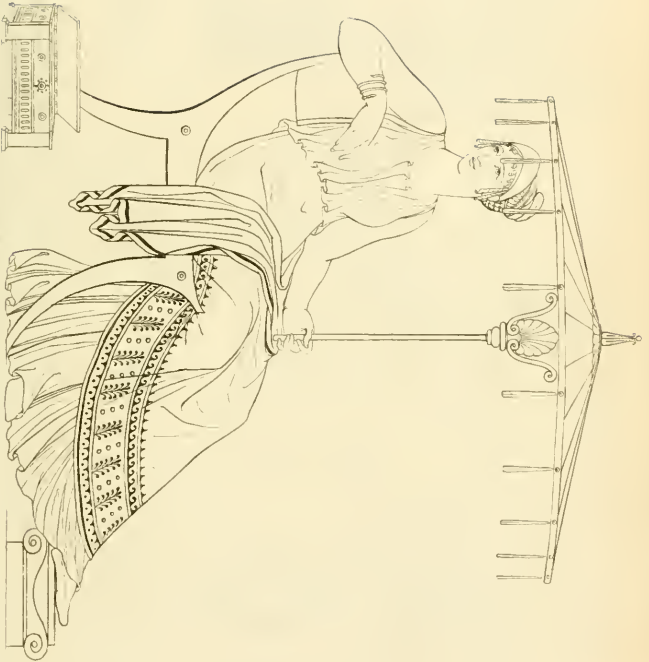




*Greek combatants separated by a herald.*



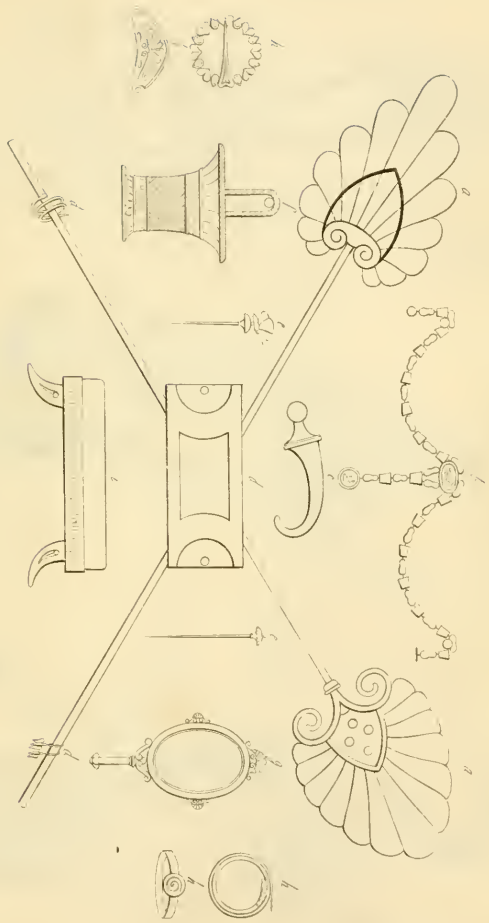




Lady seated.



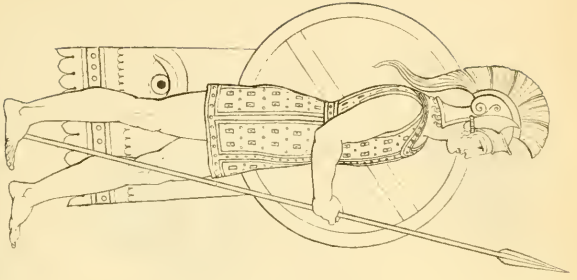
*Female ornaments & trinkets*



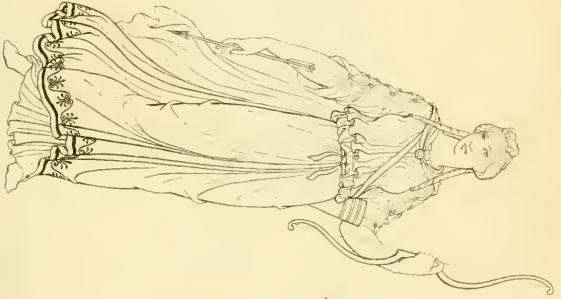
*a 2 Persian fans made of feathers or leaves & Persian necklaces & bracelets & rings & earrings for the head & neck & hand & foot & hair & ornaments & trinkets*



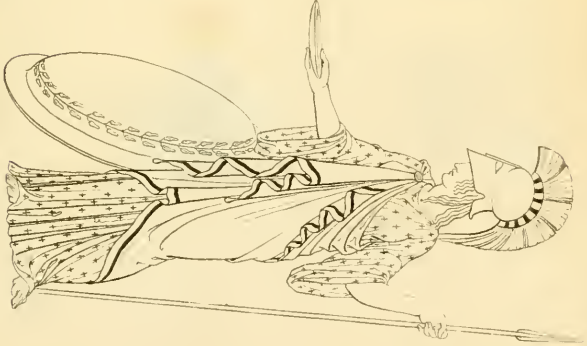
*Harrier*



*Junia*



*Minerva*







1



3



4



2



5

1 2 Grecian head dresses of the kind worn by *Altagia*

3 4 5 Grecian headdresses







*Minerva in the deplav  
from the colossal statue found at Volturno*





*Danaid.*

*from a statue formerly in the Guastaviani collection.*





*Grecian female*





*Euterpe*

*from a statue in the Vatican*







*Greek female*





*Cybele*  
*from an antique bas relief*





*Love*  
*from statue at Venice*





*Liana.*

*with her garment loosened*







*Diomedes.*  
*from an antique gem*





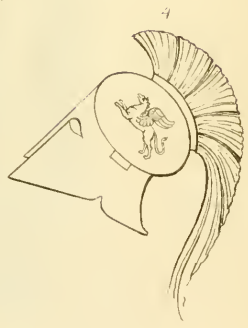
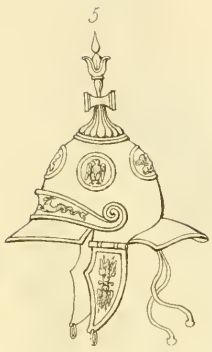
*Ceres*





Neptune  
from an engraving





1. 2. 3 & 4 Grecian helmets. 5. Syrian helmet







Ceres  
from a bronze found at Herculaneum.





*Jupiter*  
*from a statue in the gallery at Florence*





*Erato*





Greek trumpeter.

from a white vase







*Asculapius.*

*from a statue in the gallery at Florence*





*Minerva.*

*from a fine vase*





1 2 & 3 Different helmets of Minerva  
4 of Roma. 5 of Grecian hero





*Tetaspheeris*

*Mygia*







Greek female  
from a bas-relief in the Vatican





*Grecian head dresses*





*From a painting at Hermitage*





June - Juno  
from a statue in the Vatican







*Different Ptolemies & their Queens*





*Grecian head - dresses*





Bacchus

from a statue in my possession



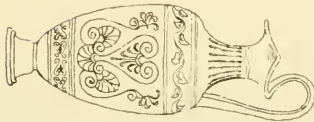
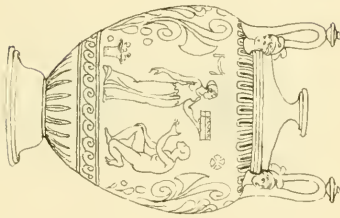


*Grecian ornaments & scrolls.*

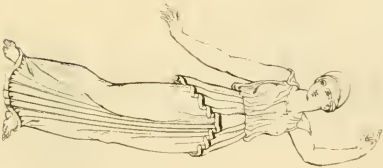
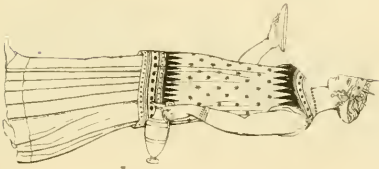




*greek vases*

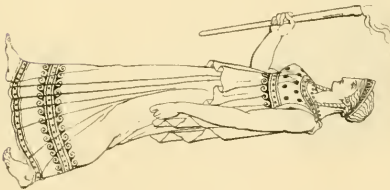
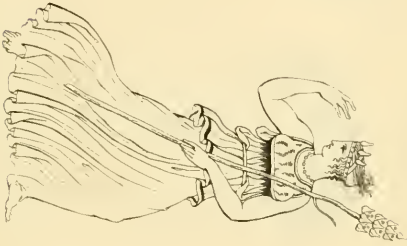
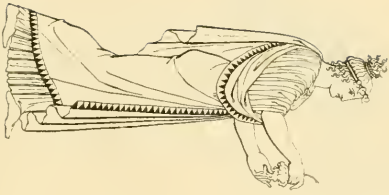






*Spree's fashions.*  
*from fashions*



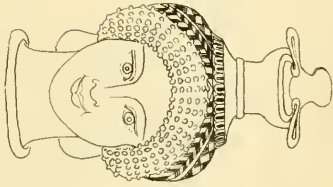


*Barbarian figures  
from the vase*





*Muse*



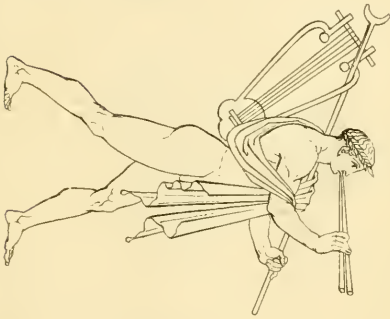
*Greek terra cotta jug  
myristicium*



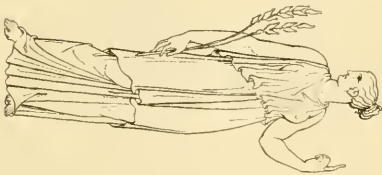
*Ceres*







*Bacchanalian personages*







*German head-dresses*

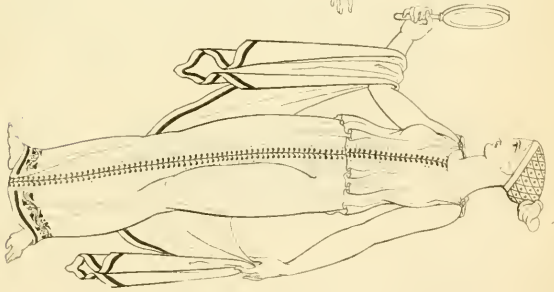




*Barhamattan*



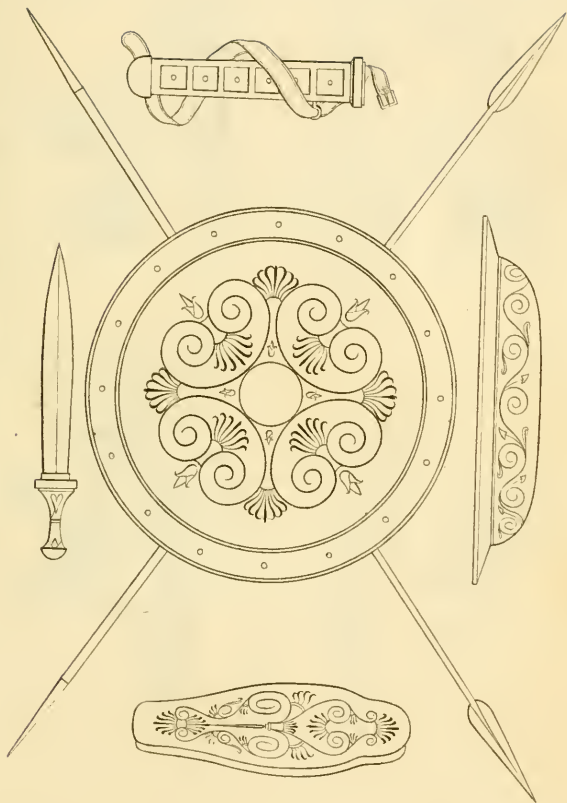
*Herway*



*Archants*

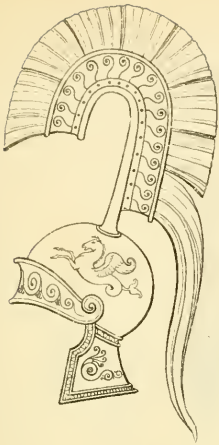


*greek shields, spears, sword, and hand & greave.*



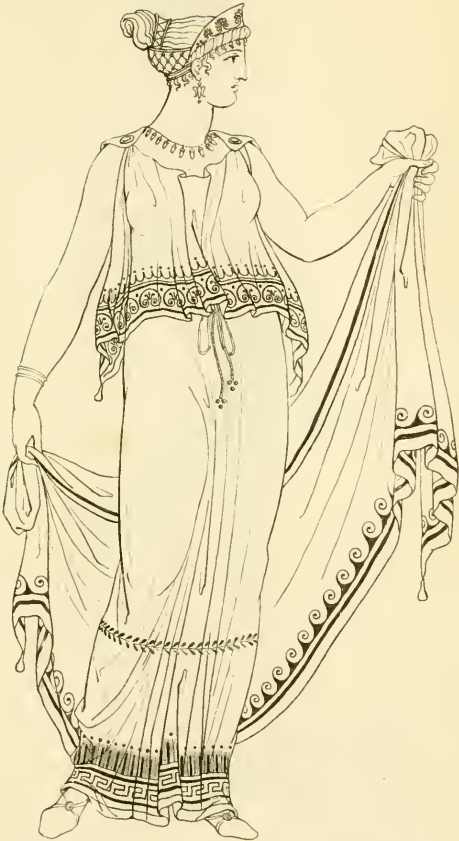






*Greek helmet.*





*Grecian female*





*Grecian female*





*Bacchante dancing*







*Junc.*  
*wearing the dep'an*





*Greek poet*





*Panna*

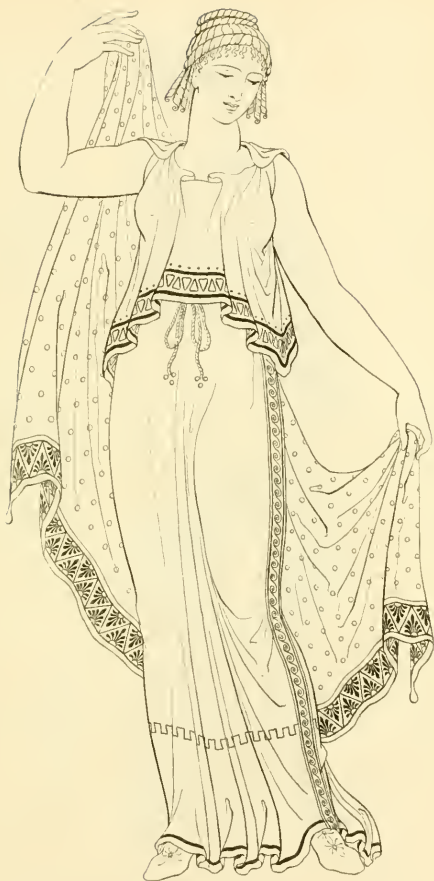




*Grecian female.*  
*from a bas relief in the Mus. Græc.*







*Grecian female  
from a fictile vase*





*Grecian female*





1. Jupiter  
 2. Neptune  
 3. Apollo  
 4. Mercury





*Grecia femle.*







*Lyonesse femme.*

*How's your case, in my perspective*





*Grecian female.*

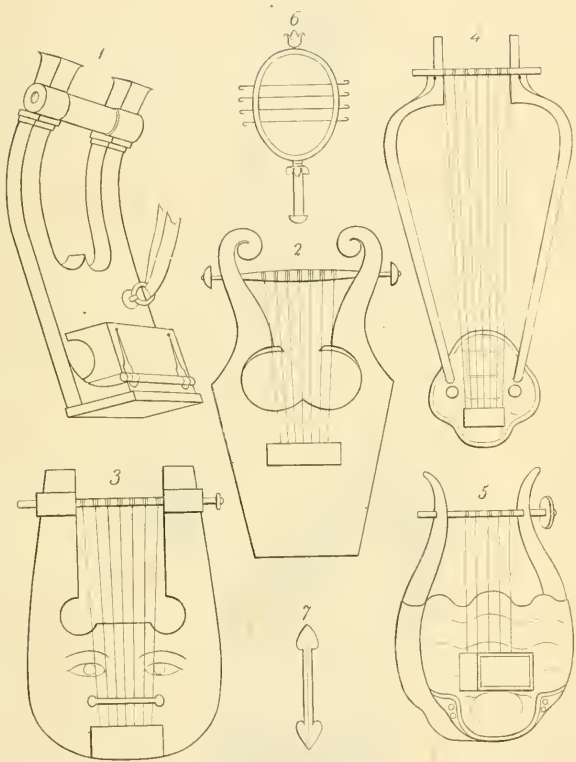




1. Jupiter      2. Juno      3. Minerva

4. Minerva      5. Mercurius      6. Bacchus





Musical instrument.

- 1 & 2 varieties of the phorminx.
- 3 The Cithara.
- 4 The Psaltery or long Lyre
- 5 The Chelys or testudo
- 6 The Sishum







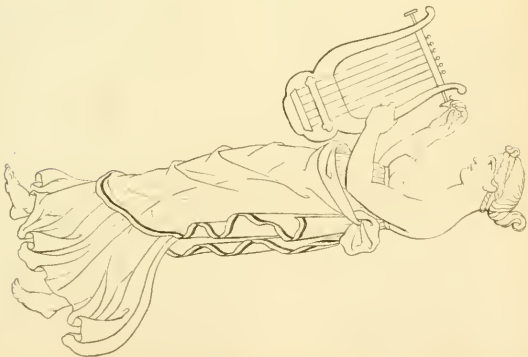
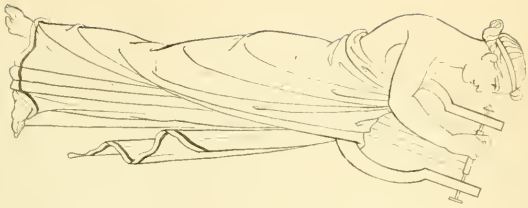
*Grecian female*





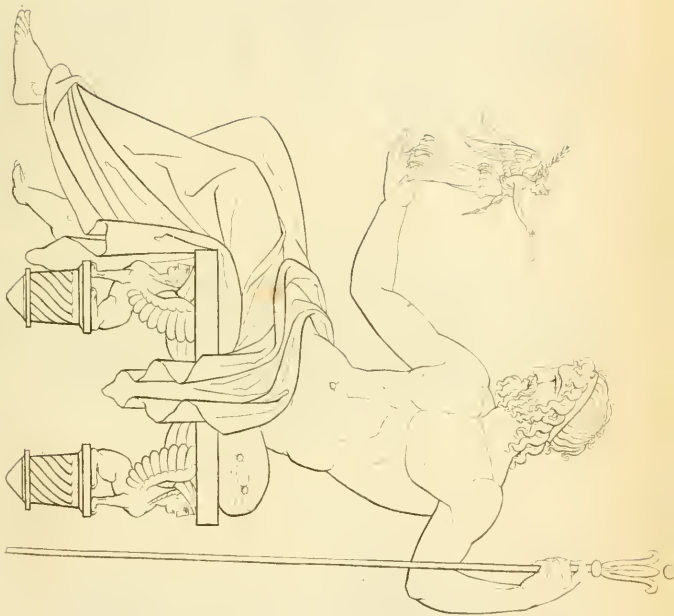
*goddess, ...*





*Female dancing & playing on the lyre*

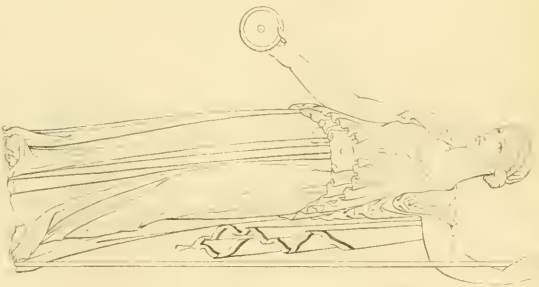




*Fig. 10.*



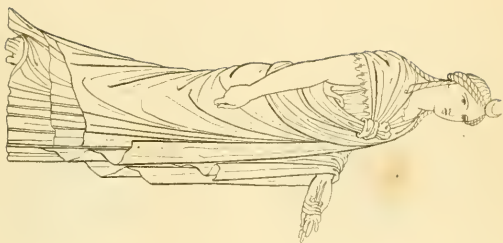




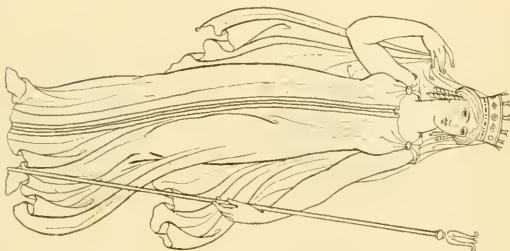
*June*

*from antique style*

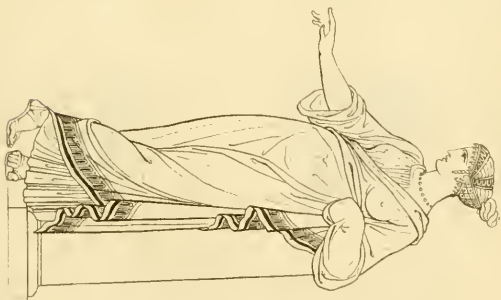




*Phoné*



*Phoné*



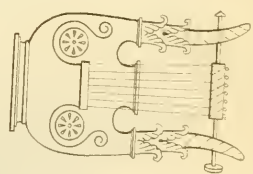
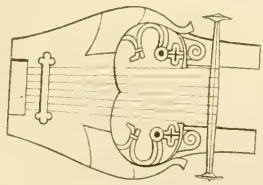
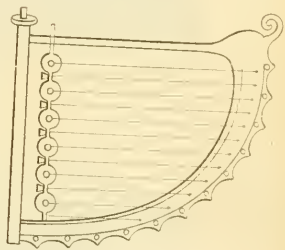
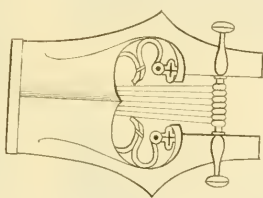
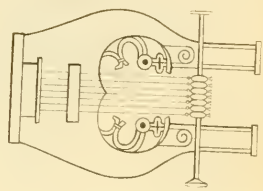
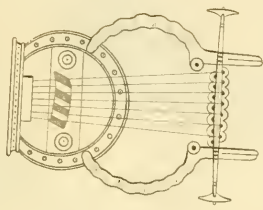
*Phoné*





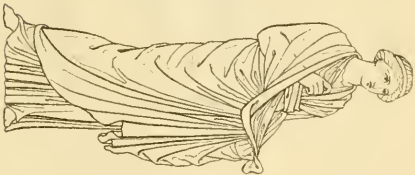
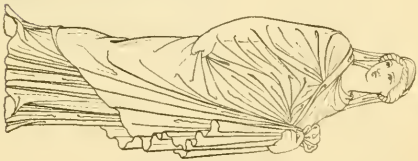
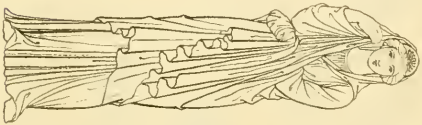
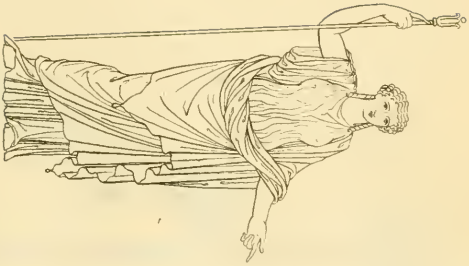


A. 3. 4. 580. Varieties of the great type of harpman. A. 2. The harpman.



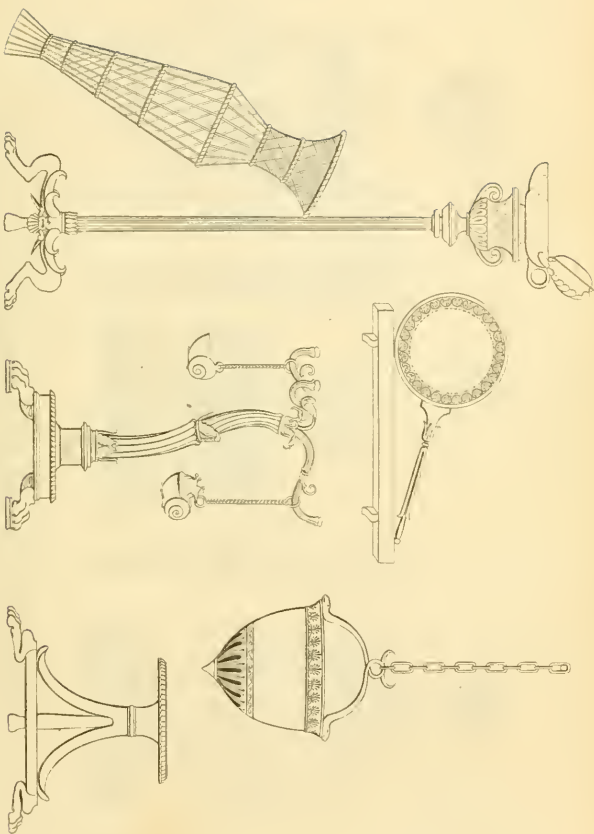






*Four female figures: from statues in the Vatican gallery.*

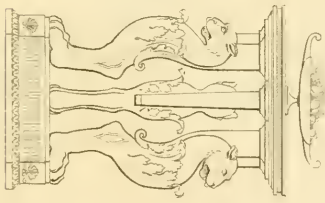
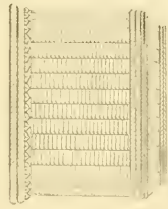
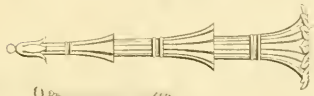
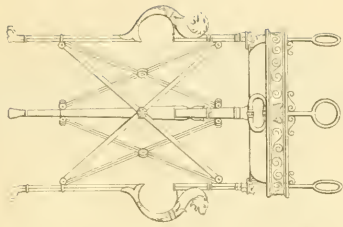




*Iranian lamps, and shobora, patera, basins, & other articles*



*Terakota. Inpoda, sala, pagoda, asmpaham, Antira & anasrahah cabr.*





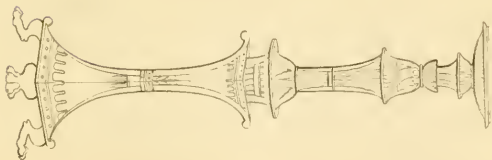
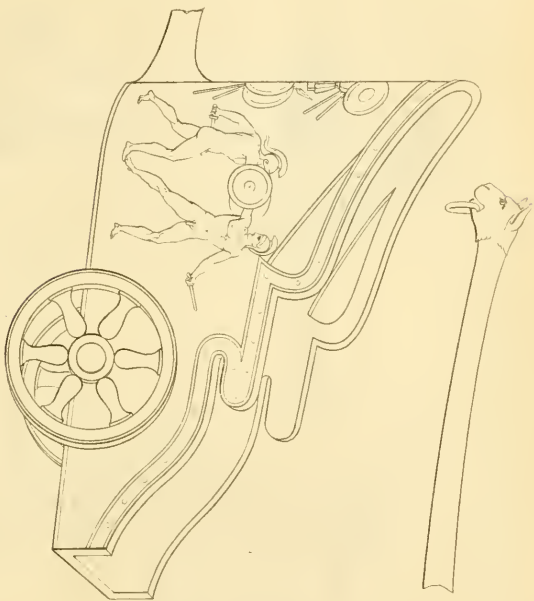
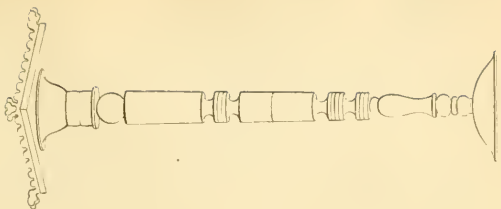


*Queen Jeanne*



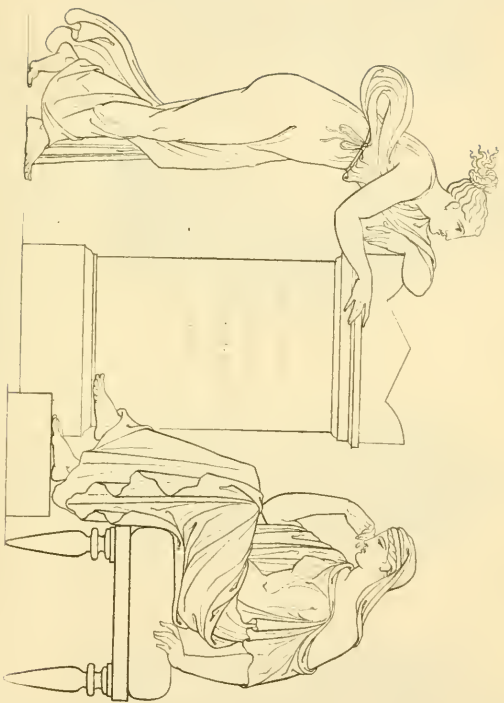






*Specimen ligni & ardetabula.*





*grecian females*





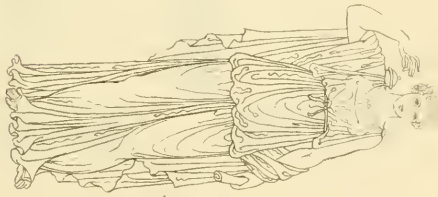
*House.*



*House.*

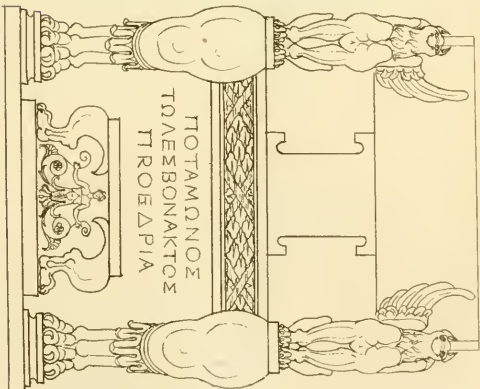
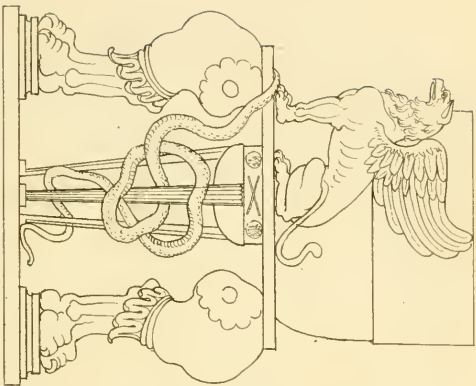


*House.*



*Shiraz.*





ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΟΣ  
 ΤΩΛΕΒΟΝΑΚΤΟΣ  
 ΤΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ

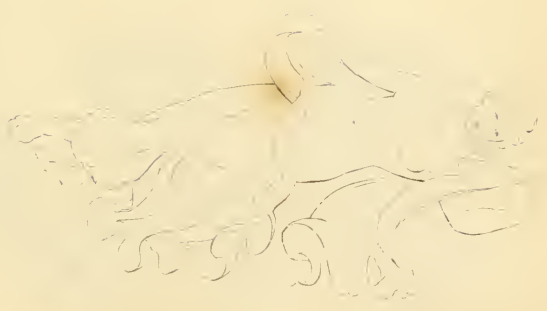
*Marble chair of Potamon, the Lesbian rhetorician.  
 Still existing in Mytilene.*





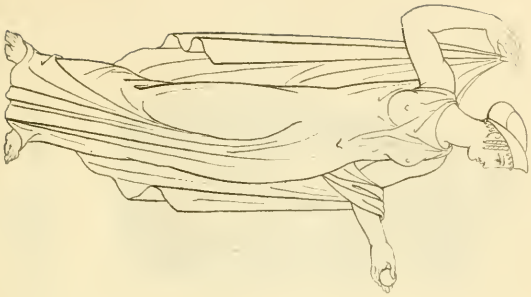


*C. pinnatus*

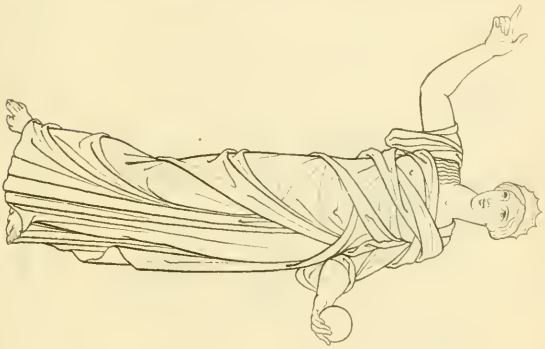




*Juno*



*Minerva*



*Diana*

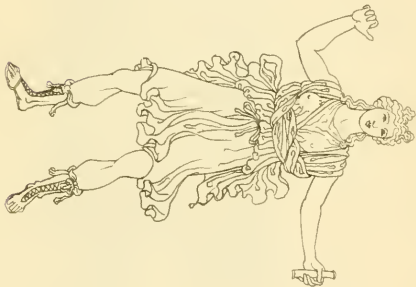




*Spalla maragata*



*Spalla anconada*



*Spalla*







*Minerva.*

*from a statue in my possession.*







*Comedian*





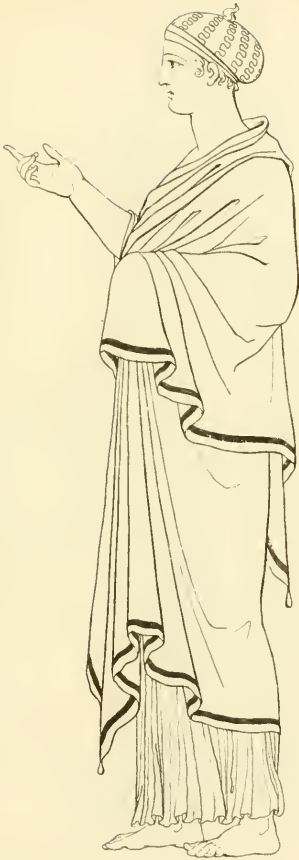
Grecian female.  
from a statue at Florence.





*Cianophora:  
from a statue at Dresden.*





*Georgian female*

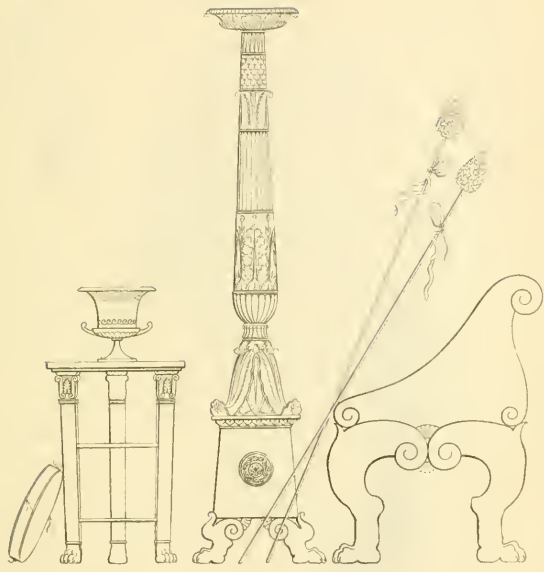






*Grecian lady*





*Tripod. candelabrum. chair etc.*





*Greek female*

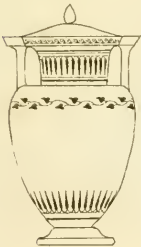
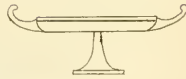
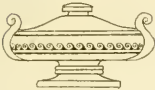
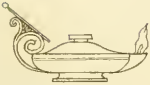
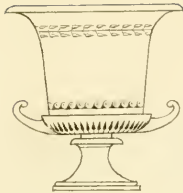




*Diana succincta*



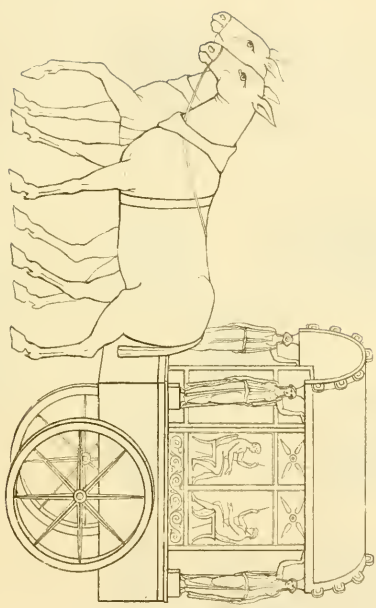




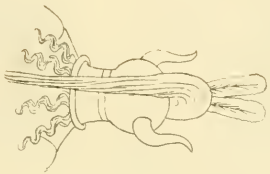
*Greek vases*



*Shenkar and archway*





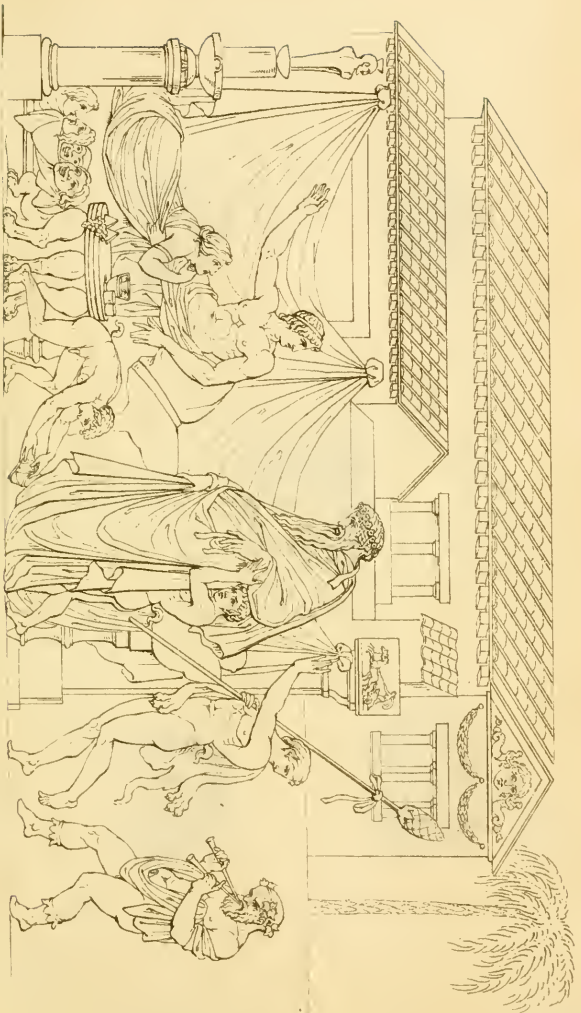


*german heads.*





*Reception of Bacchus*





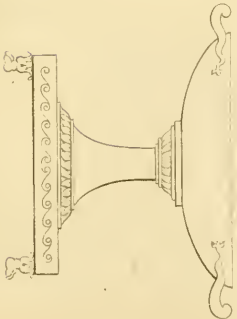
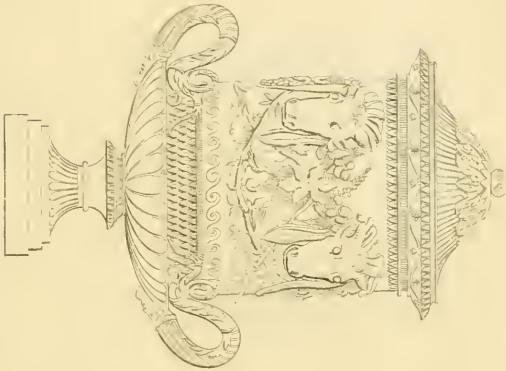
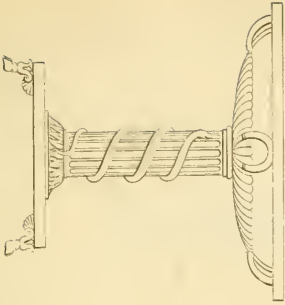
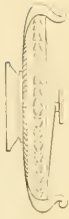




*Hygieia*

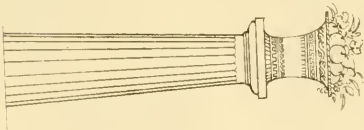
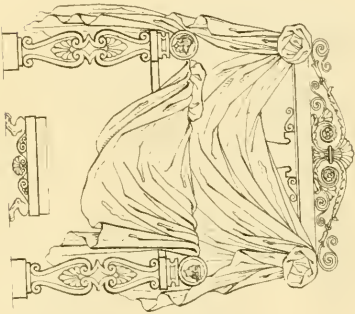






*Vases, patenas, lamps, &c.*





*Chair of state  
to other parts of windows*





*Greek lady.*







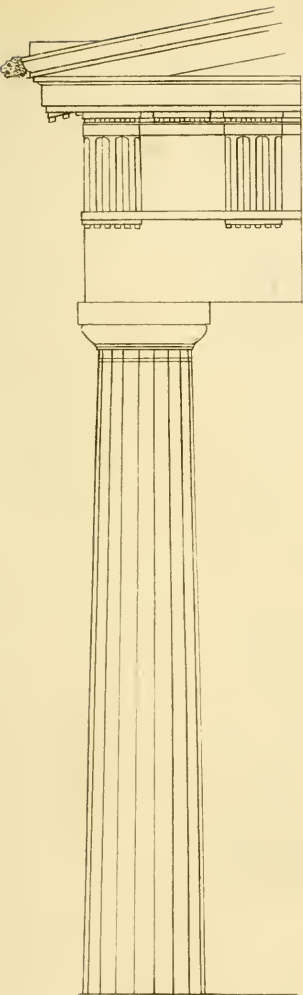
*. Apollo . Musagetis*  
*from the vatican*



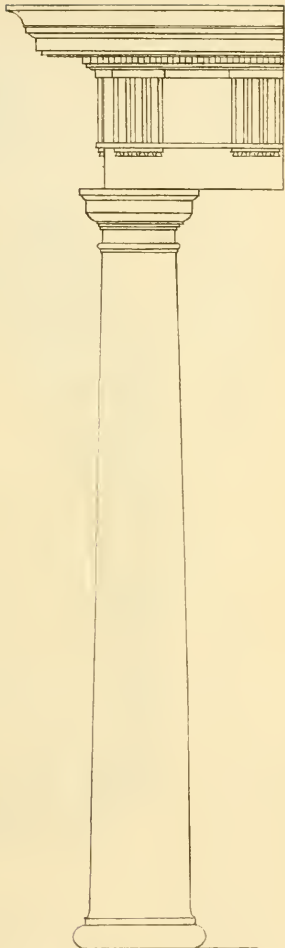


*Vase with Bacchanalian.*





*Doric*



*Roman*

*Architectural orders*





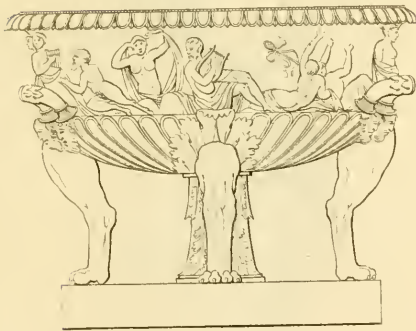
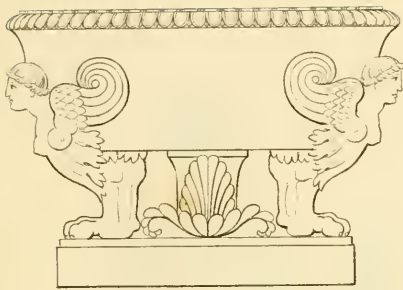
*Faustina.*

*wife of Antoninus Pius*

*from a statue in the Vatican*







*Roman Cisterns*





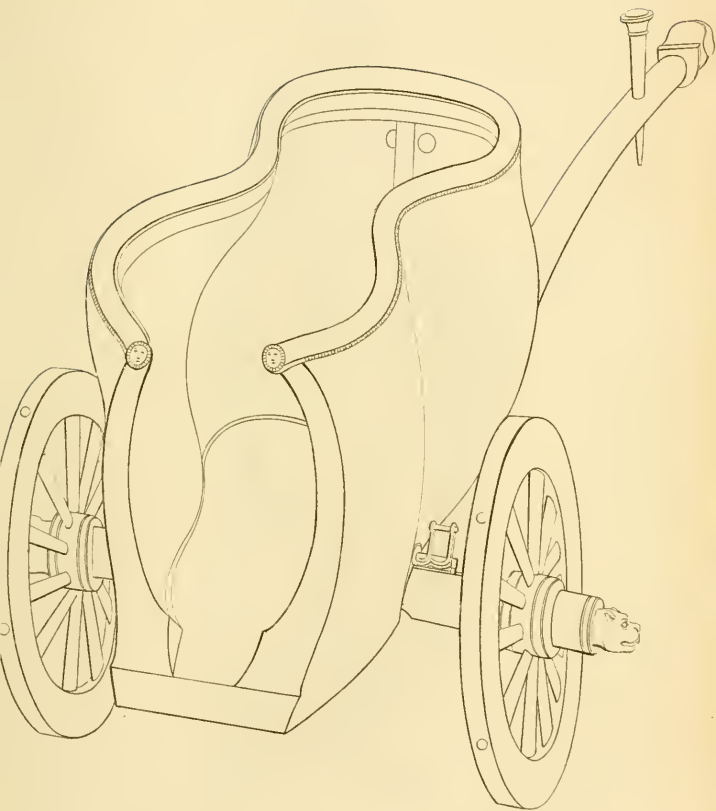
*Hera.*





*Fortune.*  
*Montfaucon Vol. 2*





*Car of bronze.  
dug up some years ago near Rome*







*Roman.*  
*in his toga*





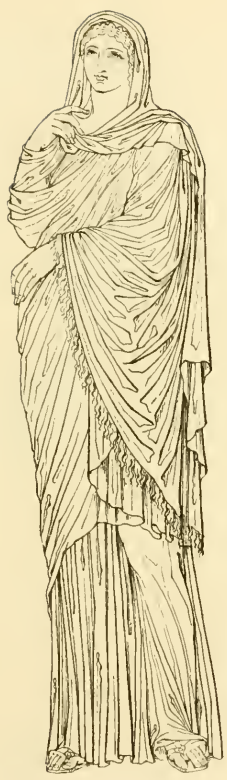
*Roman youth  
with the bulla.*





*Roman orator*





*Roman . Matron .  
from a statue in the capitol .*







*Roman Ladies*





*Marcus Aurelius.*  
*from a statue at Venice*





*Roman Empress*





Paustina  
Wife of Antoninus







*Roman Empress  
in the character of Ceres.*





*Roman head dresses*





Roman Emperor.  
standing as a sacrifice  
in his paludamentum





*Camellu*

*or alu uau' it - y -*

*from - stat - by -*







*Roman Emperor.*  
*in his military tunic & paludamentum*  
*unarmed.*

*From the Trajan Column*





*Roman standard bearer.*





*Roman General*  
*from the arch of Constantine at Rome*





*Roman cuirass*

*on a small bronze figure found in Suffolk  
in the possession of the Earl of Wiltshire*







*Roman soldier  
from the Trajan Column*





*Roman Emperor*





*Roman general  
from the Trajan Column*





*Roman general*







*The Goddess Roma.  
from the arch of Constantine, at Rome.*

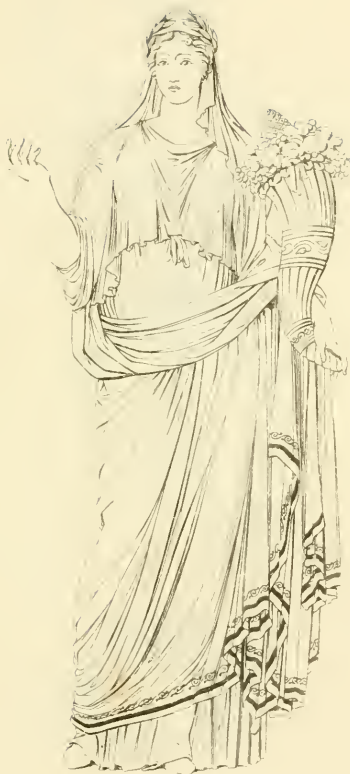




Venus

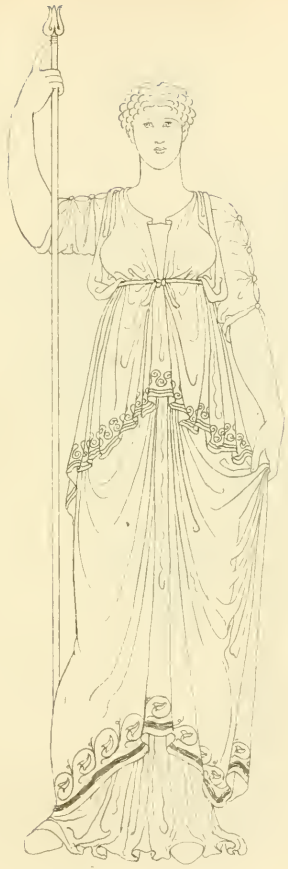
From a drawing by the artist, Raphael





*Woman in dress  
in the style of 1840  
from a drawing by the artist*





*Amphipol.*







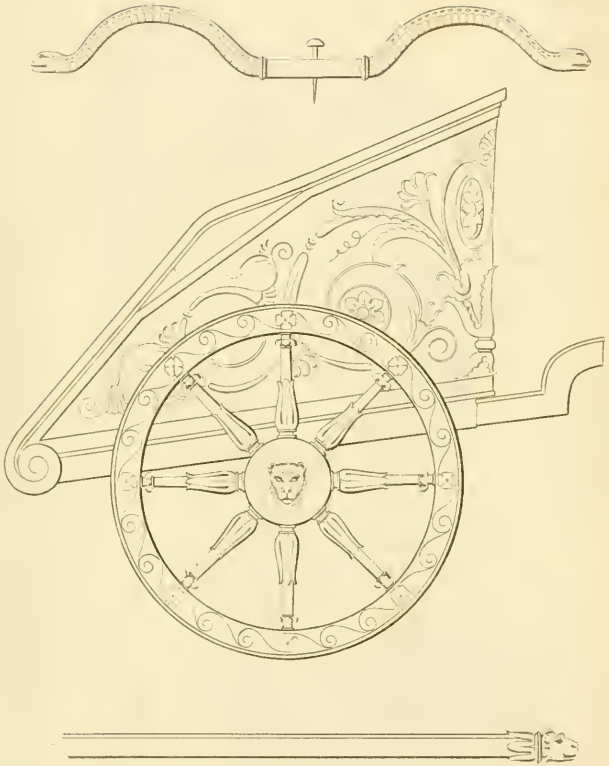
*Roman empress.*





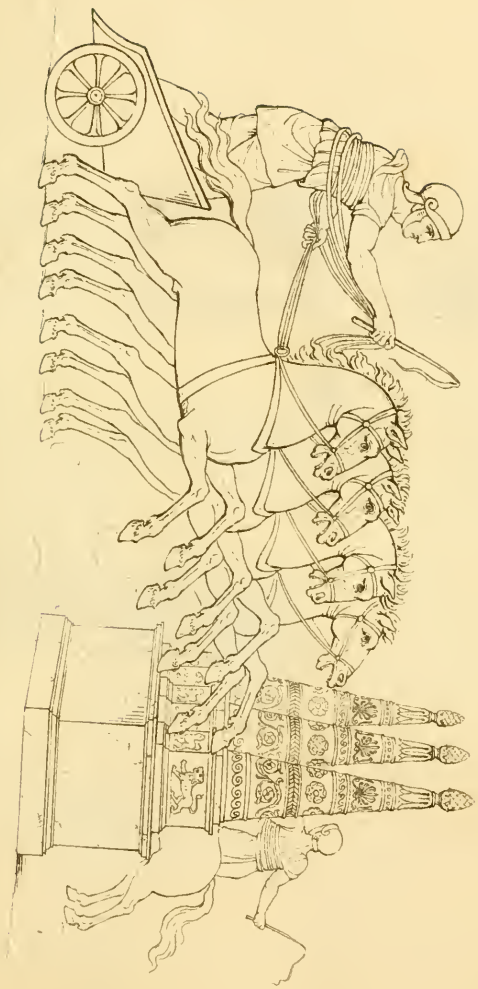
*Victorious auriga or driver  
in the games of the Circus  
from a statue in the Vatican*





