

THE *EPENDYTES* IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

(PLATES 51–55)

To the memory of Richard D. Sullivan

THE FEW REFERENCES to the *ependytes* in Classical Greek literature occur in three fragments of Attic drama preserved by Pollux (vii.45):

χιτών ἐρεῖς χιτωνίσκος χιτώνιον, ἱμάτιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐπενδύτης ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τῶν πολλῶν χρήσει, ὅστις βούλοιτο καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι βοηθεῖν φαύλῳ ὄντι, ληπτέον αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν Σοφοκλέους Πλυντριῶν (*TrGF*, F 439):

πέπλους τε νῆσαι λινογενεῖς τ' ἐπενδύτας.
καὶ Θέσπις δὲ πού φησιν ἐν τῷ Πενθεῖ (*TrGF*, I, F 1 c):
ἔργῳ νόμιζε νεβρίδ' ἔχειν ἐπενδύτην.
ἄντικρυς δὲ δοκεῖ τὸ ἐν τῷ Νικοχάρους Ἡρακλεῖ χορηγῶ (*I*, p. 771.5 Kock):

φέρει νῦν ταχέως χιτῶνα τόνδ' ἐπενδύτην
τῇ νῦν χρεῖα βοηθεῖν.

The lines are disappointingly undescriptive, indicating only that an *ependytes* can be of linen and is somehow associated with the *chiton*, and that at an earlier period (?) it had a more general meaning, closer to the root of the word, as “that which is put on over.”¹

¹ Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

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| <i>Add</i> | = L. Burn and R. Glynn, <i>Beazley Addenda</i> , Oxford 1982 |
| Bieber | = M. Bieber, <i>History of the Greek and Roman Theater</i> , 2nd ed., Princeton 1981 |
| Burn | = L. Burn, <i>The Meidias Painter</i> , Oxford 1987 |
| Laskares | = N. Laskares, «Μόρφαι ἱερέων ἐπὶ ἀρχαίων μνημείων», <i>Δελτ</i> 8, 1923 (1925), pp. 103–116 |
| <i>LSAM</i> | = F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> , Paris 1955 |
| <i>LSCG</i> | = F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> , Paris 1969 |
| <i>LSCG-S</i> | = F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément</i> , Paris 1962 |
| Mantes | = A. G. Mantes, <i>Προβλήματα τῆς εἰκονογραφίας τῶν ἱερείων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων στὴν ἀρχαία ἑλληνικὴ τέχνη</i> , diss. University of Thessaloniki 1983 |
| Özgan | = R. Özgan, <i>Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens</i> , diss. Universität Bonn, 1978 |
| Parke | = H. W. Parke, <i>Festivals of the Athenians</i> , London 1977 |
| Pickard-Cambridge | = A. Pickard-Cambridge, <i>The Dramatic Festivals of Athens</i> , Oxford 1953 |
| Simon | = E. Simon, <i>Festivals of Athens</i> , Madison 1983 |
| Schauenburg | = K. Schauenburg, “ΕΥΡΥΜΕΔΩΝ ΕΙΜΙ,” <i>AM</i> 90, 1975, pp. 97–121 |
| Thiersch | = H. Thiersch, <i>Ependytes und Ephod</i> , Stuttgart 1936 |

Photographic references to Attic pottery are given only if not included in *ABV*, *ARV*², *Paralipomena*, *Add*.

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The *ependytes* was first identified by Hauser as a sleeveless knee-length “tunic”, such as is worn by Nausikaa on Aison’s pyxis lid in Boston.² The fragment of Sophokles’ *Nausikaa* or *Plyntriai* gave Hauser the name; comparison with Herodotos’ description of Babylonian clothing suggested a provenance (1.195):

ἔσθῃτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηγεκεί λινέῳ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον
ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλ-
λόμενος. . . .

The identification of the ἄλλος εἰρίνεος κιθῶν with the ἐπενδύτης rests on the presence of the verb ἐπενδύνειν, used only here in Classical Greek; indeed, Strabo’s paraphrase of the same passage uses the noun ἐπενδύτης (xvi.1.20). Because it is found in Babylonian dress, Hauser posited that the *ependytes* came from the East to Athens where it became a garment of high fashion after the Persian Wars. Representations in Attic vase painting suggest a garment heavier than the linen chiton and so presumably one of wool as Herodotos described.

Since Hauser’s identification of the *ependytes*, it has acquired a heavy connotative burden: iconographers regard it as a garment of specifically cultic and theatrical significance.³ The source of this connection is Thiersch (*Ependytes und Ephod*), whose conclusions have never been questioned except by Özgan in respect to 6th-century Ionian sculpture.⁴ A careful examination of all the evidence will show that Thiersch’s conclusions are incorrect: since the use of the *ependytes* in cult and theater is at best haphazard, and since only a minority of all depictions of the *ependytes* appear in the (definite) context of cult and theater, it is necessary to conclude that the appearance of the garment in these contexts has no greater significance than its appearance in secular contexts. The iconographic evidence portrays fashionably Orientalizing Athenians engaging in a wide variety of public and private activities.

I. THE EPENDYTES IN CULT AND THEATER

Thiersch’s specific association of the *ependytes* with cult was the cornerstone of a major study of Near Eastern cultic dress which argued for continuity in the religious tradition in the Near and Middle East and Anatolia. His interest in Near Eastern sacerdotal dress and

M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University; Dott. A. De Siena of the Antiquarium Statale di Metaponto; Ms. K. Gustafson of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts; Dott. F. Berti of the Museo Nazionale di Ferrara; Dr. A. Bernhard-Walcher of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum; Dr. D. von Bothmer of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and Alpay Pasinli Bey, Director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Arts Research Board of McMaster University for defraying the costs of research related to this work.

² F. Hauser, “Nausikaa,” *ÖJh* 8, 1905 (pp. 18–41), pp. 21, 33–34, pl. 1. Boston, M.F.A. 04.18 (*ARV*² 1177.48). E. Buschor (FR III, pp. 136–137) describes the garment as the *perinessos*, starting “rund um 450”; M. Bieber (*Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin/Leipzig 1928, pp. 49–50) referred to the same garment as the ἐπένδυμα, but she includes sleeved garments in this term. When the word ἐπένδυμα is used by ancient writers (late and rare), it has a very general meaning which encompasses any sort of overgarment or wrap: Gregorius Nyssenens, *de mortuis oratio*, ix.59.9; Joannes Chrysostomos, *in sanctum pascha*, 10.4.

³ For cult see, e.g., Simon, pp. 27 (“priestly garb”) and 64 (“an ornamented tunic for cult purposes”); G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden 1951, p. 17; Burn, pp. 85–86, 89–90. For theater see, e.g., Burn, p. 53.

⁴ Özgan, pp. 102–122.

cult-statue types, and the dearth of earlier Greek material, caused Thiersch to apply evidence from the Hellenistic and Roman periods to Archaic and Classical Greece.⁵ In origin, he thought, the *ependytes* was a garment worn by the great goddesses of Anatolia; later it was imported to Archaic Greek cults; finally it passed out of the divine sphere and became a cultic garment associated with the Jewish *ephod*. He laid great stress on the use of the *ependytes* in Athens, first by Athena Polias under the Peisistratids in the mid-6th century B.C.⁶ and then in the 5th century by Dionysos.

Thiersch's theory of an Anatolian link in the transmission of the garment from the Near East finds some support in Özgan's recent identification of the *ependytes* on a number of 6th-century Ionian sculptures of draped males. According to Özgan's analysis, however, the *ependytes* on these sculptures did not directly signify social, political, or religious rank but as a decorative garment merely served to advertise the owner's wealth.⁷ The sumptuousness of auletic costume is proverbial, and hence motives of conspicuous consumption may also underlie the wearing of the *ependytes* at Athens by a handful of *auletai* after about the mid-6th century B.C. (Pl. 51:a).⁸ As the *auletai* seem to be the only mortals to wear the *ependytes* on Archaic Attic pottery, they are not evidence for the use of the *ependytes* by Athenians in the 6th century. These musicians may well be East Greeks. They wear their *ependytai* over a long chiton, like the sculptures discussed by Özgan, and unlike the practice of Athenian men in the 5th century (cf. Pls. 54:b, 55:a). In the first quarter of the 5th century B.C., *auletai* cease to wear the *ependytes*, usually exchanging it for a sleeved chiton. About the same time Athena abandons the *ependytes* for the peplos, a development which Thiersch noted and explained as a post-bellum rejection of Anatolian and Ionian culture.⁹

Thiersch based his second argument on the frequent appearance of the *ependytes* in Attic iconography of Dionysos.¹⁰ Dionysos does not certainly use the garment until after the Persian Wars and then very infrequently until after mid-century,¹¹ most notably in the

⁵ Cf. his reviewers' comments: F. Chapouthier, *REA* 39, 1937, pp. 415–416; F. Matz, *Klio* 32, 1939, pp. 126–129.

⁶ Thiersch, pp. 30–32; on p. 32 he suggests that a new cult statue put up by the Peisistratids inspired this series. For an early example: Athens, N.M. Acr. 2510, Amasis Painter (*ABV* 157.92; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World*, Malibu 1985, fig. 104).

⁷ Özgan, pp. 101–122; he observes that the garment ceases to appear in Ionia after ca. 530 B.C. İ. Özgen (*A Study of Anatolian and East Greek Costume in the Iron Age*, diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1982, p. 196) does not comment on Özgan's conclusions about the *ependytes*.

⁸ Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum AT 240: unattributed black-figured amphora fragment, ca. 550 B.C. Also: Athens, N.M. Acr. 2203, unattributed black-figured tripod fragment (B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*, Berlin 1925, pl. 93); London, B.M. E 270 (B), Kleophrades Painter (*ARV*² 183.15); Louvre G 138 (I), Triptolemos Painter (*ARV*² 365.61). Cf. J. D. Beazley, "Hydria Fragments in Corinth," *Hesperia* 24, 1955 (pp. 305–319), p. 308, note 7.

