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RAGS AND RICHES: THE COSTUME OF ATHENIAN MEN IN THE FIFTH CENTURY*

The problem

At the beginning of the fifth century there was a change in the style of clothing worn by Athenian men.[1] When Thucydides speaks of it,[2] he first describes how the Greeks of ancient times used to carry weapons in everyday life, just as the barbarians of his own day still did. The Athenians were the first to lay weapons aside and to take up a relaxed and more luxurious way of life.

Writing towards the end of the century, at the age of about fifty five, Thucydides says 'only recently' had wealthy, elderly men stopped wearing linen chitons and fastening their hair with golden grasshoppers. Fashion in clothes changed very slowly in the ancient world. We can assume that those elderly men in the first half of the fifth century were the last to wear a style of clothing which had been more common in the sixth century and which was, already, before the end of the sixth century, being displaced by a new style.

Other writers also remembered the antique fashion which they associated with the Marathonomachai, the messmates of Aristides and Miltiades.[3] In the *Knights* Aristophanes brings a renewed Demos back onto the stage dressed in the old way with a golden grasshopper and fine clothes ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός.[4] Heracleides Ponticus recalls purple cloaks, decorated chitons and long hair.[5]

Thucydides makes a connection between the Athenian and the Ionian style of dressing.[6] Homer calls 'Ionians' (whoever he means by Ionians)[7] ἑλκεχίτωνες. Cleidemus quotes (or misquotes) Homer's reference to Ionian chitons and adds that the Athenians are 'to be counted as Ionians wearing long chitons, like the Persians, Syrians, and Carchedonians.[8]

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[1] In this article I am concerned only with the clothes of men. The spheres of the two sexes were so separate and the aspirations of women so different, that women's clothes need separate consideration.

[2] Thuc. 1.6.3–5. Judith Maitland has drawn my attention to the baffled and irritated response of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc.* 19 to this passage.

[3] Ar. *Knights* 1325.

[4] Ibid. 1331; cf. also *Clouds* 984–6.

[5] Müller, *FGH* ii.200.

[6] Thuc. 1.6.3 says that the fashion spread from Athens to Ionia. A. W. Gomme in his *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1959), i.103, thought that it must have been the other way round. But perhaps in the light of the better knowledge we now have of Ionia in the archaic period, Thucydides may be believed. C. J. Emlyn-Jones in *The Ionians and Hellenism* (London, 1980), 7 refers to R. M. Cook's influential article, *JHS* 66 (1946), 67–98, where it was argued that Ionia was rather late in developing socially and economically. 'Perhaps the most decisive and enduring conclusion of the modern reassessment of the place of Ionia in Hellenism is the discovery that, despite geographical proximity to the east, Ionia lagged behind mainland Greece in exposure to eastern influence', p. 28.

[7] *Il.* 13.685; cf. Eustath. ad loc. (who says that the Athenians wore long chitons until the time of the Persian Wars), and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 147. Pausanias (1.19.1) has a story of Theseus visiting Athens in a long chiton and being laughed at.

[8] Jacoby, *FGrHist* 323 F 13. Douris, *FGrHist* 76 F 60 quotes Asios (Kinkel F 13) describing the Samians, in the seventh century perhaps, or early sixth, going to the sanctuary of Hera in long chitons. Cf. G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (London, 1969), 95–6, although in *The Early Ionians* (London, 1966), 81 he makes a slip in translating a *chitōn* as a 'cloak'.

Thucydides comes now to the fifth century change of style.[9] It was the Spartans, he says, who were the first to wear moderate clothes (*μετρία δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι*) in the modern manner, with the rich 'bringing their way of life into line with the majority' (*πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς... ἰσοδίαιτοι*). It was the Spartans too who, 'not many years ago', started to exercise naked, a habit which had become normal throughout Greece.[10]

The literary evidence for the Athenian change of style in the early fifth century is supplemented by vase painting and sculpture. There are some difficulties in using drawing and sculpture as evidence for clothes, for example the conventional preference for nudity. I assume that Greek warriors never went into battle, as they are sometimes portrayed in art, wearing only their helmets and shields. But in spite of these conventions Athenian art is a precise and detailed record of clothes.

In this article I shall assume that the clothes are 'real', i.e. taken from real practice, especially when scenes of everyday life are represented,[11] as for example on the frieze of the Parthenon,[12] except when there is some obvious convention or special point, such as nudity, or Dionysos' eastern and therefore, to a later Greek eye, effeminate clothes. And since there is no place here for extensive demonstration I shall take it that, by and large, allowing for the huge variety of Greek art that survives and the variation of individual purpose, the artists endorse the observation of Thucydides.[13]

In earlier centuries then, wealthy Athenians (as well as Ionians) wore long, linen chitons over which a shawl could be draped.[14] In art such men tend to be kings such as Priam, or important gods such as Zeus, although some apparently 'ordinary' men

[9] 1.6.4.

[10] See N. B. Crowther, *Eranos* 80 (1982), 163–8.

[11] In archaic art the difficulty is to know when everyday life is being represented. *ABV* 293,8 has men in long chitons harnessing a chariot. *ABV* 239,5 (*c.* 540–20) shows men attending Zeus in long chitons. *ARV* 9,1 (*c.* 525–500) shows a man conversing in a long chiton. It is just possible that these scenes are 'heroic', and if they are, it is not impossible that the men are not dressed as they would be if they were doing these things in everyday life. But *ABV* 174,1 (*c.* 550) has men weighing goods in long chitons, and I presume this scene is not heroic. 'We see far less of the retail trade... in early red-figure', says J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London, 1975), 221. This in itself requires an explanation, since presumably retail trade was on the increase.

[12] B. S. Ridgeway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (New Jersey, 1981), 82, 'It is certainly remarkable, given the propensity for nakedness in Classical art, that even the most revealed bodies on the frieze should have some indication of clothing, however scanty, and this 'prudery' must have iconographic meaning, especially in comparison with the predominantly naked Lapiths of the South metopes. Since the draped grooms show that nakedness cannot be taken as a sign of youth on the frieze, should we assume that clothing distinguished human from heroic or legendary characters?'

[13] This is the opinion of, for example, Amelung in Pauly-Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1984), 2333, speaking of the chiton, Blum in Daremberg-Saglio (Graz, 1969), 534ff. under *tunica*, Anderson in *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1890), ii.904. and M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin, 1928), 20–1, 'Nach Thukydides 1 6 kam der Lange Chiton als Männerkleid kurz vor seiner Zeit, d.h. etwa zur Zeit der Perserkriege ab, wozu die Denkmäler stimmen.'

[14] A particularly courageous and effective attempt by a geometric painter to depict a long chiton and *himation* is in B. Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (London, 1971), pl. 51, (NY Met. Mus. 21.88.18). The earliest Greek sculpted male figures are nude. But in *c.* 560 B.C. the Genelaos Group from Samos includes a clothed male figure [Samos 768, Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London, 1978), fig. 93]. In *c.* 540 B.C. two male figures from Samos are also clothed in long chiton and *himation* (Samos 68, Boardman, above, fig. 84, and Samos Tigani Museum 285, Boardman, above, fig. 96). Dionysermos (Louvre MA 3600, Boardman, above, fig. 174) is still respectably dressed in a chiton in *c.* 520 B.C. For an Athenian clothed figure, see G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths* (London, 1960), figs. 620–3.

also wear long frocks. But later in the fifth century, the long chiton was not a normal costume even for wealthy men, although charioteers, priests, actors and musicians[15] continued to wear long frocks on ceremonial occasions. In the later fifth century, the regular dress for men was a large woollen cloak worn over a short chiton or else, sometimes perhaps in real life and often in art, without any undergarment. Dress for men, even wealthy men, in their relaxed moments had changed from an elaborate, luxurious garment to a simpler, poorer one. Athenian men, as Thucydides said, had adopted a more Spartan style.[16]

Even though the 'Ionian' look disappeared, young men of wealth who wanted to call attention to themselves, could still look pampered, perfumed and effete. But there is a change of emphasis in the course of the century. The Andocides painter in *c.* 530–515 takes such affectation seriously, and depicts them (in my view) with no intention to caricature.[17] But by the end of the century a luxurious look was ridiculed rather than admired.[18] Those Athenians of the late fifth century who used clothes to shock and impress their fellow citizens were likely to be laconizing. Plato, Aristophanes and later Demosthenes all refer to rather dandified young men who imitate the Spartans, with short, fringed cloaks, rough cloth, dirty knuckles, long hair, beards and pederasty.[19]

Fashion is mysterious and no completely satisfactory explanation of its metamorphoses has ever been discovered. But the ideas of Thorstein Veblen, an economist interested in clothes and fashion, have been influential.[20] He divided human activity into two kinds, 'exploit' – warfare and hunting for example – and 'drudgery' or menial and industrial work. Men constantly struggle in order to possess and display goods; for goods are the visible signs of their success. But these goods must not appear to be the product of drudgery, but the reward of honourable activity like seizure. They must appear to be booty, prizes or war trophies. When a man competitively displays his possessions he must also convey the idea that he does not himself labour, but is able to exploit someone else's labour. Hence Veblen invented the expressions 'conspicuous consumption', 'conspicuous waste', and 'conspicuous leisure', in

[15] Familiar examples are the Delphic charioteer, R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture* (New York, 1960), 71, pl. 102–4; in Aristophanes' *Clouds* 70 Megacles driving a chariot, wears a ξύστις; Pronomos the *aulos* player, *ARV* 1336,1; Alcaeus with a lyre, *ARV* 385,228; a cithara player by the Berlin Painter, *ARV* 197,3; Dionysos, *ARV* 550,2; Dionysos in most illustrations wears a long chiton.

[16] It was at this time too that artists began to work in a simple, serious style, often referred to as severe.

[17] *ARV* 3,1; 3,2.

[18] This is clear from the plays of Aristophanes. Agathon and Cleisthenes are effete, *Thesm.* 136ff., *Ach.* 117–21, *Lys.* 622. Pheidippides is pampered, *Clouds* 835–8. See also *Knights* 1375, *Clouds* 332, *Ass.* 632, fragments of a comedy by Kratinos called *Malthakoi* (Kock, *CAF* i.42), Pherekrates F 2 (Kock, *CAF* i.145), Plato, *Hipp. Ma.* 294a, 291a, and V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1943), 73–85).

[19] For laconizing see Ar. *Wasps* 474–6, *Birds* 1281–3, *Clouds* 348, 965, Plato Com. F 124 (Kock, *CAF* i.634), Plato, *Prot.* 342, Demosthenes 54.34; Laconizers had much in common with the aristocrats of the past, particularly long hair. This had often been associated with aristocracy (e.g. the memorable hair of Euphorbus in *Il.* 17.51–2) and tyranny. The word κομάω in itself had political meaning, as when Cylon ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε (Hdt. 5.71.1). Plutarch had come across an odd story that explained the origin of Callias' wealth. A Persian had taken him for a great man at the battle of Marathon because of his long hair, and had offered him ransom (Plut. *Arist.* 5.6). In H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), fig. 28 is a drawing of a Daiduchos such as this Callias Lakkoploutos. Since Spartans were oligarchs, the new Spartan look, including the long hair, in the fifth century implied oligarchic rather than aristocratic sympathies, although long hair could still imply effeminacy and aristocratic pretensions as well.