*Bigae  
in the Vatican*

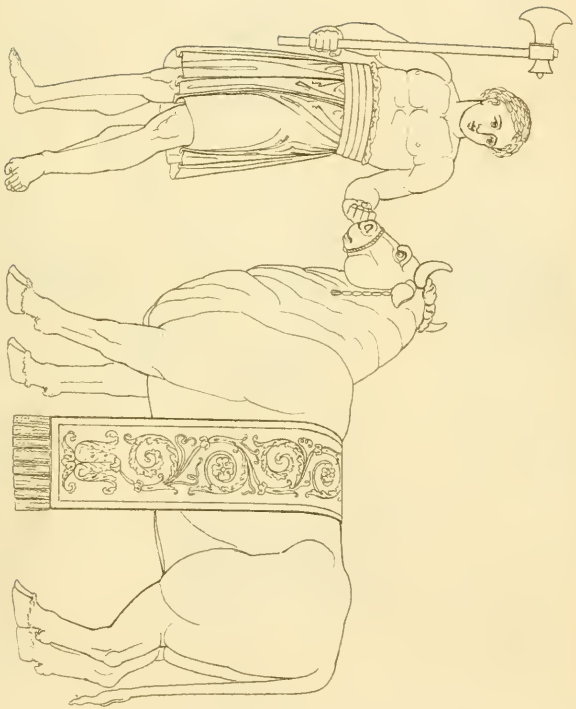




*Roman Chariot during the Circus*







*Bull adorned for sacrifice*



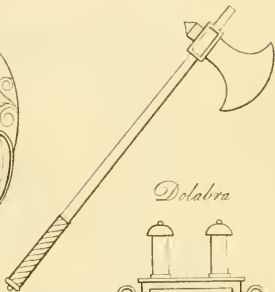
*Patera*



*Flamen's helmet.*



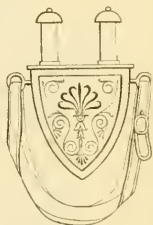
*Hasta*



*Dolabrum*



*Dolabra*



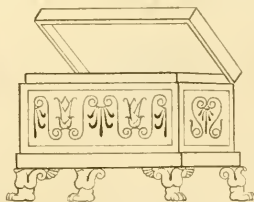
*Aspergillum*



*Silans  
of the augurs*



*accerra, or incense box.*



*Symbulum  
for the lustral water*



*Pontifical insignia.*

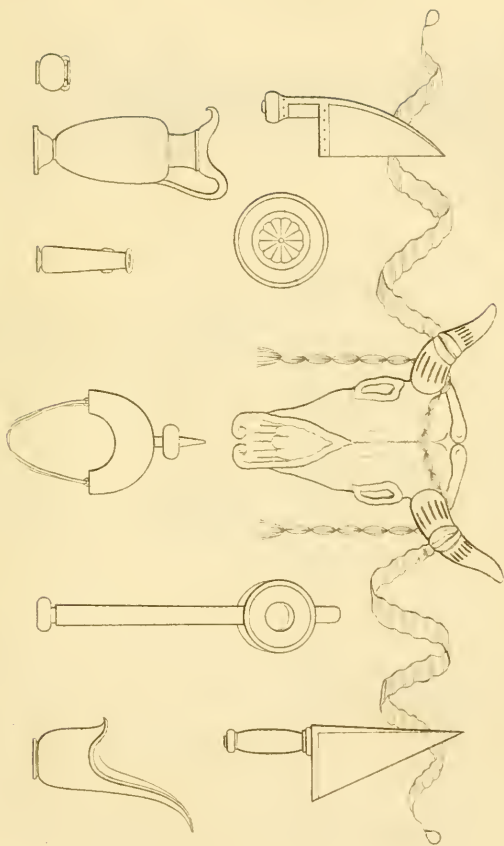
*& sacrificial instruments*

*from the frieze of the temple of Jupiter tonans.*

*at Rome.*

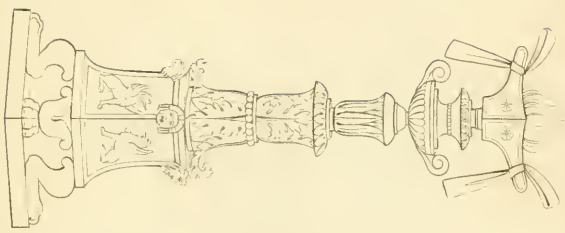


*Esquisses d'instruments*

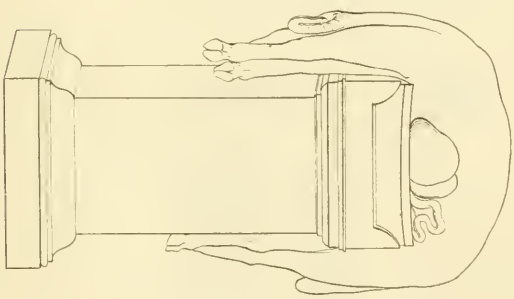




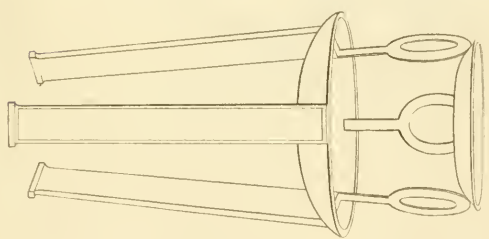
*Fig. 1. 1800*



*Fig. 2. 1800*

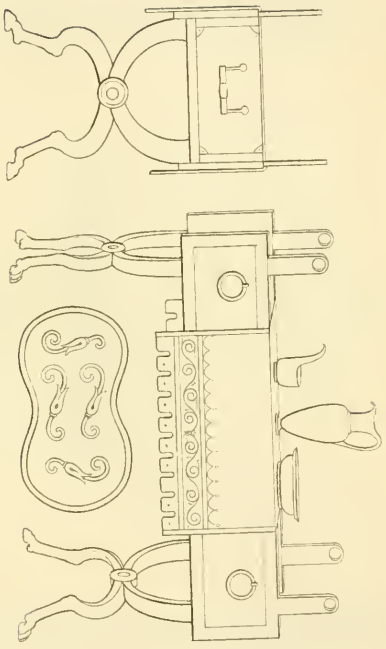


*Fig. 3. 1800*





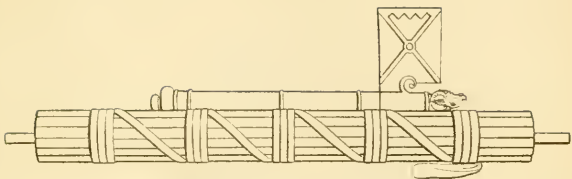




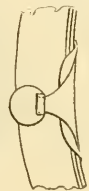
*Sarkislerium.*

*and another or shield of the Sarkislerium.*

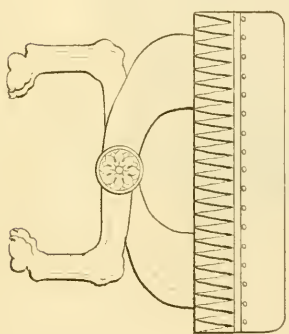




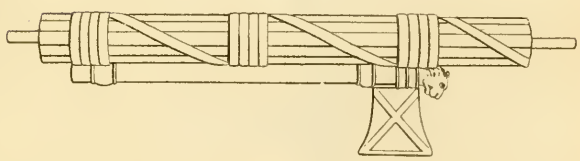
*Taves*



*Shalla.*



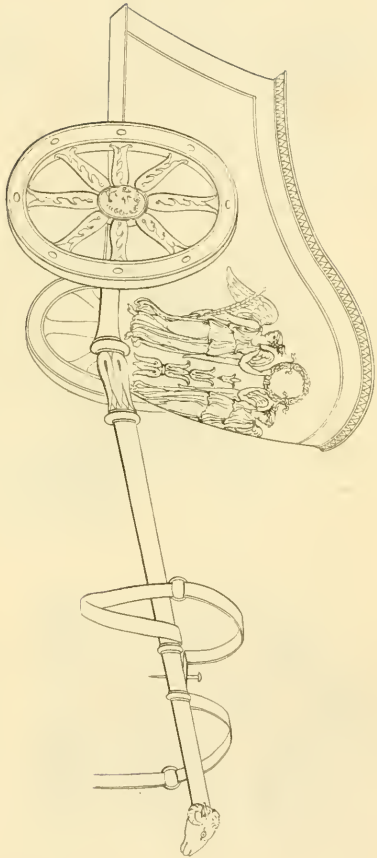
*torale chair.*



*Taves*



*Triumphal car*

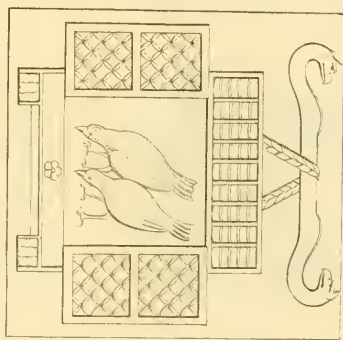




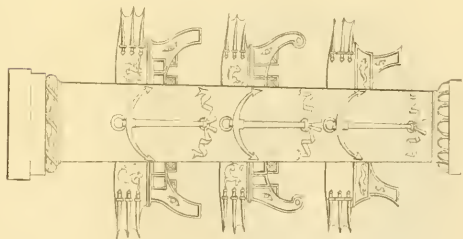
*White stone*



*Trays of the sacred papyrus*

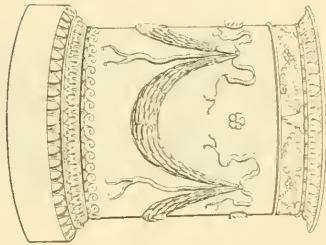
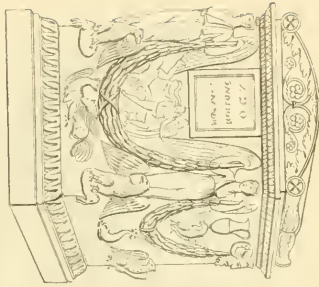


*Sacred column*

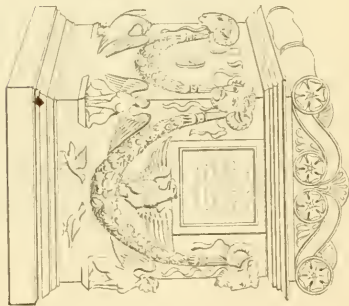




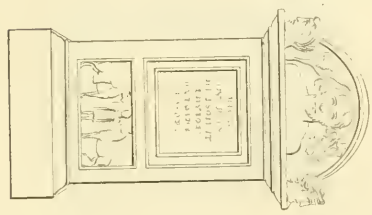




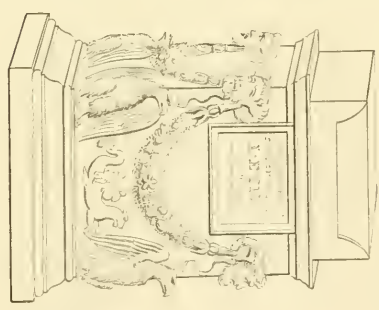
*Plan of Archway*



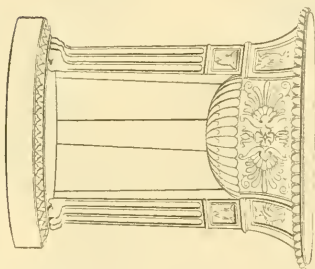
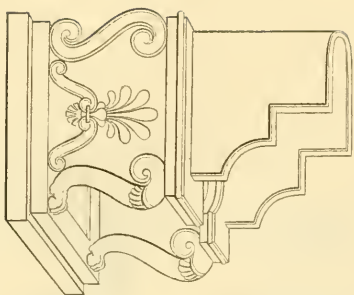




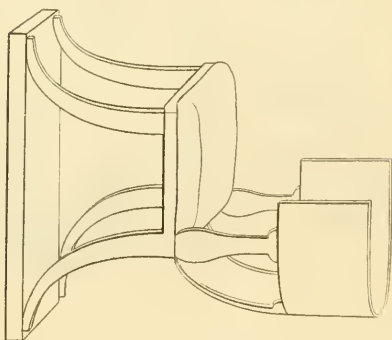
*Alano P. Tarocchi*







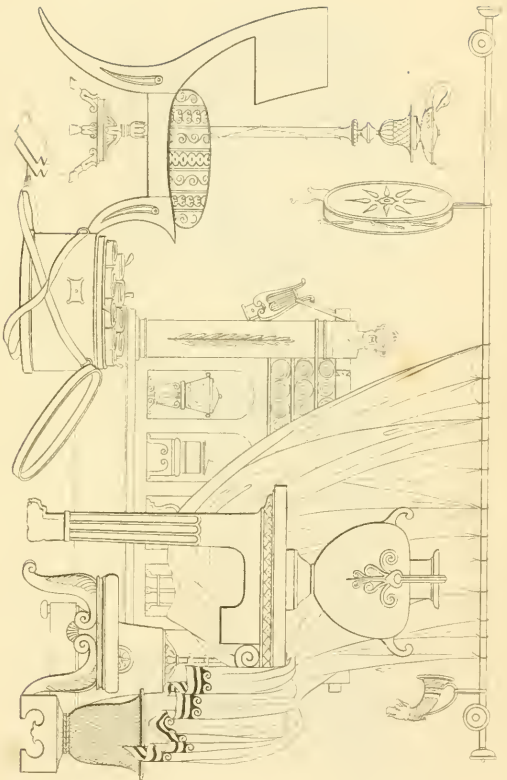
*Chair & Stool*





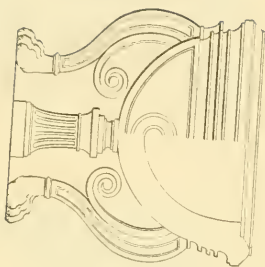
with scrolls or volutes, tables for writing, chairs, table lamp &c

*Hebrew study*

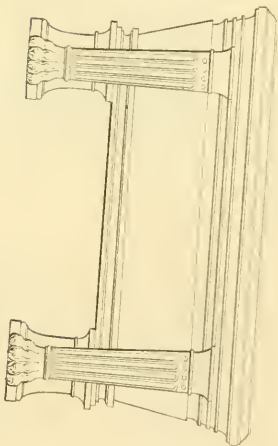




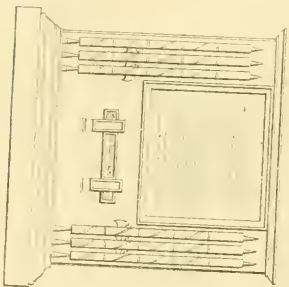




*Lavatorium or bath.*





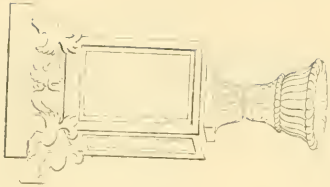


*Roman sarophagus  
adorned with the faces, and atlantes*

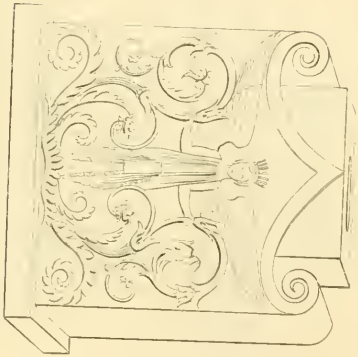


*For a table of milk*

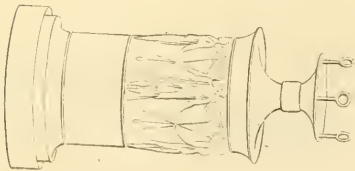
*Ypocura*



*Symon altar*



*Symon altar*





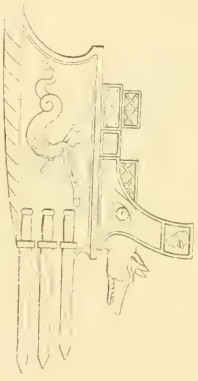
*Sphacelium*,  
or ornament of the keel



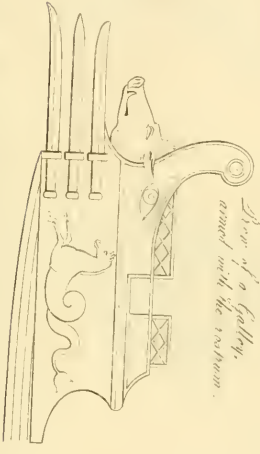
*Choniscus*  
or ornament of the horn



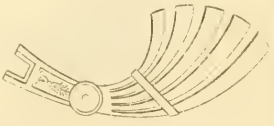
*Proem* of a galley,  
armed with the rostrum



*Proem* of a galley,  
armed with the rostrum.



*Sphacelium*



*Proem*

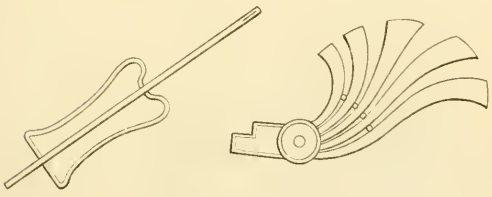
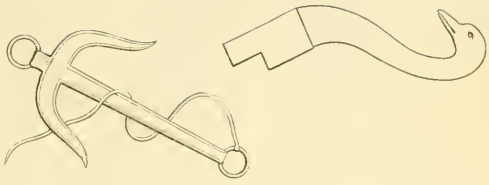


111





*Arch. prov. anchor & rudder of Roman galley*



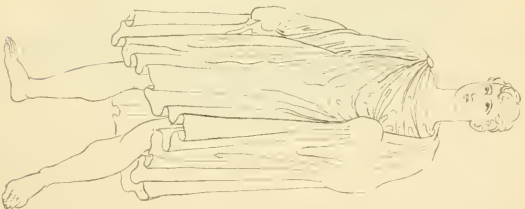




*Sacripator*

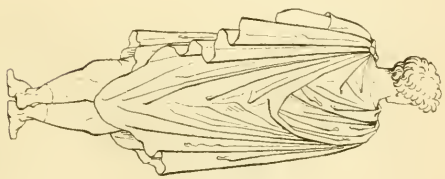
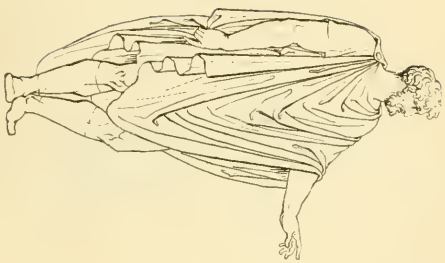


*Præst*

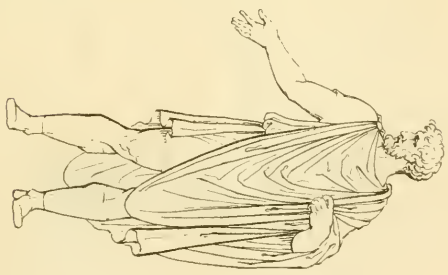


*Præbiter*





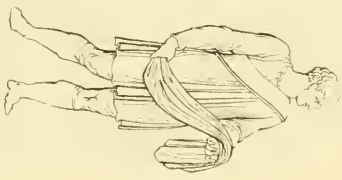
*Tullius.*







. *Insular*



. *Armenian*

on the rocks



. *Insular*

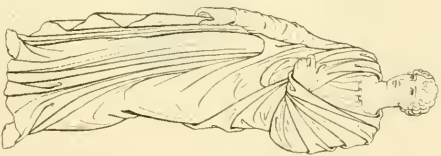
from the rock of Constantinople



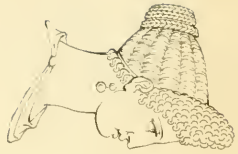




*Woman draped*







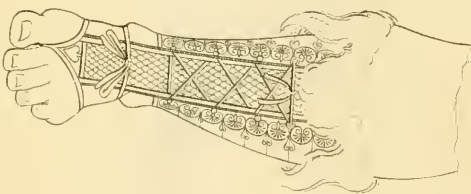
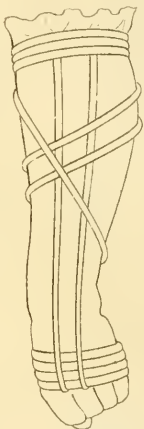
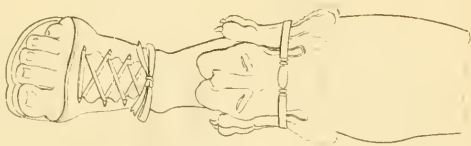
*Roman Empresses.*





1. Plumed 2. Emperor crowned with laurel 3. Emperor in the character of Jupiter an eagle  
4. Emperor's helmet 5. Emperor's turban.



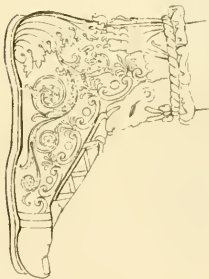
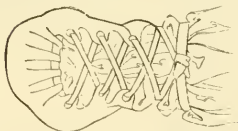
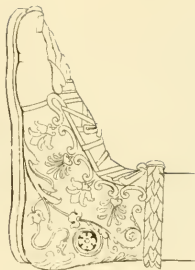


*Gloves worn by the panzertruppen, & military  
bushings.*

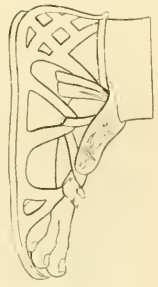
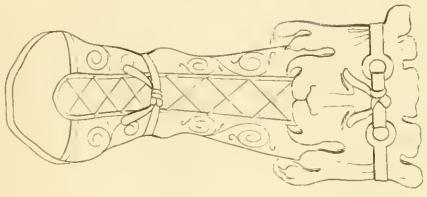
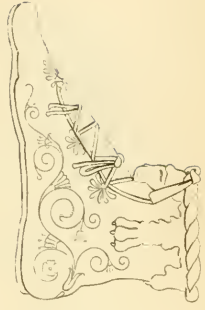




*— Different forms of sandals.*





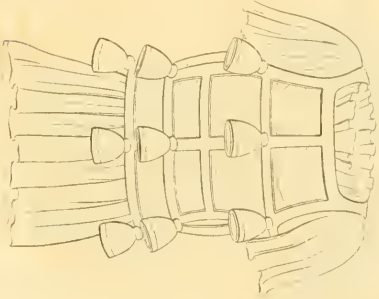


*Shonan Kuseno P. sandals*



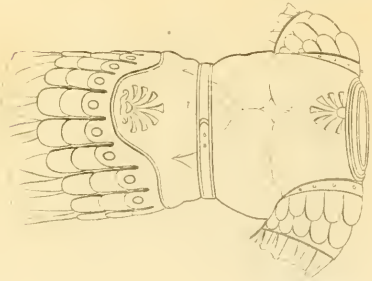


*Woman's wrap.*



*Wrist.*

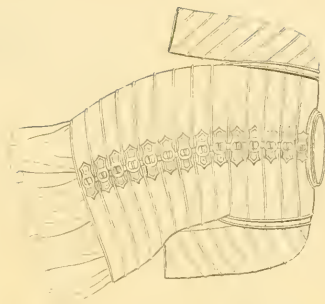
*worn by the upper ranks of the Empire!*



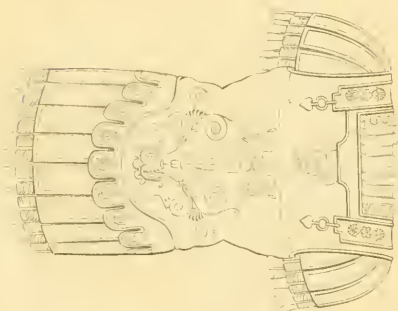
*Woman's wrap.*



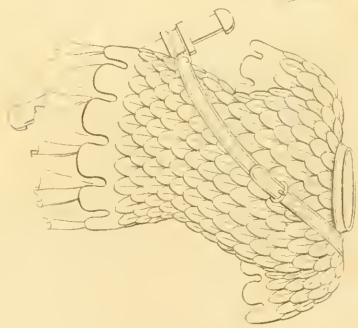
*Shawl worn (2)*



*Shawl worn (1)*

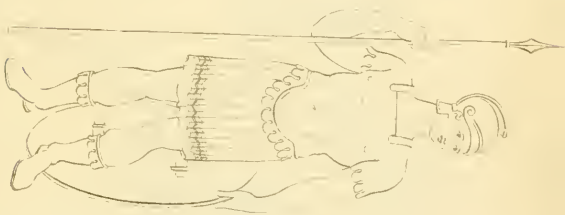
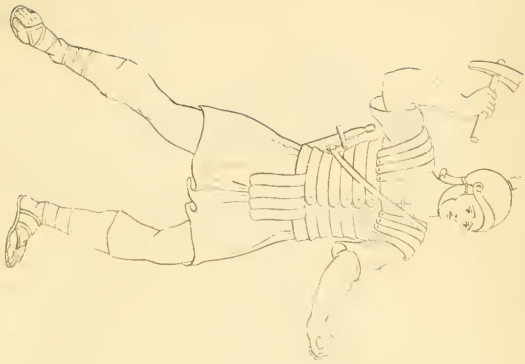


*Shawl worn (3)*





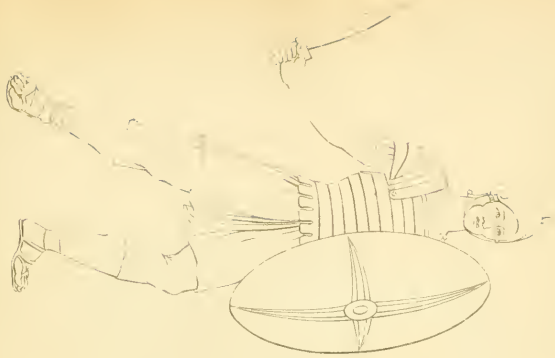




*Roman soldiers*



Thoman soldiers



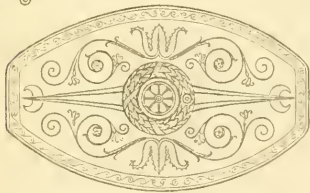
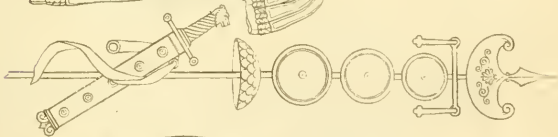
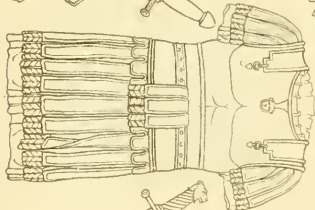
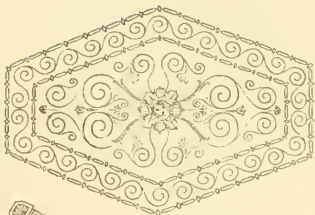




*Woman officer*

from the ...



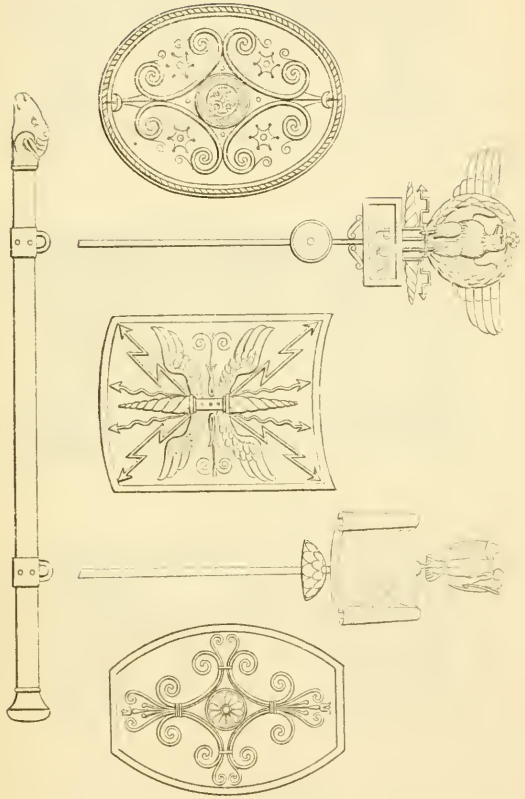


Roman armor  
and standards

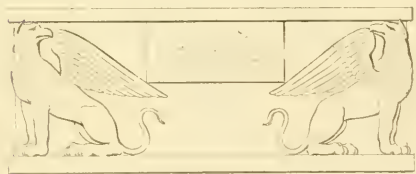
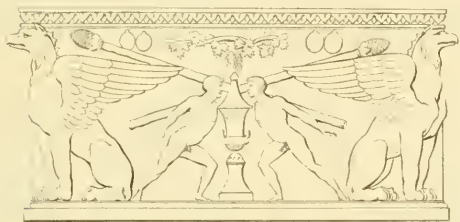
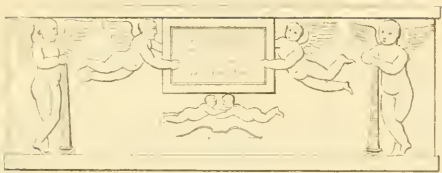




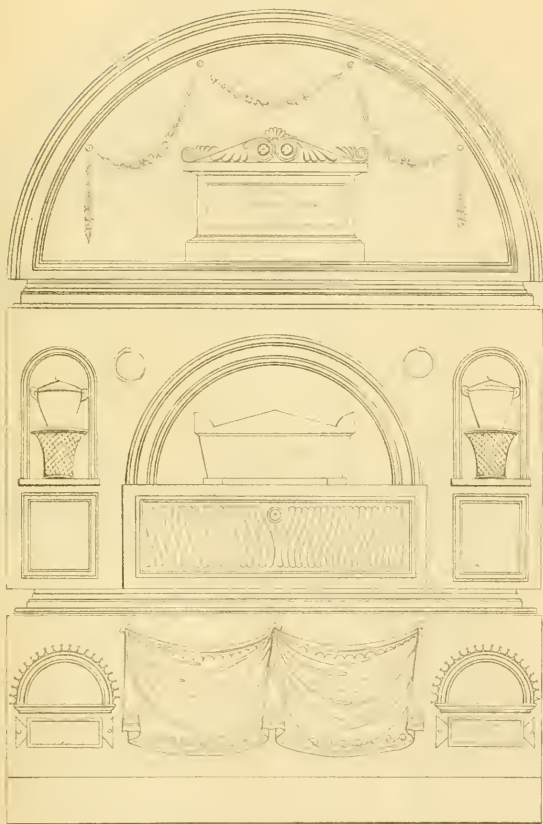
*Woman standards, shields, & banners from*





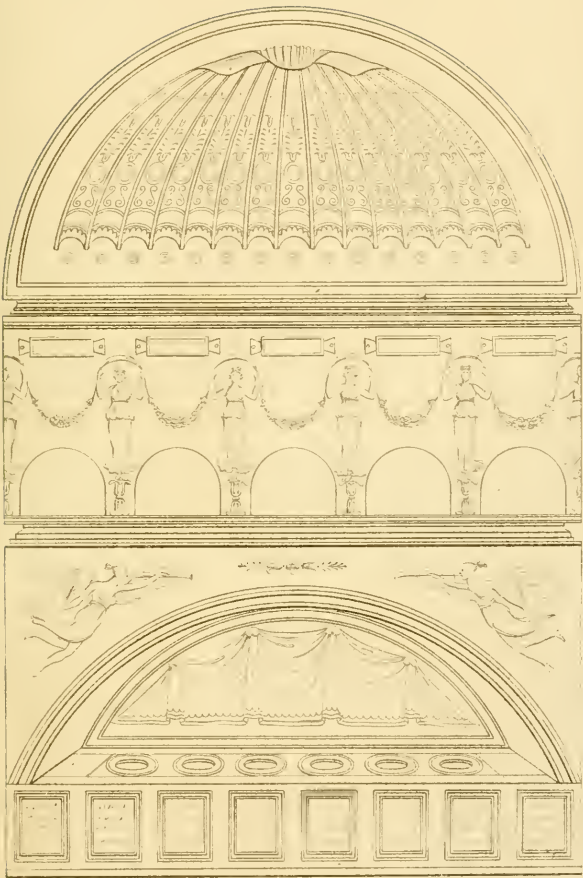


in the



*Roman columbarium  
for the reception of cinerary urns.*





*Roman columbaria.*

# The Ancient Greeks

## Introduction

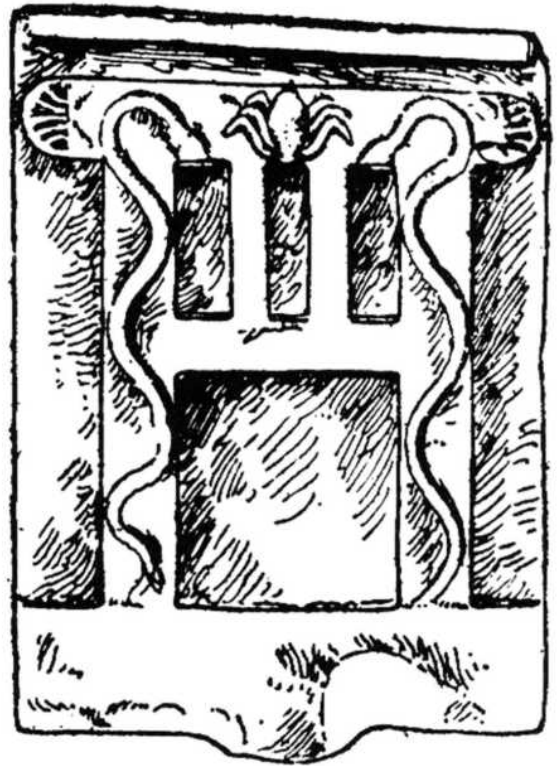
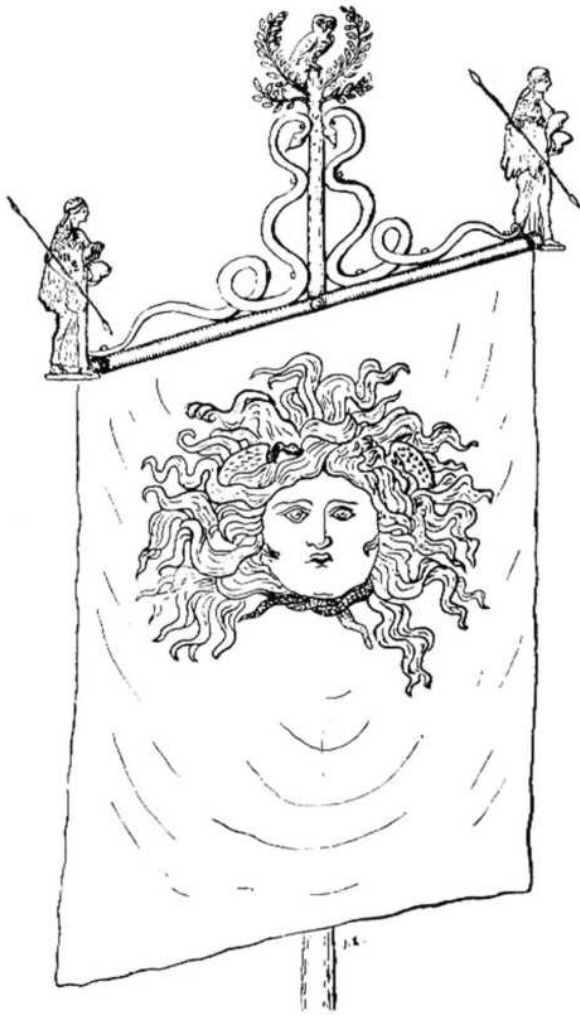
The subject of this book is Greek warfare in the Classical Period, which stretches from the Greek victories over the Persian Empire at the beginning of the 5th century BC to the death of Alexander the Great at the end of the 4th century. During this period we see city-states such as Athens and Sparta grow to become major world powers, challenging even the mighty Persian Empire. By the middle of the 4th century, however, inter-state warfare had weakened the Greeks to such an extent that Macedon's power grew virtually unchecked.

The main aim of this book is to give the reader as full an account as possible of Greek military dress during the period. There can be little doubt that in the Archaic period, which preceded the Classical, Greek warriors simply wore what they wanted, and military 'uniform' was unknown. During the Classical Period, however, the state began to play an increasingly important rôle in military organisation, even taking responsibility for arming and equipping its citizens, or compelling the citizens to equip themselves up to a certain standard. The result was uniformity in dress and equipment. At first the army might be distinguished by some 'field sign'—such as a helmet or a shield painted in some distinguishing colour—or by a uniform shield device. Subsequently, the state might enjoin its citizens to equip themselves in cuirasses or helmets of a certain model. Regional differences in dress and weaponry also played their part in this process. So did periodic fads in military fashion, seen most clearly in the widespread adoption of Lakonian styles of military dress by Sparta's allies during her period of supremacy. It does not seem that the majority of Greek armies entered the Peloponnesian War in uniform, but the situation had changed dramatically by the end of the war. By the middle of the 4th century uniform had become general.

The literary texts are an invaluable source of



**This bronze statuette, probably of Lakonian manufacture, has been dated to the early 5th century. Our Plate A1 is based on this figure, but for the addition of the staff in his hand. The transverse crest could be a badge of rank. (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.)**



Left: Reconstruction of the standard of Athena carried in Great Panathenaic Festival, following Svoronos. The component of the standard recovered, on which the reconstruction is based, is the finial of the cross-bar: further discussion in text. (After *Archaiologikon Deltion*, 1920:21, p. 46) Right: The *dokana*, or 'beams', of Castor and Pollux are shown on this Lakonian grave relief. It has been suggested that the *dokana* were carried into battle before king. (The Archaeological Museum, Sparta, 588)

information to the archaeologist trying to reconstruct an accurate picture of military dress, but by themselves they are not sufficient. They might tell us what colour a tunic was, but they can tell us nothing of its cut, or of the appearance of the wearer's helmet, cuirass or sword. Funerary monuments are our most important source in this respect, for they tend to give quite a detailed and accurate picture of the deceased: an ancient sculptor would no more dream of showing a Spartan wearing an Attic helmet than a modern one would of showing a British paratrooper wearing an Argentinian sombrero. Sometimes, fugitive traces of the original colour may still be left on the surface of sculptures to aid our work. Vase paintings, especially Attic, are a second major source, but here we must be more careful, since most Attic vases were made for the export market and may not depict

Athenians at all. Again, it is often difficult to distinguish between fanciful mythological scenes and realistic historical depiction. As a source of information on Greek military dress in general, however, they are invaluable, and it is sad to trace the decline in the practice of figurative vase painting during the 4th century. A third major source of archaeological information is coinage, which is especially valuable when it shows shields bearing the state emblem: in these cases there is surely an indication of uniform shield design. Finally, we have an assortment of odd terracotta and bronze figurines, weapons and other artefacts.

Chronology is of absolutely prime importance when using ancient literary or archaeological information, and information from non-contemporary sources has to be regarded with the greatest suspicion. The Roman writer Statius gives



# Hoplite Warfare

us a tableau of Greek warriors dressed in all kinds of theatrical costume. He tells us of Thebans who use the sphinx as a crest (*Thebaid* 7.252); Roman sarcophagi decorated with mythological scenes also show Theban heroes with sphinxes on their shields. It is easy to be misled by information like this. There is, for example, no contemporary evidence for military standards; though mentioned in several Latin sources, they were not used before the Hellenistic period. The Greek archaeologist Svoronos thought that a small *appliqué* showing Athena discovered on the Acropolis might have formed the terminal of the cross-bar of a *labarum* of the Athenians in the Great Panathenaic Festival. He painstakingly reconstructed the rest of the standard using comparative information. Unfortunately, there is no really firm evidence that this standard ever existed at all; and even if it did, it had no military function. In Sparta we learn that Castor and Pollux were represented by a standard known as the *dokana*; but the *dokana* seem to have had a purely religious, not military, significance.

Though the bulk of this book is devoted to a discussion of the evidence for uniform, space has also been found to include some details of military organisation and tactics. I have avoided lengthy descriptions of the battles and campaigns of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, which are already adequately covered in innumerable works on Greek history; but I have tried to include a little information on some military incidents which are less well known, but no less interesting for that. Further information on military equipment *per se* can be found in A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Thames & Hudson, 1967) and in Peter Connolly's magnificently illustrated *Greece and Rome at War* (Macdonald Phoebeus Ltd., 1981), both of which are available at the time of writing. Abbreviations used in this text follow those used in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 1970).

Because the material which follows is closely integrated with the subjects of the colour plates, I have departed from the normal series style of isolating plates commentaries in the last chapter.

**Readers will find cross-references to the plates placed progressively throughout the main text.**

At the turn of the 5th century the Greek battlefield was dominated by the hoplite, a fully armoured spearman whose main defence was his round bronze shield. The Spartans were masters of hoplite warfare due to the strict code of Spartan upbringing—the *agōgē*. From the age of six the

**Bronze statuettes of Socrates are quite common. This comic one, from Egypt, is particularly interesting as it shows the philosopher wearing his cloak in the same manner as Plate A1. (Manchester Museum, 11083)**



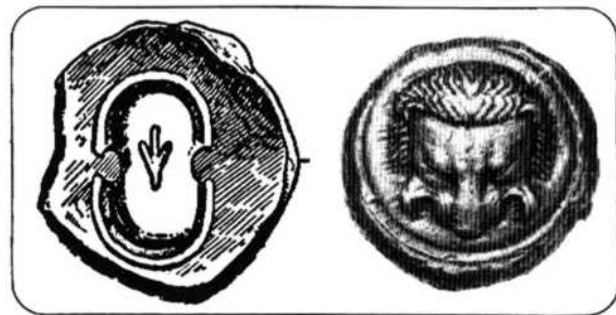
young Spartan warrior lived in barracks, and only after the age of 30 was he able to return to normal family life. In this way military supremacy over the subordinate population was guaranteed. Sparta was the most powerful city in the state of Lakedaimon, but power was shared to some degree with the *perioikoi*, or 'those who dwell about'. The gentry of these subordinate communities were willing to support Spartan supremacy in Lakonia in return for Spartan support for their social ascendancy within their own communities. At the bottom of the ladder stood the helots: communities conquered some time in the past and reduced to serfdom.

Strictly speaking, the term Spartan or Spartiate should only be used when talking of the city of Sparta and its inhabitants. 'Lakedaimon' or 'Lakedaimonian' should be used when talking of the whole state or of its army. This usage is followed throughout the book. The term Lakonian is used of the dress, speech or other characteristics of the region of Lakonia, within which the city of Sparta and the state of Lakedaimon lay.

#### Plate A1: Lakedaimonian officer, c. 490 BC

This plate represents a Lakedaimonian magistrate or emissary abroad as he might have appeared around 490. It is based on a bronze statuette, probably of Spartan origin, now in America. Badges of rank were traditionally worn on the helmet, so the transverse crest is probably best regarded as such.

**Left:** Few examples survive of this rare coin, struck in Chalcis in 507. The oval Bocotian shield with its scalloped rim was now obsolete, but it continued to be used as a badge by the Boeotian League. In the centre of the shield is the initial letter 'chi' for Chalcis. (E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines* I, ii, 1907, nr. 1372) **Right:** Tetradrachm issued by Samian refugees in Zancle. Weight standard and findspots prove these coins to be of Sicilian origin. The Samians were expelled by Anaxilas, Tyrant of Rhegium, in 489. Cf. Plate A2. (British Museum)



The ancient Greeks believed that the constitution of the Lakedaimonians was devised by a semi-legendary figure called Lycurgus. According to a number of ancient sources, including Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 11.3), Lycurgus dressed the army in crimson garments because they bore the least resemblance to women's clothing, and gave them bronze shields because bronze is very quickly polished and tarnishes very slowly. Though we may doubt that all the laws of Lycurgus are quite as old as the ancient Greeks believed, these practices must have been well established by the time of Xenophon for the soldier-historian to have believed them to have been of such antiquity. It seems probable, then, that the Lakedaimonian army was one of the first Greek armies to have adopted uniform dress and that this practice might date back to the Archaic period.

Our figure is wearing a large cloak wrapped round the body. This cloak was probably the *tribōn* which a number of ancient texts mention as bearing the distinctive mark of the Lakedaimonian. Austerity was the key-note to the Lakedaimonian life-style, and these demonstrative soldiers would emphasise their toughness by making use of a single cloak, summer and winter, allowed to wear thin and never washed. It later became popular for philosophers to ape Lakedaimonian customs, and Lakedaimonian dress in particular, by wearing single-soled Lakedaimonian sandals, the *tribōn*, and by carrying a staff. A great number of representations of Greek philosophers have survived from antiquity wearing large cloaks wrapped either completely round the body, or under the right armpit to leave the right arm free, and these serve to confirm an identification of the large cloak with the *tribōn*. There seems to be little difference, in fact, between the *tribōn* and the *himation*, a wide enveloping outer garment, which was the normal garment of the Greek gentleman in the Archaic period. In the rest of Greece, however, the *himation* was being discarded for a combination of tunic (*chiton*) and cloak (*chlamys*), and only in conservative states like Lakedaimon did the old fashions retain their popularity.

The staff (*bakterion*) was another sign of the Lakedaimonian. Lakedaimonians abroad were recognised by their staff, and it became a sort of symbol of Spartan power. The staff could either be straight

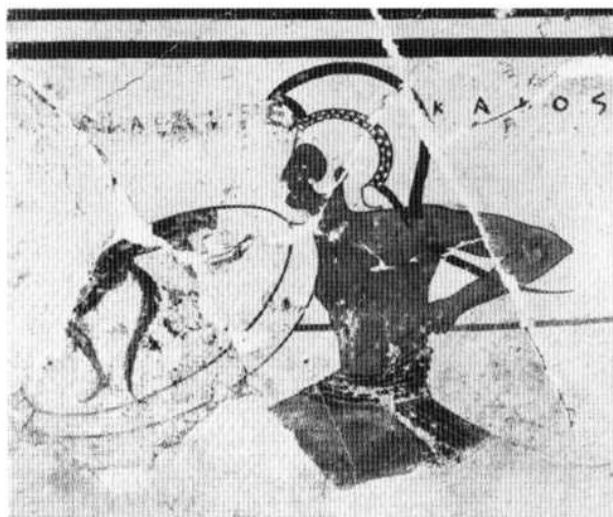
or could have a curved crook at the top which allowed the user to place it under his left armpit and to rest his weight on it by leaning forward.

Another distinctive feature of this figure which is recognisably Lakedaimonian is the long, carefully dressed hair. Lycurgus believed that long hair made a good-looking man more handsome and an ugly man more terrifying, so adult men were allowed to grow their hair long. In times of danger they paid particular attention to their hair, and one is reminded of the way the Persians on their arrival at Thermopylae were astonished to find the Lakedaimonians combing their hair in preparation (*Hdt.* 7.208-9).

### The Lakedaimonian Army

The Lakedaimonians kept their military strength and organisation as secret as possible. Little was understood of these matters by the historians of antiquity, and even less by historians of more recent date (including the present author). It seems impossible to reconstruct a sensible picture of the Spartan army without violating some piece of ancient testimony or other; but it is equally impossible to write a book on armies of Classical Greece without at least making the attempt. In what follows, therefore, I offer an outline which to me seems to make the best sense of the evidence, but of which I am by no means completely certain.