⁹ Thiersch, p. 32. Özgan (p. 122) concluded that the *ependytes*, as an aristocratic luxury garment, had no longer any use at Athens after the fall of the aristocracy and so remained only as a theatrical costume symbolic of arrogant luxury. He seems to be unaware of the evidence for non-theatrical use in the course of the 5th century B.C.

¹⁰ E.g., Munich, Staatl. Antikensamm. 2361 (A), Kleophon Painter (*ARV*² 1145.36); Paris, Petit Palais 317, possibly in the Manner of the Kleophon Painter (*ARV*² 1151.2); Leningrad, Hermitage St. 1807 (A), Kadmos Painter (*ARV*² 1185.7; Simon, pl. 27). It also appears on maenads and satyrs.

¹¹ From the early 5th century there occasionally appear two garments that bear some similarity to the

works of the Dinos and Kleophon Painters, whose mythic scenes often show the god wearing the *ependytes*. Its appearance in the third quarter of the 5th century on the cult image of one notable example from Frickenhaus' "Lenaia vases" suggested to Thiersch that the garment was specifically associated with Dionysos Lenaïos (Pl. 51:b).¹² Even in this series, however, the *ependytes* is a late arrival: earlier "Lenaia vases" such as those of the Villa Giulia Painter consistently show the image draped with a himation (Pl. 52:a).

The appearance of the *ependytes* on Dionysos may surely be connected with the popular conception of his Eastern origin (see below, pp. 327–328). Other "Orientalizing" features in his iconography recur erratically, as, for example, a long-sleeved chiton and Thracian high boots.¹³ The Kadmos Painter's krater in Leningrad provides the most striking instance, with the deliberate contrast of Dionysos and Apollo, the one in Orientalizing garb (chiton, *ependytes*, and laced high boots), the other barefoot in purely Hellenic himation.¹⁴ The fact that Dionysos starts about the middle of the mid-5th century to be shown regularly with this kind of "ethnic" element ties in with the general contemporary trend towards the "Orientalization" of mythology.¹⁵

Into immediate association with the depictions of Dionysos wearing the *ependytes* Thiersch brought a number of 4th-century "theatrical" vases featuring *ependytes*-clad heroes of myth. By appealing to "theatrical influence", Thiersch was able to subsume these examples under the rubric of "Dionysiac cult". According to Thiersch's theory, the use of the garment extended from god to priest and from priest to tragic actor. Alföldi added to the significance of this perceived association by developing the theory of the *Theaterkönig* costume: Aischylos first introduced to the tragic stage at the end of his career a special costume

ependytes. *Dionysos*: Munich 8766 (A), Berlin Painter, early (*ARV*² 198.21*bis*). After ca. 480 B.C.: London, B.M. E 362 (A), Earlier Mannerist (*ARV*² 585.34; *LIMC* III, "Dionysos" no. 472, pl. 355); Madrid, Mus.Arq.Nac. 11040 (A), Leningrad Painter (*ARV*² 568.36). *Satyr*: Nicosia C 739, Bowdoin Painter (*ARV*² 683.122). Cf. *Erinys*: West Berlin F 2380, Later Mannerist (*ARV*² 1121.16; *LIMC* III, "Erinys" no. 41, pl. 598). Neither garment should be identified with the *ependytes*; their construction and fabric are different.

¹² Naples, M.N. 2419, Dinos Painter (*ARV*² 1151.2; *LIMC* III "Dionysos" no. 33, pl. 298); Thiersch, pp. 33–36; A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen* (72 *BWPr*), 1912. Whether "Lenaïos" or other is immaterial for this study, although most scholars accept Frickenhaus' identification; e.g.: L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, pp. 123–134; Parke, p. 106; Simon, p. 100; C. Gasparri, "Dionysos," *LIMC* III (pp. 420–514), pp. 426, 504–505. *Contra*, M. P. Nilsson, "Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult," *JdI* 31, 1916 (pp. 309–339), pp. 327–332, who argued that they show the mixing of wine at *Choes*, one of the days of the Anthesteria. For Dionysos' use of the *ependytes* in mythic scenes, see footnote 10 above. It is particularly frequent in depictions of the Return of Hephaistos, worn also by Hephaistos.

¹³ *Sleeved chiton*: Bonn, Akad.Kunstmus. 381, unattributed late black-figured amphora (Bieber, fig. 80); Ferrara, M.N. 2892, Spina T 300 (V.T.) (*ARV*² 1041.6; *LIMC* III, "Dionysos" no. 656, pl. 375). *High boots*: London, B.M. 439, Near the Hephaisteion Painter (*ARV*² 298, 1643); Leningrad, Hermitage 5 1598 (St. 1600), Altamura Painter (*ARV*² 591.17; *LIMC* III, "Dionysos" no. 610, pl. 369); New York, M.M.A. 41.162.21 (B), Oionokles Painter (*ARV*² 646.1); New York, M.M.A. 07.286.85, Methyse Painter (*ARV*² 632.3); Boston, M.F.A. 00.342, Blenheim Painter (*ARV*² 598.4).

¹⁴ Leningrad, Hermitage St. 1807 (see footnote 10 above).

¹⁵ On the analogy of the thick fabric of the *zeira* in vase painting, Thiersch (p. 35) saw as Thracian the thick woolen material of the *ependytes* sometimes worn by Dionysos. Cf. H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle*, Paris 1951, p. 373, about the 4th century: "Dionysos apparaît tantôt comme le dieu asiatique, tantôt comme le dieu thrace."

for Oriental kings derived from Persian royal dress, and later dramatists extended its use to other tragic characters.¹⁶ Although Alföldi does not actually discuss the *ependytes* as an element of his *Theaterkönig* costume, most of the examples he cites incorporate one.

An Attic red-figured stamnos of ca. 435 B.C.¹⁷ provided a third line of argument for the cultic association of the *ependytes* which Thiersch failed to exploit fully, possibly because its discovery occurred just prior to the publication of his work.¹⁸ The vase, found in a tomb north of Eleusis' city wall, clearly depicts an Eleusinian priest in sacred procession. The priest, evidently a *δαδοῦχος* (Eleusinian Torch-bearer) solemnly leading a young *μύστης* to his preliminary initiation, wears an *ependytes*. It was difficult to resist the conclusion that the garment comprised part of Eleusinian sacerdotal dress.

The Eleusinian stamnos forged a new link in the long-standing chain of associations between Eleusinian cult dress, Dionysiac cult dress, and the tragic stage of Classical Athens. The associations depend in the first instance upon two ancient passages which seemed in combination to provide evidence for the early appearance of a distinctive "regal" sacerdotal costume adopted by the Eleusinian priests from the theater.¹⁹ Plutarch tells an anecdote in which, just after the battle of Marathon, a Persian mistook the *dadouchos*, Kallias (II) Hipponikou, for a king on account of his *κομή* and *στρόφιον* (*Arist.*, 5.7–8). Plutarch's story is coupled with a statement of Athenaios that "Aischylos invented the stateliness and dignity of dress which, in emulation, the *hierophantai* and *dadouchoi* wear" (1.21e: *καὶ Αἰσχύλος δὲ . . . ἐξέϋρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα, ἣν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἱεροφάνται καὶ δαδοῦχοι ἀμφιέννυνται . . .*).

Long before Thiersch, 19th-century scholars concluded from the literary and archaeological evidence then available that the Classical "tragic costume" (by which is meant the later costume of *onkos*, long-sleeved purple garment, and high *kothornoi*) derived from a dress associated with the cult of Dionysos.²⁰ Observation of the similarity between this costume and that of the Eleusinian priest in the Torre Nova sarcophagus and Lovatelli urn (both based on one prototype of uncertain date) encouraged belief in Athenaios' statement

¹⁶ Thiersch, p. 36; A. Alföldi, "Gewaltherrscher und Theaterkönig," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honour of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, Princeton 1955, pp. 15–55.

¹⁷ Eleusis 636: Group of Polygnotos, *ARV*² 1052.23. K. Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσίς: Ὁδηγὸς τῶν Ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τοῦ Μουσείου*, Athens 1934, p. 21; *idem*, «Ἐλευσινιακὴ Δαδουχία», *Ἀρχ* Εφ 1937, pp. 223–252; frequently illustrated, e.g. Parke, fig. 28.

¹⁸ Thiersch, p. 204 (Addendum to pp. 109–110).

¹⁹ E.g. *RE* IV, 1901, s.v. *Dadouchos* (Kern), col. 1979; and Legrand, "Sacerdos," *DarSag* IV, Paris 1918 (pp. 934–942), p. 939. Others simply refer to the "elaborate vestments" of the *dadouchos* and *hierophantes* and assume their use from an early date, e.g., G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, pp. 230, 232; Parke, pp. 57–58. Cf. R. S. J. Garland, "Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens," *BSA* 79, 1984 (pp. 75–123), pp. 97, 99.

