

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE MACEDONIAN KAUSIA

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In the course of history, the attire of kings has carried symbolic and propagandistic significance. So it was, in antiquity, with the Persian and Hellenistic kings. Before Alexander the Great, the kings of the Macedonians did not have an exclusively royal dress. This changed with Alexander in Asia.¹ According to E. Neuffer, after the death of Darius in the summer of 330 B.C., Alexander adopted several royal attires, which he wore on different occasions, the most important being a mixed Macedonian-Persian garb, and also the complete royal costume of the Achaemenid kings (with the possible exception of the dentate crown).² Against this view, H. Berve argued that, after Darius' death, Alexander assumed as his main costume the royal attire of the Achaemenids, but that after the *proskynesis* debacle in 327 B.C., in the face of Macedonian opposition, he switched to the mixed Macedonian-Persian dress.³ But recently, H. W. Ritter has shown that after Darius' death Alexander adopted only one representative royal costume, the mixed Macedonian-Persian dress, and maintained it throughout his career.⁴ We read in Eratosthenes (*FGrH* 241 F 30 = Plut. *Mor.* 329F-330A) that Alexander "rejected the outlandish and theatrical varieties of barbarian attire, such as the tiara and the long-sleeved upper garment (*kandyn*) and the baggy trousers (*anaxyridas*), but wore a dress that was a mixture of Persian and Macedonian elements" (ἐκ τοῦ Περσικοῦ καὶ Μακεδονικοῦ τρόπου μειγμένην τινα στολήν ἐφόρει).⁵ What did this dress consist of?

¹ In October 331 B.C., after the battle at Gaugamela, Alexander was proclaimed (by the Army Assembly?), or perhaps proclaimed himself, King of Asia (Plut. *Alex.* 34).

² E. Neuffer, *Das Kostüm Alexanders des Grossen* (Giessen 1929) 35-38.

³ H. Berve, "Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Grossen," *Klio* 31 (1938) 148-50. Berve concludes: "Politisch würde darin ein Übergang von einer zweigeteilten Herrschaft zu einer beide Teile in sich verschmelzenden einheitlichen Herrschaft zum Ausdruck kommen" (150).

⁴ H. W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* (Munich and Berlin 1965) 41-55.

⁵ Similarly Plut. *Alex.* 45 (probably also from Eratosthenes) says that Alexander "did not adopt the notorious Median fashion of dress, which was altogether barbaric and

In his pamphlet *On the Death of Hephaestion and Alexander*, Ephippus of Olynthus, a contemporary of Alexander and known for his hostility toward him, with reference to his last period criticizes him for his luxurious and arrogant ways, and states in particular that Alexander on certain occasions would don the costumes of deities, as of Ammon, Artemis, and Hermes. Into this account he inserts that "otherwise, in fact just about every day, [Alexander wore] a purple chlamys and a chiton with a white central stripe and a kausia with the royal diadem" (τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, χλαμύδα τε πορφυρᾶν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον καὶ τὴν κανσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν) (FGrH 126 F 5 = Athen. 12.537E–538B). Clearly, Ephippus, unlike Eratosthenes, regarded Alexander's mixed dress in the same way as his divine costumes, that is, as pompous and inappropriate. The reason is easy to see. Even more than most Greeks, he condemned Alexander's adoption of Persian ways, and regarded the mixed dress, in place of the traditional all-Macedonian garb, as a conspicuous example of it. Nevertheless, it appears that Ephippus has preserved for us the sole surviving description of the mixed Macedonian-Persian costume which Alexander adopted after the death of Darius.⁶ In this costume, the chiton and diadem were Persian.⁷ The chlamys and kausia are considered Macedonian.

Recently, however, B. M. Kingsley has tried to show that the kausia and probably also the Macedonian chlamys and the boots, called *krêpides*, derived not from Macedonia, but from Northwest India. She demonstrates a close similarity between the ancient kausia as we know it from the archaeological and literary evidence, and a cap worn today by men in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Nuristan called *chitrali*, and likewise she points to some similarity between the chlamys and the *krepidēs* of the ancient Macedonians, and a cape and boots worn today by men who also wear the kausia-like cap. She holds that none of these articles can be shown to have existed in Macedonia and the West before Alexander's campaign to the East, while afterward their attestation becomes plentiful. Accordingly, she draws attention to information in Diodorus 17.94.2 that before reaching the Hyphasis (Beas) in the Punjab in Sep-

strange, nor adopted the baggy trousers, or the long-sleeved upper garment, or the tiara, but prudently chose one that was a mixture between the Persian and the Median (ἀλλὰ ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μιγάμενος εὖ πως), less pretentious than the one, more stately than the other." Coraes and Schmieder have proposed emendation of *Μηδικῆς* to *Μακεδονικῆς* (reported by K. Ziegler in his Teubner text of 1968), no doubt correctly. Cf. Berve (above, note 3) 148, note 4 and esp. Neuffer (above, note 2) 36.