At first the warriors of Sparta were simply divided into tribal contingents, one from each of the three Dorian tribes of Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi. At some point in time, however, probably during the enactment of the Laws of Lycurgus, the Spartan population was divided up into five villages (Limnai, Mesoa, Pitane, Kono-sura, Dyme) which formed administrative divisions of the state called *obai*. We find the army at an early date divided into five companies, or *lochoi*, called Aidolios, Sines, Sarinas, Ploas, and Mesoates. Given the correspondence of the number five, and of at least one of the names, it seems probable that each *lochos* was raised from one *oba*. In his description of the battle of Plataea in 479 Herodotus tells us that Amompharetos commanded the Pitane *lochos*, and it is probable that the father of history has simply substituted the name of the *oba* for the name of the *lochos*. Herodotus (9.10, 11, 61) also tells us that the Lakedaimonians sent out a levy



This *pinax* (plaque) painted by Euthymides and inscribed 'Megacles is Fine', along with other evidence, led Smith to identify the *silens* as the shield device of the Megaclids. When Megacles was ostracised in 486 his name was erased from the plaque and the name Glaukytes substituted. See under A4. (Athens, Akropolis Museum, 1037)

of 5,000 Spartans, out of their 8,000 total of available manpower, each man accompanied by seven helots fighting as *psiloi*, or light infantry; and of 5,000 *perioikoi* equipped as hoplites accompanied by 5,000 *psiloi*. Whether the helot *psiloi* were drawn up together with the hoplites, or separately from them, is not known.

Presumably the army was divided into five *lochoi* of a thousand Spartans each, but of any lower subdivisions we are entirely ignorant. The *pentekostys* or 'fifty', which is attested in later Spartan systems of military organisation, and which presumably originally formed a component of an army arranged on a decimal system, might date back to this time, so each *lochos* may have consisted of twenty *pentekostyes*.

### Plate A2: Samian hoplite, c. 490 BC

Many Greek states used standardised badges to identify their coinage, and when any coin shows a hoplite shield with the city badge used as a blazon on the shield, it is a fairly good indication that the hoplites of that city might have used the city badge as a uniform shield blazon. Most of these coins come from the 4th century and later, but a couple of examples, surprisingly, come from the turn of the fifth. One tetradrachm attributed to Chalcis in



Detail of a warrior on a calyx-crater in the Louvre painted by The Niobid Painter, c. 455–450. His shield is painted white, and bears the device of a hydra, both of which features may show him to be an Argive. The vase is thought to show Herakles and the Argonauts, so perhaps our figure is the Argonaut Idmon, though this is very uncertain. See Plate A3. (Musée du Louvre, G 341)

Euboea shows a Boeotian shield with the initial letter of Chalcis in the local alphabet, *chi*, stamped on it. The Boeotian shield, however, was the badge of the Boeotian League, and the shield on this coin simply indicates that Chalcis was in alliance with Boeotia at the time, so the evidence supplied by this coin has to be rejected.

Following the collapse of the Ionian Revolt some Samians emigrated to Zancle in Sicily, and there issued coins bearing a hoplite shield with a lion's scalp as a blazon. The lion's scalp is the badge normally found on Samian coinage, so it is quite possible that Samian hoplites used uniform shield-devices at this time, or at least that some Samian hoplites favoured the state emblem as a shield-device. If this is the case then the Samians must have been one of the first Greek states after the Lakedaimonians to institute standardised uniform. Doubtless, uniform started with common shield-devices, and at this stage did not extend as far as other items of dress and equipment. Plate A2 has been given a Corinthian helmet pushed back to give the wearer better vision, and a 'composite cuirass' bronze greaves are also worn. A peculiar feature of this period shown on a few vase paintings is that a roll of material, rather like a garter, is worn under the bottom edge of the greave to prevent chafing.

### Plate A3: Argive hoplite, early 5th Century

The only army for which we have textual evidence of uniform at such an early date, other than the Lakedaimonian, is the Argive. Attic tragedians talk of the 'white-shielded army' of the Argives as early as 467, the date when Aeschylus wrote his *Seven Against Thebes* (line 89, see also Soph. *Ant.* 106, Eur. *Phoen.* 1099, Hsych. sv. *Leukaspida*). The white shield was presumably plain, though we should note that a scholiast (that is a later commentator) on Euripides' *Phoenissae* 1135 remarks that Adrastus is given a hydra on his shield on account of his being an Argive. The hydra was a water-snake, the most famous one being that killed by Herakles at Lerna in the Argive Plain. No other details of Argive military dress are given in the ancient texts, and, unfortunately, no grave reliefs or statuettes of hoplites have yet been recovered from Argos which would allow us to make a reconstruction with any confidence. Plate A3 is based on a vase-painting which could possibly show an Argive, with a white shield and a hydra as a shield-design.

### Argive Military Organisation

Various references tell us that around 418, the date of the first battle of Mantinea, the Argive army comprised five *lochoi* and was commanded by five *stratagoi*, each presumably commanding one *lochos*.





(Thuc. 5.59.4, 5.72.3). It may be that the normal strength of the Argive *lochos* was a thousand, which number occurs in texts mentioning Argive forces at other times in the 5th century (Hdt. 6.92, Thuc. 1.107.5). The *lochos* may have been divided up into *pentekostyes*, for a later inscription tells us that citizens were registered under *pentekostyes* on muster-rolls kept in the temple of Apollo Lykeios. This is all very reminiscent of the possible division of the Lakedaimonian army into five *lochoi* of 20 *pentekostyes* each, but we do not know which army might have copied which. Again, like the Lakedaimonian *lochoi*, the five Argive *lochoi* do not seem to have been organised upon tribal lines, for we know of only four Argive tribes: the Hylleis, Dymanes, Pamphyloi and Hymnathioi (R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972, pp. 175-186).

### The Argive Epilektoi

Argos had once been the dominant power in the Peloponnese, but now Lakedaimon had completely taken over from her, thanks to the latter's superior

**Detail from a column-crater in Berlin by The Orpheus Painter. The Thracian hat was made from a fox-skin; the ears and eye-slits are shown quite clearly in the painting; the ear-flaps are tied up with the laces showing as a loop above the cap. The neck-flap seems to be of brightly patterned cloth. Cf. Plate B1. (West Berlin, Antikennmuseum Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, 3172)**

military training programme. In 421 the Argives picked out a thousand of the wealthiest and fittest of their younger citizens, freed them from all public duties, and maintained them at public expense so they could devote themselves to continuous military training and exercise. Only by having their own force permanently training under arms, it was felt, could Lakedaimonian supremacy be offset. 'The Thousand', whom Diodorus (12.75, 79, 80) calls *epilektoi* or 'picked troops', particularly distinguished themselves at the first battle of Mantinea in 418. Following the defeat of the Argives in that battle, 'The Thousand' agreed among themselves to dissolve the democracy and to take power. Their rule lasted only eight months.

'The Thousand' seem to be the earliest example of troops called *epilektoi*. Though the term is used very loosely by some historians, especially Dio-



**This amphora shows a Thracian peltast in full fighting order. This seems to be the only representation of a Thracian peltast wearing a helmet; though not of the type we term 'Thracian', this is of particular interest. Note also the brace of javelins, and the good luck symbols painted on the shield. Cf. Plate B1. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1971.367)**

dorus, in its strict sense *epilektoi* means citizens who are 'picked out' and given maintenance by the state to concentrate permanently on military training. *Epilektoi* became more common in the 4th century; but, as we shall see later, there was a constant danger that a permanently established body of armed citizens might want to seize power for themselves, for there was little to stop them doing so.

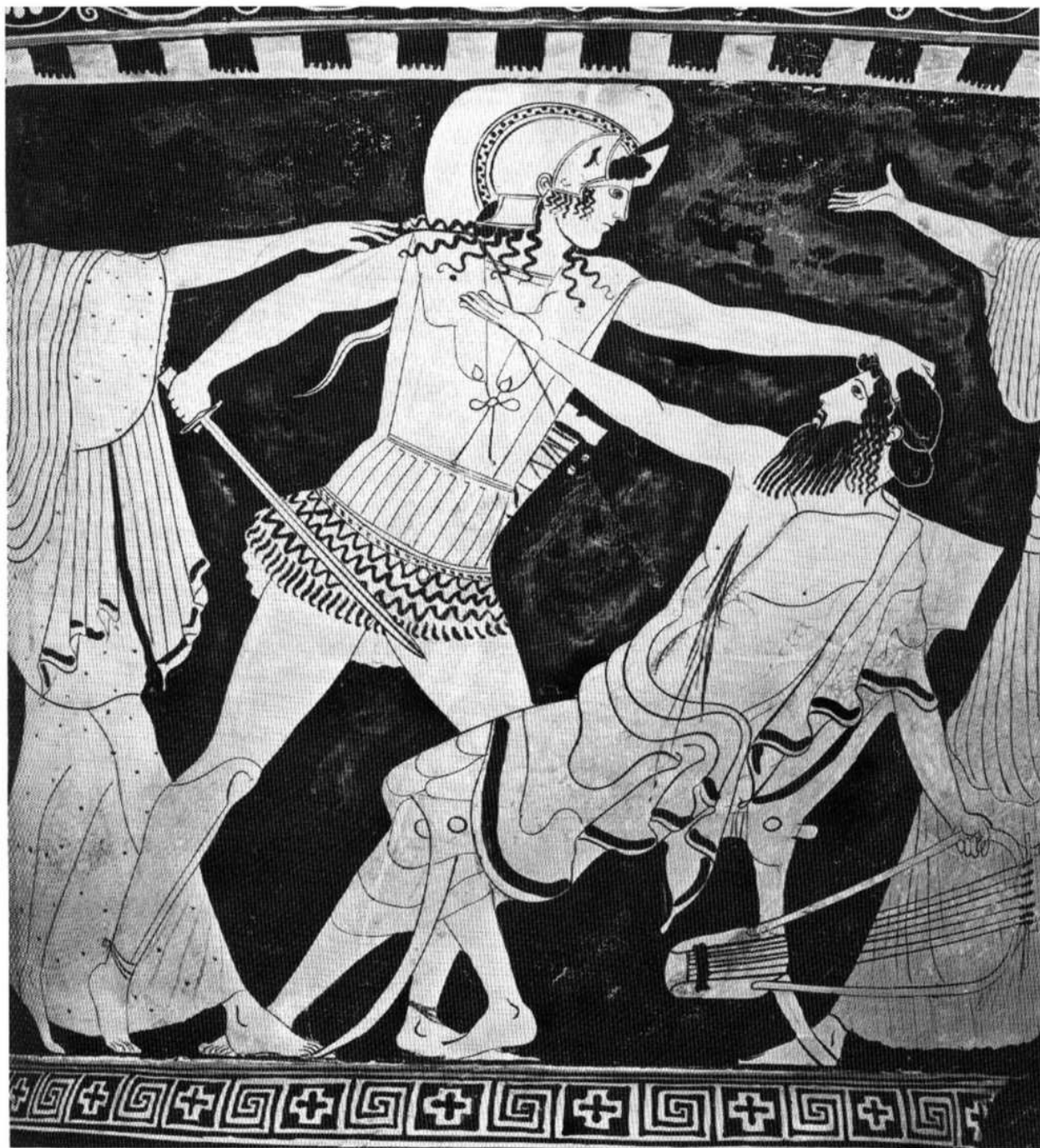
#### **Plate A4: Athenian hoplite of the Alkmaionid Clan, c. 490 BC**

Notwithstanding these few early examples of uniformity in Greek military dress, there can be little doubt that in most Greek armies the hoplite went into battle in dress and equipment of his own choosing well into the Classical period. Many factors could govern a hoplite's choice of shield device (see G.-H. Chase, 'The Shield devices of the Greeks', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 13, 1902, pp. 61-127 repr. Ares Publishers, Chicago,

1979). Some shield devices had a more personal significance, however, and could make some comment on the prowess of the bearer. For example, one Sophanes of Dekeleia had an anchor as his shield device to indicate his steadfastness in the ranks (Hdt. 9.74). Cases of 'canting arms' also existed. Individuals might also bear arms which had a family significance. We are told that Alcibiades had a gold shield made for himself, bearing no family device, but instead an Eros armed with a thunderbolt (Plut. *Vit. Alcib.* 16) which can be taken to show that family shield devices did exist in Athens. Only one Athenian family shield device can be re-created with any certainty. An ancient marginal note in a play by Aristophanes (Schol. *Lysistr.* 664) seems to tell us that the shield device of the Alkmaionid clan was *Leukopodes* or 'Whitelegs', though this interpretation of the passage is far from certain. G. T. Seltman (*Athens, its History and Coinage*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 21 seq.) identified 'Whitelegs' as being the device of a single white leg, or of the *triskeles*—three running legs conjoined in the style of the modern arms of the Isle of Man, found so frequently on Athenian vase-paintings and coinage. Seltman then went on to analyse the early coinage<sup>1</sup> of Athens, dating the coins to various periods when different clans were in power. He thought the horse might be a Peisistratid device, the hind-quarters of a horse a Philaid device, the bull's head and the knuckle-bone an Eteobutad device, and so forth. Unfortunately his dating of early Athenian coinage seems to be at fault, and all these identifications must be rejected (H. J. H. van Buchem, 'Family Coats-of-Arms in Greece?', *Classical Review* 40, 1926, pp. 181-183). Much more plausible is the attempt of H. R. W. Smith ('New Aspects of the Menon Painter', *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 1, 1929, pp. 54-57) to identify the 'silen' badge<sup>2</sup> as the device of the Megacleds, a cadet branch of the Alkmaionid clan.

These clan shield devices would not be used by a single person, but could conceivably have been used by the whole clan. The larger Athenian clans comprised a sizeable proportion of the population of Athens. We are told that in 508 some 700 households in Athens were connected with the Alkmaionid clan. The dangerous military power

<sup>1</sup>From Sileus, a mythical half-man, half-beast.



held by the larger clans, fighting in the same tribal ranks when the army was drawn up for battle, was probably a major factor behind the reform of the Athenian tribal system undertaken by Cleisthenes in 508/7. Henceforward the Athenian population was divided into ten tribes (Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis and Antiochis). Each tribe

This warrior, painted on a calyx-crater by The Dokimasia Painter in the 460s, appears to be wearing a *perizōma*, a protective kilt of blanket-weave material, underneath the groin-flaps of his composite cuirass. Note also the padding worn beneath the greaves. Cf. Plate Bz. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 63.1246)

was named after a different Attic hero, and was formed from parishes, or 'demes', scattered all over Attica. In this way old tribal and clan loyalties were broken down.

### Plate B: Contact with the Thracians

Following their failure to conquer Greece in the Persian Wars, the Persians withdrew from the whole of Europe. This created a vacuum of power in

This *lekythos* by The Oinoides Painter shows a warrior cutting off a lock of hair for a dedication. The combination of muscle-cuirass and Thracian helmet becomes very popular in the 460s. A protective apron, the *perizōma*, has been substituted for the groin-flaps normally worn beneath the cuirass. Note also the pad-strips worn beneath the greaves. Cf. Plate B2. (Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, The Charles W. Harkness Endowment Fund, 28.660)



the northern Aegean, into which the Athenians in particular attempted to expand. Greek warfare had come to be dominated by the hoplite in full armour, and by the time of the Persian Wars cavalry and missile troops were virtually absent from the Greek battlefield. Expeditions into Thrace, however, brought the Greeks into contact with new methods of warfare which would eventually force a review of hoplite tactics and equipment. The Greeks in Thrace suffered from both the bad climate and the novel local methods of warfare. Between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars the Athenians lost nine expeditions while trying to colonise the area of the Strymon valley.

### Plate B1: Thracian peltast

The city-state had never evolved in Thrace, and different social conditions spawned different methods of warfare. The mainstay of any Thracian prince's army was his force of peltasts. The peltasts were javelinmen equipped with a small shield, called a *pelta* or *peltē*. This made them considerably more effective as skirmish troops than the standard Greek javelinman without a shield. Unshielded javelinmen were extremely vulnerable to a defensive barrage from archers or other javelinmen. The defending missile troops could hide behind the hoplite shield wall and, perfectly safe themselves, keep any attacking javelinmen at such a distance, for fear of incurring casualties, that the hoplite line would hardly suffer at all. Once the attacking javelinmen were given shields, however, defensive missiles could be risked with more confidence. Attackers could now advance to a distance from which the hoplite line could be engaged, and the hoplites would start to suffer casualties.

The Thracian peltast was hardly anything more than a tribesman in traditional Thracian hunting-dress. Thracian dress is described by Herodotus (7.75) and other authors. The Thracian cap was made of fox-skin. Winters in Thrace were severe, so the cap was provided with a pair of earflaps to prevent frostbite. The thick square cloak, or *zeira*, extended to the knee to keep the legs warm, and the tunic was unusually thick and long. Xenophon and the Greek mercenaries who had fought for Cyrus served in Thrace, following their return from Asia, under the Odrysian prince Seuthes. When Seuthes marched against the Thynians, 'There was much



snow and such frost that the water brought in for dinner froze, as did the wine in the vessels, and the noses and ears of many of the Greeks were bitten off. Hence it became clear why the Thracians wear fox-skins on their heads and over their ears, and *chitons* not only around the trunk but also around the thighs, and *zeiras* reaching down to the feet on horseback, not *chlamydes*' (*An.* 7.4.3-4). The thick blanket-weave material from which the Thracian garments were made would itself give a little protection from spent missiles. Fur-lined fawnskin boots, laced up the front and then tied off at the top of the calf so as to let the fur lining fall down in three lappets, were distinctively Thracian. The shield would be of wood covered in hide. It was of crescent shape, a segment being cut out of the top edge to allow the peltast unobstructed vision while throwing his javelin. The front of the *peltē* would be painted with some kind of primitive good-luck symbol to ensure the warrior's safety. The most popular design was some kind of stylised face: this was probably intended to give the shield magical vision in order to watch out for hostile missiles. Representations of Thracians on Attic vases tend to show them carrying only a brace of hunting javelins, though perhaps more were carried in war. The javelins were quite long, about six feet, and were fitted with small leaf-shaped iron heads.

### Plates B2, B3: Greek 'Ekdromoi'

Contact with the Thracians, both friendly and hostile, hastened changes in hoplite warfare and equipment. At first the changes were very superficial. The Thracian helmet first became popular in the 460s. It is also noticeable that eyes, which occur but rarely in archaic vase painting, now become the single most popular shield design in representations of hoplites from the middle of the 5th century onwards, probably as a result of Thracian contacts. Eventually, though, campaigning in Thrace was to have a more profound effect on tactics and consequently on equipment. To keep the peltasts at bay the youngest and fittest of the hoplites were detailed to run out of the line at a given signal, in the hope of catching and killing at least a few of the peltasts and driving the rest back. These troops were known as *ekdromoi* or 'runners-out'. Hoplites would be detailed to serve as *ekdromoi* according to age-class; thus the first ten or the first



Here a full jerkin of blanket-weave material, possibly a *spolus*, provides protection for the warrior on whom Plate B3 has been based. Squat lekythos by The Achilles Painter dating to around the 440s. Note the Thracian helmet. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.230.13)

15 age-classes of a particular levy might be detailed to act as *ekdromoi*. In order to enable the *ekdromoi* to catch the peltasts it became inevitable that a considerable portion of the hoplite's heavy body armour would have to be discarded. From about 440 onwards we come across increasingly numerous representations of this new kind of 'light hoplite' in Greek vase-painting and sculpture.

The cuirass and greaves were discarded, but at first the *ekdromos* was not left completely unprotected. Some hoplites had previously worn an apron of thick blanket-weave material, gaily patterned after the Thracian style, underneath the groin-flaps or *pteruges* of the cuirass. When the cuirass was discarded the apron, which was probably called a

*perizōma*, was frequently retained to give at least a little protection from missiles without slowing down the *ekdromos* too much. In other cases a full tunic of similar material was worn. Originally some hoplites

**Detail from a *stamnos* by Polygnotos showing Theseus fighting the Amazons. On the left, Theseus wears the protective kilt, or *perizōma*, and an early form of Boeotian helmet, complete with crest but without an indented rim. On the right, Rhoikos wears Thessalian dress. The shape of the hat foreshadows the *petasos*-helmet. About 445-430. Cf. Plate C1. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V.522)**

may have worn this thick garment as an arming-tunic comparable to the gambeson of the medieval knight. It may be the *spolas* mentioned by Xenophon, but ancient lexica indicate that the *spolas* was normally made of leather. At first it seems that only the *ekdromoi* fought in this lightened equipment, for we can deduce from a number of references that cuirasses continued to be used well into the Peloponnesian War. Eventually, though, it was found that the shield and helmet gave sufficient



protection, and were cheaper and more comfortable to wear than the full hoplite panoply, so lightened equipment came to be adopted by the whole army.

### **Plate C1: Boeotian hoplite, c. 440 BC**

Another change we see in hoplite equipment starting around the mid-5th century is the replacement of the traditional types of close helmet with more open types, such as the Lakonian 'pilos-helmet' and the 'Boeotian' types. Both these helmet types had their origin in regional patterns of felt caps. Demosthenes (59.94) mentions that a painting of the battle of Marathon, housed in the Stoa Poikilē or 'Painted Porch' at Athens, and therefore dating to some time soon after 460, showed the Plataean contingent running to Marathon wearing Boeotian hats. Vase paintings of around that time also show warriors, some of them with Boeotian associations, wearing Boeotian hats. Some of these vase-paintings show crests, indicating a development from felt hats to bronze helmets in the same shape, towards the end of the 5th century. The Boeotian hat was rather like a large-size bowler hat in shape. The brim is always shown drooping downwards. Plate C1 is based on an Attic white-ground *lekythos* or oil flask (Athens 1761) painted in colour by the Thanatos Painter.

## 5th Century Cavalry

### **Plates C2, C3: Thessalian cavalrymen**

Thessaly is composed of huge plains, unique in Greece and ideally suited for growing grain and rearing cattle. The Thessalian aristocracy grew rich on the export trade in corn and stock, and one way in which it chose to display its wealth was in keeping horses. Consequently the Thessalians were the finest horsemen in Greece, and cavalry in Thessaly retained a prime importance in battle when it had become almost obsolete throughout the rest of the Greek mainland. Thessalian riding dress was quite distinct, and adapted to the climate of the landlocked plain—very hot in summer, very cold in winter, thanks to the mountain-chains which surround it. The extravagantly wide-brimmed version of the Greek *petasos*, or sun-hat, kept out the heat and dust of the plain, while the long,

enveloping Thessalian cloak kept the wearer warm in winter but cool in summer. These two distinctive features of Thessalian dress are shown on a great number of Thessalian tombstones, and also on a certain number of Attic white-ground *lekythoi* which seem to show young Athenian aristocrats dressed after the manner of their wealthy Thessalian counterparts. No coloured tombstones of Thessalians have survived from the Classical period, but it might be legitimate to reconstruct the typical colours of Thessalian clothing from the Athenian vase paintings.

Most of these Athenian figures are dressed in hats of yellowish-tan felt and Thessalian cloaks of a dark

**Relief from Phalanna, dating to about 450, showing typical Thessalian dress of wide-brimmed hat, tunic and Thessalian cloak. A brace of hunting spears is carried in the left hand. (Volos, Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum, L 372)**



brownish-red colour with a broad white border, as in plate C3. This could well represent typical Thessalian dress. Plate C2, however, is reconstructed from an Athenian vase (Walter Riezler, *Weissgründige Attische Lekythen*, Munich, 1914, pl. 95) showing a horseman in Thessalian clothing, which is as striking as it is unique in colour combination. It should be noted that the Thessalian tombstones universally show a short-sleeved tunic worn underneath the cloak, whereas the Athenian vases show the cloak worn without a tunic.

At this time the typical Greek cavalry spear was the *kamax*. The word means 'reed', and was a nickname given first to long, thin vine-poles, and

then to the long, thin cavalry spears which looked like them. The *kamax* was primarily designed for use against infantry, its great length being designed to enable the horseman to 'pig-stick' enemy infantry.

### The Thessalian League

Thessaly did not rely exclusively on the cavalry arm, though infantry were always of less importance because of the slow development of the city-state in that region. Thessaly was traditionally divided into four tetrarchies or 'quarters' called Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Hestiaiotis. These four tetrarchies formed the Thessalian League, in whose meetings votes were allocated by tetrarchy, and whose elected head was called the *tagos*. The first *tagos* was called Aleuas the Red; and a mutilated fragment (479 ed. V. Rose) from Aristotle's lost *Constitution of the Thessalians* gives some detail of the military organisation of the

**Detail from The Great Melos Amphora by The Suessula Painter, now in the Louvre (S 1677), showing a battle between gods and giants. Our figure, probably Castor or Pollux, demonstrates how the *kamax* was used against infantry, with a rapid downward thrust of the small leaf-shaped head. Cf. Plates C2, C3. (After Adolf Furtwängler *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 96/7; photomontage by C. Street-Cunningham)**





League, which remained in force through the Classical period, though the office of *tagos* lapsed:

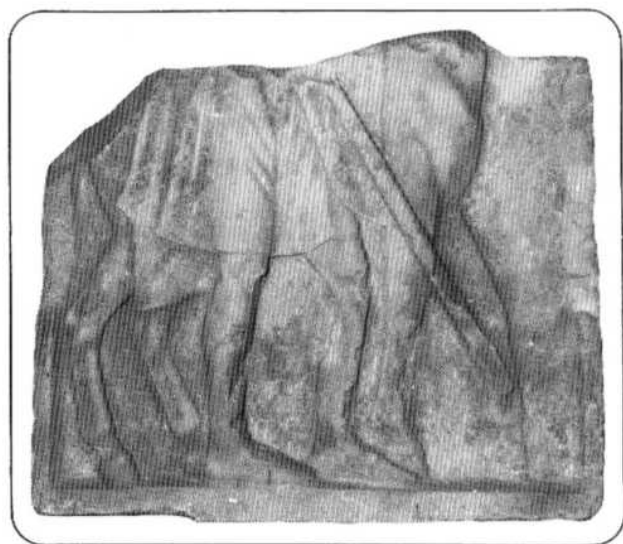
'Aleuas the Red divided Thessaly into four Tetrarchies, and having thus divided the state, he assessed the army strength at 40 horsemen and 80 hoplites per *klēros*.'

It seems that there were 150 *klēroi*, or lots, for the total army of the League numbered 6,000 cavalry and 12,000 hoplites. Something concerning peltasts or the *pellē* follows this fragment, so it is possible that the *klēros* was also responsible for furnishing a number of peltasts. In fact the dividing line between what was a hoplite and what was a peltast seems to have been somewhat blurred in Thessaly, as we might expect in a corner of Greece which was atypical in so many other respects. Figures appear on Thessalian coins and reliefs which seem to be half-way between hoplites and peltasts in equipment, wielding javelins but using hoplite shields.

Thessaly's large army allowed her to expand at the expense of her neighbours, the surrounding perioikic communities of Magnesia, Perrhaebia, and Achaia Phthiotis. A second *tagos*, called Skopas the Old, fixed the tribute the Perioikis had to pay to the League, apparently in terms of both revenues and military contributions.

### Athenian Cavalry

During the period of the Persian Wars the Athenians maintained a force of only some 300 horsemen who had little military function. During the archonate of Diphilos in 442, probably as a result of a law moved by Perikles, the cavalry corps was expanded to 1,000. Each of the ten Athenian tribes supplied a tribe (*phylē*) of cavalry commanded by a phylarch. The ten *phylai* of horse were under the command of two hipparchs, who would each command a wing of five *phylai* in battle. All these officers would be elected annually. The cavalry, like the hoplites, were not paid a regular wage, but unlike the hoplites they were given an allowance of one drachma a day for fodder in times of peace or war alike. On entering service with the cavalry the young nobleman would also be paid an establishment grant (*katastasis*) to cover the cost of his mount. The *katastasis* had to be paid back on leaving the cavalry, unless the mount had been killed on active service. To avoid fraudulent



**Broken relief from Larisa dating to the last quarter of the 5th century.** The long cylindrical spear-butt, though nearly erased by later damage, suggests that this Thessalian horseman carries a *kamav*, a species of long cavalry spear. Cf. Plates C2, C3. (Volos, Athanassakeion Archaeological Museum, L 393)

claiming of allowances the *dokimasia* or inspection was performed annually by the Athenian council, or *boulē*, following the election of the officers. Each rider and horse would be carefully inspected for fitness for service. Horses which failed to pass the *dokimasia* were branded on the jaw with the sign of a wheel, in order to prevent them being slipped through the *dokimasia* on a future occasion. If passed the riders names would be entered on the *sanides*, or 'chalk-boards', which would be passed on to the taxiarchs, who commanded the tribal infantry regiments. The taxiarchs would delete the names of those entered on the *sanides* from the tribal recruitment rolls, which were kept by archon year, to ensure that no-one became liable for both hoplite and cavalry service.

### Plate D1: Athenian cavalryman, c. 440 BC

A number of Athenian reliefs show the dress of the newly expanded Athenian cavalry corps just before the start of the Peloponnesian Wars. Normal military dress is shown, however, in a number of Athenian sculptures – both private funerary monuments, and state monuments to the fallen – dating from this period. From about 440 onwards it became fashionable for the Athenian nobility to spend more and more on their tombstones. The principal funerary monument from now until 317

was the marble *lekythos* or 'oil flask'. For a long time the dead had been buried with oil flasks (for toilet purposes in the after-life), and it now became popular to demarcate the tomb plot with monumental marble *lekythoi* at the edges. These marble vases are also found in a second shape, the *loutrophoros*, which was a ritual vessel used to fill the marriage bath. These marble *lekythoi* and *loutrophoroi* were usually sculpted with a representation of the deceased in an act of daily life, and are a rich source of information about Athenian military dress and equipment in the Classical period.

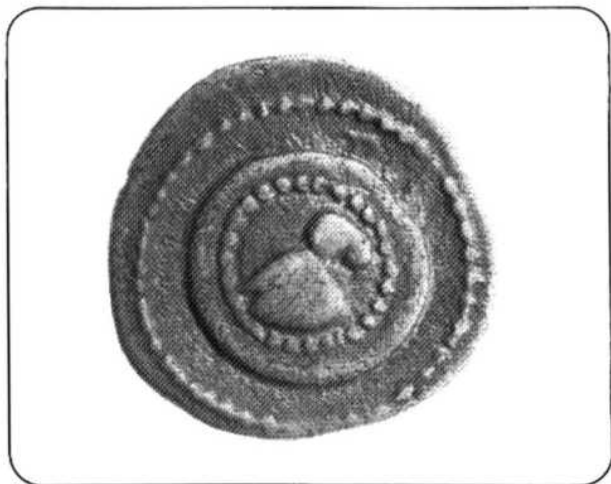
Plate B1 is based on a marble *lekythos* in Athens (National Museum inv. 835). All Athenian cavalry of this period have certain features of dress in common. The tunic is a *chitoniskos*, a sleeveless tunic held up by straps over the shoulders, looking rather like a modern vest. Over this is worn a bronze muscle-cuirass which passes over the shoulders only in very narrow bands so as to allow maximum freedom of movement to the arms. The head was covered by a *petasos* of the Thessalian type, and the feet were shod in the normal thin Greek cavalry boots. On Athenian reliefs these boots are very hard to detect, as the details of strap-work etc. were normally painted in; but if the toes are not clearly shown in a relief we can be sure it is because the subject is wearing boots. Weapons were also frequently painted in. These seem to have been the *kamax*, sometimes used in conjunction with a pair of

javelins, and a cavalry sabre. Where the cavalry sabre is shown on these reliefs it seems to have a hilt shaped like a bird's head. In all cases the sabre is shown sheathed, however, so it is difficult to be certain whether or not the sabre would have had a curved blade or, as is more common in this period, a straight, broad blade rather like the medieval falchion in appearance. Cloaks are not shown in reliefs before the turn of the century, so perhaps they were not worn. Military dress of this type is also worn by some of the figures on the Parthenon frieze, the majority of whom are, however, not shown wearing uniform dress. Given the uniformity of dress and equipment in these figures one is forced to ask whether the Athenian cavalry were fully uniformed with tunics of the same colour at this early stage; but the answer is probably 'no'. The similarity in the type of equipment carried seems to be explained by the law of Perikles, which must have stipulated exactly what equipment a cavalryman had to possess to pass the *dokimasia*, but this would certainly not run as far as detailing clothes to be worn. Coincidences here are probably explained by prevailing fashions. The aristocratic cavalrymen aped Lakedaimonian habits: they wore their hair long, and engaged in boxing and other gymnastic exercises. Because of these practices their detractors called them 'the folk with battered ears'.

#### Plate D2: Athenian cavalry recruit c. 430 BC

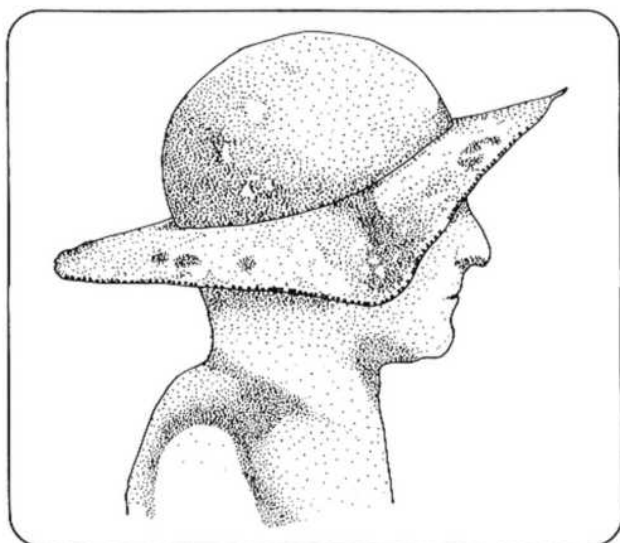
It is a great pity that we do not know more of the Athenian system of ephebic training during the 5th century. The ephebe was a young man undergoing military training; it seems that the course of training lasted two years, from 18 to 20. The first year seems to have been a basic military training course for all citizens, carried out in barracks in the Piraeus. In the second year those who were in the hoplite census class were given a further year of training in hoplite warfare, during which they manned the frontier forts guarding Attica. Those who were too poor to afford hoplite equipment—like the orator Aeschines (2.167) in his youth—were trained as peltasts, and spent their second year patrolling the countryside of Attica, from which activity they were known as *peripoloi* or 'patrollers'. Thucydides (8.92.6) also mentions some cavalry *neaniskoi*, which is a word usually used to mean an ephebe, so it may be that in their second year of military training

Coin of Larisa dating to the end of the 5th century. Hoplites of Larisa may have used the cow's hoof, symbolic of Thessalian trade in beef and livestock, as a common shield device. (British Museum)





Detail from a marble *lekythos* showing a cavalryman. This is one of the earliest examples of this type of funerary monument: at this early date the *lekythoi* are very tall and thin. The style of carving is very reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, which allows us to date the sculpture to about 440. The cavalryman, on whom Plate D1 is based, wears a *petasos* hat, a thin sleeveless tunic, and a bronze muscle-cuirass. Further details, such as the spear and boot-straps, would have been painted onto the sculpture. (Athens, National Museum, 835)



Cavalry helmet discovered in a tomb in Madytou Street, Athens. The rim is pierced all the way round the edge with a line of small holes, possibly to allow a material cover to be stitched on to the outside, thereby disguising the helmet as a hat. The total effect is very reminiscent of 17th century helmets made in hat shapes. Plate D2 wears a helmet of this type. (Drawing: Hugh Coddington)

those intending to serve in the cavalry underwent mounted training.

This brings us to Plate D2, which is based on a late 5th century Athenian white-ground *lekythos* painted by The Reed Painter (Athens, National Museum 12275). The figure of a horseman painted on it is most rare, and has a number of points of interest. First is the black *chlamys*. We know that the Athenian ephebes wore black cloaks at certain processions and festivals, so our figure may be an ephebe in training for the cavalry. Another interesting feature is the helmet in the shape of a *petasos*. It is evident on Athenian reliefs of this period that many horsemen are not wearing a *petasos*, but a metal helmet of *petasos* shape. These 'petasos-helmets' can be distinguished from a simple hat because they lie square on the brow, rather than being perched jauntily over the forehead, which is the way in which the *petasos* is normally worn. An actual example of a helmet of this type has recently been discovered in an Athenian tomb (O. Alexandri *Archaiologikē Ephēmeris*, 1973, pp. 93–105). Finally, we might note that the horseman is carrying a pair of heavy hunting spears rather than the *kamax*.



## The Peloponnesian War

It was probably inevitable that the rising power of Athens would eventually clash with Lakedaimon. What was perhaps not so inevitable, from a military viewpoint, was the way that the ascendancy of the hoplite, though under constant challenge during 30 years of warfare, survived the war virtually undiminished. This is not to say that hoplite armies always won – they suffered a number of defeats at the hands of peltasts or *psiloi*, frequently with the support of cavalry; but in the end the hoplite armies were able to devise new tactics to overcome their adversaries.

### Greek Psiloi

It is easy for the student of Greek warfare, in devoting too much attention to the study of the

Athenian state monument commemorating the dead of 394. The cavalryman on the right wears a petasos-helmet, or possibly an early form of Boeotian helmet. He thrusts downwards with a *kamax* and is also armed with a sabre. On the left, an Athenian hoplite with a fallen adversary. Cf. Plate Dz. (Athens, National Museum, 2744)

peltast, to forget about the simple Greek *psilos* armed with some sort of stick or stone. Occasions did occur when even the humble rock could be used to effect against a hoplite army. In 457 the Corinthians occupied the heights of Geraneia and descended on Megara, thinking that the Athenians were too heavily committed to campaigns elsewhere. But the Athenians called out the epebebes between 18 and 20 and the old men between 50 and 60, and despatched this force under the famous general Myronides. One indecisive battle was fought; then a second one at Kimolia 12 days later. The Corinthian hoplites were thrown back, and in their confusion a considerable proportion of them lost their way and rushed into some farmland enclosed by a great ditch. It was a dead end. The



Athenians shut them in by barring the entrance with hoplites; then the *psiloi* who had followed the expedition stoned to death the Corinthian hoplites trapped inside.

In 426 the Athenian general Demosthenes invaded the mountains of Aetolia. The fate of his expeditionary force is described by Thucydides (3.97–8). He was short of *psiloi*, but did have a force of citizen archers in his army. As long as the arrows held out the Aetolians, who were not peltasts and so without shields for their own defence, were kept at bay. The archers were eventually routed, however, and the Athenian force broke up and fled. Many hid in a nearby forest, but the Aetolians set light to it and smoked them out. The Athenians lost 120 hoplites, men in the prime of life. Plate E is set in Aetolia in 426.

### Plates E1, E2: Greek stone-thrower and javelinman

Greek *psiloi* are normally shown wearing the everyday dress of Greek shepherds: a tunic of coarse cloth and a shaggy felt hat. Sometimes there are modifications: one figure might wear a better tunic of linen, another might wear boots. One feature nearly all have in common is that they carry a makeshift shield formed by an animal pelt laid along the left arm and secured in place by knotting a pair of the paws around the neck. Weapons seem to be restricted to stones or javelins; only occasionally do we find the odd representation of a figure carrying a sword.

### Plate E3: Athenian hoplite

A number of Athenian vases of the 430s, just on the eve of the Peloponnesian War, show Athenians carrying shields bearing the initials *A* or *ATHH*. Most vases of both these varieties show the figures engaged in the *hoplitodromos* – a foot race, run with helmet and shield, in which the ephebes took part. It is most probable that these shields were not used in war, but were used exclusively for these athletic contests. Though just possible, it is highly unlikely that such shields were ever issued by the state for campaign use, even to the young men. There does not seem to have been a uniform Athenian shield-design during this period. In fact we are told (Thuc. 4.96.3) that at Delium in 424 the Athenians—in surrounding the Thespians, who stood firm while



Greek *psilos* shown on an Attic amphora by The Providence Painter dating to the first half of the 5th century. He wears a tunic and shaggy felt hat, normal dress for Greek shepherds in antiquity, and protects himself with an animal skin. Note the absence of even a dagger for hand-to-hand combat. See Plate E1. (Musée du Louvre, G 216)

the rest of the Bocotian right flank fled – started to cut each other down, Athenian being unable to recognize Athenian in the confusion. In addition there are a couple of texts telling us the shield designs of individual generals: Nicias has a shield decorated with intricate workmanship in gold and purple (Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 28.5); and in the *Acharnians* (964–5, 1124, 1181) of Aristophanes the comic figure Lamachus uses a shield with the *gorgoneion* badge.

What relation the comic figure of Lamachus has to the *strategos* Lamachos of real life is unknown, but in the *Acharnians* Lamachus wears a triple-plumed helmet which included two white ostrich feathers (964–5, 1104, 1109). In the *Peace* (1172–74) a *taxiarch* is described as wearing a triple-crested helmet, and crimson clothing dyed with Sardian dye. In all probability, then, the triple-crested helmet was a badge of rank worn by both *taxiarch* and *strategos*.

### Athenian Military Organisation

The tribal regiments had been commanded by ten *stratēgoi* during the Persian Wars. In the course of



This Attic skyphos, not far from the Battle of Kimolia in date, shows a peltast on one side and a stone-thrower on the other. Though crude, these paintings display some interesting features. Note the arrangement of the handles on the inside of the peltē, and the sword worn by the stone-thrower. (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. IV 1922)

time the majority of the *stratēgoi* started to become the equivalent of civilian ministers of war, and only one or two would take on the military responsibility of leading out an expedition. Each *taxis* was now commanded by a *taxiarch*, and was divided into a number of *lochoi*, each of a standard size, it seems, and commanded by a *lochagos*. The precise strength of the *taxis* would vary from expedition to expedition. For example, the Athenian people might pass a decree to send out an army of 5,000 hoplites. The *taxiarchs* would examine the muster rolls or *katalogoi*, on which the citizens liable for service were entered by archon-year. They would work out up to what archon-year the age-classes had to be called out to meet the number required. Such a levy was known as an 'eponymous levy'. An expedition involving a call-up for active service of all the age-classes up to the upper age limit was known as an expedition 'of the whole people' (*panḗmei*). On his fiftieth birthday a citizen passed from the active-service muster rolls to the reserve. Though occasionally the old men were called out for active-service, in general they were called upon to perform only garrison duty. Thucydides (2.13.6-8) gives the strength of the Athenian army

on the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War as follows: 13,000 citizen hoplites of military age; 16,000 ephebes, old men and metics (foreign citizens permanently resident in Athens); 1,200 cavalry, including 200 horse-archers; 1,600 foot-archers; and 300 seaworthy triremes.

### The Lakedaimonian Army at First Mantinea, 418 BC

After Herodotus' description of the army the Lakedaimonians sent to Plataea in 479, our next glimpse of their army comes in Thucydides' description of the battle of Mantinea (5.67-68). The organisational structure has changed somewhat, most probably as a result of the devastating earthquake of 464, which took so many Spartan lives, and the human losses suffered in the revolt of the Messenian helots that followed. The five *lochoi* were retained, though reduced in size, and further *lochoi* were created by emancipating helots 'of the most suitable type'. These newly enfranchised helots were known as *neodamodeis*.

At Mantinea there seem to have been five *lochoi* of citizens, each 512 strong and divided into four *pentekostyes* and 16 *enōmotiai*. The *enōmotia* of 32 men was drawn up eight deep with a frontage of four. This strength represented total Lakedaimonian citizen manpower up to the age of 55. We may assume that had the remaining age-classes been called up, the size of the *enōmotia* would have been



expanded accordingly. As with the Athenian system, call-up in the Lakedaimonian system was determined by age-class, and the summons might read, for example, that all were to report up to the 35th year of military liability. Squadding would then take place. So it seems that only 2,560 Spartans fought at Mantinea, which contrasts sharply with the 5,000 at Plataea. We are not told why the *perioikoi* were not called out for the battle.

In addition to the five citizen *lochoi* there were two more Lakedaimonian *lochoi* of *neodamodeis*, which seem to have numbered 1,000 men in total, and an eighth *lochos* of 600 Skiritai. The Skiritai were a community of Arcadians living on the borders of Lakedaimon, who seem to have enjoyed a 'most favoured *perioikoi*' status. They fought as hoplites at Mantinea. Of the two *lochoi* of *neodamodeis* one was known as the 'Brasideioi', because it was composed of helots who had been enfranchised after serving in a Thracian expedition under the Spartan general Brasidas.

**Plate Fr: Lakedaimonian hoplite, c. 413 BC**

Around the middle of the 5th century the Lakedaimonians also started to lighten the equipment of their hoplites. Greaves and cuirass were discarded, and the closed Corinthian helmet was replaced by the open-faced 'Pilos-helmet'. Like the Boeotian helmet, the type seems to have originated in the Laconian variant of the felt *pilos* hat.

The two can be distinguished by the conical shape of the pilos-helmet, ending in quite a noticeable point, and by the shape of the rim. The pilos-helmet has a narrow rim which does not stick out at all, but which follows the line of the crown, hanging almost vertically from the body of the helmet. A feature of many Lakedaimonian pilos-helmets of this period is that the rim is slightly extended and rolled back a little above the neck.

Plate F1 is based on an Early Apulian vase-painting by 'The Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl' dating to about 420 (A. D. Trendall & Alexander Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, I, pl. 2, 5). We can identify the figure of the warrior as being a Lakedaimonian from his long hair and beard, which the Lakedaimonians were allowed to grow long on campaign, and which had fallen out of fashion everywhere else in the Greek world. The painter has obviously paid a lot of attention to detail, and it seems probable that the painting of the Lakedaimonian warrior is drawn from personal observation by the artist. The Lakedaimonian wears the characteristic pilos-helmet, and other interesting details shown are the spear head and butt. Of supreme interest is the layout of the inside of the shield. The bronze outer face of the shield was normally lined with thin layers of wood. This shield seems to have a bronze reinforcing band running round the inside where the rim meets the belly of the shield. This band secures a handle for the left hand (*antilabē*), and two shoulder straps which enabled the shield to be carried on the back when on the march. These two shoulder straps are shown in the painting as black curvy lines hanging loose on the inside of the shield. In the middle of the inside of the shield is placed a bronze arm-band (*porpax*) to which is attached the bronze arm-hole through which the left forearm is passed. Without the *porpax* the hoplite shield was useless, for it was this which held the shield securely to the arm. When the Lakedaimonian warrior returned home he took the *porpax* off his shield so that it could not be used by a helot in times of revolt.

The subject is shown naked, whereas we know that normally the Lakedaimonians wore crimson garments, especially a short-sleeved tunic, the *exōmis*, which was normally worn with the right shoulder unpinned and allowed to fall leaving the right arm and shoulder free for action. This



**Ephebes (recruits) running in the armoured race. The marked shields would all be equal in weight: they were used in the armoured race to make sure no one was running with an artificially lightened shield. Small Attic pelike of around 430. (Laon, Municipal Museum of Archaeology, 371029)**

garment is shown on numerous Attic grave reliefs of the period which show Lakedaimonian warriors defeated by the hand of the victorious Athenian—who may well have died himself in the process! The warrior on the Apulian vase, and the warriors on many of the Attic grave reliefs, are probably shown naked to emphasise the vulnerability of mortal flesh in combat, and probably at this stage do not represent actual military practice.

Numerous literary references refer to the small Lakedaimonian stabbing sword, and Attic reliefs showing Lakedaimonians often show a short sword, little more than a dagger, less than a foot long, and with a wide leaf- or diamond-shaped blade. No actual examples have survived, but a bronze simulacrum from Crete may have originally been attached to a statue honouring a Lakedaimonian king or general who fought on the island. F2 and F3 have been restored with swords based on these sources of information. The guard of the sword is hidden by the large mouth of the sheath. The edge of the mouth is not straight, but has raised semi-circular projections in the middle, which may have acted as clips to secure the sword in its sheath. These projections are clearly shown on the sheath used by

the fallen Lakedaimonian warrior depicted on the Dexileos Monument. The idea behind the short sword seems to have been that it could be used for underarm thrusts, and was handier than the long-bladed sword in the close fighting of the phalanx. A short sword would be more liable to fall out of its sheath, however, which would have made the clips necessary. Soon the short-bladed sword spread to most other areas of Greece. Numerous reliefs of the period show this weapon in its sheath held in the left hand as well as the *antilabē*. This could have become a general practice either to prevent the sword falling out of its sheath, or to enable the sword to be located and drawn as quickly as possible in the case of the warrior's spear breaking during the *méléc*.

**Plate F2: Lakedaimonian officer, c. 413 BC**

We have seen that there is considerable evidence that the equipment and dress of the Lakedaimonian army was remarkably uniform, and it is difficult to believe that by this stage the hoplite provided his own equipment rather than being provided with it by the state, as must certainly have been the case

**It is less certain that this vase shows an athletic scene because of the presence of the spear; other vases showing shields with the 'alpha' device, however, show the armoured race. Also noteworthy is the bandeau worn underneath the helmet. This Nolan amphora by The Painter of the Boston Phiale dates to the 430s. Cf. Plate E3. (Warsaw, National Museum, 142338)**







with the emancipated helots. With the battle of Mantinea comes our first completely reliable piece of literary evidence for Lakedaimonian shield designs. A fragment of the poet Eupolis, which seems to come from a description of the array of forces at First Mantinea, tells us that the Lakedaimonians were distinguished by the letter *lambda* or 'L' for Lakedaimon on their shields, whereas the opposing Messenians bore the letter *mu* or 'M' for Messenia (Photius, *Onomasticon*, sv. 'Lambda'). How far back into the 5th century or earlier this practice went is unknown.