²⁰ For the association of a cultic costume of Dionysos with the theater: K. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, Stuttgart 1847, no. 336, 3; E. Bethe, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Altertum*, Leipzig 1896, p. 42. This theory of the origin of dramatic dress has a long scholarly history; its greatest modern exponent has been Margarete Bieber, who was most interested in the use of sleeves: "Die Herkunft des tragischen Kostüms," *JdI* 32, 1917 (pp. 15–104); Bieber, pp. 24–27. See L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris 1926, p. 544; Pickard-Cambridge (pp. 213–214) accepted Bieber's theory; Thiersch, pp. 33–34.

about relationships between Eleusinian priestly and tragic costume.²¹ The more outrageous suggestion of Strube that the *hierophantes* wore the tragic costume, the *dadouchos* the comic, has usually, though not always, been quietly ignored. He, with others, believed that the theatrical costume originated in Eleusinian cultic dress.²²

Despite the widespread belief in some connection between Eleusinian and theatrical costume, the testimony of Athenaios and Plutarch for 5th-century cult and theater on which it is based is open to challenge. Plutarch uses the contrast between the virtuous stance of (impoverished) Aristides amidst spectacularly rich Persian booty and the grasping behavior of Kallias "Lakkoploutos" to create an artistic effect.²³ Moreover, Plutarch does not describe an elaborate "regal" costume with long-sleeved purple and gold robe but mentions only the *kome* and *strophion*. There is no reason to doubt these two details, as they agree with other evidence, but while long hair and a headband are distinctive, in Greek terms they are not distinctively "regal". As for the passage in Athenaios, even leaving aside the question of his sources,²⁴ the text cannot be used in support of the theory that Eleusinian priests adopted cultic costume from the theater. He does not say that priests adopted theatrical garb, only that they adopted stateliness and solemnity (not *στολή* but *εὐπρέπεια* and *σεμνότης* are the antecedent of *ἥν*). Moreover, Athenaios says nothing about royal dress. Nor does the evidence of vase painting substantiate the tradition of Aischylos' creation of a special Orientalizing tragic dress. Alföldi could adduce no evidence for his long-sleeved, highly patterned *Theaterkönig* costume before the 4th century B.C., and then it came primarily from South Italian vases.²⁵ All earlier potential candidates for Alföldi's *Theaterkönig* are Orientals, and this suffices to explain Oriental elements in their dress, such as the *ependytes*. The earliest example (ca. 450 B.C.) of a possible stage costume for the Persian King is that worn by the "Basileus" (inscribed) on the Mannheim Painter's oinochoe (Pl. 53:a).²⁶ The figure wears a patterned garment which is trousered and sleeved, an

²¹ Bethe, *op. cit.*, p. 8. G. E. Rizzo, "Il sarcofago di Torre Nova," *RM* 25, 1910 (pp. 89–167), pp. 156–167.

²² J. T. Strube, *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, Leipzig 1870, pp. 45, 28. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, in their revision of Pickard-Cambridge (Oxford 1968, pp. 200–201), summarize the question and arguments against the association of Eleusinian priests and theatrical dress.

²³ J. K. Davies (*Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, no. 7826, p. 260) plausibly suggests that the story evolved to explain an odd nickname, "Pit-rich", whose origin he traces to wealth gained from mining.

²⁴ Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 214–215; P. Foucart, *Les grands mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris 1900, p. 32. Extant fragments of Ion of Chios do not indicate whether he recorded factual information about the development of stage production. See, e.g., F. Jacoby, "Some remarks on Ion of Chios," *CQ* 41, 1947, pp. 1–17. The "Glaukos" mentioned in the Hypothesis of Aischylos' *Persai* as having written *περὶ Αἰσχύλου μύθων* is most often assumed to be Glaukos of Rhegion, who lived ca. 400 B.C. The latter wrote *περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν*. See E. Hiller, "Die Fragmente des Glaukos von Rhegion," *RhM* 41, 1886, pp. 398–436. Yet even if they are the same man, what sources other than oral tradition had he?

²⁵ A point over which Alföldi passed lightly ([footnote 16 above] p. 38). Among the Bonn fragments of the Painter of the Athens Dinos, dated ca. 430 B.C. at the earliest, Amyone wears a sleeved, coatlike garment: Bonn, Akad.Kunstmus. 1216.116–119 (*ARV*² 1180.10). Her status as daughter of the Oriental king Danaos, however, exempts her from being a wearer of *Theaterkönig* dress; the garment she wears is best identified as a Hellenized *kandys*. See the illustrations collected by Bieber, esp. pp. 7–35, with the additions of E. Simon, *The Ancient Theatre*, London/New York 1982. Gould and Lewis ([footnote 22 above] p. 201) note the use of the highly patterned, sleeved dress by *auletai* before the Persian Wars (and so considerably antedating the conjectured period of introduction to the theater); this fact also renders Alföldi's theory untenable.

²⁶ Vatican, Mus.Greg. H530 (*ARV*² 1065.8); Özgan, pp. 116–117. The cup fragment in the Cahn Collection

ependytes, a *kidaris*, and shoes, all standard elements of Persian costume in contemporary Attic iconography. Over it all he adds a himation, and he holds a scepter. The figure may come from the stage; yet, as Özgan noted, it is not the *ependytes* but the scepter which indicates his royal standing. Iconographically, his Oriental origin explains the presence of the *ependytes*.

II. INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE FOR SACERDOTAL DRESS

There is no evidence for Thiersch's theory that priests of Dionysos wore the *ependytes* and so served as a means of its transmission from god to actor. Nevertheless, among iconographers there persists a general notion, based on Thiersch's conclusion, that the *ependytes* was an item of cultic or priestly dress. Yet the very existence of "priestly dress" in Classical Athens is extremely doubtful.

Historians of religion base their assumptions of the existence of a codified sacerdotal dress on a handful of imprecise literary texts unsupported by the epigraphic and iconographic evidence.²⁷ In the Classical period, literary texts make vague reference to the *καλὴν σκευήν* of a priest (*PCG* IV, Euboulos, fr. 71). Later texts give more abundant evidence but come from periods when a new Oriental influence on religion is discernible and contamination on such matters as priestly uniform probable. It is necessary to set aside Judeo-Christian preconceptions and give fresh consideration to the question of the existence of "priestly garb".

The literary and epigraphic texts offer the following details. A passage in Herodotos makes the custom of growing hair long, *κομᾶν*, the best known and most secure element of Greek sacerdotal appearance (II.36).²⁸ Homer's Chryses carries a *σκήπτρον* (*Il.* I.14–15), as do his Teiresias (*Od.* XI.91) and Aischylos' Cassandra (*Ag.* 1264–1265). Priests characteristically wore or carried garlands or wreaths,²⁹ but so too did ordinary worshipers;³⁰ a

is too fragmentary to determine whether its seated Persian is meant to be dramatic: Schauenburg, pl. 41:1. The possibility that the hydria fragments from Corinth published by Beazley ([footnote 8 above] pp. 305–319) and dated 470–450 depict a tragedy about the Lydian king Midas precludes their inclusion here.

²⁷ The conclusions were reached at a time before much iconographic and epigraphic evidence was widely available. Cf. P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, Munich 1920, p. 47; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1985, p. 97. Parke (p. 58) summarized the situation well. An exception is Kevin Clinton, who carefully considered the evidence for the dress of all the Eleusinian priestly officers: *Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (*TAPS* 64.3), Philadelphia 1974, *passim*. For ancient lack of specialization in dress, see the regulations in *LSAM*, no. 11, line 4 and no. 37, lines 15, 20, and 24.

²⁸ The same principle may lie behind Euripides, *Bacchae*, 493–494, where it is unclear whether Dionysos functions as a priest or as a devotee. See R. Hamilton, "Euripidean Priests," *HSCP* 89, 1985 (pp. 53–73), p. 64.

²⁹ *Στέμμα/στέμματα*: Homer, *Il.* I.14, I.28 (alluded to by Plato, *Resp.* 393e); Euripides, *Ion*, 522; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 893. *Στέφανος*: *LSCG*, no. 87, line 7 (Great Gods of Samothrace, 3rd century B.C.); *LSAM*, no. 1, line 12 (Sinope, 3rd century B.C.), no. 37 *passim* (Priene, 2nd century B.C.), no. 38 A, line 12 and no. 38 B, line 7 (Priene, 2nd century B.C.). It is unclear to what extent *στέμματα* could be synonymous with *στέφανος*. The terms seem to Semos of Delos to be equivalent (*ap.* Athenaios, xv.677a) but are contrasted by Herodotos (I.132.1). For a full discussion of the use of *στέφανοι*, see Athenaios, xv.669c–686; note especially 670d, an allusion to a custom of leaving them as offerings at temples. See J. Servais, "ΣΤΕΜΜΑΤ' ΕΧΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΕΙΝ (*Iliade* A 14)," *AntCl* 36, 1967, pp. 415–456.

³⁰ Worshipers were even required to wear *στέφανοι* in some cults, as all participants in the procession for

garland was appropriate for all aspects of worship. Starting in the Hellenistic period, there is occasional reference to priests wearing a headband of twisted cloth, the *στρόφιον*, which is defined in the *Suda* as *ὁ οἱ ἱερεῖς φοροῦσι* (s.v., 1222),³¹ but others seem to have worn it as well.³² A passage in Plutarch generated the current orthodoxy that priests wore white clothing while purple was used for chthonic cults.³³ Note, however, the freedom of choice granted the 2nd-century B.C. priest of Dionysos Phleas, who may wear *στολήν ἢν ἄμ βούλῃται καὶ στέφανον κισσοῦ χρυσοῦν*.³⁴ For footwear (or the lack of it), Appian describes the *φαικάσιον* as a kind of Attic white shoe worn by Athenian and Alexandrian priests (*B.C.* v.11). In sum, what textual evidence there is does not insist upon a standard vestiary code of the Classical period beyond long hair, garlands, and, possibly, headbands, of which neither garlands nor even headbands are exclusively sacerdotal. Further, there is no indication whether they were constantly worn or only while the priests were engaged in cultic activity. In some cases, a *σκήπτρον* may have served as priestly identifier. None of these elements falls within the category normally meant by the term “clothing”.