⁶ F. Jacoby notes (*Komm.* 126 T, p. 438): "[Ephippus] zeigt bei aller feindseligkeit doch eine so bemerkenswerte kenntnis der vorgänge in Alexanders hauptquartier . . . , dass man seine anwesenheit dort mindestens seit herbst 324 annehmen möchte."

⁷ *Chiton*: Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.13; Diod. 17.77.5; Curt. 3.3.17. Cf. Arr. 4.7.4; 4.9.9; 7.6.2; 7.8.2; Curt. 6.6.4; Plut. *Alex.* 45. *Diadem*: Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.13; Diod. 17.77.5; Curt. 3.3.19; 6.6.4; Plut. *Mor.* 173C; 488D; Just. 12.3.8.

tember 326 B.C., the Macedonians were compelled by losses of their own clothing from weather and wear to adopt (some) Indian garments. She therefore concludes that the kausia (both the cap and the name for it), and probably also the chlamys and the krepides, did not exist in the West before Alexander but, in accordance with the testimony of Diodorus, were obtained by him and his men in Northwest India and brought back to the West, where they soon became widely popular.⁸

This thesis is of more than antiquarian interest. If it is correct, it means, among other things, that Alexander and his Macedonians, at least a great many of them, abandoned their traditional Macedonian cap and mantle (for they must have had them) to adopt those of the Indians, and Alexander's royal costume henceforth consisted not of Macedonian and Persian, but of Persian and Indian elements. It would then be the *all-barbarian* nature of Alexander's costume which drew the ire of Ehippus. The question is of considerable interest, especially for our understanding of Alexander's conception of his new Asiatic kingship.

First, let us consider Kingsley's key passage. With reference to Alexander's observations on the plight of the Macedonians, and their refusal to march beyond the Hyphasis, Diodorus 17.94.1–3 writes:

ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῖς συνεχέσι στρατείαις καταπεπονημένους . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἑλληνικὸν ἱματισμὸν ἐκλελοιπέναι, συναναγκάζεσθαι δὲ βαρβαρικοῖς ὑφάσμασι χρῆσθαι, συντεμόντας τὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περιβλήματα· κατὰ τύχην δὲ καὶ χειμῶνες ἄγριοι κατερράγησαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ βρονταὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατέσκηπτον.

Seeing that his soldiers were suffering under the hardships of constant campaigning . . . , their Greek clothing was quite gone, and they were forced to use barbarian dress, recutting the wraps of the Indians. It so happened, also, that heavy rains had been pouring down on them for 70 days, with constant thunder and lightning.

See also Curtius 9.3.10–11, from an appeal by Coenus to Alexander not to proceed further:

Vestem Persicam induti, quia domestica subvehi non potest, in externum degeneravimus cultum.

Dressed in Persian attire, because our own cannot be supplied to us from home, we have been reduced to the ways of the barbarians.

⁸ B. Kingsley, "The Cap That Survived Alexander," *AJA* 85 (1981) 39–46 with pl. 6, figs. 1–4 (hereafter: "Cap"); id., "The 'Chitrali'—a Macedonian Import to the West," *Afghanistan Journal* 8 (1981) 90–93 with figs. 1–4 (hereafter: "Chitrali"); id., "The Kausia Diadematosphoros," *AJA* 88 (1984) 66–68 with pl. 24, fig. 2 (hereafter: "Kausia"). See also the excellent photographs of Afghan guerillas wearing the "chitrali" on the cover of *Maclean's*, Dec. 24, 1984, and on p. 25 of the same issue.

Although both of these passages, and *a fortiori* that of Curtius, occur in rhetorical contexts (probably the source—directly or indirectly—is Clitarchus), there is nothing intrinsically implausible about the information.⁹ And the statements are not mutually exclusive. Curtius' phrase *vestem Persicam* suggests that at least many of the rank and file all along, especially after the extension of the war into the Upper Provinces, with increasing difficulty of supplies from home, had to make do with native garments. But no doubt the clothing problem became acute in India, with the onset of the monsoons. The Macedonians reached the Hyphasis in early September 326 B.C. As Diodorus points out, they had been marching, under great hardships, through the rains for some 70 days.¹⁰ But some four months earlier, when they arrived at Taxila, in middle or late April, they had still been in good shape.¹¹ According to Kingsley's thesis, however, they must have adopted the kausia, chlamys, and krepides *before* this date, for we happen to know that Onesicritus at this time wore them on his visit to the gymnosophists (see below). The proposition that a highly placed person on Alexander's staff already by this time had been reduced to wearing barbarian (Indian) dress is not very convincing. Thus, Kingsley's theory is weakened by the discrepancy in time between the Macedonian arrival at the Hyphasis in September 326 (the point of time to which Diodorus refers) and the attestation of the Macedonian kausia at least four months *before* this time.