[20] *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899).

explanation of what a man is attempting to communicate when he spends his money, i.e. that he has plenty of it, but that he himself did not have to work for it.[21]

Dress, for him the dress of Americans of the late nineteenth century, illustrated his theory about expenditure particularly well.

> Our apparel is always in evidence and affords an indication of our pecuniary standing to all observers at first glance. It is therefore particularly likely to be chosen by men who are anxious to demonstrate conspicuous consumption and leisure.[22]

In fact these anxieties take precedence over most others. No-one, he said, will dispute that,

> people will undergo a very considerable degree of privation in the comforts or the necessities of life in order to appear well dressed.

Being well dressed meant wearing costly apparel – fashion ensured that it was a recurring cost – and preferably also the garments of leisure which positively impeded work, like tight trousers or shiny shoes. For Veblen, 'the need for dress is eminently a "higher" or spiritual need.'[23]

But what spiritual need could have induced the Athenians to change from ostentatious to modest clothes in the course of the fifth century? During these years they became extremely prosperous.

> If the documentation about fifth-century Athens leaves one overall impression, it is that of a concentration of monetary resources, in both public and private hands, previously unheard of in Greece.[24]

Moreover the growth of the market and increased trade made more goods available to purchasers than ever before.

> The late fifth century in Athens was a period of sudden urbanization, sharp increase in the volume of trade and the extent of participation in a monetary economy and market transactions...
>
> A new cycle of production and exchange came into being, regulated by the Athenian demand for cash tribute from her allies and for food, slaves and other goods to be purchased in the market...[25]

There was more money around, the population at large had more money to spend, the market was more active than ever before, and yet, it seems, whatever other goods the Athenians demanded in the market-place, they did not want more, but actually less, elaborate and expensive men's clothes.

A possible reason for this may have been that clothes had always been produced by women in the household and so were not demanded or supplied in the market-place. Women working at home always made a large part of the cloth that was worn in Greece – and therefore a large part of the clothes, since Greek clothes for the most part were not sewn or fitted, but simply draped. And yet there is some evidence that clothes could be bought and sold in the market-place, at least towards the end of the century and afterwards. Aristophanes looked forward to χλανισκίδια[26] being again available. Socrates obviously thought that there would be customers for the cloth that Aristarchus' relatives could make, as there were customers for Demeas and Menon.[27] Timarchus inherited a slave who produced fine linen for the market.[28] A very expensive robe is bought by one of Theophrastus' characters.[29] Raw flax must always have been

[21] Ibid. 8ff. [22] Ibid. 167. [23] Ibid. 168.
[24] J. K. Davies, *Democracy and Classical Greece* (Glasgow, 1978), 106.
[25] S. C. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks* (London, 1978), 143, 171.
[26] *Peace* 1002. [27] Xen. *Mem.* 2.7.1–14.
[28] Aesch. 1.97. There is also mention here of a male ποικιλτής. [29] *Char.* 23.8.

available for sale since the Old Oligarch seems to say that it was imported;[30] and wool, even spun wool, was sold in the market.[31]

There are a few, rather late, references to foreign trade in manufactured cloth. Hermippus in a catalogue of products from abroad mentions Carthaginian carpets and decorated cushions.[32] Antiphanes speaks of Corinthian rugs.[33] Theophrastus refers to a ship loaded with *himatia*.[34] Xenophon says that *exōmides* were produced in Megara for export.[35] Later still Pollux uses the words, *himatiopolis* and *speiropolis* of particular areas of the *agora*.[36] And the more luxurious and exotic clothes must always have been imported, as had been the *kaunakēs* against which Philokleon protested in the *Wasps*[37] and the silks and *bussinoi peploi* which, in spite of changing fashion for men, were continuously worn by women. Since, then, the clothes were available, or could have been available for sale, there must have been some other reason why Athenians did not spend their money on clothes.

This article is an attempt to explain why this was the case. I shall begin by describing briefly the kinds of clothes that men in fifth-century Athens wore on various occasions. I shall explain what the clothes meant in Greek thought. And by this means I shall attempt to understand the social conditions that gave rise to the curious consequence[38] that Athenian men, who obviously enjoyed fine clothes, in a time of increasing wealth and prosperity spent less rather than more on their everyday dress.

The clothes of Athenian men in the Fifth Century

One of the most beautiful long linen chitons in Greek art is that worn by a luxurious Croesus in a painting *c.* 500 B.C. by Myson.[39] Croesus sits on a stool with a fabric seat elaborately decorated with inlay or paint. His feet rest upon a cushion. The fine folds of the linen and the pins running along his arm are carefully drawn.[40] It is clear that chitons are for leisured men. Sudden or vigorous movement in such a loose and voluminous garment would quickly lead to tangle. If the material is fine and light in colour, especially if it is white, it is easily damaged or dirtied, and dirt was a far more serious threat to clothing then than it is now. And the long floppy sleeves impede the action of the arms and hands.[41]

[30] Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.11–12. The Old Oligarch refers to flax used in ship-building, but I assume it was the same material that was used for cloth.

[31] Ar. *Frogs* 1346–51, 1386 (ἐριοπωλικῶς), *Knights* 129 (στυππειοπώλης).

[32] Kock, *CAF* i.243, F 63.

[33] Kock, *CAF* ii.115, F 236.

[34] *De Lap.* 69.

[35] *Mem.* 2.7.6.

[36] Pollux 7.78 see also *SIG*[3] 1250.

[37] *Wasps* 1137. This cloak had been imported, and D. M. MacDowell in his edition of the *Wasps* (Oxford, 1971), 279, says that it is the earliest evidence of the use in Athens of textiles imported from the east.

[38] A. French, *The Growth of the Athenian Economy* (Connecticut, 1964), 157–62 discusses the persistent austerity of the Athenian way of life in the fifth century. Cf. A. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1969), 214–19.

[39] *ARV* 238,1.

[40] A chiton could take a variety of forms. It could have long tight sleeves; or a rectangular piece of material could be pinned along the top edges so as to cover the arms without being sewn into proper sleeves. On *ARV* 385,228 Alcaeus wears a smaller piece of material pinned only once on each shoulder, thus forming a sleeveless version. I find the drawing of a chiton in J. Boardman, op. cit. (n. 14), 68 misleading.

[41] I. Brooke, *Costume in Greek Classical Drama* (Connecticut, 1972), 64–6, suggests that this may be one of the reasons why actors wore a garment with less cloth, a belt and fitted sleeves. J. Beazley, *Hesperia* 24 (1955), 308 with n. 7 and cf. fig. 61, says that sleeved costumes might well have been introduced for warmth for the musicians. Perhaps this is so, but loose, slipping sleeves would have been a terrible nuisance for, say, a flute player.

In fact if any man in a Greek vase painting is working, or rather if any man is doing 'dishonourable' work, he will probably, at any period, be wearing the short tunic of the workman, the *exōmis*, a small length of cloth in a dull colour which was either pinned on the left shoulder thus leaving the right arm entirely free, or else wrapped around the waist like a loin cloth. The workman who sets fire to Croesus' pyre is free for any strenuous activity. The *exōmis* is often in art worn by working gods and heroes, such as Odysseus the traveller, or Hephaistos the blacksmith, as well as by workmen.

A man engaged in strenuous but 'honourable' activity, like fighting or hunting, wears different clothes, a short chiton, usually sleeveless but sometimes with tight fitting sleeves (giving a rather eastern look to the appearance but without inhibiting action),[42] and a smaller cloak, the *chlamys*, fastened with a pin or a brooch. Soldiers are dressed like this when they are not wearing their armour, and so are huntsmen and sometimes travellers. The *chlamys* could be improvised as when elderly Athenians prepared to fight in the crisis of 338, ...*διπλᾶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐμπεπορπημένους*.[43] It was the shortened length of the cloth and the pinning of it, that made this cloak a more practical garment.

In every period a short chiton was worn as an undergarment. It could be made of wool or linen as is clear from vase painting. It could be pinned at the shoulders, or tied, or, if it was to be worn under armour, sewn. A girdle could take up any loose cloth and stop it flapping. It was a very practical garment. Children, both boys and girls, are painted in it often.[44]

When the Athenians gave up wearing the long chiton (which of course might well have been put on over a short undergarment), the usual outer garment for men at leisure was a large woollen cloak, the *himation*, worn over a short chiton or by itself. This cloak had to be draped in strictly conventional ways. It was wrapped tightly around the bodies of young boys (*ἐντετυλίχθαι*).[45] Older men could wear it more loosely, but Aeschines held it against Cleon, "*τοῦτο θρασύ τι*", that he was the first to speak in public with his hand held outside his cloak.[46] It had to be draped from the right round onto the left arm or shoulder, thus leaving the right arm free. "*οὗτος τί δρᾷς; ἐπ' ἀριστερ' οὕτως ἀμπέχει; οὐ μεταβαλεῖς θοιμάτιον ὧδ' ἐπιδέξια;*", says Poseidon scornfully to the Triballian god in the *Birds*.[47] "*ἀναβάλλεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένου ἐπιδέξια ἐλευθέρως*" is a dismissive remark by Plato who had a good grasp of the right way to behave.[48] It must not be worn too high. Both Cleon and Theophrastus' *agroikos* did this.[49] But nor should it be worn too low. Demosthenes described Aischines very unsympathetically for letting his down to his ankles,[50] and it was held against Alcibiades and later his son that they 'dragged' their cloaks.[51]

So careful had the arrangement of the cloak to be, and achieved without belt or pins, that for all its theoretical simplicity it was very impractical. It was always in danger

[42] M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze* (London, 1975), North XXXI. 97.

[43] Lycurgus, *Leoc.* 40.

[44] E.g. *ARV* 318,1, Theseus as a boy; *ARV* 1019,86, two girls dancing. F. A. Beck, *Album of Greek Education* (Sydney, 1975) has collected many Greek paintings of children.

[45] Ar. *Clouds* 987 and many drawings, e.g. *ARV* 431,48; 785,8.

[46] Aesch. 1.25. Cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 4.2.

[47] *Birds* 1567–8.

[48] *Tht.* 175e; There is a man in J. Boardman, op. cit. (n. 11), no. 47 (*ARV* 31, 6) who flouts this rule. I think he is drunk. M. Robertson assures me in a letter that no. 163 (*ARV* 221,14) is just a badly drawn back view.