The lack of a known vestiary code makes it difficult for iconographers to identify Attic priests in the representational arts.³⁵ Nor is it easy to rely on context, for ordinary men can conduct sacrifice and pour libations. The many representations of sacrifice in Attic vase painting derive from a few basic formulas. An older bearded male sacrificer wearing a garland and himation, often identified as priest, appears together with a youthful garlanded

Dionysos of Eretria, late 4th century B.C.: *LSCG-S*, no. 46, lines 6–10; cf. also *LSCG-S*, no. 71, lines 9–12; *LSCG*, no. 46, line 18. Cf. L. Robert's comments, “Inscriptions de Didymes et de Milet,” *Hellenica*, 11–12, 1960 (pp. 440–489), pp. 452–453. M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1982, esp. pp. 269–312, 316–321.

³¹ *LSAM*, no. 38 A, line 13, no. 38 B, line 8 (priest of Poseidon, 2nd century B.C.; wears *στροφίσκον χρυσεόν* at Panionia); Plutarch, *Arat.*, 53.6; most other instances are Eleusinian, for which see below, p. 323. Explicit exceptions, all Hellenistic or later, suggest that its color was usually white: e.g. Plutarch, *Arat.*, 53.6 (white with purple stripe); *LSAM*, no. 38 A, line 13, no. 38 B, line 8 (gold).

³² Each of the instances is arguably sacerdotal in some sense: *LSCG-S*, no. 71, lines 8–9 (holder of *Εποnymia* of the Sarapiastai, 2nd century B.C.); *LSCG*, no. 65, line 179 (Andania, 92 B.C.); cf. Diogenes Laertius, *vitaē phil.* ix.73, about Empedocles. Philochoros (*FGrH* III B, 328, F 64b) refers to Athenian *nomophylakes* wearing bronze *strophia*; the fact that they are metal indicates that the word should be taken as its root meaning, “twisted”, rather than as the technical priestly term it later came to be. The wearing of headbands in symposiac and other contexts is widely attested in Attic red-figured vase painting. There is a curious later tradition of the use of a *strophion* (along with a purple border) as an indication of luxury: Athenaios, xii.543f, about Parrhasios of Ephesos; this must relate to the supposed luxurious habits of the East rather than Greek religious practice.

³³ Plutarch, who describes the archon of Plataia in such terms as to suggest that the office was more religious than administrative, tells us that although he normally wore white, on the day of the anniversary of the battle of Plataia he wore *φουνικούς* for the funerary offerings (*Arist.*, 21.4). Cf. the apparent requirement of white dress in *IG* II², 1060, line 5 (for whom is unclear).

³⁴ *LSAM*, no. 37, line 14 and *passim*. Cf. Demosthenes' general definition of *ἱερὰ ἐσθής*, admittedly for personal advantage (xxi.16).

³⁵ F. Brommer (*Der Parthenonfries*, Mainz 1977, p. 268) briefly discusses the problems of “priest” iconography in Greek art and suggests as a candidate for a priest the figure who appears to lead a sacrificial procession on an unfortunately fragmentary vessel, Athens, N.M. 2038, Pan Painter (*ARV*² 558.142).

splanchnoptes who is nude or wears a himation knotted at the waist (Pl. 52:b).³⁶ Very occasionally the older man has instead a garment which looks like an ankle-length tunic (Pl. 53:c).³⁷ There is nothing to prove that any of these bearded, garlanded, himation-wearing men is a priest, or on the other hand to indicate that we should regard the distinction of dress, himation or *ependytes*, as an indication of either private or priestly status. An argument against such use of clothing to differentiate between private or priestly status is visible in the man who receives a procession to Apollo on the Kleophon Painter's volute-krater from Spina.³⁸ He is usually, and probably correctly, identified as a priest, but only the addition of a straight staff (a *σκήπτρον*?) distinguishes him from the wreathed and himation-garbed men of the procession.

At times context can be a reliable index of priestly status. One very good example is the figure usually, though not universally, identified as the *archon basileus* on the Parthenon East Frieze.³⁹ Although he has neither garland nor headband, he wears an ungirt chiton. While this last appears to be a likely element of priestly garb, a prohibition against bound dress occurs rarely in extant sacred decrees.⁴⁰ If we accept the hypothesis that the *archon basileus* technically acted as a priest when carrying out his cultic tasks, the Frieze would add a long chiton to the potential priestly repertoire (a conservative retention of the standard dress for older men in the Archaic period? Cf. Thucydides, 1.6.3). The *archon basileus* has also been identified as the man who stands by the altar, about to receive torch-racers, on a krater in the Manner of the Peleus Painter; he wears an *ependytes* over a long chiton (Pl. 54:a).⁴¹ A strict dress-code theory would seem to require that on some occasions (Lampadedromia) it was appropriate for the *archon basileus* to wear the *ependytes* over a chiton but on others (Panathenaia) a chiton alone.

Although rarely used by older men in Classical Athens, whose preferred garment seems to have been the himation worn by itself, the long chiton can be found on other candidates

³⁶ Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte β 413, Hephaistos Painter (ARV² 1115.31bis, 1683). See, e.g., the vases collected by A. Greifenhagen, *CVA*, Bonn 1 [Germany 1], p. 40 for pl. 34 [34]:10, and G. Rizza, "Una nuova pelike a figure rosse e lo 'splanchnoptes' di Styppax," *ASAtene*, n.s. 21–22, 1959–1960, pp. 321–345.

³⁷ Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum A 1969:4 (478), Kleophon Painter (ARV² 1146.48). See further, footnote 44 below.

³⁸ Ferrara, M.N. 44894, Spina T 57c (V.P.), Kleophon Painter (ARV² 1143.1; Simon, pl. 23:1).

³⁹ I. N. Svoronos («Τὸ λάβαρον τῶν Ἀθηναίων», *Δελτ* 6, 1920/21 [pp. 33–40], p. 39) identified him as the *archon basileus*, followed by, e.g., Brommer (footnote 35 above), p. 268 and I. Jenkins, "The Composition of the So-Called Eponymous Heroes on the East Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 89, 1985, pp. 121–127. Deubner ([footnote 12 above] p. 30) identified him as the Priest of Athena. In any event, he is generally accepted as a priest even if his specific identity is uncertain.

⁴⁰ *LSCG*, no. 65, lines 15–21, no. 68, line 7.

⁴¹ Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Fogg Museum 1960.344 (ARV² 1041.10; Simon, p. 64, pl. 22:2). Another figure at an altar, similar but for the short chiton under his *ependytes*, has been identified as Hephaistos by H. Froning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen*, Würzburg 1971, pp. 80–81; Ferrara, M.N. Spina T 127, Polion (ARV² 1171.1). Although Froning's description of the *ependytes* is very sensible (pp. 80–81), the addition of the *ἀγρηρόν* as a sort of subspecies (p. 75) is unwarranted by the evidence. For Oxford, Ashmolean 1914.730 see footnote 58 below; Apollo wears a patterned *ependytes*.

for the ancient priesthood. In Attic relief sculpture the addition of a long knife establishes the series of men thus clad as priests;⁴² no other distinguishing characteristic marks them. On an Attic lekythos in Metaponto a man and a woman pour libations (Pl. 53:b).⁴³ The activity is common enough in Attic red figure, but here one is struck by the unusual length of the man's hair. This feature, in conjunction with his full dress (chiton, himation) and the straight staff wrapped around by *στέμματα*(?), identifies him as a priest; he also wears a headband. The possibility that iconographically a long ungirt chiton declares the priest may add the small group of male libation pourers who wear a long tuniclike garment (e.g. Pl. 53:c); one example on a skyphos in Palermo has noticeably long hair.⁴⁴ This ankle-length "tunic", which is more like a narrow chiton than the *ependytes*, may be characteristically sacerdotal. Comparison of the priestly figures on the Parthenon Frieze, in funerary relief sculpture, and in red-figure painting suggests that there is no common system, that a priest when engaged in ritual might wear a long ungirt chiton or himation, a garland, a headband, or any combination of these.

The evidence shows the existence of only the most inconsistent and rudimentary code for priestly dress, one which had not even the virtue of exclusiveness but shared features with common worshipers and amounted to nothing more elaborate than an ancient equivalent of "Sunday best". This is hardly surprising since Classical Athenians had no concept of "professional" priest, despite the existence of some hereditary priesthoods and life-long tenure.⁴⁵ The one possible exception to this lack of vestimentary code is provided by the Eleusinian priesthood. For the other priesthoods there is also no clear evidence of differentiation of clothing between cults.

⁴² This identification was first argued by Laskares (esp. pp. 111–116). See now the discussion of the iconography of priests, making full use of the evidence of the knife, by Mantes (pp. 99–121). *Funerary*: Berlin SK 1708/K29 (C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museum zu Berlin*, Berlin 1966, no. 17, fig. 25); Berlin SK 944/K28 (*ibid.*, no. 19, fig. 23); Athens, N.M. 772: ΣΙΜΟΣ ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΣΙΟΣ (A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin 1893, no. 920, pl. 181; Mantes, pl. 34:a); Athens, N.M. 2560, marble lekythos (Laskares, pp. 107–109, fig. 1); Athens, N.M. 3338, marble lekythos (Laskares, pp. 109–110, fig. 2). *Base*: Athens, N.M. 4502 (Mantes, pl. 33:a). *Honorary*: Athens, N.M. 3492 (C. I. Karouzos, «Ἀπὸ τὸ Ἡράκλειον τοῦ Κυνοσάργου», *Δελτ* 8, 1923 [1925; pp. 85–102], pp. 93–94, fig. 3; U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen* [AM-BH 5], Berlin 1976, pp. 192–193, pl. 28:2).

⁴³ F. G. Lo Porto, "Metaponto regione III," *NSc* 20, 1966 (pp. 136–213), pp. 228–229, fig. 90.

