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GREEK CULTS AND THEIR DRESS-CODES: THE REGULATIONS OF GREEK SANCTUARIES FOR CLOTHING, COLOUR, AND PENALTIES AGAINST MISBEHAVIOUR*

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Résumé. – Les inscriptions grecques sur les codes vestimentaires cultuels réglementaient le coût maximum, le tissu, la couleur des vêtements, les coiffures et les bijoux autorisés dans les sanctuaires, lors des rituels et des festivals. La réglementation sur les vêtements cultuels visait à renforcer l'expérience religieuse partagée plutôt qu'à afficher la richesse et la vanité qui peuvent se manifester par des vêtements, des bijoux et des coiffures. Certains règlements interdisaient les vêtements de couleur, les chaussures, les bijoux en or et les coiffures sophistiquées. Les vêtements blancs semblent avoir été privilégiés pour les rituels et les festivals cultuels. Contrairement aux adorateurs, les prêtres, en tant qu'agents rituels, étaient autorisés à porter des vêtements violets et des bijoux en or lors des festivals et des cérémonies. Le présent document rassemble toute une série de sources épigraphiques sur les réglementations en matière de vêtements cultuels.

Abstract. – Greek inscriptions on cultic dress-code regulated the maximum cost, fabric, colour of garments, hairstyles, and jewellery permitted in sanctuaries, at rituals, and festivals. The cultic clothing regulations aimed to reinforce the shared religious experience rather than displaying wealth and vanity that can be manifested through garments, jewellery, and hairstyles. Some regulations prohibited coloured garments, shoes, gold jewellery, and sophisticated hairstyles. White garments appear to have been favoured for cultic rituals and festivals. In contrast, priests, as ritual agents, were allowed to wear purple garments and gold jewellery at festivals and ceremonies. The present paper brings together a whole range of epigraphic sources on cultic clothing regulations.

Mots-clés. – Code vestimentaire culte, vêtements, textile, lin, laine, blanc, noir, violet.

Keywords. – Cultic dress-code, garments, textile, linen, wool, white, black, purple.

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In many places in the world, the dress-code is posted at the entrance of churches, mosques, and temples, and the worshippers and visitors are expected to wear appropriate attire. The fabric and colour of the garments are, therefore, not determined by these dress-codes. Fabric and colour, on the other hand, play an important role in the clothing of cultic officials. The Catholic Church provides a good example of such a tradition that determines the type and colour of garments of priests of any status. Depending on the ceremony, the Catholic pope wears purple richly embroidered with gold thread. His distinctive clothing is an outward sign of his cultic status.

Dress-codes were also imposed on worshippers and cultic officials in Greek sanctuaries, which determined the appropriate attire and adornment. Thirty-three Greek inscriptions give insight into cultic clothing regulations of various sanctuaries.¹ Two-third of the epigraphic sources on cultic dress-code concerns worshippers and one-third cultic officials. The appropriate attire in sanctuaries and at cultic rituals manifested piety and ensured the good order in society. Another aim of cultic dress-codes was to restrict the display of personal wealth through one's clothes, other means of adornment, and hairstyles at collective religious ceremonies. Most cultic clothing regulations concern women, even though the gender is mostly not explicitly specified in inscriptions on dress-code.

In the past, Greek inscriptions on cultic regulations were called 'sacred law'. The present paper aims to sketch discussions on sacred laws and to discuss inscriptions on dress-code, which regulated appropriate attire, the colour of garments, clothing regulations for cultic officials, and penalties against misbehaviour. I will regroup the inscriptions according to the specific regulations of clothing and colour.

WHAT IS A SACRED LAW?

Every sacred precinct and every festival had its own distinctive rules.² The cultic regulations made by the city or cult association and engraved on stelai were erected in shrines as a guidance for worshippers. Several inscriptions, which regulated, inter alia, the distinctive rules, the duties of cultic officials, sacrifices, purification, and dress-code, were called 'sacred laws' (ἱεραὶ νόμοι – *hieroi nomoi* in ancient Greek; *lex sacra* in Latin).³

1. Only the lines of inscriptions, which provide evidence for dress-code, were taken into consideration rather than translating the complete inscriptions. If not indicated otherwise, all translations are mine.

2. R. PARKER, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, p. 176.

3. For the so-called sacred laws in ancient Greece, see also R. BAUMGARTEN, *Heiliges Wort und heilige Schrift bei den Griechen: Hieroi Logoi und verwandte Erscheinungen*, Tübingen 1998; A. HENRICHs, «“Hieroi Logoi” and “Hierai Bibloi”: The (Un)Written Margins of the Sacred in Ancient Greece», *HSCP* 101, 2003, p. 207-266. Greek inscriptions regulating cultic matters were collected and analysed by H.T.A. PROTT, L. ZIEHEN, *Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae*, Chicago 1906; F. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955; *Id. Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément*, Paris 1962; *Id. Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969; E. LUPU, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of new Documents*, Leiden 2009. T. WÄCHTER collected sacred laws on cultic purity (*Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, Giessen 1910).

Robertson states that the term ‘sacred laws’ “is a term of convenience that was never used in any systematic way by ancient sources”.⁴ Therefore, several Greek inscriptions use the term *hieroi nomoi*. *IG XII 4, 1:72* (line 9), which regulated sacrifices and purification at the sanctuary of Demeter in Cos, employs the term *hieroi nomoi*. The same inscription orders the erection of two stelai inscribed with the regulation. A regulation from Ialysos (3rd century BCE) concerns the sanctuary of Alectrona and orders the erection of three stelai in the *temenos* with the *nomos* (law) engraved on them (*IG XII,1 677*, lines 6-8). *LSAM 16* (lines 29-33) from Gambreion dating to the 3rd century BCE orders the erection of two stelai with the *nomos*. *IG IX,1² 2:583* (216 BCE) from Olympia concerns the sanctuary of Apollo at Actium and regulated the festival Aktias (line 69). We learn from this inscription that the *hieroi nomoi* can be revised without writing something against the content of the inscription engraved on the stele. The same inscription also mentions that Anaktoron and the Akarnanian League revised the *hieroi nomoi*. This means that the *hieroi nomoi* were cultic prescriptions determined and revised by the *poleis*. Petrovic notes that “many of the text which scholars have traditionally referred to as Greek ‘sacred laws’ are prescriptive texts concerning religious rituals and matters of cult, which were not conceptualized as laws in antiquity. Some Greek ‘sacred laws’ were text that relied on existing laws and were products of rule of law, but were themselves not laws, rather, for example, contracts or decrees”.⁵ In this sense *IG IX,1² 2:583* is a contract and decree made by two cities.

We learn from *IG XII,1 677* that it is a decree made by the councillors (μαστροῖς) and Ialysians (line 1), and was proposed by a man named Strates (line 2), who was presumably not a holder of a cultic or political office at Ialysos. *IG XII,1 677* does not use the term ‘sacred law’ but mentions that the sanctuary of Alectrona should be pure according to the ancestral customs (lines 3-5). *IG XII,1 677* and *IG IX,1² 2:583*, both dating to the 3rd century BCE, demonstrate that they were decrees of the *poleis* in accordance with ancestral customs. Chaniotis points out that the decree is not a new introduction of a new norm or the modification of an existing one, but the publication of an existing regulation Strates stipulated.⁶ This may explain why stelai with norms were not unearthed at most Greek sanctuaries. The regulations and norms of most Greek sanctuaries were communicated orally without engraving them on stelai.

The term ‘sacred law’ is misleading and the proper term may be ‘cultic regulation’, since the so-called ‘sacred laws’ were neither sacred nor laws.⁷ I will use the term ‘cultic clothing regulation’ as a general term for the inscriptions on cultic dress-codes.

4. N. ROBERTSON, «The Concept of Purity in Greek Sacred Laws» in C. FREVEL, C. NIHAN eds., *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, Leiden 2013, p. 195, fn. 1.

5. A. PETROVIC, «Sacred Law» in E. EIDINOW, J. KINDT eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, Oxford 2015, p. 339.

6. A. CHANIOTIS, «The Dynamics or Ritual Norms in Greek Cult» in P. BRULÉ ed., *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne*, Liège 2009, p. 97.

7. S. GEORGOUDI, «Comment régler les *theia pragmata* : Pour une étude de ce qu’on appelle “lois sacrées”», *Metis N.S.* 8, 2010, p. 41-43; J.M. CARBON, V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE, «Beyond Greek “Sacred Laws”», *Kernos* 25, 2012, p. 163-182. See also R. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

Greek inscriptions dating to the 6th-4th centuries BCE illustrate that the tradition of writing decrees and cultic regulations existed already in the Archaic and Classical Greek world. Some old customs experience their zenith under the influence of specific changes in the society. Cultic regulations of dress-code had their zenith during the Hellenistic period (Chart 1). McLean has suggested that the collection of fines may have initiated the legislation.⁸ Only a few decrees order fines and punishments resulting from the violation of the regulation. The absence of fines against misbehaviour does not necessarily mean that such fines were not ordered.⁹

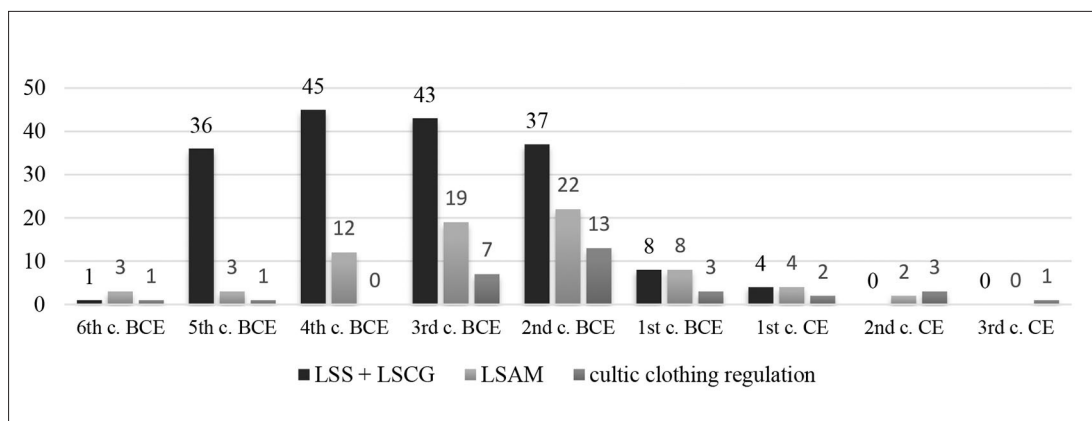


Chart 1.: The so-called sacred laws published by Sokolowski distributed through time. 280 inscriptions from *LSS* (F. SOKOŁOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1962), *LSCG* (F. SOKOŁOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1969), and *LSAM* (F. SOKOŁOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1955) are taken into consideration for the following chart.⁹

Stelai bearing the cultic regulations erected in the *temene* of various deities may suggest that worshippers who visited the shrines were able to read the inscriptions. Literacy in ancient Greece was restricted to a small group of wealthy and less wealthy people. It is not known whether most women from the middle and upper classes were literate even if the restriction of expensive garments and gold jewellery concerned them primarily. There is written and iconographic evidence for women's literary in ancient Greece;¹⁰ however, the rate of literacy among women is not known and cannot be determined with certainty. The literacy level of

8. B.H. McLEAN, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.-A.D. 337)*, Ann Arbor MI 2002, p. 190.

9. F. SOKOŁOWSKI analysed 88 inscriptions from Asia Minor (*LSAM*) and 181 from mainland Greece, Cyclades, and the Aegean islands (*LSCG*), which he called 'sacred laws'

10. C. PÉBARTHE discusses the literary and iconographic sources on the literacy among women (*Cité, Démocratie et Écriture. Histoire de l'alphabétisation d'Athènes à l'époque classique*, Paris 2006, p. 58-60; see also M. DANA, «La femme au rouleau : images de femmes lettrées dans le monde grec antique», *Revue de la BNU*, 2016, p. 21).

women was different in each city and the rate has changed over time.¹¹ It is assumed that, depending on the city and period, the literacy level of women was not very low.¹² The dress-code was presumably communicated orally to worshippers, especially to those who were illiterate.¹³ The erection of stelai bearing the cultic clothing regulations at sanctuaries highlighted the sanctity of the regulations and their legal nature.

CULTIC CLOTHING REGULATIONS

Cultic regulations of dress-code determined the clothing, jewellery, make-up, hairstyles, and shoes permitted in sanctuaries and at festivals.¹⁴ The inscriptions on dress-codes found in different Greek cities illustrate that each sanctuary defined the appropriate form of attire the worshippers and cultic officials were expected to wear.



Figure 1: Painted wooden panel from the cave of the nymphs located at Pitsa in Corinthia (courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens; photo: www.namuseum.gr)

11. C. PÉBARTHE, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

12. C. PÉBARTHE, *op. cit.*, p. 58-59; M. DANA, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Since boys from wealthy families had more access to education than girls, the literacy level of women was lower than that of men.

13. See also M. BEARD, «Writing and Religion» in S.I. JOHNSTON ed. *Ancient Religions*, Cambridge Mass. 2007, p. 127 *sqq.*

14. For the cultic regulation of hairstyles, jewellery, make-up, shoes, and adornment, see A.M.S. KARATAS, «Greek Cults and Their Sacred Laws on Dress-code: The Laws of Greek Sanctuaries for Hairstyles, Jewelry, Make-up, Belts, and Shoes», *CW* 113.2, 2020, p. 143-170.

We may expect that the iconographic sources (*e.g.* vase paintings, reliefs, statues, and clay figurines) portray cultic officials and worshippers at cultic rituals in specific garments prescribed in inscriptions. A painted wooden panel found in a cave dedicated to the nymphs at Pitsa in Corinthia dates to 540-530 BCE and depicts colourful dressed people performing a sacrifice (National Archaeological Museum of Athens Inv. 16,464). The boys are dressed in red and blue *himatia*; three women are dressed in sophisticated and colourful dresses. Statues and reliefs dating to the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods depict worshippers and cultic officials in expensive garments. The garments of people with low social status thus reflect their social rank by the quality of their clothes and drapery. Several literary sources also offer a similar picture of the colourful clothes of participants at festivals.¹⁵ However, the iconographic material is clearly at odds with the cultic regulations of dress-code

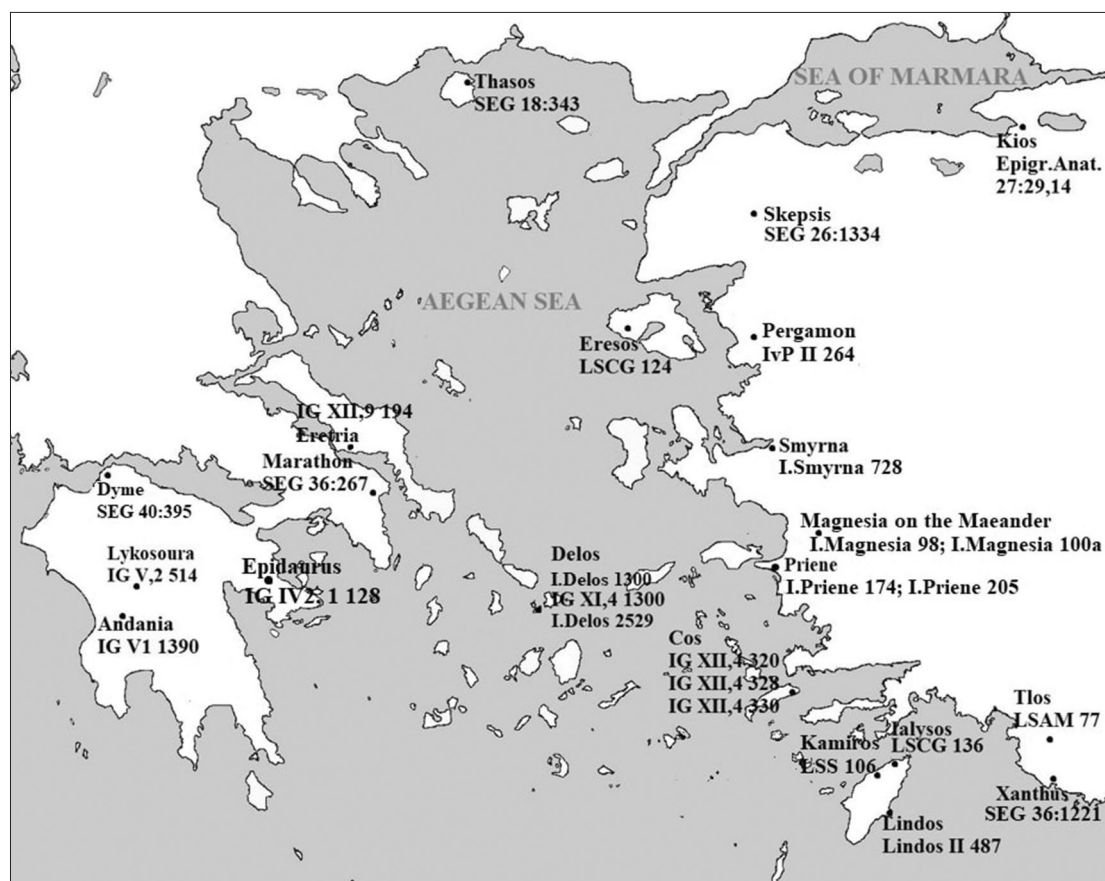


Figure 2: Inscriptions on cultic clothing regulations in ancient Greece. For details, see Table 1.