[49] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 28.3; Theophr. *Char.* 4.4–5.

[50] 19.314.

[51] Plut. *Alc.* 16.1, Archippus F 45 (Kock, *CAF* i.688).

of slipping or falling. Men in *himatia* clutch them to their bodies in nervous ways.[52] The shoulder-high stick that they carried could be tucked under the armpit in order to hold the cloth firm for a while and so leave the arms free.[53] But wearing the cloak, with no fixed point at either shoulder or waist, must have required skill and unremitting attention. L. Heuzey explains how responsive the garment was to movements of the body.

> De même sur les eaux la moindre agitation, l'impulsion la plus légère, se marque par un sillage qui permet d'en mesurer la direction et la force.

The left arm in particular was immobilized; 'car c'est lui qui porte et retient tout l'édifice du costume.'[54] Only when a man sat down could he allow the cloak to fall off his shoulders and come to rest around his hips.

The Athenians obviously wanted to give the impression that they were leisured men, at least when they were wearing their *himatia*. But however inconvenient to wear, a *himation* was nevertheless relatively cheap. At the beginning of the century the cloak (in art at least) was often decorated, and so presumably more expensive, but later it was usually plain or with a simple design. There was a better-quality, woollen cloak called a *chlaina*,[55] which was similar – not different enough to be distinguishable in art, but apparently warmer to wear. There was also a special festive cloak called a *chlanis*. The differences between these cloaks all seem to have been in the quality of the cloth. The style of wearing them was the same. An observer could not tell by simply glancing at the cloak whether the wearer was wealthy or not. It was not what Veblen would have called an invidious garment. The impression given by the artists is rather of standardization – an impression that is confirmed by derision, in literature, for people who deviated. The cloaks like the blue boiler suits of the Chinese in the 1970s suggest, to an outsider at any rate, an evenness and equality in dress. They do not convey the message that the wearer can afford conspicuous consumption.

There were however occasions when the Athenians spent lavishly on clothes. The richness and variety of the clothes that were worn by actors in the theatre is evident from vase painting.[56] Some plays, like the *Antigone*, could be done cheaply in ordinary Greek clothes,[57] but (perhaps after Aeschylus) plays with exotic eastern settings needed special and expensive frocks.

The Pronomos vase[58] seems to show such a play. It is discussed by Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, and he adds: 'There is no reason to doubt that we are given here a fairly faithful picture of stage costume.'[59] The *aulos* player, Pronomos himself, is wearing a heavily decorated, sleeved, long chiton. But then *aulos* players were expensive[60] – the lyre player looks much cheaper. A fragment from Apulia, not Athens,

[52] E.g. Robertson and Frantz, op. cit. (n. 42), South XLIV.129, East I.1, IV.20, VI.42 and 47, North IX.36.

[53] *ARV* 23,7; *ARV* 785,8; Athens 3476 (Lullies and Hirmer, op. cit. (n. 15), pl. 64); Robertson and Frantz, op. cit. (n. 42), East IV.22.

[54] *Histoire du Costume Antique* (Paris, 1922), 25.

[55] For *chlaina* and *himation* used interchangeably, see Ar. *Birds* 493–7, *Ass.* 27, 75, 567. Ar. *Wasps* 677, *Birds* 1116, 1693, *Ass.* 848–50, *Lys.* 1190, refers to the *chlanis* as a garment for special occasions. L. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy* (Arno Classical Monographs, 1980) has analysed Aristophanes' use of clothes for comic purposes.

[56] A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London, 1971).

[57] Ibid. III.2.4.

[58] *ARV* 1336,1.

[59] *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1968), 197–8 and 187.

[60] Demosthenes 21.156.

but particularly graphic, shows the head of Priam – perhaps the white dots on the head-dress are simulated precious stones. His long sleeved costume has palmettes (not embroidered but woven), tri-coloured chequers, white dots and zigzags on black stripes, and he wears very fancy shoes. A play about Persians has three members of the Persian council and three satraps in short tunics over trousers and with Persian hats.[61] Rhesus had to be dressed in Thracian gold[62] and Amazons being purely imaginary but vaguely eastern, are usually quite fantastic. Even the choruses sometimes wore national dress.[63]

These costumes must have been costly. Herodotus[64] tells of Darius envying the cloak of Syloson. The story is historically worthless, but it does suggest the high value that could be given to a piece of good cloth. It was a time when some people owned only one cloak,[65] might take the trouble to steal a cloak,[66] and borrowed a cloak from a neighbour when their own was being cleaned,[67] and when clothes were thought a worthy offering to the gods.[68] The eastern garments of the theatre were purely theatrical and could have no use in real life.[69] Euripides was laughed at for dressing his characters in rags. Perhaps they were real rags and so Euripides' plays were cheap to perform. But when he wrote plays about kings like Telephos, there is at least the possibility that he reduced fine, costly clothes[70] to rags and so, by being even more conspicuously wasteful than his rivals, brought more honour to his performance.

Even without the illustrations on the vases we would know that clothing actors for the stage was expensive. It was one of the public duties that the rich were expected to undertake, and it seems that the more money spent on the costumes, the more likely the play was to win the competition.[71] Other public ceremonies required expensive clothes. Demosthenes who was later sculpted in a very severe dress,[72] had a gold embroidered frock made for himself to wear at the Great Dionysia of 351/0 and was outraged when his enemy tore it.[73] Musicians, priests and charioteers continued to wear long chitons throughout the classical period, presumably because they were felt to be performing public duties.

Costume in the theatre and at festivals therefore could be ornate and lavish. But men also dressed to kill. The panoply entitled a man to fight in the hoplite army. Good

[61] Trendall and Webster, op. cit. (n. 56), II.1 (Pronomos), III.1.21 (*The Phrygians*), III.5.6 (*The Persae*). Trendall and Webster assume that the material is embroidered. But I am satisfied that the decoration was woven, as argued by A. J. B. Wace, *AJA* 37 (1934), 107–14, and 52 (1948), 51–5.

[62] E. *Rhes.* 382–4; cf. Trendall and Webster, op. cit. (n. 56), III.5.7, III.5.8.

[63] A. *Supp.* 234–7; cf. 120–2.

[64] 3.139ff.

[65] Ar. *Ass.* 311–19. The character of Theophrastus 5.6 who gets a new cloak while the other is still good is absurd.

[66] Ar. *Clouds* 179, 497, 865, *Birds* 497–8 and Kratinos F 207 (Kock, *CAF* i.76), admittedly all in comedy. See also *Ass.* 333–4 where Blepyrus uses his cloak as bedclothes.

[67] Theophr. *Char.* 30.10–11; cf. Diog. Laert. 6.62 – Diogenes the Cynic refused to return the one he borrowed.

[68] As in the dedications to the goddess at Brauron. Cf. A. *Ag.* 922, Hdt. 1.50.1.

[69] The existence of the word ἱματιομίσθης suggests that at a later date the costumes could be kept for another performance. Cf. Pollux 7.78, *SIG*³ 424.85.

[70] Trendall and Webster, op. cit. (n. 56), III.3.49 shows a scene from the *Telephos* (not necessarily Euripides' of course), where the king is very richly dressed. It is an Etruscan vase painting but it is thought to be based on an Attic original.

[71] Plut. *Nic.* 3.2–3. A *chorēgos* could go too far. Aristotle finds a comic chorus dressed in purple βάνυσος (*EN* 1123a20).

[72] A (probable) replica of Polyeuctos' statue (*c.* 280) is Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2782.

[73] 21.16.

hoplite equipment was a mark of status, a sign of high standing within the citizen body. Armour had from very early times been decorated, and was very valuable. In the fifth century it seems that some people had armour made out of precious metal for wearing on ceremonial occasions, decorated and chased like silver plate.[74] On pottery men are shown in splendid armour. Exekias' drawing of Achilles and Aias (*c.* 550 B.C.) is well known.[75] And throughout the fifth century soldiers are painted looking their best, plumes on their helmets, decoration on their breastplates, their jackets fastened with little lions' heads, devices emblazoned on their shields.

Even the Spartans, citizens of an austere city, liked to make a good appearance. They combed their hair before the battle of Thermopylae, they wore distinctive red cloaks – Xenophon said that red was the least feminine colour – and carried a Λ on their shields.[76] Xenophon himself reveals his feelings for his στολή at a moment of crisis. The passage is remarkable for its repetition of the word καλός. Betrayed and desperate a thousand miles from home, the soldier who, in another work, has Isomachus reprove his wife for using cosmetics,[77] says this:

ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾶν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν.[78]

On public occasions therefore, when performing civic offices, such as in the theatre, in the army, and at the festivals, the Athenians of the fifth century, like other people, realized the pleasures of showing themselves off in fine clothes. But in private life they wore a simple woollen cloak with or without a short chiton.

The meaning of the clothes

In this section I will discuss the meanings that were associated with the various garments worn by Athenian men. If clothes are a language,[79] individual garments constitute a vocabulary. This vocabulary is partly determined by the past, but it also continuously changes in response to the different needs of its users. One of the ways it can change is by borrowing from abroad.

The chiton, both the name and the object,[80] seems to be one of these borrowings. Eastern influence on early archaic Greek art is very strong, and the first recognizable clothing seems to be the tunic that had been worn throughout the Near East from the eighth century by among others, the Aramaeans, the neo-Hittites, and the Syrians.

[74] Xen. *Mem.* 3.10.4. See also D. B. Thompson, 'Mater Caelaturae: Impressions from Ancient Metalwork', *Hesperia* 8 (1939), 315: 'Well to do Athenians of the period must have had considerable wealth reserved in these works of art'.

[75] *ABV* 145,13 (Aias and Achilles), *ABV* 294,19, *ARV* 987,1. Cf. Alcaeus F 140 (D. A. Campbell, i.304).

[76] *Lac. Pol.* 7.3–4, 11.3.Cf. Ar. *Lac. Pol.* F 86 (Müller, *FGH* ii.130). Plut. *Moralia* 238f., Photius, sv. *Λ* quotes Eupolis and Theopompus.

[77] Xen. *Oec.* 9.19.2ff.

[78] Ibid. *An.* 3.2.7.

[79] As Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, 1981) suggests in her choice of title. The photographs in this book show how dramatically the meaning of red has changed since the Spartans chose it for the colour of their military cloaks.

[80] O. Szemérenyi, 'The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: ex oriente lux', *JHS* 94 (1974), 144–57, endorses a Semitic origin for the word chiton as well as for many other words for apparel, including *chlamys*, *chlaina*, and *kupassis*. Cf. E. Akurgal, *The Birth of Greek Art* (London, 1968), 192. Traces of cultivated linen have been found at Çatal Hüyük about 6000 B.C. and the first known Greek linen can be discerned at Lerna *c.* 2400–2000 B.C. See E. Gullberg and P. Aström, 'The Thread of Ariadne', *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 21 (1970), 16.