⁴⁴ Palermo, M.N. V 661a, Makron (*ARV*² 472.210, 1654); Athens, N.M. 2038, kantharos, Pan Painter (*ARV*² 558.142; *Paralipomena* 388); Darmstadt A 1969:4 (478) (Pl. 53:c, footnote 37 above); Laon 1041, unattributed red-figured bell-krater (Beazley Archive); Cambridge, Seltman Collection, unattributed red-figured amphora (Beazley Archive); Kiel B55, unattributed red-figured chous, late 5th century (*CVA*, Kiel 1 [Germany 55], pl. 40 [2705]). All the examples known to me of such figures pour a libation from a kantharos. It has been argued (e.g. by Mantes [pp. 115–119]) that the presence of a kantharos generally indicates the priest of Dionysos, although some have not used the attribute so exclusively. For example, B. Freyer-Schauenburg (*CVA*, Kiel 1 [Germany 55], p. 84) identifies the scene on Kiel B55 as an offering at an eschara. We should note that many kantharos holders do not wear the ankle-length tunic. It cannot therefore be claimed that all priests of Dionysos wear it.

⁴⁵ Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, New York 1940, pp. 80–82. Burkert ([footnote 27 above], p. 97) summarized the situation well: "In Greece the priesthood is not a way of life, but a part-time and honorary office. . . ." The lack of exclusiveness has already been noted by Laskares (p. 104).

Among the many idiosyncracies of the Eleusinian cult⁴⁶ was the distinctive appearance of the two high priests, the Eumolpid *ἱεροφάντης* and the Kerykid *δαδοῦχος*, at least as suggested by the Classical sources. They seem to mention a characteristic *στολή* or *σκευή* but in such general terms as to leave in doubt even whether the words refer to clothing.⁴⁷ If we turn to the iconographic evidence, despite the problems it presents, we find that in the 6th century and the first half of the 5th the *dadouchos* was always shown in ordinary Greek dress. He is even variably equipped with the same range of elements as other priests (long hair, headband, garland, long chiton).⁴⁸ Representations of him wearing an *ependytes* start after the mid-5th century with the stamnos noted above (p. 317). As all later images of Eleusinian torch bearers (of the late 5th and 4th centuries) are arguably mythological and derive from the period of Thracization of the cult, they cannot be used as evidence for Eleusinian sacerdotal dress.⁴⁹ Hence the appearance of only one actual *ependytes*-clad *dadouchos*, and that in the time of the extravagant Kallias (II) Hipponikou, does not suffice to indicate that the garment was part of the ancestrally prescribed regalia at Eleusis.

III. THE EPENDYTES IN SECULAR CONTEXTS

In the previous sections, it has been argued that the *ependytes* has no special religious or cultic significance. It remains to consider the evidence for its use by ordinary Athenian women and men.

According to Aelius Dionysius *ap.* Eustathius, the same garment was called by some the *ependytes*, by others the *chitoniskos* (*ad Il.* xviii.595, p. 1166, 51).⁵⁰ The latter frequently occurs in the 4th-century inventories of women's dedications to Artemis Brauronia. In the first inscription, *IG* II², 1514, 16 of the 66 garments are *χιτωνίσκοι*. This is more than double the number of the other preferred dedications, such as the 7 *χιτώνια* (which may, on the basis of Eustathius' gloss, be the same garment) and the 6 *ἱμάτια*.⁵¹ The dedications to Artemis primarily consisted of luxurious clothing that had been worn by the owner prior to dedication. The reference to only one garment as specifically new (the *ἐπίβλημα* of Nikoboule, *IG* II², 1514, lines 30–32) suggests that the majority of the offerings were worn;

⁴⁶ Cf. D. D. Feaver, "Historical Development in the Priesthoods of Athens," *YCS* 15, 1957 (pp. 123–158), pp. 127–128, 141; Parke, pp. 57–58.

⁴⁷ Andokides, i.112; [Lysias], vi.51; Plutarch (*Alk.* 22.4) quotes the text of Alkibiades' impeachment. The following summary of the evidence for the Eleusinian cult is based on my forthcoming analysis of the Eleusinian sacerdotal dress.

⁴⁸ Eleusis, Arch.Mus. 1213, black-figured loutrophoros (Kourouniotes [footnote 17 above], figs. 12, 14, 16–18); Brussels, Musées Royaux A10, red-figured skyphos, Painter of the Yale Lekythos (*ARV*² 661.86); Munich, Staatl.Antikensamm. 2685, red-figured cup, Sabouroff Painter (*ARV*² 837.9); London Market, 1982, red-figured cup (Sotheby 13.12.1982, Lot 219); Florence, Mus.Arch.Etr. 75748, red-figured stamnos, Polygnotos (*ARV*² 1028.8).

⁴⁹ Simon (pp. 27–28, with bibliography) summarizes the group.

⁵⁰ Cf. J. Böhlau, *Quaestiones de re vestitaria Graecorum*, Widmar 1884, pp. 20–24; he had already associated the *χιτωνίσκος* with what Hauser identified as the *ependytes* (p. 63) and in this was followed by W. Amelung (*RE* III, 1899, s.v. *Χιτών*, col. 2322).

⁵¹ Cf. T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia*, Stockholm 1982, p. 13 and *passim*, whose emended texts of the inscriptions I use.

are expressly labeled as such, as we see in the washed-out purple border of Glykera's *chitoniskos* (IG II², 1514, lines 20–22). The Brauronian *chitoniskoi* are described with adjectives indicating their intrinsic worth: they were highly decorated; some were dyed purple; others may have been of silk.⁵² In fact, the Hippocratic Corpus includes a recommendation that women who recover their health “dedicate many things to Artemis, and in particular the most costly of their garments.”⁵³ The popularity of the *chitoniskos* in the inventory lists proves that as a woman's garment it was not as infrequent as suggested by Liddell and Scott, nor was it necessarily an undergarment. Study of the evidence from vase painting amply confirms both points.

After the Persian Wars, in the second quarter of the 5th century, images in Attic vase painting indicate that the *ependytes* began to appear in the wardrobes of ordinary Athenian women and men.⁵⁴ Just as the distinction between myth and scenes of daily life grows increasingly vague during the 5th century B.C., it is difficult to draw the boundary between purely imaginary and realistic details. Nonetheless, so far as we can tell, throughout most of the century the Attic painter clothed his Greek figures in the costume of his day, equipped them with the utensils and furniture he knew, and, with the exception of some blatantly epic-inspired scenes, presented them engaged in everyday activities. For details of dress and equipment, the images of the first generations of Attic red-figure and white-ground vase painting are generally reliable evidence for contemporary Athens. Towards the end of the 5th century, however, Attic vase painting seeks more decorative visual effects such as those provided by exotic clothing so that the copious and vulgarized later 5th- and 4th-century depictions of the *ependytes* are less reliable reflections of contemporary fashion. The number of meaningful representations of the *ependytes* peaks in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.

The *ependytes* appears on both red-figured and white-ground pottery. Men as well as women wear the garment. As we would expect, most of the examples on white-ground lekythoi are worn by people engaged in some aspect of burial or mourning (Pl. 53:d).⁵⁵

⁵² G. M. A. Richter (“Silk in Greece,” *AJA* 33, 1929, pp. 27–33) argued that *ἀμόργινος* meant “silk” in the 5th and 4th centuries; cf. the mention of “*κάνδυν ἀμόργιν*” in IG II², 1524, lines 216–217. The only other specific material mentioned is coarse flax, *στνπιπίνος* (IG II², 1517, lines 127–128).

⁵³ *Περὶ παρθενίων*, *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate* VIII, É. Littré, ed., p. 468, lines 13–14, dated to the 5th or 4th century B.C. by G. E. R. Lloyd, “The Hippocratic Question,” *CQ* 25, 1975 (pp. 171–192), p. 189.

⁵⁴ J. D. Beazley (“Prometheus Fire-Lighter,” *AJA* 43, 1939 [pp. 618–639], p. 622) dated it “from the seventies or sixties of the fifth century onwards. . . .” Cf. the examples in the works of the Niobid Painter, who liked to use it in his heroic scenes, and the Timokrates Painter, such as Oxford, Ashmolean 1891.686, white ground, plain *ependytes* on woman (*ARV*² 743.3).

⁵⁵ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam GR 2.1928, white ground, Painter of Cambridge 28.2, rayed border, on woman (*ARV*² 855.4); Athens, N.M. 12138, white ground, Painter of Cambridge 28.2, plain, on woman (*ARV*² 855.1); Houston, M.F.A. 37.7 (Pl. 53:d), white ground, Houston Painter, reverse rayed, on woman (*ARV*² 855.3, *Paralipomena* 425); Athens, N.M. 1639, red figure, Achilles Painter, crenelated border and wreath, on man (*ARV*² 994.98); Athens, N.M. 1965, white ground, Manner of the Achilles Painter, rayed, on man (*ARV*² 1003.29); New York Market 1980, white ground, rayed, on woman (Parke-Bernet 16.5.1980, Lot 180).

On later white-ground lekythoi, it is frequently painted by the Woman Painter, the Reed Painter, and Group R, e.g. (all Woman Painter), London, B.M. D 70, bordered, on woman (*ARV*² 1371.1); Athens, N.M.

Nevertheless the garment appears in the context of other activities in both white ground and red figure. Scenes of departing warriors often include a figure wearing an *ependytes* (Pls. 54:b, 55:a).⁵⁶ It is a favorite of dancing girls, who even occasionally wear it without a chiton.⁵⁷ The appearance of the *ependytes* on heroes, gods, and goddesses follows the same pattern of development as for mortals, beginning after the Persian Wars, growing more common after the mid-5th century, and degenerating in quality in the 4th.⁵⁸ In this parallelism we catch a glimpse of the great gulf which separates the modern from the Greek devotee. Whereas Greek gods dress according to contemporary taste, no Christian now paints his God in Gucci shoes.