15. Aristoph. *Thesmophoriazusae* 252-265; Aristoph. *Ecclesiazusae* 732; Eur. *Bacchae* 915; *FGh* 76 F 60. For further discussion, see F. GHERCHANOC, «Beauté, ordre et désordre vestimentaires féminins en Grèce ancienne», *Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés*, «Costumes» 36, 2012, p. 20-27.

Most inscriptions on dress-codes are from the Aegean islands and Asia Minor: Attica: 2; Peloponnese: 4; Aegean islands: 11; Asia Minor: 13; other regions: 3. It is worth noting that most cultic regulations of purity are also from Asia Minor.¹⁶ One of the earliest inscriptions on dress-code dates to the 6th century BCE and concerns the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros (*IPArk* 20). It is perhaps not surprising that this earliest cultic clothing regulation is from the Peloponnese, as many early decrees also come from there.¹⁷ More than 50 % of the inscriptions on dress-codes date to the 3rd-2nd centuries BCE. The increasing number of epigraphic records during the Hellenistic period in Asia Minor probably also led to the increasing frequency of written material on cultic dress-codes in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (Chart 1). The rapid increase of decrees in Attica in the 5th century BCE is presumably linked to the Athenian policy and to the need for the regulations of cults. Each society has certain norms, which are not written but communicated orally to regulate the appropriate form of attire for sanctuaries. There was also a tendency that supported the erection of stelai in sanctuaries for the regulation of dress-codes and purity. Henrichs notes that the Romans, Greeks, or Egyptians handled

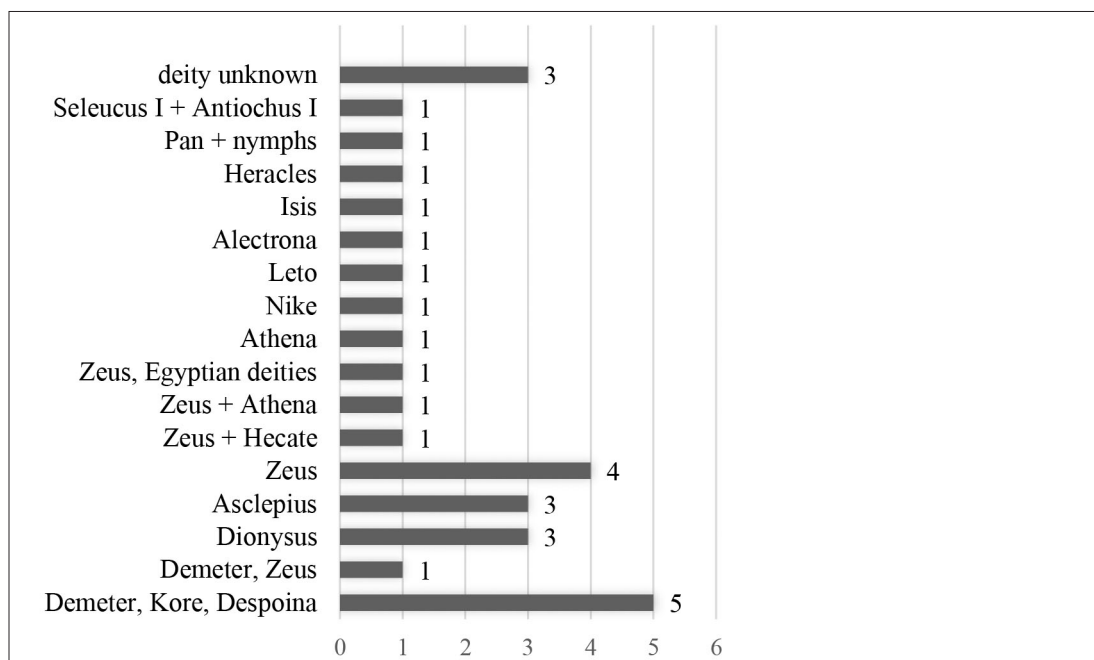


Chart 2: Greek inscriptions regulating the dress-code of various cults. For details, see Table 1.

16. N. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 201, fig. 1.

17. Decrees dating to the 6th century BCE from Peloponnese are attested for Mantinea (*SEG* 11:1086), Lousoi (*SEG* 11:1121), Sparta (*SEG* 22:296), Argos (*SEG* 22:263; *SEG* 11:314), and Tiryns (*SEG* 34:296; *SEG* 22:269; *SEG* 11:369).

religious records in different ways.¹⁸ The Greeks set up stelai bearing the cultic regulations and records in sanctuaries, whereas the Romans and Egyptians had their ‘*sacred bibloi*’ kept by cultic officials.¹⁹

Cultic regulations of dress-codes are a varied corpus of regulations related to the sanctuaries of female and male deities. Thirty-three inscriptions discussed in this paper regulate the dress-codes of the sanctuaries of at least ten deities (Fig. 2, Table 1): Despoina, Demeter, Kore, Athena, Nike, Leto, Alectrona, Dionysus, Egyptian deities, Heracles, Asclepius, Zeus, Pan, and the nymphs, (Table 1). Thirteen inscriptions concern female, thirteen male, and five female and male deities.²⁰ One third of the inscriptions concerns the cult of Demeter and Zeus (Chart 2).

Table 1: Greek inscriptions regulating the dress-codes of various cults in ancient Greece.²¹ The inscriptions in parenthesis refer to the related lemmata. The inscriptions are listed in chronological order²²

	City	Inscription	Period	Deity	Dress-code	Sanctuary, festival	gender
1	Arcadia	<i>IPark</i> 20 (= <i>SEG</i> 11:1112; <i>LSCG</i> 32), line 1	525 BCE	Demeter Thesmophoros	prohibition: coloured garments	ritual, sanctuary	f
2	Selinous	<i>SEG</i> 43:630 (= <i>CGRN</i> 13), face A, line 14	5th c. BCE	Zeus Meilichius	prescription: pure cloth	Kotytia (festival)	m/f
3	Dyme	<i>SEG</i> 40:395 (= <i>LSS</i> 33; <i>Rizakis</i> <i>Achaia</i> III 6; <i>CGRN</i> 127), ²² lines 3-7	3rd c. BCE	Demeter	prohibition: gold jewellery weighing more than one obolos, coloured and purple garments, and make-up	festivals	f
4	Ialysos	<i>IG</i> XII,1 677 (= <i>LSCG</i> 136; <i>CGRN</i> 90), lines 25-26	3rd c. BCE	Alectrona	prohibition: sandals and anything made from pigskin	sanctuary	m/f
5	Priene	<i>I.Priene</i> 205 (= <i>LSAM</i> 35; <i>McCabe, Priene</i> 212; <i>CGRN</i> 121), lines 3-5	3rd c. BCE	Alexander the Great (?)	prescription: pure white clothes	sanctuary	m/f

18. A. HENRICH, *op. cit.*

19. A. HENRICH, *op. cit.*, p. 207-209.

20. The names of the deities in two inscriptions are missing (*LSAM* 77; *Tit.Cam. Supp.* 218,112b).

21. See also the table created by L. Cleland that lists the Greek terms used for clothes, colours, and other items in eleven inscriptions on dress-code (L. CLELAND, *Colour in Ancient Greek Clothing: A Methodological Investigation*. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh 2002, p. 235, Table 2.2).

22. *CGRN: Collection of Greek Ritual Norms*; <http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>

6	Xanthus	<i>SEG</i> 36:1221, lines 4-7, 9-10	3rd-2nd c. BCE	Leto	prohibition: gold (objects), gold-plated rings, brooch, <i>petasos</i> , <i>kausia</i> , and any equipment at all except for clothes and shoes	sanctuary	m/f
7	Tlos	<i>LSAM</i> 77, line 1	100 BCE		prescription: embroidered clothes	procession	f
8	Cyrene	<i>SEG</i> 20:719 (= <i>LSS</i> 116; <i>CGRN</i> 190), face A, lines 7-8	2nd c. BCE	Zeus Hyperphores	prohibition: shoes	sacrifice	m/f
9	Delos	<i>I.Delos</i> 2529 (= <i>LSS</i> 59; <i>LGS</i> 91), lines 14-15, 18-20	116 BCE	Zeus Kynthios, Athena Kynthia	prescription: clean, white clothes; prohibition: shoes, ring made of iron, belt	sanctuary	m/f
10	Delos	<i>IG</i> XI,4 1300 (= <i>LSCG</i> 94; <i>LGS</i> 90; <i>CGRN</i> 173), line 2	2nd c. BCE	Isis (?)	prohibition: clothes adorned with flowers	sanctuary (?)	m/f
11	Delos	<i>I.Delos</i> 2180 (= <i>LSS</i> 56; <i>CGRN</i> 172), line 7	2nd c. BCE	Egyptian deities, Zeus Kasion	prohibition: woollen clothes	sanctuary	m/f
12	Lykosoura	<i>IG</i> V,2 514 (= <i>LSCG</i> 68; <i>SEG</i> 36.376; <i>IPark</i> 34; <i>LGS</i> 63; <i>CGRN</i> 126), lines 4-7, 9-11	2nd c. BCE	Despoina	prohibition: purple and black clothes, gold, ring, shoes, braided hair, and veiled head	sanctuary	m/f
13	Eresos	<i>IG</i> XII, Suppl. 126 (= <i>LSCG</i> 124; <i>CGRN</i> 181), line 17	2nd c. BCE	goddess (?)	prohibition: items made of animal skin and bandaged	sanctuary	m/f
14	Andania	<i>IG</i> V,1 1390 (= <i>LSCG</i> 65; <i>LGS</i> 58), lines 15-26	92 BCE	Demeter, Kore	prohibition: transparent clothes, purple, decorations, gold, rouge, make-up, hairband, plated hair, shoes unless of felt or sacrificial leather prescription: white clothes, <i>himation</i> , linen <i>chiton</i> , <i>sindonitēs</i> , <i>kalasiris</i>	mysteries	f

15	Marathon	<i>SEG</i> 36:267, lines 8-9	60 BCE	Pan, nymphs	prohibition: coloured and dyed clothes	sanctuary	m/f
16	Kios	<i>I.Kios</i> 19 (= <i>Epigr.Anat.</i> 27:29,14; <i>LSAM</i> 6), lines 4-5, 7	1st c. CE	Demeter	prescription: clean clothes prohibition: any golden ornaments and shoes	sacrifice	f
17	Smyrna	<i>I.Smyrna</i> 728 (= <i>LSAM</i> 84; <i>SEG</i> 14:752), line 10	2nd / 3rd c. CE	Dionysus, Orpheus	prohibition: black clothes	sanctuary	m/f
18	Pergamon	<i>IvP</i> II 264 (= <i>LSAM</i> 14), lines 9-11	2nd / 3rd c. CE	Asclepius	prescription: white clothes prohibition: ring, belt, gold, braided hair, and shoes	incubation	m/f
19	Lindos	<i>Lindos</i> II 487 (= <i>LSS</i> 91), lines 7-10	225 CE	Athena Lindia	prescription: clean clothes prohibition: items made of goat skin, tied belts, shoes, styled hair	sanctuary	m/f
20	Kamiroi	<i>Tit.Cam. Supp.</i> 218,112b (= <i>LSS</i> 106), lines 7-8			prohibition: expensive clothes	sanctuary	m/f

Twelve inscriptions are exclusively addressed to men who exercised cultic functions, *e.g.* priest, sacred herald, or *stephanephoros* (Table 2). In contrast to the dress-codes addressed to worshippers, five clothing regulations imposed on cultic officials prescribe purple garments and gold jewellery, meaning that attire and adornment associated with luxury were prescribed together (*SEG* 26:1334; *I.Priene* 174; *Iscr. di Cos ED* 89; *Iscr. di Cos ED* 180; *Iscr. di Cos ED* 215). The attire of cultic officials displayed their function as ritual agents and set them apart from other participants at religious ceremonies.²³ It is not recorded in epigraphic sources whether cultic officials of lower rank followed the dress-code imposed on worshippers.

23. S. PAUL, «Roles of Civic Priests in Hellenistic Cos» in M. HORSTER, A. KLÖCKNER eds., *Cities and Priests: Cult personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial period*, Berlin 2013, p. 263.

Table 2: Greek inscriptions regulating the dress-codes of priests and people who were in charge of cultic responsibilities. The inscriptions in parenthesis refer to the related lemmata. The inscriptions are listed in chronological order^{24,25}

	city	inscription	period	deity	dress-code	festival / sanctuary	gender
1	Eretria	<i>IG</i> XII,9 194 (= <i>LSCG</i> 93), line 7	3rd c. BCE	Asclepius	prescription for the horseriders: embroidered garment	cavalry procession	m
2	Pergamon	<i>IvP</i> I 40 (= <i>LSAM</i> 11; <i>CGRN</i> 124), lines 1-4	250-200 BCE	Zeus	prescription for the priest: white chlamys, wreath of olive, and small crimson band (tainidion) ²⁴	animal sacrifices (?)	m
3	Aigai	<i>SEG</i> 59:1406 (= <i>CGRN</i> 137), lines 30-40	281 BCE	Seleucus I, Antiochus I	prescription for the priest: bright clothes, headband, ²⁵ and crown of laurel	joint animal sacrifices	m
4	Epidauros	<i>IG</i> IV2,1 128	280 BCE	Asclepius	prescription for the physician: white garments	procession	m
5	Skepsis	<i>SEG</i> 26:1334 (= <i>IMT Skam/NebTaeler</i> 390), lines 11-12	2nd c. BCE	Dionysus	prescription for the priest: purple garment, gold wreath, and shoes	all festivals organised by the city	m
6	Priene	<i>I.Priene</i> 174 (= <i>LSAM</i> 37; <i>Syll3</i> 1003), lines 1-6	2nd c. BCE	Dionysus	prescription for the priest: the priest can wear whatever garment he likes and a gold wreath	Katagogia (festival)	m
7	Magnesia on the Maeander	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 100a (= <i>LSAM</i> 33a; <i>CGRN</i> 200), lines 38-39	2nd c. BCE	Artemis	prescription for the sacred herald: solemn clothes, crowns of laurel	on the 6th of the month of Artemision	m
8	Magnesia on the Maeander	<i>I.Magnesia</i> 98 (= <i>LSAM</i> 32; <i>CGRN</i> 194), lines 41-43	197-196 BCE	Artemis	prescription: stephanephoros should wear beautiful clothes	Leukophryena (festival), procession	m

24. *IvP* I 40, lines 3-4: ταϊνιδίου φοινικιοῦ. The term φοινίκιον (phoinikion) refers to a deep red colour and ταϊνίδιον (tainidion) to a small band.

25. *SEG* 59:1406, line 40: στρόφιον (*strophion*) means 'breastband' but can also refer to a headband.