It consisted of a long, pleated, sleeved tunic worn by both men and women. Ekrem Akurgal, discussing female figures of the seventh century such as the Auxerre statue and the Nikandre figure, summarizes, '... the long body tunic (together with its name and belt) derives from the Near East.'[81]

This eastern tunic had local variations. The sculptors at Pasargadae, some of whom were Greek, noted the different clothes of the men who brought tribute to the Great King.[82] In one case the tribute itself consists of a pair of trousers.[83] Many of the tributary peoples like the Lydians or Syrians, Phrygians and Medes wear long tunics and cloaks, but each of them is distinguishable from the others by the detail of their clothes. And although Greek costume in very early sculpture is identical with eastern costume, the Greek chiton soon comes to be sculpted, and presumably worn, in a way that distinguishes it immediately from its eastern neighbours.[84] The pins on the shoulders and along the arms, and the preference for an abundance of fine pleating seem to be Greek. Its affinity with eastern costume however places the Greeks in the world of the east. The Scythians, the Thracians, the Celts, and the trousered Persians belong to a different sartorial group.

I am not here concerned with the early history of the chiton. But I would like to make a few points about it before returning to the fifth century. In Homer the chiton is worn exclusively by men. When Athene arms herself in Homer she takes off her own *peplos* and puts on the chiton of her father.[85] But in the east, in early sculpture, and according to Herodotus in real life in Athens after *c.* 590 B.C.,[86] chitons are worn by men and women indiscriminately, although a man's chiton could be long or short, whereas a mature woman's chiton is always long. That means that if a man is sculpted in a long chiton and does not have a beard it is often quite difficult to tell whether the figure is male or female.[87]

Not only is the long chiton worn by both sexes, it is also, in the archaic period, worn all over Greece and not just in Athens and Ionia. It can be seen in Laconia too.[88] I would suggest that Spartan men stopped wearing the chiton at the time of increasing austerity from the middle of the sixth century when poetry and art also withered. Plutarch mentions Lycurgus' insistence upon young men wearing a single garment.[89] The Ionians, on the other hand, in constant communication with the east, and perhaps also maintaining the social structures of aristocracy and tyranny,[90] continued to display the finery of the east.

[81] Akurgal, op. cit. (n. 80), 192.

[82] R. Girshman, *Persia from the Origins to Alexander the Great* (London, 1964), figs. 209–71. The details of various costumes are carefully shown by the sculptors, and Herodotus (7.61ff.) later described the dress of the Persians' multinational invading army with equal pleasure.

[83] H. Stierlin, *The Cultural History of Persia* (London, 1984), 33.

[84] J. Laver, *Costume in Antiquity* (London, 1964) has many attractive drawings of ancient costume.

[85] *Il.* 5.734–7.

[86] 5.87.3ff. A chiton could be sewn but it could also be pinned, so that the law which punished women by forbidding them pins does not make sense. Herodotus' account that women wore a *peplos*, and then *c.* 590 changed to a chiton is not endorsed by the sculpture although there are not many examples of sculpture from this early period. The earliest discernible female clothes in sculpture are chitons.

[87] For example the seated figures from Didyma (London B271 and B278, Boardman, op. cit. (n. 14), figs. 94, 95); and see H. Payne and G. Mackworth-Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (London, 1950), 102.

[88] The Hero relief from Chrysapha (Berlin 731) of *c.* 550, and the Arkesilas painting (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 189) both show men in long chitons.

[89] *Lyc.* 16.6.

[90] At least until Mardonius installed 'democracies' in 492 B.C. (Hdt. 6.43.3) and probably in many places even after that.

In archaic literature fine clothes including the chiton are mentioned with admiration. In Homer, for instance, men love fine clothes. They are given away as gifts and even form part of the ransom for Hector's body.[91] Linen is known as well as wool,[92] and weaving is seen as part of the timeless routine of women's daily lives; the elaborate patterns and designs are described in detail.[93]

Ionian poets both male and female also take pleasure in good clothes.[94] There are two poems in particular which describe Ionian clothing.[95] Asios, whose date is conjectural but who might be writing in the seventh or early sixth century speaks of the Samians:

οἳ δ' αὕτως φοίτεσκον ὅπως πλοκάμους κτενίσαιντο
εἰς Ἥρας τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἵμασι καλοῖς,
χιονέοισι χιτῶσι πέδον χθονὸς εὐρέος εἶχον·
χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὥς
χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμῳ χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς,
δαιδάλεοι δὲ χλιδῶνες ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίοσιν ἦσαν.

Xenophanes in the mid-sixth century talks about the Colophonians:

ἁβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,
ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς,
ἤϊσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες...

These poets might be describing luxury with simple admiration but there is in both a slight indication of an association between luxury and weakness. The Asios fragment breaks off and then after the break come the words ...τες ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν. Jacoby thought that a contrast was being made between luxury and warlike valour, although that assumption is by no means necessary. There is perhaps a stronger suggestion in Xenophanes that the Samians were heading for tyranny like the Lydians because they were luxurious.[96]

If these poets do condemn their Ionian fellow citizens for self-indulgence this is the first sign of an attitude that was to become well established. By the fifth century Ionians, together with certain other easterners, had a bad name among the Greeks. J. Alty[97] has gathered the evidence that shows that both Thucydides and Herodotus, in their different ways, were aware of the reputation the Ionians had for weakness, softness, cowardice, inefficiency in battle, tolerance of enslavement, reluctance to endure any form of discipline, and sexual licence.

These characteristics are consistently associated with eastern wealth. Wealth led to the enjoyment of luxury and that in turn led to the character deficiencies attributed to the Ionians and other easterners. Their wealth and consequent weakness are often

[91] *Il.* 24.229–31.

[92] *Od.* 19.232–3.

[93] *Il.* 3.125–8, 22.441. Cf. E. *Ion* 184ff. esp. 197, *ABV* 76,1 (François vase), *ARV* 721,2 (Penelope's shroud), *ARV* 459,3 (Demeter's robe).

[94] E.g. Alcaeus F 140 (D. A. Campbell i.304), Sappho F 98 (op. cit. i.122), Alcman F 1.64–9 (D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, 4), Anacreon F 43 (op. cit. 195).

[95] Asios F 13 (Kinkel); Xenophanes F 3 (J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* i.194).

[96] Jacoby, *FGrHist.* II C 126, but cf. C. M. Bowra, *Hermes* 85 (1957), 391–401. In *CQ* 35 (1941), 123–4 Bowra maintained that the vocabulary of luxury was neutral or even appreciative of its object throughout the sixth and fifth centuries. A full discussion by G. Nenci and M. Lombardo of the use and changing meaning of the vocabulary of luxury is to be found in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*, Collection de l'école française de Rome 67 (Pise-Rome, 1983), 1019–31 and 1077–1103.

[97] 'Dorians and Ionians', *JHS* 102 (1982), 1–14. He is especially informative about the attitudes of the historians. See especially the note on Herodotus, p. 12 n. 64.

contrasted with Greek poverty and consequent toughness. Herodotus makes Demaratus talk admiringly of Greek poverty to the Great King. He includes an anecdote about Pausanias comparing a Spartan dinner with the magnificent arrangements of the Persians who had come to Greece to 'rob us of our poverty'.[98] Ion of Chios in the same period contrasts the wealth of Asia with the poverty of 'the isle of Pelops', and Bacchylides refers more than once to the luxury of the Ionians.[99] The comic poets could get a laugh the same way.[100] Greek has a good vocabulary for luxury and all the words are, at any rate by the end of the fifth century, perjorative: τρυφή, ἁπαλότης, ἁβρότης, χλιδή.

When eastern and Ionian luxury was condemned, then so also was that style of clothing. Athenaeus later collected the sayings of famous writers about the Ionians and other easterners, and the costume of luxurious men is frequently mentioned as both symptom and cause of weakness. The following quotation from Antiphanes is typical.

πόθεν οἰκήτωρ ἤ τις Ἰώνων
τρυφεραμπεχόνων ἁβρὸς ἡδυπαθὴς
ὄχλος ὥρμηται;[101]

In Herodotus Croesus gives Cyrus advice on how to enfeeble the Lydians, and it includes forbidding the ownership of weapons and making chitons compulsory.[102] Purple clothes were seen as particularly bad. Democritus of Ephesus condemned the dyed garments of the Ionians and Plato banned purple in the *Laws*.[103]

By the fourth century the associations are fixed. Xenophon[104] tells a story about how Agesilaus stripped his Ephesian prisoners and sold their clothes and their bodies in two separate lots. His soldiers, he thought, who might have been impressed by the riches of the east, would be encouraged by the sight of the weak, white, flabby bodies of their opponents. It must have been a favourite story with Xenophon because he tells it twice.

By coincidence Cimon had done a similar thing, as we know on the excellent authority of Ion of Chios who heard him tell of it himself.[105] He also stripped his prisoners after battles at Sestos and Byzantium. Although in this case the reasons were different – he was expecting relatives to come to ransom them – the elements of the contrast are all there, the rich, purple clothes, the gold ornaments, and beneath them, the weak bodies of barbarians who take no exercise.

How then did the Greeks account for their beliefs about easterners? What reasons did they themselves give for what they considered to be the weakness of the Ionians and Lydians? The Hippocratic writer of *Waters, Airs and Places* thought that Asian people were weak because of the uniformity of their climate, but added that their autocratic social structure was a contributory cause.[106] He proved it by pointing out

[98] 7.102.1, 9.82.

[99] Ion of Chios, F 24 (Nauck, 736), Bacchylides 17.2 (Jebb) and F 26.

[100] Ar. *Thesm.* 163, *Peace* 932, *Ass.* 918, Hermippus F 58 (Kock, *CAF* i.241), Antiphanes F 91 (Kock, *CAF* ii.48), Callias F 5 (Kock, *CAF* i.695).

[101] 12.524f–526d; Antiphanes F 91 (Kock, *CAF* ii.48).

[102] 1.155.6.

[103] Democritus of Ephesus, *FGrHist* 267 F 1, Plato, *Laws* 847c, Anaxandrides F 41 (Kock, *CAF* ii.151), Plato Com. F 208 (Kock, *CAF* i.658) and see V. M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels, 1970), Coll. Latomus, vol. 116.

[104] *Hell.* 3.4.19, *Ages.* 1.28; Cf. Plut. *Ages.* 9.5.

[105] Plut. *Cim.* 9.2–4.

