

ASPECTS OF ANCIENT MACEDONIAN COSTUME

To Manolis Andronikos†

A judicious combination of literary sources and archaeological research has often offered rewarding historical insights. In Macedonian studies such attempts have tended to be less fruitful, due to the scanty nature of the material and literary evidence.¹ Now that archaeological investigation has expanded so widely in Northern Greece, it may be time to reassess aspects of Macedonian culture which have in the past been tackled with more enthusiasm than actual evidence, not surprisingly in view of the age-long interest in the people who shaped the Hellenistic world.

Recent retreatment of Macedonian dress falls within this orbit: the *kausia*, the *chlamys* and the *krepides* attracted scholarly interest once again. The topic might be considered thoroughly studied, but I would argue that certain aspects are still open to debate, especially with respect to some new material evidence from Vergina, 'the homeland of the historical Macedonians'.²

I. THE KAUSIA

The most characteristic, widely discussed, yet perhaps least well understood item of Macedonian dress is the *kausia*, a particular form of headgear attributed in literature almost unanimously to the Macedonians.³

Since the later nineteenth century many theories have been proposed, concerning its identity; scanty literary references and a variety of plausible representations resulted in a debate that continues to point up the lack of concrete evidence available for its reconstruction.⁴

B. M. Kingsley, in an article to which I will often refer, suggests that the *kausia* should be identified with the modern *chitralli*, a traditional woollen cap worn by certain groups living in or originating from the mountainous areas of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nuristan.⁵

P. Dintsis has discussed the *kausia* thoroughly, in his treatment of Hellenistic helmets: examining its shape, function and distribution, he sees in the Macedonian headgear an item of protective armour. He was actually the first to attempt a schematic reconstruction of the *kausia* in the long-accepted shape of a beret. His almost full catalogue of relevant representations and

† This article was originally dedicated to Professor Manolis Andronikos, who supported my research in every possible way. It is now dedicated to his memory, as an acknowledgement of his scholarly contribution to Macedonian studies. My deep appreciation I owe to Professor H. Kyrieleis, Professor D. Pantermalis and especially to Professor V. v. Graeve, for reading the draft and encouraging the completion of this paper. The English text owes much to Dr. Bettina Tsigarida and especially to Dr. A. Johnston who revised it. The drawings I owe to George Miltakakis' friendly offer. For useful remarks I thank my colleagues Dr. B. Schmidt-Douna, Dr. P. Faklaris and Dr. A. Mentzos, at Thessaloniki University. I owe much to the anonymous readers for *JHS* and to the Editor.

¹ Μαν. Ανδρόνικος, 'Ιστορία και αρχαιολογία': Φίλια επη εις Γ.Ε. Μυλωνάν (Athens 1984) 19-37. E.N. Borza, *In the shadow of Olympus. The emergence of Macedonia* (Princeton 1990) 3 ff. mainly 18 ff. (This ambitious work would have been more reliable, had the author approached the archaeological data more carefully).

² Borza (n. 1) 40.

³ J. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens* i (Athens 1954) 203 ff. 204 nn. 1-2, 206 n. 6.

⁴ L. Heuzey-H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine* (Paris 1876) 292 f. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* ii (Paris 1896) 975 ff. (L. Heuzey). E. Wuescher-Becchi, *BollComm* xxxii (1904) 93 ff. O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (1906) 55 ff. *RE* xi (1921) s.v. 'καυσία' 98 ff. (A.v. Netoliczka). E. Neuffer, *Das Kostüm Alexander d.Gr.* (Giessen 1929) A. Kähler, *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon* (Berlin 1948) 138 n. 73. D. B. Thompson, *Troy.Supp.3: The terracotta figurines of the Hellenistic period* (Princeton 1963) 53-55, pls. XVI.52-57 and LXI.a-e. C. Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* ii (Munich 1969) 32 f. T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jhds.v.Chr.* (Würzburg 1973) 135 ff. n. 800. Chr. Le Roy, *RA* ii (1986) 287 ff. figs. 5-8. E. A. Friedrichsmeyer, *TAPhA* cxvi (1986) 215-227.

⁵ B.M. Kingsley, 'The cap that survived Alexander' *AJA* lxxxv (1981) 39-46 pl. 6 (hereafter Kingsley).

extended bibliography will be often quoted hereafter.⁶

In a recent article on the *kausia diadematophoros* A. M. Prestianni-Giallombardo suggests that *πίλος μακεδονικός* should not be taken as a geographical or ethnic term, but as a reflection of its adoption by Alexander, 'il più "grande" dei sovrani macedoni'. She believes that its most reliable representation is preserved on the Weapons Relief from Pergamon, and suggests that the term indicated a cap for keeping warm rather than protecting the head from the sun.⁷

Continuous disagreement concerning the material, name, shape, use, distribution and origin of the *kausia* makes it worth reconsidering those aspects, especially with respect to its identification on the façade of Philip's tomb which I suggest below.⁸

1. Use.

Any approach concerning the name, material, shape and distribution of the *kausia* depends primarily on the definition of its use, as recorded in literature.

Antipater (Appendix no. 1) terms the *kausia* as *εὐκόλον ὄπλον* of the Macedonians, used both as a *σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ* and as a *κόρυς ἐν πτολέμῳ*.⁹

Eustathios (Appendix no. 2) defines the *kausia* as *σκέπουσά τε ἀπὸ καύσωνος καὶ ὡς εἰς περικεφαλὰ ἰαν συντελοῦσά τι*.

Both texts indicate that, although basically an item of defensive armour, the *kausia* could also be used in other circumstances, such as (contrasting) weather conditions.

A sacral text from the Letoon at Xanthos (Appendix no. 3) includes the *kausia* among military equipment forbidden in the *temenos*.¹⁰

Philo (Appendix no. 4) suggests its use as a conveyor of secret (military) messages.¹¹

It seems that the *kausia* should be included in the equipment of a Macedonian soldier; yet its rarity in monuments showing Macedonians in martial action, not least the Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon,¹² suggests that it was a substitute rather than a true helmet, used occasionally as defensive armour, while serving other than genuine military functions.

Discussing its distribution below may clarify this suggestion.

2. Material.

The material of the *kausia* should not be seen independently from its use. Although it is widely accepted as a piece of defensive armour, most scholars have opted for felt,¹³ while fewer have preferred leather.¹⁴ It has also been suggested that it could be sheathed with metal

⁶ P. Dintsis, *Hellenistische Helme* (Rome 1986) 183-195, 204-314 nos. 281-301, pls. 80-83, Beil. 14 (hereafter Dintsis).

⁷ A.M. Prestianni-Giallombardo, 'Kausia diadematophoros in Macedonia: Testimonianze misconosciute e nuove proposte', *Messana NS* i (1989) 1-13 pls. I-IV.

⁸ Μαν.Ανδρόνικος, Βεργίνα.Οι βασιλικοί τάφοι και οι άλλες αρχαιότητες (Athens 1984) 96 ff.

⁹ A.S.F. Gow-D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Part I: The garland of Philip* i-ii (Cambridge 1968) 37 no. 41, 50-51 respectively.

¹⁰ Le Roy (n. 4) 290 n. 64. Dintsis 184 n. 12, 190 n. 57.

¹¹ Y. Garlan, *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque* (Athens 1974) 314, 31-36.

¹² V. v. Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und sein Werkstatt* (Berlin 1970) 87 n. 28.

¹³ Dintsis 183 n. 4. Heuzey (n. 4) 975. Netoliczka (n. 4) c.89. Schneider (n. 4) 32. Hölscher (n. 4) 135. Kähler (n. 4) 138 n. 73.

¹⁴ P. Jaeckel, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für historische Waffen-und Kostümkunde* vii (1965) 103. Wuescher-Becchi (n.4) 104. H. Sauer, *Kleine Pauly* iii (1969) cols. 171-172 suggested both leather and felt. Kalleris (n. 3) 204 f. proposed leather for the early kausiai but felt for the royal ones.

plates or be made entirely of metal, with respect to its attested use as a helmet.¹⁵

Kingsley and Dintsis support a woollen original: the latter based most of his arguments on literary evidence;¹⁶ according to the former's view, the identification of the *kausia* with the *chitrali* entails that both ancient and modern headgear were of wool.¹⁷ Antipater and Eustathios have been adduced to show that the *kausia* was made of 'bits of wool' or 'Filz', respectively:¹⁸ the 'absorbing function' of the headdress, in v.3 of the epigram, related to Eustathios' ἐκ πίλου, should refer to a woollen texture.

Nonetheless, there are counter-arguments:

a) The phrase ἰδρῶ διψήσασα πειῖν has been translated as 'thirsting to drink your sweat'.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the expression may well be best taken as metaphorical: 'thirsting to share in your toil'. This more suitably poetic interpretation can be further supported by earlier attested uses of both ἰδρῶς²⁰ and διψῶ in such metaphorical senses.²¹

b) Κρόκες in v. 5 of the epigram, meaning 'woof of the loom' in the singular and 'felt nap' in the plural,²² has been taken as proof of a woollen texture.²³ Yet, it is by no means certain that in the epigram the word applies to the whole headdress; indeed, it most probably refers only to part of it. In *Iliad* ii 261-265, Odysseus' helmet is of leather, lined with felt;²⁴ πίλος, on the other hand, we know to have been used primarily for lining leather artefacts;²⁵ consequently, Eustathios' ἐκ πίλου may probably refer to the lining of the *kausia* rather than to the whole cap.

Two sources hitherto neglected in this debate can be added:

a) A letter addressed to Zenon (Appendix no. 5).²⁶

b) A passage from Philo, *Mech.Syn.* (Appendix no. 4).²⁷

Zenon's καυσίαι were surely made of lambskin, as the epithet ἀρννακίδες indicates.²⁸ J. Kalleris has already noted the significance of the source for a leather *kausia*,²⁹ but those who argue for wool have uniformly neglected the passage.

Philo also has a leather, not woollen cap in mind for use as a conveyor of secret messages.³⁰

¹⁵ Heuzey (n. 4) 976. Netoliczka (n. 4) c.92.

¹⁶ Dintsis 183 n. 4.

¹⁷ Kingsley 42 n. 26.

¹⁸ Kingsley 42 n. 26 prefers 'bits of wool' rather than 'felt'. Dintsis 183 n. 4.

¹⁹ Gow-Page (n. 9) i 37 no. XLI. Kingsley 42 n. 26. Dintsis 183 n. 4.

²⁰ LSJ, s.v. 'ἰδρῶς' = Ar. *Eccles.* 750.

²¹ Gow-Page (n. 9) ii, 53 s.v. 'διψήσασα' = Xen. *An.* 1.1: 'ἐγὼ ὑμῖν διψῶ χαρίζεσθαι'.

²² Gow-Page (n.9) ii, 57 s.v. 'κρόκη'. LSJ s.v. 'κρόκη'.

²³ Dintsis 183 n. 4. Kingsley 42 n. 26.

²⁴ J. Borchhardt, *Homerische Helme* (Mainz 1972) 9 s.v. 'πίλος': 'das Wort erscheint nur einmal als Bezeichnung für das Innerfutter des Eberzahnhelmes auf der Dolonie'.

²⁵ H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* i (1912) 226 n. 6.

²⁶ C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri* iv (Hildesheim 1971) 77-78 no. 59633.6-9.

²⁷ Garland (n. 11) 314.31-36.

²⁸ LSJ s.v. 'ἀρννακίς'. Blümner (n. 25) 260 n.3. Le Roy (n. 4) 292 n. 70 interprets the term as 'kausiai en peau (ou feutre) de mouton'.

²⁹ Kalleris (n. 3) 205 n. 5. Thompson (n. 4) 53 n. 134.

³⁰ Garland (n. 11) 314 translates the term as 'chapeau de feutre'.

a) The term *χρῶς* is always used to refer to a skin.³¹

b) All other materials mentioned in the same context as alternative conveyors of secret messages (*ύμην, μεμβρόνη, κύστις*) have a texture similar or identical to leather,³² a medium also used as a writing material throughout antiquity.³³ So one can only conclude that Philo, suggesting a *kausia* for such a specific use, must refer to a leather-like surface, certainly not a woollen one.

c) The ‘inks’ recommended by Philo are also worth consideration: he advises separate applications of soaked oak-galls (*κηκῖδες*) and copper sulphate (*ὄνθος χαλκού*).

Theophrastos talks of oak-galls as mordants for woollens, but he also notes that they were used for tanning leather.³⁴ Forbes adds that ‘the oak-gall belongs to a vegetable tanning material that gives leather of a pale colour, varying from creamy to yellowish or light brown.’³⁵

Chalkanthos, on the other hand, is a mineral used for darkening leather. Pliny says: ‘the Greeks indicated the relationship of copper to shoemaker’s black by their name for the latter substance, which they call *chalkanthos*’.³⁶

The use of both substances in the leather industry proves that the *kausia* Philo mentions is of leather. Philo seems well aware of the chemical properties of both media, as demonstrated by Blümner’s technological commentary: ‘Übrigens färbt der Kupfervitriol (*chalkanthos*) nicht an und für sich schwarz, sondern erst dadurch, dass es mit dem Gerbstoff den das Leder enthält sich verbindet, so dass der Gerbstoff gewissermässen die Stelle der Beize vertritt’.³⁷ This explains the reasons for successive applications: the oak-gall ‘ink’ would not become visible until sponged with the *chalkanthos* solution. Thus, Philo’s requirement of a new *kausia* (Appendix no. 4, 77) may be explained by the fact that on a newly tanned leather surface the oak-gall ‘ink’ used for writing the message would not be visible at all.