9	Cos	<i>Iscr. di Cos ED 89</i> (= <i>IG XII 4, 330</i> ; <i>LSCG 163</i> ; <i>CGRN</i> 163), lines 9-10, 12	2nd c. BCE	Nike	prescription for the priest: white clothes; purple clothes and gold ring in the sanctuary, procession, and at sacrifices	sanctuary, procession, sacrifice	m
10	Cos	<i>Iscr. di Cos ED 180</i> (= <i>IG XII 4, 320</i> ; <i>CGRN 221</i>), lines 22-23	2nd c. BCE	Heracles	prescription for the priest: white clothes, brooch, gold ring, wreath of white poplar	choral competitions	m
11	Cos	<i>Iscr. di Cos ED 215</i> (= <i>IG XII 4, 328</i> ; <i>SEG 45:1130</i> ; <i>CGRN 167</i>), lines 15-18	1st c. BCE	Zeus	prescription for the priest: purple clothes, gold necklace, gold ring	Dionysia (festival)	m
12	Andania	<i>IG V,1 1390</i> (= <i>LSCG 65</i> ; <i>LGS</i> 58), lines 19-22	92 BCE	Demeter, Kore	prescription for the adult sacred women: white clothes, <i>kalasiris</i> or <i>hypodyma</i> without decorations, <i>himation</i> prescription for the girls (sacred women): white clothes, <i>kalasisris</i> , <i>himation</i> prohibition: transparent clothes, purple, decorations, gold, rouge, make- up, hairband, plated hair, shoes unless of felt or sacrificial leather	mysteries	f
13	Thasos	<i>SEG 18:343</i> , line 33	1st c. CE	Demeter, Zeus	prescription for a priestess: white clothes	sanctuary	f
14	Stratonikeia	<i>I.Stratonikeia 1101</i> (= <i>LSAM 69</i>), lines 7-8	2nd c. CE	Zeus, Hecate	prescription <i>hymnodes</i> : white clothes, wreath of olive	festival	m

Most regulations listed in Table 1 do not precise the gender of worshippers who were affected by the cultic clothing regulations. The gender of worshippers was determined on the basis of the features of cults. Some cults were mainly worshipped by women and some by both genders. Five inscriptions on dress-code concern female worshippers and fifteen regulations are addressed to both genders. All inscriptions, which presumably concern women, are related to the cults of female deities (Demeter and a goddess, whose name is not preserved). The cultic clothing regulations addressed to women and to both genders do not differ from each other. In the centre of most regulations is the prescription of clean and uncoloured garments. Cultic clothing regulations aimed to restrict sophisticated and expensive clothing as a means of exhibiting ostentatious display of private wealth at collective religious performances, and φιλοκοσμία (love of adornment).²⁶ Therefore, some prohibitions concern first and foremost women, since the restriction and prohibition of embroidered garments, various hairstyles, adornment, and make-up affected primarily women (Table 3). Beattie points out that “women may well have valued jewellery, fine clothes and elaborate hair as means of conveying status and honour, and as important forms of economic power”.²⁷ Not only women, but also men tended to wear expensive and coloured garments. Lucian says in *Nigrinus* 14 that a man was arrested because he was wearing colourful garment at a festival.²⁸

Table 3: Prescriptions and prohibition ordered in cultic clothing regulations

	prescription	prohibition
garment	pure clothes: <i>SEG</i> 43:630 (Selinous); <i>I.Kios</i> 19 (Kios); <i>Lindos</i> II 487 (Lindos)	transparent clothes: <i>IG</i> V,1 1390 (Andania)
fabric	linen: <i>IG</i> V,1 1390 (Andania)	wool: <i>I.Delos</i> 56 (Delos)

26. For the restriction of φιλοκοσμία and adultery in the ancient Graeco-Roman world, see Diodorus Siculus XII.21.1; Livius XXXIV.1.3; XXXIV.3.9; XXXIV.4.13; Athenaeus XII.20; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* II.11. The restrictions mentioned by Diodorus Siculus and Athenaeus concern adultery. See also P. CULHAM, «Again, What Meaning Lies in Colour!», *ZPE* 64, 1986, p. 237; R. BERNHARDT, *Luxuskritik und Aufwandbeschränkungen in der griechischen Welt*, Stuttgart 2003, p. 207-208.

27. A.J. BEATTIE, «Neither Gold nor Braided Hair (1 Timothy 2.9; 1 Peter 3.3): Adornment, Gender and Honour in Antiquity», *New Test. Stud.* 55, 2009, p. 184.

28. ληφθέντα μὲν γάρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄγεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἀγωναθέτην, ὅτι βαπτὸν ἔχων ἱμάτιον ἐθεώρει, τοὺς δὲ ἰδόντας ἐλεῆσαι τε καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνειπόντος, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐποίησεν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐσθῇ θεώμενος, ἀναβοῆσαι μὲν φωνῇ πάντας ὥσπερ ἐσκεμμένους, συγγνώμην ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτά γε ἀμπεχομένῳ: μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἕτερα.

A citizen had been arrested and brought before the *agonothetes* for making his appearance in coloured clothes. The onlookers felt for him and took his part; and when the herald declared that he had violated the law by attending the festival in that attire, they all exclaimed with one voice, as if they had been in consultation, ‘that he must be pardoned for wearing those clothes, as he had no others’. Lucian, *Nigrinus* 14; translation by A.M. HARMON, *Lucian*, Cambridge Mass. 1913. The term βαπτός means ‘dyed’ and ἱμάτιον (*himation*) is used for garment.

colour	white: <i>IG</i> IV ² ,1 128 (Epidauros); <i>IvP</i> II 264 (Pergamon); <i>I.Priene</i> 205 (Priene); <i>I.Stratonikeia</i> 1101 (Stratonikeia); <i>I.Delos</i> 2529 (Delos); <i>IG</i> V,1 1390 (Andania); <i>SEG</i> 18:343 (Thasos) purple: <i>SEG</i> 26:1334 (Skepsis); <i>Iscr. di Cos</i> <i>ED</i> 89 (Cos); <i>Iscr. di Cos</i> <i>ED</i> 215 (Cos)	purple: <i>IG</i> V,2 514 (Lykosoura); <i>SEG</i> 40:395 (Dyme) coloured garments: <i>IPark</i> 20 (Arcadia); <i>SEG</i> 36:267 (Marathon); <i>IG</i> V,1 1390 (Andania); <i>IG</i> V,2 514 (Lykosoura); <i>SEG</i> 40:395 (Dyme) black: <i>I.Smyrna</i> 728 (Smyrna); <i>IG</i> V,2 514 (Lykosoura)
embroidery	<i>IG</i> XII,9 194 (Eretria); <i>LSAM</i> 77 (Tlos)	<i>IG</i> XI,4 1300 (Delos); <i>I.Kios</i> 19 (Kios); <i>SEG</i> 40:395 (Dyme); <i>IG</i> V,2 514 (Lykosoura)
animal skin		anything made of animal skin: <i>IG</i> XII, Suppl. 126 (Eresos) anything made of pigskin: <i>IG</i> XII,1 677 (Ialysos) anything made of goatskin: <i>Lindos</i> II 487 (Lindos)

Literary sources give us glimpses into female clothing, ideas of female modesty, restrictions of displaying of personal wealth, and vanity in public life. The Pythagorean philosopher Phintys²⁹ wrote about women's virtue and summarizes the dress-code imposed by Greek cultic clothing regulations (*Περὶ γυναικὸς σωφροσύνας* – *On the Chastity of Women*): women should be dressed in white, not in many coloured dresses, and not to wear transparent, luxurious, silk garments, and gold jewellery. The modesty ensured the *eusebeia* (piety), *eukosmia* (decency), and *eunomia* (good order) in the society.³⁰

Πρέπει νὰ εἶναι λευκοντυμένη, ἀπλή καὶ ἀνεπιτήδευτη. Καὶ θὰ εἶναι ἔτσι ἂν δὲν φοράει διαφανή καὶ πολύχρωμα οὔτε μεταξωτὰ φορέματα ἀλλὰ σεμνὰ καὶ λευκοῦ χρώματος. Ἐτσι θὰ ἀποφύγει τὰ ὑπερβολικὰ στολίδια, τὴν πολυτέλεια καὶ τὸν καλλωπισμὸ καὶ δὲν θὰ ἐμπνεύσει τὴ μοχθηρὴ ζήλεια στὶς ἄλλες. Χρυσοφικὰ καὶ σμαράγδια νὰ μὴ φοράει, ἐπειδὴ φανερόνουν ἐπίδειξη πλούτου καὶ ὑπερηφάνεια ἀπέναντι στὶς γυναῖκες τοῦ λαοῦ. Πρέπει καὶ ἡ πολιτεία, ἂν εὐνομεῖται, νὰ ὀρίζει αὐτὰ γιὰ ὅλες τὶς γυναῖκες, νὰ βοηθάει μὲ μία ἐνιαία νομοθεσία, ἔτσι ὥστε νὰ ἀπομακρύνει ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία τοὺς τεχνῖτες ποὺ κατασκευάζουν τέτοια κοσμήματα. Καὶ νὰ μὴ στολίζει τὸ πρόσωπό της μὲ τεχνητὰ καὶ ξένα χρώματα. Ἀλλὰ νὰ ἀρκεῖται στὸ φυσικὸ χρῶμα τοῦ σώματος, τὸ ὁποῖο νὰ λούζει μὲ σκέτο νερὸ καὶ νὰ φροντίζει νὰ στολίζεται μᾶλλον μὲ τὴ σεμνότητα.

29. It is not known whether Phintys is a historical figure and was the author of the text on women's virtue.

30. F. GHERCHANOC, *op. cit.*, p. 30 *sqq.*

She must be dressed in **white, simple**, and without **anything fancy**. She will be like this if she does not wear clothes that are **transparent** or **many coloured**³¹ or **silky**, but **moderate** and **white**. For thus she will avoid being too well dressed and **luxurious** and **ostentatious**, and arousing unpleasant envy in other women. She should on no account wear **gold** or **emeralds**, for it would be an extravagant and arrogant gesture with respect to the local women. For a well governed city, the whole city arranged for benefit of the whole city, must be sympathetic and in agreement, and the craftsmen who make such jewellery must be excluded from the city. She should not embellish her appearance with imported and **foreign colour**, but by the natural colour of her body, by washing with water, and **adorn herself instead with modesty**.

Phintys, *On the Chastity of Women*³²

The cultic regulation of women's garment in sanctuaries might be considered as a means to control women. Cleland concluded that the garment regulation is a "pre-modern legal expression of social control".³³ Each society has certain norms that determine the appropriate form of attire. Such norms are especially strict with women. *IG V,1 1390* (lines 26-28) mentions the office of *gynaikonomoi* (γυναικονόμοι) that had to ensure that women were dressed as ordered in the Andanian decree. *Gynaikonomoi* are not only attested for the Andanian mysteries and their tasks also included the responsibility for monitoring the behaviour of women.³⁴ Female chastity and modesty, which were considered as crucial for a good order in the society, were one of the reasons for the establishment of the office of *gynaikonomoi* and for the restrictions imposed on women's clothing in public and cultic life.³⁵ Garland and Gawlinski assume that the office of *gynaikonomoi* was established in the 4th century BCE.³⁶ Written sources on *gynaikonomoi* date mainly to the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. It is interesting to note that from the 3rd century BCE onwards, the inscriptions on cultic clothing regulations began to prohibit jewellery, make-up, adornment, embroidered, and transparent clothes.

The question arises as to whether the dress-code ordered in cultic clothing regulations was imposed on all rituals performed in sanctuaries or only on specific festivals. One-third of the inscriptions listed in Table 1 mention that the worshippers should follow the dress-code everytime when they enter the sanctuary. Two-third concerns specific ceremonies such as festivals at which the worshippers and cultic officials should wear proper attire.

31. I.M. PLANT translated πολύχρωμα as, embroidered' (*Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology*, London 2004, p. 85). This term means 'many coloured'.

32. Phintys, *On the Chastity of Women*; translation by I.M. PLANT, *op. cit.*, p. 85; partially modified by author.

33. L. CLELAND, *A Hierarchy of Women: Status, Dress and Social Construction at Andania*, unpublished paper represented at Celtic Classics Conference, Maynooth 2000.

34. For written sources and further discussion on *gynaikonomoi*, see B.J. GARLAND, *Gynaikonomoi: An Investigation of Greek Censors of Women*, Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1981; D. OGDEN, «Controlling Women's Dress: Gynaikonomoi» in L. LLEWELLYN-JONES ed., *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea 2002, p. 203-225.

35. D. OGDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

36. To B.J. GARLAND, *op. cit.*, p. IV; L. GAWLINSKI, *The Sacred Law of Andania: A New Text with Commentary*, Boston-Berlin 2012, p. 133.

GARMENT TYPES

The prescribed or prohibited garment types mentioned in inscriptions on cultic clothing regulation are characterised by their form, colour, and woven motifs. However, many terms used in inscriptions on dress-code do not specify the fabric or the garment type. The terms most frequently employed for garments in inscriptions are *esthēs* (ἐσθής), *heima* (εἶμα), and *heimatismos* (εἵματισμός).³⁷ The basic garments in ancient Greece were *chiton* (χιτών), *peplos* (πέπλος), and *himation* (ἱμάτιον) whose fabric and colour determined their prices. *SEG* 40:395 (Dyme) mentions a mantle named *lōpē* (λώπη). It cannot be concluded from the inscription, whether the *lōpē* is made of fabric, as the word can also be translated as a mantle of hide. *I.Priene* 174 and *LSAM* 77 (Tlos) use *stolē* (στολή) to denote garment.³⁸ *SEG* 18:343 (Thasos) mentions a fine garment called *trichaptos* (τρίχαπτος). *IG* V,1 1390 (Andania) lists several garment types, such as *kalasiris* (καλασιρίς), linen tunic, *sindonitēs* (σινδονίτης), and *hypodyma* (ὑπόδυμα).

SEG 36:1221 (Xanthus) does not specify the garment types the worshippers should wear at the sanctuary of Leto in Xanthus, but it prohibits jewellery and specific hats (*petasos* and *kausia*).³⁹ However, the prohibition of jewellery, especially those in gold, suggests that ostentuous and expensive clothes were also restricted. *Tit.Cam. Supp.* 218,112b from Kamiros is partially preserved. Sokolowski reconstructed the missing part of the inscription and has suggested that the lines 7-8 forbid luxury garments.⁴⁰ The prohibition of expensive garments may imply modest garments.

The most detailed cultic clothing regulation is from Andania and concerns the mysteries of Demeter and Kore (*IG* V,1 1390).⁴¹ The Andanian clothing regulation determines garment types, maximum cost of garments, fabric, and colour. The participants are not allowed to have shoes unless made of felt or skins of sacrificed animals. Gold, hairband, braided hair, make-up, and rouge were also not allowed.

37. Several inscriptions on dress-code use the terms ἐσθής (*LSAM* 16; *LSAM* 35; *I.Delos* 2529; *IG* XII,9 194; *I.Magnesia* 98; *I.Magnesia* 100a) and εἵματισμός (*IG* V,2 514).

38. Herodotus (4.78.4) mentions that the Scythian king took of his Scythian garment (τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν) and put Greek clothes (Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα). A man named Smoios in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* 846 is dressed as a knight (ἵππικὴν στολὴν).

39. For further discussion on *SEG* 36:1221, see C. LE ROY, «Un règlement religieux au Létôon de Xanthos», *RA*, 1986, p. 279-300; E. LUPU, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

40. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 174, no. 106

41. For the Andanian Mysteries, see L. ZIEHEN, «Zu den Mysterien von Andania», *Hermes* 60, 1925, p. 338-347; M.W. MEYER, *The Ancient Mysteries. A Sourcebook: Sacred Texts of the Mystery Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Philadelphia 1999; L. CLELAND, *op. cit.*, 2000; K. HARTE-UIBOPU, «Strafklauseln und gerichtliche Kontrolle in der Mysterieninschrift von Andania (*IG* V,1 1390)», *Dike* 5, 2002, p. 135-159; D. OGDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 214, 221; N. DESHOIRS, *Les mystères d'Andania*, Paris 2006; L. GAWLINSKI, *op. cit.*, 2012.

15. στεφανούσθωσαν δὲ πάντες δάφναι. εἰματισμοῦ. οἱ τελούμενοι τὰ μυστήρια ἀνυπόδετοι ἔστωσαν καὶ ἐχόντω τὸν

Concerning Clothes: Those being initiated in the Mysteries must be **barefoot** and wear and

16. εἰματισμὸν λευκόν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες μὴ διαφανῇ μηδὲ τὰ σαμεῖα ἐν τοῖς εἰματίοις πλατύτερα ἡμιδακτυλίου, καὶ αἱ

wear **white clothes**, the women wearing neither **transparent** clothes nor stripes on their **himations** more than half daktylos wide.

