HISTORICAL RESEARCH INTO THE
INFLUENCES EFFECTING THE STABILITY
OF GREEK WOMEN'S FASHION FROM
500 B.C. TO 51 B.C.

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Sciences in
Home Economics

by

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June, 1969
In memory of my father

Herbert H. Falk
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ABSTRACT

HISTORICAL RESEARCH INTO THE
INFLUENCES EFFECTING THE STABILITY
OF GREEK WOMEN'S FASHION FROM
500 B.C. TO 51 B.C.

by

Vivian Lee Falk

Master of Science in Home Economics

June, 1969

The purpose of this thesis was to formulate some explanation as to why the fashions of Greek women did not change from 500 B.C. to 51 B.C.

All areas of society influence the clothing to some degree and, in some cases, to a considerable degree. The cultural aspects of Greece were studied to determine their role in the stability of the Greek women's dress. The garments were described and illustrations have been included so that the articles of clothing might be understood more fully.

The following were some conclusions drawn from the study.

1. Women were kept subordinate to men all of their lives. They maintained their social
status by emphasizing the woman's role of wife, mother and household manager.

2. The political unrest diverted the attention away from fashions so that they did not change.

3. The wealth of Greece was restricted to a very small segment of the population. The poor could not imitate the clothing of the wealthy so the wealthy had no reason to change their fashions.

These and other conclusions showed that those conditions which stimulate fashion change were missing in Greece at this time.

Other periods of history might be studied using the same technique to ascertain why styles did or did not change. Periods which have the same sort of political unrest as Greece would be contrasted with that time to see how the situations differed or compared as to style changes.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PROCEDURE

Many studies and books have been written on the subject of Greek dress in the period from the first Persian invasion (490 B.C.) to the end of the Hellenistic period (31 B.C.). Most of these studies stress the point that the basic articles of clothing did not change for several hundred years; however, few of the studies, if any, have ventured any reasons as to why the styles remained the same for so long. The author is curious as to why this should be so. What influences were at work to keep fashions the same from year to year? This thesis is an attempt to satisfy the author's curiosity and also to incorporate her interest in history.

The author's objective was to formulate some plausible explanations for the stability of Greek fashion in relation to other areas of life. In order to do this it was necessary to use an interdisciplinary approach using material from anthropology, sociology, history, art, economics, and religion.

There are several commonly accepted theories as to why fashions change as cited by Marilyn Horn in The
Second Skin. (29: 209-221) They are:

1. An open class system with much mobility between classes encourages rapid fashion change.
2. The greater distribution of wealth among people causes an increase in consumption of products that, in turn, accelerates fashion change.
3. Leisure time helps to increase interest in fashion.
4. Widespread education eliminates the fears which inhibit fashion change.
5. Changing social systems accelerate fashion changes.
6. The rate of fashion change has a direct relationship to the amount of freedom and the status of women in the society.
7. Advancements in technology lead the way for fashion changes.

These theories were investigated as to their role in the stability of Greek fashion.

Hypotheses

The two hypotheses established by the author are:

1. Fashion from the Age of Pericles through the end of the Hellenistic period was functionally interrelated with the religious values, the political structure and the woman's role in society.
2. The stage of technological development as well
as laws on clothing set limits within which clothing fashions could evolve.

Limitations

Only the clothing of the wealthy leisured women was studied. This is the only class for which there are extensive sculptures or paintings available that depict the clothing.

The period covered is from 500 B.C. to 51 B.C. The span of time covered necessarily had to be limited due to the nature of the subject.

Assumptions

Assumptions have been used by the author in the main body of the thesis. The first, as ascertained from a review of literature, is that fashions did not undergo major change during the period in question.

Second, it is assumed that unless there is sufficient leisure and surplus wealth, costume changes do not have a chance to become non-essential. Non-essential changes indicate no relation to work or other activities.

Procedure

This thesis is an historical study which necessitated the use of books about and works of art from the period under investigation. There are a few reservations that must be kept in mind when using older books written about classical Greece: many archeological discoveries
within the last two or three decades have changed opinions in some of the older books. These older books were still used for reference, but only when they did not contradict recent discoveries.