Plate F2 represents a Lakedaimonian officer. As has been mentioned above, it seems to have been common practice in Greek armies to differentiate rank by plumes or by other distinguishing marks on the helmet.

A Lakedaimonian shield was discovered in a cistern during excavations in the Athenian Agora in 1936. This shield had been captured in 425 when the Lakedaimonian garrison at Sphacteria, 420 men plus helots, had surrendered. The Lakedaimonians had been outmanoeuvred and penned up on the island, which lay just offshore of Pylos, where an Athenian expeditionary force had made a landing in Messenia. The Athenian general

The scene on this Apulian calyx-crater probably reflects a genuine historical incident: the despatch of a Lakedaimonian expeditionary force to Italy in around 420. The Lakedaimonian's adversary, usually identified as an Amazon, is more probably a native cavalryman. Plate F1 is based on this figure, with his full beard and long hair so typically Lakedaimonian. (Wellesley, Mass., Wellesley College Museum)

Demosthenes, who had learned well from his earlier defeat in Aetolia, landed on the island following a destructive forest fire. The Lakedaimonians were then worn down by incessant missile fire from Demosthenes' light-armed troops, and were eventually forced to surrender. The fortuitous discovery of this shield allows us to restore the cable pattern of the shield rim of plate F2 with some accuracy.

### **Plate F3: Tegean hoplite, c. 413 bc**

The Tegeans were the most faithful allies of the Lakedaimonians and held the most honourable position in the battle line after them. At Plataea there were 1,500 Tegean hoplites, plus an equal number of *psiloi* to accompany them. At the battle of Nemea in 394 there may have been as many as 2,400. Plate F3 is based on the tombstone of Lisas the Tegean.

His dress and equipment are obviously modelled



Grave relief of Stratokles son of Prokles. Dating from around the turn of the 5th century, this relief shows the Athenian Stratokles triumphant over a fallen warrior, who is probably a Peloponnesian and possibly a Lakedaimonian. The latter wears an *exomis* pinned up at the shoulder. Note also his short sword and pilos-helmet. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, nr.64)

very closely on Lakedaimonian lines, as we can see from the shape of the shield's arm-hole, the tunic and especially the pilos-helmet: these were perhaps general for all Lakedaimon's Peloponnesian allies. A number of texts indicate the uniformity of dress in armies under Lakedaimonian influence. The army of Greek mercenaries serving under Cyrus the Younger was commanded by the Spartan Clearchus, 'with spear in one hand and staff in the other', and was largely trained and organised by him along Lakedaimonian lines. Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.2.16) describes the army drawn up for parade in crimson tunics and bronze helmets and greaves. Some time after this Xenophon (*Agex.* 2.7) tells us that the army Agesilaus took back to the Greek mainland from Asia on the outbreak of the Corinthian War was dressed entirely in crimson and bronze. This

army consisted of Lakedaimonian helots, allies and mercenaries, and it is highly probable that all these units were composed of hoplites dressed in exactly the same dress: pilos-helmet, crimson tunic etc., differentiated one from another only by the design painted on to the bronze shield.

The colours of the Tegean's clothing and equipment have been restored bearing these factors in mind. His shield design may have simply been the letter *tau*, 'T' for Tegea, which we see on contemporary coinage of the city. We also know that the Sicyonians bore the letter *sigma* painted on their shields from an anecdote in Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.4.10). This tells how Pasimachus, a Lakedaimonian cavalry officer, the Sicyonian infantry having fled, dismounted his men and took up the shields of the Sicyonians. He then advanced against the enemy saying 'By Castor and Pollux, Argives, these *sigmas* will deceive you!' They certainly did for the Argives, thinking their adversaries were only Sicyonians, slew the lot of them.

### The Mantineian Army

Mantineia, lying close to Tegea, was the most powerful Arcadian community. The two states were locked in an almost continuous struggle for hegemony in the region. Tegea tended to look to Lakedaimon for support, whereas the more distant Mantinea used to look towards Lakedaimon's traditional enemies such as the Argives. This explains why Tegea stuck so long to her traditional Lakedaimonian alignment.

Fortunately we know rather more about the Mantineian army than we do about the Tegean. The Mantineian citizenry were divided into five demes, and the army was correspondingly divided into five regiments called Epalea, Enyalia, Hoplodemia, Posoidaia, and Wanakisia (*JG* 5.2.271). The army consisted of about 3,000 hoplites in all, so each of the regiments probably numbered about 600.

The shield device of the Mantineian hoplite was the trident of Poseidon, the patron deity of the city of Mantinea. This must have been adopted as the standard shield device quite early on, for Bacchylides, who flourished around the middle of the 5th century, mentions it (frg.[Bergk]41) in one of his poems.



Bronze model of a short sword from Crete. It is 32.3cm long, perhaps slightly larger than life-size, and weighs 780 grams. The serrated edge to the blade is difficult to explain. The use of short swords such as these spread throughout Greek armies under Lakedaimonian influence. (British Museum, 1931.2.17.2)

## The Lakedaimonian Hegemony

The defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War left Lakedaimon as the most powerful state in all Greece. In order to achieve this victory, however, the Lakedaimonians had had to alter their traditional way of doing things to such an extent that the spirit of the Lycurgan constitution was seriously undermined. In order to build and maintain a fleet the Lakedaimonians had had to accept Persian subsidies, and these large amounts of money passing through Lakedaimonian hands soon made their corrupting influence felt. The new empire also required Spartan governors or generals to live for long periods of time away from Sparta. Once away from the imposed restraints of the Lycurgan system these Spartans went wild, and their debauched and venal behaviour soon made the Spartans detested in many of the states where they had previously been so admired. Few Spartans wanted to return to the cold comforts of Sparta after a lengthy sojourn in foreign fleshpots.

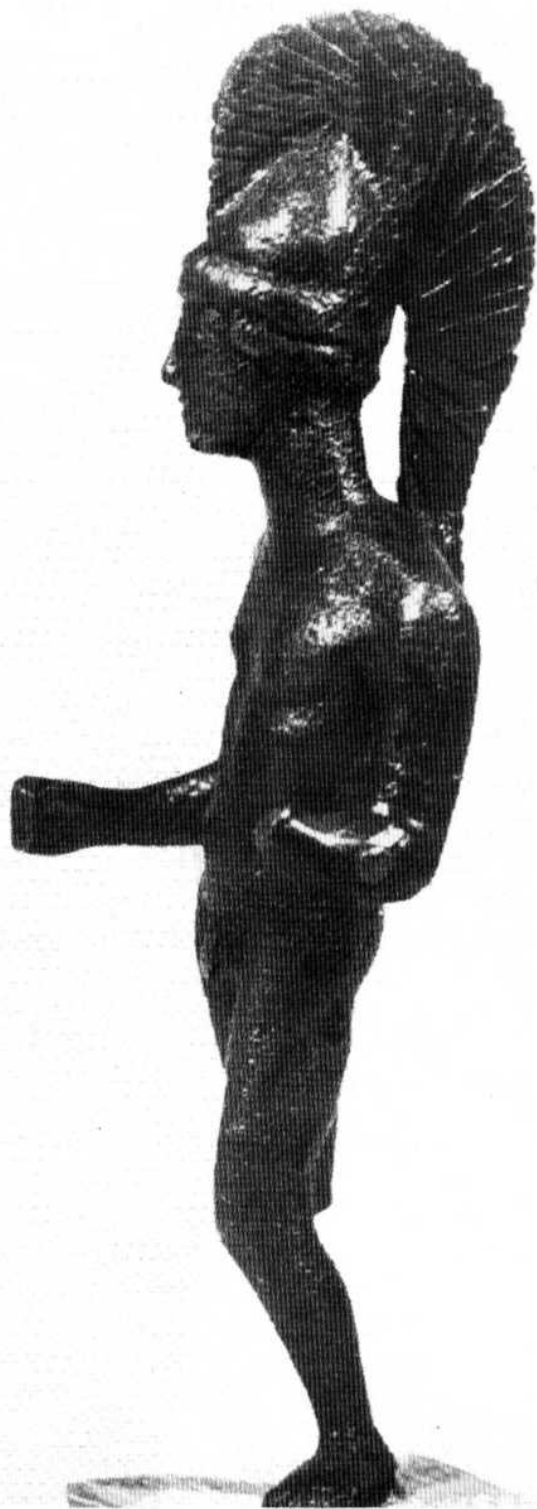
The decline of Lakedaimonian integrity could have been avoided had the state not decided on a policy of imperialism following the end of the Peloponnesian War. This policy was foisted on the Lakedaimonian state by the general Lysander and the lame King Agesilaus. The Lakedaimonians became embroiled in a war with Persia over the suzerainty of the Greek cities of Asia. Meanwhile, growing hostility to Lakedaimon finally erupted in 395 in the form of the Corinthian War, with most of the states of central Greece combined in an alliance against Lakedaimon. The Lakedaimonians acted quickly, and an allied force under Lysander was sent into Boeotia. The two armies met at Haliartos, and in the ensuing battle Lysander was killed.

### The Army of the Boeotian League

We are fortunate in having some information concerning the organisation of the Boeotian League at the beginning of the 4th century. Much important information has been preserved in a fragment of papyrus found at the site of the ancient Ptolemaic town of Oxyrhynchus, and known as the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* in consequence. This passage describes the state of the Boeotian League in 395. Boeotia was divided into 11 sections, each one of which supplied a federal magistrate known as a Boeotarch and a military contingent of 1,000 hoplites and 100 cavalry in time of war. The Thebans supplied four Boeotarchs, two representing Thebes itself and two more who had originally represented Plataea, Skolos, Erythrai, Skaphai and other places now conquered by Thebes. Orchomenos and Hysiai supplied a further two, as did Thespias Eutresis and Thisbai. Tanagra supplied one. Haliartos Lebadeia and Koroneia supplied one in turn, as did Akraiphion Kopia and Chaironeia.

### Plates G1, G2: Boeotian hoplites, c. 395 BC

These two figures are based on Boeotian painted pots which have been dated to the last decade of the 5th and the first decade of the 4th centuries (Reinhard Lullies, *Ath. Mitt.* 65, 1940, pp. 1-27). Both the Boeotian painted pottery and the Boeotian incised grave reliefs of this period display many interesting features of dress and equipment which may well be characteristically Boeotian. One distinctive feature seems to be the highly decorated shield interiors. Figures of heroes or minor deities seem to be especially popular. The interior of plate



**Bronze statuette from Sparta. The figure, probably taking part in a religious festival at home in Sparta, which would explain the shaved chin and the nudity, would once have carried a spear and a shield which have now become detached from the figure. The peculiarly shaped plume is probably a badge of rank, and is used in the reconstruction of Plate Fz. (Sparta, The Archaeological Museum, 970)**

G1's shield is decorated with a Triton. Paradoxically, the Boeotian helmet is hardly ever seen: the pilos-helmet predominates, and most other types are encountered. Greek helmets do not seem to have been given a padded lining for the comfort of the wearer. The warrior would either wear a close-fitting cap known as a *kataityx*, or would wrap a bandeau round his head—as has plate G2 to ensure his comfort.

The clothing worn by these figures is minimal perhaps only a wrap and frequently nothing at all; and one wonders if, bearing in mind the ubiquity of the nude in military art in the early years of the 4th century, Greek warriors in fact fought naked during these years. In Boeotia this may have been exceptionally popular, for, as well as their other strange habits, the Boeotians almost worshipped the body, spending most of their lives in the gymnasia. There is no information on the colours of the garments worn, though the incised grave reliefs did preserve some red. One unusual feature noticeable in many representations of Boeotian hoplites (as with plate G2) is that they wear boots. Elsewhere in Greece hoplites invariably fought bare-footed.

Many of the painted pots bear a snake as a shield device. Pausanias (8.11.8) tells us that the tomb of Epameinondas at Mantinea was decorated with a shield with a snake upon it, intended to signify that he was a member of the clan of the Spartioi. Plutarch (*Vit. Lys.* 29.6) tells us that Lysander, although it had been prophesied that he would die from snake-bite, was killed in battle by one Neochoros of Haliartus, who bore the device of a serpent (or dragon, for in Ancient Greece the two were the same) on his shield. It may be that Neochoros, too, was one of the Spartioi.

### **Plate G3: Theban hoplite, c. 395 BC**

State shield devices do not seem to have been used in Boeotia during this period, for there is no tie-up between the shield devices shown on Boeotian representations of hoplites and the known badges of the cities of Boeotia. The only possible exception is Thebes, whose emblem we know to have been the club of Herakles, the patron deity. Representations of hoplites with clubs are sufficiently rare in Greek art to make us think that the club was not a common shield device, so where they do occur it may be that the artist wishes to show a Theban.





Drawings of the Lakedaimonian shield found in the Agora, and of the cable-design of the rim. The punched inscription tells us that the Athenians took the shield from the Lakedaimonians at Pylos. In its present state the shield is slightly oval, measuring 95 by 83cm. Cf. Plate Fz. (American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations)

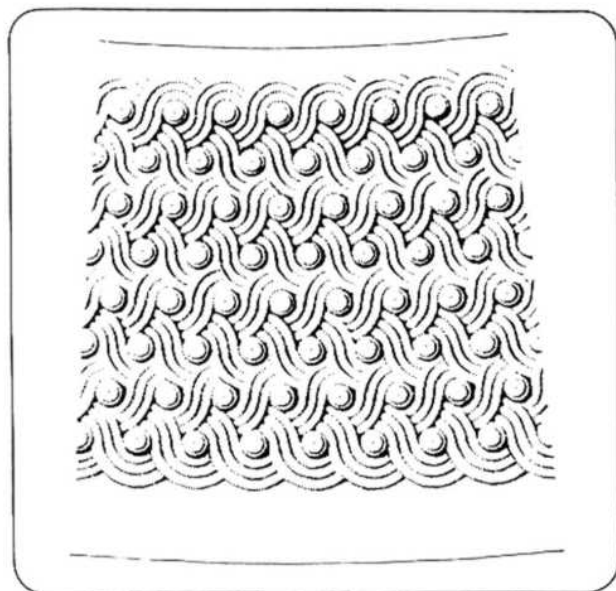


Plate G3 is based on a Lucanian vase (A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford, 1967, p. 44, nr. 216) now in the British Museum (F 177).

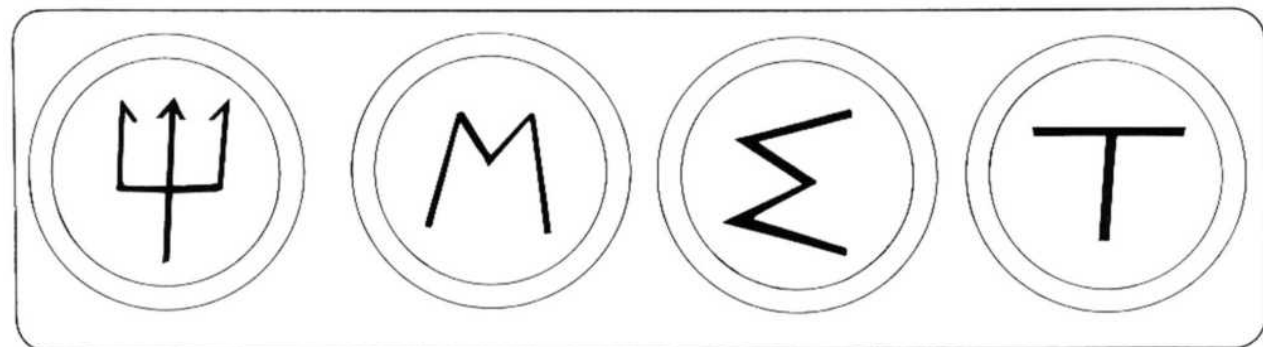
In 387/6 the Peace of Antalkidas, which brought the Corinthian War to an end, broke up the Boeotian League; and in 383 the citadel of Thebes, the Kadmeia, was siezed by the Spartan Phoebidas in a surprise raid. Thereafter a Lakedaimonian garrison was permanently installed in the Kadmeia. The Lakedaimonians were only expelled from the Kadmeia by a band of Theban patriots, which included Epameinondas and Pelopidas, in 379. Interestingly enough the coins of Boeotia dating to the period 387 to 379, while still retaining the device of the Boeotian shield which was traditionally shown on coinage of the League, now show the badge of the individual city on top of the Boeotian shield. These badges seem to belong to the patron deities of the cities concerned.

### Organisation of the Lakedaimonian army,

c. 413 c. 371 BC

In 403 a new organisation is mentioned in the Lakedaimonian army, the *mora* or 'division' (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.31). The idea behind the *mora*, with its integral unit of cavalry, seems to have been to divide the army up into self-sufficient divisions which could operate independently of the main army. This would have become necessary when the Lakedaimonians were increasingly forced to maintain permanent garrisons on foreign soil. It was impossible to task the whole field army with this duty on a permanent basis; so a portion of the army,

Restorations of Peloponnesian shield designs, according to the shapes of badges or letters on contemporary or near-contemporary coinage. Shield blazons of Mantinea, Messenia, Sicyon and a conjectural one for Tegea are shown. (Drawing: Hugh Coddington)





The funerary *stèle* of Lisas the Tegean, on which Plate F3 is based, was found during terracing work undertaken on royal estates near the village of Tatoi around 1874. It seems to have come from the necropolis of the nearby Peloponnesian fortress of Dekeleia. Originally the spear and other details would have been painted in. (After *BCII* 4, 1880, p. 408 15, pl. VII)

usually two *morai*, would perform such garrison duties in rotation. The first of these permanent garrisons to be established by the Lakedaimonians was that at Dekeleia in Attica in 413, so perhaps the reorganisation of the army from *lochoi* to *morai* took place in 413 or shortly thereafter. Because of the long absences from home it would not have been desirable to have the *morai* organised along any regional or tribal lines, so it is reasonable to suppose that the obal system of recruitment was abandoned too.

A detailed account of the organisation of the *mora* is given in chapter 11 of Xenophon's pamphlet entitled *The Constitution of the Lakedaimonians*. Each of the six *morai* in the army was commanded by a *polemarch*, and was divided into four *lochoi* each commanded by a *lochagos*, eight *pentekostyes* each commanded by a *pentekontērēs*, and sixteen *enōmotiai* each commanded by an *enōmotarch*. The *enōmotia* was now, it seems, raised in strength to 36 men, who could be drawn up in three files of 12 – as was the case at Leuctra – or six files of six. This gave the *mora* a total notional strength of 592 hoplites and the army a strength of 3,552.

The *mora* also had its own integral *mora* of cavalry attached. The Lakedaimonians had first raised a body of cavalry, together with a force of archers, in 424 when the Athenians occupied Pylos and Kythera (Thuc. 4.55.2). Presumably these troops were not distributed among the *lochoi*. When the *lochoi* were replaced by the six *morai*, however, the cavalry was expanded to 600 and divided up into six *morai*, each commanded by a *hipparchos*. During pitched battles the cavalry was drawn up together on the wings; but on campaign, if the *morai* were operating independently, each *mora* was given its own cavalry *mora* to help drive off peltast attacks. The *mora* of horse was divided into two *oulamoi* of 50 men each, which would be stationed one either side of the hoplites. The *oulamos* seems to have been divided into ten files of five, each called a *pempas* under a *pempadarch*, and drawn up in a square.

Given the fact that the hoplite force alone, as well as the combined force of hoplites and horse, were both called *mora*, it is hardly surprising that there should be some confusion in the ancient sources as to what the precise strength of the *mora* was. Plutarch (*Vit. Pel.* 17.2) tells us that Ephorus says the *mora* numbered 500; Callisthenes, 700; and Polybius, 900. Though the *morai* were disbanded following the battle of Leuctra in 371, they were probably re-introduced in Hellenistic times when the citizen body of Sparta was massively expanded during a period of revolutionary reform. It is probably these *morai* to which Polybius refers. All

Boeotian grave relief of Rhynchon, now in Thebes Archaeological Museum (55), and probably dating to 424. Note the highly decorated inside surface of the shield, and the boots, both distinctive Boeotian features. Note also the sword held in the left hand, ready for instant use. Cf. Plate G. (After Ernst Pfuhl, *Malevei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, 1923, pl. 634)





- 1 Lakedaimonian officer, c. 490 BC
- 2 Samian hoplite, c. 490 BC
- 3 Argive hoplite, early 5th C.
- 4 Athenian hoplite of Alkmaeonid Clan, c. 490 BC



1

2

4

3



1 Thracian peltast, 440s BC  
2, 3 Greek ekdromoi, 440s BC



1. Boeotian hoplite, c. 440 BC  
2, 3. Thessalian cavalrymen, c. 440 BC



1. Athenian cavalryman, c. 440 BC
2. Athenian cavalry recruit, c. 430 BC







1, 2. Greek psilon, c. 426 BC  
3. Athenian hoplite, c. 426 BC

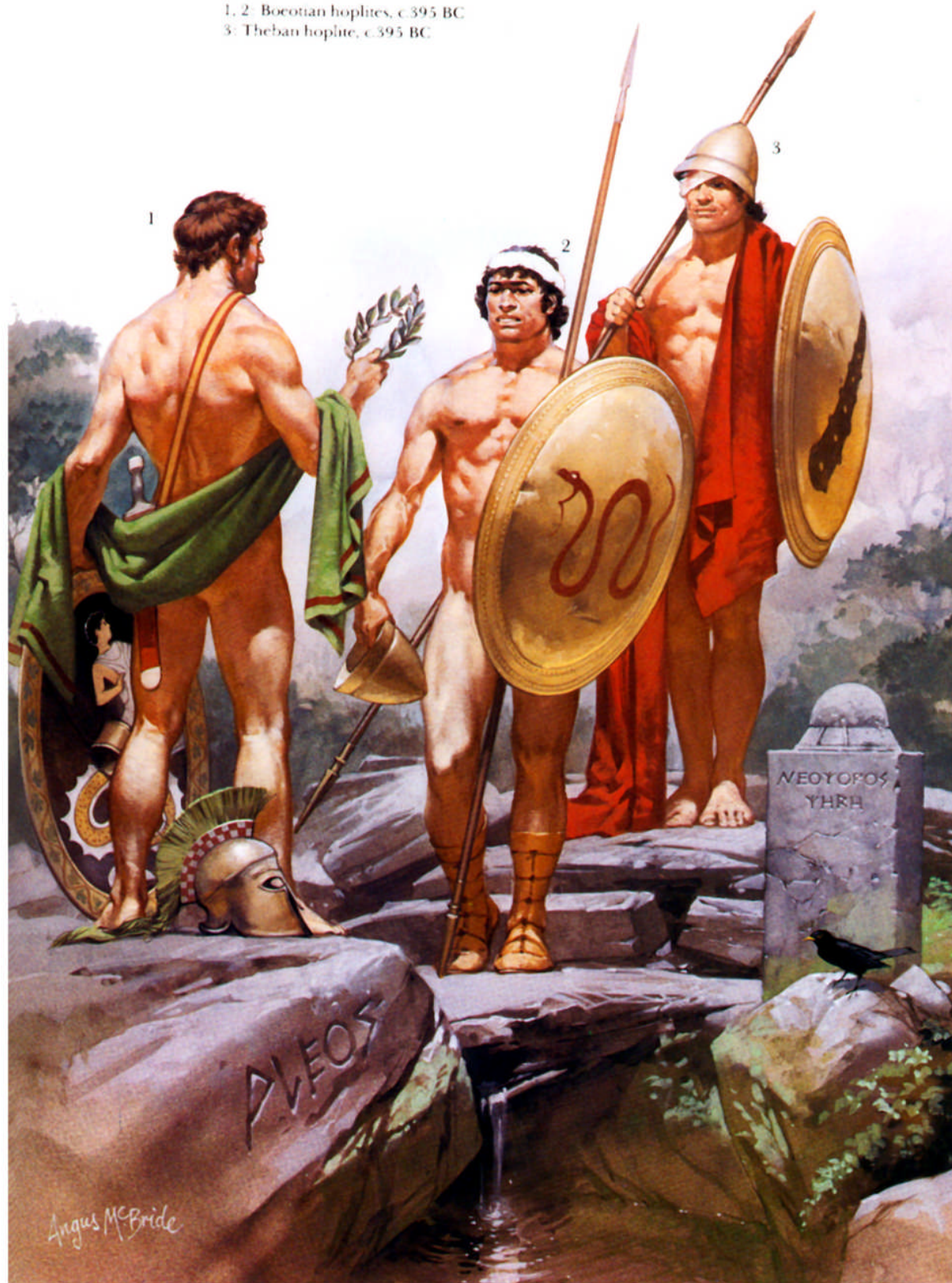




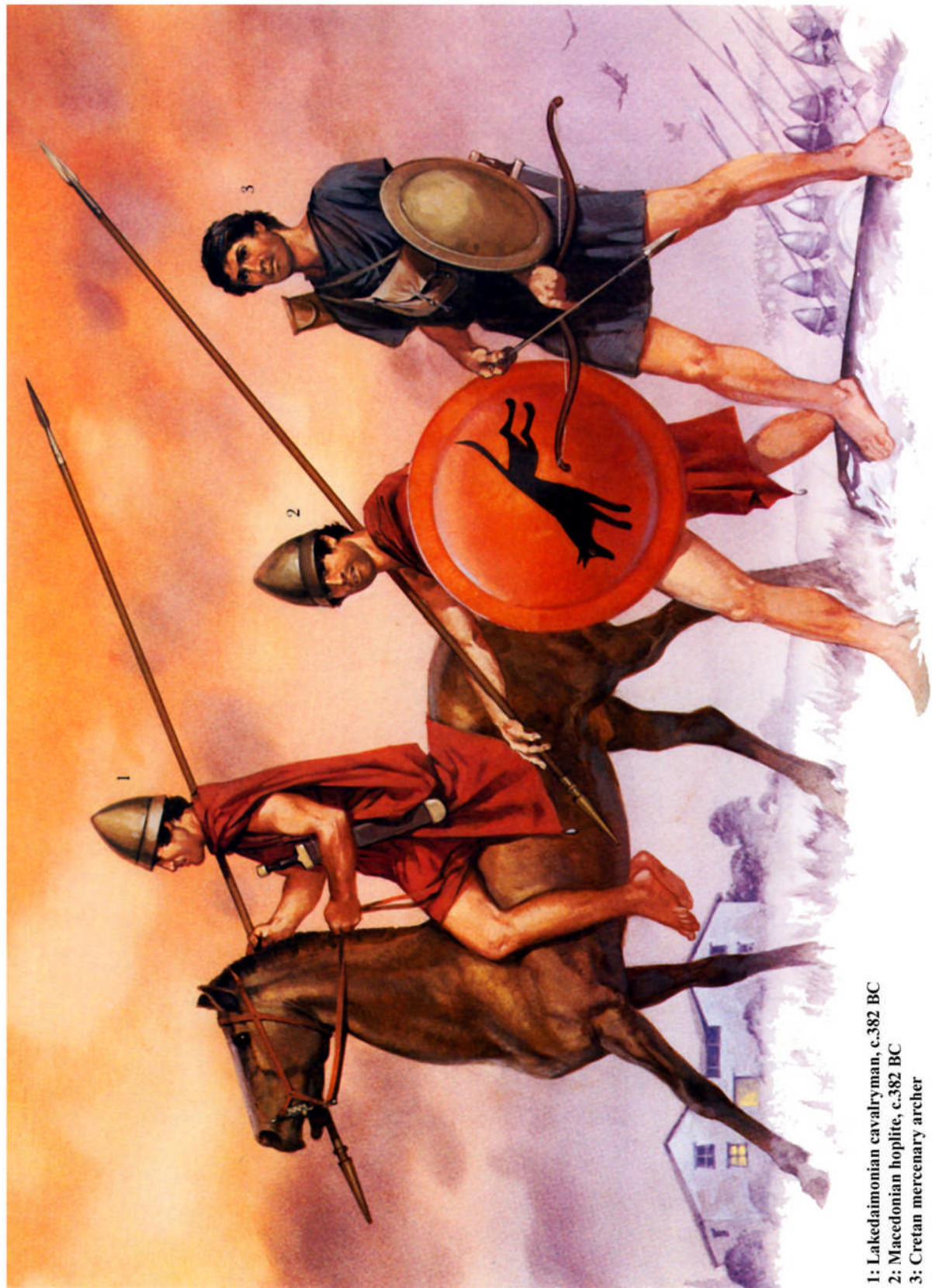
1: Lakedaimonian hoplite, c.413 BC  
2: Lakedaimonian officer, c.413 BC  
3: Tegean hoplite, c.413 BC



1, 2: Boeotian hoplites, c.395 BC  
3: Theban hoplite, c.395 BC







1: Lakedaimonian cavalryman, c.382 BC  
2: Macedonian hoplite, c.382 BC  
3: Cretan mercenary archer



1: Arcadian picked hoplite, 364 BC  
2: Elean picked hoplite, 364 BC



- 1: Thessalian javelinman, c. 362 BC
- 2: Aetolian javelinman, c. 362 BC
- 3: Theban general officer





- 1: Athenian hamphos, c. 349 BC  
2: Athenian prodromos cavalryman, c. 349 BC  
3: Euboean hoplite, c. 349 BC





- 1: Athenian hoplite, second half 4th C. BC
- 2: Rhodian hoplite, end of 4th C. BC
- 3: Greek mercenary, c. 330s BC
- 4: Baggage-carrier



the other figures—500, 600 and 700—can be reconciled with a *mora* of slightly less than 600 hoplites, rounded up or down, together with or excluding a *mora* of 100 cavalry. These figures, of course, give only the notional state of the *mora*, and it is possible that on campaign several *morai* would find themselves below strength. They also give the normal full fighting strength of the *mora* with the first 35 age-classes called up, that is from ages 20 to 55. In times of national emergency we might find the first 40 age-classes called out, as happened after Leuctra. Normally those holding office were also exempted from military service, but after Leuctra these too were called up.

It seems fairly certain that by now the *morai* were manned by Spartiates, *perioikoi*, and *neodamodeis* all fighting side by side. Four *morai* with a total strength of 2,768 men fought at Leuctra, but we are told that only 700 Spartiates took part in the battle. Of these 300 would have formed the Royal Guard, so in this battle only a seventh of the line troops were Spartiates.

**Plate H1: Lakedaimonian cavalryman, c. 382 BC**

The representational evidence unearthed by archaeological excavations at Sparta is as yet small, and it should not surprise us that nothing we can identify as a Lakedaimonian cavalryman has yet been found. On the other hand, a large number of representations of the Lakedaimonian heroes Castor and Pollux have been found. These show the two horsemen quite uniformly equipped, and it may be that their dress copies that normally worn by the Lakedaimonian cavalry. The monuments invariably show the divine twins wearing a *pilos*-shaped hat or helmet. A medium-length sword is also usually shown, as well as a cavalry spear. Sometimes a cloak may be shown, and occasionally a tunic as well. This evidence has been carefully gathered together and used for the reconstruction of Plate H1.

**Plate H2: Macedonian hoplite, c. 382 BC**

In 382 the Lakedaimonians sent an allied army to help King Amyntas of Macedonia win back his lands from the Olynthians. Macedonia was mostly famed for its cavalry, and in early times its infantry seems to have been little more than a poorly



Lullies attributed this Boetian cantharos, on which plate G1 is based, to The Painter of the Great Athens Cantharos. What the iconographic significance of the bird and the wreath might be is unknown. Note the highly-decorated inside of the shield. (Athens, National Museum, 12486)

equipped band of peasants. Some time around the end of the 5th century, however, or in the early 4th, one of the Macedonian kings raised a force of hoplites. Unfortunately, we do not know which king it was. A number of tantalising passages have survived describing military reform; for example, Thucydides (2.100.2) tells us that Archelaus (413–399) built fortresses, cut roads, and organised the cavalry for war by providing horses, arms, and other equipment. Little is said in any of these passages, however, about the hoplites. Neither do we know whether the titles of infantry regiments which we find in later Macedonian armies, such as hypaspists or *pezhetairoi*, were first awarded to infantry regiments in these early times, or whether they date back no further than the age of Philip and Alexander.<sup>1</sup>

Plate H2 is based on a funerary relief of the period found at Pella. The equipment is similar to that worn by the Lakedaimonians and all their allies; even so, it is surprising to see Lakedaimonian

<sup>1</sup>See MAA 148, *The Army of Alexander the Great*



influence spreading so far north. The figure on the relief wears only a thin wrap-around cloak or *ephaptis*, and we have no way of knowing if this is due to 'heroic nudity' or if the Macedonian hoplites did, in fact, fight almost naked. The shield is based on a painting of a shield found on the wall of a Macedonian chamber tomb dating to the reign of Amyntas III (393–369). The tomb has been fully published by K. Despinis in the Greek archaeological journal *Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon* 13, 1980, pp. 198–209. This shield design, together with the others found painted on the walls of the tomb, may simply be the device used by an individual and may have no further significance than that.

### Plate H3: Cretan mercenary archer

Units of Cretan mercenary archers serving with the Lakedaimonians are attested in a number of surviving passages, though none mention their presence during the campaign in the Chakidikē.

Representations of Cretan archers are exceedingly rare, and none come from the Classical period. We have reconstructed plate H3, therefore, on the hypothesis that if we show a figure in Cretan regional dress with the addition of a few necessary military items, we shall not be far off the mark. The basis for our reconstruction is a Hellenistic grave relief which shows many features of Cretan dress. Perhaps the most interesting is the head-band or turban, which is shown on a few more ancient representations of Cretans, and which has formed part of Cretan traditional costume right up to the present day. There is no evidence whatever as to what colour these Cretans may have dressed in, so we have taken the opportunity to show plate H3 dressed in black, the preferred colour of Cretan traditional dress in modern times. Boots also seem to have been worn frequently in ancient times, just as they are in modern Crete; but unfortunately the relief is broken just above where the boots would (or would not) have been shown, so it is perhaps wisest to leave them out!

What distinguished the Cretan archer from his Greek counterpart was the small bronze *pelle* the Cretan carried. In the *Anabasis* (5.2.28–32) Xenophon describes how some Cretan archers set a false ambush when the Greek army was being pursued by native warriors along the road towards Trapezos. The Cretans hid in the undergrowth



This Boeotian cantharos shows, on the left, a seated figure wearing a Boeotian hat. On the right stands a hoplite, naked but for his boots, with a spear and shield. He has removed his helmet: note the bandeau. Plate G2 is based on this hoplite. (Athens, National Museum, 1373)

covering a hill above the road, but allowed their bronze *peltai* to gleam through the branches. This made the enemy think they were about to be ambushed, so they ceased chasing the main army and went after the ambushers. We have no information as to what shield-designs the Cretans may have painted on their shields. Coins of Polyrhēnia, probably Hellenistic in date, show shields decorated with a bull's head.

Cretan archery equipment was also a little different from that used elsewhere in Greece. The quiver was fitted with a flap which could be drawn over the mouth. The arrowheads were large and heavy, cast in bronze, and of a distinctive shape. In later periods the arrow shaft would be made from reed and the flights would be made from a vulture's wing feather: the same materials were probably used in antiquity. The purpose of the bag hung around the neck is unknown, but it may have been used to carry spare archery equipment, such as bowstrings, which could be damaged by rain.

# The Expansion of Thebes

Lakedaimon's power was smashed forever at the battle of Leuctra in 371. Her losses in manpower were heavy; her loss in prestige was catastrophic. The Theban victory was followed by a number of invasions of the Peloponnese, and Lakedaimonian power over the peninsula came to an end. The small states of the Peloponnese now banded together in federal leagues to guarantee their independence.

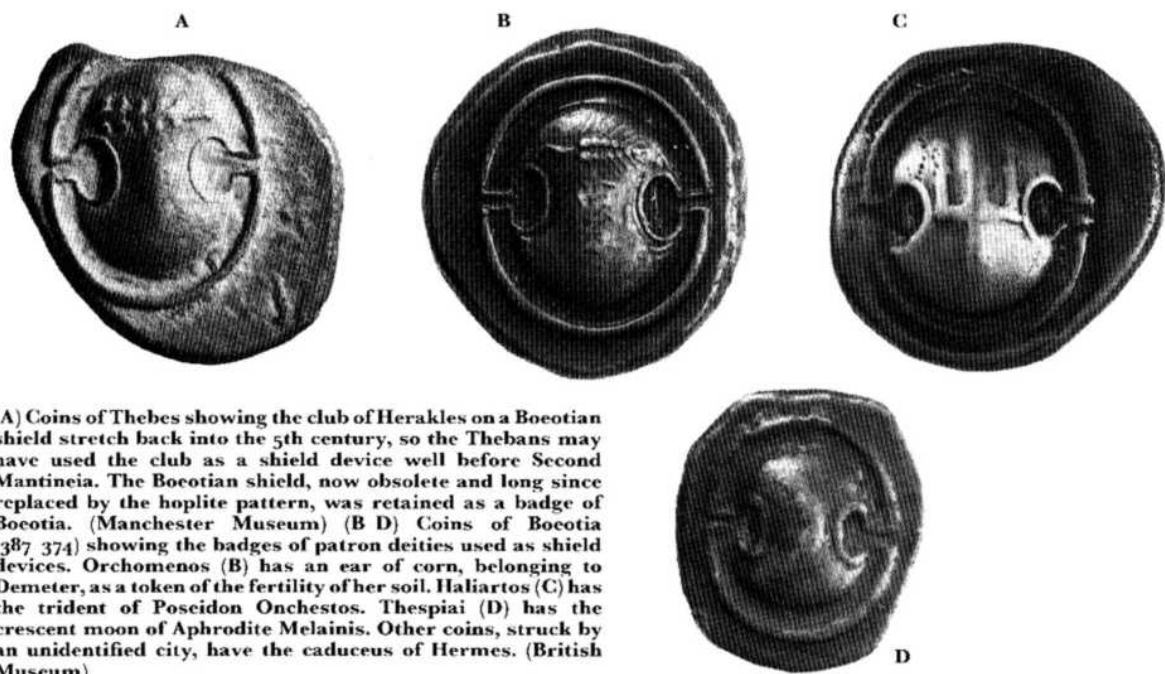
Probably the most powerful and the most successful of these was the Arcadian League, which was mainly the creation of one Lykomedes of Mantinea. The League was established in 370, and provisions were soon made to establish a standing army to guarantee its independence. Arcadians had been the most numerous of Greek mercenaries to seek service abroad for many years, so there was no shortage of available manpower, only of money to pay them. A force of 5,000 picked troops was established, called the *Epiplotoi*, which seems to have had the same meaning as *epilektoi* in the Arcadian dialect.

It was inevitable that these newly independent

states would soon start to clash with each other. Disputes were won by treachery and subterfuge more often than by battles and sieges. Aeneas of Stymphalus, who as general of the Arcadian League in 367 was responsible for driving the tyrant Euphron out of Sicyon, formulated his experiences learned during these times in the manual we know as the *Polyorkētika* or 'Siege Operations' of Aeneas Tacticus (transl. Loeb), which was published in 357/6. It was not long before the Arcadian League, ever expanding by the adhesion of more and more Arcadian communities, clashed with Elis over the possession of some Arcadian towns on the Eleian border. The Arcadians formed an alliance with the Pisatans, a small community lying to the south of Elis who had long disputed the stewardship of the Olympic Games with the Eleians.

## Plate I: The Olympic Games of 364 BC

In 364 the Arcadians marched against Olympia and celebrated the 104th Olympiad, while troops of the Achaean League marched to help the Eleians. The Eleians resisted the Arcadian invasion with all their forces, and a fierce battle took place actually on the games ground, in front of the crowd. The combatants had as spectators the Greeks who were present for the Games; wearing festive wreaths on



(A) Coins of Thebes showing the club of Herakles on a Boeotian shield stretch back into the 5th century, so the Thebans may have used the club as a shield device well before Second Mantinea. The Boeotian shield, now obsolete and long since replaced by the hoplite pattern, was retained as a badge of Boeotia. (Manchester Museum) (B D) Coins of Boeotia (387-374) showing the badges of patron deities used as shield devices. Orchomenos (B) has an ear of corn, belonging to Demeter, as a token of the fertility of her soil. Haliartos (C) has the trident of Poseidon Onchestos. Thespiiai (D) has the crescent moon of Aphrodite Melainis. Other coins, struck by an unidentified city, have the caduceus of Hermes. (British Museum)

their heads, they calmly applauded the outstanding deeds of valour on both sides, themselves out of reach of danger. The Arcadians had already held the horse race and the pentathlon. As the Eleians, fighting with unaccustomed bravery, pushed them out of the race-course, the wrestling events had to take place between the race-course and the altar. The Eleians had by this time reached the sacred precinct. Here they came upon a line of Arcadian hoplites, and scattered them; a running fight developed in the sacred complex, where the Arcadians took to the roofs and pelted the Eleians below with tiles. It was here that the Eleian general Stratolas, the leader of the 'Three Hundred', was killed, and the Eleians retired. Over the next night the Arcadians and their allies dismantled the merchants' booths around the sacred precinct and built a stockade from them. When the Eleians arrived the next day and saw the stockade, they abandoned their attempt to regain the stewardship of the Games, retired, and declared the year 364 'Anolympiad'.



**Plate I: Arcadian picked hoplite, 364 BC**

Evidence as to the dress of the troops of the various Leagues is, unfortunately, very scarce, so the figures in this plate are largely hypothetical. There are a few clues, however, which suggest that these reconstructions are at least along the right lines. This figure wears a 'Phrygian' helmet and a musculicuirass. It seems that Greek hoplites started to re-equip themselves with heavy body armour during the 360s. In *The Army of Alexander the Great* (MAA 148) I suggested that the change might have come about under Macedonian influence after the battle of Chaironeia in 338. In fact Athenian reliefs which can now be dated to the 360s already show the new style of armour; so it was adopted by Philip under Greek influence, not the other way round. Though the 'Phrygian' helmet is shown in Lycian reliefs which may date back to the 380s, the first appearance of this style of helmet in Greek art other than Attic which can be given a firm date is on a stater of the Achaean League dating to the 360s. Presumably this helmet represents a type worn by troops of the League, though it is possible that it represents a trophy captured from Achaean enemies.

The bronze hoplite shield of Plate I is painted

This relief was dedicated to Castor and Pollux by Menandros, the Lakedaimonian harmost (governor) of Kythera. The letter-forms seem to date the relief to the 3rd century, but the style of dress probably goes back to the 4th. Though badly worn, this relief shows details of the tunic and cloak not preserved elsewhere, which have been used to reconstruct Plate I. (Athens, National Museum, 1437)

with a ligature of the two initial letters of Arcadia, 'alpha' and 'rho'. This design appears on contemporary coins of the Arcadian League, and it would have been the natural choice as a shield design for the *Eparitai*.

**Plate I2: Eleian picked hoplite, 364 BC**

Xenophon mentions two bands of Eleian *epilektoi*, the 'Three Hundred' and the 'Four Hundred'. We are poorly informed on Eleian internal politics at this time, but Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.4.13 & 31) tells us that Stratolas, one of the leaders of the oligarchic party in Elis, was also leader of the 'Three Hundred'. The clash between the oligarchic and democratic parties in Elis came in 365. The Arcadians gave support to the democratic party, and Charopos siezed the Eleian acropolis. The cavalry and the 'Three Hundred' ejected the garrison from the acropolis, however, and 'about

Four Hundred citizens' including Argeios and Charopos were banished. It seems reasonable to suppose that the 'Three Hundred' were a body of troops retained by the oligarchic party, while the 'Four Hundred' were a corresponding force maintained by the democrats.

Interestingly enough, Elis started to mint two

**Funerary relief from Pella, used in the reconstruction of Plate H.** The Macedonian capital was only moved from Aigai to Pella around 400, so it is unlikely that this relief is any earlier in date. The pilos-helmet is probably worn as a result of Lakedaimonian influence. (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, 85)



new series of coins about 370. One shows an eagle, the bird of Olympian Zeus, tearing a hare, all on a hoplite shield. The other shows an eagle attacking a snake — again on a hoplite shield. The eagle of Zeus is the normal badge which appears on most Eleian coinage, but the shield indicates that the same badge was used as a shield device by Eleian troops during the 360s. It may well be that these coins were struck to pay the 'Three Hundred' and the 'Four Hundred', the two types of shield designs on the coins representing the shield devices of the two units. Unfortunately, we have no idea which unit might have used which device.

At the feet of the two principal figures of plate I is shown a fallen hoplite of the Achaean League. His bronze shield is painted with a ligature of the letters 'alpha' and 'chi', the two initial letters of Achaia, which frequently appears as a badge on coins of the League.

### **The Mantineian Campaign**

From 364 onwards the Arcadians decided to maintain the *Eparitai* by using the sacred treasures of Olympia. This decision eventually caused the dissolution of the League. The Mantineians and the Tegeans, traditionally at loggerheads over the control of south-eastern Arcadia, soon fell out: the pretext was the misuse of the temple funds. A vote was passed in the Assembly of the League not to use the temple treasures, and the *Eparitai* were no longer paid. Those who could not serve in the *Eparitai* without pay quickly melted away, while those who could encouraged their rich friends to enroll in order that they should gain political power over the democratic League. In these circumstances, with the League in danger of breaking up or being taken over by the oligarchic faction, the Tegeans together with most of the Arcadians appealed to the Thebans to intervene in the Peloponnese once more, while the Mantineians and some others of the Arcadians appealed to the Spartans for help.

### **Plate J: The Battle of Mantinea, 362 BC**

Epameinondas, the Theban general, invaded the Peloponnese with a huge army of Thebans together with their allies — Euboeans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Malians, Aenianians, Thessalians and others; and in the Peloponnese they were joined by the Tegeans, together with most of the Arcadians, the Argives,



the Messenians and other Peloponnesian allies. He was opposed by an army of Mantincians with a few other Arcadians, Lakedaimonians, Eleians, Athenians, and others. The Achaean League seems to have been split in just the same way as the Arcadian, for Achaean troops fought on both sides.

Epameinondas made a lightning raid on Sparta, but, having failed to capture that city, he doubled back and marched rapidly on Mantinea. Again, as ill luck would have it, he failed to capture that city despite all his brilliant manoeuvres. He now resolved to offer battle before quitting the Peloponnese. This decision was probably influenced by the fact that of the 12 Lakedaimonian *lochoi* into which the army had been reorganised after Leuctra, only three were present. How these new *lochoi* were organised and what strength they stood at is entirely unknown. It is fairly safe to assume, however, that the Lakedaimonians no longer had the resources of manpower available to man *lochoi* of the same strength as the old 12 *lochoi* of the abandoned *morai*. All the Lakedaimonian horsemen were present at the battle, however, together with their mercenary peltasts and the Cretan archers. At Mantinea the Lakedaimonian cavalry were drawn up six deep (Xen. *Hell.* 7.5-23), so it seems that the old organisation of the *oulamos* and *pempas* had been abandoned too.

The battle was fought in the dusty Mantincian Plain in the height of summer. Epameinondas concentrated his forces on the left and delivered the enemy right flank a shattering charge. In the course of the fighting, however, Epameinondas received a mortal spear-wound in the chest. So ended the battle which everyone had expected to decide the fate of Greece for the next generation. There was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after it than there had been before.

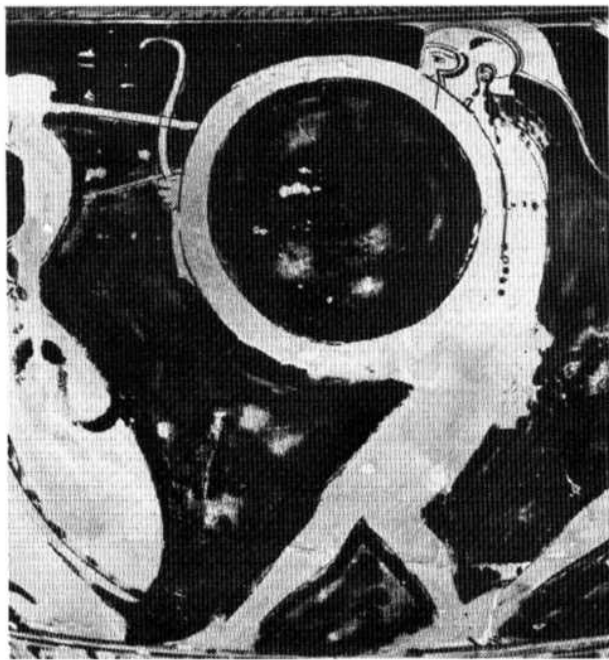
### The Thessalian League

Thessaly was again united by Jason, Tyrant of Pherai, who was elected *tagos* of the League in 374. Jason replaced the obsolete *klēros* with the city-state as the territorial basis on which the forces of the League were levied. The forces of the League now numbered 8,000 horse and 20,000 hoplites plus a huge number of peltasts. The perioikic communities continued to pay the same level of tribute as had been fixed in the time of Skopas. Jason also



Hellenistic grave relief from Kakodiki in the White Mountains of Crete. The relief is now lost, but fortunately a drawing was made of it while it was lodged in the taverna of Spyridon Kalaitiskakis in Chania. Representations of Cretan archers are most rare. This one is particularly good, as it shows details of regional dress such as the turban, worn up to the present day in Crete. See Plate H<sub>3</sub> for a reconstruction. (After M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* II, vi, 7, p. 88)

introduced purely military reforms into the Thessalian army. For example, it was he who invented the rhomboid formation, from which the wedge, utilized so successfully by Alexander of Macedon, was derived. There is little doubt that Jason would have gone on to impose his power on the whole of Greece, as Philip of Macedon was to do later on, but Jason was assassinated before his plans came to fruition. Jason was eventually succeeded as Tyrant of Pherai by one Alexander, but Alexander could never attain the *tagēia*, which lapsed. At the time of Mantinea the dominions of Alexander of Pherai and the lands of the Thessalian League were quite separate. Both were in alliance with Thebes, and both sent separate contingents which fought at Mantinea.