The *ependytai* in vase painting display a wide range of decorative types, from solid color to heavy patterning. Known examples of solid color include black, red, violet, and

1955, bordered, on woman (ARV² 1372.4); Athens, N.M. 1956, bordered, on woman (ARV² 1372.3); Munich, Staatl. Antikensamm. 2778, reverse rayed, on woman (ARV² 1372.8); Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 114, light bordered, on woman (ARV² 1372.9); Athens, N.M. 1799, plain and bordered, on women (ARV² 1372.10); Munich, Staatl. Antikensamm. 7675, long rayed, on woman (ARV² 1372.11); Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 3748 (ARV² 1372.16).

⁵⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean 1891.686 (footnote 54 above). Athens, N.M. 17335, white ground, Houston Painter, rayed, on woman (ARV² 856.4); New York, M.M.A. 17.230.13, white ground, Achilles Painter, patterned, on man (ARV² 994.105).

Later, the Kleophon and Dinos Painters (and related painters) like to use it for young men, often with no undergarment. These *ependytai* are usually highly patterned (owing more to the technique of vase painting than to a change of fashion?), e.g., Ferrara, M.N. 42685 (Pl. 54:b), Spina T 19c (V.P.), Chicago Painter (ARV² 628.1); Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 984.1814 (Pl. 55:a), unattributed red-figured calyx-krater; Boston, M.F.A. 03.793, Kleophon Painter (ARV² 1145.37); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 8.1928, Kleophon Painter (ARV² 1143.5); Laon, Musée 37.1025, Manner of the Kleophon Painter (ARV² 1148.4).

⁵⁷ London, B.M. E 185, Phiale Painter, horizontal zigzags (ARV² 1019.86); Boston, M.F.A. 97.371, Phiale Painter, crenelated border (ARV² 1023.146); Naples, M.N. 3232, Polygnotos, slight border, dotted, on krotala player (ARV² 1032.61); Athens, N.M. 1187, red figure, horizontal zigzag, circles, and border (A. Greifenhagen, "Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekannten griechischen Vasen," *SBMünchen*, 1976, pp. 46–50, no. 23, fig. 39). The *ependytes*-clad dancing girls, first collected by Beazley ("Narthex," *AJA* 37, 1933, pp. 400–403), I intend to discuss elsewhere.

⁵⁸ Worn especially by Nike, e.g., Leningrad, Hermitage fragments, Chicago Painter (ARV² 628.2); Vatican, Mus. Greg., Group of Polygnotos (ARV² 1058.119); Ferrara, M.N. 2816, Spina, Orpheus Painter (ARV² 1104.4; *Add*); East Berlin 3199, Hephaistos Painter (ARV² 1114.9; *Add*); Lecce, Mus. Prov. 600, Hephaistos Painter (ARV² 1115.20); Madrid, Mus. Arq. Nac. 11045, Suessula Painter (ARV² 1345.8). Of these, the most interesting is East Berlin 3199, as the Nike is depicted at a very small scale, held in the outstretched hand of Athena; could this composition reflect in some way the Athena Parthenos and so explain the sudden frequency with which Nike appears wearing the *ependytes* in Attic vase painting?

The other gods are infrequently depicted wearing the *ependytes*, e.g., *Apollo*: Oxford, Ashmolean 1914.730, Achilles Painter (ARV² 991.58); Milan Market, 1963, Naples Painter (ARV² 1097.21*bis*; *Paralipomena* 450). *Artemis*: Basel, Cahn Collection HC 501–506 (*LIMC* II, "Artemis" no. 1034, pl. 526). *Hephaistos*: Basel, Cahn Collection 541 (Burn, pl. 34:d). *Boreas*: Naples, M.N. 81849 (*LIMC* III, "Boreas" no. 40, pl. 115). *Eos*: Vatican, Mus. Greg., Midas Painter (ARV² 1035.1); London, B.M. E 449, Midas Painter (ARV² 1035.2). *Hades/Plouton*: Athens, N.M. 16346, Orestes Painter (ARV² 1113.11). *Persephone*: London Market, 1985 (Sotheby 17.7.1985, Lot 213). *Hekate*: Toronto, Borowski Collection (N. Leipen, *Glimpses of Excellence*, Toronto 1984, no. 17).

Some heroic *ependytes* wearers include *Prometheus*: see illustrations in Beazley (footnote 54 above), pp. 618–639. *Oedipus*: Nicosia C6294, Achilles Painter (ARV² 991.104*bis*, 1677). *Running warrior* (in Helen and Menelaus scene): Syracuse, M.N. 24121, Manner of the Kleophon Painter (ARV² 1149.13).

blue.⁵⁹ Several different types of border mark off the neck and hem: the border may be simple,⁶⁰ rayed (note the reverse-rayed pattern in Pl. 53:d),⁶¹ or crenelated,⁶² or patterned as in Plate 54:b, which also has a fringe at the bottom. Extensive patterning develops particularly in the second half of the 5th century B.C. Both *ependytai* of Plates 54:b and 55:a, the one worn with and the other without a chiton, have moderate general patterning. Patterning in figured bands is most characteristic in the last third of the 5th century. Some of the garments have decoration represented just by wavy lines, which may be a shorthand for animal friezes. We would expect such a sudden use of figured bands from Von Lorentz' conclusions that a new importation of Oriental textiles resulted in the abrupt appearance of animal friezes in Greek art of this period.⁶³ The development of an "Oriental" pattern on an "Oriental" costume (see below) illustrates the greater willingness of a later generation, seemingly unthreatened by Persian imperialism, to accept the whole product.

The range of decoration from sober single color to bright, variegated patterning also appears in the most complete Brauronian inventory list, *IG* II², 1514 + 1523. In *IG* II², 1514, some *chitoniskoi* are ποικίλοι or περιποίκιλοι (lines 7, 12–14); a few are purple (άλουργός, lines 12–15, 20–22). Many have a border (περιηγητός), often of purple (lines 20–22, 43–44, 52–53; πλατυαλουργής, lines 45–46); some are scalloped (παρυφή θερμαστίς, lines 28–29; κτενωτός, lines 7–8, 29–30, 41–43, 43–44, 44–45, 51–52; παρακυμάτιος, lines 45–46) or crenelated (πυργωτός, lines 25–26, 45–46); one even has a fringe (ἐξίστως, lines 29–30). *IG* II², 1523 refers to two *chitoniskoi* that are green in color (lines 14–15, 23–25), one that is gray (lines 17–18), and another that boasts a central purple band (lines 16–17).

In the later 5th century a handful of well-known vases are decorated with scenes of *ependytes* wearers taking part in cultic activity. Two of the most influential vases are red-figured choes: in the Vlastos Collection one showing women with the Dionysos mask and liknon, and in New York, one with women censing clothes (for the Anthesteria?).⁶⁴ In addition to these, there is the earlier volute-krater in Ferrara depicting worshipers participating in the intriguing rites of Sebazios or Dionysos.⁶⁵ We must not make the mistake of reading cultic significance into the garment as if worshipers wore uniforms in Classical Greece. In this respect it is less significant that three of the snake-handling celebrants on the Ferrara krater wear the *ependytes* than that ten of the participants do not.

⁵⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean 1891.686 (footnote 54 above). Athens, N.M. 12138 (footnote 55 above).

⁶⁰ The simple border is preferred by the Woman Painter: Vienna, Kunsthist.Mus. 114; Athens, N.M. 1955 (footnote 55 above); and in the Manner of the Woman Painter: Berlin 3369 (*ARV*² 1373.2); Athens, N.M. 13749 (*ARV*² 1373.7); and the Reed Painter: London, B.M. D 73 (*ARV*² 1380.93).

⁶¹ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam GR 2.1928; Athens, N.M. 1965; New York Market (all footnote 55 above).

⁶² Athens, N.M. 17316 (not illustrated). Athens, N.M. 1956 and Athens, N.M. 1639 (footnote 55 above); Boston, M.F.A. 97.371 (footnote 57 above).

⁶³ F. von Lorentz, "ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ 'ΥΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ," *RM* 52, 1937 (pp. 165–222), p. 216. For examples of banded *ependytai*, see footnotes 64 and 66 below.

⁶⁴ Athens, Vlastos Collection, Eretria Painter (*ARV*² 1249.13). New York, M.M.A. 75.2.11, Meidias Painter (*ARV*² 1313.11; Burn, pl. 52:b).

⁶⁵ Ferrara, M.N., Spina T 128, Group of Polygnotos (*ARV*² 1052.25). Cf. Burn, p. 86.

An examination of the occurrence of the *ependytes* in Classical Attic vase painting shows that its use is not restricted to priests, people engaged in cultic activity, and divine figures. On the contrary, it was a garment in general use, worn because it was attractive; when it occurs in cultic contexts, it is merely the ancient equivalent of "Sunday best".⁶⁶ An officiating priest used it for formal elegance, not to advertise priestly rank. The status conferred by the use of the ornament was not religious or official but social.

IV. THE EPENDYTES AS AN ORIENTAL IMPORT

On the basis of Herodotos' use of the verb *ἐπενδύειν* in his description of the woolen garment worn over a long linen chiton by the Babylonians, Hauser saw the *ἐπενδύτης* as an Oriental import to Athens arriving sometime after the Persian Wars.⁶⁷ Fifth-century vase painters were conscious of its Eastern associations: Orientals, such as Amazons, Persians, and generic Easterners, usually wear the garment. Although in the 6th century Amazons wear "Scythian" clothing after an initial period *à la grecque*, after the Persian Wars they regularly take their dress from "Persians" and don the *ependytes* over their leggings. Similarly, the Scythians do not wear the *ependytes* on Archaic vases; it arrives with Orientals only after the Persian Wars.⁶⁸ Most of the early (and according to Bovon, more accurate) depictions of Persians show them in battle with Greeks. In these representations a cuirass all but obscures their *ependytes*, although a few are still visible (Pl. 55:b).⁶⁹ As the 5th century wears on, Persians and Amazons become "generic" Orientals in Attic iconography, to the point that the presence of beards is often the only means of distinguishing between them. Along with this development the *ependytes* is increasingly used as an ethnic

⁶⁶ See also: Tübingen, Universität S/10 1383, unattributed red-figured chous (CVA, Tübingen 4 [Germany 52], pl. 42 [2559]:3); Boston, M.F.A. 10.206, Manner of the Meidias Painter (ARV² 1324.37); Athens, Vlastos Collection, unattributed red-figured chous (Van Hoorn [footnote 3 above], fig. 243); Oxford, Ashmolean 1945.1, unattributed red-figured chous (Van Hoorn, fig. 125).