17. μὲν ιδιώτιες ἐχόντω χιτῶνα λίνεον καὶ εἰμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, αἱ δὲ παῖδες καλᾶσηριν ἢ σιν-

And the free adult women must wear **linen chiton** and **himation** worth in total no more than 100 drachmas, the girls a **kalasiris** or

18. δονίταν καὶ εἰμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια μνᾶς, αἱ δὲ δοῦλαι καλᾶσηριν ἢ σινδονίταν καὶ εἰμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δρα-

a **sindonitēs** and a **himation** worth in total no more than one mina, and the female slaves a **kalasiris** or a **sindonitēs** and a **himation** worth in total no more than

19. χμᾶν πεντήκοντα. αἱ δὲ ἱεραί, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες καλᾶσηριν ἢ ὑπόδυμα μὴ ἔχον σκιᾶς καὶ εἰμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δύο

50 drachmas. Of the sacred women, the adults must wear a **kalasiris** and **hypodyma** without **decoration** and a **himation** worth in total no more two

20. μνᾶν, αἱ δὲ [παῖδε]ς καλᾶσηριν ἢ εἰμάτιον μὴ πλείονος ἄξια δραχμῶν ἑκατόν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πομπαῖς αἱ μὲν ἱεραὶ γυναῖκες ὑποδύ-

minas, and the girls a **kalasiris** and **himation** worth in total no more than 100 drachmas. In the procession, the sacred women must wear **hypody-**

21. ταν καὶ εἰμάτιον γυναικεῖον οὔλον, σαμεῖα ἔχον μὴ πλατύτερα ἡμιδακτυλίου, αἱ δὲ παῖδες καλᾶσηριν καὶ εἰμάτιον μὴ δια-

tas and woman's **woollen**⁴² **himation** with stripes not more than half daktylos wide, and the girls must wear a **kalasiris** and a **himation** that is not

22. φανές· μὴ ἔχέτω δὲ μηδεμία χρυσία μηδὲ φῦκος μηδὲ ψιμίθιον μηδὲ ἀνάδεμα μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀνπεπλεγμένας μηδὲ ὑπο-

transparent. No woman is to have **gold**, **rouge**, white lead **make-up**, a **hairband**, **plaited hair**, or **shoes** unless

23. δῆματα εἰ μὴ πύλινα ἢ δερμάτινα ἱερόθουτα. δίφρους δὲ ἐχόντω αἱ ἱεραὶ εὐσύνους στρογγύλους καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ποτικεφάλαια

of **felt** or **sacrificial leather**. The sacred women must have round wicker stools with white pillows or a round cushion on them,

42. L. GAWLINSKI has left the word 'wool' out of the translation (*op. cit.*, 2012, p. 69).

24. ἡ σπῖραν λευκά, μὴ ἔχοντα μήτε **σκιὰν** μητὲ **πορφύραν**. ὅσα<ς> δὲ δεῖ διασκευάζεσθαι εἰς θεῶν διάθεσιν, ἐχόντων τὸν εἰματισμόν, having neither a **decoration** nor **purple** color. Whichever women are to dress themselves in representation of the goddesses must wear

25. καθ' ὃ ἂν οἱ ἱεροὶ διατάζωντι. ἂν δέ τις ἄλλως ἔχει τὸν εἰματισμόν παρὰ τὸ διάγραμμα, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν κεκωλυμένων, μὴ ἐπιτρέπει- which the sacred men order. If anyone otherwise has clothing contrary the diagramma, or if anyone has something else, that is prohibited,

26. τῷ ὁ γυναικονόμος καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχτω λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἔστω ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν.

The *gynaikonomos* must not allow the item and is to have the right to have it mutilated and it must become the property of the gods.

IG V,1 1390⁴³

Table 4: Cultic clothing regulation of the Andanian mysteries performed in honour of Demeter and Kore (IG V,1 1390, lines 15-24).

garment	sacred woman adult	sacred woman girl	free woman	free girl	female slave
max. worth	max. 200 drachmas	max. 100 drachmas	max. 100 drachmas		max. 50 drachmas
white clothes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
linen chiton			✓		
himation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
woolen himation with strips	✓				
himation with strips			✓		
hypodyma	✓				
sindonitēs				✓	✓
kalasiris	✓	✓		✓	✓

IG V,1 1390 (lines 15-24) lists the regulation for the clothing of girls, women, and female slaves, but not that of men (Table 4)⁴⁴. Women should wear white clothes without decoration, linen *chitōn*, and *himation* strips larger than a half finger (lines 16-17). A relief from Achinos dating to 300 BCE depicts worshippers bringing offerings to Artemis (Lamia Archaeological

43. IG V,1 1390; translation by L. GAWLINSKI, *op. cit.*, 2012, p. 69-71.

44. IG V,1 1390 mentions male and female cultic officials who performed the mysteries. This means that the Andanian mysteries were open to both genders.

Museum, AE 1041).⁴⁵ Two of the clothes dedicated to Artemis have fringes. The worshippers represented on the same relief are not dressed in garments with fringes. As far as I am aware, iconographic sources do not depict worshippers, cultic officials, Demeter, or Kore dressed in clothes with fringes. The same clotting regulation prohibits transparent garments called διαφανῆ – *diaphanē* (line 16). Gawlinski believes that the *diaphanous* garments were expensive, and their prohibition is more due to their high price than to the idea of female modesty.⁴⁶ The modesty of women was preserved if the fine and transparent mantle was worn over a garment.⁴⁷ *IG* V,1 1390 requires girls⁴⁸ to wear *kalasiris* (lines 17) or *sindonitēs*, a garment made of fine linen (lines 17-18), and a *himation*.⁴⁹

Clothing was an important feature in rites of passages and mysteries.⁵⁰ Since it was forbidden to speak about the details of the mysteries, the clothing regulation are not recorded for various mysteries performed in ancient Greece, e.g. the Eleusinian Mysteries. Gawlinski refers to the Roman literary sources and notes that some mystery cults had specific initiate clothes during the Roman period.⁵¹ The Andanian clothing regulation does not order clothes for female adult initiates, which differ from those ordered in other inscriptions on cultic clothing regulation. Statues, clay figurines, and reliefs depict female worshippers and priestesses dressed in *chitōn/peplos* and *himation*. However, tunics and *himatia* with fringes are unusual and were probably specific to the Andanian mysteries.

IG V,1 1390 prescribes the maximum value for garments of free women and female slaves: the clothes of free women and girls should to be worth not more than 100 drachmas and those of female slaves worth up to 50 drachmas (line 17-19). The annual wage of a teacher in the 2nd century BCE Teos was 500-600 drachmas (*McCabe, Teos* 41, lines 11-12). The daily wage of a skilled worker was ca 1 drachma and 3 oboloi (*IG* II² 1672). These examples illustrate that garments worth 50-100 drachmas were too expensive for most people in ancient Greece.⁵² The garments of the slaves have apparently displayed the wealth of their masters and were so subject to the Andanian clothing regulation.

45. J. NEILS, «Textile Dedications to Female Deities: The Case of the Peplos» in C. PRÊTRE ed., *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse: systems votifs dans les sanctuaires de déesses du monde grec*, Liège 2009, p. 141-142, fig. 3.

46. L. GAWLINSKI, *op. cit.*, 2012, p. 118.

47. S. DILLON, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*, Cambridge 2010, p. 100.

48. L. GAWLINSKI has translated παῖδες (children) as girls (*op. cit.*, 2012, p. 69). Since *kalasiris* was worn by women, children were translated as girls.

49. We learn from Herodotus that *kalasiris* and *sindonitēs* were also worn in Egypt (II.81.1; II.95.3). Herodotus (II.81.1) mentions that the Egyptians wear linen tunics called καλασίρις (*kalasiris*) with fringes hanging about the legs. For *sindonitēs*, see Herodotus II.95.3.

50. L. GAWLINSKI, «Fashioning' Initiates: Dress at the Mysteries» in M. HEYN, M. COLBURN eds., *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2008, p. 147.

51. L. GAWLINSKI, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 149.

52. *IG* II² 1672 (lines 102-106) gives the price for *himatia* bought for slaves. *Himatia* were bought for 17 slaves at a price of 314 drachmas, which means 18 drachmas and 3 oboloi for each *himation*.

ANIMAL FIBRE AND SKIN

Four inscriptions on dress-code forbid items made from animal skin:⁵³ *IG* XII, Suppl. 126 (Eresos); *IG* XII,1 677 (Ialysos); *Lindos* II 487 (Lindos); *IG* V,1 1390 (Andania). It is controversial whether *IPark* 20 from Arcadia also prohibited hide-garments. *IG* XII,1 677 specifies that items made from pigskin are forbidden and *Lindos* II 487 prohibits items made from goatskin.

IPark 20, whose provenance is unknown, is written in Arcadian dialect on a bronze plaque and concerns the dress-code of the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros.⁵⁴ The form of its letters and the language allowed Robinson to date it to the late 6th or to the early 5th century BCE.⁵⁵ According to Robinson, the bronze plaque is from Kleitor.⁵⁶ Pausanias (8.21.3) says that the most important sanctuaries in the Arcadian city Kleitor were those of Demeter and Asclepius. Meritt also believes that this plaque is probably from Kleitor, since similar plaques have been found at Lousoi that is located not far from Kleitor.⁵⁷ Jeffery has suggested that it may come from the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmia located near the Achaean border.⁵⁸

[Εἰ γυ]νὰ φέσεται ζτεραῖον **λῶπος**,
 [ἱερὸ]ν ἔναι τῇ Δάματρι τῇ Θεσμοφόρῳ
 [εἰ δὲ] μὲ ὑνιερόσει, δυσμενὲς ἔασα ἐπὲ φέργο
 [κακὸ]ς ζ' ἐξόλοιτν, καὶ ὄζις τότε δαμοφοργε
 5 [ἀφάε]σται δαρχμὰς τριάκοντα· εἰ δὲ μὲ ἀφάετοι,
 [ὀφλὲν] τὰν ἀσέβειαν· ἔχε ὅδε κύρος δέκο φέτεα· ἔνα[ι]
 [δ' ἱερὸν] τόδε.

If any woman⁵⁹ anywhere shall be wearing a **hide-garment** of Deraea,
 it is to be consecrated to Demeter Thesmophoros.

If one does not consecrate it, then if she is ill-disposed toward her religious rite
 and work,

53. See also R. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 52, fn. 78.

54. D.M. ROBINSON, «A new Arcadian Inscription», *CPh* 38, 1943, p. 191; D.B. MERITT, «Archaeological News and Discussions», *AJA* 48, 1944, p. 89; J. ROBERT, L. ROBERT, «Bulletin épigraphique», *REG* 57, 1944, p. 210; A.J. BEATTIE, «Notes on an Archaic Arcadian Inscription concerning Demeter Thesmophoros», *CQ* 41, 1947, p. 66; L.H. JEFFERY, «Comments on some Greek Archaic Inscriptions», *JHS* 69, 1949, p. 30; G. THÜR, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien*, Vienna 1994, no. 20. The bronze plaque measures 25 x 10 cm (A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, «Il est interdit de...». Rituels et procédures de régulation sensorielle dans le monde grec ancien: quelques pistes de réflexion», *Mythos* 11, 2017, p. 54).

55. D.M. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

56. *Ibid.*

57. D.B. MERITT, *op. cit.*, 1944, p. 89.

58. L.H. JEFFERY, *op. cit.*, p. 30-31. For the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmia, see Paus. VIII.15.4.

59. The word woman is not mentioned in *IPark* 20.

- 5 she is to be put to death at once; and whoever was demiurgus at the time,
is to remit thirty drachmas. And if he does not remit,
he is to be charged with impiety. Let him have authority for ten years to expiate
this matter

*IPArk 20*⁶⁰

- 1 If a woman wears a **brightly coloured robe**,
It shall be consecrated to Demeter Thesmophoros.

*IPArk 20*⁶¹

The question arises as to whether the dress-code ordered in *IP Ark 20* concerns general prohibition of certain garments in the sanctuary or a particular period of the year at which specific rituals or festivals were celebrated.⁶² The term *ergon* (ἔργον) referring to a rite may indicate that the prohibition concerns a ritual that required the dress-code (*IP Ark 20*, line 3).⁶³ Another question is whether the dress-code concerns men or women. Grand-Clément has suggested that the regulation concerns women, as the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros refers primarily to women.⁶⁴ Since *IP Ark 20* does not precise the group of people who were concerned, we can assume that worshippers, as well as cultic officials, were affected by the prohibition.

Robinson has concluded that the prohibition ordered in *IPArk 20* (line 1) refers to hide-garments, as the term *λοπός* (*lopos*) is used to denote hide.⁶⁵ *Λοπός* means hide and is also employed in Homer's *Odyssey* XVIII.233 for animal skin.⁶⁶ However, it was unusual for women in ancient Greece to wear hide-garments at festivals.⁶⁷ Beattie derives *λοπος* from *λῶπος* (*lōpos*), meaning 'garment'.⁶⁸ Support comes from *SEG 40:395* (Dyme) that uses the term *λῶπος* for 'garment'. Grand-Clément refers to Homer, *Odyssey* XIII.224, and notes that *lōpos* denotes a cloak worn over the shoulders.⁶⁹ The term *ζειράς* (*zeiras*) used in Herodotus VII.69.1, which signifies an upper garment, can provide an explanation for *ζτεραίον*

60. *IPArk 20*; translation by D.M. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

61. *IPArk 20*; translation by A.J. BEATTIE, *op. cit.*, 1947, p. 67.

62. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2017, p. 55.

63. *Ibid.*

64. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2017, p. 56.

65. D.M. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

66. Another term for animal skin is *βύρσα*, which is mentioned in several inscriptions in cultic context (*I.Delos* 104(26) and 399). See also Hdt. 3.110; Arist. *Hist. an.* 4.6.1.

67. A.J. BEATTIE, *op. cit.*, 1947, p. 66.

68. A.J. BEATTIE, *op. cit.*, 1947, p. 67-68.

69. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2017, p. 55.

(zteraion).⁷⁰ Deriving ζτεραίον from ποικίλον (*poikilon*) for many-coloured, the prohibition can be extend to coloured garments, just as we find it at Lykosoura (*IG* V,2 514) and Andania (*IG* V,1 1390).⁷¹

IG XII 4, 1:72 attests the defilement of a sacred space with *miasma* caused by death.⁷² Since animal skin was linked to death, it was not allowed to bring it into the shrines (Varro, *De lingua Latina* VII.84):⁷³ “for not only did the ancients call a skin *scortum*, but even now we say *scorteia* for things that are made of leather and skins. In some sacrifices and chapels, we find the prescription: Let nothing *scorteum* ‘made of hide’ be brought in, with this intent that nothing dead should be there”.⁷⁴ Interpreting the term λοπός to mean hide, as in Homer’s *Odyssey* XVIII.233, Robinson would see the prohibition as referring to hide-garments.⁷⁵ Robinson believes that ζτεραίον is a city, whose name is derived from Δέραια (Deraia).⁷⁶ The translation of ζτεραίον λοπος (*IP Ark* 20, line 1) by Beattie seems to make more sense than that of Robinson, as the prohibition of hide-garments from a specific city is not attested for other cults but that of coloured garments.⁷⁷

A further support comes from *IG* XII, Supp. 126 (2nd century BCE) from Eresos on Lesbos that regulates the purity rituals imposed on worshippers. Sokolowski assumes that the regulation concerns the sanctuary of a goddess, since the cult has a priestess and a female prophet.⁷⁸ It forbids items made from animal skin that includes hide-garments and shoes.

- 15 [μη]δὲ εἰς τὸν ναῦον εἰσφέρειν ν σίδαρον
μηδὲ χάλκον πλὰν νομίσματος
μηδὲ ὑπόδεσιν μηδὲ ἄλλο δέριμα

IG XII, Supp. 126

- 15 it is not allowed to bring iron,
neither copper, except those ordered by custom,
nor something tied fast, nor items made of **animal skin**

70. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 71; A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, «Du bon usage du vêtement bariolé en Grèce ancienne» in L. BODIOL, F. GHERCHANOC, V. HUET eds., *Parures et Artifices : le corps exposé dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, Paris 2011, p. 269; A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2017, p. 55.

71. A.J. BEATTIE, *op. cit.*, 1947, p. 67-68; R. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 52. See also F. GHERCHANOC, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

72. The term *miasma* refers in cultic context to pollution caused by defilement, e.g. dirt and death (R. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 3-5).

73. See also R. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

74. Varro, *Ling.*, translation by R.G. KENT, *Varro: On the Latin Language*, London 1938.

75. D.M. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

76. 76. D.M. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

77. For the prohibition of coloured garments at rituals, see also A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, «Du bon usage du vêtement...», *op. cit.*, 2011, p. 269.

78. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 220, no. 124.

These cultic regulations bring us to the question of whether women were allowed to wear hide-garments. Hide wearers in Greek vase painting were mythical figures, *e.g.* Heracles, Theseus, Hermes, Dionysus, Artemis, Athena, maenads, and amazons; or women who attended symposiums, played music, and entertained men.⁷⁹ An example for it is Pausanias' (VIII.37.4) account of the image of Artemis at the sanctuary of Despoina⁸⁰ in Lykosoura that was wrapped in deer hide.