Museums visited were the Los Angeles County Art Museum in Los Angeles, de Young Museum in San Francisco and the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The libraries used were the San Fernando Valley State College library, the University of California at Los Angeles library, and the author's own collection of books on the subject. The types of books consulted were art, history, costume, textile, religion, and anthropology. Photographs and sketches are used when necessary to illustrate specific points.

All aspects of a society have an influence, whether direct or indirect, on the fashions of the society. By reviewing and analyzing these aspects of the society, one can postulate the reasons for change or stability in fashions. This was the method used by the author. Each aspect as outlined was investigated to ascertain the role played by it in the field of fashion. The areas extensively studied were the social structure, political organization, kinship, religion, laws regarding clothes, woman's role in society, and the role of dress in Greek society. The same procedure could be adapted for use in studying the present day fashion changes.
Definitions

Achaeans - people of possible European origin who populated the Peloponnesus from the fifteenth to the twelfth century B.C.

Dorians - people from the north of Greece who invaded the country in the twelfth century and remained influential in Greece.

Economics - an organized means for the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services.

Ionians - former inhabitants of the Peloponnesus who moved into Attica during the thirteenth century and remained the dominant race in Athens.

Kinship system - an organization of behavior between persons related by real, putative or fictive consanguinity.

Mycenaeans - people who migrated to the mainland of Greece around the seventeenth century B.C. from the island of Crete.

Political structure - a sanctioned means for the acquisition and use of legitimate power.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This thesis is essentially a review of literature; therefore, only a brief review of authors referred to later in the thesis is cited at this point.

Abrahams (1, 2), Evans (20), Kohler (34), Laver (36, 37), and Payne (43) provide information regarding Greek dress from 500 B.C. to 51 B.C. Abrahams is quite inclusive in the description of the dress. Evans concentrates on the different articles of clothing while Kohler and Laver both have chapters on Greek dress in their histories of costume. Payne has a good discussion on the development of the Greek dress.

Hope (27, 28) provides a treasury of drawings of Greek female dress. These books were used extensively for this purpose. Abrahams (1, 2), Evans (20), Boucher (5), Devanbez (13), Horn (29), Smith (55), and Stilwell (57) are also valuable sources of sketches and photographs.

Durant (16), George (21), Dickinson (14), and deKoven (12) are very useful in determining the position of women in the society. De Coulanges (11) contributes interesting insights into the period, but his work has
to be kept in perspective as his theories are currently under question by anthropologists.

Rostovtzeff (52, 53) and Starr (56) afford a look at the economic situation in Greece. Hamilton (24) and Harrison (25) give an accurate indication of the religion of Greece, divorcing it from the popular conception of the gods and myths of Greece as the sole substance of Greek religion. Horn (29) is very helpful in determining the reasons for fashion changes.

Durant (16), King (32), Cantor (8), Ridpath (47), Roebuck (51), Starr (56), and Ehrenberg (18) all are helpful in furnishing the information concerning the general history of Greece from 500 B.C. to 51 B.C.
CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Description of the dress

Greek costume experienced three major changes in its total history. The earliest costume, that worn by the Mycenaeans, was the dominant style until 1200 B.C. when the Dorians invaded Greece. Their style of costume remained until 568 B.C. at which time a war undertaken by the Athenians against Aegina brought about another costume change. This new style characterized Greek costume through 51 B.C. Herodotus offers the following explanation of the new style. A soldier returned to Athens with news of a major war disaster which claimed the lives of all the troops save his.

When he came back to Athens bringing word of the calamity, the wives of those who had been sent out on the expedition took it sorely to heart, that he alone should have survived the slaughter of all the rest; they therefore crowded around the man and struck him with the brooches by which their dresses were fastened, each, as she struck, asking him where he had left her husband. And the man died in this way. The Athenians thought the deed of the women more horrible even than the fate of the troops. As, however, they did not know how else to punish them, they changed their dress, and compelled them to wear the costume of the Ionians. Till this time the Athenian women had worn a Dorian dress shaped nearly like that which prevails at Corinth. Henceforth they were made to wear the linen tunic, which does not require brooches. (2: 40)
Both the Dorian and Ionian garments are described below. It should be noted, however, that the Ionian costume was the prevalent one after 600 B.C. in Greece.