[106] *Aer.* 16ff. in W. H. S. Jones i.115–16. Cf. Hdt. 1.142 and Arist. *Pol.* 1327b, who says that cold climates bring out a brave spirit while hot climates encourage intelligence.

that Greeks living in independent cities in Asia were warlike in character. The close association of this weakness with luxury and also with clothes, however, makes me think that some popular medical theory may have made its contribution to the complex amalgam of superstition and prejudice about easterners. People who believe that health consists of the right balance of humours may well have found it easy to believe that overheating the body weakens it. Having too many bedclothes for example was thought to be debilitating.[107]

But it is unnecessary to look for convincing intellectual justification for these beliefs. They have a kind of intrinsic plausibility, and that is sufficient for their dissemination. Assumptions about the character of Ionian and eastern people were transferred to styles of architecture and music as well. Ionian and Phrygian music was thought to be enervating and was banned by Plato[108] and forbidden to young people by Aristotle.[109] In the fourth century the Ionian order in architecture was considered weak, effeminate, luxurious and suitable to interiors where the women lived.[110] Martin Robertson thinks that these ideas may have been around in the fifth century also.[111]

During the fifth century there was a further blow to the chiton. Its expense and glamour – the fine cloth and the tiny fluid pleating came to be seen as especially alluring – made it attractive to women, and in particular to women whose business it was to please, that is courtesans. It ceased to be normal male costume except on the public occasions when expenditure was acceptable. In the end, if a man wore a long chiton and especially if it was saffron-coloured, then most likely he would be received with fascinated contempt, as Dionysos was received by Pentheus in the *Bacchae* when he came from Tmolus, where crocuses grow, with white skin and ringlets.[112]

Because Dorian was opposed to Ionian, then whatever Ionian was, Dorian tended not to be. When the Ionian look was condemned for certain characteristics, the Dorian look tended to be admired for the opposite. If Ionian connoted weakness, riches and tolerance of enslavement, Dorian stood for strength, poverty and love of freedom.

This is apparent especially in women's clothes where an easy contrast can be drawn between the Ionian chiton and the Dorian *peplos*. Xenophon preserves a moral tale which he attributes to Prodicus in the fifth century.[113] Heracles as a young man, was wondering what sort of life to lead. While he was debating within himself he met two women. One was wearing a white woollen dress, obviously a *peplos*, and the other a thin, transparent material, obviously a chiton. The former was modest and free, ἐλευθέριος φύσει. The latter was plump, soft, immodest, τεθρυμμένη εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἁπαλότητα, and painted. They were, in fact, Virtue and Vice, but it was hardly necessary to say so. Their clothes had already betrayed their moral worth.

While Dorian and Ionian are easily distinguished in women's clothes, the difference

[107] Ar. *Clouds* 10, Athen. 12.550d. Chionides F 1 (Kock, *CAF* i.4) mentions a bed suitable for taking on campaign.

[108] *Rep.* 398d–399a.

[109] *Pol.* 1340a–b, 1342a–b.

[110] J. Onians, *Art and Thought in Hellenistic Greece* (London, 1979), 17ff.

[111] M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), i.347–8.

[112] E. *Ba.* 233ff., 453–9. Cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 191–2 and F. Muecke, 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman', *CQ* 32 (1982), 49ff. who refers to the tradition of painting comasts and poets in female costume. Cf. Beazley-Caskey, *Greek Vases in Boston* (Oxford, 1954), 2.55–61, W. J. Slater, 'Artemon and Anacreon: no text without context', *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 185ff. and J. Boardman, 'A Curious Eye-cup', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1976), 281–90.

[113] *Mem.* 2.21–34. In Atossa's dream it is the woman in Dorian clothes who refuses to be yoked by Darius, A. *Per.* 182ff.

is not quite so easy to see in men's clothes. A Dorian look may perhaps be seen best among the Spartans. Spartan soldiers, as I have said, actually looked rather grand. But back home, and out of military dress, they may have worn very simple clothes. Spartan boys were not indulged with physical comforts.[114] Insufficient food, it was thought, would make them grow tall. In Athens people could have summer and winter clothes[115] but a single garment in all seasons was supposed to be good for Spartan children and to make them tough. Even Aristotle thought that children should be kept cold.[116]

In adult life the garment particularly associated with the Spartans was the *tribōn*, a shortish, rough, cheap cloak. Like the *chlaina*, it is hard to distinguish in art from the more ordinary *himation*. Agesilaus wore one on campaign, although the admiration he received for his simple style of life in face of Persian wealth suggests that such virtue was not customary. Phocion did not wear a cloak at all. In fact it was said that his soldiers could tell it was a severe winter when he wore a cloak. Phocion may well have been poor and taken a pride in being poor, but Agesilaus probably was not. The *tribōn* was meant to show that he was tough and self-disciplined, immune to the temptations of luxury.[117]

Earlier, in the fifth century, Socrates had also worn a *tribōn*.[118] He too showed by his dress that he was tough and self-disciplined, could endure pain, and despised riches. Whether he was in reality poor is something of a mystery. He was a hoplite and seems in Plato not to have to work at his trade as a stone mason, although he had a wife and family. So, if he was poor, it was the Greek poverty that meant having wealth enough not to have to work, but not enough to be able to perform liturgies. The look that he cultivated was the Dorian look, what was called in Athens laconizing. He may even have initiated the fashion. After Socrates other philosophers like Diogenes and Antisthenes also affected the rags of poverty. 'I can see your vanity through the holes in your cloak', Socrates is supposed to have said to Antisthenes.[119]

If poverty is a component of the look, that is at least in part because poverty was supposed to make men tough. The Dorian look is not primarily poor. It signals rather the military worth of the professional soldier, the tough image as opposed to the long-haired, well-shaved, aristocratic look, which Archilochus had hated in an earlier age.[120] Socrates may or may not have been poor, but the young men who imitated him were not poor – Critias for instance, who admired Spartan ways[121] including their simplicity of dress. He was a laconizer, in poor clothes by choice rather than necessity, one of those whom a comic poet[122] wittily called ἑλκετρίβωνες, by analogy, I suppose, with ἑλκεχίτωνες Ionians. He was later[123] described as a flagrant laconizer, λαμπρῶς μὲν ἐλακώνισε. Earlier in the century Cimon had also admired the Spartans and his Lacedaemonian temperament would also, presumably, have hated the luxury of ornament and Ionian clothes.[124]

[114] Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 2.4–6, Plut. *Lyc.* 16.6–7.
[115] Xen. *Mem.* 1.6.2, *Birds* 715, 915.
[116] *Pol.* 1336a 14–23; cf. Ar. *Clouds* 961ff.
[117] Plut. *Ages.* 14.2, *Phoc.* 4.2, Xen. *Ages.* 5.3. From Aelian, *VH* 14.10, it appears that the cloak was fashionably dirty as well. Generals who were admired for this sort of austerity tended nevertheless to come from rich families. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1282a31–2 and J. K. Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York, 1981), 122–5.
[118] Plato, *Prot.* 335d, *Sym.* 219b, Xen. *Mem.* 1.6.2.
[119] Diog. Laert. 6.8 (Antisthenes), 6.22 (Diogenes).
[120] Archilochus F 58 (J. M. Edmonds ii.127).
[121] Critias wrote a *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians* in which he praised their *himatia* (DK 88 B 34).
[122] Plato Com., F 124 (Kock, *CAH* i.634).
[123] Philostratus, *Lives of Sophists* 1.16.
[124] Plut. *Cimon* 4.4.

I have concentrated on the contrast between Dorian and Ionian styles. But not all Athenian garments fall into these categories. Athenians knew the clothes of other people as well, and even borrowed some of them. Throughout the century, as the Old Oligarch notices,[125] Athens had been host to many foreigners, especially those performing military functions. Scythians[126] were public slaves in Athens and vase paintings suggest their costume and equipment were familiar there.[127] Thessalians and Thracians had been known at least since the days of Peisistratus and Miltiades.[128] Young Athenian cavalrymen wore the skin hat, the short, bright, decorated cloak, and the turnover boots of Thracian horsemen.[129] At first sight some of these Athenians might be taken for Thracians. But the vases of the *dokimasia*[130] and even the sculptures of the Parthenon[131] show that it was Athenian citizens who were affecting the costume of the north. And presumably they did so because the clothes suggested the skill, courage and fierceness of these foreigners.

Another look that could be assumed by Greeks was Persian. Pausanias at the very beginning of the century had been so seduced by barbarians that he had taken to wearing their clothes.[132] When Alexander did the same thing two hundred years later he nearly had a rebellion on his hands too. The clothes might have been Persian equipment, trousers, corselet and the familiar Persian turban. Or they might have been the Median costume worn by the Great King and his Immortals on the walls of Pasagardae with extraordinary inserted sleeves in – if the coloured tiles of Susa present them correctly – a contrasting colour and pattern.[133]

Whatever the costume, what the early fifth century Greeks objected to in Persian clothes was not so much weakness and luxury as overweening authority. Persians after all are not weak and self-indulgent in Herodotus, but fierce. The very sight of the Persians is thought to have frightened the Greeks before Marathon.[134] But they were arrogant and authoritarian and Pausanias was condemned for just that. Perhaps this explains the Greek reluctance to tread on good carpet.[135] In my view this is, at least in part, the joke of the *Wasps* when the old man who has been wearing a *tribōn* because he is poor (not because he is laconizing, i.e. affecting to be poor), is persuaded to put on a Persian *kaunakēs*.[136] It was arrogance and tyranny that the costume suggested, not weakness.

Clothes in Athenian society

In the previous section I spoke about the ideas that were associated in the Athenian world with certain kinds of clothes and how people used clothes to convey messages

[125] *Ath. Pol.* 2.7–8. [126] Ar. *Thesm.* 929ff.

[127] G. F. Pinney, 'Achilles Lord of Scythia', ch. 9 of *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*. W. G. Moon, ed. (Wisconsin, 1983), 127–46, collects many illustrations of Scythians in Greek vase painting. There was a late sixth century painter who signed himself Scythes.

[128] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.2, Hdt. 1.64.1. Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 563–4.

[129] A. Fol and I. Mazarov, *Thrace and the Thracians* (New York, 1977), 123–8.

[130] H. A. Cahn, *Revue Archaéologique* 1 (1973), 3–22; *ARV* 648.31, 317.13, 601.21, 324.60, 337.30, 860.8.

[131] Robertson and Frantz, op. cit. (n. 42), North XXXVIII.117 (cap); South XVI.44 (boots).

[132] Thucydides 1.95.1–3 Median dress involved eye liner and rouge, Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.2.

[133] R. Girshman, op. cit. (n. 82), figs. 255 and 190.

[134] Hdt. 6.112.3–113.1, cf. Theognis F 764 (Edmonds i.320).

[135] A. *Ag.* 906–11, Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.30.

[136] Ar. *Wasps* 1122ff. It is true that Philokleon was too hot in the warm cloak and that suggests that it was excessively luxurious. But Bdelykleon is a lakoniser (474–6), haughty φρυαγμοσέμνακος (135) and μοναρχίας ἐραστά (474). Once again (of course) Aristophanes is ready to pick up a laugh whenever he can.

about themselves. Fashion must always be interpreted in this way, by means of the associations that people make between ideas and garments, by some understanding of the language of clothes. But the ideas themselves still require an explanation. Clothing is most fully explicable in the social context that gives importance to one idea rather than another. And therefore, in this final section, I shall consider clothes in the context of Athenian society.