It is attested for several cults that the participants wore animals' skin which they intended to represent.⁸¹ The so-called *bassarai*, whose name is derived from fox, were worshippers of Dionysus and wore fox skins at cultic dances.⁸² Dances performed in costumes 'suggestive of bears'hide' are also attested for the cult of Artemis at Brauron.⁸³ The so-called veil of Despoina found at Lykosoura depicts women or men wearing animal masks and performing a dance.⁸⁴ Despoina was an Arcadian goddess whose cult was linked to animals.⁸⁵ Animals were sacred to many deities, but dances in animal skins are only attested for a few cults, *e.g.* the cult of Artemis and Despoina, who were protectors of animals and fertility.⁸⁶

I.Delos 2180 (2nd century BCE) from Delos concerns the cult of the Egyptian deities and denies access to women and men wearing woollen clothes.⁸⁷ Wool is called ἔριον (*erion*) in ancient Greek. The prohibition of woollen garment in cultic context may result from the pollution caused by animal skin.

1 γυναιῖκα δὲ μὴ προσάγειν
μηδὲ ἐν ἔρεοις ἄνδρα.
κατὰ πρόσταγμα

Neither women nor men can come in
and wear **woollen** garments.
according to the ordinance

I.Delos 2180

79. D.L. WIDDOWS, *Removing the Body: Representations of Animal Skins on Greek Vases*. Dissertation: University of Southern California 2006, p. 104-110, 127-128, 178, 234, 244, 254.

80. It is assumed that Despoina was the daughter of Demeter and Poseidon (Paus. VIII.37.9). Pausanias (VIII.37.9) says that the real name of Despoina can only be revealed to the initiates. M. Jost points out that Despoina, who is not identical with Kore, was an Arcadian goddess and whose cult is not attested outside Lykosoura (*Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985, p. 333-334). M. Jost refers to Pausanias (VIII.37.9) and notes that Despoina was probably a deity whose cult had Pan-Arcadian significance («L'identité arcadienne dans les Arkadika de Pausanias» in C. MÜLLER, F. PROST eds., *Identités et cultures dans le monde méditerranéen antique*, Paris 2002, p. 367-384).

81. L.B. LAWLER, «Dancing Herds of Animal», *CJ* 47, 1952, p. 317-324.

82. For *bassarai*, see also Aesch. *Bassarids*, Sen. *Oed.*, Nonnus, Dion. (books 7, 11, and 14), and the *scholia* on Aristophanes. See also the inscriptions *IGBulg* I 2 401; *IGUR* I 160; *I.Ephesos* 1602. For Dionysus, see Nilsson 1995: 260.

83. L.B. LAWLER, *op. cit.*, p. 322; J.B. CONNELLY, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, Princeton-Oxford 2007, p. 32-33. For the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, see also Paus. I.23.7.

84. For the veil of Despoina, see also A.J.B. WACE, «The Veil of Despoina», *AJA* 38, 1934, p. 107-111.

85. M. JOST, *op. cit.*, p. 333; *EAD.* «La vie religieuse à Lykosoura», *Ktèma* 33, 2008, p. 107.

86. M. JOST has suggested that the dances with animal masks have their origins in Mycenaean culture, since several seals depict daemons who perform libation to a goddess (*op. cit.*, 1985, p. 333).

87. See also *I.Delos* 2180 and 2181.

Herodotus (II.81.2) mentions that it corresponds with the so-called Orphic and Bacchic rites, which were Egyptian in origin, and with the Pythagoreans. It is forbidden for a member of these rites to be buried in woollen clothes. Egyptians considered as impious to bring something made of wool into temples or to be buried in woollen fabrics (Herodotus II.81.1). Philostratus tell us that linen was favoured because wool is taken from the back of animals (*Life of Apollonius* VIII.7.5).

Epigraphic and literary sources indicate that linen (λίνεος – *lineos*) was favoured in cultic and funerary⁸⁸ context. Herodotus (II.37.2) says that the Egyptians wear linen garments. Ovid mentions that “the linen wearing throng of Egypt” worshipped Io (*Metamorphoses* I.747). *IG* V,1 1390 required the worshippers and cultic officials to wear linen garments at the Andanian mysteries.⁸⁹ Pausanias (IX.38) says that the consultant at the oracle of Trophonius in Lebadeia was dressed in linen tunic. Despite the absence of further epigraphic evidence for linen clothes ordered in cultic context, linen garments were probably favoured by several Greek cults. It is not known whether the prohibition of hide-garments and garments made from animal fibres was influenced by the Egyptian tradition.

The prohibition of hides of specific animals indicates that hides were not forbidden *per se* at all sanctuaries. The priestess of Demeter Olympia at Cos was ordered to not eat or to wear something made from dead animals (*IG* XII 4, 1:72).⁹⁰ Meat, hide, and animal fibres were associated with death, which polluted the sacred space. Not all cults considered animal products as *miasma*. Skins of sacrificed animals were dedicated at sanctuaries⁹¹ and the priests received them as their priestly share,⁹² meaning that animal skin was a valuable gift dedicated to various deities. Woollen garments were also consecrated at Greek sanctuaries (*I.Delos* 1412, line 35). The Andanian clothing regulation orders woollen *himation* for the female cultic officials (*IG* V,1 1390, line 21).⁹³ The head of sacrificial animals were decorated with woollen ribbons.⁹⁴ *IG* V,1 1390 and *IG* XII 4, 1:72 show that the cult of the same deity had different regulations.

88. The urn of Patroclus was covered with linen cloth (Homer, *Iliad* XXIII.254).

89. For the different stages of production of linen from flax in antiquity, see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XIX.16-18.

90. R. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

91. Oropus: *LSCG* 69, line 29.

92. The priest kept the skin of sacrificed animals as priestly share: Athens: *SEG* 21:527, lines 31-38; *IG* I³ 35, lines 10-12; Cos: *LSCG* 151b, lines 44-45, 50, 56, 58-59. *IG* II² 1496 (line 55) from Athens dating to 334 BCE mentions that the skins of sacrificed animals, which were dedicated at the sanctuary of Zeus Soter, were sold for 2,610 drachmas. *IG* XI,2 287 (250 BCE) from Delos mentions that the sale of animal skins intended to cover the cost of the Thesmophoria.

93. *IG* V,1 1390 (line 21) uses the term οὔλος for wool.

94. R. FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden 1973, p. 102 sqq.; G. SEITERLE, «Ephesische Wollbinden, Attribut der Göttin - Zeichen des Stieropfers» in H. FRIESINGER, F. KRIZINGER eds., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos*, Akten des Symposiums Wien 1995, Wien 1999, p. 251-254; A.M. CARSTENS, «Bringing Wool to Zeus Labraundos», *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter Sonderveröffentlichung* 4, 2012, p. 138, 140.

COLOURED GARMENTS AND WOVEN MOTIFS

Colours play a major role in consciousness of human beings and are associated with different aspects of life. Since religion played an important role in social and political life in ancient Greece, the perception of colours was also influenced by religion.⁹⁵ Colours on reliefs and statues are mostly not preserved and we do not know to what extent the painted statues, reliefs, clay figurines, and vase paintings reflect the colours of clothes worn by worshippers and cultic officials in sanctuaries and at rituals. Purple, white, black, and grey are the only colours mentioned in inscriptions on cultic clothing regulations. The term 'coloured/dyed garments' employed in inscriptions does not specify the colour. Three inscriptions prohibit⁹⁶ and three inscriptions prescribe⁹⁷ purple garments. The prohibitions concern worshippers and the prescriptions the cultic officials.

Before beginning with the discussion of epigraphic sources, I will give a short overview of purple dyed textile production. Textile dying was time consuming and the materials used for dying were not available everywhere in ancient Greece. Kermes berry used for dying were only available in certain regions (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XVI.12). The city Tyre (Lebanon) was well known for its purple dye production and its purple textiles were considered as the most beautiful of all dyes (Strabo XVI.2.23). Miletus was a centre of Tyrian purple (Vergil, *Georgics* III.306-307).⁹⁸ Ovid tells us that Idmon of Colophon, the father of Arachne, dyed purple with the Phocaean murex (*Metamorphoses* VI.9). Aristoteles says that the purple murex was found on the coast of Caria (*Historia animalium* V.15).

The price for dyed purple wool was 50,000 denarii (Diocletian, *Edict* XXIV.2),⁹⁹ a pound of double-dyed Tyrian purple wool was 1,000 denarii,¹⁰⁰ and wool dyed in the best Milesian purple was 12,000 denarii (Diocletian, *Edict* XXIV.6). The price for purple garments was significantly high and purple clothes distinguished wealthy people from other people and conveyed their social status.

Written and iconographic sources illustrate that purple and embroidered clothes were used as a means of visual marker of social and divine status,¹⁰¹ and highlighting beauty and vanity in ancient Greece.¹⁰² Agamemnon says in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 921-926 that only deities

95. The most recent and significant research on colour in ancient Greece was carried out by L. CLELAND (*op. cit.*, 2002) and A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *La fabrique des couleurs : Histoire du paysage sensible des Grecs anciens (VIII^e - début du I^{er} siècle avant notre ère)*, Paris 2011.

96. Dyme: *SEG* 40:395; Lykosoura: *IG* V,2 514; Marathon: *SEG* 36:267.

97. Skepsis: *SEG* 26:1334; Cos: *Iscr. di Cos* ED 89; *Iscr. di Cos* ED 215.

98. For Servius' comments on Virgil's *Georgics* III.306, see B. BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, *Die Hauptstätten des Gewerbflusses im klassischen Alterthume*, Leipzig 1869, p. 85; P. HERRMANN, «Milesischer Purpur», *IstMitt* 25, 1975, p. 141-147.

99. T. FRANK, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. 1. Baltimore 1933, p. 382-384.

100. T. FRANK, *An economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. 4. Baltimore 1959, p. 354.

101. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *La fabrique des couleurs...*, 2011, p. 435.

102. H. BLUM, *Purpur als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt*, Bonn 1998, p. 139; A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *La fabrique des couleurs...*, 2011: p. 328-329, 436, fn. 106, p. 457-465.

are allowed to be honoured with embroidered fine clothes, but not humans. Embroidered fine clothes and purple garments are represented here as a luxury that would invoke the jealousy of deities (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 921-226, 946-947). Athena wore a richly embroidered robe, which emphasized her divine status (Homer, *Iliad* VIII.385-389).¹⁰³ Odysseus wore a purple cloak and gold brooch (Homer, *Odyssey* XIX.226). Like the gold brooch, the purple accentuated his high social status.

Strabo (XIV.1.3) says that the descendants of Androclus, the mythical figure who founded Ephesus, had the privilege of front seats at the games and to wear purple robes as insignia of royal descent. Plutarch describes a festival celebrated for the well-being of all Greeks at Platea, where the chief magistrate wore a purple garment in a procession that was part of this festival (*Vitae Paralleleae*, *Aristides* 21). Democritus tells us in the first book of his treatise on the sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesus that the Ephesians loved luxury and wore dyed garments (Athenaeus XII.29).¹⁰⁴ It is, however, not indicated whether the Ephesians wore dyed luxury garments in the sanctuary of Artemis. *I.Magnesia* 100a (lines 38-39) orders notable garment (ἐσθῆσιν ἐπισήμοις) for the sacred herald of Artemis Leukophryene, and *I.Magnesia* 98 (lines 42-43) prescribes the most beautiful garments (ἐσθῆσιν ὡς καλλίσταις) for the *stephanephoros* of Zeus Sosipolis. The notable and beautiful garments, presumably coloured and expensive, emphasized their cultic offices and the significance of the festivals.

In the Greek world, luxury was closely associated with Persians and Lydians who liked purple clothes as expression of wealth and luxury (Xenophanes frag. 3).¹⁰⁵ Greeks learned luxury lifestyle and purple garments from the Orient, where purple was used for status purposes.¹⁰⁶ Phintys uses the term πολυτέλεια (*polyteleia*) for luxury, which means 'extravagance' (*On the Chastity of Women*). Luxury is called ἀβρότης (*habrotēs*), ἀβρός (*habros*) means graceful, and the verb ἄβρυνε (*habryne*) signifies 'to treat delicately'.¹⁰⁷ Kurke points out that these terms do not occur in Homer, only once in Hesiod, but were used in lyric poetry during the Archaic period. In the following periods too, these terms were used to describe luxury lifestyle of wealthy people.¹⁰⁸ It is somewhat dubious to assume that ἀβροσύνη was originally linked to women, meaning that wealthy men also used ἀβρότης as a social marker and appreciated

103. See also N. KEI, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

104. Athenaeus (XII.30) gives a similar account about the processions to the sanctuary of Hera on Samos at which the participants wore fine, white clothes, and gold jewellery. For Athenaeus XII.30, see also C.M. BOWRA, «Asius and the old-fashioned Samians», *Hermes* 85, 1957, p. 391 *sqq.*

105. See also L. KURKE, «The Politics of ἀβροσύνη in Archaic Greece», *CA* 11, 1992, p. 93-95, 100-101.

106. Reinhold has collected a high number of literary and epigraphic material on purple garments in the Greco-Roman world and in Orient (*History of Purple as a Status in Antiquity*, Brussels 1970, p. 23 *sqq.*). L. Kurke points out that the ἀβρότης was specifically the lifestyle of aristocratic people that distinguished themselves as ruling class from the other social classes (*op. cit.*, p. 93, 96). Oriental luxury lifestyle has first influenced the Greeks in the Greek East, and later those in mainland Greece (L. KURKE, *op. cit.*, p. 93). We learn from Athenaeus XII.29-30 that the Ephesians and Samians displayed luxury at collective religious ceremonies. For the Oriental influence on Greek adornment, see also C.M. BOWRA, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

107. L. KURKE, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

108. L. KURKE, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

ostentatious clothing. Literary sources in later periods, especially after the Persian Wars, associated ἀβρότης with women, as well as with men.¹⁰⁹ Purple and embroidered fine clothes were considered as a sign of decadence, which had as consequence that men became womanish (Athenaeus XII.528e).

Different terms were employed for purple. The decrees from Lykosoura (*IG* V,2 514), Dyme (*SEG* 40:395), Cos (*Iscr. di Cos* ED 89; *Iscr. di Cos* ED 215), and Andania (*IG* V,1 1390) use the adjective πορφύρεος (*porphyreos*) that means ‘surging’ and ‘purple’, and is derived from *porphyra* (πορφύρα – purple fish).¹¹⁰ Aeschylus says that “there is a sea producing stain of abundant *porphyra*, costly as silver and ever fresh, with which to dye our clothes” (*Agamemnon* 957-960).¹¹¹ Herodotus (III.22.1) also uses the term *porphyreos* for purple in connection with garments.¹¹² Another adjective for purple is ἅλουργός (*halourgēs*)/ἅλουργός (*halourgos*) that is recorded in *SEG* 26:1334 from Skepsis.¹¹³ An inventory inscription from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron mentions an item called ἅλουργοῦν (*IG* II² 1522, line 8). Plato (*Phaedrus* 110) and Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 946-947) also use the term ἅλουργέσιν for purple. Purple garments were prescribed for the priests of Dionysus (*SEG* 26:1334, line 11, χιτῶνας ἅλουργοῦς), Nike (*Iscr. di Cos* ED 89, lines 8-9, κιτῶνα πορφύρεον), and Zeus Alseios (*Iscr. di Cos* ED 215, lines 15-16, κιτῶνα πορφύρεον), which also employ the adjectives *porphyreos* and *halourgēs/halourgos* for purple.

SEG 36:267 (60 BCE) was found in a cave at Marathon that was dedicated to Pan and to the nymphs.¹¹⁴ The clothing regulation prohibits coloured (χρωμάτινος – *chrōmatinos*) and dyed (βαπτός – *baptos*) items, meaning that only undyed items were allowed. Robertson notes that χρωμάτινος and βαπτὸν should not be translated as having distinct meanings, since the terms ‘coloured’ and ‘dyed’ are the same.¹¹⁵ Robertson states that χρωμάτινος may have the same meaning as ποικίλος (*poikilos*), which is used for fancy clothing, *i.e.* inwoven with coloured designs.¹¹⁶ Lupu has suggested that χρωμάτινος refers to any color-bearing garments, *i.e.* printed, woven, or embroidered, while βαπτός refers to dyed garments.¹¹⁷ Mossakowska

109. L. KURKE, *op. cit.*, p. 100, 103-106.

110. H. BLUM, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

111. ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει; τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 957-960). Translation by H.W. SMYTH, *Aeschylus*, Cambridge Mass., 1926 with a modification.

112. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὅ τι εἴη καὶ ὅπως πεποιημένον: εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθεῖν περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροῦς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερά δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἵματα. Then, taking the red cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the colour and the process of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of deceit (Herodotus III.22.1; translation by A.D. GODLEY, *Herodotus*, Cambridge 1920).