Next, is it in fact true that there is no compelling evidence for the Macedonian kausia before Alexander? The archaeological evidence, it must be acknowledged, seems inconclusive.¹² There is very little of it, and what there is does not allow a sure distinction between kausia, the Greek *petasos*, and yet other varieties of cap.¹³ But we should beware of making an argument from silence. The paucity of the evidence may be attributable to the fact that before the Hellenistic age things Macedonian did not attract much attention in the Greek world. Certainly, the Macedonians, whom the Greeks regarded as barbarians, did not set fashions.

⁹ However, N. G. L. Hammond, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great. The so-called Vulgate authors, Diodorus, Justin and Curtius* (Cambridge 1983), considers Coenus' speech in Curtius Clitarchus' invention (151) and is skeptical about the information in Diodorus (63).

¹⁰ Cf. Aristobulus, *FGrH* 139 F 35 = Strabo 15.691; Strabo 15.697. F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse* (Vienna 1973) 435, note 528, gives a helpful bibliography of modern studies on the climate and geography of the Punjab. See also, most recently, P. Vesilind, "Monsoons," *National Geographic* 166 (Dec. 1984) 712–47.

¹¹ Arr. 5.8.2–3; Diod. 17.86–87; Curt. 8.12.4–16; Plut. *Alex.* 59.

¹² Kingsley, "Cap" 39: "No depiction of the cap can be securely dated earlier than [325/24 B.C.]."

¹³ For the evidence, see von Netoliczka, *RE* 11 (1921) 90–93; Kingsley, "Cap" 40–42. H. W. Ritter has recently proposed that the gold-plated silver circlet found at Vergina in the tomb thought to be that of Philip II represents a kausia-band: "Zum sogenannten Diadem des Philippsgrabs," *AA* 1984 (Heft 1) 110–11.

This changed with Alexander. Now the Macedonians were world-conquerors and, as usually happens in comparable circumstances, their customs and fashions became objects of interest and often imitation. This, then, could account for the sudden proliferation of evidence for the kausia after Alexander's conquest of the East.¹⁴

Let us turn to the literary evidence.¹⁵ Seven passages require scrutiny. It seems best to treat them chronologically, by order of event.

1. In 336/5 B.C., Darius' mercenary commander Memnon of Rhodes, in an attempt to counter Macedonian operations in Asia Minor, made a sudden move against Cyzicus, a Macedonian ally, in the hope of taking it by surprise (Diod. 17.7.3; Polyæn. 5.44.5).

Μέμνων Κυζικηνοῖς ἐπιὼν τῇ κεφαλῇ καυσίαν ἐπέθετο Μακεδονικήν, αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνες. (Polyæn. 5.44.5)

When Memnon moved against Cyzicus, he put on the Macedonian kausia, both he himself and his commanders.

Polyænus continues that the Cyziceniens, observing their appearance from the walls as they approached, thought the Macedonian Calas, their friend and ally, had arrived in their support, and opened the gates to receive them. They discovered their mistake in the nick of time, and closed the gates. Memnon then contented himself with laying waste the countryside (cf. Diod. 17.7.8).

The ruse is in character for the resourceful Memnon, who moreover had spent some years at Philip's court in Pella, and knew Macedonian customs well (Diod. 16.52.3). The source of the information is almost certainly Clitarchus.¹⁶ For our purpose, it is unimportant whether it is accurate or not, or even whether it was reported by Clitarchus in good faith. What is important is that Clitarchus in relating it took it for granted that the kausia was the traditional Macedonian headdress, and, as a contemporary of these events, he certainly would know.¹⁷ According to this information, then, the kausia was well known in 336 B.C. as a traditional Macedonian headdress.¹⁸

¹⁴ For evidence of the kausia in the Hellenistic age, see now also D. B. Thompson, *Troy. The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Excavations conducted by the University of Cincinnati, Supplementary Monograph 3 (Princeton 1963) 53–55, with additional references.

¹⁵ Kingsley, "Cap" 39: "No kausia is mentioned in Greek literature before 325/24 B.C." In "Kausia" 67, Kingsley revises this date to the spring of 326 B.C. (Onesicritus' visit to the gymnosophists). Cf. note 19, below.