The Dorian chiton or peplos (Figure 1, p. 11), as it was sometimes called, consisted of a length of fabric that exceeded the height of the wearer by one foot, the width usually being twice the distance from elbow to elbow of the wearer. The fabric most commonly used for the garment was wool because of the prevalence of this fiber. After the Ionians introduced linen to Greece, it was used for finer, lighter chitons. The excess length of the chiton was arranged in an overfold or apotyagma which might cover the breast or perhaps reach to or below the waist depending on how the wearer fastened it. Occasionally a piece of material was attached to the top of the chiton to form a false apotyagma. The Doric dress was fastened at the shoulders with pins called fibulae (originally, the pin was the small bone of an animal leg which was a fibula thus giving its name to later pins) allowing room for the head and arms with one side left open. Figure 2 (p. 13) illustrates this arrangement of the garment. Frequently the waist was bound in by a girdle made of cord, metal or leather. The girdle might be over or under the apotyagma if it were long. The opening at the side (Figure 3, p. 14) could be folded over in such a way as to make the gar-
Figure 1.

Doric chiton
Figure 2.

(28: Plate 64)

Pinning the Doric chiton at the shoulder to hold it in place.
Figure 3.

(28: Plate 77)

Side view of Doric chiton showing folded edge.
Plate 27

Grecian female
ment less revealing than would be at first apparent. The folding plus the girdle made a very serviceable and discreet garment.

The Ionic chiton of the later period was much fuller than the Doric, usually twice the distance from finger tip to finger tip of the wearer. The length of the garment was usually little more than the height of the wearer from the shoulder to the ground. A type of sleeve was achieved by either sewing the top of the garment, leaving room for the head and arms, by catching the fabric at several points along the arms (Figure 4, p. 18) or by actually making extensions for the arms so that a close fitting sleeve was constructed which was not possible otherwise. The latter version is shown in several sculptures and paintings, thus leading to this conclusion. Due to the fullness of the garment, it had to be girdled in at the waistline in order to allow the wearer any freedom of movement. By passing a strap across the back of the neck, in front of the shoulders, under the armpits in front, through the strap at the back of the neck, and finally tying the ends under the breasts in front, the garment could be held in place for active pursuits.

The distinguishing factor between the two types of chitons described above was the formation of sleeves in the Ionic dress. Frequently, these two styles
Figure 4.

Ionic chiton.
were combined for a variation in dress. The Ionic chiton was usually made of linen (sometimes very fine and transparent) and was worn as an underdress. The Doric chiton, which was then worn as the outerdress, was usually of heavier linen or wool. (Figure 5, p. 21) This arrangement provided a beautiful blending of styles as well as affording some variety in dress for the women.

Both of these chitons were always full length for women. To permit freer movement, the garments could be pulled up over the girdle to form a blousey effect called a kolpos. The depth of this pouch was dependent on how short the garment had to be for the activity involved. Statues of Diana show the kolpos very deep as the skirt was drawn up to the knees. (Figure 6, p. 23)

A cloak called a himation was worn by women whenever they left their homes. (Figure 7, p. 25) It was a rectangular piece of fabric with a selvage on all four sides. In some cases the border was a single color while in other cases it was an intricate design of embroidery. The rectangle was in the form of two squares, such as 3' x 6' or larger in the same proportions. There were numerous ways in which the garment could be folded depending on the occasion. Since the himation required intricate draping which demanded much time to develop the graceful folds, draping became an
Figure 5.

(57: 333)

Seated figure illustrates the fineness of the Ionian undergarment.
Figure 6.

(28: Plate 122)

Diana showing chiton drawn up in kolpos.
Plate 122

Diana from a statue
Figure 7.