113. The adjective ἅλουργός/ ἅλουργός means ‘from the sea’ (H. BLUM, *op. cit.*, p. 25-26).

114. E. LUPU, *op. cit.*, p. 172-173.

115. N. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, 224, fn. 111.

116. N. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.*, p. 224, fn. 111.

117. E. LUPU, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

also believes that *χρωμάτινος* denotes fabrics embroidered with coloured threads.¹¹⁸ Phintys uses the term *πολύχρωμα* that was translated by Plant as ‘embroidered’, which can also be translated as ‘many coloured’ (*On the Chastity of Women*).¹¹⁹

7	ἀπαγορεύει ὁ θεός· μὴ [εἰ]σφέρειν χρωμάτιν[ον] [μ]ηδὲ βαπτὸν μηδὲ Λ..	the god forbids to bring in many coloured or dyed items
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SEG 36:267

The term embroidery is not clearly defined and can refer to stitched and woven motifs on fabrics. It is assumed that the motifs were woven rather than embroidered.¹²⁰ Three terms denote embroidery: *άνθινός* – *anthinos*; *ποικίλος* – *poikilos*; *θρόνον* – *thronon*. *Anthinos*¹²¹ means ‘like flowers’ and *poikilos* denotes ‘many coloured’.¹²² *Thronon*, which means flowers and flowers embroidered on fabric, is not used in inscriptions discussed in the present paper; however, it is used in epigraphic and literary sources for embroidered clothes.¹²³ Garments with floral embroidery were ceremonial and worn at specific festivals.¹²⁴ Statues and vase paintings dating to the Archaic period represent deities, men, and women of high social status in richly embroidered garments. In later periods, the iconographic sources depict deities and mortals in garments without ornaments.

118. M. MOSSAKOWSKA, «Tissus colorés et décorés exportés d’Égypte au I^{er} s. ap. J.-C. (d’après le *Periplus Maris Erythraei*)», *Topoi* 10, 2000, p. 299-300.

119. I.M. PLANT, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

120. For further discussion, see S. SPANTIDAKI, «Embellishment Techniques of Classical Greek Textiles» in M. HARLOW, M.L. NOSCH eds., *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 34-45, Oxford 2014, p. 37; M.M. LEE, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 2015, p. 95.

121. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 176, no. 77. See also N. KEI, «Poikilia et kosmos floraux dans la céramique attique du VI^e du V^e siècle» in L. BODIOLU, F. GHERCHANOC, V. HUET, V. MEHL eds., *Parures et artifices: le corps exposé dans l’Antiquité*, Paris 2011, p. 234, fn. 4.

122. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT illustrates that literary sources use *ποικίλος* (adj.) and *ποικίλλω* (verb) in connection with painting and fabrics (*La fabrique des couleurs...*, 2011, p. 54-56, 59, 420-487). See also J. SCHEID, J. SVENBRO, *op. cit.*, p. 54-55; N. KEI, *op. cit.*, p. 234, fn. 5. *Poikilos* mentioned in literary sources, which refer to clothes or fabrics, means embroidery or multi-coloured (A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *La fabrique des couleurs...*, 2011, p. 421-422). *Poikilos* is derived from the Indo-European word *peik-/pik- that denotes to sting and to mark (*Ibid.*, p. 54-55, 422). For iconographic and literary sources on embroidered clothes, see N. KEI, *op. cit.*, p. 233-250.

123. J. SCHEID, J. SVENBRO, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric*, Cambridge Mass.-London 2001, p. 54-55. *Thronon* is mentioned in the inventories of sanctuaries from different cities, e.g. Athens.

124. B. LE GUEN-POLLET, *La vie religieuse dans le monde grec du V^e au III^e siècle avant notre ère*, Toulouse 1991, p. 84, no. 27.

IG XII,9 194 (Eretria) and *LSAM* 77 (Tlos) prescribe embroidered garments. *IG* XII,9 194 (lines 6-7) concerns presumably the cult of Asclepius and orders horse-riders to wear embroidered garments at the cavalry procession.¹²⁵ The general term for clothes, ἐσθής, does not precise the type of the embroidered garments (*IG* XII,9 194, line 7). *LSAM* 77 is not complete and the name of the deity is missing. The inscription refers probably to the cult of a goddess, as it excludes men from a festival, or to the cult of Dionysus, who had women only festivals.¹²⁶ The first line mentions a *stolē* with *anthinos*, which may refer to a ceremonial garment worn in a procession.¹²⁷ *LSAM* 77 (lines 1-2) says that men were not allowed, even in womanlike garments. Kolb believes that men were allowed to participate in the guise of women at the cultic performance mentioned in *LSAM* 77.¹²⁸ Sokolowski has suggested that men tried to attend women only festivals in the guise of women.¹²⁹ It recalls Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusai* 88-90 that says that Euripides asked Agathon to attend the Thesmophoria, a women only festival, in the guise of a woman.

- 1 [-----]ἔχων στολήν ἀνθινὴν, ἄλλος μή ἀγειρέτω μ[ήτε-----]
 [---μηδεῖ]ς τοῦτων ἐν γυναικείαι στολήι. ἐὰν δέ τις παρα[βαίνει]
 [καὶ εἰ]ς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ, ἀποτινέτω ἡμέρας ἐκάστης [-----]

LSAM 77

- 1 **cloth embroidered with flower**, (a man) cannot attend
 in womanlike garment. But if someone exceeds
 and comes from the sanctuary, he should pay each day

IG V,2 514¹³⁰ and *IG* XI,4 1300 give us further evidence for the prohibition of garments with *anthinos*. Hauvette-Besnault states that ἀνθινά was the name of a type of luxurious garments and *IG* XI,4 1300 was probably dedicated to Isis, since her cult required more ritual

125. οὐς ἢ πεεῖς τῇμ πομπῇν ἐν ἐσθῇτι ποικίλ[η]ι (*IG* XII,9 194, lines 6-7).

According to A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, the horse-riders, as well as musicians, were dressed in coloured embroidered clothes («Du bon usage du vêtement...», 2011, p. 270). Embroidered clothes were only allowed at certain festivals, since several inscriptions on dress-code order white clothes. It is also not known whether only certain people or all participants were allowed to wear embroidered garments at specific festivals. N. KEI notes that embroidered clothes were worn at banquets and musical festivals, which emphasized the festivity and joy (*op. cit.*, p. 245, fn. 65).

126. F. KOLB, «Zu einem ‚heiligen Gesetz‘ von Tlos», *ZPE* 22, 1976, p. 230.

127. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 176, no. 77. Numerous vase paintings depict deities, mythical figures, and mortals dressed in sophisticated embroidered garments, which highlight their status (see N. KEI, *op. cit.*, p. 233-250).

128. F. KOLB, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

129. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 176, no. 77. It is not known how often men tried to attend festivals in the guise of women.

130. For *IG* V,2 514, see also I. LOUCAS, E. LOUCAS, «The Sacred Laws of Lykosoura» in R. HÄGG ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*. Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 November 1991, Stockholm 1994, p. 97-99; E. VOUTIRAS, «Zur Kultsatzung des Heiligtums von Lykosura», *Chiron* 29, 1999, p. 233-248;

purity than other cults.¹³¹ The prohibition of coloured clothes had different reasons and purity was one of them. Since weaving techniques are time consuming, garments with motifs were expensive. The price of embroidered garments can be one of the reasons for their prohibition in cultic context. Another reason was that women used embroidered garments as a means of displaying vanity.

- 1 ἀπ' οἴνου μὴ προσιέναι
 μηδὲ ἐν ἀνθίνοις

IG XI,4 1300

- 1 come in without wine
 and without wearing **cloth embroidered with flowers**

Purple clothes, associated with high social status,¹³² were consecrated as valuable gifts to various deities.¹³³ It was also assumed that purple had an apotropaic function.¹³⁴ The prohibition of purple garments for worshippers is linked to modesty they had to practice towards the deities. Cultic officials, especially those with a high status, acted as intermediaries between deities and worshippers. Priests and other cultic officials had another standing than worshippers and were allowed to wear purple and embroidered garments (for further discussion, see also Dress-codes addressed to cultic officials).

WHITE AND BLACK GARMENTS

We learn from Homer that one washes himself and puts clean garments before prayers (*Odyssey* IV.750-751). Not only clean garments were required for prayers and cultic rituals, but also white garments. The terms λευκός (*leukos*) and λαμπρός (*lampros*), which mean bright and light coloured, are used for the colour white. White is associated with shine, light, and cleanliness in Indo-European languages.¹³⁵ In this context, the adjective *leukos* in inscriptions

M. PATERA, «Ritual Dress Regulations in Greek Inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods» in S. SCHRENK, K. VÖSSING, M. TEILENBACH eds., *Kleidung und Identität in religiösen Kontexten der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium in Verbindung mit der Arbeitsgruppe „Kleidung und Religion“, Projekt DressID, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 30. und 31. Oktober 2009, Regensburg 2012, p. 35-36; A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2017, p. 59-63.

131. A. HAUVETTE-BESNAULT, «Fouilles de Délos», *BCH* 6, 1882, p. 350-351.

132. For purple as a colour of the aristocrats in Greek literature, see H. STULZ, *Die Farbe Purpur im frühen Griechentum: Beobachtet in der Literatur und in der bildenden Kunst*, Stuttgart 1990, p. 121 sqq.

133. Attica: IG II² 1475; IG II² 1514; IG II² 1515; IG II² 1516; IG II² 1517; IG II² 1518; Cos: HGK 10.

134. E. WUNDERLICH, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer*, Giessen 1925, p. 60; G. RADKE, *Die Bedeutung der weißen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer*, Jena 1936, p. 39.

135. Lat. luceo ‘be light’, lux ‘light’; Gk. leukos ‘white’; PIE *leuk- ‘light’; Hit. lukk- ‘a ‘to get light, dawn’. For details, see G. RADKE, *op. cit.*, p. 7; T.V. GAMKRELIDZE, V.V. IVANOV, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture*, Part I, Berlin-New York 1995,

on cultic clothing regulations does not necessarily refer to bleached but to clean garments. The term *leukos* in inscription on dress-code can refer to bleached fabrics or to undyed and clean garments.

The day was divided into day and night and the two parts of the day had different deities and colours.¹³⁶ The colour white is associated with the day, sky, and the sun light.¹³⁷ White sacrificial animals were linked to the sky and black animals to the chthonian deities. It is, however, simplified to assume that the animals sacrificed to the sky gods were white and those to the chthonian deities were black,¹³⁸ since white animals were also sacrificed to the chthonian deities.¹³⁹ Deities were assumed to wear white garments.¹⁴⁰ Euripides' fragment 472 concerns the mysteries of Zagreus and describes Bacchus in white garment.¹⁴¹ In Mithras liturgy, Mithras is described wearing white garments and gold wreath,¹⁴² and Helios wearing white garment and purple mantle.¹⁴³ *I.Priene* 196 (350 BCE) mentions that a man called Philios saw in his dream Demeter and Kore wearing white garments.

Plato tells us in *Law* XII.956a that white fabrics befit the gods, but not dyed fabrics, which are only saved for military decorations. Porphyry also says that one should approach the gods in white garments (*De abstinencia*. II.45). The colour white, on which any impurity is particularly conspicuous, was considered as the purest.¹⁴⁴ Various Greek cults favoured undyed¹⁴⁵ garments:¹⁴⁶ *SEG* 21:509, *SEG* 25:165, *McCabe*, *Chios* 31, *IG* IX,2 1109,

p. 66, 617; M. DE VAAN, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden 2008, p. 355-356. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT notes that *leukos* is used as adjective to denote purity and cleanness (*op. cit.*, 2016, p. 130).

136. Lat. *luceo* 'be light', *lux* 'light'; Gk. *leukos* 'white'; PIE **leuk-* 'light'; Hit. *lukk-* 'a' 'to get light, dawn'. For details, see G. RADKE, *op. cit.*, p. 7; T.V. GAMKRELIDZE, V.V. IVANOV, *op. cit.*, 1995, p. 66, 617; M. DE VAAN, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden 2008, p. 355-356. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT notes that *leukos* is used as adjective to denote purity and cleanness (*op. cit.*, 2016, p. 130).

137. G. RADKE, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

138. A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2016, p. 135, fn. 14. See also Homer, *Iliad* III.103; Vergil, *Aeneid* III.21-22.

139. For further discussions, see A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2016, p. 133-140.

140. G. RADKE, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

141. Translation by J.H. HARRISON, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Princeton, NJ 1991, p. 479.

142. S. DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig 1910, p. 14, 76.

143. S. DIETERICH, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

144. T. WÄCHTER, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 16, 18. White garments in cultic context are associated with *ἄγνός* (*hagnos* – pure, holy) (L. CLELAND, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 239; A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, «Couleurs, rituels et normes religieuses en Grèce ancienne», *ASSR* 174, 2016, p. 131).

145. L. CLELAND points out that creating whiteness in natural fibres requires extensive process equal to dying («Not Nothing: Conceptualising Textile Whiteness for Cult Practice» in C. BRØNS, M.L. NOSCH eds., *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford 2017, fn. 42).

146. See also *IPArk* 20, *IMK Kaikos* 922, *SEG* 36:267, *IG* V,1 1390, and *IG* V,2 514. White garments were dedicated to deities (only a few examples): Attica: *IG* II² 1060; *IG* II² 1514; *IG* II² 1515; *IG* II² 1516; *IG* II² 1517; *IG* II² 1522; *IG* II² 1523; Delos: *I.Delos* 1412 and 1417; Samos: *IG* XII,6 1: 261. See also S.B. ALESHIRE, S.D. LAMBERT, «Making the "Peplos" for Athena: A New Edition of "IG" II² 1060 + "IG" II² 1036», *ZPE* 142, 2003, p. 65-86.

SEG 27:780, *Sardis* 7,1 8, and *IvP* I 246. Nine inscriptions on dress-code order white garments for worshippers and cultic officials: *IG* IV²,1 128, *IvP* I 40, *I.Priene* 205, *I.Stratonikeia* 1101, *I.Delos* 2529, *Iscr. di Cos* ED 89, *Iscr. di Cos* ED 180, *IG* V,1 1390, and *SEG* 18:343.¹⁴⁷

IG IV²,1 128 (280 BCE) from Epidauros dedicated to Asclepius indicates that the physician, who led the procession to the temple of Apollo, was dressed in white: *ιατῆρι εἵμασιν ἐν λευκοῖσι, δάφνας στεφάνοις ποτ' Ἀπόλλω* (*IG* IV²,1 128, lines 18-19). The participants at the processions performed each year in Hermione to the sanctuary of Demeter Chthonia were dressed in white clothes and wore a wreath (Pausanias II.35.5). Athenaeus (XII.30) gives a similar account about the processions to the sanctuary of Hera on Samos at which the participants wore white clothes.¹⁴⁸ The chief magistrate of Platea wore white garments (Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae*, *Aristides* 21).

IvP II 264 orders white garments for all people who wished to enter the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamon.¹⁴⁹ The priestess of Sosipolis, an Elean deity, wrapped her head in a white veil before entering the temple of the deity at Olympia (Pausanias VI.20.3). Radke has suggested that the white veil was required for the protection of the priestess against the chthonian nature of Sosipolis.¹⁵⁰ *I.Priene* 205 (3rd century BCE) from Priene was engraved on a doorway of the sacred *oikos* that was probably dedicated to Alexander the Great. According to Sokolowski, this cultic regulation of purity and dress-code concerns the cult of a family or of a *phratry*.¹⁵¹ One should enter the sanctuary in white garments.¹⁵² White garments had an apotropaic function and displayed purity and modesty towards the deities.

3	εἰσίνει εἰς [τὸ] ἱερὸν ἄγνὸν ἐ[ν] ἑσθῆτι λευκῇ.	One should enter the holy ¹⁵³ sanctuary in white garment
---	---	---

I.Priene 205

IvP I 40 (3rd century BCE), a letter of an Attalid ruler,¹⁵⁴ orders white *chlamys* and a wreath¹⁵⁵ of olive with purple band for the priest of a deity (lines 2-3).¹⁵⁶ Freeborn Roman children wore a white *toga praetexta* bordered by a purple band, which was assumed to have

147. For white garments in cultic context, see also L. CLELAND, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 236; J.B. CONNELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 90-92.

148. For Athenaeus XII.30, see C.M. BOWRA, «Asius and the old-fashioned Samians», *Hermes* 85, 1957, p. 391 *sqq.*

149. L. CLELAND states that the regulation juxtaposes white garments with purity (*op. cit.*, 2002, p. 237-239).

150. G. RADKE, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

151. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 101.