¹⁶ J. Melber, "Über die Quellen und den Wert der Stratagemensammlung Polyäns," *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Suppl. Bd. 14 (1885) 648f.

¹⁷ The precise dates of Clitarchus are unknown, but we do know that his father, the historian Dinon, composed a history of Persia which went down at least to 344 B.C. (F. Jacoby, *RE* 11 [1921] 622).

¹⁸ Kingsley (above, note 8) does not adduce this passage.

2. Onesicritus of Astypalaea, who took part in Alexander's expedition as a member of his staff, relates in his book on Alexander that, in the spring of 326 B.C., near Taxila (some 25 miles east of the Indus), he was given an assignment by Alexander to interview the Indian gymnosophists who resided in the area (Onesicritus, *FGrH* 134 T 4, and F 17 = Strabo 15.1.63–65 and Plut. *Alex.* 65).

As he approached one of the gymnosophists, Calanus, saying (through an interpreter) that he wished to hear his teachings, the Indian laughed at him, *ιδόντα δ' ἐκείνον χλαμύδα καὶ καυσίαν φοροῦντα καὶ κρηπίδα* (when he saw chlamys and kausia and krepides) and bade him to strip and lie down naked if he wished to hear his teachings. (Onesicritus, *FGrH* 134 F 17A = Strabo 15.1.64; cf. F 17B = Plut. *Alex.* 65)

Onesicritus was intrigued with the ascetic life style of the gymnosophists, which included their nudity. This interest occasioned the mention of his dress, since Calanus ordered him (or so Onesicritus understood) to take it off. Thus, Onesicritus mentions his dress quite *en passant*, as in itself nothing noteworthy. Surely, it was his normal attire as a member of Alexander's expedition. As we have already noted, it is hard to imagine that a distinguished emissary on an important mission would have been decked out in barbarian garb. Otherwise, we may expect, he would have remarked on it.¹⁹

3. In 321 B.C. in Asia Minor, Neoptolemus, a veteran of Alexander's campaigns and then satrap of Armenia, deserted Perdiccas' lieutenant Eumenes of Cardia to join the Macedonian marshals Craterus and Antipater, recently arrived from Macedonia, partly because the Macedonian infantry under his command were reluctant to fight them. But, in a showdown, his troops were defeated by Eumenes, and Neoptolemus' Macedonian infantry, although victorious in their own sector, were compelled along with the remainder of Neoptolemus' troops to surrender and swear allegiance to Eumenes. Neoptolemus himself with a small following escaped and made his way to Craterus and Antipater (Plut. *Eum.* 5–6; Arr. *Succ. Alex.* 26–27; Diod. 18.29; Nepos *Eum.* 3.3–4).

Neoptolemus begged them to come to his aid, both of them if possible, but at any rate Craterus, *ποθείσθαι γὰρ ὑπερφύως ἐκείνον ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ μόνον ἰδῶσι τὴν καυσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούσῃσι, μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἤξειν φερομένους* (for he was very much missed by the Macedonians, and if they

¹⁹ The veracity of Onesicritus in the account of his encounter with the gymnosophists has recently been confirmed from Indian sources by F. Schwarz ("Invasion und Résistance. Darstellungsmöglichkeiten in der Alexanderliteratur," *GB* 9 [1980] 85–108). In "Kausia" 67, Kingsley adduces Onesicritus' mission as *terminus ante quem* for the adoption of the garb from the Indians.

only saw his kausia and heard his voice, they would come rushing over to him, arms and all). (Plut. *Eum.* 6)

Plutarch goes on to explain: "And indeed, the name of Craterus was really great among them, and, after Alexander's death, the majority of them had wanted him (as their leader), remembering that he had often attracted real hostility from Alexander on their behalf, by criticizing him for being carried away toward an emulation of things Persian, and *defending the ancestral ways* (τοῖς πατρίοις) . . ." (cf. Arr. *Succ. Alex.* 27).

This information well points up the conservative and xenophobic attitude of the Macedonian peasant-soldiers, who in Asia stubbornly clung to their native ways, while Craterus became popular with them as the foremost champion among the Macedonian nobles of the ancestral traditions. As such he came into conflict with Alexander's friend Hephaestion, who encouraged his orientalizing. Plut. *Alex.* 47: "When Alexander noticed that among his most important friends it was Hephaestion who approved these plans [of adopting Persian customs] and joined him in changing his habits, while Craterus *clung fast to the ancestral ways* (τοῖς πατρίοις), he made use of the former in his dealings with the barbarians, and the latter in those with the Greeks and Macedonians" (cf. Plut. *Eum.* 8; *Demetr.* 14).