(28: Plate 58)

The himation draped on the figure.
Nymph in the old style of attire: from a small statue in my possession
indicator of the person's skill and social position.
(Figure 8, p. 28)

During the classical period in Greek history, women had not worn undergarments to change their figures. However, when Rome came to power over Greece, women started wearing a corset-type of garment called a strophion. This garment consisted of a band for the bust, waist, and hips using shoulder straps to hold the bands in place. Contrary to the function of later styles, the bands were used to emphasize the hips rather than decrease the waistline, as a small waist had never appealed to the Greeks.

The diplolidon, a square or oblong piece of fabric, was doubled so that the folded edge was upward, draped under the left arm, and fastened on the opposite shoulder. (Figure 9, p. 30) Contingent on the dimensions of the fabric, the corners might hang to the waist or to the ground. Weights could be attached to the corners so that they fell into pleasing lines. This garment served mainly as decoration since there was not sufficient fabric for it to be used for warmth or a body covering.

The kredemnon or veil was worn by the women of Athens from puberty. Numerous paintings of weddings show the bride's face covered with the veil as a sign of modesty and also to ward off evil spirits. The veil
Figure 8.

(28: Plate 201)

Different techniques of draping the himation.
Figure 9.

(28: Plate 62)

An example of the diploidon.
Plate 62

Grecian female
might be retained after marriage as a symbol of the woman's social standing. Very fine, transparent fabrics were used for the veils, including linen, silk, and cotton. The veils maintained the modesty of the women besides being very attractive and slightly mysterious.

The garments have been described and pictured in a resting state. The natural movement of the body in any type of activity disturbed the draping of the garment so that in many cases it was a matter of skill to keep the garment on the body, such as the himation with its intricate draping. If the side of the garment was left unfastened, it naturally fluttered open as the person walked, exposing the legs (Figure 10, p. 33); however, through practice, this fold could be controlled.

The art of using a woven design may have been unknown to the Greeks as most of the designs on the garments were applied with paint after the fabric was made or by embroidery, again added to the finished product. The loom used by the Greeks was a very simple apparatus consisting of two upright poles which supported a cross beam. (Figure 11, p. 35) The warp yarns were tied to the cross beam and clay weights were attached at the ends of the warp yarns to hold them in place. This structure did not allow for the harnesses useful in making woven designs. However, other cultures have used a similar loom and yet managed to weave in designs.
Figure 10.

(28: Plate 133)

Center figure reveals how the Dorian chiton opened during activities to reveal the legs.
Figure 11.

(57: 318)

Loom used by Greeks at left of picture. Figure at right has on combination of Doric and Ionic chitons.
The Greek ideal of simplicity may have been responsible for the absence of this technique.

Color was used in Greek dress, perhaps more than is commonly imagined. The favorite colors were purple, red, and yellow. Green and gray were also used with infrequent mention of blue. Perhaps this latter color was not distinguished from the purple or perhaps the dyes were not well developed or available. Color in garments appeared at the close of the fifth century. Previously, the garments had been mainly white or the natural fiber color.

A passage from the Iliad as quoted by Abrahams gives an excellent description of how the garments fit together into a most becoming whole. The passage describes the toilette of Hera as she is setting out to beguile Zeus.

Then she clad her in her fragrant robe that Athena wrought delicately for her, and therein set many things beautifully made, and fastened it over her breast with clasps of gold. And she girdled it with a girdle arrayed with a hundred tassels; and she set ear-rings in her pierced ears—ear-rings of three drops and glistening—and there from shone grace abundantly. And with a veil over all the peerless goddess veiled herself a fair, new veil, bright as sun, and beneath her shining feet she bound goodly sandals. (1: 29)

brief history of years covered

Greek civilization is believed to have started on the island of Crete with the capitol at Cnossus. From there, the people migrated to the mainland of
Greece and founded the city of Mycenae. It is postulated that the Mycenaeans were akin to the Phrygians and Carians of Asia as well as to the Minoans of Crete. The Mycenaean civilization flourished around 1600 B.C. The exact date and ancestry of the Mycenaeans are not clear.