It cannot be accidental that both Philo and Zenon refer to a leather *kausia*. Both texts are simple and descriptive and their evidence points to the texture of the Macedonian headgear more accurately than Antipater’s poetry or Eustathios’ late commentary. Nevertheless, both the latter texts can be interpreted in the same light, reinforcing, instead of upsetting my argumentation: if *πίλος* and *κρόκες* (with any absorbent property they might have had) are apprehended as referring to a felt lining of the *kausia*, as another example of a long-attested practice, then *χρῶς* must allude to the outer, leather surface of the cap.

Such a two-layer *kausia* is additionally supported by a further passage in Philo, where an alternative use of the headgear for passing secret messages is proposed (Appendix no. 4, 78): *ἢ εἰς ὑμένα γραφείσης [τῆς ἐπιστολῆς] εἶτα διπλῆς οὐσης τῆς καυσίας εἰς τὸ ἀνά μέσον τεθείσης τῆς στεφάνης καὶ ἑτέρας [στεφάνης] <ἐπι>κολληθείσης*.³⁸

These considerations point to a *kausia* with a leather facing and a felt lining which is either restricted to the *stephane* or extended to the whole cap; anyway, a structure consonant with its

³¹ LSJ s.v. ‘*χρῶς*’.

³² LSJ s.v. ‘*ύμην*’, ‘*μεμβρόνη*’, ‘*κύστις*’.

³³ R.J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology* v (Leiden 1957) 61 ff. For an exception recorded on linen see Forbes iii (1965) 228.

³⁴ *HP* iii 8.6. Blümner (n. 25) I 268 n. 2. Forbes (n. 33) ii, 230 n. 66.

³⁵ Forbes (n. 33) 6.

³⁶ Plin. *HN* xxxiv 123-125. Forbes iii 230.

³⁷ Blümner i 283.

³⁸ Garland (n. 11) 324 no. 78, lines 36-39. The syntax is not very clear; however, *τεθείσης* cannot but refer to the letter (*ἐπιστολή*) written *εἰς ὑμένα*.

attested uses as a σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ and a κόρυς ἐν πτολέμῳ.

Kalleris suggested leather as the material from which the *kausia* was made; he argues, though, that the καυσία ἀλουργής, worn only by the king and Macedonian nobility, was probably of felt; the use of sea purple as a dye would be relevant to a textile product.³⁹ Yet, leather too could be dyed with such substances.⁴⁰ So, ἀλουργής, meaning ‘wrought by the sea’⁴¹ may refer to a special purple cap, made perhaps of a finer grade of leather than that of ordinary *kausiai*.⁴²

3. Name

It has been widely accepted that the *kausia* was named after its function, i.e. to protect the wearer from the heat of the sun,⁴³ namely καύσων attested by Eustathios and καύσις or καύσος added by recent scholars.⁴⁴ Heuzey has already remarked that ancient Greek hats were named after their material or form rather than after their function;⁴⁵ on the other hand, relating *kausia* to a sun-hat contradicts Antipater, the earliest and only source attesting its use as σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ during the winter.⁴⁶

A. M. Prestianni-Giallombardo has recently suggested that the term indicates a cap ‘che serve non a riparare dalla calore ma piuttosto a riscaldere e a mantenere il calore’, an explanation which again is based on function.⁴⁷ Hoffmann rejected the sun-hat/heat explanation as pure ‘Volksetymologie’ and suggested instead its etymological relation to a group of old terms for ‘hat’.⁴⁸ Kalleris proposed a connection of the term with κᾶσον (lambskin);⁴⁹ although his suggestion chimes in with the καυσίαι ἀρνακίδες of the Zenon archive (Appendix no. 5), it presents linguistic difficulties,⁵⁰ of which he himself is aware.⁵¹ Nonetheless, it is difficult to reject the view that the word is derived in some way from καίειν.⁵² Yet, is the heat of the sun the only possible interpretation?

Reviewing the original meaning of those words so far connected with the *kausia* may lead to another explanation. In Homer and thereafter καύμα is the only word used for the ‘heat of the sun’⁵³ and it certainly cannot be linguistically connected with the καυσία.

Καύσων, an alternative for καύμα, appears to our knowledge much later⁵⁴ and is the only one of the words discussed here which is connected with the *kausia* in Eustathios’ late commentary (Appendix no. 2).

³⁹ Kalleris (n. 3) 204 f., 205.

⁴⁰ Blümner i 232 n. 1. Forbes v, 46.

⁴¹ LSJ s.v. ‘ἀλουργής’.

⁴² Blümner i 265 n. 5: ‘die Alaun – der Weissgerberei – liefert nämlich sehr weiches Leder, und gerade diese Eigenschaft wird in der "Aluta" gerühmt.’

⁴³ Hoffmann (n. 4) 58 n. 44. Kalleris 204 n. 6.

⁴⁴ Heuzey (n. 4) 975 (καύσις). Wuescher-Becchi (n. 4) 94 and Hoffmann (n. 4) 58 (καύσις and καύσος).

⁴⁵ Kalleris 205 n. 4.

⁴⁶ Kingsley 42: ‘the cap was made of wool and was comfortably worn in snow but the roll about the eyes served also as a sweat-band’.

⁴⁷ Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 13.

⁴⁸ Hoffmann (n.4) 58.

⁴⁹ Kalleris 205 nn. 5-9.

⁵⁰ Dintsis 183 n. 1.

⁵¹ Kalleris 206 nn. 2-4.

⁵² Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 13.

⁵³ LSJ s.v. ‘καύμα’.

⁵⁴ LSJ s.v. ‘καύσων’.

Καύσος, not attested but suggested to be related to the *kausia* by recent scholars,⁵⁵ is originally a medical term signifying the ‘bilious remittent fever’; it, too, acquires the meaning of καύμα much later.⁵⁶

Καύσις signifies the ‘action of burning’ (cautery, smelting)⁵⁷ and in Vitruvius the polishing of a surface with hot wax.⁵⁸ The plural indicates ‘burning heat’, not necessarily that of the sun.⁵⁹

It is evident that the *kausia* cannot derive from καύμα, for linguistic reasons, while καύσος and καύσων, as alternative meanings to signify the heat of the sun appear much later in Greek sources than the term καυσία, which is attested at least since the end of the fourth century BC.⁶⁰ Καύσις, on the contrary, in its original technical meaning, seems to be the only possible source for the καυσία: like θολία, it may be an adjective which came to be used of the object which it defined.⁶¹ Could then the term refer to a technical process involving the ‘action of burning’ in the manufacture of the cap (polishing it with wax or moulding it)?

We read in Forbes of the mediaeval ‘cuir bouilli’ used for such things as armour, sheaths, bottles, flasks and vessels; it is a process of moulding or ‘blocking’ leather, known since the prehistoric period.⁶² Such a long-practiced technique could also be used for the making of the *kausia*;⁶³ the leather headdress could be thus properly moulded and probably hardened enough to serve as a helmet, whenever necessary.⁶⁴

4. Shape

Literary references mention four characteristic of the *kausia*:

- a) It was a wide cap: πῖλος πλατύς (Appendix no. 6).⁶⁵
- b) It covered most of the head: *capite se totum tegit* (Appendix no. 7).
- c) It recalled a mushroom: *pol hic quidem fungino generest* (Appendix no. 7)⁶⁶
- d) It included, in some sense, a στεφάνη (Appendix no. 4).⁶⁷

These references are not only late but mainly insufficient to prove identity with any headgear represented pictorially. Most of the representations connected with the *kausia* are small (notably coins or sealings) and depict hats from a variety of angles; not surprisingly, therefore, very

⁵⁵ See above n. 44.

⁵⁶ LSJ s.v. ‘καύσος’.

⁵⁷ LSJ s.v. ‘καύσις’.

⁵⁸ Vitr. vii 9.

⁵⁹ *Theait.* 156B.

⁶⁰ LSJ s.v. ‘καυσία’. D. B. Durham, *The vocabulary of Menander* (Amsterdam 1969) 70 s.v. ‘καυσία’. (The reference to Theophrastus *fr.* 4.35 is referring to a ‘κασία’; therefore it should be discarded from the *kausia* references.

⁶¹ LSJ s.v. ‘θολία’.

⁶² Forbes v 13.

⁶³ G. Seiterle, *AW* x.3 (1979) 6 ff. id. *AW* xvi.3 (1985) 3 ff. id. *AntK* xxvii (1984) 135 ff., 140. Blümner i 269 n. 6.

⁶⁴ For tanning techniques see Blümner i 263 ff. Since raw-hide is also attested by Dio Cassius (Forbes v 13) it could be suggested that κράνη ὠμοβόεια or ἀσπίδες ὠμοβόινα (LSJ s.v. ‘ὠμοβοδέιος’) may allude to a technique other than the one applied on the *kausia*.

⁶⁵ Eustathios ad *Od.* 1399; Kingsley 42 n. 30 translates ‘flat pilos’.

⁶⁶ Kingsley 42 n. 28.

⁶⁷ For the term as part of a helmet see Dintsis 59 n. 11. I. Βοκοτοπούλου, Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Ν.Κοντολέοντος (Athens 1978) 236 n. 32. G. Seiterle, *AW* xvi (1985) 5. As for the term as part of the *kausia* Philo’s στεφάνη could be equated with Plautus’ ‘scutula’ (Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 1178-1181).

different types of hats have been proposed as the original *kausia*, or variants of it.

A once common idea, that the *kausia* was equivalent to the *petasos* has now been discarded,⁶⁸ since both types of head-dress have been detected on Macedonian coins, as recently shown by G. Le Rider.⁶⁹

Prestianni-Giallombardo originally identified the term *pilos makedonikos* with the *petasos*.⁷⁰ She later accepted that the term is actually referring to the *kausia*, which she reconstructs as 'una calotta circolare piuttosto ampia, trattenuta in maniera relativamente salda sul capo da una più stretta fascia al di sopra o intorno alla quale doveva essere possibile annodare il diadema'. She presumes that the most reliable representation of the cap is preserved on the Weapon Reliefs from Athena's Temple at Pergamon.⁷¹

Dintsis and Kingsley disagree on the original appearance of the *kausia*, the former suggesting a type of a large beret,⁷² the latter reconstructing it as a cap, similar to the modern *chitrali*.⁷³ Both scholars base their arguments on probable representations or presumed modern survivals, deriving from various sites and dated to different periods.

In what follows, I hope to focus on pictorial sources whose immediate Macedonian origin cannot be doubted, and try to reconstruct the genuine *kausia* on the basis of the new evidence from Vergina. To relist here all monuments so far related to the Macedonian cap would only be to copy Dintsis' thorough collection of relevant material;⁷⁴ in his complete catalogue, to which I will often refer, one can find all previous literature on the relevant monuments.

a. Broad brims and the Aiiane relief

Heuzey believed that he had found the best representation of the *kausia* on a relief stele which he took to the Louvre from Aiiane in Elimiotis;⁷⁵ the hat resembled 'une sorte de couvercle bombé, posé plutôt qu'enforcé sur la tête, ce qui expliquerait l'emploi des deux attaches, dont l'une semble passer sous le menton, l'autre derrière la nuque; le fond est pourvu d'un large ornement circulaire, dont il est difficile de déterminer la nature'.⁷⁶

While Heuzey's identification has never been doubted, it is strange, at least, to note that his *couvercle bombé* 'rapprochant au chapeau que portent aujourd'hui les Japonais',⁷⁷ has been taken as something like a modern beret.⁷⁸ It was normally accepted that the straps securing the Aiiane headgear around the chin and neck were consonant with the notion of a modern beret, although this specific headgear needs no such anchor. While it was assumed that all *kausiai* should have such bands,⁷⁹ Dintsis was actually the first to point out correctly their oddity for the *kausia*.⁸⁰ Prestianni-Giallombardo, in a note of her article on the *kausia*

⁶⁸ Dintsis 184 n. 12. Yet Gow-Page (n. 9) i, 37 translate the term as 'broad-brimmed hat'. So Borza (n. 1) 130.

⁶⁹ G. Le Rider, *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe II* (Paris 1977) 5 figs. 1-2.

⁷⁰ A.M. Prestianni-Giallombardo, *Ancient Macedonia* iv (1983) 507 n. 28.

⁷¹ Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 5 ff., 10 n. 34.

⁷² Dintsis Beil. 14.

⁷³ Kingsley 39 ill. 1.

⁷⁴ Dintsis 304-312, nos. 281-301, pls. 80-83.

⁷⁵ Louvre 804: Heuzey-Daumet (n. 4) 292ff., pl. 22. H. Biesantz, *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz 1965) 27 (K56) pl. 23.

⁷⁶ Heuzey (n.4) 975 fig. 1259.

⁷⁷ Heuzey-Daumet (n.4) 292.