In his appeal to Craterus, Neoptolemus focused on his kausia no doubt with the understanding that the Macedonian soldiers regarded it as the prototypical Macedonian headgear. The information derives almost certainly either from Hieronymus of Cardia (ca. 364–260 B.C.) or from Duris of Samos (ca. 340–260 B.C.). Hieronymus, who was a friend and (probably) relative of Eumenes and with him in Asia Minor at this time, is generally reliable, Duris somewhat less so.²⁰ For our purpose, it is unimportant whether the story is accurate. What is important is that its source almost certainly was a contemporary of these events who, even if he himself had doubts about its accuracy (and there is no reason to think that he did), certainly expected his readers to believe it. And this presupposes that the kausia was well known at this time as the traditional Macedonian headdress.²¹

²⁰ R. Schubert, "Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Lebensbeschreibungen des Eumenes, Demetrius und Pyrrhus," *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Suppl. Bd. 9 (1877–78) 657–62 (hereafter: "Die Quellen Plutarchs"); id., *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (Leipzig 1914) 139–49; W. Nietzold, *Die Überlieferung der Diadochengeschichte* (Dresden 1905) 78–80, 125–33; A. Vezin, *Eumenes von Kardia* (Münster in Westfalen 1907) 45 and 130; F. Geyer, *RE* Suppl. Bd. 4 (1924) 1046 (on Craterus); F. Jacoby, *RE* 8 (1913) 1540ff. (on Hieronymus). Most recently: J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* (Oxford 1981) esp. 107ff.; R. Kebric, *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 29 (Wiesbaden 1977) 52 and passim.

²¹ Kingsley ("Cap" 41) adduces the information as illustration that by 321 B.C. the (Indian) kausia had already become widely popular with the Macedonians.

4. In 321/20 B.C., Eumenes took winter quarters at Celaenae in upper Phrygia, where he courted popularity with the Macedonians by various forms of largesse:

He bestowed upon the officers, who had volunteered to serve as his bodyguards, "the kind of honors which normally kings bestow on their friends." ἐξῆν γὰρ Εὐμενεὶ καὶ καυσίας ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χλαμύδας διανέμειν, ἥτις ἦν δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτη παρὰ Μακεδόσι (for Eumenes was empowered [or perhaps: he was, *de facto*, in the position] to distribute purple *kausiai* and *chlamydes*, and this was the royal gift par excellence among the Macedonians). (Plut. *Eum.* 8)

It is possible that Perdiccas as regent assumed this privilege and delegated it to Eumenes for his theatre of operations and the duration of the war. Or else we should infer that Eumenes' popularity with the Macedonians at this time was such that he assumed it on his own authority. In any case, Plutarch says that to bestow a purple *kausia* and *chlamys* upon favorites was "the royal gift par excellence among the Macedonians." The source of this information almost certainly is Hieronymus, who was an eyewitness.²²

According to this information, then, with reference to events of 321 B.C., the *kausia* was a traditional headdress in Macedonia, and a purple *kausia* was a special badge of distinction bestowed by the king upon his favorites.²³

5. In 288 B.C., near Beroea, in face of the increasing defections of his soldiers to Pyrrhus, who was encamped at Beroea, Demetrius Poliorcetes took fright and secretly stole away from his camp, *καυσία τινὶ καὶ λιπῶ χλαμυδίῳ περιστείλας ἐαυτόν* (putting on a *kausia* and an ordinary *chlamys*). (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11; cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 44)

The final source of this information, which seems to be based on an eyewitness account, may be the historian Proxenus, who was a friend and companion of Pyrrhus, or perhaps Duris.²⁴ Obviously, the author expected his account to be believed, and this presupposes, again, that at this time, in the early third century, the *kausia* and *chlamys* were commonly worn garments in Macedonia. It would be a reasonable

²² Schubert, "Die Quellen Plutarchs" (above, note 20) 666; Nietzold (above, note 20); Vezin (above, note 20) 130f.

²³ Kingsley ("Kausia" 68, note 28) adduces Plut. *Eum.* 8 along with other references to show that soon after Alexander's return from India the *kausia*, *chlamys*, and *krepidēs* "appeared as the uniform of some Macedonian units" (p. 68). Her references do not provide such information.