Shielded archers are depicted but rarely in Greek art. This *dinos*, or mixing-bowl, by The Altamura Painter, may perhaps be taken to indicate the presence of Cretans in Athens around 450. Other figures on the bowl wear the Thracian helmet, which is typical for the period. (University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, Greek Museum, 52)

### Plate J1: Thessalian javelinman, c. 362 BC

The Thebans had in their army a great number of slingers and javelinmen from Thessaly and from the Thessalian perioikis. The perioikic hill folk, from the mountainous areas which surrounded the Thessalian Plain—Magnesia, Perrhaebia and elsewhere—were accustomed to using these weapons from boyhood. At the battle of Mantinea the Thessalian *psiloi* played a major part in the defeat of the Athenian cavalry on the left flank. This figure is based on a contemporary coin of Pelinna in Thessalia Hestiaiotis.

### Plate J2: Aenianian javelinman, c. 362 BC

The Aenianes were another tributary people of the Thessalians who supplied the League's army with skirmish troops. This figure is based on a contemporary coin of the Aenianes. Both J1 and J2 are using javelin thongs. The thong would be fixed on to the javelin with a temporary hitch knot, and form a loop which was hooked round the index finger; it fell off the javelin when it was thrown, and was retained in the hand. The colours restored to both figures J1 and J2 are arbitrary.

### Plate J3: Theban general officer

Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.5.20) tells us that at Mantinea the cavalry whitened their helmets, and the Arcadian hoplites painted clubs on their shields in imitation of the Thebans. It is reasonable to assume that by this period the Boeotian helmet was in use both among the Theban infantry and the cavalry. The cavalry probably painted their helmets white as a field sign. The Boeotian helmet was almost certainly in use among other cavalry forces present at Mantinea, including the Athenians, and the white paint avoided confusion in the heat of battle. The Theban badge of the club was possibly painted on the shields of all the Boeotian contingents. Since the liberation of Thebes in 379 the Thebans had increased their domination of the League, eliminating hostile cities like Orchomenos, until the Boeotian League had virtually become a synonym for the city of Thebes. It is very difficult to assess how much political independence the other remaining cities of Boeotia retained, but the answer is probably very little.

The Arcadians who painted clubs on their shields would be the Tegeans and the bulk of the Arcadians who had invited the Thebans into the Peloponnese. Whether the Mantineians and the other Arcadians still used the 'AR' badge of the Arcadians on their shields, or individual city badges such as the trident of Mantinea, is unknown.

Plate J3 has been swathed in a crimson general's cloak. It is a great pity we have no representational evidence for Theban infantry dress during the 360s, for this might enable us to discover what part the Thebans played in the re-adoption of body armour during this period. It may be that the Thebans played a crucial rôle, and that the armouring of infantry was connected with the new tactics developed by Epameinondas. Given the present state of our knowledge, however, this is pure speculation.

### The Theban Army

The Theban hoplites were organised into *lochoi* of 300 (eg. Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.36) each commanded by a *lochagos*. The Thebans preferred to draw up their *lochoi* in deep formations to deliver an irresistible blow against the enemy line. At Delion in 424 the *lochoi* were drawn up in 12 files each 25 men deep; at Leuctra they were drawn up in six files each 50 men

deep. The Thebans preferred to fight on the left flank of the hoplite line. Here they would be facing the enemy right flank, the station of honour, where the enemy's best troops would be drawn up. A local victory here would ensure victory over the whole battlefield.

The élite *lochos* of the Theban army was the *Hieros lochos* or 'Sacred Band', which was also known as 'The City Company' because it was permanently stationed on the Kadmeia. These picked troops seem to have been the only standing army retained by the Thebans at first, but later passages seem to mention *epilektoi* in much larger numbers.

As well as the Boeotarchs we also hear of polemarchs in the individual cities of Boeotia. In Thebes there seem to have been three polemarchs. The precise functions of these magistrates have not yet been established and differentiated from those of the Bocotarchs, but they do seem to have been military officers. We hear of formations called *taxis* above the *lochoi*, and it is possible that the polemarchs commanded them. Another officer mentioned in the texts is the 'Secretary' (*grammateus*) to the polemarchs. This officer seems to have acted as the Chief-of-Staff to the army. Before Leuctra we find the *grammateus* signalling to the officers of the army with a ribbon, or *tainia* the symbol of victory—tied to a spear—see plate J.

## The End of Greek Independence

The years between Mantinea in 362 and Chaironeia in 338 saw the rapid decline of Thebes as the premier power in Greece, and the failure of any other Greek state to seize power for herself. Into this power vacuum Philip of Macedon gradually inserted himself. Though the period was one of military weakness for most of the Greek city states, it was by no means one of inertia. Many attempts at military reform were made, but they were constantly hampered by the absence of funds in sufficient quantity to guarantee their successful implementation. Economic and social decline reduced the wealth of the citizens in the hoplite census class: meanwhile hoplite armour was becoming more complete and therefore more

expensive, so fewer citizens were now able to serve. Under these circumstances the mercenary hoplite took on an importance even greater than he had enjoyed at the start of the 4th century, both in the armies of the states of Greece and also in Persian armies. The major problem of the employer was how to procure sufficient funds to keep an army in the field.

### The Sacred War, 355–346 BC

The major political event of the period in the Greek mainland was the Sacred War. The Phocians refused to pay a crippling fine imposed on them by the Amphictyonic Council of Delphi for cultivating sacred land. The result was a long-drawn-out war with Thebes, lasting nearly ten years, which left both participants in a state of ruin.

Standing alone, the tiny army of the Phocians would have stood no chance against the Thebans and their allies; so the Phocian commander Philomelus devised a plan to enable him to expand the size of his army radically by using mercenaries.

Greek archers, such as this pair shown on the Nereid Monument from Xanthus, did not normally carry a shield. Above the archers a siege ladder has been placed against the battlements of an Asian city, and a party of hoplites are attempting to storm the ramparts under cover of the archers' arrows. (British Museum)



Philomelus obtained a subsidy from the Lakedaimonians, and doubled the sum by throwing in his own fortune. He then hired some mercenaries, supplied the pay for a thousand Phocians, seized Delphi, and confiscated the property of his political opponents. Eventually, however, Philomelus was compelled to lay hands on the sacred treasures of Delphi to finance the army. Now a larger force of mercenaries was raised by increasing the pay to half as much again as the normal rate in order to attract volunteers. More Phocians who were fit for active duty were enrolled in the army. This combination of mercenaries and maintained citizen *epilektoi* became the normal pattern for Greek armies in the later 4th century.

### Plate K: The Battle of Tamynae, 349 BC

The Athenians had used the decline of Lakedaimon, then of Thebes, as an opportunity to rebuild their own power. Central to their imperial plans was the nearby island of Euboea, which they made repeated efforts to bring into an Athenian alliance. This necessitated numerous campaigns on the island. The first campaign in 357 freed the island from Theban domination. The Athenians were called in a second time in 349 by their ally Plutarch of Eretria. Philip of Macedon was trying to extend his influence to the island by establishing tyrants favourable to his cause in the various cities of Euboea, and was preparing to smuggle an army over to the island.

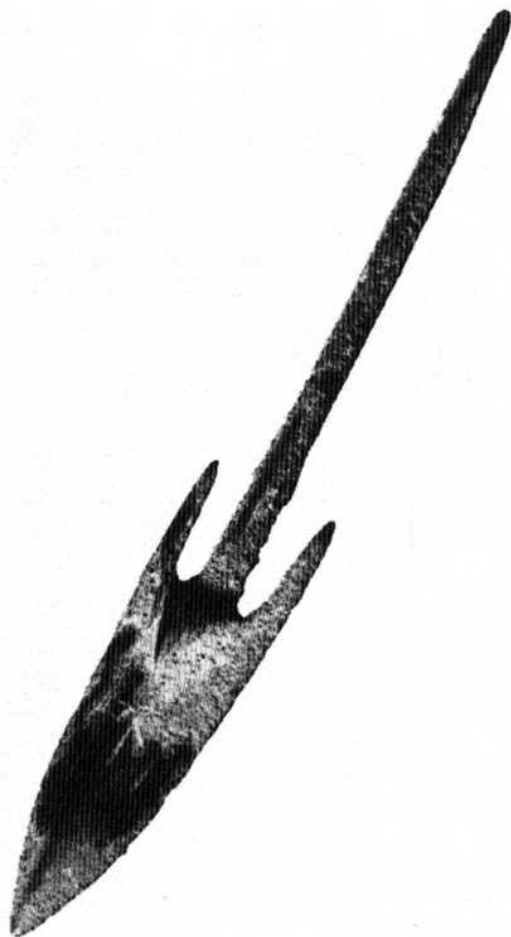
The Athenians sent over an army under their general Phocion, believing that the mass of the Euboeans would rally to their side. They did not, however, and Phocion soon found himself shut up on a crest of ground near the plains about Tamynae. Plutarch's rival, Callias of Chalcis, levied the troops of the Euboean League from all over the island; called upon Philip to send him reinforcements; and sent his brother Taurosthenes to bring over some of the Phocian mercenaries.

As the enemy approached the Athenian camp Plutarch rushed out with his mercenaries in an attempt to break out. His troops were soon dispersed and Plutarch took to flight. Unfortunately, the Athenian cavalry were also caught up in the panic. They had followed Plutarch out and had been dispersed. The division of the Euboeans which had just put Plutarch and the cavalry to

flight now advanced on the ramparts, believing that the victory was already theirs. At this point Phocion sallied out of the camp with the main body of the Athenian infantry, and routed them. He then ordered the Athenian phalanx to halt and act as a rallying point for the dispersed cavalry and mercenaries, while he advanced against the main body of the Euboean army with the *epilektoi* alone. Phocion's subordinate Kleophanes managed to rally the Athenian cavalry, who returned to the battlefield in time to clinch the victory (Plut. *Vit. Phoc.* 13).

An Athenian funerary marble *lekythos* has been recovered dedicated to a cavalryman who almost certainly died in this campaign. He is shown riding

Cretan arrowheads are generally of cast bronze and about four inches long; they have a broad blade ending in two barbs, and a long tang which ends in a boss where it meets the blade. This example is Hellenistic, stamped with a ligature of the letters BE for Queen Berenike II of Egypt. (Manchester Museum, 1981.615)







A



B



C



D

down a hoplite with a heifer's head as a shield device. This device is the badge of the Euboean League, so the cavalryman certainly died in battle fighting Euboean infantry, and the campaign of 349 is the only one in which we know the Athenian cavalry took part.

#### Plate K1: Athenian *hamippos*, c. 349 BC

Running behind the cavalryman is a light infantryman of the corps of *hamippoi*. The *hamippoi* were lightly armed infantry trained to fight alongside the cavalry; they would go into battle holding on to the tails and manes of the horses. *Hamippoi* were particularly useful in a straight cavalry fight, when they would hack at the enemy horsemen. A favourite trick was to slip underneath the enemy horse and rip its belly open with a dagger. Service in the *hamippoi* was evidently not for the faint-hearted. In his pamphlet *On the Duties of the Hipparch* (5.13, 9-7) Xenophon recommends that the Athenians should raise a corps of *hamippoi* from among the exiles and other foreigners in Athens who have special reason to be bitter against the enemy.

*Hamippoi* are first mentioned serving in the forces of the Syracusan tyrant Gelon (Hdt. 7.158), where his 2,000 cavalry are accompanied by an equal number of *hippodromoi psiloi* or 'psiloi who run alongside the cavalry'. *Hamippoi* are then found in the Boeotian army during the Peloponnesian War. It seems that when the Lakedaimonian army was reorganised some time after the battle of Mantinea in 418, the 600 Skiritai were not absorbed into the hoplite ranks of the *morai*, but were converted into *hamippoi* and fought alongside the 600 cavalry. After the battle of Leuctra in 371 the Skiritai achieved

(A) This stater is the major piece of evidence pointing to the existence of an Achaean League in the 360s. The reverse shows Zeus enthroned, with an eagle on his outstretched right hand; to the right, the triple-struck legend 'Of the Achaeans'; to the left, a Phrygian helmet. Cf. Plate I1. (B) Stater of the Eleians, c. 370. The splendid coinage of Elis, nearly all in large denominations, is clearly associated with the Olympic Games. The 4th-century school of Eleian engravers influenced coin-types in many other parts of Greece. The eagle's victim is variously identified as a ram or sheep, or, more probably, as a hare. (C) A second series of Eleian coins, c. 370, shows an eagle killing a snake. Both series show the device displayed on a hoplite shield, so we can guess that such shield devices were used by two different units of Eleian troops. Cf. Plate I2. (D) 4th century coin of the Aenianes used in reconstructing Plate J2. This Aenianian javelinman is using his stiff Thessalian hat as a makeshift shield. Later coins also show a similarly clad slinger, wearing a sword, with a pair of javelins stuck in the ground beside him. (British Museum)



Detail of a Panathenaic prize amphora, c. 530, showing the javelin thong in use; the thong imparted extra speed to the javelin, as well as rotation for stability in flight. Many of these vases, which were awarded to victorious athletes, show interesting details of Greek sporting life. Cf. Plate J2. (Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PG 8)

their independence from Lakedaimon; and at the second battle of Mantinea in 362 the Lakedaimonian cavalry fought on the right wing without the support of any *hamippoi* (Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.23).

Xenophon wrote his pamphlet *On the Duties of the Hipparch* in about 365, shortly before war broke out with Thebes. It seems that his recommendation that *hamippoi* be introduced into the Athenian army was implemented very soon afterwards. At the battle of Mantinea Diodorus (15.85.4) tells us that the Athenian cavalry on the left flank were defeated by their Theban opponents, not because of inferior mounts or horsemanship, but because of the greater numbers, better equipment and better tactical skill of the *psiloi* fighting for the Thebans. This implies that *psiloi*, in other words *hamippoi*, were fighting alongside the Athenian cavalry.

As no colours have survived on the *lekythos* of Kephisodotos we cannot restore the colours of the rider or of the *hamippos* with any certainty. The use of various shades of red for military uniform was becoming quite commonplace by now, however, so we shall not go too far wrong in restoring red. A second problem with this figure is that we do not know whether he is wearing a felt *pilos* hat or a bronze *pilos*-helmet. Here he has been shown with a felt hat.

The Athenian *hamippoi* drew pay. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 49.1) tells us that the *hamippoi* and the *prodromoi* were inspected annually by the Athenian Council. If the Council found fault with any of the *hamippoi* they would be struck off the list and would lose their pay. Similarly, any of the *prodromoi* who were found to be unfit for service would be demoted back to the ranks of the line cavalry. This can be taken to imply that the *hamippoi* were recruited from among the poor and desperate men Xenophon recommended as being particularly suitable for service in the corps.

**Plate K2: Athenian *prodromos* cavalryman, c. 349 BC**

The *prodromoi* or 'Scouts' were a branch of the Athenian cavalry raised in the winter of 395/4 to replace the horse-archers, who were disbanded after the battle of Haliartos. The *prodromoi* took on the duties of scouts and couriers which the horse-archers had previously performed. They were internally recruited from among the tribal cavalry regiments, it seems; for Dexileos, who fell at Nemea in 394, and who seems to be a *prodromos*, is described in his funerary inscription as 'one of the five'. This is usually interpreted as indicating that each *phylē* of cavalry selected five of its best men to serve as *prodromoi*; so each hipparch would have a small troop of 25 at his disposal.

While Athenian reliefs showing cavalrymen invariably show them wearing cuirasses before 395/4, after that date they can be shown with or without body armour. It is possible that all those shown without cuirasses are *prodromoi*, but it is equally possible that in the first half of the 4th century the cuirass was rarely worn at all, even by the line cavalry. In the last half of the century, however, the cuirass is again shown in the majority of reliefs, now with the addition of groin-flaps, so we may be a little more certain that *prodromoi* are being shown. Another change which took place in the equipment was that the *petasos* hat and the 'petasos-helmet' were replaced at some point by the Boeotian helmet. This change is extremely difficult to date; but I would guess that the Athenian cavalry had adopted the Boeotian helmet by 362, and this is why the Theban horse who opposed them at the battle of Mantinea painted their helmets white to identify themselves in the *mêlée*.

As with the *hamippos*, colours are difficult to restore on this figure. One would expect uniform among the cavalry by this date and, indeed, Xenophon (*op. cit.* 1.23) reminds the *phylarchs* that they are entitled to arm the men in accordance with the regulations, compelling the men to pay for their arms afterwards. As much attention was devoted to the turnout of the cavalry on parades as was devoted to their performance on campaign. Demosthenes (4.35) tells us that as much money was spent annually on the Panathenaic and other festivals as would be required to fit out a naval expedition. One would expect the *prodromoi*, then, to put on quite a show.

In the relief the *prodromos* is shown using a javelin, and much attention was devoted to training the *prodromoi* in particular to be competent in the use of this weapon. Presumably, however, they also carried a cavalry spear.

### Plate K3: Euboean hoplite, c. 349 BC

This figure can be identified from the shield device, a heifer's head shown cut off at the neck and turned towards the viewer, which was the badge of the Euboean League. The name Euboea means 'rich in cattle', and the heifer's head seems to make conscious reference to the island's reputation. Coins of the Euboean League and of individual cities of the island show the head repeatedly during the period around 349, sometimes decked as for a sacrifice, and sometimes left plain. In plate K3 the head has been left plain to avoid difficulties of reconstructing the detail accurately.

The same difficulty has been encountered with this figure as with the other figures in plate K, and in K3 the colours are, again, uncertain. An additional problem is that we do not know whether the hoplite is a member of the hoplite levy of the Euboean League, as seems most probable, or whether he is one of the Phocian mercenaries hired by Taurosthenes.

By this time the Sacred War was reaching its conclusion and the Phocians were becoming ever more desperate to get their hands on money. Philomelus had been succeeded by his brothers Onomarchus and Phayllus, who had both been forced to plunder the treasures of Delphi. By this time the Phocians were reduced to melting down the offerings made by the Lydian kings 200 years or

more previously, and plans were afoot to dig up the temples in search of hidden treasure underneath.

The mercenaries were not complaining, however, as long as the money kept coming, for their pay had now been increased to double the normal rate. Their newly acquired wealth was displayed in their arms. One group of these mercenaries later went to serve in Sicily under Timoleon, and we hear (Plut. *Vit. Tim.* 31.1) that their shields were decorated with murex-purple paint, gold, ivory and amber. So plate K3 has been restored bearing in mind the possibility that he might be a Phocian mercenary in Euboean service.

It is not absolutely certain whether the heifer's head is painted directly on to the shield, or whether it is placed on a painted 'medallion' surround, as we find in Macedonian shields of a slightly later period. There does seem to be a very light line cut on the shield, however, so a surround has been shown.

Drawing taken from a vase-painting, now lost, showing an athlete adorned with ribbons of victory. At the same time he receives the victor's crown in his hands. The significance of the headgear is unknown. (After Dar.-Sag. I, fig. 1335)



Another unusual feature of this figure is the helmet shape, which, although not unique in sculpture of this period, is extremely rare. It looks rather as if plate K3 is wearing a Corinthian helmet which has been 'modernised' into an open-faced helmet by cutting away the cheek and neck pieces.

#### **Plate L1: Athenian hoplite, second half of the 4th Century BC**

In the 360s Athenian funerary reliefs start to show hoplites wearing muscle-cuirasses and 'Phrygian' helmets. The muscle-cuirass is of the same shape as that worn by the Athenian cavalry earlier in the century, with a projection at the bottom edge covering the abdomen, except that the cuirass now has a couple of hinged bronze flaps at the shoulder. Sometimes the cuirass is worn with groin-flaps. Although the 'Phrygian' helmet now becomes the

**Athenian funerary marble *lekythos* dedicated to Kephisodotos son of Konon of the deme Aithalidai. This example has the squat body-shape which the *lekythoi* increasingly took on in the 4th century. The figures in Plate K are based on this sculpture. (Athens, National Museum, 3620)**



most common helmet form, older patterns continue to be worn alongside it. It might be the case that poorer citizens continued to use obsolete styles of helmet if they could not afford the latest style. Occasionally monuments show the Corinthian helmet still in use with the new muscle-cuirass. It is possible that this very traditional style of helmet was still worn only as a badge of rank by the *stratēgoi*, for busts depicting the Athenian generals of the 4th century invariably show the *stratēgoi* wearing such helmets.

Plate L1 is based on these late 4th century reliefs. Red colouring is preserved on the tunics and wrap-around *ephaptis* cloaks on a number of these Athenian grave monuments, including the marble *loutrophoros* of Polystratos son of Philopolis. Red is sometimes used as a base colour for crimson or purple, but it is more probable that plain red was used as the uniform colour.

The shield bears a letter '*alpha*' for Athens. American excavations in the Athenian Agora recently discovered a dump of lead tokens in a well some 70m away from the site of the Athenian Arsenal (John H. Kroll, *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 141-6). These lead tokens show on one side an item of armour, such as a helmet or a cuirass, and on the reverse a letter giving the size. For example, there appear to have been four sizes of helmet, greave and cuirass available. A number of these tokens show hoplite shields with the letter '*alpha*' as a blazon. Though these tokens seem to be early Hellenistic in date rather than late Classical, the same shield blazon could well have been in use earlier on. The only literary evidence we have concerning Athenian shield decoration during this period is the statement (Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 20.2) that at the battle of Chaironeia Demosthenes had 'Good Luck!' written on his shield in gold. We are not told whether the words were written on the inside of the shield, or on the rim, or alongside a blazon.

The lead tokens imply state ownership and issue of arms and equipment in the Hellenistic period; but how far did the practice stretch back into the Classical period? As early as the 380s the banker Pasion donated a thousand shields to the state (Dem. 45.85), and this practice continued throughout the 4th century. Frequently the gifts were made by foreigners resident in Athens or by freed slaves in the hope of obtaining a grant of Athenian



citizenship in return. In 369/8 an inventory of the Athenian Arsenal mentions over 1,000 shields in store, let alone any still on issue. As far as the Athenian state was concerned the main use of this armour was not to replace that owned by private citizens, but to expand the size of the hoplite force by providing arms for those too poor to afford them.

### Athenian Army Reform

In the second half of the 4th century we start to hear of a 'division levy'. The idea of the 'division levy' seems to have been that only a proportion of the tribal *taxeis* would be sent out on campaign at any one time, to avoid the complete absence of age-groups over long periods. The cavalry also seem to have been divided into two divisions, each under its own hipparch, for the purposes of campaigning. These two divisions would rotate during the course of a campaign, as we know happened during the Euboean campaign of 349, one division going abroad while the other stayed in Attica. When the Athenians had succeeded in re-establishing their Empire, we frequently find one hipparch on duty in Attica and the other one in Lesbos.

Athenian *epilektoi* are first mentioned in 349 at Tamynae. Though there is no evidence to prove the point, we may perhaps assume that, as in other

**In this Athenian relief a *hamippos* is shown running along behind the *prodromos* holding on to the horse's tail. The *petasos* hat hanging behind the horseman's neck presumably dates this relief prior to the introduction of the Boeotian helmet. Cf. Plate K1. (Musée du Louvre, 744.)**



Greek states, maintenance was provided to enable them to serve. Aeschines (2.169) served in the *epilektoi* at Tamynae (presumably as an officer), where he won a crown for bravery.

### The End of the Athenian Army

One last effort was made to expand the size of the hoplite force following the Greek defeat at the hands of Philip of Macedon at Chaironeia in 338. Now all citizens were to be trained as hoplites, and were given a shield by the state. The ephebe now served his first year in garrisons in the Piraeus, learning hoplite fighting, archery, javelin-throwing, and the use of the catapult. Then he received his spear, cloak and shield from the state, and completed a second year of hoplite service in the forts of Attica (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.3). These changes are known as the Reforms of Lycurgus after the Athenian magistrate who implemented them.

In 301, however, the collaborating government of Athens, now occupied, made ephebic service voluntary. Registration of ephebes slumped from about 800 a year to 30; training was cut to one year; service in the garrisons and border forts was dispensed with; finally, lectures in philosophy were added to the military syllabus. In 278 the contingent sent by the Athenians to help the Aetolians repel the Galatian invasion numbered only 500 horse and 1,000 *epilektoi* (Paus. 10.20.5). We may suspect that the Athenian soldiery found certain elements of their new basic training of less practical use than others when they were faced by these Celtic barbarians.

### Plate L2: Rhodian hoplite, end of the 4th Century BC

A lead token similar to those found in Athens has been discovered showing a shield bearing the device of a rose. Though this token is just a stray find without any provenance or date, we may presume that it served the same purpose as the Athenian tokens, is probably of a similar date, and originally came from Rhodes. In the beginning the island of Rhodes had been occupied by the three cities of Ialysos, Lindos and Kamiros; in 409 the island united, and the city of Rhodes was founded as a federal capital.

The rose was adopted as the symbol of Rhodes, and appears regularly on her coinage. This enables

us to state that the lead token is Rhodian, and that the Rhodian shield device was a rose. All the other evidence on Rhodian equipment, unfortunately, is Hellenistic in date rather than Classical. The cuirass is based on an early Hellenistic sculpture, as is the tunic, but the colours are restored without any firm evidence.

### **Plate L3: Greek mercenary in Persian service, 330s BC**

This figure is based on two figures of Greek mercenaries shown on the Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii. Rather peculiarly, both figures are shown with only a shield for defence and no other body armour. A few other helmeted heads are shown on the mosaic which could belong to Greek mercenaries, but there is no reason to think that the depiction of these two figures without helmets is not deliberate. On the Alexander Sarcophagus Greek mercenaries are also shown without body armour and sometimes without helmets. It may be, then, that Greek mercenaries in Persian service continued to wear the dress and armour of the 'light hoplite' which had been overtaken on the Greek mainland

Another Athenian relief shows a *prodromos*, capped with a *petasos* and so dating to before the introduction of the Boeotian helmet, attacking a fallen enemy together with a *hamippos*. The weapon used by the *hamippos* is unclear; it could be a cudgel, or a Thessalian war-flail. (Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, 4744)

by the resurgence in popularity of body armour. Perhaps one factor in this was the intense heat in which the Greeks had to operate when in Persian service. Other features to notice in plate L3 are the long sword (which was diamond-shaped at the tip), which had replaced the Lakedaimonian short sword, and the thin head-band, which are both features of the later 4th century. The red tunic, shown on both Alexander Sarcophagus and Mosaic, had been the uniform of the mercenary ever since Xenophon's day.

### **Greek state contingents in Persian service**

By the 350s mercenaries in Persian service were frequently not engaged for a campaign by individual contract, but were hired on loan from the armies of the Greek city states. The Persian Empire was finding it increasingly difficult to recruit mercenaries in sufficient numbers on the open market. On the other hand, the states of Greece were finding it increasingly difficult to provide financial support for their hoplite armies, which by now were composed of an ever-increasing proportion of maintained *epilektoi*. The obvious solution was for the Greek states to hire out their *epilektoi* to the Persians in time of peace. This relieved them of the financial burden of maintaining the *epilektoi*, and on the other hand it provided the Persians with



large numbers of already formed and trained hoplites serving under their own officers.

For their campaign to re-conquer Egypt in 343 the Persians managed to secure by these methods 1,000 Theban hoplites commanded by Locrates and 3,000 Argive hoplites commanded by Nicostratos, in addition to 6,000 more hoplites raised in the Greek cities of Asia then under Persian control. The Rhodian Mentor was later appointed to the command of this last force.

Nicostratos, who was later to become ruler of Argos, had once been an epileptic. In order to be cured of 'the sacred disease' Nicostratos had taken himself off to the mad but brilliant Syracusan doctor Meneceates, who styled himself the 'Zeus of Medicine'. The good doctor agreed to offer his services but only on condition that, if cured, Nicostratos would become his disciple. On his recovery the hapless Nicostratos, who excelled in bodily strength, was compelled to dress as Herakles in a lion's skin and to carry a club, and to wait in attendance on Meneceates whenever summoned to do so. We find Nicostratos dressed in this garb even on campaign in Egypt in 343. Apart from this anecdotal scrap (of, it must be admitted, negligible value) there is no other literary evidence for the dress of Greek mercenaries in Persian service. As far as Nicostratos' Argive contingent is concerned, it is possible that white continued to be a distinctive colour of the Argives, as it had been in the 5th century; but it is more probable that by this time the uniform had changed to the more normal bronze and red.

#### Plate L4: Baggage-carrier

The hoplite would be accompanied on campaign by a slave, servant or attendant who would carry his baggage for him. These were generally considered to be cunning and dishonest fellows, and they appear in Greek comedy as a stock character. The hoplite would generally carry his own arms, especially his spear and shield, but all the baggage and rations would be loaded on to the servant. Over the shoulders the bedding-roll would be slung. Sometimes the bedding, or *strōmata*, would be tied on to the shield if carried by the hoplite himself. Plate L4 also shows what is probably a cooking pot tied on to the bedding roll. The square ration-basket, or *gulios*, which was made of wicker-work, is

suspended on one of the bedding straps. Staple rations consisted of barley-meal, which would be made up into bread, accompanied by onions and *tarichos* (fish or meat preserved by salting, drying, or smoking, and kept wrapped up in fig-leaves), and flavoured with salt mixed with thyme. At the start of a campaign it would be ordained how many days rations the citizen soldier had to provide himself with before setting out.

In time of peace the spear was kept in a case to prevent damage, and the shield would be hung on the wall. For cleaning or other occasional handling the shield was placed with its rim to the ground,

**The Dexileos Monument.** This magnificent funerary monument was discovered during excavations of the Athenian Sacred Way. The inscription runs: 'Dexileos, son of Lysanios, from Thorikos, born in the archonship of Teisandros [414/3], died in the archonship of Euboulides [394/3] at Corinth, one of the five cavalymen'. Originally the sculpture of Dexileos would have had a bronze *petasos* and a long cavalry spear attached. Cf. Plate K2. (Athens, Kerameikos Museum, P 1130)



propped up by a special trestle. The bronze surface would be polished with oil to obtain the best shine. On campaign the shield would frequently be kept in its cover on the march to prevent tarnishing and the need for constant cleaning.

## The Plates: Key Notes

(Fuller descriptions are given throughout the main body of the text, in historical sequence.)

*Plate A* represents Greek hoplites of around the 490s standing in front of a Greek fountain-house. *A1* shows a Lakedaemonian officer, based on a bronze statuette: the peculiar transverse plume is presumably a badge of rank. *A2* is a Samian hoplite. The shield device is based on a coin showing the lion-scalp badge of Samos on a hoplite shield. *A3* represents an Argive hoplite, based on texts and a

**Detail from the funerary relief of Panaitios, c. 395–390. The cavalryman, probably a *prodromos*, does not wear a cuirass. The baggy overfall of the tunic is typical for the period. Note the combination of *kamax*, with its small leaf-shaped head and long spear-butt, and pair of javelins. Cf. Plate K2. (Athens, National Museum, 884)**



vase painting. Most hoplites did not use uniform shield devices during this period, however, and *A4* bears the 'Leukopodes' badge of the Alkmaionid clan upon his shield.

*Plate B* shows the failure of a Greek expedition against the Thracians in the 440s. Thracian peltasts, shielded javelinmen such as *B1*, posed a great threat to the hoplite. *B2*, *B3*: Light-armed hoplites, called *ekdromoi*, were developed to chase the peltasts off. The cuirass was discarded and replaced with lighter fabric aprons and tunics.

The best cavalry in Greece came from Thessaly. *C1* is a Boeotian hoplite wearing the traditional Boeotian cap. He is shown trying to escape from a pair of Thessalian cavalrymen (*C2*, *C3*) who are each using a long cavalry spear called a *kamax*. The colours are all based on Athenian polychrome vases of around the 440s, and the scene might represent an incident during the Battle of Tanagra in 457.

Athens also expanded her cavalry force dramatically in 442. *Plate D* shows Athenian cavalry exercising in the north-west corner of the border fort of Phyle in about 430. *D1* shows the normal dress of an Athenian cavalryman, in hat and cuirass, shown on a large number of Athenian reliefs. *D2* wears a

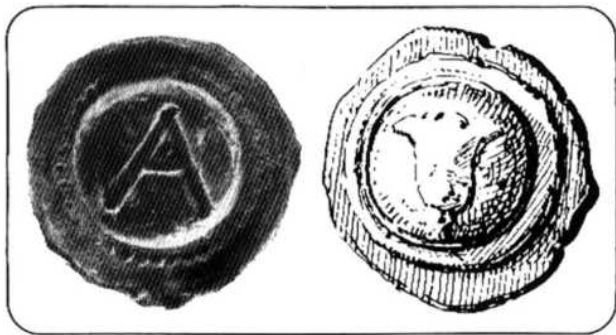
**Coin of the Euboean League; the precise chronology of the coinage of the League is as yet uncertain. Some of these coins perhaps went to pay Taurosthenes' Phocian mercenaries. A heifer's head of just this type on the shield of Plate K3 allows us to identify him as a soldier of the Euboean League. (British Museum)**





Detail of a marble *loutrophoros* showing Polystratos son of Philopolis. It is generally assumed that this Polystratos is a grandson of an earlier Polystratos active in 410/9, and so this relief is usually dated to the 390s. There is no reason why our Polystratos should not belong to a later generation of the same family, however, and a date in the 360s would fit the other archaeological evidence much better. Behind Polystratos stands a juvenile carrying the rest of his equipment. (Athens, National Museum, 3473). *Insert:* This anthropomorphic check-piece from a Phrygian helmet is of very similar shape to that shown on the *loutrophoros* of Polystratos: Cf. Plate LI. The Phrygian helmet is the subject of a new study by Mrs. J. Vokotopoulou in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1982, pp. 497-520. (St. Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 4764)





Left: Athenian lead token, 20cm in diameter; there can be little doubt that these stamped lead tokens were an early form of 'chitty', probably hung on name-pegs when an item of armour had been issued out. (After *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pl. 40, 7) Right: Drawing of a Rhodian lead token, measuring 17cm in diameter, in the Numismatic Collection of the National Museum, Athens: this undoubtedly had the same function as the Athenian examples. Cf. Plate L2. (After Arthur Engel, *BCH* 8, 1884, p. 21 & p. 6 nr. 222)

black cloak, which may be the mark of an ephebe or cadet, and a bronze helmet in the shape of a *petasos*-hat.

*Plate E* shows the defeat of the Athenian general Demosthenes' expedition to Aetolia in 426. *E1*, *E2* are Greek *psiloi*, or light infantrymen, while *E3* shows an Athenian hoplite using a state-issued shield. Probably, though, these shields were only issued for athletic competitions. All these figures are taken from vase-paintings.

*Plate F* represents hoplites of the Peloponnesian League invading Attica in 413: they are marching along a military road in southern Attica. *F1* is a Lakedaimonian hoplite, identifiable by his long hair and beard, and by his crimson and bronze uniform. *F2* is a Lakedaimonian officer: the plume seems to be a badge of rank. Allies of the Lakedaimonians, such as *F3*, a Tegcan, copied Lakedaimonian uniform. (Erratum: Due to a misunderstanding, the cavalry in the background have been restored with hoplite shields, which were, of course, not used before the 270s.)

*Plate G* depicts hoplites of the Boeotian League at the Battle of Haliartos in 395, reconstructed from Boeotian vase paintings. *G2* wears boots, which seem to be a Boeotian peculiarity, and uses a shield with the snake badge of the Spartioi clan. *G3* may be a Theban, as his shield device is the club of

Herakles, the patron deity of Thebes.

In 382 the Lakedaimonians sent an allied army against Olynthus, and *Plate H* shows what the army may have looked like. *H1* is a Lakedaimonian cavalryman, based on reliefs of Castor and Pollux from Sparta. Lakedaimonian influence is clear in *H2*, a Macedonian infantryman based on a tombstone from Pella and a painting of a shield inside a Macedonian tomb. *H3* represents a Cretan archer and is based on a Cretan relief.

During the 360s Greek hoplites again adopted body armour. *Plate I* shows fighting at the Olympic Games of 364 involving Arcadian (*I1*), Eleian (*I2*), and Achaean picked troops, or *epilektoi*. These reconstructions are largely hypothetical.

*Plate J* shows the death of the Theban general Epaminondas (*J3*) at the Second Battle of Mantinea in 362. Other than the club shield device, nothing is known of Theban military dress during this period. *J1* and *J2* represent Thessalian

Drawing of a terracotta in the Louvre (S 1678 B) showing a hoplite with shield and helmet marching alongside a *skenophoros* who is carrying his baggage. (After Dar.-Sag. IV, 2 fig. 6095)



and Aenianian javelinmen, based on contemporary coins.

The figures shown in *Plate K* are all taken from an Athenian funerary monument commemorating a horseman who died in the Battle of Tamynae in 349. *K1* is an Athenian *hamippos*, a light-infantryman trained to go into battle with the cavalry, and *K2* is an Athenian *prodromos*, or 'Scout' cavalryman. *K3* can be identified as an infantryman in the service of the Euboean League from the heifer's head shield device, which appears on coins of the League.

*Plate L* shows an assortment of hoplites dating to the last years of Classical Greece. *L1* is an Athenian hoplite, reconstructed from Attic gravestones. The shield device is taken from a Hellenistic lead token, as is the shield device of *L2*, a Rhodian hoplite. *L3* shows a Greek mercenary hoplite in Persian service, taken from figures on the Alexander Mosaic. *L4* is a baggage-carrier, based on painted terracottas. The street scene is based on reconstructions of Athenian streets and houses.

**Terracotta figure of a comic scallywag. For some reason this *skeuophoros* or 'baggage-carrier' has also been loaded down with the hoplite's sword. Traces of blue paint still adhere to the tunic and boots, and traces of yellow to the sword hilt. See Plate L4. (Berlin:DDR, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, TC 7820)**



# THE SPARTANS

## INTRODUCTION

**D**uring a protracted series of campaigns against Thebes in the 370s the allies of Sparta declared that they were no longer willing to serve under Sparta's leadership when the allies had so many soldiers and the Lakedaimonians had so few. The Spartan king Agesilaos commanded the allies and the Lakedaimonians to sit apart. The army herald then commanded the potters to stand up, then the smiths, then the carpenters, the builders and so on through all the crafts. Practically all the allies had stood up, but not one of the Lakedaimonians, because they were forbidden to learn or practise a trade. Then Agesilaos said with a laugh 'You see men, how many more soldiers than you we are sending out!' (*Plut., Vit. Ages. 26*).

In fact the Lakedaimonians were the only full time army in ancient Greece and were thus truly an elite force. The institutions of the state and the system of education were organised with a view to creating superbly trained soldiers. Isocrates (6. 81) compared the Lakedaimonian political community to a military camp and Aristotle (*Pol. 2. 6. 22*) criticised the Lakedaimonian constitution because it was organised entirely to promote military virtue. Consequently, he stated, the Lakedaimonians did not know how to live at peace when they had won their empire.

### Historical outline

The city of Sparta lies in the valley of the River Eurotas, enclosed by the mountains of Taygetos to the west and Parnon to the east. It was just one of the cities of the ancient Greek state called Lakedaimon. Although Sparta's early history is not clear, by the end of the 8th century most of the other cities of Lakedaimon had been reduced to subject status. Their inhabitants were called *perioikoi*, or 'those dwelling about'. Though these communities remained self-governing, they had no power over foreign affairs, for these were decided by citizens of Sparta – the Spartiates – and although people of the state were officially called 'the Lakedaimonians', only the Spartiates held political office and made state decisions.

The word Lakonia describes the geographic area of Lakedaimon; and the adjectival form Lakonian is used to describe the local dialect, dress and so on of the inhabitants.

Other communities lost their independence and became helots, or slaves, of the Spartiates. The Spartans became a slave society, and the helots produced the tithes



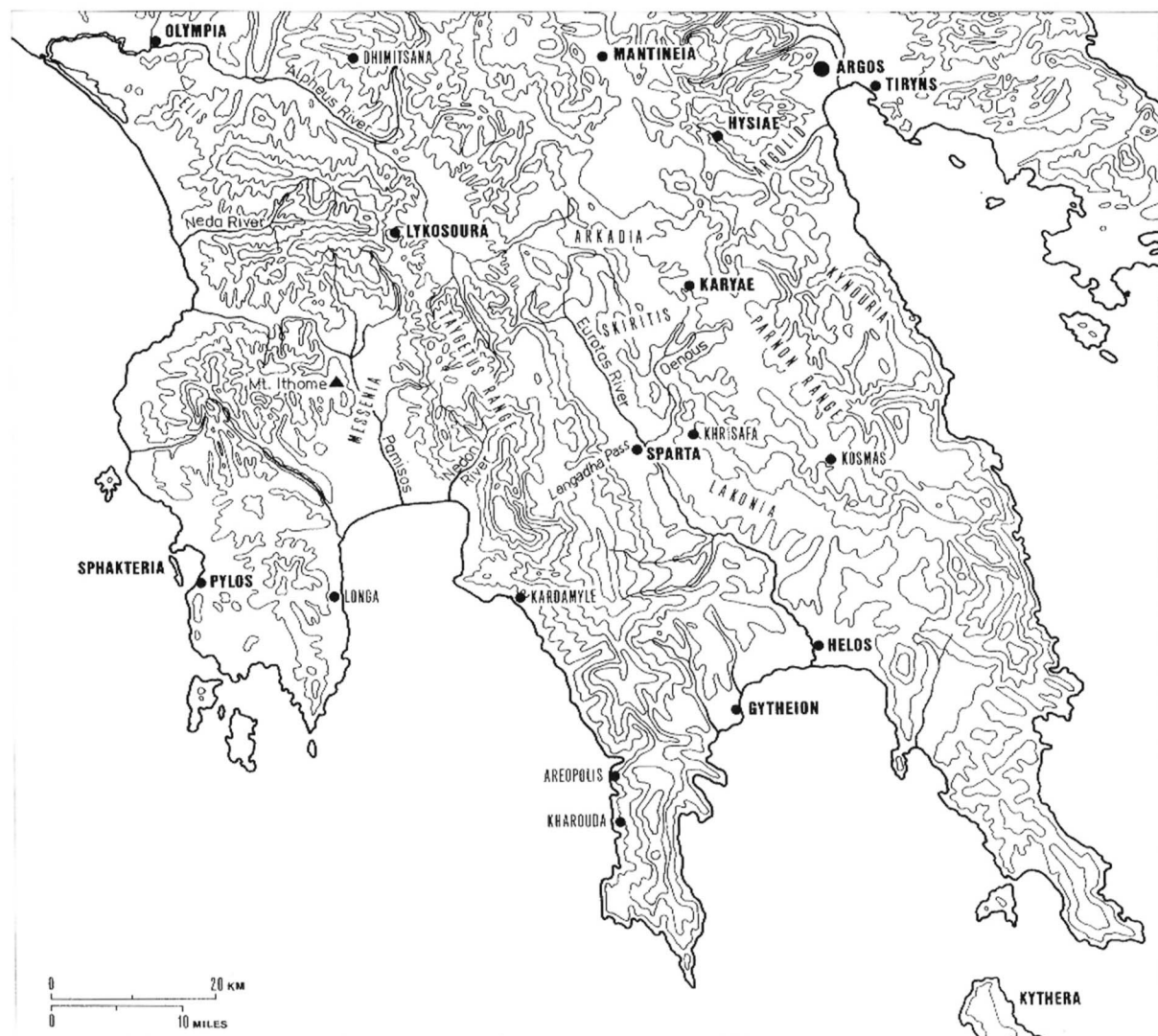
which enabled the Spartans to train for war full-time. The spectre of helot revolt, which could threaten the entire existence of the state, loomed constantly.

According to tradition, the Lakedaimonian constitution was founded by one Lycurgus. Over the years all elements in the constitution of the Classical period were attributed to him. It is obvious, however, that the constitution grew incrementally. Lycurgus, if he was not merely a fictional character, was responsible only for an earlier form of the constitution.

Sparta was ruled by two kings, one each from two separate royal families – the Agiads and the Eurypontids. These kings took command of the army in time of war. After the end of the 6th century one of the kings would command the army on campaign, while the other stayed at home. The kings held seats on a council of elders, the *gerousia*. The other 28 members were citizens aged over 60 who had been selected for service for life. The *gerousia* prepared business for a citizen assembly which could only accept or reject legislation. The assembly decided on war and

RIGHT Lakonian warrior statuette from Ayios Kosmas in Kynouria, a disputed area of land lying between Lakedaimion and Argos. (National Museum Athens)

BELOW The Southern Peloponnese in the Classical period. (Nick Sekunda)







peace and ratified treaties; it also had the right to decide on the royal succession, to appoint military commanders and to elect members of the *gerousia* and the five ephors (magistrates). The ephors exercised general control over the kings. They could summon a king to appear before them and could prosecute him through the *gerousia*; they presided over both the *gerousia* and the assembly, and they gave orders for the mobilisation of the army. Two ephors accompanied the king on campaign.

With control of Lakedaimon assured, neighbouring Messenia was conquered during the First Messenian War of 735-715. Most of its land was captured and most of its population became helots. Argos now became the main enemy in a prolonged struggle for dominance in the Peloponnese. A heavy defeat inflicted by the Argives at Hysiai in 669 seems to have provoked a major Messenian uprising – known as the



Grave stele of the Athenian Stratokles, dating to the end of the 5th century. His opponent, wears a pilos-helmet and an *exomis* pinned up at the right shoulder and is carrying a short sword. He may be a Lakedaimonian, though he does not wear the long hair typical of a Lakedaimonian warrior. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Second Messenian War – which was suppressed with difficulty. The war songs written by the poet Tyrtaios to put heart into the Spartans fighting in this war, became deeply embedded in Spartan military culture.

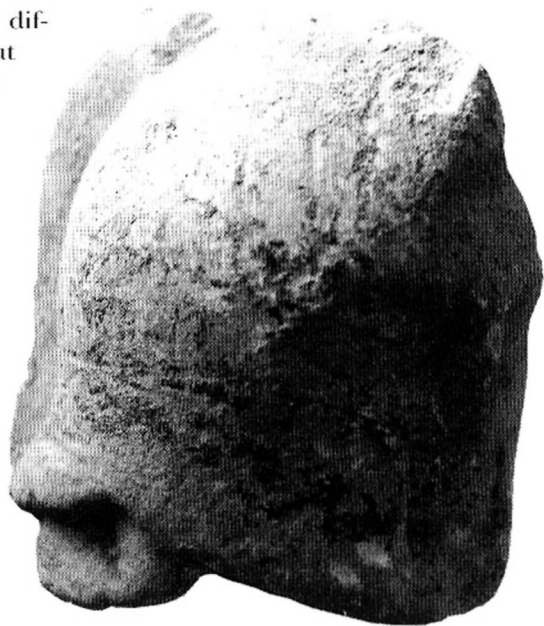
Expansion continued throughout the early 6th century, this time into southern Arcadia, under the joint rule of the kings Leon and Agasikles. Wars were fought with Orchomenos and Tegea. Eventually the Lakedaimonians changed their policy. In the middle of the century Tegea was brought into alliance, and eventually most of the states of the Peloponnese were brought into a league, with Lakedaimon at the head. Leadership of the ‘Peloponnesian League’ gave Lakedaimon the legal and moral authority to lead the Greeks during the Persian Wars. The Lakedaimonians, led by the ephor Chilon and the kings Ariston and Anaxandridas, also engaged in military operations to topple tyrannies all over the Greek world, winning even more prestige for the state.

The Greek tyrants were unconstitutional monarchs, often noted for their cruelty and disregard of the law. Anaxandridas’ son Cleomenes continued with these practices. Naxos was liberated in 517 and Athens in 510. Cleomenes inflicted a crippling defeat on Argos in 494 at Sepeia which prevented her arch-rival from giving the Persians military support.

Lakedaimon played a key role in the Persian War. However, the regent Pausanias, though victor at Plataea, plotted to bring Greece under Persian domination. Consequently, Lakedaimon lost much of her prestige. The Athenian leader Themistocles also worked against Lakedaimon’s influence and built up Athenian imperial power. However, possibly the greatest blow to Lakedaimonian supremacy was the catastrophic earthquake which struck Sparta in 464. A third Messenian War followed (465-460) and then the First Peloponnesian War with Athens (460-446), both of which Lakedaimon survived, though with its manpower severely reduced. In 431 Lakedaimon was dragged into the Peloponnesian War with Athens when its allies threatened to leave the alliance if Lakedaimon could not defend them against Athenian expansion. Lakedaimon survived this war too.

Victory over Athens was achieved by Lysander’s co-operation with Persia. Lysander set about building up a Spartan empire in the cities he liberated from the Athenians, setting up ‘governments of ten’ to replace the democracies and placing Lakedaimonian garrisons and governors (harmosts) in the cities he liberated. Naval victory was achieved in the final phases of the Peloponnesian War, thanks largely to Lysander, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Athenian fleet at the Battle of Aigospotamoi. Following Lakedaimonian victory in the Peloponnesian War and the empire-building activities of Lysander in the Greek states of the eastern Aegean coast, desultory war broke out with the Persian satrap Tissaphernes in 400.