⁶⁷ Hauser (footnote 2 above), p. 33. In the Septuagint (1 Kings 18:4) the garment appears in conjunction with the *μανδύα*, which, according to Pollux (vii.60) is a Babylonian garment; the variability of the meaning of *ependytes* in the Septuagint may, however, reflect some difficulty of translation.

⁶⁸ D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957, p. 144; M. F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting*, Groningen 1963, pp. 43–44. Cf. also H. Schoppa, *Die Darstellung der Perser in der griechischen Kunst*, Coburg 1933 and W. Raeck (*Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Bonn 1981, p. 214), who uses the same evidence to argue that Scythians fade out of Attic vase painting ca. 480 B.C.

⁶⁹ The following are discussed and illustrated by A. Bovon ("La représentation des guerriers perses, et la notion de barbare dans la 1^{ère} moitié du V^e siècle," *BCH* 87, 1963, pp. 579–602); the "P" references are to Raeck's catalogue in *Barbarenbild* (footnote 68 above): New York, M.M.A. 06.1021.117 (ARV² 1656; Bovon, no. 3; P577; here Pl. 55:b). Rome, Basseggio, Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy (ARV² 417.4; Bovon, no. 7; P604). Berlin 2331 (B), Oionokles Painter (ARV² 646.7; Bovon, no. 10; P555). Paris, Cab.Méd. 496bis, Tymbos Painter (ARV² 758.94; Bovon no. 11; P589). Tanagra (Bovon, no. 12; P595). Add: Boston, M.F.A. 21.2286, Sotades Painter, neck (ARV² 772 θ; P558); possibly Basel, Cahn Collection (Schauenburg, pl. 41:1; P554); possibly Tübingen, Universität E94 = S./10 1571, Altamura Painter (ARV² 593.38; P596; CVA, Tübingen 4 [Germany 52], pl. 22 [2539]:6). *Generic Orientals* (?): Vatican, Mus.Greg. H530 (Pl. 53:a), "king" (ARV² 1065.8; P591); Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseum V294, seated king(?), Manner of the Kleophon Painter (ARV² 1150.27; P594).

identifier.⁷⁰ Clearly in the 5th century the Athenians regarded the garment as Oriental in origin, possibly even Iranian.⁷¹

There is to my knowledge no certain contemporary or earlier Iranian representation of the *ependytes*. Could this lack be merely due to the imperial nature of Achaemenid representational art? But perhaps the Athenians were mistaken about its Iranian identity: there is other evidence that Athenians, although highly conscious of Persian power, were limited in their knowledge of Persian culture.⁷² Herodotos associates the garment with Babylon; the identity of the region as home of the *ependytes* is supported by other hints. Assyrian texts of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. listing tribute and booty often refer to *lubulte birme*,⁷³ or multicolored garments, presumably of wool.⁷⁴ The tradition of the colorful weaving of the region continued even to Roman times: Pliny identified the Babylonians as the “discoverers” of the weaving of varied colors (*NH* VIII.48).

When Thiersch analyzed the *ependytes*, he suggested without discussion that it came from Syria. More recently Özgan identified it with a garment called a “Bluse” by Hrouda and visible in Assyrian relief sculpture, and he argued that it came to the Greek world as an Assyrian import.⁷⁵ There are two flaws in the theory of a specifically Assyrian origin: there is no clear instance of the Assyrian “Bluse” being worn over another garment as Herodotos describes and as Greek art shows, and it has short “sleeves” rather than being truly sleeveless. We may adduce one more piece of iconographic evidence, a Cilician Neo-Hittite relief sculpture from Bor (Pl. 55:c).⁷⁶ Boehmer argued that the highly patterned robe and cloak common to two reliefs (from Bor and Ivriz) of King Warpalawas of Tyana, ca. 730 B.C., were luxury textiles exported from Phoenicia to Cilicia.⁷⁷ The costume of the king on the stele from Bor differs slightly from the one on the Ivriz relief by the addition of a plain,

⁷⁰ E.g.: Naples, M.N. 3251 (K. Schauenburg, *Jagddarstellung auf griechischen Vasen*, Hamburg 1969, pl. 6; Schauenburg, pl. 42; P576); Ferrara, M.N., Spina T 652 (A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow-Maler*, Mainz 1976, pl. 159; P561); Frankfurt, Arch.Seminar (P565); Marzabotto, Museo Aria (Lezzi-Hafter, pl. 98; P575). Louvre G571 (Lezzi-Hafter, pl. 161; P587); Sarajevo 405 (*CVA*, Sarajevo 1 [Jugoslavia 4], pl. 43 [170]:2); London, B.M. E 791, The Persian Class (*ARV*² 1550.3; P571). To this can be added several figures from the series of “oklasma” dancers partially collected by Metzger ([footnote 15 above] p. 149) and Raeck ([footnote 68 above] P607–610, with references).

⁷¹ Amelung ([footnote 50 above] col. 2331) noted its Oriental nature and wondered whether its origin might be sought in Asia Minor, in a garment like the *κῦπασσις* (col. 2332). Özgan (pp. 116–119) argues at length the point that the Athenians took the *ependytes* to be an Oriental garment.

⁷² Cf. M. C. Miller, “Midas as the Great King,” *AntK* 31, 1988, pp. 79–88.

⁷³ References are by volume and paragraph to D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I–II, Chicago 1926. *Tribute*: Assur-nasir-pal: I, 443, 457, 466, 469, 474, 476, 477, 479 (from Phoenicia); Shalmaneser III: I, (592), 601, 603, 655; Tiglath-Pileser III: I, 769, 772, 794, 801, 815; Sargon: II, 74, 87, 211. *Booty*: Assur-nasir-pal: I, 443, 473; Shalmaneser III: I, 601; Sargon: II, 22, 45, 172. *Gifts to people*: Shalmaneser III: I, 624. *Gifts to the gods of Babylon*: Sargon: II, 70, (184). I am greatly indebted to Irene Winter for introduction to this evidence.

⁷⁴ The known difficulty in successfully dyeing linen has yielded the modern conclusion that all ancient references to dyed garments must be to wool: J. Milgrom, “Of Hems and Tassels,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 9, 1983 (pp. 61–65), p. 65, with references.

⁷⁵ Thiersch, p. 1; Özgan, p. 109.

⁷⁶ Istanbul, Arch.Mus. 837, basalt stele: Özgan (footnote 7 above), no. N/83, with references.

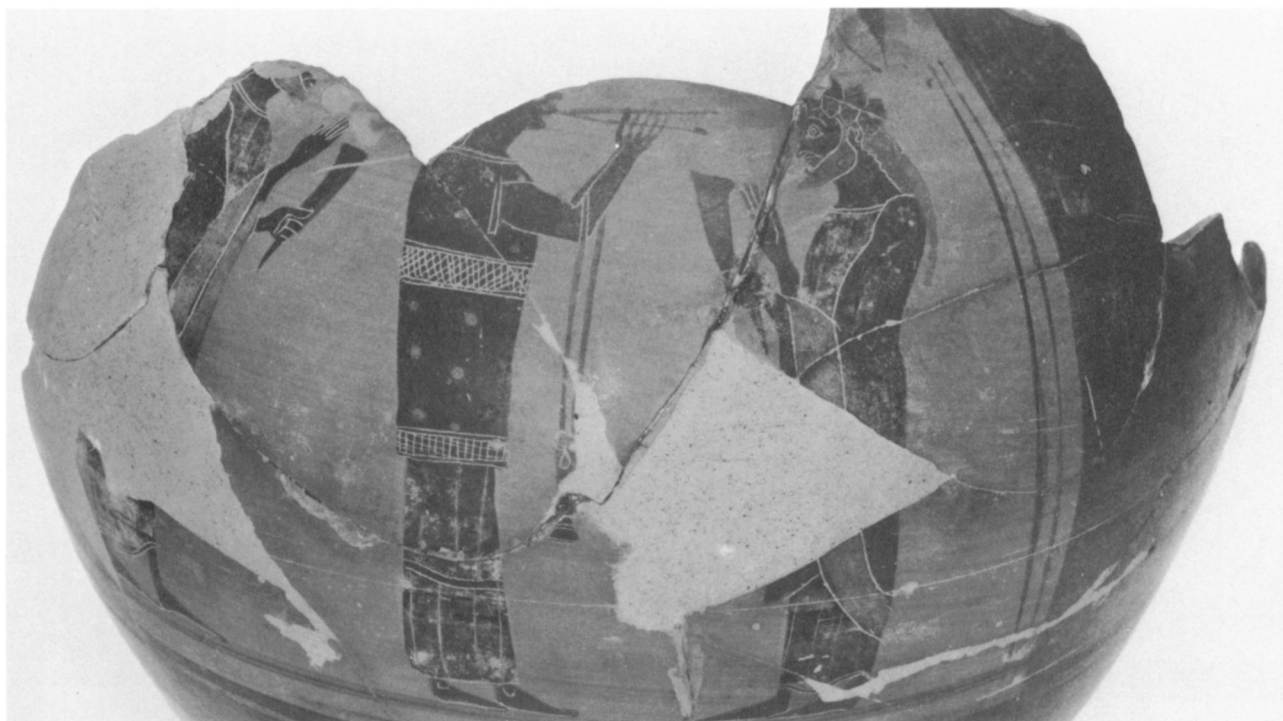
⁷⁷ “Phrygische Prunkgewänder,” *AA* 88, 1973 (pp. 149–172), p. 153.

tuniclike garment which looks like an *ependytes* worn over the imported Phrygian robe (whether sleeved or not is unclear). Warpalawas seems to have had a taste for imported dress; perhaps his *ependytes* came from North Syria, in whose zone of influence his region lay. The evidence, though circumstantial, continues to point to the Near East as the original home of the *ependytes*.