²⁴ P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (Paris 1957) 27f. (on Proxenus); Schubert, "Die Quellen Plutarchs" (above, note 20) 751 (on Duris). Cf. C. F. Edson, "The Antigonids, Heracles and Beroea," *HSCP* 45 (1934) 236, note 1.

inference, then, that the origin of these articles predates the time of Alexander.²⁵

6. In 272 B.C., Pyrrhus was slain fighting against Antigonos Gonatas in the streets of Argos. When his severed head was brought before Antigonos as a trophy, *humo caput sublatum causea, qua velatum caput suum more Macedonum habebat, textit corporique Pyrrhi redditum honoratissime cremandum curavit* (he lifted the head from the ground and covered it with his kausia, which he was wearing according to Macedonian custom, and saw to it that it was returned to his body and honorably cremated). (Val. Max. 5.1. ext. 4)

The account of Pyrrhus' death and the *humanitas* of Antigonos Gonatas derives from Hieronymus (*FGrH* 154 F 15 = Paus. 1.13.7).²⁶ It is given at length at Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34. But in Plutarch, Gonatas covers Pyrrhus' head with his chlamys, not with his kausia. Since we do not know how accurately Plutarch reproduces Hieronymus, it is at least possible, though perhaps not probable, that in this detail Valerius, rather than Plutarch, correctly reproduces Hieronymus. We are left to conclude that either Valerius himself (fl. A.D. 30) or his source (who may possibly be Hieronymus) assumed, or knew, with reference to events in 272 B.C., that at that time the kausia was the traditional headdress of the Macedonians. If this is correct, again a reasonable inference is that this tradition (*mos*) predated the time of Alexander.²⁷

7. On the occasion of the visit of Philip V to Argos in 209 B.C., there was speculation that a local politician named Phyllus would be able to enhance his power if his beautiful wife were to become intimate with Philip, who was a notorious womanizer. To forestall this, Phyllus' opponents patrolled the street before his house, but Phyllus *ὑποθήσας τὴν γυναῖκα κρηπίσι καὶ χλαμύδα περιθείς καὶ κανσίαν Μακεδονικὴν ὡς ἓνα τῶν βασιλικῶν νεανίσκων παρεισέπεμψε λαθοῦσαν* (fitted his wife out with krepides, put a chlamys and Macedonian kausia on her to make her look like one of the royal pages, and managed to get her through unrecognized). (Plut. *Mor.* 760B)

Thus, the standard dress of the Macedonian pages under Philip V consisted of the krepides, the chlamys, and "the Macedonian kausia." It is reasonable to infer that they were native Macedonian articles.²⁸

²⁵ Kingsley ("Cap" 42) considers the information only as evidence of the quickly spreading popularity of the kausia after its import from the East.

²⁶ Cf. Jacoby, *Komm.* ad loc.; Hornblower (above, note 20) 104 and 248.

²⁷ Kingsley (above, note 8) does not adduce this passage.

²⁸ Again, Kingsley ("Cap" 42) regards this passage only as evidence of the rapid spread of the kausia after Alexander.

This, then, is the literary evidence for the Macedonian kausia before Alexander.²⁹ In the face of it, it would not do to make an argument to the effect that, because of the wide proliferation and popularity of the kausia immediately after Alexander's veterans imported it to the West, its Eastern origin was quickly forgotten, and it was falsely assumed that it had been Macedonian all along. Among our authorities are four, perhaps five, contemporaries or near-contemporaries of Alexander: Onesicritus, Clitarchus, Hieronymus, Duris, Proxenus. All of them appear to assume, without question, that the kausia was a *traditional* Macedonian headdress. Possibly some two or three of the testimonia might be disregarded or somehow discredited, but not all of them. Together and in combination, they demonstrate quite convincingly that the kausia indeed was Macedonian.

Now, Kingsley's belief, that the Macedonian chlamys and the krepides were obtained along with the kausia from the Indians, need not long detain us.³⁰ The traditional Greek chlamys, which seems to have originated in Thessaly and was widely used throughout the classical period, was a short mantle formed from a rectangular piece of wool cloth, fastened together on the right shoulder by a brooch.³¹ In the Hellenistic period, a variant of this mantle, known as the Macedonian chlamys, became widely popular. Its form resulted from the cutting and hence rounding-off of the lower corners of the rectangular cloth of the traditional mantle, so that its lower border resembled an unbroken horizontal line when the mantle was worn drawn together.³² In the older type, the lower tips fell down in front and back between the wearer's legs, and thus inhibited effective movement. This probably provided the impetus for the alteration. The new version was more practical and better suited to the needs of soldiers and horsemen.³³

We do not know when the new version was first introduced. M. Bieber believed it was under Philip II.³⁴ Kingsley, with reference to a sug-

²⁹ See also Antip. Thess. *AP* VI.335 (misunderstood by Kingsley, "Cap" 42, note 26, and "Chitrali" 92); Herodian 1.3.3, with 4.8.2; Men. fr. 282 (331) Körte, with Pollux 1.162. The remaining passages do not allow inferences about the provenance of the kausia: Aristobulus, *FGrH* 139 F 55 = Arr. 7.22.2; Duris, *FGrH* 76 F 14 = Athen. 12.536A and Plut. *Demetr.* 41; Ant. 54; Polyb. 4.4.5; Plaut. *Mil.* 1178; *Persa* 155; Mart. *Epigr.* 1429; Eust., in *Hom. Od.* 1399; id., in *Hom. Il.* 225.