152. See also A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2016, p. 131-132.

153. According to A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, one should enter the sanctuary pure and in white garment (*op. cit.*, 2016, p. 131).

154. F. SOKOLOWSKI has suggested that the ruler was Attalus I (*op. cit.*, 1958, p. 36).

155. Wreath was worn by participants at religious festivals and initiations (L. GAWLINSKI, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 151-154).

156. See also A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2016, p. 141.

an apotropaic effect (Persius, *Satires* V.30). Coloured bands were used as visual markers of status and were permissible within certain parameters.¹⁵⁷ Purple band highlighted the cultic status of the priest and was presumably worn for its apotropaic symbolism.¹⁵⁸

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | [ὁ δ' ἄε] ἰ λαχὼν φορεῖτω
[χ]λαμύδα λευκὴν καὶ στ[έ]-
φανον ἐλάας μετὰ ταινι-
δίου φοινικιοῦ καὶ λαμβα- | who obtained it by lot wears
a white <i>chlamys</i> and a wreath
of olive with a purple
band and ... |
|---|--|---|

IvP I 40

SEG 59:1406 (281 BCE) from Aigai concerns the cult of Seleucus I and Antiochus I. We learn from the lines 39-40 that the priest should wear laurel wreath, headband, and bright clothes at the sacrifices performed at the assembly on the altar of Soteris. The term for bright is λαμπρός (*lampros*)¹⁵⁹ that refers to the colour white, as well as to other colours. Λαμπρός is derived from λαμπάς, which means light, torch, and lamp.¹⁶⁰ The superlative form of the adjective λαμπρόος emphasizes the whiteness of the clothes.

- | | |
|----|---|
| 40 | ἱερέα ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν κατ' ἐ-
[νιαυτ]όν, ὃς στέφανόν τε φορήσει δάφνης κ-
αὶ στρόφιον καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὥς λαμπροτάτην καὶ μ-
[ε]τὰ τῶν τιμούχων ἐμ πάσαις ταῖς θυσίαις συν-
[θύσε]ται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατάρξετ-
[αι] ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν Σωτήρων καθάπερ |
|----|---|

SEG 59:1406

- | | |
|----|---|
| 40 | A priest should be appointed from all citizens
each year and should wear a wreath of laurel
and headband and brighter clothes and
attend all sacrifices with the <i>timouchoi</i>
and to make offerings at the assembly
on the altar of Soteris |
|----|---|

157. M.M. LEE, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

158. S. DIETERICH, *op. cit.*, p. 18, fn. 3.

159. For λαμπρός, see L. CLELAND, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 25-26, 31, 34; A. GRAND-CLEMENT, *La fabrique des couleurs...*, 2011, p. 30, 73.

160. See also G. RADKE, *op. cit.*, p. 7-8.

I.Stratonikeia 1101 (2nd century CE) from Stratonikeia was engraved on the wall of the Sarapeion.¹⁶¹ Sosandros, a secretary of the council, proposed that thirty boys from noble families, dressed in white garments and wearing a wreath of olive leaves, should sing hymns everyday in honour of Zeus Panamaros and Hecate, who protected the city from dangers.

vacat ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, ἀ[ῖρε]σθαι νῦν ἐκ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων παῖδας τριάκον-
τα, οὓστινας καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν μετὰ τῶν δημοσίων παιδοφυλάκων ἄ[ξε]ται
ὁ παιδονό[μος] ἰς τὸ β[ου]λευτήριον **λευχιμονοῦντας** καὶ ἐστε-
φανωμένους θαλλοῦ, ἔχοντας δὲ μετὰ χίρας ὁμοίως θαλλοῦς, οἵτινες
συνπαρόν[των καὶ] κιθαριστοῦ καὶ κήρυκος ἄσονται ὕμνον, ὃν

10 ἂν συντάξῃ Σώσανδρος Διομήδους ὁ γραμματεὺς·

I.Stratonikeia 1101

For this reason, the council decreed to select now thirty boys from the noble families. The supervisor of the boys, together with the public guards of the boys, will lead these boys every day to the council, **dressed in white**, wearing olive wreaths, and carrying in their hands branches of olive. in the presence of a kithara player and a herald they shall sing a hymn to be composed by Sosandros, son of Diomedes, the secretary...¹⁶²

Three inscriptions on cultic dress-code prescribe pure garments: *SEG* 43:630, *I.Kios* 19, and *Lindos* II 487. Even if only a few inscriptions on dress-code order clean garments, we can assume that the purity of clothes was also important to other cults. Penelope put on clean garments before praying to Athena (Homer, *Odyssey* XXIII.189-194). Diodorus Siculus (X.9.6) tells us a very similar attitude with regard to the purity of clothes and says that Pythagoras ordered not to wear expensive but white and clean garments at sacrifices.

The literary material from different periods shows that clean garments were required for prayers and cultic performances. The term καθαρός (*katharos*), meaning ‘clean’ and ‘spotless’, was employed in inscriptions for clean garments or for the purification of the temple (*IG* V,1 722).¹⁶³ *SEG* 43.630 (5th century BCE) from Selinous orders the dedication of a clean cloth with cups, olive wreaths, honey mixture, and meat at sacrifices to the chthonian deities (face A, line 14). *Lindos* II 487 (225 CE) concerns the sanctuary of Athena Lindia in Lindos and prescribes clean garments, barefoot or shoes made of white material, and prohibits items made of goatskin, hairbands,¹⁶⁴ and belts.

161. F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 162, no 69; A. CHANIOTIS, «Staging and Feeling the Presence of God: Emotion and Theatricality in Religious Celebrations in the Roman East» in L. BRICUALT, C. BONNET eds., *Pantheé: Religious Transformations in Graeco-Roman Empire*, Leiden 2013, p. 181; F. GRAF, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era*, Cambridge 2015, p. 29.

162. *I.Stratonikeia* 1101; translation by A. CHANIOTIS, *op. cit.*, 2013, p. 181.

163. For *IG* V,1 722, see A.J. BEATTIE, «An Early Laconian Lex Sacra», *CQ New Series* 1, 1951, p. 46-58; F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. no 28.

164. It is not obvious whether the term ἐπικράνον (*epikranon*) refers to a hairband or to styled hair (*Lindos* II 487, line 7).

- 7 αἰσθητάς **καθαρὰς** ἔχοντας χωρὶς ἐπικρανίων·
 ἀνυποδέτους ἢ ἐν λευκοῖς μὴ αἰγείοις ὑποδήμασι·
 μηδὲ τι αἴγιον ἔχοντας·
 μηδὲ ἐν ζώναις ἄμματα·

Lindos II 487

- 7 one should wear **pure clothes**, without hairband
 without shoes or white sandals not made from goat skin
 to not have something made from goat (skin),
 to not have tied belts

The colour black is called μέλας (*melas*) in ancient Greek and was associated in Indo-European languages with dirt and darkness.¹⁶⁵ *Melas* was also associated with badness, bad luck, and demons in antiquity.¹⁶⁶ The colours white and black were also discussed by Greek philosophers as opposite colours, which represented two opposite poles.¹⁶⁷ Black was linked in ancient Greece to death and to the deities of the underworld. That has also influenced the description of the underworld.¹⁶⁸ Reconsidering the association of black with the underworld and dirt, the prohibition of black garments in cultic context results from its negative perception and connotation.

I.Smyrna 728 (line 10) and *IG V,2 514* (line 6) are the only inscriptions on dress-code, which prohibit black garments. *I.Smyrna 728* concerns the sanctuary of Dionysus Bromios at Smyrna and prohibits approaching the altars in black garments (μηδὲ **μελανφάρους** προσίναί βωμοῖσι ἄνακτ[ος,] – to not approach the altars of the lord wearing **black garments**). It seems likely that black garments were also banned from the *temenos*. *IG V,2 514* prohibits black (μέλανα) and purple clothes in the sanctuary.

- Δεσποίνας.
 [[.....]] μὴ ἐξέστω
 παρέρπην ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερὸν τᾶς
 Δεσποίνας μὴ χρ[υ]σία ὅσα μὴ ἰν ἀνά-
 5 θεμα, μηδὲ πορφύρεον εἰματισμὸν
 μηδὲ ἀνθινὸν μηδὲ **[μέλ]ανα** μηδὲ ὑπο-
 δήματα μηδὲ δακτύλιον· εἰ δ' ἄν τις

165. “Black’: Skt. malina- ‘dirty, black’, mlana- ‘black, dark’, mala- ‘dirt, sin’, Gk. melas ‘black’” (T.V. GAMKRELIDZE, V.V. IVANOV, *op. cit.*, p. 685).

166. G. RADKE, *op. cit.*, p. 20-21, 33-34.

167. For further discussion on the perception of the colours white and black in ancient Greece, see A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *La fabrique des couleurs...*, 2011, p. 30-31.

168. Homer, *Iliad* I.3; V.646; VI.284; VIII.13-16; Homer, *Odyssey* X.491, 502, 564; XI.47, 69, 164, 571, 625, 627; XXIII.252, 322. Some written sources mention that the dead was wrapped in black cloth (e.g. *LSAM* 79, lines 12-13; Polydorus, *Aeneid* III.64). *LSAM* 97 (face A, line 3) from Keos says that the dead should be wrapped in white clothes (see also *CGRN* 35). *IMK Kaikos* 922 from Gambreion orders grey and white garments for people in mourning. Neither the deceased nor his relatives should wear black garments. The deceased was wrapped in white garments because it was believed that the colour white would drive away demons (T. WÄCHTER, *op. cit.*, p. 16, fn. 1).

- Of Despoina
 It is not allowed
 to enter the sanctuary of
 Despoina with gold objects, except as votive
 5 offerings, in purple or
 bright-coloured, or **black** clothes, with
 shoes, or a ring.

IG V,2 514¹⁶⁹

The colour white was the colour of festivals and the participants were required to wear undyed clothes.¹⁷⁰ White garments were preferred in cultic context because of their association with purity and modesty.¹⁷¹ Even if only two inscriptions on cultic clothing regulations prohibit black clothes, we can assume that black garments were banned from festivals and sanctuaries because of the symbolically negative connotation of black.

DRESS-CODES ADDRESSED TO CULTIC OFFICIALS

The over-life size marble statue of Nikeso found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Priene dates to the first half of the 3rd century BCE and depicts a woman who served as a priestess of Demeter (*I.Priene* 173). Nikeso is dressed in a *chitōn* and *himation* (Fig. 3). Her *himation*'s fine crinkles indicate that it is not made from wool or cotton but from a fine fabric. Connelly has suggested that her *himation* is made of a light silk fabric (coae vestes), and the drapery communicates her sacral status.¹⁷² It is controversial whether silk fabrics were already known in Greece in the 3rd century BCE. The size of the statue and the clothes (the *chitōn*, *himation*, and the drapery) emphasize the high social status of Nikeso, as the dedication of a over-life size marble statue and such garments were only affordable for wealthy people.¹⁷³ Priests and priestesses, especially those with a high cultic status, were from leading and wealthy families. Her garments may refer to her social status or depict her garments worn at rituals. A *stamnos* from Eleusis (5th century BCE) provides a good example for the distinctive clothes of cultic officials, which discern them from worshippers (Archaeological Museum of Eleusis Inv. 636). The vase painting depicts a *dadouchos* who leads two male initiates. The *dadouchos* is dressed in sophisticated garments and carries two torches.¹⁷⁴ The two initiates walking behind him

169. Translation from *CGRN* 126 with some modifications.

170. L. GAWLINSKI, *op.cit.*, 2012, p. 117; M.M. LEE, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

171. M. JOST, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 96.

172. J.B. CONNELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 134-135.

173. For further discussion on the representation of cultic officials and their garments, see also H.R. GOETTE, «Zur Darstellung von religiöser Tracht in Griechenland und Rom» in S. Schrenk, K. VÖSSING, M. TEILENBACH eds., *Kleidung und Identität in religiösen Kontexten der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium in Verbindung mit der Arbeitsgruppe „Kleidung und Religion“, Projekt DressID, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 30. und 31. Oktober 2009, 20-34, Regensburg 2012, p. 20-34.

174. L. GAWLINSKI, *op. cit.*, 2008, p. 162-163, fig. 5-4.

wear a *himation* and a wreath. The sophisticated, probably also coloured, garments of the *dadouchos* highlight his cultic status and set himself apart from the initiates.

We might believe that the sacred officials were always dressed in sophisticated and expensive clothes at cultic rituals. One part of the epigraphic sources confirms this assumption and one part is at odds with the iconographic sources. Four cultic clothing regulations addressed to cultic officials order white garments and wreaths (*IG V,1 1390*; *IvP I 40*; *IG IV2,1 128*; *I.Stratonikeia 1101*), whereas eight regulations prescribe gold wreath, gold jewellery, and purple garments for specific festivals, sacrifices, and rituals (*SEG 59:1406*; *Iscr. di Cos ED 89*; *Iscr. di Cos ED 180*; *Iscr. di Cos ED 215*; *SEG 36:1334*; *I.Priene 174*; *I.Magnesia 100a*; *I.Magnesia 98*).

IG V,1 1390 (Andania) and *SEG 18:343* (Thasos) are the only inscriptions listed in Table 2, which regulated the clothing of female cultic officials. *IG V,1 1390* (lines 19-20) concern the so-called sacred women who were apparently cultic officials. The regulation from Andania makes a distinction between adult (women) and young (girls) cultic officials. The garments of girls, who served as cultic officials, should be worth maximum 100 drachmas, whereas adult female cultic officials were allowed to wear garments worth up to 200 drachmas, meaning that the sacred women were permitted to wear garments, which were twice as expensive as those of female initiates and young cultic officials (Table 4). The adult sacred women were required to wear a *kalasiris*, *hypodyma* without decorations, and a *himation*, and at the procession, a *hypodyma* and a woolen *himation* with strips not more than half a finger (*IG V,1 1390*, lines 19-21). *Hypodyma* was an undergarment worn under the *chiton*. The girls should wear a *kalasiris* and a *himation*. The adult sacred women were the only ones allowed to wear a *hypodyma* and a woolen *himation*. The female initiates and the sacred women were ordered to wear white a *chiton*/tunic and a *himation* without decorations and not to wear transparent and purple clothes. Similarly, Nikeso's garments were presumably white and made from expensive fabrics.

SEG 18:343, an honorary inscription from Thasos dating to the 1st century BCE, requires the priestess of Demeter and Zeus Eubouleus to wear white garments (λευκοῖς στολισμοῖς) while performing a sacrifice and collecting money (lines 30-33).

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Figure 3: The statue of Nikeso found at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Priene (courtesy of Antikensammlung, Berlin; photo by J. Laurentius)

- 30 [τ]ὴν ἑαυτῆς μεγαλοψυχίαν, κατασταθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἱέρειαν
τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δήμητρὶ βωμῶν, ὅταν δὲ
[ἐ]π' ἐκεῖνοις ἢ τοῖς βωμοῖς καὶ θύῃ ἢ ἀγείρῃ, τότε αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐν
[τ]οῖς **λευκοῖς στολισμοῖς** καὶ οἷς ἐστὶν ἔθος

SEG 18:343

- 30 she deserves to receive honour as a priestess of
Zeus Eubouleus and Demeter, whenever she stands
at the altars and sacrifices or collects money, she should wear
white garments and conduct according to the custom.

Iscr. di Cos ED 89 (2nd century CE) concerns the sale of the priesthood of Nike and orders white garments outside the sanctuary, purple garments and gold ring¹⁷⁵ in the sanctuary, at sacrifices, and processions. Apparently, the priest followed in everyday life outside the sanctuary the same dress-code that ensured the modesty and good order in society. Purple garments and gold jewellery at festivals and rituals emphasized the cultic status of the priest and the significance of the ritual act.

- 5 [αῖ]ς ἀμέραις ὅσιόν ἐστι θύεν· ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ [τὰ]
[ιε]ρὰ ἃ ποιεῖται ὁ δᾶμος ταῖς κ τοῦ Πεταγει[τν]-
[ύ]ου μηνὸς συμπομπευέτω μετὰ τοῦ μο-
[ν]άρχου καὶ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν καὶ τῶ<ν> νενικακότω-
ν τὸς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας, ἔχων καὶ **κιτῶνα π-**
ορ|φύρεον καὶ δακτυλῖος χρυσεός καὶ στέφ-
10 [ανο]ν θάλλινον· τὰν δὲ αὐτὰν **ἐσθῆτα** ἐχέτω
[ἐν τ]ῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς θυσίαις πάσαι-
[ς, λε]υχιμονίτω δὲ διὰ βίου, καὶ ἀγνευέσθω

Iscr. di Cos ED 89

- 5 The priest should attend
sacrifices, which the people organise in the 20th of
Petageitnyos, after the procession with the
monarchos and *hieropoioi* and those who
won the wreath *agon*,¹⁷⁶ and he should be dressed in
purple and **gold ring** and wreath
10 of leaves. He should have such garment
in the sanctuary and by all sacrifices,
in **white** for life.....