The question posed at the beginning of this article needs now to be reformulated. In the sixth century and earlier, wealthy Athenian men seem to have taken pleasure in fine clothes, and presumably that pleasure was entirely compatible, as it had been in Homer, with military prowess. Indeed it was the visible result of success on the battlefield. Why then did finery lose its association with courage and success and why did poor clothes come to be admired instead? Modern writers suppose it was the fact that easterners had been defeated in war that made the contemporary Greeks of the mainland despise them.[137] But it was the luxury of the east (including the luxury of fine clothes) that came to be despised; and a feeling of contempt for the luxuries of a defeated enemy is by no means an inevitable consequence of victory.

In order to answer the question of the previous paragraph I shall assume that the basis of power shifted in the course of the sixth century. I shall assume that in the earlier period power had been in the hands of noblemen who owned the land,[138] monopolized military power at a time when equipment for fighting was expensive,[139] and exercised political power by means of local cults.[140] At the burials of these men mourners in armour processed with horses and chariots.[141] Jewellery was buried with them in the grave.[142] They were aware of and appreciated the luxuries of the east. They probably played competitive games, as the heroes in Homer had done.[143] And their families supplied priests, performed religious rituals and controlled membership of the phratries.[144] They enhanced their dignity and authority by clothing themselves in finery, such as long linen robes and gold ornaments.

Athenian noblemen did not disappear suddenly. Indeed they did not disappear at all, for they are still visible in Aristophanes and Plato. But the means by which they secured power for themselves, that is, control over cult practices, was under challenge throughout the sixth century and seems only to have been finally removed by the reforms of Cleisthenes. They themselves adapted to the changes that were taking place, transforming their life styles and philosophy.

The factor that seems to have stimulated these changes in the course of the seventh

[137] E. Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford, 1969), 15–16 and M. Lombardo, op. cit. (n. 96) especially 1098 and 1102. Lombardo explains that luxury was seen as acceptable and desirable in the aristocratic society of the archaic period, when ostentatious wealth and consumption marked the status of the individual aristocrat (1082). But he explains the change in feeling, when the word luxurious became pejorative, as being due to the defeat of first the Ionians by the Persians and then the Persians by the mainland Greeks. I too associate luxury with aristocratic society but I explain the change in feeling as being due to internal changes in society.

[138] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London, 1977), 132–5, describes the shift of wealth to the country in the eighth century.

[139] Arist. *Pol.* 1297b16–28.

[140] J. K. Davies, op. cit. (n. 117), 105.

[141] G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art* (Göteborg, 1971), *passim.*

[142] Coldstream, op. cit. (n. 138), 12.

[143] Hesiod, *Works* 651–9.

[144] Davies, op. cit (n. 117), 112–13 mentions signs of the survival of cult power e.g. the influential Eteoboutad of 560 (*Athenian Propertied Families* 9251), Peisistratus' influence over local cults (ibid. 11793 XII), and the fact that Cleisthenes' competitors after 510 B.C. could be characterised by their family cults (Hdt. 5.61.2, 5.66.1).

century (and later in Athens than in other places)[145] was that military strength came to lie with a larger group of hoplite soldiers. The new 'hoplite' city was, and thought of itself as, not an army which followed a leader as the Myrmidons had followed Achilles in the *Iliad*, but a guild of warriors[146] who voluntarily joined together for the defence of the city, whose lives were put at risk year after year in battle, whose wealth was spent for the benefit of the city, and whose time was given to running its administration. Aristocrats who sought political power (and aristocrats continued for a long time to dominate politics) now needed to win the support of these warriors. Cult power was no longer sufficient. In order to appeal to the 'people' men who aspired to be the leaders of the people now needed wealth for public expenditure.

> Large-scale wealth as a power base had to establish itself in the sixth century against cult power in its various forms...[147]

Alcibiades later explained how it could be done.[148] But the leaders could not themselves live in a lavish and expensive manner as aristocrats had done. In private they had to live simply, like everyone else, as befitted warriors.

Of course this summary is extremely schematic. I make no effort here to assess how far it deviates from historical reality or what qualifications have to be made. Its purpose is to provide a framework within which the causes of a change in the style of clothing can be best understood. I would however like to emphasize the slow and gradual nature of the process as well as the complexity of its causes.

It seems to me that clothes responded to the social changes that took place when the old ways of exercising power gradually became ineffective, as the 'hoplite' city developed, a process that is in almost every way known by its results rather than in itself. A 'look' is what all members of the community choose to exhibit at the same time. When the 'look' can be seen to change as it can be in Athens, when wealthy men abandoned the chiton and wore 'moderate' clothes instead, the explanation will lie in changing social structure, life style and values.

Two provisos must be kept in mind. Clothes express an ideal but they do not necessarily tell the truth. Wicked, sedentary, cowardly men might well be wearing monastic habits, jogging suits or uniforms covered with gold braid. Clothes after all are a form of rhetoric. But they do tell us what people want other people to think. Secondly the wearer of clothes may give out a message of which he is not fully aware. He wants the right 'look' but may not know what it means. A 'look' is a communal decision achieved because of an unspoken agreement about what feels 'right'. But even though its meanings are inarticulate and for the most part unconscious, they still exist.

The 'moderate' clothes of fifth century Athenians then seem to me to express four dominant messages. The first is leisure, proclaimed by the unpinned *himation* just as it had been by the luxurious chiton. Warriors, like aristocrats, looked down on having to work for a living.

[145] The earliest evidence for Athenian hoplite warfare is the battle at Sigeum in 610 B.C. between Athenians and Mytileneans at which Alcaeus threw away his shield, F 428 (D. A. Campbell ii.426).

[146] This expression is borrowed from M. Weber (M. Weber, *Economy and Society* ii [California, 1978], a translation of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*), who devised a scheme of ideal types whereby an aristocratic polis gives way to a hoplite polis. 'The ancient polis...from the time of the disciplined hoplite formation was a guild of warriors', p. 1359. Weber makes clear not only what Athenians were, but how they thought of themselves. Clothes are particularly useful here, for they too reveal both the reality and the attitude.

[147] Davies, op. cit. (n. 117), 130.

[148] Thuc. 6.16.1–2, Xen. *Oec.* 2.5–6.

The citizens of a Greek city – ideally at least – belonged to a class that did not work: at home there were serfs and slaves and metics; abroad there were subject cities... They lived by war. They had no time for peaceful work or trade. Political responsibilities and unremitting military duties absorbed their interest and energies.[149]

This observation – inaccurate as it is as an account of everyday life in Athens – is the ideal reflected by the clothes. No-one could work in the big Athenian *himation*, any more than in the long chiton. It makes no odds that when an Athenian had to work he simply took off his cloak.[150] It is the nature of clothes, after all, that they can be put on and taken off. When a man had finished his work and walked abroad, he resumed the garment that occupied his hands. The only thing that he was capable of doing now was watching, listening, talking and taking decisions – that is, the ordinary duties of free men in an ancient city. The clothes enforce and proclaim leisure. In Veblen's words, they communicate it conspicuously.

As well as leisure the 'moderate' clothes signify fitness. Playing competitive sport had been a Homeric pastime. Homeric heroes competed against each other at funerals for example or for amusement, whenever and wherever the occasion provided an opportunity, on the beach, in the *agora* at Phaeacia or before Odysseus' house in Ithaka.[151] It may be that the aristocrats in the archaic world imitated this aspect of Homeric society as they imitated Homeric funerals. The Olympic Games in the eighth century must have been for aristocrats, and so were the invitations that Cleisthenes sent out when he was selecting a husband for his daughter.[152]

In classical times Greek men played the same sports, such as racing, wrestling and throwing the discus, but the institution of sport had been transformed. There now existed, as public buildings, the *gymnasia*, as important a part of the ancient city as the *agora*, temple or theatre. Almost nothing is known of the origins of these organizations but in his detailed study J. Delorme[153] thinks that they appear in the sixth century. The first literary reference seems to be in Theognis *c.* 550 B.C.[154] The first Athenian buildings can be dated to the Peisistratids or the end of the reign of Peisistratus. Public figures of the sixth and fifth centuries contributed further to the building of them. But gymnastics, or at least sport, might well have been conducted before there was a building, in gardens and parks, under the trees, and beside the river – for water and shade are essential for sport.

Delorme believes that the institution of the *gymnasion* and the transformation of the idea of games must be assigned to the formation of the hoplite polis.[155] The men who stood in a phalanx needed to be drilled and the *gymnasion* might well have been the place where they could meet for practice. There are connections between individual *gymnasia* and military life, although there is probably too little evidence to demonstrate any of their original purposes. The nature of the *gymnasia* as public institutions – slaves were forbidden to use them according to a law of Solon but they were open to all citizens[156] – does, however, indicate that sport had a purpose in the classical period, not just for noblemen and their sons, but for an enlarged group of citizens.

[149] J. Hasebroek, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1978), 138–9.

[150] L. M. Stone, op. cit. (n. 55), 156–60 has listed four passage where the cloak has to be removed before action takes place: *Clouds* 497, *Wasps* 408, *Thesm.* 656, 1181. This careful study has given me assistance throughout this article.

[151] *Il.* 22.262–897, 2.773, *Od.* 8.120ff., 17.167–9.

[152] Hdt. 6.126ff.

[153] J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris, 1960), 20.

[154] Fr. 1335–6 (J. M. Edmonds i.394).

[155] Delorme, op. cit. (n. 153), 24–5, although S. C. Humphreys, 'The Nothoi of Kynosarges', *JHS* 93–4 (1974), 90 is more cautious.

[156] Aesch. 1.138, Plut. *Solon* 1.3.

At about the same time as the institution of the *gymnasion* was developing, the international games were increasing in number and popularity. As J. K. Davies points out,[157] between 582 B.C. when the four horse contest was added to the Pythian Games, and the reorganization of the Panathenaic Games in 566 B.C. the opportunities for winning the prize for chariot racing had increased from one in four years to six in four years. Davies suggests that this is an indication of the political changes that were taking place and the increasing importance of ostentatious spending by the competitors. The winners were not given valuable prizes as the Homeric heroes had been, only a simple wreath. But they did receive the enthusiastic admiration of the whole body of their fellow citizens. Not only was an enlarged group of citizens now involved in sport themselves, they were also expecting their leaders to win in competition against the leaders of other cities.