To an Athenian of the 5th century the image of the *ependytes* on a mortal could connote one of two things. In some instances, it conveyed the Eastern origin of a *barbaros*; in other instances it conveyed the purchasing power of an Athenian. At this point it is impossible to say whether the representations on people were intended to signify the original imported item or a local imitation. The significance of the garment on a god or hero is but an extension of its use by mortals; as a valuable item of imported luxury dress, it is appropriate to their status. The practice of giving it to figures like Dionysos and Eos relates to its ethnic connotative power.

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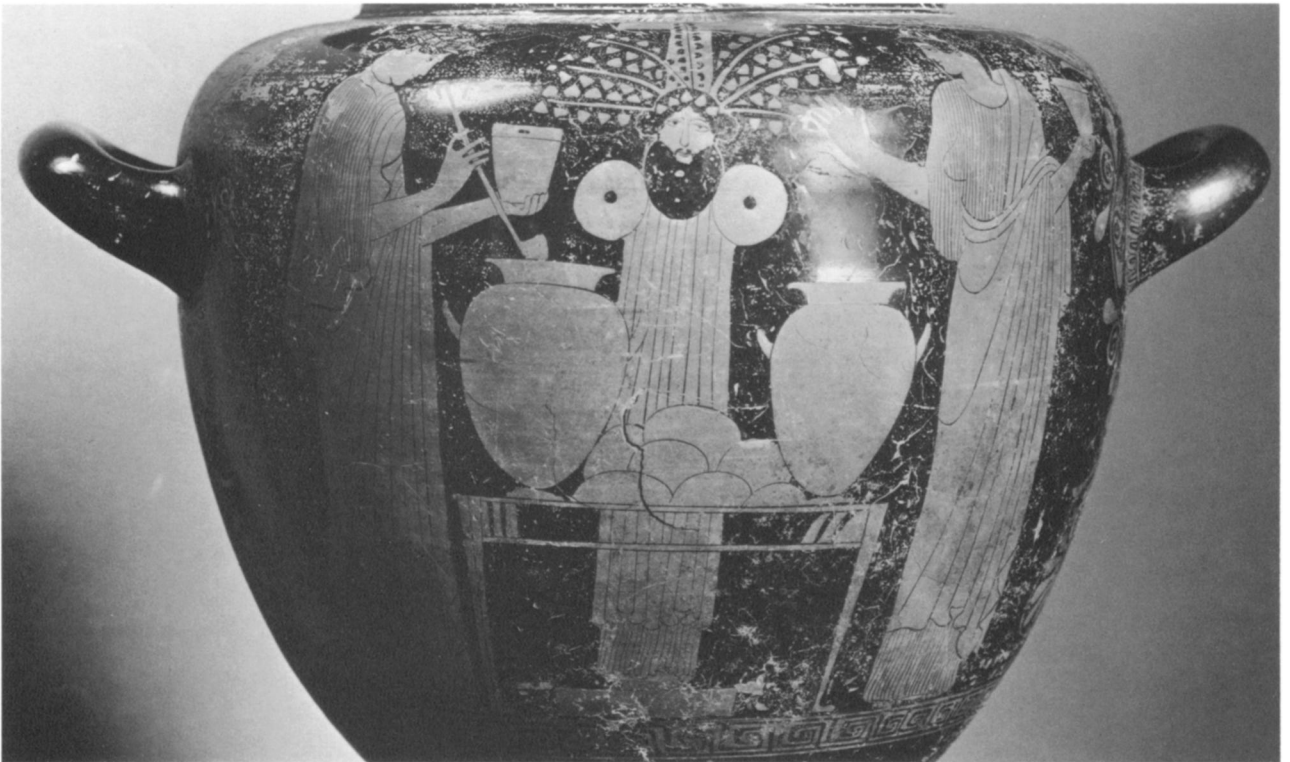
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Canada L8S 4M2



a. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum AT 240



b. Naples, Museo Nazionale 2419 (Photo Alinari)



a. Rome, Villa Giulia 983 (Photo Alinari)



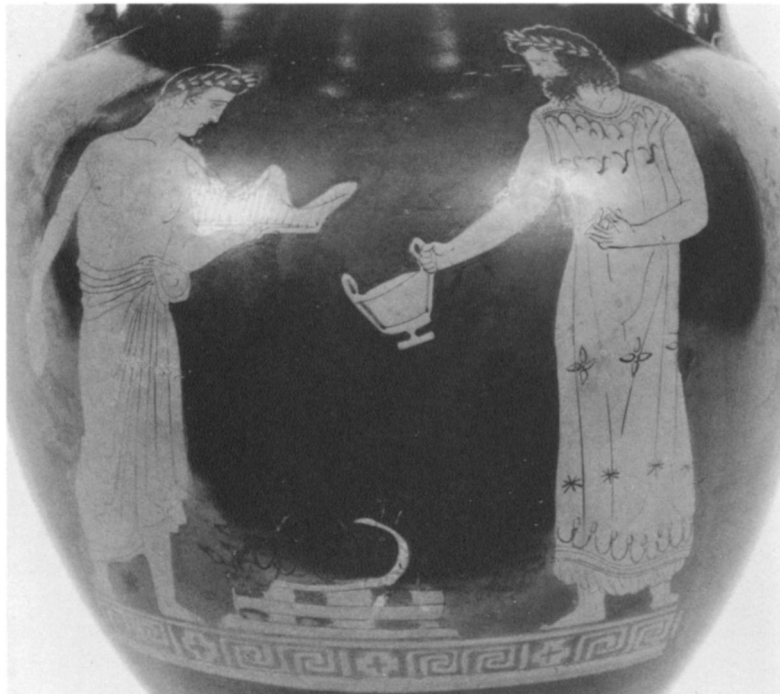
b. Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte β 413



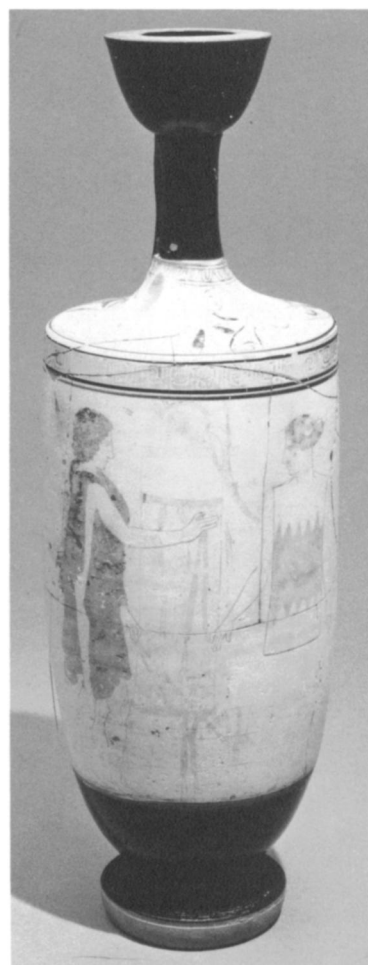
a. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano H530 (Photo Alinari)



b. Metaponto, Antiquarium Statale 100667



c. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum A 1969:4 (478)



d. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (37.7).
Annette Finnigan Collection



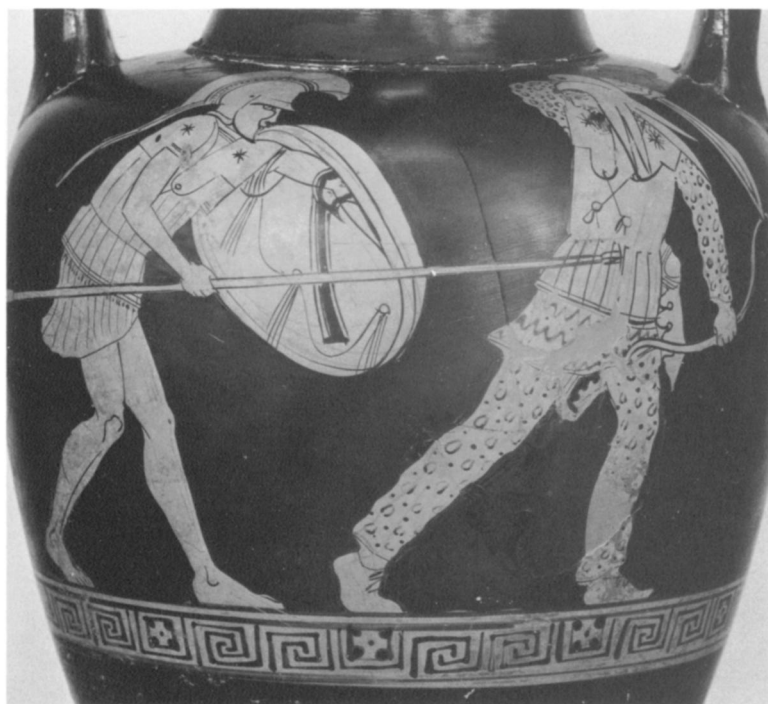
a. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University (1960.344). Bequest of David M. Robinson



b. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Spina T 19c, 42685



a. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AS IV 984.1814



b. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.117)



c. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 837