⁷⁸ Dintsis 184 nn. 11-12. Perdridet, *RA* iii (1904) and Gaebler, *ZfN* xxxvii (1927) 239 understood the *kausia* in rather peculiar ways.

⁷⁹ Neuffer (n. 4) 23. Schneider (n. 4) 32.

⁸⁰ Dintsis 185 n. 19.

diadematophoros,⁸¹ has suggested we discard the Aiiane relief from the *kausia* representations; her arguments, published just after my own treatment was completed, are most similar to, though not as detailed as the ones put forward below (see Addendum).

The *petasos* has a broad brim, shown circular or cut at angles, with a knob of varying diameter. We find both versions on classical monuments, such as the Parthenon frieze⁸² and a relief base from the Academy,⁸³ as well as on many vase representations.⁸⁴

In Macedon, the *petasos* appears on the coins of Alexander I,⁸⁵ as well as later on the Pella hunting mosaics,⁸⁶ and now on the fresco depicting the Rape of Persephone in Tomb I at Vergina [PLATE I (a)].⁸⁷ The deer-hunting mosaic⁸⁸ gives us the 'flying' *petasos* in profile, with a central knob, which no doubt served as the point of attachment for the straps, and not as an ornament.⁸⁹ In the lion-hunting mosaic⁹⁰ we see a *petasos* in three-quarter view, just as Hermes wears it on the fresco from Vergina; a triangular feature at the top must be equivalent to the circular knob in the deer-hunting scene: they certainly recall Heuzey's 'ornement circulaire' of the Aiiane relief and should be similarly interpreted as the attachment point for the straps and not as a decorative feature.

To these Macedonian representations of a broad-brimmed hat we may now add examples on stelai from the debris of the Great Tumulus at Vergina;⁹¹ they comprise both the 'true' *petasos* and a version of the broad-brimmed hat which is similar to the hat of the so-called Euthydemos I of Bactria.⁹²

The 'true' *petasos*

A grave relief of c. 350 BC [PLATE I (b)] depicts a man with a broad-brimmed hat slung over his back by a strap once rendered in paint; it is seen from the inside, but a circular feature at the centre must be the knob as on the *petasoi* mentioned above.⁹³ Likewise, on another relief of a much earlier date, c. 425 BC, a young hoplite wears a hat seen in profile [PLATE II (a)]; a band behind the ears secures it on his head.⁹⁴ The resemblance of this *petasos* to the headgear on the Aiiane relief is striking—note the knob, the diagonal band and the shape of the

⁸¹ Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 8 n. 29.

⁸² F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz 1977) 22 f., no. 29 pl. 44 and 151 f. no. 17 pl. 28, respectively.

⁸³ AA 1931, 217 ff., figs. 1-3 (A. Karo). *JHS* li (1931) 187 fig. 4 (H. Payne). Hölscher (n. 4) 103 n. 530.

⁸⁴ M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin 1928) 71f. pl. xxxv.2. The angled brim is usual on Thessalian grave reliefs: Biesantz (n. 75) 16 pl. 12 and 78 f.

⁸⁵ C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek coins* (London 1976) pl. 28 no. 499. H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster 1966) 173 f. n. 51.

⁸⁶ M. Andronikos, *BalkStud* v (1964) 287 ff., pls. VI,7 a VII,8. Ph. Petsas, *Pella. Alexander the Great's capital* (Thessaloniki 1978) 53 fig. 14, 100 fig. 12 respectively.

⁸⁷ Ανδρόνικος (n. 8) 86 ff., fig. 49.

⁸⁸ Andronikos (n. 86) 295 pl. VII fig. 8. Petsas (n. 86) 100 fig. 12. Μακεδονία. 4000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού (Athens 1982, M. Sakellariou ed.) 183 fig. 117.

⁸⁹ Heuzey (n. 4) 975 speaks of an 'ornement circulaire', while Bieber (n. 84) 72 describes the device as an 'Öse'.

⁹⁰ Andronikos (n. 86) 294 pl. VI fig. 7. Petsas (n. 86) 53 fig. 14. Φίλιππος βασιλεύς Μακεδόνων (Athens 1980 L. Loukopoulou-M. Hatzopoulos eds.) 156-159 fig. 83.

⁹¹ Χρυσ.Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη, Τα επιτάφια μνημεία απο τη Μεγάλη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας (Thessaloniki 1984). Ανδρόνικος (n. 8) 83 f. figs. 44-45.

⁹² Dintsis 186 n. 23, 309 f. no. 294 pl. 81,2. G. M. A. Richter, *The portraits of the Greeks III* (London 1965) 278 figs. 1970-71. Helbig iv (1972) 233 ff. no. 3260 (H. v. Heintze).

⁹³ M. Andronikos, *BCH* lxxix (1955) 87 ff. Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 71 ff. pls. 15-19.

⁹⁴ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 19 ff. pl. 4.

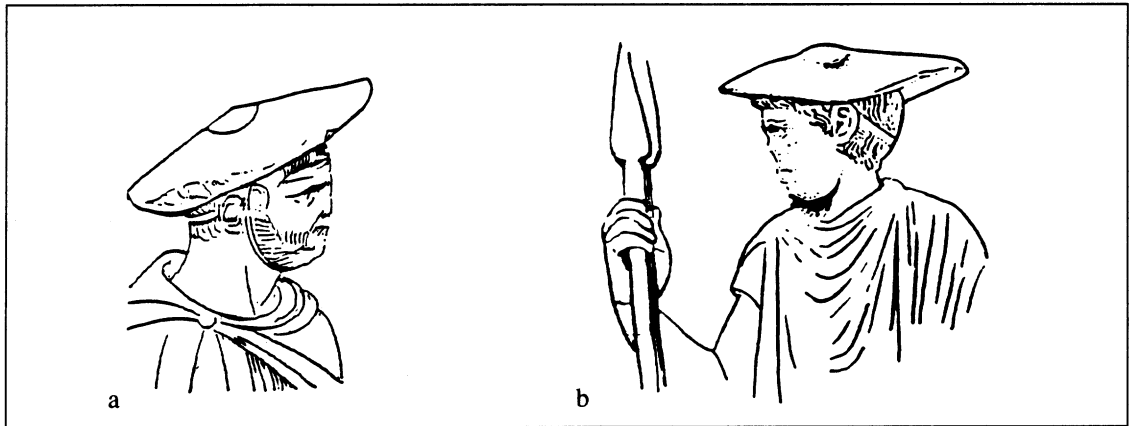


FIG. 1

outline [FIG. 1, a-b]. We may conclude that the Aiane relief depicts, as Heuzey first suggested, a brimmed hat of the *petasos* type (which he misinterpreted as a *kausia*) and not a beret, as recently suggested by Chr. Le Roy. He remarks that despite the damage on the relief 'on distingue nettement les plis formés par le retour du beret'; his photograph shows a detail of the rim, so badly damaged that it seems impossible to judge whether it belongs to the outmost part of a beret or the edge of a *petasos* brim.⁹⁵

In sum, despite Le Roy's recent observations, the Aiane hat cannot readily be equated with any form of a beret; most probably it represents a *petasos* with its typical features (straps and central knob).

These observations on the Aiane hat demonstrate, however, the difficulties of identification, when no part of the inside is visible. On the following monuments no such part can be seen; yet their identification with the *kausia* has been taken for granted.

A relief base from Messene in the Louvre⁹⁶ has been associated with Krateros' bronze dedication at Delphi,⁹⁷ largely on the strength of the similarity of the rider's hat with that of the Aiane relief.⁹⁸ Damage of the stone, however, in the critical area, where the inside of the hat might have been depicted, prevents a definite decision. Loeschke restored it as a hat, after the Aiane relief and interpreted it accordingly as a *kausia*.⁹⁹

Despite Loeschke's precise description, the hat on the Messene relief is now generally taken to be a beret-shaped *kausia*. I suggest, however, that the semi-circular outline of the hat may belong to the rim of a *petasos* rather than to any type of beret. If so, one should not rely confidently on the relief for reconstructing Krateros' lost group on the basis of a dubious item of dress; I have raised further objections to such a connection some time ago.¹⁰⁰

Likewise, the semi-circular outlines of brimmed hats seen on some painted grave stelai from Alexandria, catalogued by Dintsis among the other representations of the *kausia*,¹⁰¹ can as well be interpreted as *petasoi*.

⁹⁵ Le Roy (n. 4) 290 n. 62 fig. 6.

⁹⁶ Louvre MA 858.

⁹⁷ G. Loeschke, *Jdl* iii (1888) 190 pl. 7.

⁹⁸ Hölscher (n. 4) 184 n. 1112.

⁹⁹ Loeschke (n. 97) pl. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Χρυσ.Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη, 'Το ανάθημα του Κρατερού στους Δελφούς. Μεθοδολογικά προβλήματα αναπαράστασης, *Εγνατία* i (1989) 81 ff. pls. 393-397.

¹⁰¹ Dintsis 307 f. nos. 289-291 pls. 82.6, 82.1 and 81.1, respectively.

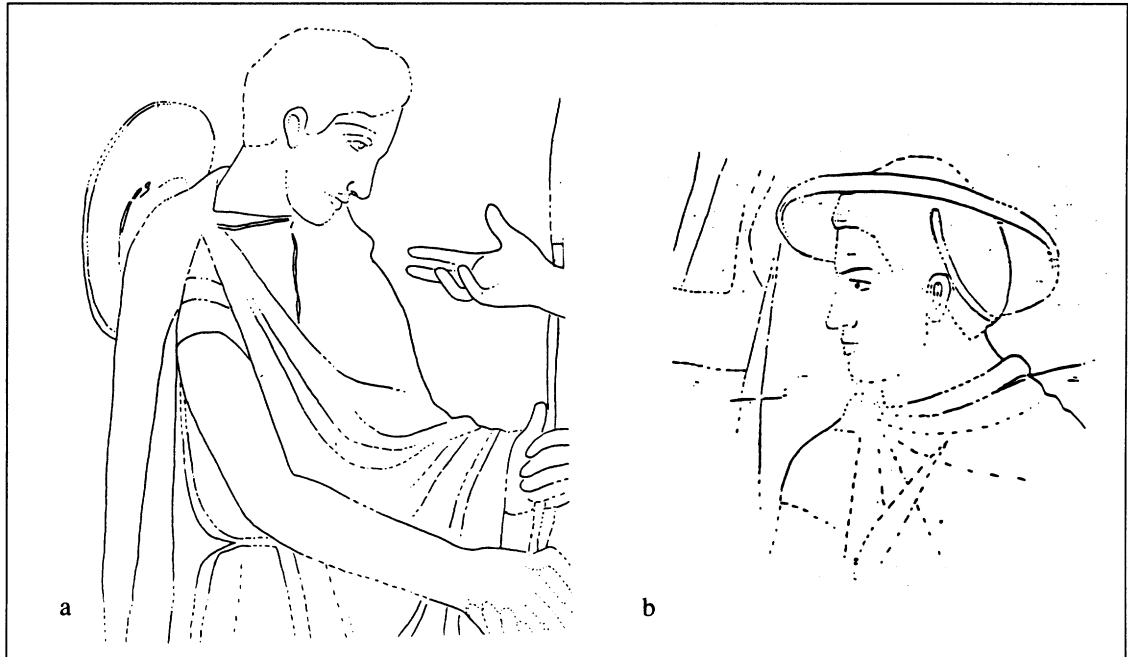


FIG. 2

The 'Bactrian' version

A *kausia* has been seen on the 'topee' worn by Euthydemos of Bactria, with its deep bowl and round broad brim, terminating in some sort of band.¹⁰² These features appear on stele no. 20 from Vergina, of 350-325 BC [PLATE II (b)].¹⁰³ The hat of the standing man on the left hangs by a band from his neck; it is seen in three-quarter view from the inside and has a deep bowl and clearly a circular brim. The seated man on the right wears a similar hat, seen in profile; it is secured by a band behind the ears and has a band-like edge to the brim. Both hats are secured on the head in the same way as the *petasos*, but they are distinguished from it by the greater size of the bowl and especially by the edge of the brim [FIG. 2a-b]. They are closely similar, if not identical, to the headgear of Euthydemos.

Dintsis, following an older suggestion, includes the Euthydemos hat hesitantly in his catalogue of monuments representing the Macedonian *kausia*, but it cannot be such;¹⁰⁴ it is definitely a broad-brimmed hat, functioning similarly to the *petasos* and probably having Macedonian connections, as the Vergina stele now demonstrates.

b. The beret-shaped kausia and Boscoreale.

Supporting a 'barretartige Form' of the Macedonian *kausia* Dintsis distinguishes two versions of the cap: a 'traditional' one, seen in the great majority of the monuments which he lists,¹⁰⁵ and a 'conical' version, which appears around 250 BC.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Dintsis 186 n. 23, 309 f. no. 294 pl. 81,2.

¹⁰³ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 152 ff. pls. 42-43.

¹⁰⁴ Helbig iv (1972) 235 ff. no. 3260 (H. v. Heintze).

¹⁰⁵ Dintsis nos. 281-290, 293-295, 297-301.

¹⁰⁶ Dintsis 184 f., nos. 291-292, 296.