The Spartan king Agesilaos, who was sent out to Asia in 396, achieved considerable success but was recalled to defend Lakedaimon from a new



**Fragment of a 6th century stone statue of a warrior wearing a Corinthian helmet. (Sparta Museum)**





Stone statue of a Lakonian warrior or king from Samos. Tensions existed between Samos and Sparta, culminating in a Spartan invasion in the 520s. (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

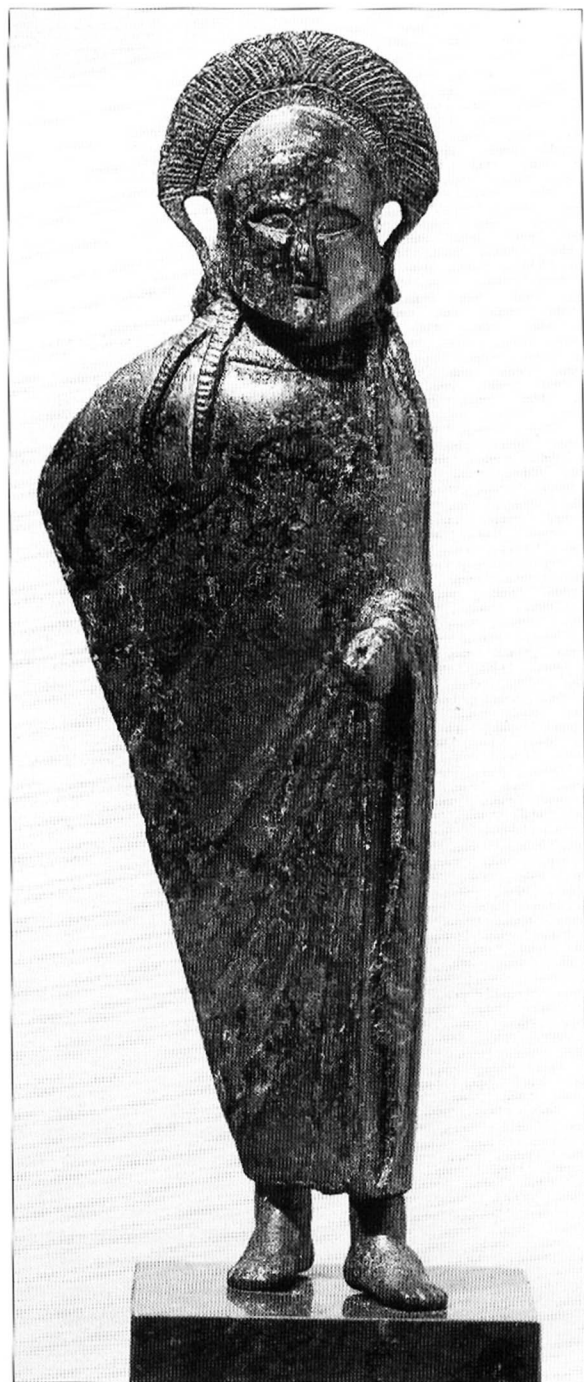
anti-Lakedaimonian coalition of Greek states. The construction of a Persian fleet made any return to Asia impossible, and the Lakedaimonians were forced to accept a peace which handed Asia back to the Persians. The Lakedaimonians surfaced from the Corinthian War in Greece with a number of imperial commitments but without the military strength to carry them out. Their weakness was fully revealed by their defeat at the hands of the Thebans at Leuctra in 371. Had the Theban general Epaminondas not died at Mantinea in 362, it is doubtful that Lakedaimon would have survived with its territories intact.



## ORGANISATION

### Training

When a boy was born he was shown to the elders of the tribe, and they decided whether he would be reared or left to die in a gorge on Mount Taygetos. At home the young boy was taught to be content with plain food and not to be afraid of the dark or of being left alone. His mother would bathe him in wine to 'temper' his body.



Military training started for the young male Spartan at the age of five when he became a 'boy' (*paidion*), a status which lasted six years. He left home and started to live in barracks. He learnt the *pyrriche*, a dance while carrying weapons which trained the young man in his movements under arms (*Athen.*, 630-1). He would also learn by heart all the songs of Tyrtaios which were sung on campaign. He was enrolled in a 'pack' and encouraged to compete against other packs in sports. He was also taught



LEFT Three views of a bronze Lakonian warrior statuette of the early 5th century. The thin Lakonian cloak is wrapped tightly around the body. Note the carefully dressed locks. (Wadsworth Museum, Hartford, Conn.)

to read and write. At the age of ten he would begin to take part in competitive exercises in music, dancing and athletics.

On completion of his 12th year the boy became a 'youth' (*meirakion*). His physical exercise was increased; he had his hair cut short; he went barefoot to toughen his feet for battle; his tunic was taken away; and he wore only one thin cloak in summer and winter alike to prepare him to withstand extremes of heat and cold. For the most part he played naked. He would live in barracks, sleeping alongside the others in his pack on a bed made from reeds plucked by hand from the valley of the River Eurotas. In the winter he was allowed to add thistle-down to his bed, as





**Small, black-glazed Lakonian pot in the shape of a Corinthian helmet, probably intended to hold perfume and probably dating to c.600-575. Note the pointed moustache. (Sparta Museum).**

it was thought this material had some warmth in it. The youth was fed on a minimal diet so he could work on an empty stomach in the future. It was also believed that a diet that made a youth slim would make him grow tall. He was allowed to supplement his diet by stealing, in order to increase his cunning; this would be useful in war. If caught, he was heavily punished – for being caught rather than for stealing!

Each Spartan youth had an adult guardian, called a 'lover', who was responsible for his conduct. According to Xenophon (*Lak. Pol.* 2. 13), engaged in a work of praise for the Lakedaimonian constitution, such connections were banned if they were formed on a purely physical basis, however he did not expect his reader to believe him. There can be little doubt that pederasty was common, and that a large percentage of the adult male population were practising homosexuals. The state could not tolerate bachelorhood, though, as its military manpower had to be maintained, and if citizens did not marry by a certain age, they were publicly humiliated. Thus we find King Agesilaos happily married yet an ardent admirer of boys. Bisexuality of this type was quite widespread in many ancient Greek states.

When a male had completed his 18th year he became an adult citizen (*eiren*). For his first year he would serve as a trainer of the youths. After that he would enter one of the Spartan messes, which housed about 15 males from various age-classes. The age at which a Spartan adult was allowed to live at home with his wife is not entirely clear, but he was not permitted into the marketplace to converse with his fellow adults until the age of 30.

When not on a military expedition, a Spartan spent his time in choral dances, feasts and festivals, hunting, physical exercise and conversation. As Plutarch puts it (*Vit. Lyc.* 22. 2), the Spartans were the only men in the world for whom war was a welcome rest from training for war. The Spartan remained liable for military service outside Lakedaimon until 40

years from his coming of maturity (*Xen., Hell. 5. 4. 13*), though we hear of one Hippodamas who died in battle in 364 at the age of 80.

Every Spartan was liable to be conscripted into the secret service (*krypteia*) for two years before the age of 30. Upon entering office, the ephors always declared war on the helots in order that there would be no impiety involved in killing them. From time to time (presumably when threatened by revolt), they sent out groups of young men into the countryside equipped with only daggers and rations. They hid out in remote places by day, but by night they stalked the roads and killed any helot they came upon. Sometimes they would kill the strongest helots as they worked in the fields. We know nothing about their activities in more normal times. Perhaps they patrolled against robber gangs, gathered intelligence and maintained security in the countryside.

### Hoplite organisation

A great deal of evidence has survived concerning Spartan military organisation, but much of it is contradictory. It is clear that the structure of the army was subject to periodic reorganisations – a view generally held in the 19th century and still held by some today. However, in recent years a different train of thought has emerged, namely that the structure of the army remained substantially unchanged from remote antiquity through to the Classical period. In the opinion of the author, there is as yet no satisfactory position on this.

Surviving fragments of the poems of Tyrtaios, who was writing c.650 during the Second Messenian War, tell us that the army was organised and fought in three tribes, the Pamphyloi, Hylleis and Dymanes. These tribal names are not traditional. Tribes seem to be a new invention in Homer, where the normal form of politico-military organisation is the warrior-band. It is now thought that the appearance of the tribe represents an 8th century attempt to organise society into more formal structures. If the legends about Lycurgus have any historical value, the three tribes may have been introduced by Lycurgus, perhaps in the mid-8th century and perhaps from Crete, for legends suggest that Lycurgus derived many of his legislative ideas from Cretan practice. If this is so, the Spartan tribe may initially have been divided into *hetaireiai* ('bands of comrades'), as was the case in Crete until the Hellenistic period.

Another subdivision of the tribe mentioned in our sources is the *phratra*, or 'fraternity', a term related to the Latin *frater* (brother). Like the tribe, the *phratra* is now known to be a false kinship group formed to introduce more formal politico-military organisation into aristocratic society; it appears for the first time in Homer. The 27 Spartan *phratrai*, presumably nine were allotted to each tribe, are known to have survived as religious and social clubs which participated in the religious festival of the *Karneia*, religious 'fossils', as it were, of their original military selves. It is known that in 676-673 the poet Terpander was the first ever victor in the poetry competition which formed part of the *Karneia*. The *Karneia* must therefore have been introduced, or more probably reformed, at this date. As the *phratrai* are so closely linked with the festival, it is possible that they too were introduced at the same time. Of the total size of the warrior population, we have as yet no idea.

The poet Alkman, who wrote during the last decade of the 7th century, is the first source to mention Sparta's new administrative system

of five *obai*, or villages, which replaced the three tribes. Each *oba* supplied one *lochos*, or company, to the army. This reorganisation of the Spartan citizenry into *obai* can be dated to the decades immediately before Alkman. Literary texts also mention two Archaic Spartan organisational structures which, like the *phratrai*, had become 'fossils' in the Classical period – the *enomotia* or 'sworn band', of perhaps 60 men, and the *triakas*, or 'thirty'.

In the tribal system introduced into Athens by Solon in 594 each of the four tribes was divided into 30 *triakades* of 30 men each. If Solon's reforms were based on the Spartan model, then the total warrior population of the five Spartan *lochoi* during this period would have been exactly 4,500 men.

In the Archaic period the Greeks tended to introduce new political and military structures as their population grew. As these new systems were based on exact arithmetic numbers, they only existed in their perfect state for a limited period. They frequently also entailed the enfranchisement of new citizens, as is made clear by the statement of Aristotle (*Pol.* 2. 6. 8) that under the earlier kings, the Spartans used to share their citizenship with others.

Herodotus (9.10) informs us that at the battle of Plataea in 479, the five *lochoi* of the Spartan army numbered 5,000. As a thousand cannot be divided by 30, we must assume that the *triakas* had been abandoned as

the basic unit of the *lochos* at some point during the

5th century. In its place we hear of a sub-

unit called the *pentekostys* or 'fifty'. One

reason for its introduction may

have been a demographic

expansion of the Spartan

population, but it is equally

possible that the reform

was connected with the

start of Sparta's war with

Tegea and a political

upheaval during the

ephorate of Chilon.

Although the *lochos*

continued to be the

main division of the

army until the 5th

century, its strength was

reduced and its internal

structure was changed.

Thucydides (5. 68. 2)

describes the new organ-

isation of the *lochos* in

his account of the first

battle of Mantinea in

418. The *lochos* of 512

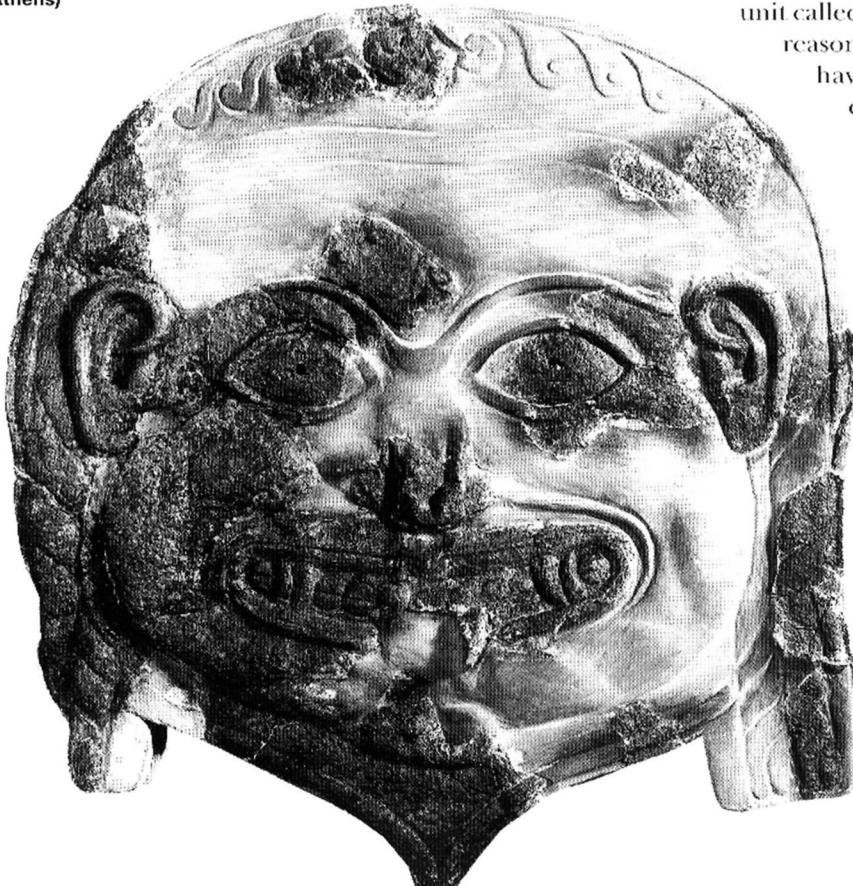
was divided into four

*pentekostyes* of 128, and

16 *enomotiai* of 32. Thus

the total fighting

**Bronze shield-blazon in the form of a gorgoneion, c.530-520, from Sparta. (National Museum Athens)**



strength of the Spartiate population had fallen to an establishment strength of 2,560. Several factors may have been influential in this population decline, but the most likely causes are the loss of life in the catastrophic earthquake which hit Sparta around 464 and the losses in battle during the Third Messenian War which followed.

The manpower shortage later became so severe that a new organisational structure was developed in which the *perioikoi* were mixed with the Spartiates. The *mora*, or division, is mentioned for the first time in 403 (*Xen., Hell. 2. 4. 31*). In two passages Xenophon provides a complete description of the new organisation (*Lac. Pol. 11. 4; Hell. 6. 4. 12*). The army was now divided into six *morai*, each numbering 576 men, to which were attached 100 cavalry. Thus the total strength of the Lakedaimonian army was now established at 4,056. The *mora*, commanded by a *polemarchos*, was divided into four *lochoi*, eight *pentekostyes* and 16 *enomotiai*. Each *enomotia* now numbered 36 men.

Apart from manpower shortages, which made the inclusion of the *perioikoi* in the new formations imperative, the introduction of the *mora* may also have been influenced by strategic considerations. Starting with the occupation of Dekeleia in Attica in 413, which ultimately proved to be a principal cause of Sparta's victory in the Peloponnesian War, garrisons of Lakedaimonians started to be permanently stationed outside Lakonia. The task of manning these garrisons was rotated between the *morai*. An army organised into five *lochoi*, each recruited from a particular 'village' of Sparta, was no longer desirable, for if disaster should overwhelm one of the garrisons, then the demographic consequences would fall severely on a single territorial division of the city. Consequently, the *oba* was no longer used as the basis of recruitment of the Lakedaimonian army.

Xenophon describes the *mora* in his *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians*, which reached its final form and was published after the battle of Leuktra in 371. We hear nothing more of the *mora* after that battle. Before Leuktra there had been 24 Lakedaimonian *lochoi* in the six *morai*. Descriptions of the Lakedaimonian army from 368 onwards mention that the army was divided into 12 *lochoi*. The internal organisation of the *lochos* is, however, quite uncertain.

### **Helots and neodamodeis**

We hear of helots accompanying the army of King Cleomenes in the campaign and battle of Sepeia fought against the Argives in 494. After the battle some of the Argive fugitives took shelter in a sacred grove. Cleomenes ordered all the helots to pile firewood around the grove, and he then set it on fire. In a later incident a local priest attempted to prevent Cleomenes from sacrificing. Cleomenes ordered the helots to pull the priest from the altar and flog him (*Hdt. 6. 80-1*). Presumably these helots were baggage-carriers, since in all armies it was normal for a hoplite to be accompanied by a slave to carry his baggage. Herodotus (7. 229) tells the story of the Spartiate Eurytus at Thermopylae. He had been released from service by Leonidas as an eye infection had blinded him. When he heard of the Persian attack, he asked for his arms and told his helot to take him into the thick of the fighting. The helot did so before running away. Although the practice of each hoplite being accompanied by a helot may have been modified during the later 5th and 4th cen-



turies, we still hear of King Agesilaos being accompanied by his single servant in 362 (*Plut., Vit. Ages.* 32. 4).

Under exceptional circumstances the Lakedaimonian state also made use of helots as fighters. The army mobilised for the Plataea Campaign of 479 consisted of 5,000 Spartiate hoplites and 35,000 helots (allotted seven to each hoplite) sent out immediately at night, and 5,000 picked hoplites of the *perioikoi* who were assembled and sent out the next day (*Hdt.* 9. 10-11). It seems reasonably clear that these helots, like the hoplites they accompanied, were recruited from Sparta's own territory. We are later told that of all the *psiloi* (soldiers without heavy armour) accompanying the hoplites of the Greek army, only the helots accompanying the Spartiates were equipped to fight for war. We have no more details of their equipment.

According to Myron of Priene – a Hellenistic author who wrote a historical account of the First Messenian War – the helots were dressed in skin caps and wore an animal skin (*Athen.* 14. 657D). Myron interprets this as a deliberately degrading act carried out by the Lakedaimonians upon their serf population. In fact, dress such as this was quite normal for the poorer elements of the Greek agricultural population such as shepherds. It would also have been entirely natural for light-armed troops.

During the Peloponnesian War the Spartans were forced to make increasing use of helot hoplites. We hear of one group of helots sent out to serve with Brasidas in Thrace in 424 and freed upon their return to Lakedaimon in 421. By the time they received their freedom, another group of helot hoplites, the *neodamodeis*, or 'new citizens', had already been freed. Both these groups were given land on the Eleian border at Lepreon (*Thuc.* 5. 34. 1). These two *lochoi* were later mobilised and fought at the Battle of Mantinea in 418.

We also hear of the periodic use of either *neodamodeis* or of helot hoplites by the Lakedaimonians. Both groups were of servile origin. The *neodamodeis* had already fought in a previous campaign and

Attic tombstone dating to the late 5th century, showing an Athenian hoplite astride his adversary. The latter figure, identified as a Lakedaimonian, seems to wear a *himation* rather than a tunic and a pilos-helmet. Having lost his shield and spear, he defends himself with a short sword. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



had been freed as a reward. The helot hoplites were new recruits who had not yet completed their service and had been freed. We even hear of helots serving as *harmostai* (governors).

In all cases these helots were presumably Lakonians. The Messenian helots were implacably hostile to the Spartans, as their loss of personal freedom had coincided with loss of national independence. There is no need to suppose that the Lakonian helots would have thought in the same way; they may have been moved to volunteer for military service for patriotic motives as well as the desire to achieve their liberty. Following the disastrous defeat at Leuctra, the Thebans invaded Lakonia. The Spartans proclaimed that any helot who volunteered for service in the war would be freed. No fewer than 6,000 volunteered (*Xen., Hell. 6. 5. 28*). During their invasion the Thebans captured some helots, presumably some of these volunteers, and ordered them to sing the songs of Terpander, Alkman and Spondon. The helots refused, saying that their masters did not allow it (*Plut., Vit. Lyc. 28. 5*).

### **Battle procedure**

Xenophon gives details of Spartan battle procedure in chapters 11 to 13 of his *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians*. This forms the basis for the following account.

The army was mobilised by the ephors, who ordered the oldest age-class to be mobilised. While still in Sparta the king sacrificed to 'Zeus Agetor' (Zeus the Leader) and associated gods. If the sacrifice was propitious, the so-called 'fire-bearer' took fire from the altar and led the way to the border, where the king sacrificed to Zeus and Athena before crossing. All the Lakedaimonians were then summoned to the king's tent to hear the poems of Tyrtaios together (*Lycurg., Cont. Leoc. 107*). The fire-bearer went ahead of the army with the flame from the sacrifice, which was never extinguished. Religious considerations apart, this also ensured that the army had fire to cook with at all times. The fire-bearer would be accompanied by sacrificial animals, including a flock of sheep led by a she-goat called a *katoiadas* (*Paus. 9. 13. 4*).

If sacrifice had to be offered in the morning, the king always completed the ceremony before daybreak, so as to be the first to secure the favour of the gods. The sacrifice was attended by the two ephors who accompanied the king on campaign, the *polemarchoi*, *lochagoi* and *pentekosteres*, the commanders (*stratiarchai*) of the various mercenary detachments, the commanders of the baggage train, and any of the commanders of the allied contingents who wished to be present. When the sacrifice was over, the king gave his orders of the day to the senior officers present.

An organised orders chain existed. Thucydides (5. 66) tells us how at the First Battle of Mantinea, King Agis gave his orders to the *polemarchoi*; these in turn gave orders to the *lochagoi*; then they to the *pentekosteres*; and they to the *enomotarchai*, who finally informed the whole *enomotia* of what was to be done. In 418 orders were clearly given in a top-down hierarchy. It seems the system changed with the introduction of the *mora*. In 395 Pausanias appeared in Bocotia with an army from Lakedaimon, and upon hearing of the death of Lysander at Haliartos, he called together the *polemarchoi* and the *pentekosteres* (*cf. Xen., Hell. 3. 5. 22*). Likewise, in 390, upon hearing of the annihilation of a



Lakedaimonian *mora* by the Athenian general Iphicrates at Lechaion, Agesilaos called together the *polemarchoi*, the *pentekosteres* and the commanders of the allied contingents (*Xen., Hell. 4. 5. 7*). So the four *lochagoi* in each *mora* and the 16 *enomotarchai* remained in the ranks to keep control.

On the march the king led the army, preceded only by the Skiritai and a cavalry screen. He decided when to stop to camp, and selected the campsite. The army encamped in a circle and guards were posted, with some watching the camp, in case of treachery by allies or slaves. Cavalry pickets were posted on high ground to watch for the enemy, and these were guarded by Skiritai at night.

The army was ordered to engage in athletic exercises while on campaign, and this took place both in the morning and in the evening when in camp. After morning exercises were finished the senior *polemarchos* had the herald give the order to sit down and the men were reviewed. They then took breakfast and relieved the outposts. The signal for going to evening meal was also given by the army herald (*Hdt. 6. 77-8*). After the army had finished dinner, they sang a hymn. Then each man in turn sang something by Tyrtaios. The *polemarchos* acted as the

Lakedaimonian warrior shown on an early Apulian calyx-crater by 'the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl' dating to about 420. Note the two locks falling over the shoulder, the long beard and the shaven upper lip. He holds his spear, nearly nine feet long, close to the butt-spike, to keep the native cavalryman at bay. The shield has a bronze reinforcing band on the inside of the bronze rim. This secures a handle for the left hand, attached to the rim, and two arm-straps, allowing the shield to be carried on the back. (Wellesley College Museum, Wellesley, Mass, USA)

judge and gave a prize of meat to the winner (*Athen.* 630 F). The men then rested by their arms.

The army slept in groups of *syskenoi*, or 'tent-companions'. Xenophon (*Hell.* 7. 1. 15-16) tells us of a Theban attack on a Lakedaimonian camp when the night watches were coming to an end and the men were rising from their camp-beds and going to wherever each one had to go; it seems that the army 'stood-to' in the morning.

The Lakedaimonians had prescribed procedures for pitched battle. When the opposing armies had closed to a few hundred metres – near enough for the enemy to be seen clearly – it was the Lakedaimonian practice to sacrifice a female goat to Artemis Agrotera, the goddess of the chase (*Xen., Hell.* 4. 2. 20). The king then commanded every Lakedaimonian to put on a wreath, and ordered the many pipers in the ranks to play the hymn to Castor. The king would then start singing one of the marching-songs of Tyrtaios, and the pipers would take up the tune. As the hoplite line moved forward, the Lakedaimonians kept in step by singing these marching-songs to the accompaniment of the pipes (*Athen.* 14. 627 D, 630 E). As Thucydides explained (5. 71), this custom had no religious motive but was done 'in order that they may advance in line, keeping good time, that their ranks might not be broken, a thing which great armies often do as they close with the enemy'. The Greek pipe or flute cannot be compared to modern instruments of that name. It had a lower and more powerful sound, similar to the oboe or bassoon. The posts of army herald, piper, and cook were inherited (*Hdt.* 6. 60). In camp, orders would be given by the herald, but in battle, because of the noise, signals were given by trumpet. We hear, for example, of a signal for withdrawal (*Diod.* 15. 34. 1).

Normally the two lines would not meet. Such was the reputation of

the Lakedaimonians that their enemies rarely stood their ground. If they did, a desperate

fight ensued, and the discipline of the

Lakedaimonians generally enabled

them to win. In the 5th century,

however, when armies fought in

alliances, the Lakedaimonian

victory might only be local – in

their place of honour on the

right wing. So the

Lakedaimonians

developed new

tactics: having

achieved a local

victory, they

wheeled their line

round to face left and

began to roll up the enemy

line by attacking it in flank.

Persons accused of cowardice

were excluded from holding any

office and banned from making any

legally binding contract. Any citizen

The inside of this Lakonian cup, decorated by the 'Hunt Painter' – named after the hunt scene painted on another of his cups – c.550-540, shows two young warriors carrying a dead warrior from the battlefield. Note the hairstyles. (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz)





could strike them with impunity. They were forced to wear cloaks with coloured patches and to shave off half their beards, and no citizen would give them a woman in marriage. Punishments were devised for lesser military offences. For example, insubordination was punished by extra sentry duty, which meant carrying a heavy shield throughout the night.

## DRESS

In ancient Greece the two sexes lived largely separate lives. Males would spend much of the day in the fields, females around the house. Representations show, and texts describe, men doing dirty work like ploughing, sowing or potting naked. Athletic nudity may have been ritual in origin. At the start of the Archaic period light clothes were worn during athletic exercise, but they were eventually discarded completely. The rigours of warfare – marching and fighting in heavy armour often under the summer sun – were hardly less demanding than those of sport and physical training. Nor was warfare of less ritual significance than sport. When we see representations of Spartans fighting without a tunic, we should not dismiss them as being ‘artistic’ or ‘heroising’: undoubtedly some are, but nudity in Greek art is, more often than not, a depiction of reality.

### Crimson clothing

According to Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 11. 3), Lycurgus had ordered the Lakedaimonians to wear a crimson robe and a bronze shield because the robe least resembled women’s clothing and was most warlike, and the shield could be polished quickly but tarnished slowly. Later sources expand on Xenophon’s explanations. Plutarch (*Mor.* 238 F) noted that the blood-coloured tunic aroused terror in the inexperienced opponent and helped disguise wounds. When Xenophon was writing, it had become virtually universal for Greek armies to dress in crimson, largely as a result of Lakedaimonian influence, so his statement that crimson is a warlike colour makes perfect sense for the 4th century. The real reason, however, seems to lie elsewhere.

In antiquity the production of clothes by hand was time-consuming and costly. Most clothes were produced within the household. Although our knowledge is somewhat sketchy, it seems that right down to the end of the 5th century many people owned only one cloak, and it was normal to borrow a cloak from the neighbour when yours was being cleaned. The situation probably changed later on, but most people would own a limited range of clothes. Xenophon (*An.* 3. 2. 7) tells us that he wore his finest clothes for battle, for, if the gods granted victory, it was appropriate to be wearing one’s best clothes to mark the occasion, or if he should die, it was also fitting to meet one’s fate well attired. These feelings seem to have been widely held.

One imagines that the wives and mothers of the Spartan warriors would have wished to produce tunics of the finest quality for their men folk who were about to risk their life in

Lakonian bronze figurine of a warrior from Dodona. (Ioannina Museum)



battle, and crimson may have come into general use because it was an expensive dye. The uniformity of crimson could have arisen from general practice and only later been sanctioned by formal legislation. How far back the custom of wearing crimson clothing for military service actually went cannot be established, although it could have been an early practice (see Plate B). The warrior bronzes of the early 5th century continue to show highly decorated tunics, so even if the wearing of crimson had become formalised by that date, it is still a long way away from standardised dress. In the 4th century the army of Agesilaos was clad entirely in crimson. By this time it seems appropriate to talk of uniform military dress, which may sometimes have been issued by a commander. Crimson had become the colour of the soldier and especially of the Lakedaimonian soldier. The Lakedaimonian was even buried in his crimson robe (*Plut., Vit. Lyc. 27. 1*).

### The tunic

The basic item of clothing was the tunic (*chiton*). In the Archaic period tunics were relatively thick woollen garments, but in the Classical period they became lighter, and sometimes linen replaced wool. During the 5th century a new type of tunic, called the *exomis*, came into widespread use. Originally the *exomis* was typically used by workmen to allow free movement of the right arm. Once the cuirass had been abandoned, in the 5th century, the Lakedaimonians adopted the new tunic for warfare. The *exomis* tunic was two-sleeved, but the right-hand sleeve of the tunic could be let down to leave the right shoulder and arm free to handle weapons when in combat. This is what is described by Plutarch in his *Life of Cleomenes* (37. 2). The Hellenistic king Cleomenes III of Sparta put on his tunic and loosened the seam from his right shoulder. The seam was presumably pinned back in place when the wearer wished to wear the *exomis* with the sleeve covering the right shoulder. Over time, the crimson *exomis* was adopted by armies imitating Lakedaimonian military practices, and by individuals imitating the Lakedaimonian lifestyle in general.

### The cloak

The Greeks distinguished between two types of cloak, the *himation* and the *chlamys*. Both were rectangular, but the *himation* was much longer and was worn wrapped round the body. The *chlamys* was draped over the left shoulder and secured by a pin over the right shoulder. The *himation* was much favoured in the Archaic period, but was largely replaced in the Classical period by the *chlamys*, which was much looser and more suitable for travelling, hunting and other activities which required greater freedom of movement. The

Grave stele of Lisas the Tegean, a member of the Peloponnesian garrison installed at Dekeleia in 413. He wears an *exomis* tunic (note the sleeve lying below his right arm) and a pilos-helmet in the Lakedaimonian style.

(*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 4, 1880)



*chlamys* was normally worn over a tunic, the *himation* without an undergarment.

The Lakedaimonians retained their traditional form of *himation* throughout the Classical period, and it was never replaced by the *chlamys*. The cloak was not normally worn in battle, but off-duty and in peacetime. Like other items of dress used by the Lakedaimonians, the cloak was dyed crimson. When the earthquake of 464 killed a huge number of Spartans, and the helots were threatening to revolt, the Spartans sent Perikleidas to beg for help in Athens, where he sat 'as pale as death in his crimson cloak' (*Arist., Lys. 1140*).

The Lakedaimonian *himation* was called a *triboun*. In Greek texts the *triboun* is often described as being *phaulos* (mean), which is often translated as 'short'. In fact, representations show it to have been long but thin. Boys under training had to wear the same cloak in winter and summer in order to become accustomed to the cold (*Xen., Lac. Pol. 2. 4*). Adults also wore the thin cloak all year round to show their physical toughness. Agesilaos is mentioned as wearing only a cloak during the winter of 362 (*Plut., Vit. Ages. 32. 4*). It even became a popular fashion to leave the cloak unwashed in order to show that the wearer had only one cloak which he wore for the whole year. Along with other distinctive items of Lakedaimonian dress, the *triboun* was adopted abroad by individuals who admired the Lakedaimonians and aped their lifestyles. In particular, the philosophers and their disciples in Athens keenly adopted the *triboun*. Xenophon (*Mem. 1. 6. 2*) described Socrates as dressed in a thin cloak 'in winter and summer alike'. Aristophanes (*Birds 1281-3*) described Lakonian-mad young men as 'long-haired, hungry, unwashed, Socrates-like, carrying sticks'.

### Shoes

It is frequently claimed that it was an artistic convention to show the foot bare in Greek art. This belief is based on ignorance of the literary sources. Physical work out of doors was generally performed barefoot. The normal Greek soldier was a farmer who worked barefoot in the fields, took his physical exercise barefoot, and so saw no need to don footwear when called upon to perform military service. Boots were worn for specific purposes, such as for hunting, where the hunter was likely to have to run through prickly undergrowth. Soldiers did wear boots in the winter, but for warmth rather than for protection. The standard type of boot took the form of a leather strapwork frame holding *piloi*, or felt socks, in place against the leg. When texts mention soldiers barefoot, they generally do so in a context where troops have been overtaken by winter while dressed in their summer clothing (eg. *Xen., Hell. 2.1.1*). Plato (*Laws 1. 633 B*) informs us that the Lakedaimonians went barefoot even in the winter while serving in the *krypteia*. Boys were forbidden to wear shoes lest their feet became soft (*Xen., Lac. Pol. 2.3*). Consequently, in our reconstructions we should no more give shoes to Greek soldiers than fig-leaves to Greek athletes.

Even so, we do hear of a special type of Lakonian shoe. Literary sources describe it as being single-soled (*haplai*). Demosthenes (*54. 34*) referred to 'those who Lakonize with their *tribounes* and single-soled footwear'. Consequently, we can identify the open-toed sandal with a

tongue at the top, on statues of Greek philosophers, as the Lakonian shoe. Pollux (*Onom.* 7. 88) informed us that the shoe was coloured red (not crimson).

### The Lakonian staff

Our sources also mention a distinctive Lakedaimonian staff (*bakteurion*). Theophrastus (*Char.* 21. 15) tells us they were 'crooked' or 'aslant', but we get no other clues from literary sources as to their shape. A number of different types of staff are found in Greek art – rough, smooth, curved, straight, with a crook at the top or a cross-piece. Fortunately, a single Spartan representation of a man with a staff has survived. The staff is long, smooth, straight and has a T-shaped cross-piece at the top. This type of staff is also depicted being used by philo-Lakonian philosophers.

Although the Lakedaimonian staff was not a weapon of war, it was carried by Sparta's representatives abroad, such as generals, envoys or military governors (*harmostai*). The staff and the *triboyn* became, as it were, symbols of the majesty of Sparta, as Plutarch (*Vit. Nic.* 19. 4) refers to them, in his account of the despatch of Gylippus to Sicily. When Athens fell, at the end of the Peloponnesian War, Lysander put a garrison into the Acropolis and appointed the Spartan Kallibios as *harmostes*. We are told that Kallibios once lifted his staff to strike

Bronze plaque from Pompeii showing Socrates wearing a *triboyn* and leaning on a Lakedaimonian *bakteurion*. (*Römische Mitteilungen* 55, 1940)



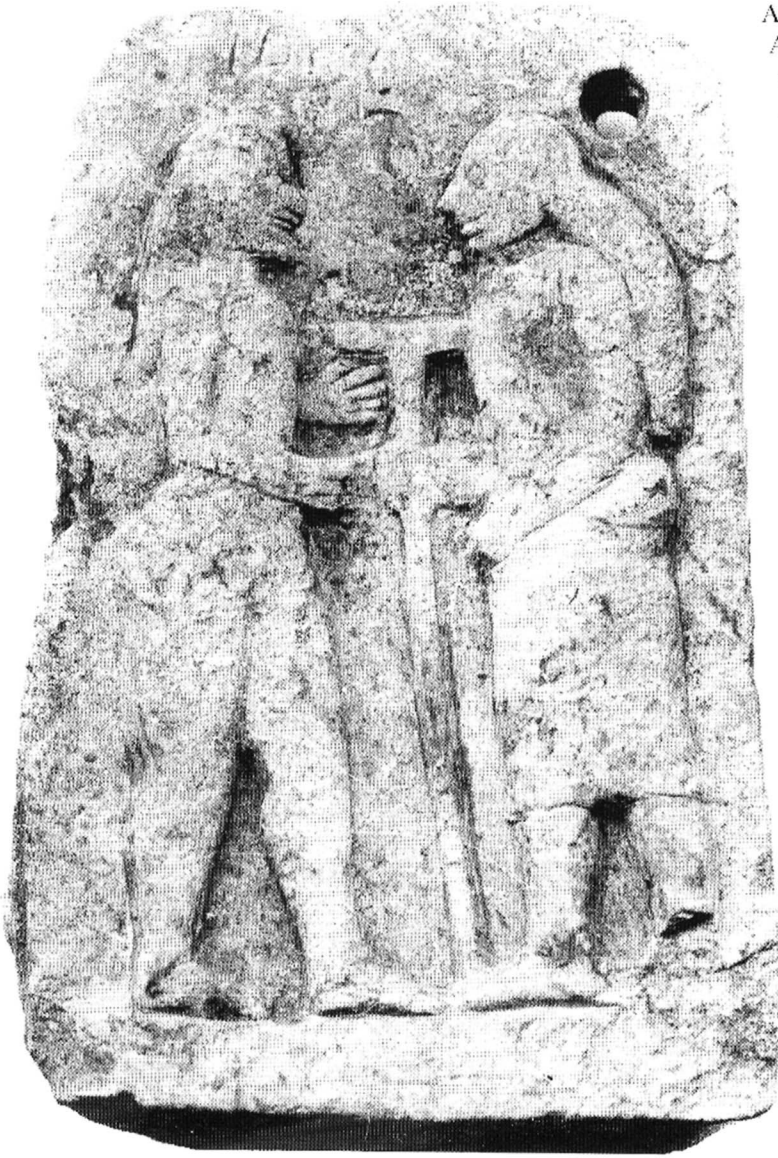


Autolukos the athlete, upon which Autolukos seized him by the legs and threw him to the ground (*Plut., Vit. Lys. 15. 5*).

### Hairstyles

Xenophon (*Lac. Pol. 11. 3*) tells us that men who had entered manhood were permitted to wear their hair long, in the belief that it made them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying. According to another version, long hair made handsome men more beautiful and ugly men more terrible (*Plut., Vit. Lys. 1. 2; Mor. 189 E, 228 F*). In antiquity, a legend existed which said that legislation enjoining the Lakediaimonians to grow their hair, contrary to previous practice, had first been instituted after the Battle of the Champions (*Hdt. 1. 82. 8*), and according to Aristotle (*Rhet. 1. 9. 26*), the Lakedaimeonians thought long hair noble because it was the mark of a free man, since it is difficult to perform any servile tasks with long hair. In fact the Lakedaimeonians wore their hair long because in Archaic times long hair was the mark of an aristocrat. Its retention was a symptom of the increasing conservatism of Lakedaimeonian society from the middle of the 6th century. Outside Lakedaimeon, long hair became a sign of Lakonian sympathies.

The Lakonian hairstyle did change somewhat over time. On warrior statuettes of the 5th century all the locks are swept to the back under the helmet. In the early 4th century, hair is normally dressed in four locks falling to the front, two on either shoulder, and four to the back. The beard is short and pointed and the upper lip is normally shaven. Plutarch (*Vit. Cleom. 9. 3*), quoting Aristotle, informs us that every year upon entering office the ephors would order the citizens to 'cut their moustaches and obey the law'. In the later 5th century, it seems that the hair continued to be dressed in two locks to the front on either shoulder, and the upper lip continued to be shaved, but the beard was generally worn longer. Plutarch (*Vit. Lys. 1. 1*) confirms this when he describes the statue of Lysander in the treasury of the Acanthians at Delphi as having very long hair and beard 'in the old style'. Plutarch (*Mor. 232 E*) preserves a saying of a Lakonian who, upon being asked why he wore his beard so

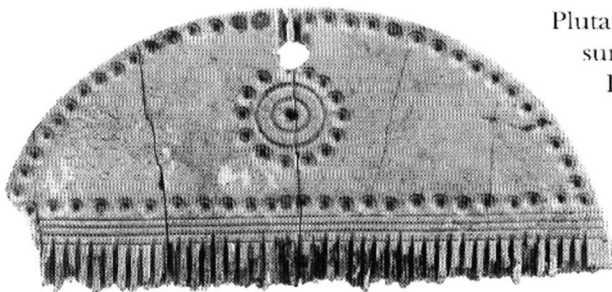


Early 6th century limestone relief in Sparta Museum (1482) from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. Note the Lakedaimeonian staff carried by the man. (Maria Pipili, *Lakonian Iconography of the 6th century BC*, 1987)

very long, said: 'So I can see my grey hairs and never do anything unworthy of them'. In the 4th century both hair and beard may have been cut shorter.

An indispensable piece of equipment for any self-respecting Lakedaimonian was his comb. When Clearchus, the Spartan general who commanded the 10,000 Greek mercenaries under Cyrus the Younger, was captured by trick, he was sent to the Persian court in chains. There he begged a comb from the Greek court physician Ktesias. He was so pleased at being able to comb his hair, he gave Ktesias his ring (*Plut., Vit. Artax. 18. 1*).

Miniature comb, probably dedicated by a child, from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. The purpose of the hole was probably to allow the comb to be hung on a peg. The teeth are missing. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum)



## HOPLITE WEAPONRY

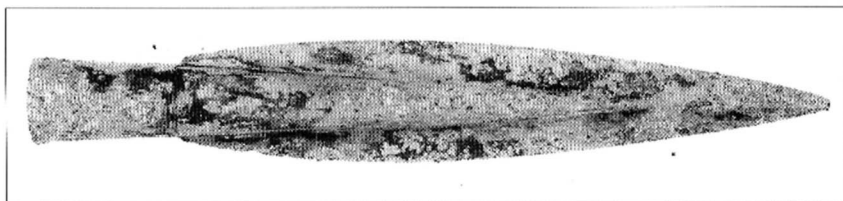
Plutarch (*Vit. Ages. 34. 7-8*) tells us that during the surprise attack made on Sparta by the Theban general Epaminondas in 362, Isidas (son of Phoibidas) fought naked in the battle, without armour or clothing, for he had just anointed his body. He ran out of his house grabbing a sword and spear, and rushed directly to the fight. He emerged from the battle without a scratch. After the battle the ephors crowned him with a wreath for his courage and fined him a thousand

drachmas for risking his life in battle without armour, presumably against regulations. Weaponry that was to be carried into battle may also have been specified.

### Spear

The main offensive weapon of the Spartan hoplite was his spear. King Agesilaos used to say that the walls of Sparta were its young men, and its borders the points of their spears (*Plut., Mor. 217 E*). On campaign, the Lakedaimonian hoplite was ordered to carry his spear at all times (*Xen., Lac. Pol. 12. 4*). The wood which the Greeks normally chose for their spear-shafts was ash. Tyrtaios (*frg. 19. 13*) confirms that the Lakedaimonians used ash. The long, straight grain of ash allows the seasoned trunk of a felled tree to be split into longer and straighter sections than most other woods. The same qualities make ash the wood which best combines lightness and strength. From the start, the spear-head seems to have been made of iron and leaf-shaped. Only later did the spear acquire a bronze butt-spike, which allowed the spear to be fixed in the ground when weapons were piled up, without damaging the shaft or exposing it to rot through contact with the damp earth.

Bronze spear-head found in a pit in Building I in the Sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus located at Tsakona, near Sparta. It is either Archaic or early Classical in date. (British School at Athens 85, 1990)





### Shield

Many know the anecdote preserved by Plutarch (*Mor.* 241 F) that one Spartan mother when handing her son his shield before battle admonished him to return 'either with it or on it'. After the spear, the shield was the most important item of hoplite equipment. Warriors who threw away their shields were severely punished. When someone asked the exiled Spartan king Demaratos (c. 510-491) why people who lost their shields were dishonoured but those who lost their helmets or cuirasses were not, he replied: 'Because the latter they put on for their own protection, but the shield for the common good of the whole line.' (*Plut., Mor.* 220 A) This passage also, incidentally, confirms that the cuirass was still being worn during the Persian Wars.

Of all the elements in the hoplite panoply, the hoplite shield appeared the latest – around 700. Until then the Dipylon shield had been the most popular type. The hoplite shield was made of small segments of wood glued together and faced with layers of leather. It was circular and slightly dish-shaped in section, with an offset rim around the edge. This rim was covered by a thin layer of bronze, usually decorated with a 'guilloche' (cable) pattern. The shield was held by two handles. In the middle of the shield was a bronze arm-hole (*porpax*) through which the left arm was passed as far as the elbow. Normally this arm-hole was incorporated into a long bronze band stretching to either edge of the shield. Critias tells us that the Lakedaimonians used to remove the *porpax* from their shields when stored at home as a precaution against them being stolen and used by helots in the event of a revolt. The left hand gripped a leather or rope handle (*antilabeai*) which was fixed to the rim of the shield. Sometimes a bronze shield device was fixed to the front of the shield, and sometimes there were reinforcing plates, possibly of bronze, on the inside of the shield, behind the forearm and shoulder. A number of possible Lakedaimonian bronze shield devices have been identified, the latest of which dates to c.530-520.

A fundamental change, apparently first noted by Philip Henry Blyth, took place in the construction of the hoplite shield shortly before the end of the 6th century. The whole shield was covered by a thin sheet of stressed bronze, and the profile of the shield took on a much deeper, bowed shape. At the same time, the wooden or leather sub-structure of the shield may have been laminated and stressed for strength.

The only evidence we have for the issue of equipment is a reference to horsemen being given their equipment on mobilisation prior to the battle of Leuktra in 371 (*Xen., Hell.* 6. 4. 11). Nevertheless (and especially when the Lakedaimonians started to use a uniform city shield blazon), shields would have been virtually identical. It was Lakedaimonian practice to pile arms when at rest on campaign (*Hdt.* 7. 208-9), and it must have been difficult to identify one's own shield quickly unless they were marked with the name of the owner.

At first the shield was decorated with the owner's individual shield

ABOVE **Bronze butt-spike from Olympia. The inscription tells us that it was dedicated by the Messenians as booty taken from the Lakedaimonians. The dedication seems to date to the troubled period of the 460s. (© German Archaeological Institute, Athens)**

RIGHT **Excavations in the Athenian Agora have unearthed a shield whose inscription states that it is one of the shields captured from the Lakedaimonians at Pylos in 425. Pausanias (1. 15. 4) notes that the shields captured at Pylos were kept in the Painted Stoa, smeared in pitch for preservation. The shield was badly crushed, and in its present state has a diameter of between 83 and 95cm. Note the guilloche pattern on the rim. (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations).**



device. Plutarch (*Mor.* 234 D) tells us that one Lakonian had a life-size fly as his shield emblem. When someone said that he had done this to escape being noticed, he replied that it was rather that he may be noticeable, for he would come so close to the enemy, they would notice it at its true size. At some point, possibly c.475-450, the Lakedaimonians began to use a uniform state shield device.

In the *Lexicon of Photius*, under the entry for the letter  $\Lambda$  (*lambda*), we are told that the Lakedaimonians painted this letter on their shields. Photius mentions as his source Eupolis, an Athenian comic poet born in 446. His last known drama was staged in 412, and he died "in the



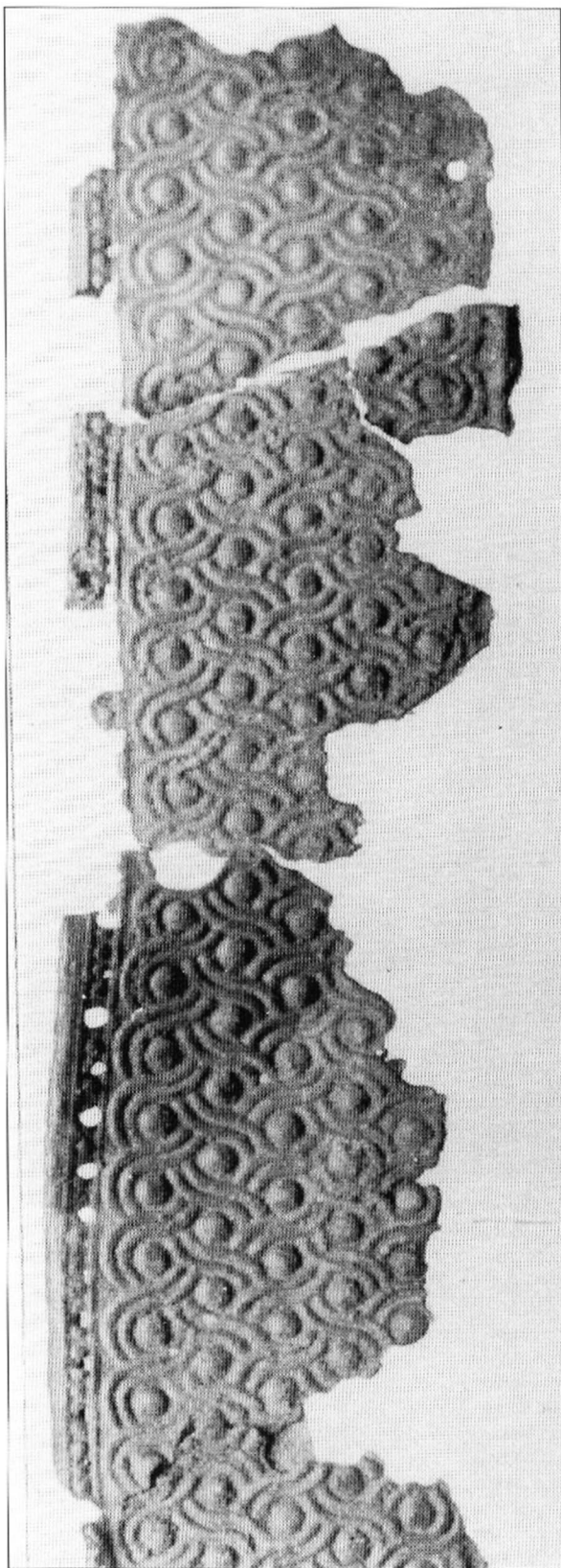
Hellespont", probably at the battle of Kynossema in 411. Therefore it is certain that the *lambda* shield device was in use before 412, and it is generally thought that this fragment of Eupolis comes from a comedy dealing with the Mantinea campaign of 418. The letter was presumably painted onto the shield in the uniform crimson colour. The use of the *lambda* continued into the 3rd century, when we are told that some Messenian troops managed to seize Elis by trick, having painted Lakonian badges onto their shields (*Paus.* 4. 28. 5).