³⁰ Kingsley, "Kausia" 68: "Cap, cloak and boots, moreover, were so often afterward mentioned in one breath that they seem to have formed an ensemble from the first."

³¹ L. Heuzey, *Histoire du costume antique* (Paris 1922) 115–41 with figs. 59–70; M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin and Leipzig 1928) 23 with fig. 24, and pl. 35, figs. 2 and 3; id., *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht* (Berlin 1967²) 29f.

³² Heuzey (above, note 31) 138f.; Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (above, note 31) 22f., 69 and pl. 35, fig. 1; id., *Entwicklungsgeschichte* (above, note 31) 35 and pl. 32.

³³ Heuzey (above, note 31) 139; Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (above, note 31) 23.

³⁴ Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (above, note 31) 69; Arr. 7.9.2.

gestion by S. Lattimore of a later date,³⁵ notes a similarity between the (Macedonian) chlamys and a mantle worn today by "Nuristani and others who wear the cap," and suggests that this mantle was "not unlike" the *periblemata* which according to Diodorus (17.94.1–2, cited above) Alexander's men adopted in Northwest India.³⁶ Thus Kingsley proposes that the Macedonians obtained their new chlamys along with the kausia at this time, in 326 B.C., from the Indians, and then introduced it to the West.

Against this proposal may be raised three major objections:

1. Lattimore's suggestion of a late date for the introduction of the Macedonian chlamys was based on his dating of the statue of Daochos I, in the group dedicated at Delphi, which, as Lattimore noted, features a Macedonian chlamys. But Lattimore has subsequently reconsidered: "In [my article] I suggested that the usual dating of the Daochos and the other statues of the dedication—the 330s—might be too early. It should be noted that the historical evidence concerning Daochos' family presented by M. Sordi, *La Lega Tessala fino ad Alessandro* (Rome 1958) 114–15 makes it difficult to lower the date of the commission, if not necessarily the execution, of the monument."³⁷

2. According to Plut. *Alex.* 26 and Plin. *NH* 5.10 (cf. Strabo 17.1.8), in early 331 B.C. Alexander's architects laid out the plan of Alexandria in the shape of the (new) rounded-off chlamys.³⁸ Lattimore noted that a number of artistic representations seem to feature the older form of the chlamys as late as the early third century, and suggested that the tradition found in Plutarch and Pliny may not be authentic, but "a colorful later tradition inspired by the city's shape."³⁹ But there is no reason to think that the new chlamys replaced the older one all at once. It is to be expected, rather, that the two types would be maintained side by side for some time, especially in artistic representations which, especially in Macedonia, tended to be conservative.

3. The new Macedonian chlamys was rounded off. According to Kingsley the modern Afghan-Indian mantle, which she believes was similar to the garment the Macedonians picked up from the Indians according to Diodorus, is "rectangular."⁴⁰ As we have noted, it can be inferred from

³⁵ Kingsley, "Kausia" 68, note 23; Lattimore, "The Chlamys of Daochos I," *AJA* 79 (1975) 87–88.

³⁶ Kingsley, "Kausia" 67f. with pl. 24, fig. 2.

³⁷ Lattimore, "Ares and the Head of Heroes," *AJA* 83 (1979) 77, note 82. I wish to thank Prof. Lattimore for drawing this note to my attention.

³⁸ Cf. Heuzey (above, note 31) 138; Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (above, note 31) 69.

³⁹ Lattimore (above, note 35) 88.

⁴⁰ Kingsley, "Cap" 45.

both Diodorus (17.94.1–2) and Curtius (9.3.10–11) that the Macedonians assumed barbarian garments only because they had no choice, and Diodorus says (loc. cit.) that before wearing them they “recut” (συντεμόντας) them, no doubt in order to assimilate them more closely to their own dress. This suggests that the form to which the Macedonians sought to assimilate the (rectangular) native robes was that of the rounded-off mantle which, as has been noted, was better suited to their needs as soldiers than was the traditional rectangular chlamys. If this is correct, it follows that the Macedonians already had their new chlamys, and did not on this occasion obtain it from the Indians.⁴¹

As for the krepides, Kingsley observes that “the foot of the boot worn by terra cotta youths dressed in Hellenistic Macedonian uniforms resembles a traditional goatskin shoe still made in Nuristan.”⁴² Thus, she believes, “the krepides may be suspected of having had the same origin” as the kausia and chlamys, to wit, Northwest India.⁴³ On the contrary, we may infer from the evidence we have adduced that the home of the krepides was the same as that of the kausia and chlamys, that is, Macedonia.