The 'conical' kausia

The clearest example of the conical *kausia* is preserved, according to Dintsis, on the cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles, representing Philip V or Perseus.¹⁰⁷ While nobody as yet has disputed its identification as a *kausia*, there are disturbing features:

- a) The relief decoration would be incomprehensible on a hat which Dintsis and others suggest is woollen; it could only be appropriate on a metal helmet,¹⁰⁸ or a leather cap sheathed in metal, as Heuzey remarked.¹⁰⁹
- b) The severely conical outline rather recalls the κῶνος, a particular form of helmet associated with the Macedonians at least since Philip V's times.¹¹⁰

The first epigraphical attestation of the κῶνος is preserved in a text from Amphipolis, dated to the reign of Philip V.¹¹¹ We also know from two Delian inscriptions¹¹² that both his sons, Perseus and Demetrius, dedicated gold-wreathed κῶνοι to Apollo. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that both the conical outline of the helmet on the cameo and the widely accepted identification of the wearer with either Philip V or Perseus indicate a *konos* helmet rather than a 'conical *kausia*'. Neither of the other two monuments listed by Dintsis seem to support the existence of such a version.¹¹³

The 'traditional' kausia

With regard to the 'traditional' beret-shaped *kausia*, Netoliczka distinguishes three parts. He remarked, however, that 'wie der Petasos ... war die Kausia ein breiter Hut, dessen Kopf und Krempe aber nicht wie öfter bei ersterem aus zwei von einander verschiedenen Teilen bestanden, sondern ein einziges Stück bildeten'.¹¹⁴ Schneider says that the *kausia* was an 'aus einem Stück gearbeitete weich und breitrempige Filzhut',¹¹⁵ while Wuescher-Becchi prefers manufacture from two pieces.¹¹⁶

Dintsis, quoting Netoliczka,¹¹⁷ speaks of three different pieces: (a) a circular bowl; (b) a band or strap by which the beret could be adjusted around the forehead; (c) a circular part which connected the first two parts.¹¹⁸ He relies mainly on the Weapon Reliefs from the Athena Temple at Pergamon, where a *kausia*, depicted from below, has been recognised.¹¹⁹

Coins, although important for the chronology of the *kausia*, show presumed caps on too small a scale for accurate reconstruction. Yet, some coins of Philip II, from Amphipolis, dated to 323/2-316/5 BC, preserve a symbol, already identified with the 'causia diademée'; its shape

¹⁰⁷ Dintsis 309 no. 292 pl. 81.3.

¹⁰⁸ Netoliczka (n. 4) 92.

¹⁰⁹ Heuzey (n. 4) 976.

¹¹⁰ Dintsis 57 ff. id. *Ancient Macedonia* iv (1983-1986) 171 ff. H. Lumpkin, 'The Weapons and Armour of the Macedonian Phalanx', *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* viii (1975) 195 f. (I owe the quotation to Dr. P. Faklaris).

¹¹¹ Dintsis 57 n. 2. M. Feyel, *RA* vi (1935), 29 ff.

¹¹² Dintsis 57 nn. 3-4. T. Homolle, *BCH* vi (1882) 35.56, 37.75-76.

¹¹³ Dintsis 186 n. 21 no. 291 pl. 81.1 and 186 no. 296 pl. 80.6.

¹¹⁴ Netoliczka (n. 4) 92 and 89, respectively.

¹¹⁵ Schneider (n. 4) 32.

¹¹⁶ Wuescher-Becchi (n. 4) 104. Dintsis 185 n. 17.

¹¹⁷ Dintsis 185 n. 18.

¹¹⁸ Dintsis 185 n. 19.

¹¹⁹ Dintsis 185, 192 n. 65, 30 no. 293 pl. 83,1. Dr. Pan. Faklaris, *AD* xl, 1985 (1991) 1 ff., especially 7f., has recently suggested the interpretation of this specific gear not as a *kausia*, but as a gorget (περιτραχήλιον).

[PLATE II (c)] coincides with the one proposed in this treatment.¹²⁰

On some sealings of the Ptolemaic period from Kallipolis, Aitolia,¹²¹ and an impressive number from Nea Paphos, Cyprus,¹²² a beret-type headgear identified with the *kausia* is either shown with a pointed edge, or with a smooth uninterrupted curve over the forehead. It is not easy to decide whether such difference is due merely to artistic rendering or to the intention to depict two ways of wearing the same type of cap; it is less probable that two different kinds of cap are represented.

A painting from P. Fannius Synistor's villa at Boscoreale, now in Naples,¹²³ has been connected with Macedon, largely on the strength of the Macedonian shield on the west wall of the main room, between the two seated figures.¹²⁴ Studniczka was the first to identify the lance-bearer of the scene with Antigonos Gonatas, wearing the *kausia diadematophoros*;¹²⁵ he has been supported by Erika Simon.¹²⁶ C.M. Robertson suggested that the feminine features of the lance-bearer support its identification with the personification of Macedon, not with a Macedonian ruler.¹²⁷ P. Barnabei took the entire conception of the decoration of the room to be a Triumph of Aphrodite;¹²⁸ he was followed by Ph. Lehmann, who thought the figure in question to be an attendant of Aphrodite, and the shield to be an attribute of her cult.¹²⁹ Eric Sjöquist supported this: he saw a similarity between the Boscoreale beret and the caps on Cypriot figurines of the archaic period interpreted as acolytes of the goddess.¹³⁰

M. Bieber and D. v. Bothmer support E. Pfuhl's suggestion that the Roman family who owned the villa had its portraits on the walls; the fresco is an original work of c. 50 BC, with no connection with Macedonian rulers;¹³¹ the beret—recalling the Scots 'tam-o'-shanter'—is an attribute of warriors in general, not Macedonians in particular.¹³²

K. Fittschen grouped all previous suggestions in a most convenient scheme and supported the thematic unit in the decoration of the whole room of the Villa, interpreting it as a 'Prophezeiung der Geburt Alexanders d.Gr. und Eroberung Asiens'. He dated the frescoes to about 40 BC and suggested a possible Pergamene prototype of the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC. He accepts Robertson's identification of the *kausia*-wearer with the personification of Macedon.¹³³

¹²⁰ Le Roy (n. 4) 290 nn. 63-65. Le Rider (n. 69) 5 n.1; 122 f., Pl. 44.31-32. (See below n. 150).

¹²¹ Π.Α.Πάντος, Τα σφραγίσματα της Αιτωλικής Καλλιπόλεως (Athens 1985) pl. 35 no. 258, pl. 37 no. 263, pl. 41 no. 283.

¹²² H. Kyrieleis, 'Die makedonische Kausia auf spätptolemäischen Siegeln', *Ancient Macedonia* iv (1983 – oral presentation). I am indebted to Prof. Kyrieleis for putting his draft at my disposal. A very well preserved sealing from Kifrin on the Euphrates is depicted in *La Terra tra i due fiumi. Venti anni di archaeologia italiana. La Mesopotamia dei tesori* (Turin 1985) 176.1 no. 104. (The quotation I owe to Prof. Kyrieleis).

¹²³ Dintsis 307 no. 287 pl. 80,4.

¹²⁴ K. Fittschen, 'Zum Figurenfries der Villa von Boscoreale', *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* (Recklinghausen 1975, B. Andreae- H. Kyrieleis eds.) 93-100.

¹²⁵ E. Studniczka, *Jdl* xxxviii/xxxix (1923/24) 68 ff.

¹²⁶ E. Simon, 'Die Fürstenbilder von Boscoreale' *DBAW* vii (1958)

¹²⁷ M. Robertson, *JRS* xlv/xlvi (1955/56) 61.

¹²⁸ F. Barnabei, *La villa pompeiana di P. Fannio Sinistore* (Roma 1901) 51 ff.

¹²⁹ Ph. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 31 ff.

¹³⁰ E. Sjöquist, *AJA* lix (1955) 45 ff. pl. 31.a-d.

¹³¹ E. Pfuhl, *MuZ* ii (1923) 879.

¹³² M. Bieber-D. v. Bothmer, *AJA* lx (1956) 171 ff. Brandenburg (n. 85) 171: 'ein flacher Hut mit breit überstehendem Rand, der unseren Matrosenmützen nicht unähnlich ist'.

¹³³ Fittschen (n.124) 93 ff.

The Boscoreale headgear preserves features which may correspond to the literary evidence: one might compare its appearance to a mushroom;¹³⁴ its purple colour may reflect the *καυσία ἀλουργής* of the Macedonian kings and nobility¹³⁵; its silver-coloured band, or roll, around the forehead has been equated with both the *μίτρα χρυσόπαστος* of Demetrius Poliorcetes and the diadem of the kings of Macedon.¹³⁶ In spite of the long controversy on its character and chronology, one cannot deny the affinities of the Boscoreale diadem with the tubular artefact from Philip's Tomb at Vergina, already identified by its excavator with the royal diadem of the deceased.¹³⁷

Taken normally to be a *kausia* seen alongside a Macedonian shield and according to the most reasonable interpretation of its bearer as a personification of Macedon, the Boscoreale headgear has been used as a (if not the most) reliable exemplar of the Macedonian cap. Yet, it is much bigger in size than any of the beret-shaped *kausiai* so far discussed: its bowl exceeds the diameter of the scalp more substantially than that of any of the other examples, with the exception of the hat on the coins of C. Antonius as proconsul, also depicting the personification of Macedon.¹³⁸ Their common rendering may be due to the fact that both examples are dated to the first century BC; they may therefore depict a version of the *kausia* closer to Plautus' description (Appendix no. 7) and the prototype of the Boscoreale painting than to the fourth century cap.

As we have already seen, berets appear on monuments with no Macedonian connections, among them the archaic Cypriot figurines and a copy of a Polycleitan Hermes;¹³⁹ consequently, it still remains open whether we can take all beret-shaped headdresses so far associated with the *kausia* as trustworthy representations of that particular headgear.

c. *The chitrali cap*

Kingsley has recently proposed that the *kausia* can be reconstructed from the *chitrali*, a cap of wool with a round, flat crown above a cylindrical section which is made up of three rectangular pieces sewn together vertically.¹⁴⁰ This tube can be folded to form a thick roll around the forehead and nape of the neck; the ears remain free.

Kingsley sees a resemblance with the caps worn by youths in some terracotta figurines dressed in Macedonian fashion, mostly dated to the early Hellenistic period.¹⁴¹ Thompson had seen in their beret-shaped caps a *kausia* of eastern origin, assimilated and further distributed by the Macedonians.¹⁴²

These figures wear hats consisting of two elements, which can appear separately: 'the beret proper and the binding roll or band tied over the rim of the cap, in order to secure it more firmly ... In good pieces this roll is often clearly shown as stippled, like the surface of a thick

¹³⁴ Plaut. *Trin.*851: 'pol hic quidem fungino generest'.

¹³⁵ Studniczka (n. 125) 71 n. 5.

¹³⁶ Studniczka (n. 125) 72 n. 7, 73 n. 1. Thompson (n. 4) 53 f., nn. 134, 136-137.-Brandenburg (n. 85) 170 n. 42. Simon (n. 126) 15 n. 7. Bieber-v. Bothmer (n. 132) 171 interpret the ends of the Boscoreale 'diadem' or 'mitra' as 'long lappets, which can serve as earmuffs'.

¹³⁷ M. Andronikos, *AAA* xiii.1 (1980) 177 ff. Ph. Lehmann, *AAA* xiv.1 (1981) 134 ff. Cp. H.W. Ritter, 'Zum sogenannten diadem des Philippsgrabes' *AA* 1984, 105 ff. 140.

¹³⁸ Dintsis 311 no. 299, pl.82,3.

¹³⁹ Thompson (n. 4) 53 n. 132. G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture. Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1954) 32 f. no. 40 pl XL.a-e, interprets it as a partly preserved *petasos*.

¹⁴⁰ Kingsley 39 ill.1.

¹⁴¹ Kingsley 42 n. 21 pl. 6 fig. 3. Thompson (n. 4) 53 ff., 54 n. 143, pls. xvi, lxi.

¹⁴² Thompson (n. 4) 54 n. 142.

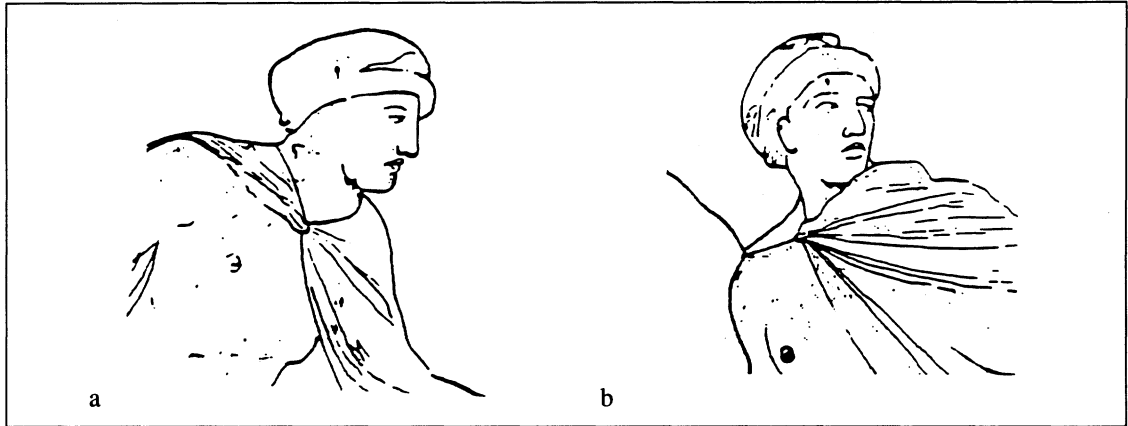


FIG. 3

wreath'.¹⁴³ Despite, therefore the similarity of the representation noted by Kingsley, in its one-piece assemblage the *chitrali* is structurally different from the hats of the terracottas.

d. The new evidence from Vergina

We have already noted the broad-brimmed hats represented on some stelai from the debris of the Great Tumulus, but there are other types of headgear depicted there, too.