In Homer and on some early vase paintings men played sport with something wrapped around their loins. Only 'recently', say Thucydides and Plato,[158] had they started to take off their clothes – and so call the name of the place where they played sport *gymnasion*. Thucydides associated nudity with the more Spartan fashion. After the exercise the men who were watching or waiting for their turn would naturally put their cloaks around their bodies, in the way that a bath towel is worn at the beach. What they would not be inclined to do at the *gymnasion* is to wear a chiton. For a chiton is fussy to take off or put on. In fact a man wearing the pinned variety must have needed a friend or a slave to help him dress. An aristocrat may not have objected to the fuss but the citizens of a 'hoplite' city would. The plain *himation* was a much more sensible garment for the *gymnasion*.

From the end of the seventh century artists had been drawing the naked human body more and more successfully, decorating vases with scenes from myth, but also copying scenes from everyday life, men fighting, making love to each other and to women, riding horses, and playing sport. In their painting of these scenes, the artists seem to be interpreting a 'look' for the public, the look of the naked body and that body in interaction with a piece of cloth, portraying that 'look' in an idealized way so that when men dressed themselves, they had the artists' image in their minds.[159] In this way fashion and art influenced each other and fashion derived, as so often men's fashions are, from sport, favoured the 'look' that suggested youth, health, fitness and athletic success. Not everyone could have the body of a fit young man. Not everyone could be free from drudgery. But everyone could put on these clothes and thus achieve the right look which now, in this new society, was a more desirable look than the one that suggested wealth and power.

A third message carried by Athenian clothes was equality. For equality was one of the primary characteristics of the hoplite state. When the Spartans had brought about their revolution, they called themselves the *homoioi* – in theory equal, although in practice inequalities emerged. And after the reforms of Cleisthenes, although in

[157] Davies, op. cit. (n. 117), 102–5.

[158] Thuc. 1.6.5, Plato, *Rep.* 452d, Athen. 1.14e. Pythagoras the Samian boxer attended the Olympic Games in 588/7 in a purple cloak with long hair (Diog. Laert. 8.47), but his appearance was not unremarked.

[159] A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York, 1978), 452–3, 'When people put clothes on their bodies, they are primarily engaged in making pictures of themselves to suit their own eyes, out of the completed combination of clothing and body. The people who do this most readily are those living in civilizations in which the naturalistic image of man is the cornerstone of art, and the pictures they make when they dress are directly connected with the pictures they ordinarily use and accept as real.'

reality there were still significant inequalities within the citizen group, Athenian citizens were also, in theory, equal in political status and law.

In the political philosophy of the fifth century equality was discussed as an ideal. Herodotus speaks of *ἰσονομία* in the speech he gives to Otanes.[160] Thucydides has Athenagoras praise equality in Sicily and attributes thoughts upon it to Pericles.[161] Euripides reflects the contemporary debate in his plays.[162] Lycophron and Antiphon both seem to deny that high and low birth have any significance or importance.[163]

These are theories and ideas. Whatever value was given to equality in theory, it does seem that in everyday life in Athens, in spite of the continued existence and influence of aristocrats and oligarchs, equality was taken very seriously indeed. The system of selection by lot acts on the assumption, as Protagoras points out in Plato's dialogue,[164] that all men are equally capable of performing civic duties.

Even on the field of battle where, in our society, discipline is enforced very strictly and with good reason, the citizen militia of the ancient polis tolerated little discipline or authority. In Sparta, where the stick of the officer marked him out as superior (I know of no equivalent mark of status in Athens), being a regent of the king did not save Pausanias from having to sit up all night before the battle of Plataea, persuading a subordinate, the unforgettable Amompharetos, to join in a tactical withdrawal.[165] This same Pausanias was condemned for being *δυσπρόσοδος*.[166] Just how approachable a general had to be is revealed by Theophrastus' caricature of an officious man who goes up to a general and asks when he means to give battle and what is the password for the day after tomorrow.[167] Phocion later and more seriously is supposed to have said in understandable exasperation. *Ὦ Ἡράκλεις... ὡς πολλοὺς ὁρῶ στρατηγούς, ὀλίγους δὲ στρατιώτας*.[168]

Absence of almost all formal authority in society, even on the battlefield, is confirmed by the clothes. There were no special laws as there were sometimes in mediaeval cities forbidding people to wear clothes other than those of their station in life. Aristocrats no longer wore luxurious clothes which distinguished them from ordinary men. The arrangement of the *himation* indicated good breeding, but the garment itself revealed nothing. So far from suggesting rank or prestige, the everyday clothes of poor Athenians were the same sort of clothes that slaves wore.[169] The quality of the cloth might differentiate rich and poor – not the laconizing rich, however, or

[160] 3.80.1–6. Equality is discussed by W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* iii.148–55.

[161] 6.38.5–39.1 and 2.37.1.

[162] *Supp.* 404, *Dictys* F 336.

[163] Antiphon, DK 87 B 44b; Lycophron, quoted by Aristotle, F 91, Sir David Ross, *Translation of the Works of Aristotle*, 59.

[164] *Prot.* 322c ff.

[165] Hdt. 9.53.2ff.

[166] Thuc. 1.130.2.

[167] *Char.* 13.7.

[168] Plut. *Phoc.* 25.1. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.4–5 and W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* (Berkeley, 1974), ii.243–5.

[169] PS-Xen. 1.10. Women slaves are more likely to be recognized by their short hair, as in *ARV* 372,32, where the hair is also blond. C. Bluemel, *Greek Sculptors at Work*, (London, 1969), pl. 1 shows a lovely sculpture of a slave girl Mynno whose hair is short but whose clothes are exactly the same as any other Athenian woman (Berlin Mus. 737). Ehrenberg, op. cit. (n. 18), 184 quotes Phrynicus 2D 'Do not dress like a slave'. But 'looking like a free person' is used metaphorically, rather than literally, so frequently (see n. 48 and n. 114 above) that I cannot suppose this is literal either. There is also the occasion (Isaeus 5.11) when Dikaiogenes is supposed to have reproached Cephisidotus for wearing a *tribōn* and *embades*, after he himself had defrauded him of wealth. This certainly looks as if poor clothes were socially unrespectable, and maybe, by this date, they had become so. Of course at no period could a poor man afford

philosophers – but slave and free could be either rich or poor and so might wear good or bad quality clothes. Sometimes a slave occupation can be detected in vase painting, like a *paidagōgos* carrying a boy's lyre.[170] But he is always wearing a *himation* like everyone else.

Just as equality was an ideal so was the sense of thinking alike, *homonoia*, which bound the system together and made a formal hierarchy unnecessary. The great threat to the ancient *polis* was not so much enemies from abroad but *stasis* within. Athens tolerated much diversity of opinion, unlike Sparta which made a point of keeping out foreign notions, but the fragments of fifth-century writing as well as the better known fourth-century philosophers show how important *homonoia* was thought to be. Antiphon wrote a book about it[171] and Gorgias spoke about it at Olympia.[172] Both Democritus and Euripides praised its good effect.[173]

The danger that most threatened the *homonoia* of the city was private wealth. For it is clear that differences of wealth were the most divisive aspect of Athenian society. Opposition between the handful of men in the liturgical class and the poor majority was noticed by poets, philosophers and legislators. Both Plato and Aristotle showed their awareness of the problem although neither of them was prepared to advocate complete equality of property, as the otherwise unknown philosopher Phaleas apparently did,[174] and as the Spartan ideal required. Twentieth century historians have also noticed that opposition between rich and poor was pervasive and had political and social implications.

Pour la pensée traditionnelle, encore imprégnée d'éthique aristocratique, richesse et pauvreté sont moins des concepts économiques que des concepts sociaux.[175]

Faced with this conflict and its potential for disaster the Athenian system had developed mechanisms to disarm it. The huge apparatus of the modern state for equalization of income did not exist. But a rich man was expected to spend his wealth in certain ways. He could let the poorer man have the use of it by giving or lending. Ransoming prisoners, paying for funerals and endowing brides are all mentioned as honourable expenditures on behalf of others.[176] Pericles is supposed to have claimed

to make a grand gesture. A poor man had to wear poor clothes. Only a small group of rich men could choose to dress like the poor. But the nuance here is hard to be sure of. Was the orator accusing Dikaiogenes of being a snob as well as a cheat?

[170] E.g. *ARV* 671,9.

[171] DK 87 B 44a. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.5.16, 4.4.16, Plato, *Cleitophon*, Arist. *EN* 1155a22ff, 1167a24, *EE* 1241a15ff., 1234b22.

[172] DK 82 B 8a. The fragment does not disclose whether Gorgias was recommending *homonoia* between cities or within the city. References to *homonoia* in Greek thought are to be found in A. Momigliano, *CQ* 36 (1942), 119 n. 1 and n. 3, and O. Murray, *CQ* NS 16 (1966), 370 n. 2.

[173] Democritus, DK 68 B 249, 250 and 255, E. *Phoin.* 535–40

κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον,
Ἰσότητα τιμᾶν, ἢ φίλους ἀεὶ φίλοις
πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμάχοις
συνδεῖ· τὸ γὰρ ἴσον μόνιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ.

Most of the manuscripts read *νόμιμον* rather than *μόνιμον*. The emendation by Valckenaer is based upon Plutarch's quotation of the passage (*Moralia* 481 a), a reading strengthened by 484b.

[174] Arist. *Pol.* 1266a39ff.; cf. 1267b9.

[175] E. Will, *Le Monde grecque et l'orient*, I. *le Ve. siècle* (Paris, 1972), 675–6.

[176] M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500–200 B.C.* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1951), 85, 100 distinguished *eranos* loans from interest-bearing loans. R. Oakshott, *The Case for Worker's Co-ops* (London, 1978), 173 describes the Basque drinking club, the *chiquito*, where honour and trust control relationships between members.

that the Athenians alone lent fearlessly 'with the trust that belongs to free men'.[177] Democritus spelt out the social benefits of the rich lending freely to the poor.[178] The Anonymous Iamblichi saw similar good effects flowing from trust.[179] By means of πίστις all goods are held in common and a little is enough for everyone. Isocrates spoke of the days, far off by this time, when rich and poor had loved each other.[180]

If the rich man did not lend or give his surplus to his fellow citizens then he could spend it on a liturgy from which everyone would benefit. These liturgies were not charities any more than the gifts given by one Homeric hero to another were charitable. They were donations to the citizen body. The political purpose of such gifts has been frequently described.[181] An ambitious politician in fifth century Athens needed wealth to make ostentatious expenditures that would win him public acclaim. Cimon gave the fruit of his fields to anyone who wished to pick it, and it was said of Cimon too that he went accompanied by young men who were willing to exchange their clothes with any passing stranger.

In this society where the wealth of the group as a whole was felt to belong to individuals in the group in a very special way, public consumption was not only perfectly acceptable but positively required. The tribute, says Isocrates, was paraded in the theatre at the Great Dionysia.[182] The Parthenon was lavish, huge and built to impress. The Sicilian expedition according to Thucydides was the most lavish that had ever been sent out by a single city up to that time.[183] A rich man was supposed to serve the state with horses and chariots for warfare and for the games, with trierarchies, and with a fine show on public occasions like drama festivals and processions. Fine clothes on occasions like these were perfectly acceptable. It was not fine clothes in general that were condemned.