There remains the fact, however, as Kingsley has shown, that there is a close resemblance between the ancient Macedonian kausia and, to a lesser extent, the mantle and boots, and their modern Eastern counterparts. The explanation seems so simple that one wonders why Kingsley did not consider it seriously. Alexander settled considerable numbers of his veterans in those regions. Greeks (and Macedonians) ruled there intermittently for centuries. Their influence on the natives was extensive.⁴⁴ Surely, it is reasonable to assume that the natives adopted from them the cap and perhaps also the mantle and the boots, and that these articles have served them to this day. Indeed, even the memory of the origin of the chitrali seems to have survived: “A Pashto-speaking Afghan living near the Khyber Pass, in giving his rust-colored cap to a

⁴¹ For the sake of the argument, let us assume, however, that at this time the Macedonians knew only the traditional rectangular chlamys. We might then speculate that the Indian wraps which they now adopted (Diod.) were longer and hence even more cumbersome than their own, and that rather than shortening the whole lower rim of the cloth, they “cut” (συντεμόντας) only its lower corners, to provide greater freedom of movement. This would then be the origin of the new Macedonian chlamys. But in this case the Macedonians themselves originated or invented it, and in no meaningful sense could it be claimed that they got it from the natives.

⁴² Kingsley, “Kausia” 68, note 24. Photographs of the two are juxtaposed in “Chitrali” 90–91, figs. 1 and 3.

⁴³ Kingsley, “Kausia” 68.

⁴⁴ W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge 1951) 6ff.; V. Tscherikower, *Die Hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit* (Leipzig 1927) 103–8, 112ff.

young American from California, informed her that his tribal ancestors had received the cap from Alexander."⁴⁵

Let us now return to the costume which Alexander assumed in 330 B.C. as King of Asia. It combined the Macedonian chlamys and kausia with the Persian chiton and diadem (Ephippus, above). The diadem had not been an exclusively royal badge with the Achaemenid kings.⁴⁶ This had been, instead, the upright tiara.⁴⁷ Alexander adopted as his own royal badge not the tiara but the diadem, and while the Persian kings had worn it invariably around the tiara, Alexander instead wore it around the kausia, and occasionally around the bare head.⁴⁸ While the Orientals could regard their new king's diadem as a sign of his Achaemenid succession, and Macedonians and Greeks could see it as a war trophy,⁴⁹ the kausia (in lieu of the tiara) was demonstratively Macedonian. Thus, Alexander's dress gave symbolic expression to the nature of his new Kingship of Asia. Rather than being a new Oriental monarchy, it was a creation *sui generis*, in which Macedonian and Persian elements were combined, but in which, in the balance, the Macedonian-Greek component prevailed.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Kingsley, "Chitrali" 92. She continues: "We may be quite certain, on the contrary, that the kausia came from East to West as a campaign hat of men who had survived Alexander's brutal warfare and the grueling march homeward." Cf. "Cap" 45.

⁴⁶ Members of the high nobility (*syggeneis*) also wore it: Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.13.

⁴⁷ Ar. *Av.* 486f.; Xen. *Anab.* 2.5.23; Clitarchus, *FGrH* 137 F 5 = Schol. Ar. *Av.* 487; Phylarchus, *FGrH* 81 F 22 = Phot. and Sud. s.v. *τιάρα*; Arr. 3.25.3; 6.29.3; Plut. *Art.* 26 and 28; Hsch. s.v. *τιάρα*; Schol. Pl. *Rep.* 8.533C; Ritter (above, note 4) 6ff.

⁴⁸ *With kausia*: Aristobulus, *FGrH* 139 F 55 = Arr. 7.22.2; Ephippus, *FGrH* 126 F 5 = Athen. 12.537E; Plut. *Ant.* 54. *Alone*: Arr. 7.9.9; Diod. 17.116.4; 18.60.6–61.1; Curt. 10.6.4. The Hellenistic kings wore the diadem normally around the bare head. See Ritter (above, note 4) 58–62. The purple kausia had not been an exclusively royal badge with the Macedonians. The king could bestow it also on his Companions: Plut. *Eum.* 8.

⁴⁹ Curt. 6.6.5. Cf. Arr. 7.9.9.

⁵⁰ I wish to thank the editor and the anonymous referee for their criticism, by which the paper has been improved. Any remaining faults are entirely my own.