On stele no. 5, of c. 350-325 BC, the standing man wears a cap consisting of two parts, a bowl over the skull and a wide, flat band around the forehead and nape [PLATE III (a)].¹⁴⁴ The way these elements are depicted do recall the *chitrali*.

More significant, however, are the representations on the fresco on the façade of Philip's Tomb [PLATE III (b)].¹⁴⁵ Two types of hat can be seen:

a) A cap which recalls the beret of the Hellenistic terracottas. This is worn by the net-man on the extreme right of the scene; he is the ἀρκυωρός, according to Xen. *Kyneg.* ii 3 'a man devoted to the work and a Greek speaker, about twenty years old, agile and strong, as well as resolute enough to be master of his trade and take pleasure from it'. If the *kausia* was reserved for the use of a selected band of people, as I will later suggest, a net-man would not qualify for this honour. Yet, he does wear a type of beret, akin to that of the Cypriot and Hellenistic terracottas—not, I suggest, the *kausia*, but a variety that would merit further study.¹⁴⁶

b) Two of the hunters (κυνηγέται) flanking the lion-hunting scene wear a particular form of cap, shown in a manner that permits us to interpret its structure. The hunter on the right, seen in three-quarter view, has a cap with a bowl that covers much of the head, while a thick band borders the forehead [FIG. 3a]. The hunter on the left wears a similar cap: two horizontal creases at the nape of the neck, which turn into a thick band over the forehead, indicate its one-piece structure.

¹⁴³ Thompson (n. 4) 53 nn. 131-132.

¹⁴⁴ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 65ff., pl. 14.

¹⁴⁵ Ανδρόνικος (n. 8) 100 ff., figs. 58-63. Αμητός. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο i (Thessaloniki 1987) pl.1. (Reconstructed by G. Miltsakakis). The publication of the fresco is undertaken by the author of this article.

¹⁴⁶ Atalante is depicted wearing a similar cap on a lost Pompeian painting: K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (Bern 1962) 167 pl. 59, 1, while on another scene with Meleager and Atalante, one of the watchers wears a similar cap: *Le collezioni del Museo di Napoli* (Rome 1986) 135 no. 82 Inv. 8980.

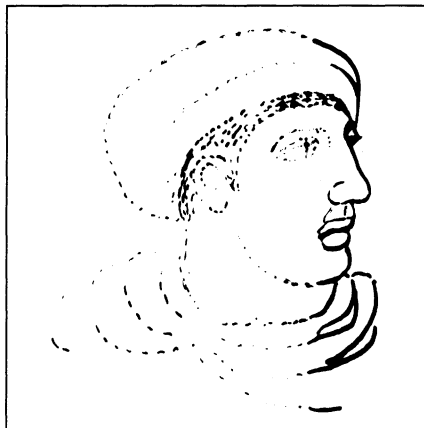


FIG. 4

The same thick forehead band is found on the famous Alexander mosaic in Naples:¹⁴⁷ below Alexander's raised arm a man, thought to represent Ptolemy, is wearing the *kausia*.¹⁴⁸ His posture is almost identical to that of the left-hand hunter on the Vergina fresco. His cap is only part-preserved, but Hölscher had already reconstructed it in a way which is now proved to be remarkably like that of the Vergina examples.¹⁴⁹ A more accurate version, as shown in FIG. 4, is now possible, thanks to the new evidence from Vergina.

The '*kausia diademée*' recognised as a symbol on some posthumous coins of Philip II, issued at Amphipolis,¹⁵⁰ preserves both the large bowl and the thick forehead band suggested here as the main features of

the fourth century version [FIGS. 3 and 4].

Mosaic and fresco no doubt depict the same type of headgear, which I suggest should be identified with the *kausia*, since they both reflect remarkably well the hints given in the literary sources: a cap covering most of the head, which can be mushroom-shaped, with a *stephane* to be equated with the forehead band. Shape and material (discussed above) are suitable for a σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ, as well as for a κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ. Furthermore, and in contrast with the beret types treated above, the caps of the Vergina fresco and Alexander mosaic can more readily accommodate the diadem, which, according to literary sources, was a separate item, worn right around the cap.¹⁵¹

The Kazanlak tomb shows how the diadem may have been fitted between the bowl and *stephane* of the *kausia*.¹⁵² This odd headgear which one of the central figures wears on the wall painting of the dromos of the tomb has a similar large bowl and thicker band over the forehead. The thin wrinkle which divides these two parts may indicate the position of the diadem.¹⁵³ The suggestion has been made that a Macedonian ruler is depicted here, and that the cap may well be the *kausia*.¹⁵⁴ Its similarity with the caps from Vergina and Pompeii justify the suggestion.

In sum, I propose that we can reconstruct the fourth century *kausia* as a one-piece leather cap, with a *stephane* around the forehead and nape. The evidence of the Vergina fresco and Alexander mosaic is of primary importance to such a reconstruction, for more than one reason:

a) Their large scale clarifies the details of the cap more than miniature representations, such as sealings and coins.

¹⁴⁷ Dintsis 305 f. no. 284 pl. 83,2.B.Fehr, *Bathron. Beiträge für H. Drerup* (1988) 121-134.

¹⁴⁸ A. Rumpf, *MDAI(A)* lxxvii (1962) 229 ff., mainly 238. Hölscher (n. 4) 135 nn. 799, 801.

¹⁴⁹ Hölscher 135 (Rekonstruktionskizze).

¹⁵⁰ Le Rider (n. 69) 122 f. pl. 44, 31-32.

¹⁵¹ Arr. vii 22.2. Dintsis 187 n. 31. Brandenburg (n. 85) 171 ff. (n. 45). B.M. Kingsley, *AJA* lxxxviii (1984) 66-68 suggests that the *kausia diadematoros* acquired 'Dionysiac connotations in Northern Asia'. Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 12 has seen in the *kausia diadematoros* a symbol 'della regalità di un Elleno sul regno di Dario'.

¹⁵² Dintsis 306 no. 286 pl. 83,3.

¹⁵³ L. Shivkova, *Das Grabmal von Kazanlak* (Recklinghausen 1973) 49 fig. 14.

¹⁵⁴ Dintsis 192: 'ihre Form an die Kausia erinnert und möglicherweise von ihr beeinflusst wurde'.

- b) Their origin as court art entails that the artist rendered local aspects of Macedonian costume with more accuracy than on many of the artefacts previously used in evidence.
- c) Both are works originating during Alexander's life or a little after his death, and so give the most reliable picture of how a fourth century *kausia* might look.¹⁵⁵

Reconstructing the *kausia* as a cap fitting snugly on the head does not discard all other versions of the cap. Being of a flexible material it would allow a variety of shapes, such as those found on the Ptolemaic sealings; the bowl could be depicted curved or as a triangle, looking much like a modern beret.

There may well be in our pictorial record of later centuries representations of derived shapes of the *kausia*. The beret- and *chitrali*-shaped caps may well be such derivations, at a greater or lesser remove from the original; borrowing beyond the confines of Macedon may have resulted in substantial changes in shape or size.

In the coins of Philip II and Patraos¹⁵⁶ the cap is small, and that tradition seems to be followed in the Ptolemaic sealings and coins,¹⁵⁷ in contrast to the much fuller bowl of the Boscoreale hat. Plautus seems to refer to such a full *kausia*, and schematic versions of it may be seen on the head of the personified Macedonia on the coins of C. Antonius as proconsul¹⁵⁸ and of the Illyrian king, Genthios (if a *kausia* at all).¹⁵⁹ Much further removed from any prototype is the cap worn by Antimachos Theos of Bactria.¹⁶⁰

5. Distribution

It has been suggested, mainly on the evidence of figured representations, that the *kausia* belonged to the uniform of the *hypaspistai*, *argyraspistai*, and *somatophylakes*.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, Prestianni-Giallombardo posits that the *kausia* was originally confined to the exclusive use of Alexander the Great in Orient 'indicando così un utilizzo "macedone" recente alla *kausia*, per nulla diffuso e popolare ma primieramente regale'.¹⁶²

Let us examine the literary sources which E. A. Friedrichsmeyer assembled in order to counter Kingsley's arguments for a non-Macedonian origin of the cap.¹⁶³ They preserve evidence referring to its distribution also.

- a) Ehippos (FGrH 126 F 5): Alexander's everyday costume was *chiton*, *chlamys* and *kausia* with the royal diadem.¹⁶⁴
- b) Plut. *Pyrrh.* 11.6 and Athen. xii 536: Demetrius Poliorcetes wore a luxurious *kausia* with a gilded *mitra*; yet he disguised himself in a simple *chlamys* and plain *kausia* when he had to take flight from his camp near Beroia in 288 BC.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁵ Hölscher 145 ff., 158 f., 163 n. 999, 170 ff.

¹⁵⁶ Dintsis 304 no. 281 pl. 80,2. Le Rider (n. 69) 5. Brandenburg (n. 85) 173 n. 50. Dintsis 305 no. 283 pl. 82,2; Le Roy (n. 4) 290 n. 63 figs. 7-8.

¹⁵⁷ Dintsis 311 no. 298 pl. 82,4.

¹⁵⁸ Dintsis 311 f. no. 299 pl. 82,3.

¹⁵⁹ Dintsis 311 no. 297 pl. 82,5.

¹⁶⁰ Dintsis 310 no. 295 pl. 80, 3.5.

¹⁶¹ Dintsis 192 f.

¹⁶² Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 13.

¹⁶³ Friedrichsmeyer (n. 4) 219 ff.

¹⁶⁴ Friedrichsmeyer 216 f.

¹⁶⁵ Friedrichsmeyer 222 f.

- c) Val.Max. v 1 ext. 4: Antigonos Gonatas honoured the dead Pyrrhus, in 272 BC, by covering the head of his slaughtered opponent with his own *kausia*.¹⁶⁶
- d) Plut. *Alex.* 54. 5-6: Ptolemy, the son of Antony and Cleopatra, when proclaimed king of Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia, was dressed in Macedonian costume (κρηπίσι καὶ χλανίδι καὶ καυσίᾳ διαδηματοφόρῳ) and guarded by a Macedonian garrison (Μακεδόνων φυλακῆ).
- e) Strab. xv 1.63-65; Plut. *Alex.* 65: Onesikritos of Astypalaea, not a Macedonian himself, had to wear *chlamys* and *kausia* when he was assigned to interview the Indian gymnosophists near Taxila in 326 BC.¹⁶⁷
- f) Plut. *Eum.* 8.5-6: Krateros, wearing the *kausia*, stirred the nationalistic feelings of the Macedonian army.¹⁶⁸
- g) Polyae. v 44.5: Memnon, satrap of Ilion, used the *kausia* in 336/5 BC to try to deceive the men of Cyzicus. He and his officers wearing the *kausia* nearly passed themselves off as Macedonians led by the Cyzicene ally, the Macedonian general Kalas.¹⁶⁹
- h) Plut. *Eum.* 6.1-2: Eumenes gave the officers who had volunteered to serve as his bodyguards καυσίας ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χλαμύδας.¹⁷⁰
- i) Plut. *Mor.* 760a: The ambitious Argive Phayllos, wishing to use his wife's charms to profit from Philip V during his stay at Argos, in 209 BC, smuggled her into the king's quarters as one of the royal pages, dressed in *chlamys*, *krepides* and *kausia*.¹⁷¹

We may conclude from (a), (b) and (d) that the *kausia diadematophoros* was worn only by the king. Being πορφυρᾶ or ἀλουργῆς it could be worn (without the diadem) by non-royalty, as a δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτη (h). It was the diadem that symbolised royalty and those who wore it without authority paid the penalty, as is shown by Alexander's reaction to the sailor who retrieved it from the river (Arr. *An.* vii 22.2).

The plain *kausia*, on the other hand, could be worn by others: (f) and (g) show it to have been worn by Macedonian generals (Kalas and Krateros);¹⁷² (e) extends its use to a non-Macedonian assigned to a special mission by the king;¹⁷³ (g), (h) and (i) attribute it to the ἡγεμόνες,¹⁷⁴ ἡγεμονικοί,¹⁷⁵ and the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες;¹⁷⁶ (d) and (h) show its use by the bodyguards. Finally (c) indicates a special tribute by Antigonos who used his *kausia* to honour his dead opponent, Pyrrhus.

The remarks above lead to the following conclusions:

¹⁶⁶ Friedrichsmeyer 223.

¹⁶⁷ Friedrichsmeyer 220.

¹⁶⁸ Friedrichsmeyer 220 f.