But almost all forms of personal spending were condemned. Private houses at Olynthus were beginning to be a bit luxurious in the fourth century, and Demosthenes complains about that kind of thing happening in Athens. He seems to have good authority, however, for saying that the houses of Miltiades and Aristides were no better than anyone else's. He denounces Meidias for building himself a big house, driving his wife in a carriage, having attendants in the marketplace and 'naming dishes' in a voice that other people could hear (but the dishes were ceramic, not gold and silver).[184] If behaviour such as this had been acceptable or common there would have been no point in complaining about it in court.

Inside the houses there is little indication that furniture was luxurious.[185] W. K. Pritchett[186] who has studied the furniture of wealthy Hermokopidai says that their furniture was meagre:

[177] Thuc. 2.40.4–5.

[178] DK 68 B 255.

[179] DK 89 B 7.1. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1267a2, *Rhet.* 1387a8–16, *Prob.* 950a28.

[180] 7.31–5.

[181] W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens* (New Jersey, 1971), 18–22, and P. Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque* (Paris, 1976), esp. 186–200. Veyne distinguishes carefully between 'les dons à la collectivité', and archaic liberality to 'clients' (p. 187).

[182] 8.82.

[183] 6.31.1.

[184] 21.158–9; cf. Lysias 27.9–10.

[185] G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (Oxford, 1926).

[186] 'The Attic Stelai', *Hesperia* (1939), 22, 225–9, and 25, 178–317 *passim* and especially p. 210. Lysias 19.27–30 mentions the lack of possessions in the houses of comparatively wealthy Athenians. Xen. *Por.* 4.7 says that when someone has enough furniture he certainly would not want to buy more.

Our record of the sale of confiscated furniture seems to show that there was little sense of personal luxury in Athens in the last quarter of the fifth century.

The Hermokopidai had houses, land, money, slaves, farm produce, clothes. Their property is itemized with great particularity: shoes, a parasol, a cowshed door, a ladder, even pieces of firewood and rags are mentioned. But they had no jewellery, no good clothes, no works of art (unless the πίνακες were works of art), no fine pottery, no bronze or gold or silver plate except possibly one cup. Pritchett even suggests that the tablets might be a record of the property of laconizers, although that was not Alcibiades' style, not at this time of his life anyway.

It has been suggested that the Hermokopidai took their property to Sicily. Although they did not know that they would be condemned when they left, they might have guessed that they would be, and taken what they could carry. I would be more persuaded that that was the case if there were evidence of luxurious private consumption elsewhere. M. Vickers[187] has recently suggested that it is only an accident, of the kind to which gold and silver are particularly prone, that we have no examples of gold and silver plate from Athens. He quotes some literary passages[188] which suggest that the meagre relics give the wrong impression and that silver plate was commonly used.

It is clear that silver cups and vessels were used for religious ritual and were dedicated in the temple. But the evidence for private use is particularly poor. Socrates did not necessarily drink out of a silver cup at the *Symposium*,[189] as Vickers claims. In Plato he drank out of a large *phiale*, and it is only in Athenaeus that a silver well is mentioned, as a proverbial expression.[190] Lysias had four silver cups in his chest when the Thirty sent for him, to be sure.[191] But four cups were not enough for guests, unless they all drank out of the same cup as they did at the end of the *Symposium*, and there is nothing to suggest that Lysias' cups were not for ritual rather than household use.

It is true as Vickers and Thompson[192] say that human beings have always loved fine things. And no doubt there were people, such as Alcibiades, who collected and enjoyed them in Athens in spite of public condemnation of such behaviour. But the contrast with Rome is very striking. There were no *piscinarii* in Athens. There are no equivalents of the gardens of Lucullus, the slaves of Pedanius Secundus,[193] the dinners of Trimalchio, the fantasy palaces of the Bay of Naples. Speaking of Athens, Veyne quotes the memorable phrase of an unnamed student, 'cette pauvre luxe, cette luxe des pauvres'.[194]

Athens was a poorer society than Rome. But it is not the case that these ambitions

[187] 'Artful Crafts: the influence of metalwork on Athenian painted pottery', *JHS* 105 (1985), 108–28.

[188] Plut. *Alc.* 4 speaks of Alcibiades robbing a friend of gold and silver plate. But Plutarch is a late source, the story sounds like folklore, and as he was writing for a Roman audience he may have had to dress the story up a bit.

[189] *Sym.* 223c. On this occasion it is the size of the container that is emphasized because Plato wants to bring out the ability of Socrates to drink heavily without becoming drunk. When Alcibiades first comes into the room he drinks out of the mixing bowl. At the end three drinkers are left drinking out of a common, large *phiale*. Nothing is said about its quality. See M. G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece* (Queensland, 1983), 116–17.

[190] 5.192a. [191] 12.11.

[192] Vickers, op. cit. (n. 187), 114; and D. B. Thompson, op. cit. (n. 74), 313, 'It is possible that we now underestimate the amount of decorative metalwork.'

[193] Tac. *Ann.* 14.43. Wealthy Athenians like Nicias had numerous slaves but they were industrial slaves. Household slaves, who are not productive, are more honourable than slaves who bring in a profit. [194] Veyne, op. cit. (n. 181), 198.

existed and were satisfied on a smaller scale. In Athens there was nothing like this sort of private ambition. There was a group of rich men who could have afforded small luxuries like fine clothes. But this group did not take advantage of its opportunities to display wealth conspicuously. When rich and foolish young men spent their money unwisely, they bought perfume, gave presents to *hetairai*, or imported food.[195] But in general rich Athenians, in their private lives at least, did not spend on private luxury. This may have been bad for the developing economy ('The more stitches, the less riches'[196] is philosophy for a later economy), but it was good politics. They were *homines politici* rather than *homines economici.*

And the same rule applies to their clothes. Athenian clothes are 'equal' in the sense that they are designed not to be divisive and therefore not to show off wealth or reveal a man's ability to consume wealth conspicuously. So marked is this moderate style that when in the eighteenth century ostentation in clothes became undesirable, perhaps even dangerous, the fashion for female clothes made a sudden change. Fashion usually changes slowly, but there was urgent need for a complete change and the clothes that women began to wear were the clothes of the Greeks, which suggested dignity, self-restraint and absence of social distinction, even though they were, ironically, Ionian chitons.[197]

There were important social changes in Athens in the fifth century. But these changes did not lead to a change in the style of clothing. There was an increase in empire and the revenues of empire. But these new funds do not seem to have led to any marked increase in private luxury. It is true that many people now had state pay, including rowers in the fleet. But they were not mercenaries. They were free citizens devoting themselves to public service. The payments ensured an honourable alternative to drudgery, but they were not large gains that could lead to any extravagance.

The new funds were not brought home as booty by a victorious general. They were contributions by allies to a common fund, or at least that was what the rhetoric maintained. They were administered by servants of the state. Ostentatious display would have looked like corruption. Aristophanes has a public official who wears rags, and a fine chiton underneath the rags.[198] The so-called new politicians were now advising the people on the conduct of affairs. They did not need to use their own money or advertise their wealth to win personal support as politicians had had to in the past. They could use state funds to make themselves popular. Popularity could be better won with a poor but honest look.

When men became rich suddenly, as they did in the fourth century and may have done in the fifth, there were various explanations, as V. N. Andreyev describes.[199] But, he adds, ordinary farming or mining activities which he classes as productive activities, were not among them. Instead the riches were likely to be presents from foreign rulers, for example, or the fruits of sycophancy or litigation, the sort of activity that citizens disapproved of. Thus there was another motive for clothes to be moderate.

[195] K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974) speaks of extravagance: 'Predominant moral sentiment was hostile to expenditure on gambling, good food, sexual enjoyment, or any kind of consumption which only gratified the consumer', p. 179.

[196] A. Huxley, *Brave New World* (London, 1977), 102. I owe this quotation to J. S. Askew.

[197] J. Laver, *A Concise History of Costume* (London, 1986) 148, 'It would be instructive for the student of costume to compare two sets of fashion plates such as those in La Gallerie des Modes and those of Heideloff's Gallery of Fashion...Although a gap of a mere ten years separates these two publications, the clothes depicted in them are entirely different. What had happened in the meantime, of course, was the French Revolution.'

[198] *Frogs* 1067, cf. *Peace* 1008–9.

[199] See N. Andreyev, *Eirene* 12 (1974), 24.

There was a great increase in trade in the fifth century and by the end of the century there was a new range of activities for making money, like banking. But wealth from this source could not be endorsed by men who thought of themselves primarily as fighters, whose survival depended on equality and like-mindedness. Money-making was *chrēmatistikē*,[200] a private ambition. It had the appearance of one citizen profiting at the expense of the others and so dividing the group. It was the exploitation of citizens by one of their own, rather than a common sharing of resources. And so while making money in this way was not forbidden and obviously citizens engaged in it, it was not something that people wanted to boast about publicly through their clothes.

Meanwhile the democracy had greater powers than ever before. When, towards the end of the century, the profits of empire began to decline, the people looked with longing at the wealth of the wealthy. The Athenians did not confiscate land or cancel debts. But still, what had in earlier times been, at least in theory, entirely voluntary and likely to bring political gains, could now be enforced either by law or by public opinion. Weber described the attitudes of the *polis* towards private possessions:

> All accumulations of burgher wealth of any significance were subject to the claims of the polis of Democracy. The liturgical duties...the forced loans in emergency situations...the Attic institution of antidosis, all these subjected bourgeois accumulation of wealth to great instability.[201]

Demosthenes[202] said what everyone knew, that ultimately the wealth of an individual was at the service of the state. There was now, therefore, every incentive for a rich man to conceal his wealth, to render it invisible and so retain the power of disposing it. In these circumstances he would be unlikely to wear it conspicuously.

Conclusion

Why then did the Athenians give up wearing luxurious clothes and take to a sober style at the time of their greatest prosperity? Aristotle understood the nature of clothes. καὶ ἐνίοτε ἀλαζονεία φαίνεται, οἷον ἡ τῶν Λακώνων ἐσθής· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἡ λίαν ἔλλειψις ἀλαζονικόν.[203] Athenian clothes boasted the characteristics that seemed desirable in the world of the classical city state. The citizens of these city states were proud of being leisured, fit – fighting fit one might say – equal and like-minded, and that is the message that the clothes are meant to communicate. Whether or not the boast was justified by the realities of Athenian life, it is important for historians to understand that it is these qualities, rather than wealth or status, that Athenians chose to boast about.

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[200] *Pol.* 1256b26ff.
[201] Op. cit. (n. 146) 1361.
[202] 14.24, Isaeus 7.39–40.
[203] *EN* 1127b27–9