Iscr. Cos ED 180 dating to the 2nd century BCE concerns the sale of the priesthood of Heracles Kallinikos. Lines 20-23 say that the priest of Heracles Kallinikos is allowed to sit in the front seat at the choral competitions, to make a libation together with other priests, and to

175. *Iscr. di Cos ED 89* and *Iscr. di Cos ED 120* allow ring, whereas the cult of Asclepius at Pergamon (*IvP* II 264) and that of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia on Delos (*I. Delos* 2529) prohibit it.

176. The contest was only awarded with a wreath.

wear white garment, brooch, and a gold ring. The priests of various *polis* cults attended the choral competitions performed in honour of a deity, presumably in a theatre. The priest, who presided over the choral competition, wore probably a purple garment, which distinguished him from other priests who were required to wear white clothes. The brooch and the gold ring gave the priest of Heracles Kallinikos the distinction of being a priest. However, we do not know whether the priests of various cults in different cities were also allowed to wear a ring at festivals and rituals.

- 22 καὶ φορεῖτω **κιθῶνα διάλευκον**· ἐστε[φα]νώσθω δὲ
καὶ στεφάνῳι λευκίνῳι, ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ **ἄφαμμα** καὶ **χρυσέος**
δακτυλίου

Iscr.Cos ED 180

- 22 And he should wear a **bright white garment (chiton)**. He should be crowned
with a wreath made of white poplar and he should have **brooch** and **gold**
ring.

Iscr. di Cos ED 215 (lines 15-18) dates to the 1st century BCE and concerns the sale of the priesthood of Zeus Alseios at Cos. The priest should wear purple garment, probably embroidered with gold, at contests. *Iscr. di Cos ED 215* is somehow an evidence that the priest of the deity, in whose honour the contest was performed, was dressed in purple clothes. Like in *Iscr. di Cos ED 89*, the priest of Zeus Alseios was probably required to wear white clothes in veryday life and purple garments at festivals.

- 15 ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ **κι-**
τῶνα πορφύρεον, φορεῖτω δὲ καὶ στέφανον θάλ-
λινον ἔχοντα ἄφαμμα **χρύσειον** ἐν τοῖς συντελουμέ-
νοις ἁγῶσιν, καὶ **χρυσοφορεῖται**.

Iscr. di Cos ED 215

- 15 he should also wear a **purple**
garment, he should wear a wreath made of
leaves, he should wear **golden strip** during
the contests, and golden ornaments.

Three inscriptions on dress-codes concern the cults of Dionysus. One is from Priene (*I.Priene* 174), another from Skepsis (*SEG* 26:1334), and the third is from Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 728). *I.Priene* 174 refers to the sale of the priesthood of Dionysus.¹⁷⁷ The priest was allowed to wear the garments he wanted and a gold wreath at rituals performed in the theatre, at the festival Katagogia, and in the months of Lenaion¹⁷⁸ and Anthesterion. The Anthesteria were

177. For *I.Priene* 174, see also F. SOKOLOWSKI, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. no. 37; I. ARNAOUTOGLU, *Ancient Greek Laws*, London-New York 1998, no. 107.

178. According to A.E. SAMUEL, the month of Lenaion preceded Anthesterion (*Greek and Roman Chronology: Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity*, Munich 1972, p. 118).

the main festival in the month of Anthesterion that was named after this festival. The month of Lenaion was named after the festival called Lenaia. Both festivals were celebrated in honour of Dionysus.

- ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ **στολήν** ἣν ἄμ βού-
 ληται καὶ **στέφανον χρυσοῦν** μῆνα Ληναίων
 καὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνα, καὶ τοῖς Καταγωγίαις καθη-
 γήσεται τῶν συγκαταγόντων τὸν Διόνυσον,
 5 **στολήν** ἔχων ἣν ἂν θέλῃ καὶ **στέφανον χρυ-**
σοῦν·

I.Priene 174

- he shall wear **garment** he wishes
 and a **gold wreath** in the month of Lenaion
 and Anthesterion, and at the Katagogia,
 he shall lead those who bring Dionysus down,
 5 he shall wear **garment** he wishes and a
gold wreath.

Our view of the festivals of Dionysus is too much influenced by vase paintings and Euripides' *The Bacchae*, and expect ecstatic festivals performed in honour of Dionysus. Merkelbach and Stauber refer to *I.Milet 733* and point out that the Bacchae conducted festivals with dignity and discipline.¹⁷⁹ Alcmeonis, a priestess of Dionysus, is described in her funerary inscription as a woman with proper conduct (*I.Milet 733*). This means that Alcmeonis as a priestess with high cultic and social status was dressed in decent garments and did not act in an ecstatic way. The Katagogia were a festival celebrated by the whole community of the city.¹⁸⁰ According to the *Acts of Timothy*, the Katagogia were celebrated with a phallic procession and the participants were dressed in indecent garments and masks.¹⁸¹ The participants at the Katagogia wore probably unusual garments. Christian authors made negative remarks on pagan festivals to discredit pagan religions.

SEG 26:1334 from Skepsis concerns the sale of the priesthood of Dionysus Bambyleios and determines the duties of the priest. It allows the priest to wear a gold wreath, purple garments, and shoes.

- [... ..] Ἀριστογένου τοῦ Σφοδριάδου μ[
 [... .. ἀγαθ]ῇ τύχῃ· ὁ πριάμενος τὴν ἱερατείαν τοῦ Δι-
 ονύσου τοῦ Βαμβυλείου ἀτελὴς ἔσται [...] λα[
 [... σ]τρατείας, ἐπικεφαλίου, σταθμοῦ· καὶ δικᾶ [μη]-

179. R. MERKELBACH, J. STAUBER, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Vol. 1, *Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Illion*, Munich 1998, p. 138.

180. For Katagogia, see also *I.Milet 1222*.

181. H. DELEHAYE, «Les actes de Saint Timothée» in W.M. CALDER, J. KEIL eds., *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, Manchester 1939, p. 78. See also R. MERKELBACH, *Die Hirten des Dionysos: Die Dionysos-Mysterien der römischen Kaiserzeit und der bukolische Roman des Longus*, Stuttgart 1988, p. 75-76, fn. 13.

- 5 [δέν]α ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἐπάναγκες, τὰς δὲ ἐπ[ικρίσεις]
 [...]μιας δικᾶ ἀν...κει· ἀτελῇ δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν
 [νε]ωκόρον τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἱερεὺς ἐ[ξ ὠνῆς]
 [στε]φαν[ού]σθω **κισσοῦ στεφάνῳ** ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ Ληναίῳ-
 [νι] ἐν ταῖς νομηγίαις [κ]αὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσιν ἐορταῖς πάσα[ις],
 10 [ἐν] τῷ ἄλλῳ δὲ χρόνῳ παντὶ ἐὰν αὐτῷ φαίνεται· ἐξέστω [δ]ὲ α[ὐ]-
 [τ]ῷ καὶ **στέφανοι** φορεῖν **χρυσοῦν** καὶ **χιτῶνας ἄλουργ[ο]ύς** κα[ὶ]
ῥύπόδεσιν ἀκόλουθον **τῇ ἐσθῇτι**· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ[ς]
 [τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας ἃς συντελεῖ ἢ πόλις καὶ ἐπ' [αὐ]-
 [ρι]ον ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς συντελουμένας· τίθεσθαι δ[ὲ]
 15 [αὐ]τῷ καὶ θρόνον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ καθῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν
 [προεδ]ρίᾳ ἔν τε ταῖς τριετηρίσιν καὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει ἢ σ[υν]-
 [τελεῖται]]ιοι[...]φ[.] πάντας θ[— — —

SEG 26:1334

... of Aristogenes, son of Sphodriades? good fortune! He who buys the priesthood of Dionysos Bambyleios shall be exempt from ..., military service, poll-tax, billeting ... in the court necessarily and the warden of the temple shall have the same exemptions. He who becomes priest shall wear a **crown of ivy** on the first of the month of Lenaion and on all festivals celebrated at public cost, and at any other time he wants. He shall also be allowed to wear a **golden crown** and **purple robes**¹⁸² and **shoes** adequate to his **clothes**. He shall be invited into the prytaneion for the sacrifices which the city celebrates and ... the celebrated sacrifices. A seat shall be established for him in the theatre and he she shall sit in front at the triennial festivals and at the *panegyris* which ... celebrates ...

SEG 26:1334¹⁸³

There were no general regulations for priests' attire. Several cultic clothing regulations mentioned in this paper require the male priests to wear purple garments and gold jewellery at specific festivals and rituals, meaning that the purple garments and jewellery were reserved for special ceremonies (Table 2). *Ischr. di Cos ED 89* is the only decree that orders purple garments in the sanctuary, at all sacrifices, and rituals. All inscriptions ordering purple garments date to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Blum has concluded that the cultic officials wore seldom purple clothes during the Archaic and Classical periods, and it began to change under the influence of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which were influenced by the Near East.¹⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that all inscriptions on dress-code ordering purple attire are from the Greek East. The question arises whether the purple attire was reserved to male priests, or female cultic officials were also allowed to wear purple garments and gold jewellery at festivals. Two inscriptions providing evidence for female priests' attire order white garments without jewellery. This may lead us to assume that purple clothes were primarily ordered for male priests. Another question is

182. *Chitōn* is translated here as a general term for garment.

183. SEG 26:1334; translation by Z. TAŞLIKLIOĞLU, P. FRISCH, «New Inscriptions from the Troad», *ZPE* 17, 1975, p. 107.

184. H. BLUM, *op. cit.*, p. 97-98, 100.

whether priests wore white garments in the sanctuaries and at other ceremonies. Since it was explicitly ordered in inscriptions that the priests should wear solemn clothes at festivals, it can be concluded that the clothes worn in sanctuaries and at cultic rituals were undyed or white, and less ostentious.

PENALTIES AGAINST MISBEHAVIOUR

Disregarding the cultic clothing regulations had as consequence penalties, which are attested for the cults of Demeter in Arcadia (*IPArk* 20), Dyme (*SEG* 40:395), Andania (*IG* V,1 1390), and for Despoina at Lykosoura (*IG* V,2 514). The cult of Alectrona at Ialysos also orders penalty (*IG* XII,1 677). Penalty clauses of cultic clothing regulations impose fines or punishments. Therefore, most inscriptions on dress-codes do not order penalties. Since many inscriptions are not complete and the last lines are missing, it cannot be determined with certainty whether most inscriptions ordered penalties for breaking rules. The question arises whether it existed certain norms for breaking cultic clothing regulations in each city communicated orally. Probably like nowadays, disregarding the regulations resulted in restriction of access to the sanctuary or participation at festivals without any further sanctions.

IPArk 20 orders the dedication of forbidden clothes to the sanctuary. If the worshipper did not want to dedicate it, she had to be charged with impiety and even with death penalty. The *demiurgus* should be charged with 30 drachmas. If he does not want to pay, he is to be charged with impiety for ten years. The rigour of this law leads us to the question whether worshippers were charged with death penalty. Mills assumes that the offending woman was not put to death but cursed.¹⁸⁵ However, if we consider the regulation for the Eleusinian Mysteries and the processes against Alcibiades (Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae*, *Alcibiades* XVIII.3, XIX.1; XXII.3-4) and Diagoras of Melos (*FGrH* 326 F3), it cannot be excluded that the death penalty mentioned in cultic regulations was not only used as a deterrent against breaking rules.

The cult of Demeter at Dyme orders the cleaning of the sanctuary by misbehaviour (*SEG* 40:395).¹⁸⁶ The cult of Alectrona at Ialysos also orders the cleaning of the *temenos* by misbehaviour and the offering of a sacrifice (*IG* XII,1 677). If the worshipper did not want to do it, he or she was charged with impiety. Penalty payments for breaking cultic regulations were more commonplace than the cleaning of the sanctuary. Fines are attested for several cults such as for *LSCG* 122 (Samos) that concerns the sacrifice at the Helikonion, a sanctuary of Poseidon. The fine, which had to be paid, was 200 drachmas (*LSCG* 122, lines 6-8). *IG* XII,5 2 (4th century BCE) from Cos orders 100 drachmas as fine (line 5). *LSCG* 84 (100 BCE) concerns the sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios at Korope and orders 50 drachmas (line 14). *LSCG* 91 (4th century BCE) from Euboea imposes 100 drachmas as fine (line 5). *LSAM* 77 from Tlos also orders the payment of fines by misbehaviour.

185. H. MILLS, «Greek Clothing Regulations: Sacred and Profane?», *ZPE* 55, 1984, p. 258.

186. For further discussion on *SEG* 40:395, see A. GRAND-CLÉMENT, *op. cit.*, 2017, p. 56-57.

The Andanian clothing regulation imposes the mutilation and consecration of the prohibited items to the sanctuary (*IG V,1 1390*, lines 25-26). The *gynaikonomos* can mutilate and dedicate the garment to the gods. It orders 1,000 drachmas as fine if someone does not want to take the oath (*IG V,1 1390*, line 6). The different punishments result from the misconduct. Items, which were forbidden at sanctuaries but had material value, should be dedicated or mutilated. Harter-Uibopuu states that the regulation of the Andanian mysteries aimed to punish the misbehaviour without interrupting the mysteries and the offending woman was allowed to attend the mysteries.¹⁸⁷ The swift punishment of offending worshippers may be the reason for such regulation. The high number of cultic officials, who were in charge of the organisation and performance of the Andanian mysteries, suggests that a high number of people attended the mysteries. It was crucial to resolve the misbehaviour without interrupting the mysteries.

CONCLUSION

50 % of the cultic clothing regulations concerns regulations for proper attire worn at special occasions, *e.g.* festivals and rituals, and 50 % the guidelines for appropriate attire in the sanctuaries. Cultic dress-codes refer mainly to the prohibitions imposed on worshippers, which aimed to restrict luxury clothing, jewellery, and to prohibit what was seen as inappropriate. The worshippers were always required to manifest modesty in sanctuaries, as well as at festivals. Several clothing regulations order white garments, as the colour white signified cleanliness, rather than bleached garments, and represented modesty towards the deities. Purple and richly embroidered clothes were considered as an act of impiety.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, most cultic clothing regulations do not explicitly assign luxury items as sacrilege. *SEG 40:395* (lines 10-11) orders the purification of the sanctuary as punishment for wearing purple garments and gold jewellery heavier than one *obolos*. The regulation aimed to punish the worshippers for the transgression of the regulation but not because it was believed that purple garments and gold caused ritual pollution.¹⁸⁹ A few cultic dress-code regulations order the dedication of prohibited items in the sanctuaries, meaning that they were not considered *per se* as sacrilege (*IPArk 20*, *SEG 40:395*, and *IG XII,1 677*).

Several festivals were marked by luxury purple clothes and gold jewellery prescribed for the priests, which were symbolic and emphasized their status as intermediaries between the humans and gods. It seems to be likely that in everyday life and at various cultic rituals, the priests were also required to wear white garments.

187. K. HARTER-UIBOPUU, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 150-151.

188. See also L. CLELAND, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 247, fn. 24.

189. See also L. CLELAND, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 252.

The regulation of garments in religious context concerns in most cases female worshippers. This may lead us to believe that the regulations aimed to restrict the freedom of women and to control the female clothing. In each society, the clothing of both genders is controlled by the society. The restrictions concerning clothing was, therefore, more focused on women, since the female modesty was linked to shame (αἰδώς – *aidos*). However, the restrictions imposed in cultic context were not restricted to women. Sanctuaries, which were visited by male and female worshippers, have similar cultic clothing regulations as cults mainly worshipped by women.

Cleland notes that the regulations aimed at achieving a degree of standardisation in the dress of participants and at uniting by wearing mainly white clothes.¹⁹⁰ This was one of the reasons for the regulation and the other reason was the modesty towards the deities. It was important not to attract with his wealth the jealousy of the deities and people. The cultic clothing regulations are focused on the colour, fabric, and garment types, which can be used to display personal vanity and wealth. The prescription of white and not expensive garments for all participants enforced the religious bond of the community. The restriction of luxury garments and jewellery at rituals and especially at festivals was considered necessary for the piety and good order in Greek society.¹⁹¹

190. L. CLELAND, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 255.

191. F. GHERCHANOC, *op. cit.*, p. 27, 30 *sqq.*

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