¹⁶⁹ Friedrichsmeyer 219.

¹⁷⁰ Friedrichsmeyer 222.

¹⁷¹ Friedrichsmeyer 223 f.

¹⁷² H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* ii (Munich 1926) 188 f. no. 397 (s.v. 'Κάλας') and 220 ff. no. 446 (s.v. 'Κρατερός').

¹⁷³ Berve 288 ff. no. 583 (s.v. 'Ονησίκριτος').

¹⁷⁴ N.G.L. Hammond-G.T. Griffith, *A history of Macedonia* ii (Oxford 1979) 159: 'commanders'; 461: 'brigadiers'; 671: 'highest officers'. Berve (n. 172) i 202, 211.

¹⁷⁵ ἡγεμονικοί may be equated with βασιλικοί referring to the king's own 'hypaspists': Hammond-Griffith (n. 174) 416 n. 1.

¹⁷⁶ Berve (n. 172) I 37 ff. Hammond-Griffith 401 f. Borza (n. 1) 249 f.

1) It would be incorrect to accept Prestianni-Giallombardo's suggestion that the *kausia* was mainly *diadematophoros* and originated from Alexander:¹⁷⁷ (e) and (g) show that it could be plain and worn by others, during Alexander's times.

2) Apart from (d) referring to Ptolemy's φυλακῆ Μακεδόνων, and (h) concerning Eumenes' thousand *hegemonikoi*, who volunteered to serve as his bodyguards, none of the literary sources above mention *hypaspists*, *argyraspists* or *phalangists* among the *kausia* wearers; these groups have been hypothetically related to it solely on the basis of alleged pictorial interpretations.¹⁷⁸ The thousand *hegemonikoi* of Eumenes (h) have been identified with the *agema* of the *hypaspists*, that is the Royal Bodyguard;¹⁷⁹ yet, it is clear that the *κουσῖαι ἀλουργεῖς* bestowed upon them were quite an exceptional gift, normally restricted to the king's personal friends (Plut. *Eum.* 8.6-7).

3) It seems that, apart from the king's personal choice (c, e, h) the *kausia* was worn by high-ranking officers (g), some generals (f, g), the king's Bodyguard (d, h) and the Royal Pages (i). Do these institutions share anything common?

Hammond says that it was among the Pages' duties to protect their king in battle and serve as his 'bodyguards'. He also remarks that the Pages were chosen from leading Macedonian families, as companions for the heir to the throne and never amounted to more than eighty-five at a time;¹⁸⁰ evidently, a truly elite group, singled out to accept a special education and serve obvious political purposes. The evolution of the institution, both in numbers and in duties, as shown by Hammond, may explain the use of the *kausia* by people serving as companions or bodyguards either to the heir to the throne or the king himself.¹⁸¹

Among the leading personalities of Philip's and Alexander's times Hephaestion, Krateros, Perdikkas, Ptolemy and Seleukos are known to have served as Royal Pages.¹⁸² It has also been suggested that the *hegemonikoi*, or at least some of them, had also served as Pages.¹⁸³

After Alexander's death, the use of the *kausia* is attested in the areas controlled by Ptolemy and Seleukos;¹⁸⁴ Ptolemy has been proposed as the *kausia* wearer on the Naples mosaic, while numerous coins and sealings of the Ptolemaic period indicate the use of the cap as a symbol which might be connected with the establisher of the dynasty; Krateros wore the *kausia* during his generalship.

In sum, membership of the group of Royal Pages may well account for a good number of these attestations: serving as a βασιλικὸς παῖς may have been a legitimate ground for wearing the *kausia* thereafter.

Does the iconographic evidence support this view?

¹⁷⁷ Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 9 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Hölscher (n. 4) 136 n. 804 ('hypaspist'). Dintsis 194 nn. 74-75 ('somatophylakes'). Studniczka (n. 125) 71 and Simon (n. 126) 16. ('argyraspist').

¹⁷⁹ Berve (n. 172) i, 37-39. Hammond-Griffith (n. 174) 415-418.

¹⁸⁰ Hammond-Griffith (n. 174) 401.

¹⁸¹ Hammond-Griffith (n. 174) 402. Borza (n. 1) 249 sees the formation of a 'corps of Royal Pages' as an orientalizing tendency of Philip's policy. But Hammond-Griffith (n. 174) 168 n. 1, 401 associate the institution with Archelaos. For a detailed discussion of the institution and its evolution, see now N.G.L. Hammond, *Historia* xxxix (1990) 260 ff., esp. 271.

¹⁸² Hammond-Griffith 401 f., n. 3.

¹⁸³ Berve i 37.

¹⁸⁴ Dintsis 194 f.

1) No *kausia* wearer is seen on the Alexander sarcophagus,¹⁸⁵ nor on the reliefs of the monument which Aemilius Paulus dedicated at Delphi.¹⁸⁶ The same is obvious on the Naples mosaic, where among the Macedonians fighting against the Persians there is only one wearing the *kausia*. Clearly, if the *kausia* were normal defensive armour, its absence in these cases would be very puzzling. Nonetheless, if it is accepted that the cap was a form of apparel confined to the Royal Pages, as suggested above, its appearance on the Naples mosaic and the Vergina painting is easy to explain: both hunters flanking the lion hunting-scene at Vergina should be understood as Royal Pages, performing as *κοινωνοὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἐπι θήρα φιλοτιμίας*,¹⁸⁷ while Ptolemy, if correctly recognised on the Naples mosaic, has retained his right to wear it, both as a protector of his king and as an ex-page, like Krateros did.

2) Kings wearing the *kausia* are found on the Ptolemaic sealings; although the diadem is not always indicated, Kyrieleis has already stressed the symbolism of the cap, as an indication of the wearer's Macedonian origin.¹⁸⁸

3) The triumphant horseman on the reverse of Philip's coins wearing a plain or diademed *kausia* has been identified with the king himself;¹⁸⁹ the fallen warrior on the reverse of Patraos' coins may be similarly conceived.¹⁹⁰ The fresco in the Kazanlak tomb may represent an actual historical event, or at any rate an 'ideal' battle between a Thracian ruler and a foreign king; the latter's cap, most probably a *kausia*, indicates the Macedonian origin of its bearer.¹⁹¹

4) In a similar sense one can understand the *kausia* as a symbol of the personified Macedonia, both on the Boscoreale fresco and on the coins of C. Antonius as proconsul.

In sum, the *kausia* was neither ordinary military equipment, nor exclusive apparel of the king, but a headdress somehow confined to the use of small groups of selected people. The changes made by Alexander and his successors in the Macedonian army¹⁹² may have resulted in the extension of the right to wear the *kausia*; cf. Eumenes' gift of it to the thousand *hegemonikoi*. The 'sudden appearance of the cap in the Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic period', which according to Kingsley supports its eastern origin, should thus be looked at in a different light,¹⁹³ that is, as a reflection in art of its wider distribution to larger groups of people.

6. Origin

With the exception of Suid.s.v. *καυσία*: εἶδος πῖλου βαρβαρικοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, all relevant literary sources attribute the *kausia* to the Macedonians.¹⁹⁴ Yet some scholars have opposed that unanimous literary evidence.

¹⁸⁵ v. Graeve (n. 12) 87 n. 28.

¹⁸⁶ H. Kähler, 'Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paulus in Delphi', *Monumenta artis Romanae* v (1965). O. v. Valcano, *Bathron. Beiträge für H. Drerup* (Recklinghausen 1988) 375 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *Ανδρόνικος* (n. 8) 114.

¹⁸⁸ Kyrieleis (n. 122).

¹⁸⁹ *Le Rider* (n. 69) 364 f., nn. 10-14.

¹⁹⁰ Dintsis 190 n. 57.

¹⁹¹ Dintsis 192.

¹⁹² Berve i 25.

¹⁹³ Kingsley 45.

¹⁹⁴ Kalleris 106. Dintsis 188 nn. 39-41.



FIG. 5

ων, κἄν μόνον ἴδωσι τὴν καυσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούσωσι, μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἦξειν φερομένους. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄντως ὄνομα τοῦ Κρατεροῦ μέγα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευταίην τοῦτον ἐπόθησαν οἱ πολλοί, μνημονεύοντες ὅτι καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνεδέξατο πολλάκις ἀπεχθείας πολλάς, ὑποφερομένου πρὸς τὸν Περσικὸν ζῆλον ἀντιλαμβάνομενος καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἀμύνων διὰ τρυφήν καὶ ὄγκον ἤδη περιυβριζομένοις. The evident connection of Krateros' *kausia* with his attested attachment to Macedonian tradition,¹⁹⁸ proves that the cap was neither connected with Alexander alone, nor adopted by the Macedonians during the eastern campaign.

b) According to Kingsley and Prestianni-Giallombardo no written source or pictorial representation of the *kausia* appears before Alexander's campaign; referring to the written evidence, Friedrichsmeyer counters that some sources are or refer to events earlier than this proposed *terminus post quem*,¹⁹⁹ cf. above passages (e) and (g).

However, even if there were only later literary references to the *kausia*, the *argumentum e silentio* should not be taken as strong evidence; archaeological research has often upset its value.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, such an argument has never been applied to the case of the *petasos*, also attested later than its appearance in art.²⁰¹

Nonetheless, an old, unpublished find from Berezen in the Archaeological Museum at Odessa (Inv.no A 43950+23759) recently brought to my attention by Dr. J. Vinogradov, preserves the earliest epigraphic attestation of the *kausia* [FIG. 5]: the word is incised in a fragmentary graffito

a) Thompson suggests that it 'may have had an eastern prototype, that it appears in the Greek world in the late fourth century BC and certainly seems not only in character but also in distribution to be related to the Macedonians'.¹⁹⁵

Kingsley went further, by locating this eastern origin in those areas where the modern *chitrali* is worn.¹⁹⁶

Prestianni-Giallombardo presumed that μακεδονικός should not be understood as referring to its geographical or ethnic derivation 'ma piuttosto con valore di eccellenza' as a cap adopted by the 'greatest' of the Macedonian kings, Alexander.¹⁹⁷

If one accepted the suggestions above, one would find it difficult to understand Plut.

Eum. 6.1-2: ποθεῖσθαι γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐκεῖνον [Κρατερόν] ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόν-

¹⁹⁵ Thompson (n. 4) 54 nn. 140-142.

¹⁹⁶ Kingsley 39 ff.

¹⁹⁷ Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 3.

¹⁹⁸ Cp. Kingsley 41 f. n. 25.

¹⁹⁹ Friedrichsmeyer 219 ff.

²⁰⁰ Man. Andronikos, 'Argumentum e silentio', AAA xxiii (1980) 360-365. The discovery of a new Macedonian tomb at Vergina, dated according to the sherds of a Panathenaic amphora, to a little after 344 BC, proves that Ph. Lehmann's main argument against the attribution of 'Philip's tomb' to Philip II, is of no value anymore. See *Praktika* 1987 (1991) 128 ff., esp. 131 (M. Andronikos).

²⁰¹ *LSJ* s.v. 'πέτασος'.

on a chalice of about 500 BC, and probably alludes to the shape of the Macedonian cap, as Vinogradov suggests.²⁰² It seems that the reconstruction of the *kausia* in the form proposed above may not be just a happy coincidence, while its epigraphic attestation, long before its alleged appearance in the late fourth century BC, destroys Kingsley's and Prestianni's *argumentum e silentio*.

c) A very clear, age-long known literary testimony to the Macedonian origin of the *kausia* has been ignored by Prestianni-Giallombardo and mishandled by Kingsley.

In Antipater's epigram (Appendix no. 1 v.4) the *kausia* declares her origin unequivocally: Ἡμαθίς Ἀύσονίους ἦλθον ἐπὶ κροτάφους.

Having chosen to translate the verse as 'I came from my native land' instead of 'I came from Emathia' Kingsley²⁰³ contradicts her own conclusions, since Ἡμαθίς surely states the origin of the *kausia* in Ἡμαθία, 'the core of the Macedonian state',²⁰⁴ where its first capital was located.

d) Kingsley tells us that the modern wearers of the *chitrali*, polytheists once, are known as the *Kafiri* (the Infidels or Children of Darkness).²⁰⁵ She adds, rather against her own conclusion, that 'their cap carries a symbolic meaning which has outlived that of the *kausia*. It is the cap not only of the contemporary nationalistic patriots, but of people who have endured centuries of harsh living and hostile encroachment from the outside world'.²⁰⁶ One would rather agree with Friedrichsmeyer that the influence of the veterans whom Alexander settled in those regions on the natives was extensive and that it is 'reasonable to assume that the natives adopted from them the cap'.²⁰⁷

In sum, if there is any connection between *kausia* and *chitrali* it would rather be the result of Macedonian influence on the inhabitants of that remote area, who claimed Alexander as their ancestor.²⁰⁸

Concerning the pictorial representation of the *kausia* I suggested above that it should be seen in the light of its peculiar character and distribution. Its restricted use by small groups of people may explain its rare depiction at least down to the period of Alexander's campaign in the East. One should hardly expect them in representations where pages or ex-pages are not identified as such. Philip II's early coins and the fresco of his tomb at Vergina, both dated on strict logical and archaeological data rather than *argumenta e silentio*, to the time of his reign, offer at least two pictorial examples earlier than its alleged adoption by the Macedonians.²⁰⁹ The new evidence from Berezen strengthens our suggestion. The archaeological record of those people in their homeland and abroad suggests that they cared very greatly for their tradition, even on minor matters, such as dress.