### Cuirass

The type of cuirass in use throughout the Archaic period is distinguished by an offset flange at the waist, giving it a shape resembling the flaring mouth of a bell. Hence archaeologists call it the 'bell' cuirass. On earlier examples of the bell type, the musculature is only sketchily imitated by chasing. Later, the partially modelled musculature is sometimes part covered with ornate decoration. By the early 5th century the musculature is fully modelled, but the flange at the waist has not yet been abandoned. In the early 5th century the bell cuirass evolved into the 'muscle' cuirass.

The bronze 'muscle' cuirass was closely modelled to the musculature of the body. Instead of having a flange at the bottom, it curves up at the sides to allow free movement to the hips, and down over the abdomen to afford some protection to the groin. The 'composite' cuirass, with its tie-down shoulder pieces and segmented body-armour, does not seem to have been worn by the Lakedaimonians at any time, at least, it does not appear among the surviving representations. It must be admitted, however, that we are dealing with a rather small sample of evidence.

At some point during the 5th century, possibly c.450-425, the Lakedaimonian army decided to discard their cuirasses. Behind this move seems to have been a search for battlefield mobility as well as the need for rapid marching on campaign. In due course other Greek armies followed the Lakedaimonian lead and abandoned their heavy body armour. This situation continued into the 360s, when representational evidence indicates that the cuirass was adopted again. This change may be associated with new battlefield tactics introduced by the Theban general Epaminondas.

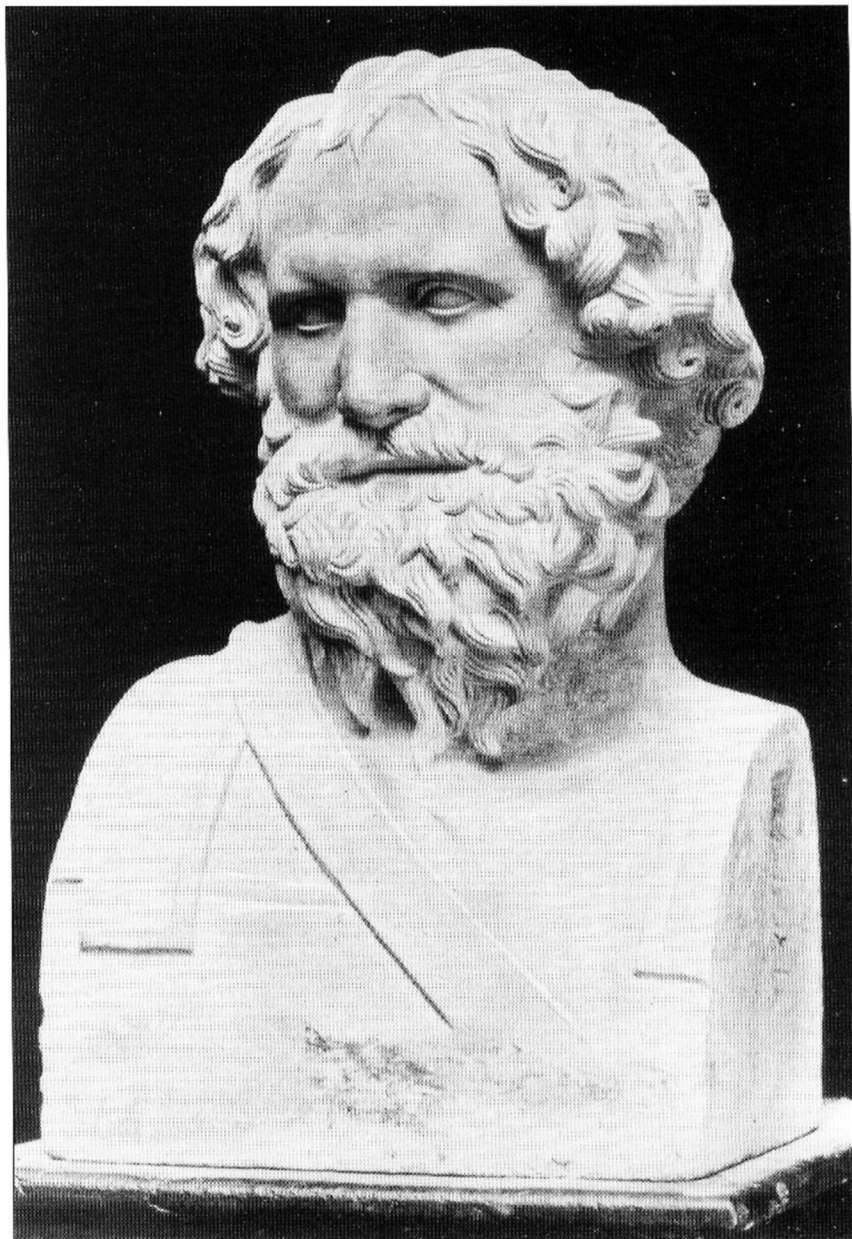


LEFT Bronze shield rim from the Amyklaion temple in Sparta, dedicated by a Lakedaimonian hoplite. (*Athenische Mitteilungen* 52, 1927)

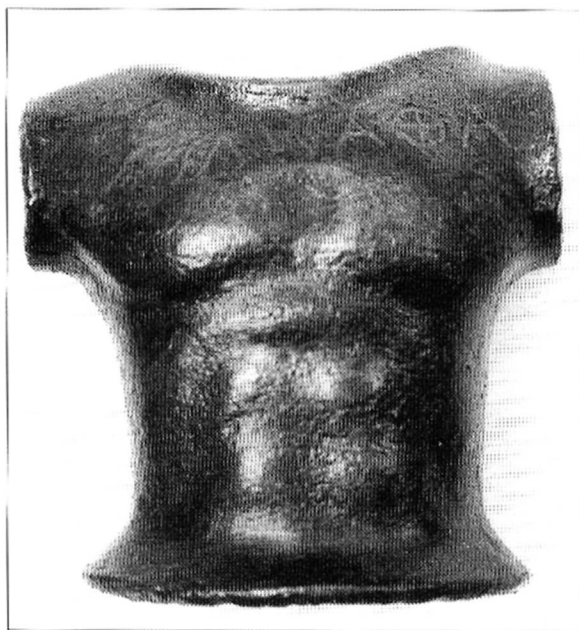
## Helmet

After the shield, the most important piece of hoplite armour was the helmet. In the Archaic period the most popular type in Sparta, as in the rest of Greece, was the Corinthian helmet, which was being produced by 700. The helmet completely enclosed the head, and, though vision and hearing were restricted, the protection offered was especially valued in the spear-fighting of hoplite warfare. Other more open-faced types also seem to have been used by the Lakedaimonians.

When Lakedaimonian battlefield tactics started to develop in the 5th century, the Corinthian helmet was replaced. Good vision and hearing in the phalanx were becoming more important as increasingly complex



It is known that Archidamus III, born between 408 and 400, was honoured with statues at Olympia and Delphi. This portrait bust, presumably a Roman copy of one of these statues, is identified by a painted inscription. It portrays the King aged about 40, and so around the year 360. If the cuirass is not an addition by the copyist, it demonstrates that the Lakedaimonians re-adopted the cuirass in the 360s. (A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 1912)



**Bronze miniature bell cuirass from the Spartan Acropolis. The retrograde inscription across the chest informs us that the votive has been dedicated to Athena. (Sparta Museum)**

**Pilos-helmet from the Carapanos Collection (687), presumably from Dodona. (National Museum Athens)**



manoeuvres were executed at the signal of the trumpet. Consequently, a new type of helmet, the pilos-helmet, was adopted at the same time as the cuirass was abandoned.

The word *pilos* literally means 'felt', and is applied to a number of articles made of that material. Felt caps were called *piloi*, and they came in a number of regional variants, distinguished by shape. Lakonian *piloi* are mentioned by Arrian (*Tact.* 3. 5) and Pollux (*1.* 149). They were conical in shape and slightly rounded at the point – of the type worn by the Lakedaimonian heroes Castor and Polydeukes (Pollux). Hats of this shape were also popular in the Dorian colonies in the Greek west, some founded by Sparta itself. The pilos-helmet repeated the shape of the felt *pilos* cap in bronze. Presumably *pilos* caps were sometimes worn under the helmet for comfort, giving rise to helmets of this shape. Once adopted by the Lakedaimonian army, it became as much a Lakonian symbol as the

crimson *exomis*, and was copied by many armies both inside and outside the Peloponnesian League.

A famous passage in Thucydides (*4.* 34. 3) has provoked considerable discussion. It tells us that the Spartan garrison on the islet of Sphacteria suffered greatly against Athenian archers, 'for their *piloi* did not keep out the arrows'. Thucydides may be suggesting that the Spartans were wearing felt *piloi*, but it is more probable that by this time the word *pilos* was also used to refer to bronze helmets of that type. It seems that the pilos-helmet continued to be used by the Lakedaimonians to the end of the Classical period, despite it being replaced by more enclosed types in many other armies.

### **Other body armour**

The legs were protected by bronze greaves, clipped onto the shins and held in place by the springiness of the metal. In the 7th century greaves were rather short, reaching up the shin as far as the knee but leaving the knee itself unprotected. In the 6th century the greave first extends upwards to cover the knee, and then by the end of the century it also extends far enough down to partially cover the ankle. As one of the most easily discarded items of body armour, greaves were abandoned in the late 5th century search for tactical mobility.

During the middle decades of the 6th century, further items of body-armour were added to the Greek panoply, attested either by actual examples or in representations. They include upper and lower arm-guards for the right arm, which was

unprotected by the hoplite shield, thigh-guards, ankle-guards and foot- or toe-guards. That these items were in use in the Spartan army too is attested by the Lakonian warrior-statuettes from Longa. Depiction of supplementary items of body-armour grows in Greek vase-painting until about 530-525, and then it suddenly stops. The reason may have been the growth of Persian power: Lydia fell in 546, Babylonia in 539, Egypt in 525, and in 523 Polycrates, the powerful tyrant of Samos, was captured and put to death by the Persians. War between the states of mainland Greece and the Persians became increasingly likely, and the hoplite had to develop new tactics to counter massed archery. The strategy adopted by the hoplite phalanx was to charge the enemy at a run, so minimising the time they were exposed to archers. The Greeks charged the Persian line in this way at both Marathon and Plataea. An athletic competition, the *hoplitodromos*, or 'armed race', was developed to train citizens in this new military manoeuvre. It was introduced into the Olympic Games in 520 and into the Delphic in 498. Clearly there was no room for supplementary body armour in these changed tactical conditions.

### The sword

There was nothing unusual in Lakedaimonian swords until the 5th century, when they began to get shorter. By c.425-400 they had become exceedingly short, like daggers, as is testified to by numerous literary passages. When one Athenian mocked that the Lakonian swords were so short a juggler could swallow them, King Agis III replied (c. 338-331): 'But nevertheless we still strike our enemies with them,' (*Plut., Vit. Lyc. 19. 2; Mor. 191 E*) King Agesilaos, when asked why the Lakedaimonian swords were so short, replied: "Because we fight close to the enemy." (*Plut., Mor. 217 E, 232 E*). Finally, a Spartan woman, when her son complained that his sword was too small, advised him to add a step forward to it (*Plut., Mor. 241 F*).

The sword was probably shortened to make it handier in the crush which ensued when the two phalanx lines met. Normal Greek swords were medium-sized cut and thrust weapons. When the spear was broken, they would normally be used overhand to slash at the head of the opponent. The sword was shortened in order to encourage the Lakedaimonian warrior to use more effective thrusting attacks at the trunk and groin of his opponent. Such attacks would have been especially effective when the armies opposing the Lakedaimons had started to discard their body armour too.

No example of the short Lakonian sword has survived. However, this bronze model of a sword, purchased in Crete in 1898, may well reproduce the shape. At 32.2cm long it is slightly larger than life-size and made of solid bronze, and so is probably best interpreted as a bronze fitting for a slightly larger-than-life statue of a warrior. (Trustees of the British Museum)





### Ancillary equipment

A description of the Spartan drinking mug (*kothon*) has been preserved by Plutarch (*Vit. Lyc.* 9. 4). It was valued highly for its usefulness among soldiers on active service. Its colour hid the disagreeable appearance of the water which they were often forced to drink, and its curving lip caught the muddy sediment and held it inside, so that only the purer part of the water reached the mouth of the drinker. Suidas (*s.v.*) adds the information that the Lakonian *kothon* was one-handed. Athenaeus preserves the description of Kritias: the lips were curved and served to trap any foreign bodies in the water. It was most easily carried in a *gyllos*. The *gyllos* is mentioned in the comedies of Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 1097), and an ancient commentator on this passage tells us that it was a wicker-work basket in which soldiers put their provisions on campaign.

Each soldier would probably also have carried his *xule*, or whittling knife. The Greek verb *xuo* means 'to scrape', so a spear which had been shaved smooth was called a *xyston* and the implement used was called a *xuele*. Thus a spear-maker was called a 'spear-whittler' (*Pollux* 1. 149). In his *Cyropaedia* (6. 2. 32), Xenophon has his imaginary Cyrus recommend that his soldiers should carry medicines, plenty of straps, a file for sharpening the spearhead, and also a *xuele*, if they knew how to use one. It is quite possible that Xenophon is recommending that Lakedaimonian practice be followed here. Xenophon (*An.* 4. 8. 26) mentions that a Spartiate named Drakontios, who took part in the 'Expedition of the Ten Thousand', had been exiled from Sparta as a boy because he had accidentally killed another boy with a stroke of his *xuele*. Perhaps the Spartiates were taught to whittle new spear-shafts as part of their military training during boyhood. It seems that the Lakonian *xuele*, or rather *xuale* in Lakonian dialect, was distinguished by its length, for Xenophon (*An.* 4. 7. 16) tells us that the Chalybians carried a sword as big as a Lakonian *xuele* and used it to decapitate their prisoners.

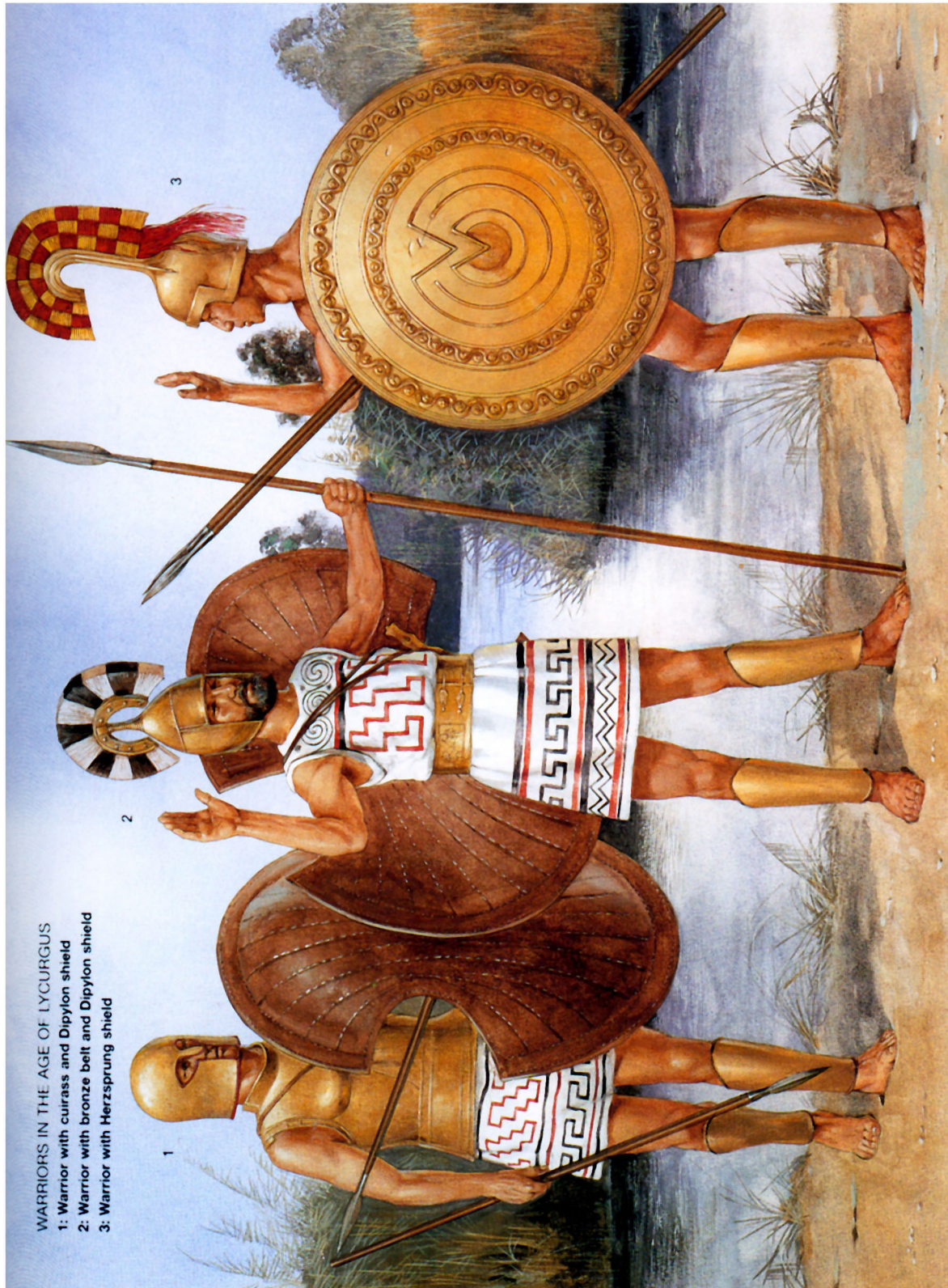
Finally the hoplite or his helot had to carry equipment for cooking and eating. In 390, during campaigning around Corinth, we are told (*Xen., Hell.* 4. 5. 4) that Agesilaos won great credit among his soldiers for his thoughtfulness. One hoplite *mora* had been sent to occupy a mountain and spend the night there, dressed only in summer clothing. Rain and hail fell, and when they started to prepare their meal, it turned out that not one of those carrying food for the *mora* had brought fire with them. This passage shows that on operations away from the main army, the hoplites would not be accompanied by a helot each, but only by enough helots to carry their food. It further implies that rations were issued to the troops by this date. To avoid a collapse in morale, Agesilaos sent the *mora* ten men carrying fire in *chytrai*, or earthenware cooking pots. The morale of the men was raised greatly by the fires. The soldiers anointed themselves with oil before eating their dinner. This tells us that they carried an *aryballos* (oil-flask) to anoint themselves, and presumably a strigil to scrape away the surplus oil and dirt. On this occasion cooking



Lakonian drinking mug from Tocra. (J. Boardman, J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963-1965, The Archaic Deposits I, 1966*)

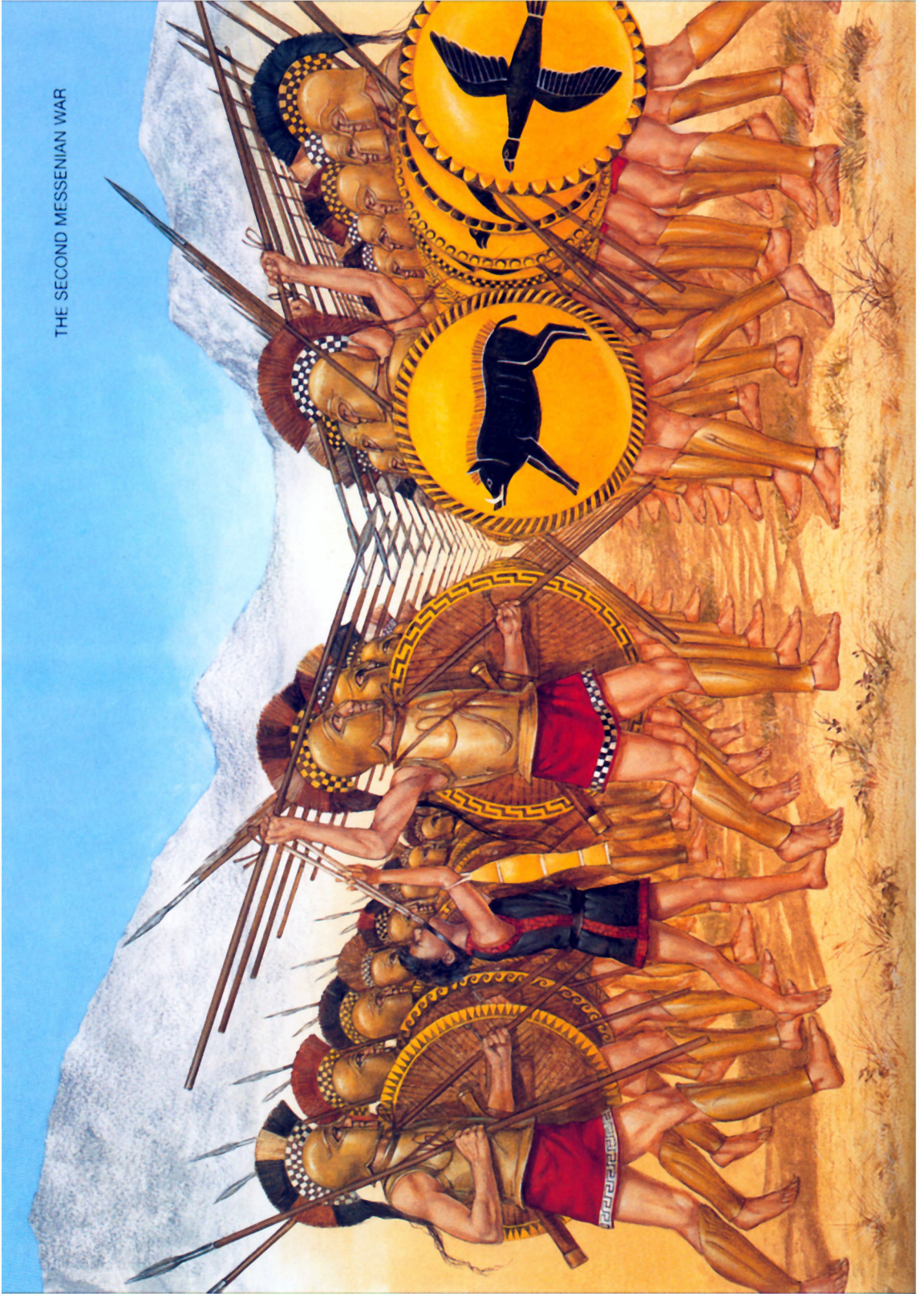
WARRIORS IN THE AGE OF LYCURGUS

- 1: Warrior with cuirass and Dipylon shield
- 2: Warrior with bronze belt and Dipylon shield
- 3: Warrior with Herzprung shield





THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR





THE SPARTAN KINGS, EARLY 6th CENTURY

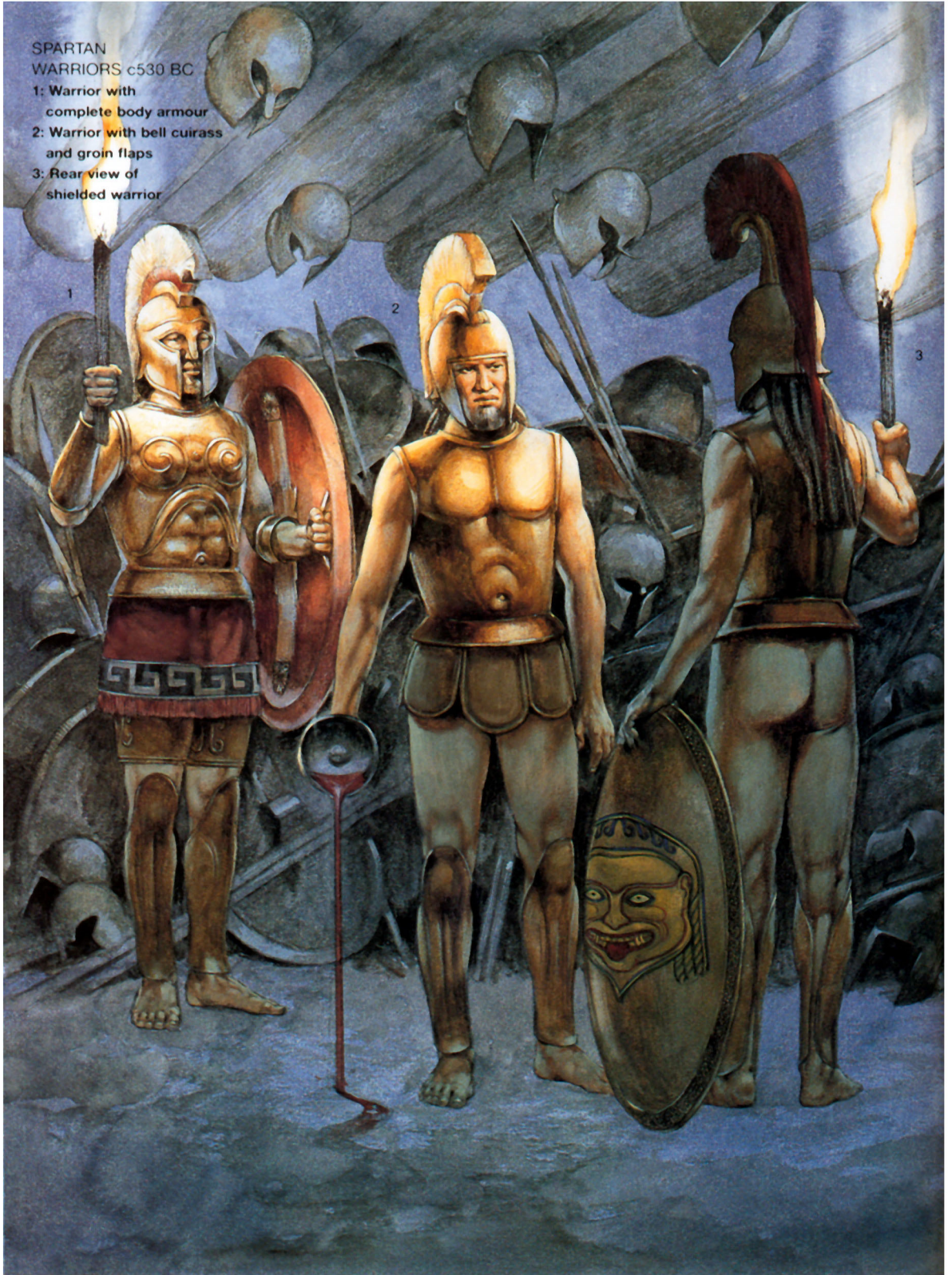
- 1: Spartan king showing inside of shield
- 2: Spartan king showing outside of shield
- 3: Hoplite with scalloped-cheek helmet





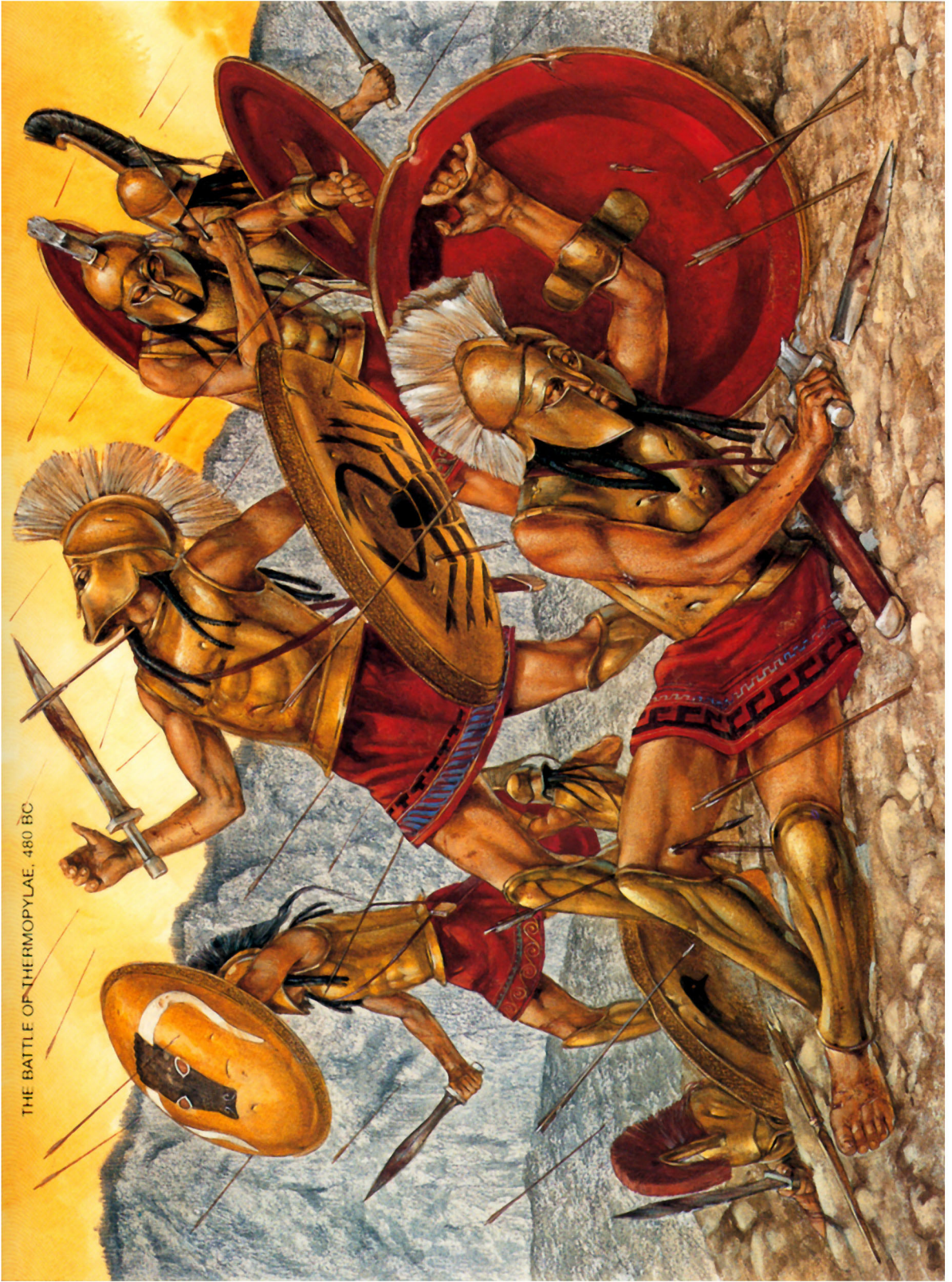
SPARTAN  
WARRIORS c530 BC

- 1: Warrior with complete body armour
- 2: Warrior with bell cuirass and groin flaps
- 3: Rear view of shielded warrior





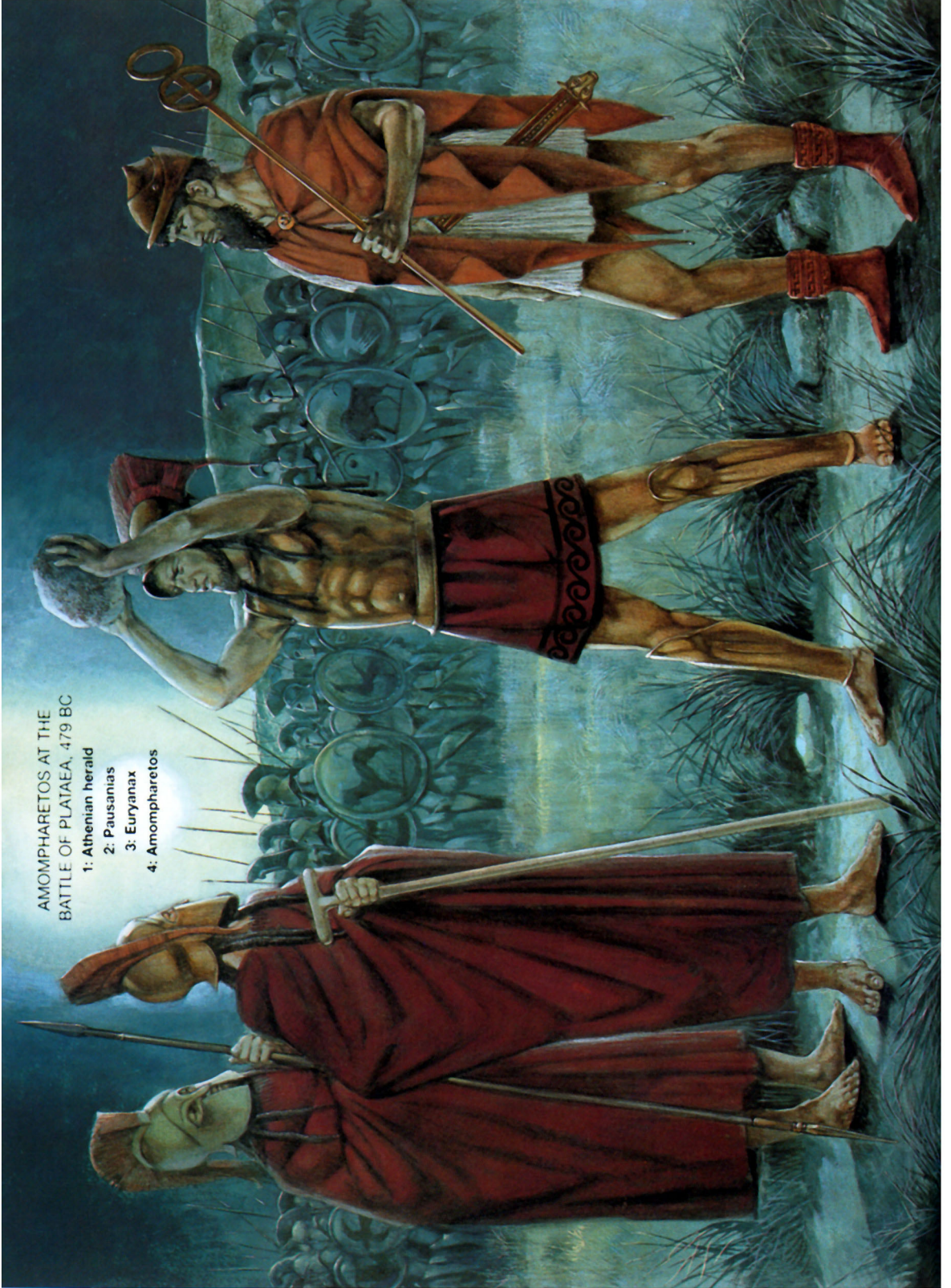
THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLAE, 480 BC





AMOMPHARETOS AT THE  
BATTLE OF PLATAEA, 479 BC

- 1: Athenian herald
- 2: Pausanias
- 3: Eurymach
- 4: Amompharetos



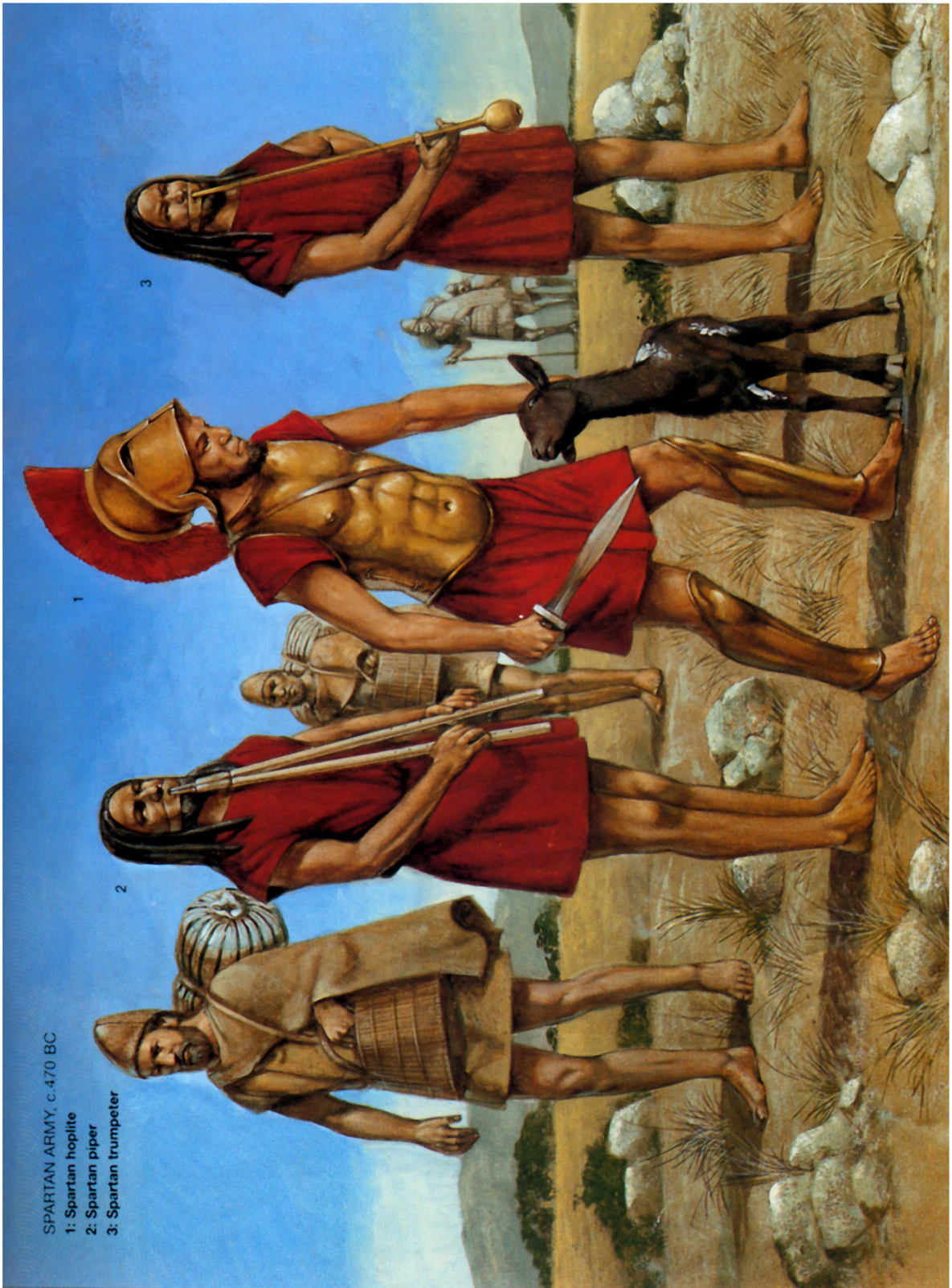


SPARTAN ARMY, c.470 BC

1: Spartan hoplite

2: Spartan piper

3: Spartan trumpeter





THE FIRST BATTLE OF MANTINEIA, 418 BC

- 1: Lakedaimonian hoplite
- 2: Lakedaimonian junior officer
- 3: Lakedaimonian senior commander





LYSANDER'S FLEET AT AIGOSPOTAMOI, 405 BC

1: Megarian steersman

2: Allied hoplite marine

3: Naval archer







THE 'WORKSHOP OF WAR', EPHEOS 396/5 BC

1: Lakedaimonian senior officer    2: Ionian mercenary cavalryman    3: Ephesian shield painter





MERCENARY INFANTRY REGIMENTS

1: Cyrean mercenary 2: Derkylidas mercenary 3: Greek mercenary archer



SKIRMISH NEAR TANAGRA, 377 BC

1: Lakedaimonian cavalryman

2: Skiritan soldier

3: Theban hoplite



was presumably carried out communally, but on other occasions it may have been carried out individually by the hoplite's helot. Each hoplite must, however, have carried a plate to eat from and presumably each helot carried a *chytra*.

## OTHER ARMS

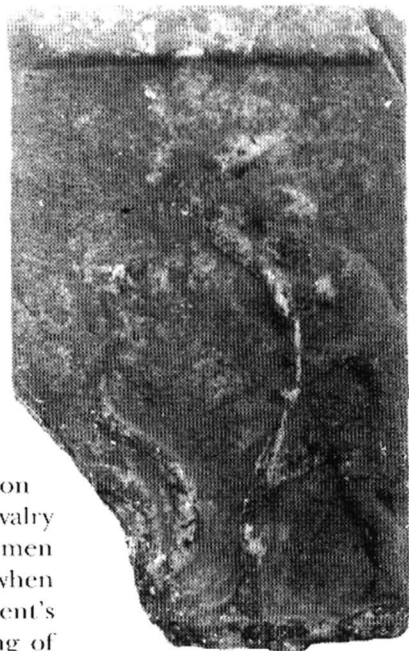
### Cavalry

Following their victory at Pylos in 42, the Athenians established raiding bases at Pylos and on the island of Kythera. In response to this dangerous military threat, the Lakedaimonians decided, contrary to their earlier military practices, to raise a force of 400 cavalry and some archers (*Thuc.* 4. 55. 2). This decision – a good one from a military point of view – stretched the finances of a state which scarcely possessed a monetary economy at the time. Xenophon (*Hell.* 6. 4. 11) tells us that at Leuktra (371) the Lakedaimonian cavalry was extremely poor because horses actually belonged to the richest men in the state. The cavalymen were only given horses and weapons when the army was mobilised, and they had to take the field at a moment's notice. Furthermore, it was those weakest of body and least loving of glory that served in the cavalry.

So the problem of the state providing sufficient horses for the cavalry was overcome by forcing the richest citizens, perhaps *perioikoi* as well as Spartiates, to contribute their horses upon mobilisation. The manpower for this new formation came from citizens who were least physically suited for service in the ranks of the infantry. An anecdote preserved in Plutarch (*Mor.* 210 F, 234 E) has King Agesilaos, himself lame, upon seeing a lame Lakonian ask for a horse on mobilisation, exclaim: 'Don't you realise that war has need not of those who flee, but of those who stand.' If this anecdote could be relied on as historically valid, it would confirm the testimony of Xenophon.

If we are to believe two anecdotes preserved by Plutarch (*Mor.* 234 E, 241 E), the manpower shortage became so acute that the lame were also conscripted for infantry service. In the first anecdote a lame man was setting out for war when some people followed him and mocked him. He told them that in war it was only necessary to stand in the rank and not to run away from the enemy. In the second a mother accompanies her lame son as he set out on campaign and says: 'Son, remember your courage with each step.' Clearly the second is a doublet, casting doubt on the accuracy of the first.

Given the inadequacies of their cavalry, the Lakedaimonians started to recruit mercenaries. Xenophon (*Hipparch.* 9. 4) tells us that the fame of the Lakedaimonian cavalry dates to the introduction of mercenaries. Perhaps he is thinking of the recruiting activities of Agesilaos in Asia in 396/5. Agesilaos' first campaigning season in Asia revealed that the army, though superior in infantry, lacked the supporting arms, especially cavalry, to enable them to operate freely in the plains and give them victory over the Persians. Consequently, he assigned to all the richest men in the Asian cities the duty of raising horses. In order that the manpower of the newly raised cavalry force would be of the highest quality, he proclaimed that anyone who supplied a horse and arms and



This 4th century gravestone in the Sparta Museum (565) shows an adolescent male, perhaps the hero Kadmos, being attacked by a snake. In his right hand he defends himself with a knife even smaller than the small Lakonian sword. It may be a Lakonian *xueplem*, or whittling-knife. The limestone stele is so heavily patinated that little detail can be made out. (M.N. Tod & A.J.B. Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 1906)



Dedication to Castor and Polydeukes by Menandros, the Lakedaimonian harmost of Kythera, dating to the early 3rd century. Their left hands, resting on their hips, may be holding sword hilts. (National Museum Athens 1437)



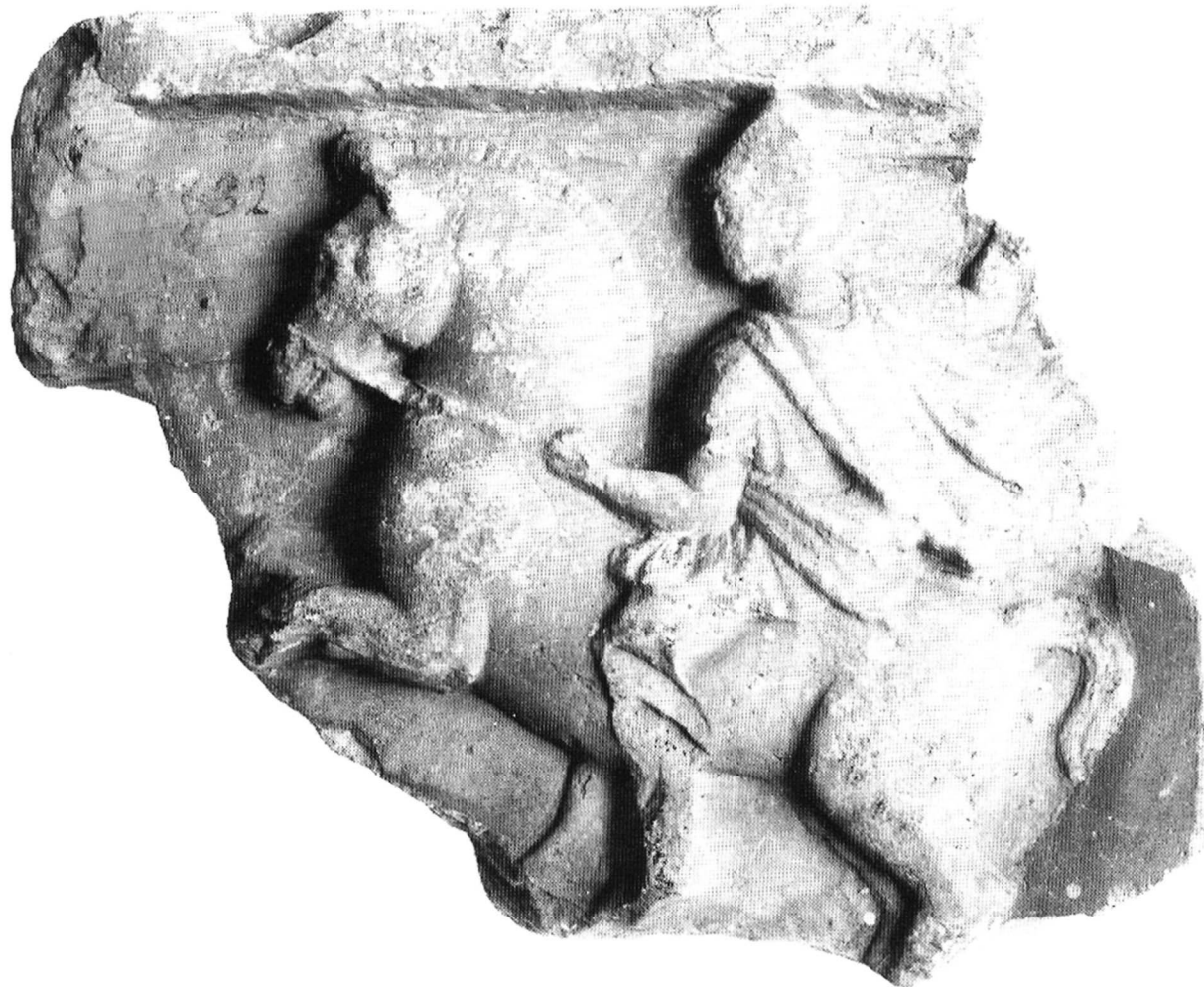
a competent substitute cavalryman would not be liable for service himself. Instead of trying to avoid their obligations, the rich who did not want to serve set about looking for substitutes as quickly as possible (*Xen., Hell. 3. 4. 15*).

On being ordered to return to Europe the following year, Agesilaos was forced to cross hostile Thessaly with his army drawn up in hollow square and threatened by the Thessalian cavalry, then considered to be the best in Greece. Agesilaos managed to outmanoeuvre his adversaries with his own cavalry and force them to break off their pursuit. He then set up a trophy, extremely pleased with his exploit, for he had defeated an enemy which prided itself in its horsemanship with the cavalry he had created himself (*Xen., Ages. 2. 5*). Mercenary cavalry henceforth remained a feature of the Lakedaimonian army, and in his Boeotian campaign of 377-376 Agesilaos commanded no fewer than 1,500 horsemen (*Diod. 15. 32. 1*).

**Broken relief showing a horseman, possibly originally from a tombstone. The relief is not of Attic workmanship. It was found incorporated in a small house on the Athenian Acropolis which was demolished at the beginning of the 20th century and was presumably imported to Athens as ship's ballast in the early modern period. The marble is of a blue-grey type not found in Attica or the Islands but similar to marble used in Lakonia. Thus it may be of Lakonian manufacture. (National Museum Athens)**

The original force of 400 cavalry may have been divided into four *lochoi*. When the army was reorganised into six *morai*, the cavalry was expanded to 600 and divided into six *morai*, each commanded by a *hipparchos*. Thus the *mora* truly was a 'division', with its own integral cavalry. The cavalry *mora* was divided into two *outamoi*, each of 50 men drawn up in ten half-files of five. Each of these half-files was called a *pempas*, or 'five', and was commanded by a *pempadarchos*. Two files were known as a *dekas* and commanded by a *dekadarchos*. After the battle of Leuktra the *outamoi* and the *pempas* seem to have been retained, but the *pempas* may have been expanded to six men.