²⁰² I am deeply indebted to Dr. J. Vinogradov for his kind invitation to publish the sherd.

²⁰³ Kingsley 42 n. 28.

²⁰⁴ Borza (n. 1) 44.

²⁰⁵ Kingsley 40 n. 7.

²⁰⁶ Kingsley 46.

²⁰⁷ Friedrichsmeyer 226.

²⁰⁸ Kingsley 45 n. 59.

²⁰⁹ Prestianni-Giallombardo (n. 7) 11 n. 36 disputes Le Rider's argumentation on the chronology of these coins in the early years of Philip's reign, Le Rider (n. 69) 387 f., 428 f., which she prefers to date as posthumous issues. That the tomb cannot be dated later than the third quarter of the 4th century BC, as already suggested by its excavator, has been recently ascertained, thanks to the study of the ceramics found immediately over the structure: Dr. Drougou dates them to the third quarter of the century. The publication of her study will hopefully put an end to the long controversy about the date of the tomb and the person for whom it was made.

II. NOTES ON THE CHLAMYS AND THE KREPIDES

It is generally accepted that *kausia*, *chlamys* and *krepides* were the three characteristic elements of the traditional Macedonian costume.²¹⁰ Kingsley has seen it differently: spurred on no doubt by her belief that the cap was imported from the east, she sought an origin of the cloak and the footwear in areas conquered by Macedon.²¹¹ Somehow, it seems as if the Macedonians were excessively flexible even towards minor aspects of their own cultural tradition. Yet, both literary and archaeological evidence point in the opposite direction.

1. The *chlamys*

Ancient sources tell us that the Macedonian *chlamys* differed from the Thessalian in having no *pteryges*, the lower corners of the rectangular cloak.²¹² They also attest that its semi-circular shape was adopted for the town plan of Alexandria, in 331 BC.²¹³ Discarding this information, which Lattimore takes to be 'a colourful later tradition inspired by the city's shape',²¹⁴ Kingsley suggests that the *chlamys* was imported from the east around 326 BC.²¹⁵ Her suggestion is based on the following arguments:

- a) 'The Macedonian *chlamys* seems not to have appeared in the West before the last quarter of the fourth century',²¹⁶
- b) The ancient cloak is similar to the mantle worn to this day by 'Nuristani and others who wear the *kausia*, as well'.²¹⁷

Friedricksmeyer has already pointed out the lack of similarity between the rectangular modern cloak and the semi-circular periphery of the ancient one.²¹⁸ Diodorus, adduced by Kingsley, contradicts her: 'συναναγκάζεσθαι δὲ βαρβαρικοῖς ὑφάσμασι χρῆσθαι, συντεμόντες τὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περιβλήματα' indicates more than the vague adaptation which she proposes; 'συντέμνω' meaning 'cut out, shape', presumably refers to 'the cutting away of the lower corners', in order to fit to the Macedonians' own needs.²¹⁹

In sum, even if we accept that the Nuristani rectangular cloak preserves the shape of the garment found by the Macedonians 2300 years ago, we must agree with Friedricksmeyer that 'the Macedonians assumed the Indian περιβλήματα after having them transformed into their own familiar *chlamydes*'.²²⁰

With regard to the earliest representations of the *chlamys*, Kingsley adopts Lattimore's suggestion that neither the Daochos group at Delphi, nor the Aiane relief in the Louvre can be

²¹⁰ Friedricksmeyer 223. B.M. Kinglsey, 'The *kausia diadematophoros*', *AJA* lxxxviii (1984) 68 n. 23. Kalleris i 275 f., 276 n. 1.

²¹¹ Kingsley 45 n. 54. Kingsley (n. 210) 68.

²¹² L. Heuzey, *Histoire de la costume antique* (Paris 1922) 133 ff.

²¹³ Plut. *Alex.* 26.5: 'κυκλοτερή κόλπον ἤγον, οὐ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθείαι βάσεις ὡσπερ ἀπο κρασπέδων τὸ σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον, ἐξ Ἰσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος'; Strabo xvii 793; Plin. v 62. Kalleris i 275 n. 4. Friedricksmeyer 225 n. 39.

²¹⁴ St. Lattimore, 'The *chlamys* of Daochos I', *AJA* lxxix (1975) 87.

²¹⁵ Kingsley (n. 210) 67 f.

²¹⁶ Kingsley (n. 210) 68 n. 23.

²¹⁷ Kingsley (n. 210) 67 f. n. 22.

²¹⁸ Friedricksmeyer 225 f., 226 n. 41.

²¹⁹ *LSJ* s.v. 'συντέμνω'. Kingsley (n. 210) 67 n.20: 'I have translated "adapting" because I am not sure whether the robes were recut, trimmed, shortened, or simply pinned on the right shoulder, Greek style'. Friedricksmeyer 224 n. 32.

²²⁰ Friedricksmeyer 225 f.

dated prior to c. 300 BC.²²¹ Nevertheless, the group must be dated to the early 330's BC;²²² as for the Aiiane relief, 'its linear style' is not an isolated 'old-fashioned feature, extreme for the early fourth century BC', as Lattimore believes,²²³ but a manner seen now in other fourth century reliefs from Vergina.²²⁴ So it should not be taken as a 'semi-barbaric Hellenistic stele',²²⁵ but as a mid-fourth century provincial work, reproducing the 'common' Attic funerary repertoire within a local conceptual framework.²²⁶

Representations of the semi-circular *chlamys* are not confined to the Daochos monument and the Aiiane relief (though indeed both are fatal to Kingsley's argument). We see it now in a number of monuments from Vergina, as well, all dated before Alexander's campaign to the east:

a) Grave relief no. 4, dated to the third quarter of the fourth century.²²⁷ The major male figure wears a *chlamys* with a semi-circular border, just as does the child on the Aiiane relief [PLATE IV (a)].

b) No Thessalian *pteryges* are detected on the mid-fourth century relief no. 6 from Vergina.²²⁸ The male figure wears a short chiton, whose horizontal edge is not interrupted by the overfall of the *chlamys*, wound around the left arm [PLATE I (b)]. On Thessalian stelai, this part is represented as a long triangle made up by the *pteryges* of the local cloak.²²⁹

c) The standing male figure on the painted stele no. 20 from Vergina,²³⁰ is depicted in a similar pose [PLATE II (b)]. The unbroken edge of the *chlamys*, running straight from right shoulder to left knee, indicates that the triangular overfall may correspond to the upper corner of the semi-circular *chlamys* rather than to the lower *πτέρυξ* of the Thessalian type.

d) Both *kausia*-wearers on the lion-hunting fresco at Vergina, dated to the early third quarter of the fourth century,²³¹ wear *chlamydes* [PLATE III (b)]; in both cases, the cloaks have continuous borders, with no *πτέρυγες* indicated. Similar representations are seen on the Alexander sarcophagus.²³²

e) The earliest example of the Macedonian *chlamys* is represented on a stele of c. 425 BC.²³³ The semi-circular edge of the overfall [PLATE II (a)] indicates what one might expect from the Macedonian cloak. A contemporary Thessalian grave relief,²³⁴ otherwise similar in almost every iconographic detail,²³⁵ differs markedly in this respect; its triangular *πτέρυξ* appears as a curve at Vergina, and the difference must be regarded as the local artist's attempt to render

²²¹ Lattimore (n. 214) 87-88 n. 21.

²²² Friedrichsmeyer 225 n. 37. H.L. Schanz, *Greek sculptural groups. Archaic and Classical* (New York 1980) 21 f., 22 f., nn. 37-38.

²²³ Lattimore (n. 214) 87 n. 13.

²²⁴ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 55 ff. no. 4 pls. 12-15; 65 ff. no.5 pl. 14.

²²⁵ Lattimore (n. 214) 87, 88 n. 16.

²²⁶ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 95 f.

²²⁷ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 55 ff. no. 4 pls. 12-13.

²²⁸ M. Andronikos, *BCH* lxxix (1955) 87 ff. Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 71 ff. no. 6 pls. 15-19.

²²⁹ Biesantz (n. 75) pl. 10 (K 19), pl. 12 (K 8), pl. 13 (K 28), pl. 15 (K 33).

²³⁰ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 155 ff., pls. 42-43.

²³¹ See above n. 209.

²³² v. Graeve (n. 12) 85 n. 12 pls. 39 (B6) and 40 (B7).

²³³ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 19 ff. pl. 4.

²³⁴ Biesantz (n. 75) pl. 12 (K 20).

²³⁵ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 24 f.

the Macedonian cloak.²³⁶ The new evidence proves that the Macedonian *chlamys* existed parallel to the Thessalian one, at least from the end of the 5th century.²³⁷

The above examples show, against Kingsley's suggestion, that the particular variety of the *chlamys* in Macedonia is represented before Alexander departed for the east. Archaeological evidence corresponds with the literary sources, relating the semi-circular *chlamys* with the Macedonians; it seems, therefore, unnecessary to search for its origins elsewhere than in Northern Greece.

2. *Krepides*

This form of footwear is represented frequently in Greek art from the Archaic period onwards.²³⁸ The use of the *krepides* in Macedonia, as a third typical item of local dress,²³⁹ is verified by the grave stelai from Vergina, where *krepides* are regularly worn by men dressed in the *chlamys*.²⁴⁰

Some of the hunters on the façade of Philip's tomb at Vergina wear the *krepides*, as well.²⁴¹ Any similarity with modern eastern footwear should be thus regarded either as a sartorial borrowing from Macedon or as a completely independent creation, occasioned by similar needs and similar weather conditions.

Literary evidence indicates that *kausia*, *chlamys* and *krepides* belonged to a uniform; Kingsley remarks that '[they] were so often afterward mentioned in one breath that they seem to have formed an ensemble from the first'.²⁴²

EPILOGUE

The new archaeological evidence reaffirms the reliability of the ancient sources, attributing them to the Macedonians long before their campaign to the east. Therefore, *argumenta e silentio* seem to be on the retreat in the face of such new archaeological material being discovered in Northern Greece.

Despite the poverty of literary sources no longer can the Macedonian past be freely constructed *ex nihilo*. It is the privilege of the present generation of historians and archaeologists, I believe, to witness, indeed activate drastic changes which our long-established preconceptions must undergo and it should be within our potential to make our reassessments with the minimum of inherited prejudice.

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²³⁶ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) 21 nn. 62-64.

²³⁷ The semi-circular *chlamys* is seen as a 'new version' of the Thessalian rectangular one, introduced by Philip II, according to Bieber (n. 84) 69. Friedrichsmeyer 224: 'We do not know when the new version was first introduced.' But, he is sure (226 n. 41) that it was anyway a Macedonian invention existing or (less probably) conceived during their campaign to the east.

²³⁸ Bieber (v. 84) pls. 64.6 and 35.2. K. D. Morrow, *Greek footwear and the dating of Greek sculpture* (Madison, WI 1985) s.v. 'krepides' (passim).

²³⁹ Kalleris (n. 3) i 226 f. s.v. 'κρηπίς'.

²⁴⁰ Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη (n. 91) no. 4 pls. 12-13; no. 6 pls. 15-20; no. 12 pls. 31-32; no. 20 pl. 43.

²⁴¹ Andronikos (n. 8) figs. 58, 63, 66, 68.

²⁴² Kingsley (n. 209) 68 n. 25.

ADDENDUM

Professor Bonnie Kingsley died before the appearance of her article on 'Alexander's *kausia* and Macedonian tradition' in *Classical Antiquity* x (1991) 52-76 with figs. 1-12. Her final suggestions on the subject can be summarized as follows:

1. Concerning the shape of the cap, Prof. Kingsley

a) discarded the *petasos* from the *kausia* representations (Kingsley, 60 ff.) and suggested that the Aiiane headgear should be included among the *petasos* examples (61 n. 13).

b) suggested that the small, round headgear 'somewhat like a pillbox or a beret, with vertical sides' (61) represented by Philip's coins (61 n. 15), the Alexander mosaic (61 f. n.16 fig. 6), the fresco of Tomb II at Vergina (62 n. 17) and a marble relief of around 340 BC in Athens (62 n. 18) should not be listed among the *kausia* representations.

c) proposed that the true *kausia* was a 'flat, mushroom-shaped, iron coloured headgear with a roll of wool above the eyes' best represented by two late fourth century terracotta figurines (62 n. 21). The vertical seams sewn into the lower part of the roll are a further detail, which vanishes on later examples (61 n. 24).

These features led Kingsley to maintain her original identification of the *kausia* with the modern *chitrali*, 'acquired by the Macedonians in the southern Hindu-Kush, northwest of Taxila, and west of the Indus in winter of 327/26 BC' (63 n. 27).

2. Contesting Friedrichsmeyer's suggestion, Kingsley doubted the reliability of the literary evidence supporting the pre-Asian existence of the *kausia* (p.65 ff.) and saw in Krateros' cap not a sign of his adherence to 'ancestral ways' but a 'souvenir to the Macedonians of their common Indian experience' (68 f.)

New information on the origin of the *chitrali* creates problems for Kingsley's suggestion: 'no trace of the contemporary *chitrali* has been found to indicate its use in pre-Islamic nineteenth century' (74 n. 96). In the light of this new evidence it seems impossible to accept Kingsley's conclusion that: 'since the origins of both *kausia* and *chitrali* may never be established (75) it is difficult to accept that Polyainos' assertion that Macedonians wore *kausia* in 336/5 BC is not flatly contradicted by the indication that the cap originated among barbarians, since Macedonians had plenty of contact with barbarians' (75 f.)

The evidence supplied by the small inscribed calyx from Odessa (above p. 142-3 and FIG. 5) may be thus considered both as the earliest attestation of the term and a most reliable starting point for the reconstruction of the original *kausia* as we suggested above.

A.-M. Prestianni-Giallombardo's recent article on the *kausia* ('Recenti testimonianze iconografiche sulla *kausia* in Macedonia e la datazione del fregio della caccia della II Tomba reale di Vergina', *DHA* (1991) 257-294), has profited largely from my own suggestions (although insisting on the late connection of the *kausia* with the Macedonians), owing to a copy of my article available to her since 1989, that is, long before its present publication (Prestianni-Giallombardo, 258 n. 4). Therefore, I will not deal with it, but let readers come to their own conclusions.

APPENDIX

1: Antipater, *Garland of Philip* 41 Gow-Page

καυσίη ἢ τὸ πάροιθε Μακηδόσιν εὐκολον ὄπλον
καὶ σκέπας ἐν νιφετῶι καὶ κόρυς ἐν πτολέμωι
ἰδρῶ διψήσασα πειῖν τεόν, ἄλκιμε Πείσων,
Ἥμαθις Αὐσονίους ἤλθον ἐπὶ κροτάφους.
ἀλλὰ φίλος δέξαι με· τάχα κρόκες αἴ ποτε Πέρσας
τρεψάμεναι καὶ σοὶ Θρηκίικας ὑπαξόμεθα.

A broad-brimmed hat, from olden times the Macedonian's comfortable gear, shelter in snow-storm and helmet in war, thirsting to drink your sweat, valiant Piso, I come, an Emathian to Italian brows. Take me in friendship; it may be that my felt-nap, which once routed the Persians, will beneath you subdue the Thracians too.

2: Eustathius in *Il.* 255

καυσία, ἢ τις ἦν κάλυμμα κεφαλῆς Μακεδονικὸν ἐκ πίλου, ὡς τῆρα, σκέπουσά τε ἀπὸ καύσωνος καὶ ὡς εἰς περικεφαλαιάν συντελοῦσά τι.

3: SEG xxxvi 1221

Ἄ μὴ νομίζεται εἰς τὸ
 ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος
 εἰσφέρειν, ὄπλον μη-
 4 θέν, πέτασον, καυσί-
 αν, πόρπην, χαλκόν,
 χρυσόν, μηδὲ δακτύ-
 8 λιον ὑπόχρυσον, μηδὲ
 σκεδὸς μηθέν, ἔξω
 ἱματισμοῦ καὶ ὑπο-
 δέσεως...

4: Philo of Byzantium, *Mech. Syn.* v 77-8

Γράφονται δ' αἱ ἐπιστο-
 λαὶ εἰς καυ-
 σίαν καινὴν <η> εἰς τὸν χρώτα κηκίδος θλασθει-
 σης καὶ ὕ-
 दाτι βραχεισης· ξηρανθέντα δὲ τὰ γράμματα ἀ-
 δηλα γίνεται, χαλκοῦ δὲ ἀνθους τριφθέντος ὡσπερ
 ἐν ὕδατι τὸ μέλαν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σπόγγου βρα-
 χέντος,
 ὅταν ἀποσπογισθῆ τούτῳ, φανερὰ γίνεται· ἢ
 εἰς ὑ-
 μένα γραφείσης, εἴτα διπλῆς οὐσης τῆς καυσίας εἰς
 τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τεθείσης τῆς στεφάνης καὶ ἐτέρας
 <ἐπι>κολλη-
 θείσης·

Les lettres s'écrivent sur un *chapeau de feutre* neuf ou sur la peau avec une mixture de noix de galle imbibée d'eau: quand les caractères sèchent, ils deviennent invisibles, mais il suffit d'avoir du sulfate de cuivre, broyé, comme le noir dans de l'eau, et d'en imprégner une éponge, ils réapparaissent; ou bien on les écrit sur une membrane, que l'on place à la partie supérieure d'un chapeau à deux fonds collés l'un à l'autre;

5: *Zenon Papyri* 59633

Ἐγραψας ἡμῖν ἀποστείλαι εἰς Μέμ-
 [φί]ν εἰς καυσί[α]ς ἀρνακίδας. ἡμῖς οὖν
 [τῶ]ν ὄντων τὰς βελτίστας ἀπεστεί-
 [λ]αμεν· κομίζοντα Χείλωνα ε.
 [-]

6: Eustathios *in Od.* 1399

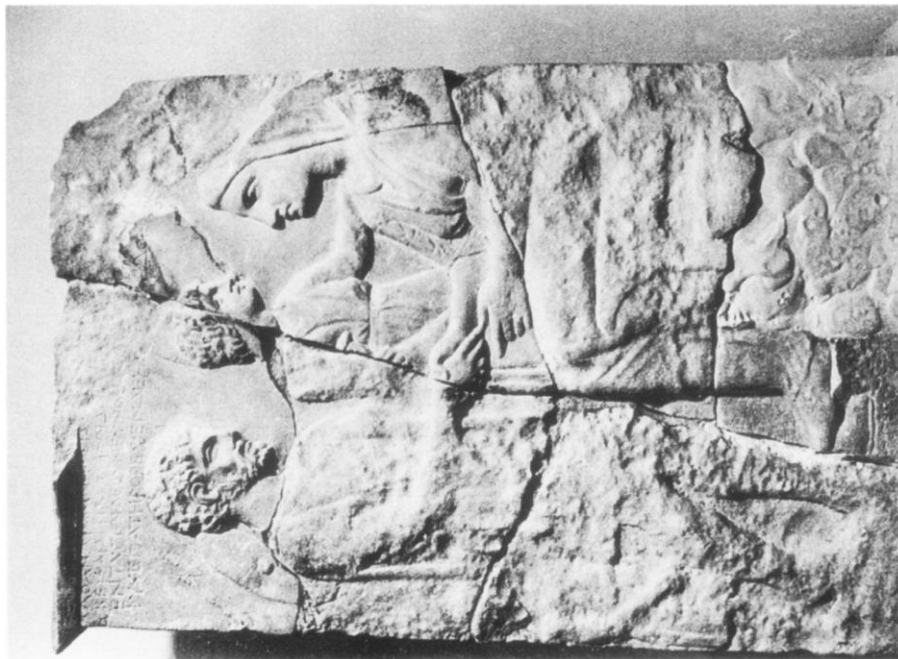
...καυσίας ἦτις...πίλος ἦν πλατύς, ὃν οἱ Μακεδονικοὶ, φησί, βασιλεῖς ἐφόρου
 λευκὸν αὐτῷ διάδημα περιειλοῦντες.

7: Plautus, *Trin.* 851

Pol hic quidem fungino generest: capite se totum tegit.



(a) Vergina Tomb I. The rape of Persephone:
Hermes.



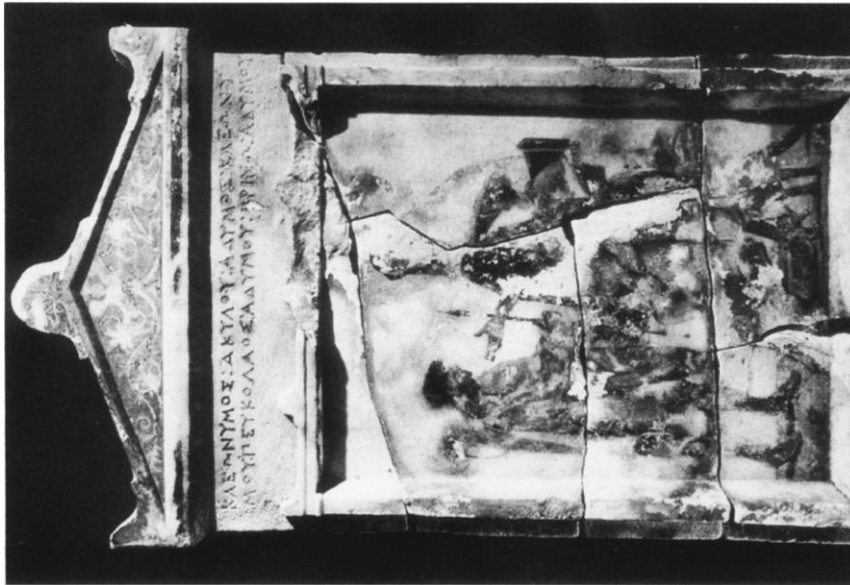
(b) Grave relief no.6 from Vergina. Thessaloniki,
Archaeological Museum.

ASPECTS OF ANCIENT MACEDONIAN COSTUME



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(c) Philip's coin issued at Amphipolis.

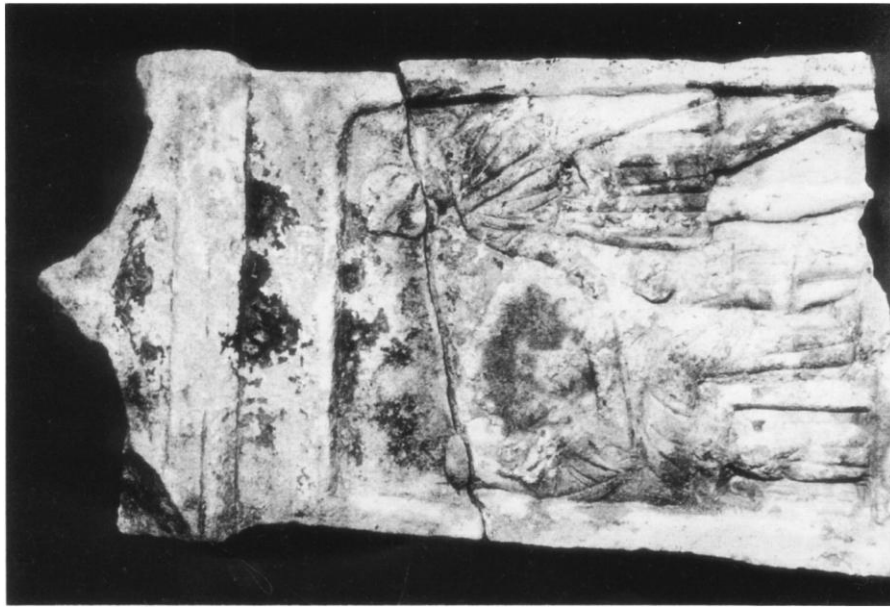


(b) Stele no.20 from Vergina. Vergina



(a) Grave relief no.1 from Vergina. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum.

ASPECTS OF ANCIENT MACEDONIAN COSTUME

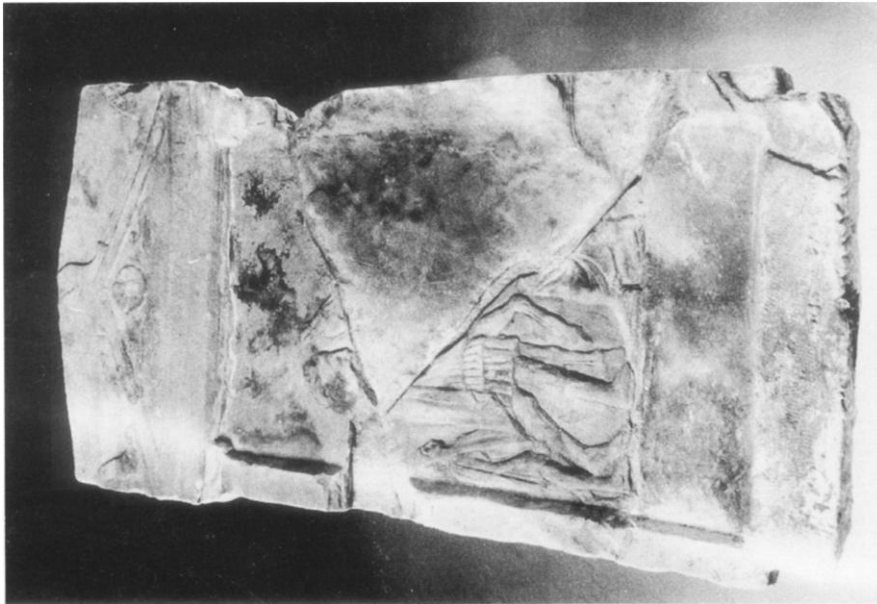


(a) Grave relief from Vergina. Vergina



(b) The façade of Philip's tomb at Vergina (reconstructed by G. Miltsakakis)

ASPECTS OF ANCIENT MACEDONIAN COSTUME



(a) Grave relief no.4 from Vergina. Vergina.



(b) Coin of Domitian
(British Museum)



(c) Coin of Augustus
(British Museum)

THE OLYMPIEION AND THE HADRIANEION
AT EPHEesos