In 392, during the battle of the Long Walls at Corinth, Pasimachos the Lakedaimonian *hipparchos*, on seeing the Sikyonian infantrymen hard pressed by their Argive opponents, dismounted, together with a few cavalrymen, took the shields from the Sikyonian infantrymen, and fought as infantry to try and stop the rout in the line. In imitation of the Lakedaimonian hoplites, the Sikyonians had painted the initial letter of the name of their city (*sigma*) on their shields. It is said that Pasimachos declared: 'By Castor and Polydeukes, Argives, these *sigmas* will fool you.' Thinking they were only facing Sikyonians, not Lakedaimonians, the Argives advanced without fear and killed Pasimachos and most of his





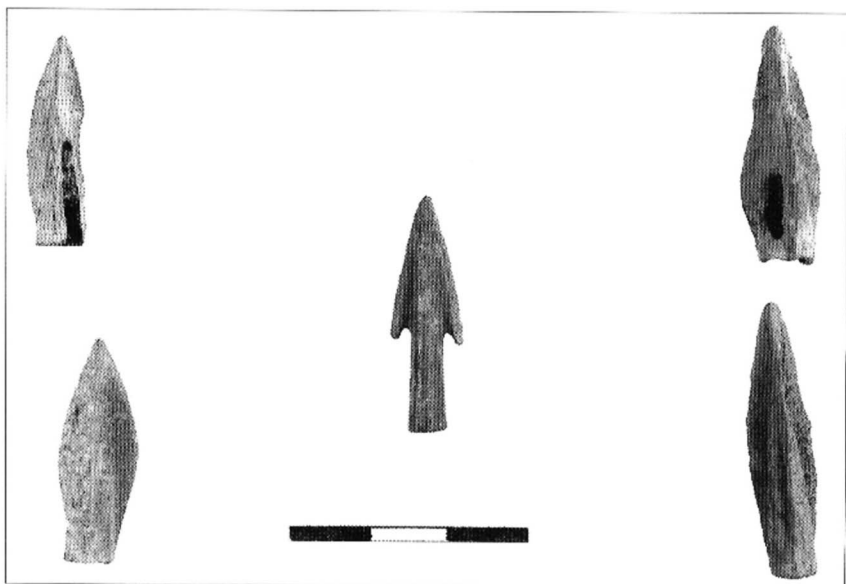
men. This incident (*Xen., Hell. 4. 4. 10*) shows that Lakedaimonian cavalrymen would not be equipped in a noticeably different manner from either Lakonian or Sikyonian infantry, for otherwise the Argives would have noticed they were not Sikyonian infantry.

### Archers

The Lakedaimonians despised archery. The Lakedaimonian way was to fight as heavy infantrymen at close quarters; any other form of warfare was cowardly. Plutarch (*Mor. 234 E*) records the words of a Lakonian as he lay mortally wounded by an arrow. He was not troubled by his imminent death, but that it was at the hands of a 'womanish' archer and before he had accomplished anything.

The Lakedaimonian garrison at Sphakteria surrendered in 425 after enduring the withering archery of their enemy. One of the Athenian allies sneeringly asked a survivor if the dead were the famous 'brave and fair' of the Lakedaimonians, implying that the survivors were neither brave nor fair. Up to that time no Greek had ever imagined that a Lakedaimonian would surrender so long as he had a weapon in his hand. The prisoner replied that it would be 'a fine spindle that could distinguish the brave'. The word spindle (*atrakon*), which he uses in the place of arrow-shaft, implies that he too considered archery to be 'womanish'.

However, following this surrender, a force of archers of unstated size was raised. We hear nothing further of this force and no archers are mentioned as participating in the battle of Mantinea in 418. The archers may have been raised locally, but they are more likely to have been a mercenary force, perhaps of Cretans, as Sparta had close contacts with several Cretan cities. The army which Cyrus the Younger, a pretender to the Persian throne, assembled with Lakedaimonian support in 401 included a company of 200 Cretan archers, commanded by one Stratokles (*Xen., An. 1. 2. 9, 4. 2. 28*). A company of 300 Cretan archers is mentioned accompanying the Lakedaimonian army at the Battle of the



Arrowheads recovered from the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus at Tsakona, near Sparta. The one in the centre is possibly from the Greek Archaic period, and could attest to an indigenous archery tradition in Lakonia. (British School at Athens 85 [1990] pl. 5b)

Nemea in 394, as well as 400 slingers from the Eleian communities of the Marganeis, Letrinoi and Amphidoloi. The Lakedaimonian reliance on Cretans is further attested in 388: in that year King Agesipolis managed to advance as far as the walls of Argos. The Argives left in the city panicked and shut the gates on the allied Boeotian cavalry. The Boeotians were forced to cling 'like bats' to the walls beneath the battlements. The Lakedaimonians could not reach them with their spears, and had 'the Cretans' not been absent on a raid, many men and horses would have been shot by their arrows (*Xen., Hell. 4. 7. 6*). A number of sources mention Cretans participating in the Mantineian Campaign of 362, when a Cretan reported to the Spartans that the Theban commander Epaminondas was about to make a surprise attack on their undefended city (eg. *Xen., Hell. 7. 5. 10*). The companies of archers the Spartan commanders raised in Asia Minor in the early 390s were presumably mercenaries, but we have no clue as to their origins.

### Skiritai

Skiritis was a mountainous area of Arcadia, bordering Lakonia. It is clear that the 600 Skiritai who fought at the Battle of Mantinea in 418 were hoplites. In an earlier stage of the same campaign the Lakedaimonians had had an opportunity to see allied Boeotian cavalry and *hamippoi* in operation, perhaps for the first time. *Hamippoi* were light infantry trained to run alongside cavalry and support them. At some point after the battle, the Lakedaimonians either ordered or persuaded the Skiritai to exchange their hoplite equipment for that of *hamippoi*. The Skiritai numbered 600 – the same as the horsemen in the six Lakedaimonian *morai* – so it is possible they were sometimes attached to the cavalry on a one-to-one basis, although we have no proof of this.

A description of the new tactical role of the Skiritai comes in Xenophon's description of a skirmish between Lakedaimonian and Boeotian forces at Tanagra in 377 (*Hell. 5. 4. 52-3*). The Boeotian infantry were stationed at the top of a hill, but a feint by Agesilaos convinced them that he was making for the undefended city of Thebes. They began to retire from the hill at a run, and the Skiritai and some of the cavalry climbed the hill and began to shower blows upon the hindmost Thebans. In the event, the Skiritai pursued too closely, for as soon as the Thebans neared the gates of the city, they turned round and stood fast, upon which the Skiritai fell back, in Xenophon's ironic words, 'at a faster pace than a walk'.

Xenophon (*Cyr. 4. 2. 1*) tells us that the Lakedaimonians spared the Skiritai 'neither in hardships nor in danger'. Together with the cavalry scouts, the Skiritai were employed to scout ahead of the main body on the march and to patrol outside the camp lines at night (*Lac. Pol. 12. 3, 13. 6*).

### Peltasts

As Skiritis was an allied community, not an integral part of Lakedaimon, the Skiritai only fought alongside the Lakedaimonian cavalry when the allies were mobilised for a major campaign. In other circumstances the Lakedaimonian cavalry had to rely upon the close support of peltasts. These companies of peltasts seem to have been mercenaries. This does not rule out their being native Lakonians, but it makes it highly unlikely.

In the 379 expedition of Cleombrotus to Boeotia the peltasts were deployed in front of the army (*Xen., Hell.* 5. 4. 14). In the following year Agesilaos made another expedition to Boeotia with an army which included mercenary peltasts who operated with units of cavalry. The latter included Theban exiles as well as Spartiates and *perioikoi*. When the citizen army withdrew from Boeotia, Agesilaos left the peltasts behind in Thespias as a garrison, under the command of the harmost Phoibidas. When the Thebans invaded Thespias territory, Phoibidas had great success with his peltasts, harrying the Theban hoplites and not allowing them to disperse to gather booty. They pushed their advantage too closely, however, for they pursued the Theban cavalry as far as an impassable ravine, forcing the Thebans to make a desperate counter-attack in which the peltasts were routed and Phoibidas killed (*Xen., Hell.*



Fragment of an Athenian relief honouring the dead lost in a year of the late 5th or early 4th century. The fallen hoplite is Athenian. The figure running behind is dressed in an *exomis* tunic and a *pilos* cap. He uses an animal skin wrapped around his left shoulder as both a cloak and a shield. Note the left hand is clasped, as if holding a spear shaft, which would have been painted in the relief in its original state. He may hold a short sword in his left hand. He is equipped in a manner suitable for a *hamippos*, and therefore could be a Skiritan. (New York, Metropolitan Museum, Fletcher Fund, 1929)

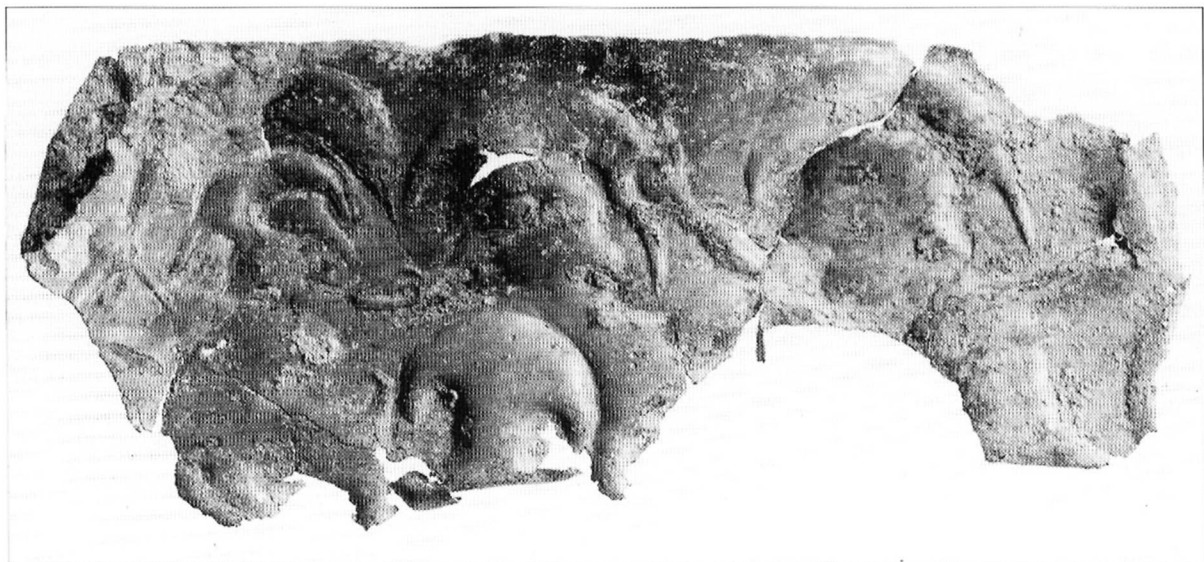
5. 4. 39-45). The 'mercenaries under Hieron' who accompanied the Phocian peltasts and the cavalry of the Herakleiot and Phliasians in the initial attack upon the Boeotian army at the battle of Leuctra in 371, were presumably peltasts too; perhaps even the same regiment under a new commander (*Xen., Hell. 6. 4. 9*).

Skiritis became independent after the battle of Leuctra, in 371, and the Lakedaimonians had to rely exclusively on their companies of peltasts to perform the tasks previously carried out by the Skiritai. For example, Xenophon (*Lac. Pol. 12. 3*) tells us that the duty of patrolling outside the camp lines once performed by the Skiritai became the duty of "the mercenaries", presumably peltasts. In 365, in the operation to relieve the Lakedaimonian garrison at Kromnos, the peltasts are described as running on ahead of the king, Archidamus (*Xen., Hell. 7. 4. 22*). We learn of various forces of mercenaries during the period after Leuctra. Their troop-type is not stated, but they could have been either hoplites or peltasts. We also learn of a unit of mercenaries stationed in the Arcadian town of Orchomenos during the 370 invasion of Lakonia, and in the following year Philiskos, an envoy of the Persian king Artaxerxes II, left 2,000 selected mercenaries with the Lakedaimonians. The mercenary force which Xenophon mentions as being absent in Arcadia when the Thebans launched their surprise attack on Sparta, in 362 (*Xen., Hell. 7. 5. 10*), may well have included units of peltasts as well as the Cretan archers.

## CONCLUSION

---

We have seen the Lakedaimonians emerge from these pages as an innovating force in ancient Greek warfare. The organisation of the army was kept up to date by periodic reforms, and the arms carried were of the latest design. The Lakedaimonians were at the forefront of tactical developments and may indeed have been the initiators of many of them. Perhaps the most important of these was the part Lakedaimonian military theorists played in the evolution of the divisional concept – a division being defined as a formation 'which combines in itself the necessary arms and services required for sustained combat'. As far as European warfare is concerned, the creation of the *mora* (the word itself means 'division') is the first recorded example of an army being separated into divisions which each contained both cavalry and infantry and was each capable of independent operations. This professional and intellectual approach to warfare put Sparta at the head of Greece for two centuries. It lost this dominant position at Leuktra in 371 not through lack of military skill, but as a result of its growing manpower crisis. According to Aristotle, 'a single blow was too much for the city, ruined by its sparsity of population' (*Politics 2. 6. 8*).



## THE PLATES

### A: WARRIORS IN THE AGE OF LYCURGUS

This plate shows the appearance of three Spartan warriors in the last decades of the 8th century, when Helos was enslaved and Spartan power reached the mouth of the Eurotas. At this time the hoplite shield had not been developed and hoplite tactics had not been introduced.

**Figure A1** wears a Corinthian helmet of the earliest type. His bell cuirass is based on the earliest example known, from a Late Geometric warrior grave in Argos which dates to c.725. He holds his Dipylon shield by its central handle, together with a spare spear. Most warriors in Homer carry a pair of dual-purpose spears which can be used either as javelins or for close-quarter fighting. The Dipylon shield may have been made of wicker and leather rather than wood, and is reconstructed as such. Shields of this type are named after the Dipylon Gate in Athens, where pottery decorated with these 'incuse' shields was discovered by early excavators. All three figures have very early 'prototype' versions of the traditional hoplite greave, barely covering the length of the shin and as yet with no attempt to show the musculature.

**Figure A2** carries his Dipylon shield slung over his back with a strap called the *telamōn*. He wears a helmet of the type known as a 'Kegelhelm', where neck- and cheek-pieces are riveted to a conical cap. Unlike the other two warriors, he carries a single large fighting spear, tipped by a large spearhead (of Snodgrass Type E3) about 40cm long. He also carries a 'Naue II' type sword, and his abdomen is protected by a bronze belt.

As well as various types of non-metallic shield, occasional examples of bronze-faced 'Herzprung' shields have been found at shrines such as Delphi or Idalion in Cyprus. Named after a find-spot in Northern Germany, these shields are most commonly found in Central Europe. The V-shaped notch in the centre probably reflects the original leather construction of this type of shield.

**Figure A3** carries a Herzprung shield which he has stripped

Fragment of a 7th century bronze warrior's belt. It is decorated with a scene of fighting warriors with Dipylon shields. From the sanctuary known as the Menelaion, near Sparta. (Lakonikai Spoudai 8, [1986] 46-7)

from the body of a fallen enemy. The shield may have been produced outside Greece. Armour was tremendously expensive and many warriors must have re-used captured weapons. His bronze helmet is of an open-faced type.

### B: THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR

This plate is based on a battle scene on a Late Proto-corinthian vase, once in the Chigi collection, showing a piper. Some have suggested that the use of pipers was once quite general. However, only the Spartan army is definitely known to have used pipers, and so it is possible that the artist included the piper deliberately as a sign that it was the Spartan army he was showing. We could be dealing with one of the earliest representations of Spartan hoplites in colour. Some 26cm high, the vase is decorated in four horizontal friezes, painted in a miniaturist style. The topmost frieze shows a battle scene: one of the earliest undisputed depictions of a hoplite battle. Photography is difficult, given the size and shape of the vase, so readers are directed to the excellent colour reconstruction of the battle scene in Peter Connolly's *Greece and Rome at War* (1981). The vase dates to the years 650-625 and could conceivably represent a battle during the Second Messenian War, which broke out in the 660s and lasted many years.

The rim of the hoplite shield was covered by a bronze strip, decorated with the almost inevitable guilloche (cable) pattern. The uppermost leather layer of the main body of the shield was painted, as was the rim. The base colour is yellow, perhaps imitating bronze. The left arm is passed through a bronze arm-band (*porpax*) as far as the elbow, and the left hand grasps a handle (*antilabe*) secured to the rim. On these shields it seems that the forearm and shoulder are protected by extra reinforcing layers of leather glued to the inside of the



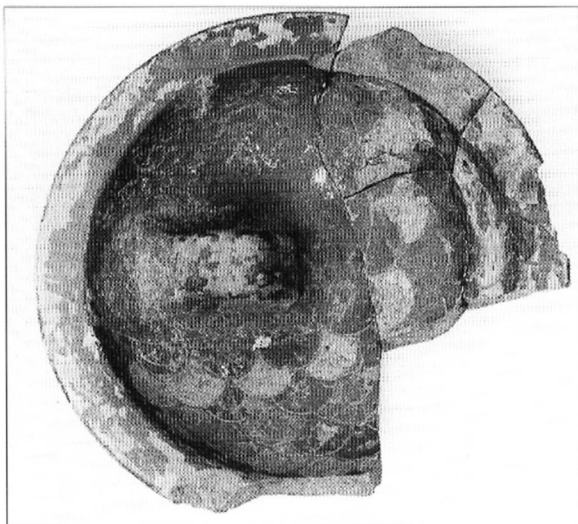
shield. These reinforcements were later made of bronze. The significance of the shield-blazons used by the opponents of the Spartan line, if they have any, is not known. Of the four Spartan warriors shown in full at the front of the scene, two wear no tunic under their corselet, while the other two wear crimson tunics, and so it is possible that the crimson tunic had become standard in the Spartan army even by this early date. The warriors carry two spears, not one, and throwing thongs can be seen on some of the spears. Furthermore, none of the spears has the bronze butt-spike (*sauroter*) of the later hoplite spear. Thus the transition from 'Homeric' warfare, when the spear had a dual function, is not yet complete. It may be significant that Tyrtaios (*frg. 8. 30 F*), who lived at the time of the Second Messenian War, mentions javelins being thrown from under the cover of shields. Swords are not shown on the vase.

### C: THE SPARTAN KINGS, EARLY 6TH CENTURY

A terracotta plaque from Sparta shows two warriors whose helmets are decorated with transverse crests. In later Greek military practice, rank can be represented by the type of crest, and so it is just possible that these two warriors are meant to represent the two kings of Sparta. The colours of the inside and outside of the shields of the two kings (Figures C1, C2) are based on a miniature terracotta shield from Sparta. At this time, shields seem to be predominately decorated with geometric patterns. Behind the kings can be seen the standard of Sparta. The *dokana*, or 'beam-figures', were a symbolic representation of the brotherly love of Castor and Polydeukes, the military protectors of Sparta, and were carried in front of the army on campaign.

Figure C3 is based on a Lakonian warrior statuette from

**Miniature terracotta shield found at Sparta. The inside is decorated with an incised scale-pattern in red, black and white. The outside is decorated in radial crescents in red, black and white, and outside that by a red band; beyond that the rim is black and decorated with white dots with red centres. (British School at Athens 29 [1927-28] 100)**



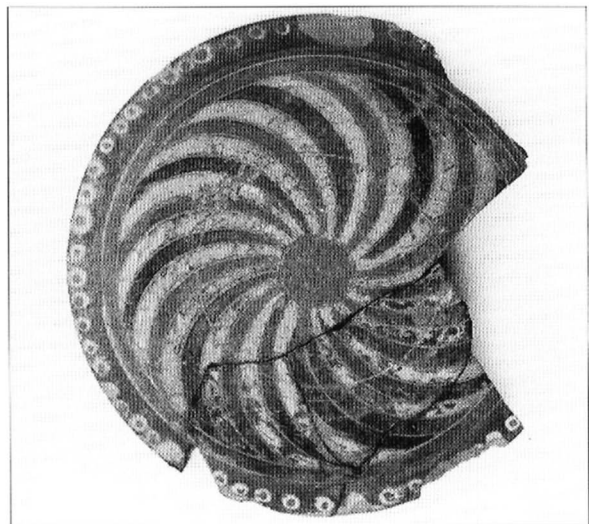
Olympia, which is included in this plate because of the interest of its non-standard helmet, made up of a number of plates. The cheek-piece is scalloped, leaving an aperture for the mouth. Cheek-pieces of this type are also shown on other Lakonian representational evidence, and, more importantly, an actual cheek-piece of this type has been recovered from Sparta. This statuette now confirms that helmets such as this type continued to be used well into the 6th century. The shield pattern is based on those of contemporary miniature lead figurines from the shrine of Artemis Orthia.

### D: SPARTAN WARRIORS C.530 BC

The three figures are shown inside an ancient temple in Sparta. The first two figures show the attempts made by the Spartans and other Greeks c.550-525 to augment the protection afforded by the hoplite panoply. Figure D1 is based on the warrior statuette from Longa. He wears extra items to protect his thighs and right arm, as well as the standard elements of the hoplite panoply. Note the heavy relief patterns decorating the cuirass. Figure D2, based on a Lakonian warrior statuette from Dodona, wears a helmet of the Illyrian type, so-named because a large number of early finds came from Illyria. However, it is now clear that it was also extremely popular in the Peloponnese, which is the most probable area of origin. The bell cuirass is in its final stage of development and the groin is protected by eight groin-flaps. They are presumably bronze and may have been attached to a belt worn under the cuirass. Not all hoplites took advantage of the new protective armour, as is shown by Figure D3, based on a Lakonian warrior statuette now in the National Museum, Athens. Note the six locks combed straight back under the helmet. The shield device is based on a bronze shield-blazon from Sparta.

### E: THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLAE, 480 BC

If the Persian Wars were the most glorious period in Spartan history, then the battle of Thermopylae was surely Sparta's finest hour. The Spartans used an apparently novel tactic: they pretended to run away, and then turned to defeat their disorganised enemy pursuers (*Hdt. 7. 211*). Such a tactic would only work when carried out by highly trained troops.



When news came that the paths through the Kallidromos Mountains were betrayed to the Persians, King Leonidas knew that his force was in danger of being cut off. Therefore he dismissed the Greek forces, keeping with him only his own force of 300 Spartans, the Theban contingent of 400 (effectively hostages) which he expected to go over to the Persians, and the Thespian contingent of 700 men, who refused to leave Leonidas' side, commanded by Demophilus, son of Diadromes.

The Greeks inflicted heavy casualties in the first phase of the final battle, killing two brothers of Xerxes. Leonidas too lost his life. His body was recovered after a desperate fight, and the Greeks withdrew to a small hill at the entrance to the pass, to make a final stand. By this stage many had had their spears broken in their hands. Others had lost their swords and had to fight on with their hands and teeth. The Persians decided to kill them by missiles alone, so as not to lose further men. It is said that the Spartan Dienekes was the bravest man who took part in the battle. Before the battle someone had remarked that when the Persians shot their arrows, the sun was blotted out by their number. He replied that this was indeed good news, as they would now fight in the shade. After him, the bravest Spartans were the brothers Alpheos and Maron, sons of Orsiphantos, and the bravest Thespian was Dithyrambos, son of Harmatides. The following epitaph, which was put over the tomb of the Spartans, became legendary:

*Oh stranger, tell the Lakedaimonians that here we lie, obedient to their commands*

A Lakonian bronze warrior statuette from Dodona preserves the appearance of a Spartan hoplite during the Persian Wars. All the warriors in Plate D are based on this figure. The cuirass is one of the latest examples of the bell type, and so is quite old-fashioned for the period. Once again, the long hair is to be noted. Xerxes is said to have been surprised when his spies reported that the Spartans were exercising and combing their hair before the battle (*Hdt.* 7. 208). We have no clues as to the appearance of the Thespian hoplites.

The degree to which the Lakedaimonian army had become uniform in its dress and equipment by the

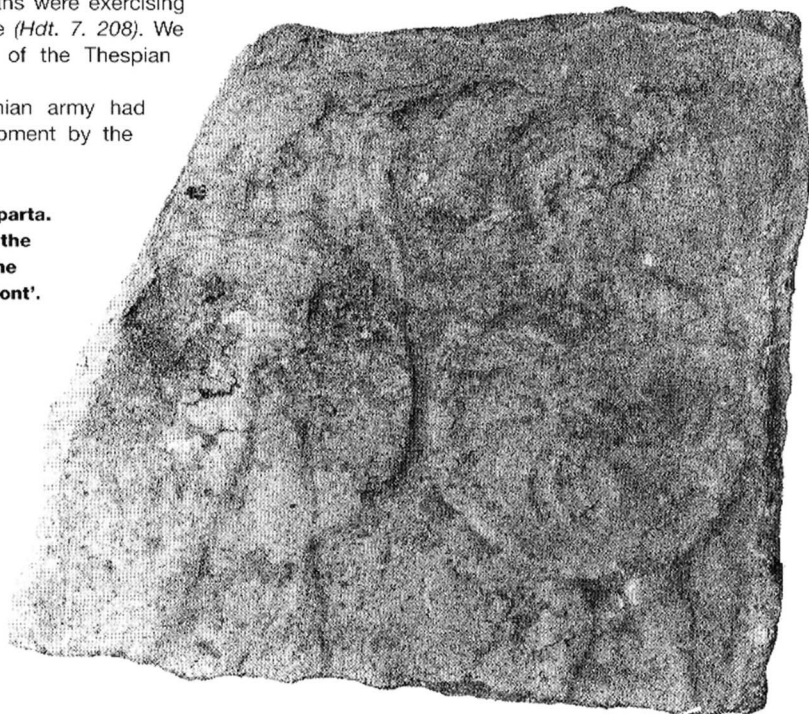
**Fragment of a moulded clay relief from Sparta. The excavator Woodward suggested that the crests are shown transversely to avoid 'the difficulty of showing the crest from the front'. (British School at Athens 29, 1927-28)**



Persian Wars is not known. There would have been a certain amount of standardisation in equipment, simply because the bell cuirasses and Corinthian helmets in use at this time were almost identical, though slight differences would have existed. The plume on the Corinthian helmet of the Dodona statuette is raised, whereas most other statuettes have plumes flush with the helmet. Minor variations in details of dress, such as tunic decoration, may also be expected.

#### **F: AMOMPHARETOS AT THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA, 479 BC**

Having failed to hold the pass at Thermopylae, the Greek armies retreated into the Peloponnese. Following a decisive defeat of the Persian fleet at Salamis, Xerxes retreated to Asia with the majority of the Persian army. This enabled the Greeks to advance into Boeotia the following year, where they encamped on the Plain of Asopus. The Greek army retreated from its exposed position on the plain after suffering casualties from the Persian archers and after the Persians had choked up the spring at Gargaphia, from which the Greek forces were drawing their water. After nightfall the various contingents of the army started their withdrawal except for the Lakedaimonians. Amompharetos, the *lochagos* of the Pitanate *lochos*, refused to retreat in the face of the enemy and thus disgrace Sparta. His blind obedience to Spartan precepts of military honour threatened the division of the Greek forces and their destruction piecemeal. The regent (called *prodikos* by the Lakedaimonians) Pausanias, who commanded the Lakedaimonian army, and his kinsman Euryanax attempted to persuade Amompharetos to lead his *lochos* to the rear, threatening to leave them to die. At this moment an Athenian herald approached, sent by the Athenians to find out what was happening. He witnessed the



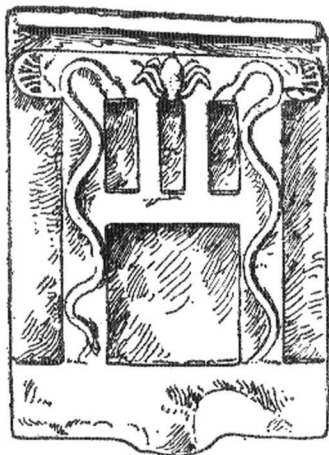
culmination of the argument. The Greeks used to vote using small pebbles as their ballots. Amompharetos picked up a huge rock with both hands and threw it down at Pausanias' feet, shouting: 'There is my vote against fleeing before the foreigners!' (*Hdt.* 9. 55). Daybreak found the army in its same position, and it was only then that Pausanias began his retreat without the Pitanae *lochos*. Amompharetos reluctantly followed. The untidy retreat of the Greeks encouraged the Persians to pursue them incautiously, which, in turn, brought about the Persian defeat.

To the right stands the Athenian herald (**Figure F1**). Heralds were distinguished by the sceptres they carried, and a number are shown on Greek vase-paintings. To the left of the figures of Pausanias (**Figure F2**) and behind him Euryanax (**Figure F3**) are based on the Wadsworth Athenaeum statuette. In the centre is Amompharetos (**Figure F4**), based on the Dodona statuette like the warriors in Plate E. As a senior officer, he may have worn a transverse crest on his helmet, like that of Pausanias. The Spartan soldiers looking on in the background have shield devices based on those shown on contemporary lead figurines of warriors from the shrine of Artemis Orthia.

### G: SPARTAN ARMY, C.470 BC

This plate represents a scene behind the battle-line of the Lakedaimonian army during the difficult period c.475-450, when the state had to fight for its survival against a combination of a major revolt of the Messenian helots and alliances of enemies. **Figure G1** is sacrificing a female goat to Artemis Agrotera, before the final advance towards the enemy line. The lack of relevant archaeological material for this period means that any reconstruction of the appearance of a warrior remains highly speculative. However, it seems reasonable to

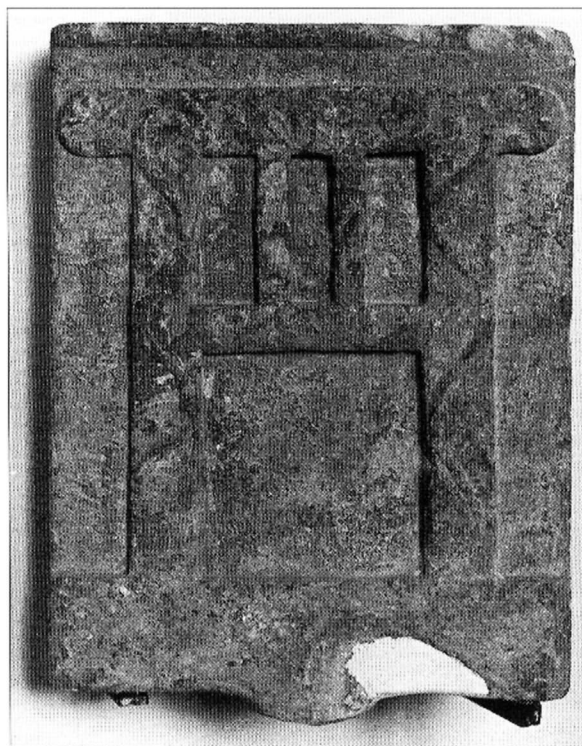
In legend, Castor and Polydeukes were twin sons of King Tyndareus of Lakedaimon so are called the 'Tyndaridai' or 'Sons of Tyndareus'. According to another version, they were twin sons of Zeus, and so can also be called the 'Dioskouroi' or 'Sons of Zeus'. The most important centre of their cult was Lakedaimon, where they were symbolised by the *dokana*, two upright pieces of wood connected by two cross-beams, shown on this gravestone from Sparta. (M.N. Tod & A.J.B. Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 1906)



assume that the Corinthian helmet remained in use well into the 5th century, before being replaced by the pilos-helmet. It also seems reasonable to assume that the bell cuirass was replaced by a 'muscle' cuirass of the normal Greek type for the period, either with or without hinged shoulder-pieces. Greaves may also have continued in use for some time. Behind him stand a piper and a trumpeter (**Figures G2, G3**). It is not known whether the trumpeters, heralds and pipers of the army would be dressed in crimson like the combatants. Presumably so, although the piper on the Chigi vase is dressed in black. It is possible that the latter colour had some significance, assuming that the Lakedaimonian army is, in fact, shown on this vase.

### H: THE FIRST BATTLE OF MANTINEIA, 418 BC

In this plate we see soldiers resting after the First Battle of Mantinea. **Figure H1** represents a Lakedaimonian hoplite of the period and is based on the vase decorated by 'The Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl', so called after a vase in Berlin showing a dancing girl, with the addition of a crimson *exomis* tunic. He takes a drink from his drinking-mug (*kothon*). Behind him, **Figure H2** represents a junior officer, with his pilos-helmet decorated with a plume. The shape of the plume is based on a figure from Sparta. It is not known whether all soldiers wore a plume on their pilos-helmets on special occasions such as parades and perhaps battles, or whether they were used as a badge of rank. Though no Lakonian examples have survived, there are representations of pilos-helmets with transverse plumes. These could be interpreted as distinctive plumes worn by senior commanders. Thus **Figure H3** represents a Lakedaimonian senior commander. On the ground lies a dead Mantineian's shield. A fragment







from a poem by Bacchylides runs: 'How the Mantineians bear the trident on their shields wrought of bronze'. The trident was the symbol of Poseidon, the patron god of Mantinea. The context of the poem would seem to be a list of Greek forces present at some battle. The year of Bacchylides' death is not known, but we do know that his last dated poem was written in 452, and it is unlikely that he lived much longer. So this is the first literary reference to a state symbol used as a shield device, probably c.475-450. The shape of the trident copies that shown on 5th and 4th century coins of Mantinea.

### I: LYSANDER'S FLEET AT AIGOSPOTAMOI, 405 BC

According to Lakedaimonian law, the post of admiral (*navarchos*) could not be held for more than one year at a time. For this reason, at Aigospotamoi the talented com-

LEFT Lakonian bronze figurine from the temple of Apollo Korythos in Messenia (modern Longa). As well as the arm-guards and thigh-guards, we might see him wearing ankle- and foot-guards, if the feet were not broken off the statuette. (Athens, National Museum 14789)

BELOW Shield devices shown on miniature lead figurines that were found in their thousands at the shrine of Artemis Orthia in Sparta. More naturalistic devices were to come in during the 6th century. (R.M. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, 1929)

mander Lysander was serving as the notional secretary (*epistoleus*) to the admiral Arakos.

We are only patchily informed about the composition of the fleet. It was mainly an allied one, with ships initially paid for and commanded by captains (*trierarchai*) from the allied cities. The rowers used by all fleets during this campaign seem to have been hired, as were the steersmen (Figure I 1) and other senior skilled sailors of the crew. The steersman of Lysander's own ship was a Megarian named Hermon. For most of the campaign, in fact, the fleet was sustained by Persian money.

As well as its crew, each ship had a complement of marines. Figure I 2 represents an allied hoplite marine. His shield device may have been used by some of the Asiatic allied contingents, since it is a common device on the coins of various member cities in the alliance. The rowers would almost certainly have been naked, so too probably the marines, since they might have had to swim if the ship sank. We do not know if the ships of Lysander's fleet were also given archers. The Corinthians, at least, possessed a corps of archers which may have been used on their ships. Figure I 3 represents a naval archer. Presumably they would not have worn armour in case they were forced to swim.

### J: THE WORKSHOP OF WAR, EPHEOS 396-395 BC

The Persian war increased in tempo in 396, when King Agesilaos was sent out with an expeditionary force of 2,000 *neodamodeis* and a contingent of 6,000 allies, with 30





Spartiates serving as staff-officers and formation and unit commanders (*Xen., Hell.* 3. 4. 3).

**Figure J1** represents a Lakedaimonian senior officer. *Perioikoi* (citizens of Lakedaimonian cities other than Sparta) and sometimes even helots it seems, held senior commands abroad as well as Spartiates. This officer wears all the dress which distinguished a Lakedaimonian abroad: a Lakonian *pilos* cap, a thin crimson *tribon* wrapped tightly around the body, red Lakonian sandals and a Lakonian staff. When the *tribon* was worn, the shoulder-high staff could be tucked under the armpit to hold the folds of the cloak firmly in place and so leave the arms free.

**Figure J2** attempts a reconstruction of one of Agesilaos' regiments of Ionian mercenary cavalry. A fragment of Demokritos of Ephesos preserved in Athenaeus (*12. 525 C-E*) tells us that the garments of the Ionians were dyed violet and woven with diamonds of crimson and yellow, and had upper borders decorated with evenly-spaced animal patterns. Athenian vase paintings of the 400s and 390s by the Suessula painter and others, show tunics which seem to be of this Ionian type. This figure of an Ionian cavalryman is based on the Lakedaimonian heroes Castor and Polydeukes, as shown on such vases.

In the winter of 396-395 the whole army was gathered at Ephesos. Agesilaos organised competitions and offered prizes for the fittest hoplite unit and the cavalry unit most skilled in horsemanship. Similar prizes were offered to the units of peltasts and archers. Immediately the gymnasia filled with athletes and the hippodrome with cavalrymen, and

archers and peltasts could be seen practising everywhere. 'The marketplace was crowded with horses and arms of all kinds for sale, and the braziers, carpenters, smiths, curriers and painters were all engaged in preparing equipment for the field; so that a person might really have thought the city to be a workshop of war.' (*Xen., Hell.* 3. 4. 17)

**Figure J3** represents an Ephesian painter, clothed in a mixture of Greek and Persian dress which may have been common in the city. Plutarch (*Vit. Lys.* 3. 2) claims that when Lysander made Ephesos his base during the Peloponnesian War, although the Ephesians welcomed him, they were in danger of becoming thoroughly barbarised by the admixture of Persian customs, since the city was surrounded on all sides by Lydia, and was the Persian naval headquarters in the Aegean. Demokritos of Ephesos tells us that, among their other luxuries, the Ephesians wore Persian tunics (*sarapeis*) of quince yellow, crimson, white and even purple. They also wore long Persian robes similar to the Egyptian *kalasiris*, which were the finest of all. One might also see, continues Demokritos, the so-called *aktaiai*, the most costly of all Persian robes, covered all over in gold beads. The painter is seen decorating a shield with the bee symbol of Ephesos, suitable for the Ephesian contingent of hoplites of the allied phalanx. After Lysander's fall from power, the *Herakliskos Drakopnignon* ceases to be the common coin device, so would hardly have been used as a common shield device. Therefore the use of individual city shield-blazons may have been resumed.

The Asian cities of the alliance were apparently organised

**LEFT Lakonian warrior statuette found at Dodona in 1930. The Corinthian helmet is shown as very open-faced – too much so for this period. This is presumably a deliberate distortion on the part of the artist. Note the hem of the close-fitting tunic, ornately decorated in a wave-pattern. The warrior seems to have folded his tunic over in the front before putting on his cuirass. (Ioannina Museum)**

**RIGHT Stele from ancient Areopolis, dating to the first half of the 5th century, showing a young *perioikos* warrior. He takes off his armour: first his helmet then his shield. He seems to be wearing a cap-comforter under his helmet, greaves and possibly a muscle-cuirass. The significance of the snake – a symbol of the underworld, immortality and also the attribute of a hero – is not clearly understood. (Athenische Mitteilungen 29, 1904)**



into a number of recruitment districts, which were possibly also tribute districts, imitating the organisation of the Athenian empire it replaced. Xenophon tells us that in the stand-off battle which took place in the Plain of the Maeander in 397 the allied phalanx was divided into *taxeis* and *lochoi*. Presumably each city supplied a *lochos* to the *taxis* of its recruiting district. During the battle 'the men from Priene and Achilleion, from the Islands and from the Ionian cities' ran away from the battle-line (*Xen., Hell.* 3. 2. 17). The men of Priene in Ionia and Achilleion on the Hellespont are probably specifically mentioned because they were the first to turn tail: these would be *lochoi*. The Islanders and Ionians would be *taxeis*. At the battle of Koroneia in 395, Xenophon (*Ages.* 2. 11) mentions formations of Ionians, Aeolians and Hellespontines within the allied phalanx, presumably *taxeis*.

### K: MERCENARY INFANTRY REGIMENTS, 396-395 BC

The other hoplite formations of Agesilaos' army would have been distinguished by their shield blazons. The force of 2,000 *neodamodeis* presumably decorated their shields with the letter *lambda*, as did all Lakedaimonian formations. Similarly, the European allies who accompanied the expedition would probably have used their own state shield blazons.

One pre-existing formation of mercenaries which the Lakedaimonians had incorporated into their army was the remains of the 10,000 Greek mercenaries who accompanied Cyrus the Younger in his campaign of 401. These troops were placed under the command of the Spartan Hippias, but they retained their title of 'Kyreioi', or 'Cyreans'. In 401 the Kyreioi had all worn helmets (presumably pilos-helmets) of bronze, crimson tunics and greaves (*Xen., An.* 1. 2. 16). It is possible that they may have decorated their shields with a crimson letter *kappa* in order to proclaim their regimental title.

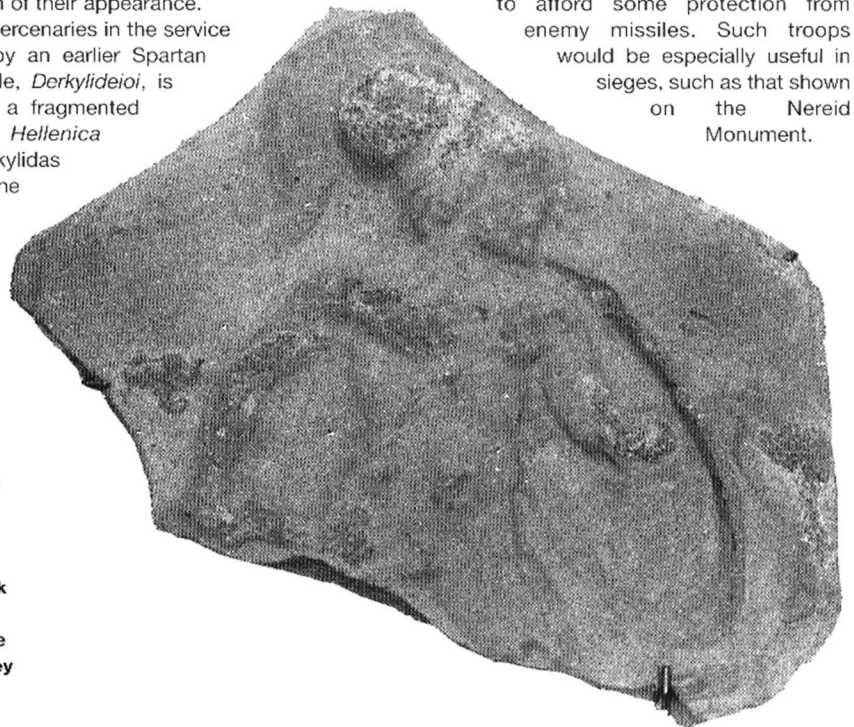
**Figure K1** attempts a reconstruction of their appearance. We hear of a second formation of mercenaries in the service of Agesilaos. These were raised by an earlier Spartan general called Derkylidas. Their title, *Derkylideioi*, is preserved in a single passage in a fragmented papyrus source known as the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (21[16]. 2). In 399 Derkylidas campaigned in the Troad, where he liberated many of the cities from the rule of the local sub-satrap, Meidias the Dardanian. He incorporated Meidias' mercenary forces into the Lakedaimonian army (*Xen., Hell.*

3. 1. 23). It is presumably these troops who were called 'Derkylideians', a title which, like the Kyreioi, they retained after the death of their namesake. They may have been distinguished by a Greek letter *delta* painted on their shields, as in **Figure K2**.

The level of speculation in the previous two reconstructions must be admitted, but we do know that a large degree of uniformity in dress existed among the units of Agesilaos' army. Upon his recall to Europe, Agesilaos left a garrison of 4,000 men behind, but in order to maintain morale in the rest of the force destined to return to Europe, he held another series of competitions, with prizes for the best hoplite *lochos* from the Asian cities, the best mercenary *lochos* of hoplites, archers and peltasts, and the best force of cavalry (*Hell.* 4. 2. 5). This passage, incidentally, informs us that the archers and peltasts in the army were mercenaries. The prizes included sets of weapons. Agesilaos' army met the enemies of Sparta at the battle of Chaironeia, where, so armed, it appeared as 'a mass of bronze and crimson' (*Ages.* 2. 7). The King, said Xenophon 'prided himself on the simplicity of his own dress and the splendid equipment of his army' (*Ages.* 11. 11).

We know much less about the non-hoplite components of Agesilaos' army. In 399 Seuthes, prince of the Thracian tribe of the Odrysians, had sent a force of 200 horsemen and 300 peltasts to help the Lakedaimonians (*Xen., Hell.* 3. 2. 2). From time to time the army also included other non-Greek units. However, the majority of the units of archers, peltasts and cavalrymen in the army were presumably Greeks. Some may have been existing mercenary units taken into Lakedaimonian service, while other units may have been newly formed locally. **Figure K3** is heavily armoured with a composite cuirass. It may be that some units of archers,

unable to use a shield for protection at the same time as they used their bow, were armoured, to afford some protection from enemy missiles. Such troops would be especially useful in sieges, such as that shown on the Nereid Monument.



**Terracotta votive plaque, probably dating to c.450-425, from the shrine of Alexandra/Kassandra and Agamemnon at Amyklai, now in the Sparta Museum (6225/1). Note the Corinthian helmet worn pushed back and the rather short leaf-shaped sword. Faint traces of red paint have been preserved on the crest and grey paint on the sword-blade. (Hesperia 66, 1997)**



**L: A SKIRMISH NEAR TANAGRA, 377 BC**

A Lakedaimonian cavalryman of the late 5th and 4th centuries (Figure L1) probably resembled the horse-riding national heroes Castor and Polydeukes, who are often depicted on reliefs of this date. The heroes are shown



wearing Lakonian *piloi* or bronze pilos-helmets. They also wear *exomnis* tunics, open at the right arm and shoulder and gathered up at the waist in a sort of roll. The reliefs do not show the heroes wearing the *chlamys* cloaks normally seen on a Greek cavalymen. Instead, they appear to wear the Lakedaimonian *triboun* type of cloak, wrapped round the body in such a way as to leave the arms free. They carry long spears and swords.

Horse-riding required boots or shoes. In present-day equitation, the boot is placed in the stirrup in such a way as to put pressure on the horse with the thighs. In bareback riding, however, there is much more reliance on the lower leg, which is used to secure the rider's seat and to control the horse.



**ABOVE** A pair of archers shown on the Nereid monument of Xanthos. This monument was erected to commemorate the exploits of one of the Lycian dynasts of Xanthos. Its date, and therefore the historical scenes depicted on it, cannot be established with any certainty, though it probably dates to the final decades of the 5th century. As well as hoplites and a number of archers in Asiatic dress, the monument shows these two Greek archers covering the escalade of a city, members of a mercenary company of archers in employment in Asia. (British Museum)

**LEFT** A 4th century bronze statuette, probably showing a warrior taking part in a religious parade. Possibly an ephebe, he is naked and clean-shaven. The crest on his helmet may be a badge of rank, or could have just been worn for the parade. Originally he would have carried a spear and a shield. (Sparta Museum)

Boots were worn to avoid unpleasant rubbing from the coarse hairy coat of the horse. None of the Castor and Polydeukes reliefs show the boots clearly, so we have restored the open-toed Lakonian sandals, though perhaps a higher version was used by the cavalry.

The Skiritan (**Figure L2**) is based on an Attic relief, possibly showing a soldier of this type. Xenophon (*Hell.* 7. 5. 20) tells us that before the second battle of Mantinea, in 362, the Arcadian hoplites painted clubs on their shields, in imitation of their allies, the Thebans. This was done in order to avoid confusion in the battle. The club was a symbol of Herakles, the patron god of Thebes. Most legends claimed that Herakles was born in Argos or Tiryns, but the Thebans claimed that their city was his birthplace. It is difficult to know how long the club shield-device was in use, but it is shown on late 5th century vases. This Theban hoplite (**Figure L3**) wears an early version of the Boeotian helmet, which was probably adopted by the infantry in the 4th century.

**The motif of 'Young Herakles the Snake-Strangler' together with the letters SYN (standing for 'alliance') appears on the coins of Byzantium, Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Ephesos, Samos, Iasus, Cnidus and Rhodes. Stefan Karweise (*Numismatic Chronicle* [1980] 1-27) has demonstrated that these coins were struck during the years 405-400 and commemorate the alliance with Sparta. Herakles, one of whose feats of strength was to strangle snakes as a baby, was an ancestor of Lysander. Here, Herakles represents Lysander and the snakes, the Athenian Empire. (Hirmer Fotoarchiv)**

## FURTHER READING

A large number of academic books and articles have been published on ancient Sparta including some dealing with military aspects. The views advanced here summarise those which will be advanced in my forthcoming book, *The Spartan Army*, to be published by Oficyna Naukowa MS, PO Box 126, 90-965 Lodz, Poland. The subject is quite contentious however, particularly with regard to army organisation.

J.F. Lazenby, *The Spartan Army* (1985)

This offers a completely different view on the above.

J.K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (1970)

Developments in Spartan equipment and tactics in the Classical period.

P. Cartledge, *Hoplites and heroes: Sparta's Contribution to the Technique of Ancient Warfare*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97, 11-27 (1977)

With regard to evidence for the Archaic period, this makes a number of extremely useful points, some of which have been incorporated in the text above.

Key classical authors consulted include; Plutarch (*Plut.*), Athenaeus (*Athen.*), Xenophon (*Xen.*), Herodotus (*Holt.*), Thucydides (*Thuc.*), Lycurgus (*Lycurg.*), Pausanias (*Paus.*) and Diodorus (*Diod.*).



**RIGHT** Lakonian bronze statuette of a warrior from Olympia. Note the unusual cheek-pieces of the open-faced helmet. (© German Archaeological Institute, Athens)