Around 1400 the Achaeans, a people of possible European origin, invaded the Peloponnesus and over a period of 150 years gradually conquered the Mycenaeans to become the ruling class. There is actually no sharp line separating the Mycenaean and the Achaean cultures as the Achaeans assimilated much of the existing older culture. The Homeric legends of Troy are about the Achaeans who brought the worship of the Olympian gods to Greece. (Figure 12, p. 39)

In the fifteenth century a new wave of invasion from the north was felt in Greece. This time the Dorians, a more barbaric people than the Achaeans, descended into Greece, burning towns and destroying civilization as it was then known. The Acropolis in Athens was almost the only main citadel spared by the conquering hordes. Political order was disrupted for centuries; men carried arms with them all the time in fear of their lives. Hesiod termed this period as the Age of Iron, but many Greeks felt that "the discovery of iron had been to the hurt of man." (15: 63) The Dorian invasion
The movement of the various peoples into Greece and their major areas of influence.

- Epirots
- Ionians
- Dorians
- Aeolians and Achaeans
marked the Dark Ages of Greece. Few written records can be found for this period. It is believed that writing died out during this period since the Dorian had no use for it.

The Ionians had come to the portion of Greece known as Attica at the time the Achaeans were moving into the Peloponnesus about 1200. The Ionians, who were the main race of Athens, managed to repel the Dorian invasion. Survivors from Mycenae and Boetia came to Athens for refuge and from there migrated to Asia Minor to establish Ionia. This migration took place over a number of years, not all at once since the resources of the time would not permit it.

Gradually the Dorian and Ionian cultures were blended into one. The evidence for this blending is seen in the costumes of the statues in Athens. The Dorian dress is shown alone or combined with the Ionian chiton.

The fifth through the first century was a time of nearly constant intrigues and wars in Greece. The main war of the fifth century was against the Persians (the first Persian invasion is the starting point for the period covered in this thesis). King Darius of Persia had set out to teach Eretria and Athens a lesson for interfering in the Persian invasion of the Greek countries in Asia Minor. Eretria was destroyed by the
Persian forces which then set out to attack Athens. The Persian force had been split so that while part of the force marched from Eretria, the other half landed at Marathon. A small Athenian army of 9,000 met the Persians at Marathon in a decisive battle. Sixty-four hundred Persians were killed while only 192 Athenians perished. This defeat halted momentarily the Persian drive.

In 480 B.C. Darius' successor, Xerxes, mounted a land and sea expedition against Athens. The Persian prestige was at stake so all the might of Persia was thrown into the effort. The Athenians decided to leave their city and go to the Greek island of Salamis for sanctuary. Athens was sacked and burned by the Persians; what defenders were left were killed.

Athens had used the time between the first and second invasions to build up her war fleet. By 480, Athens had 200 warships, thus making it the most powerful Greek state on the sea. The Persian fleet was lured into the Straits of Salamis, an unfavorable position, and was practically annihilated. A final land battle, a possible disaster which was turned to success, brought defeat to the Persian threat.

In the years following the defeat of Persia, Athens formed the Delian league for the alleged freedom of all Greek states under Persian control. However, the league gradually developed into an expansion of Athenian
influence in the Greek world. Athens' attempt to force Megara to come under her control led to the Peloponnesian war which ultimately destroyed Athens' power. (Figure 13, p. 44) This war was termed a "preventive war" (16: 76) by Sparta and Corinth when it was begun in 431 B.C. There was a temporary peace, but fighting broke out again to the disadvantage of Athens. Athens had overreached herself in sending an expedition to Syracuse in Sicily. The entire expedition was lost, something Athens could not afford. More cities joined Sparta in the war against Athens, and by 405 B.C., Athens was forced to surrender.

She lost all her foreign possessions, had to surrender her fleet, and was forced to destroy her city walls and those of the Piraeus (a seaport). Sparta helped the reactionary party favourable to Sparta to seize power once again. Athens was made an ally of Sparta, pledged to follow her leadership. (59: 144)

The next sixty plus years of Greek history were spent in quarrels and wars between the several city-states and Persia. During this time, Sparta was completely defeated as a military power. Athens had a chance to rebuild the walls of the city and seaport and also to launch a new navy.

The Macedonian, Philip, was the leader destined to unite the Greek city-states into a whole. Philip preferred not to use military force to achieve his ends, but rather would use flattery or bribery to worm his
Figure 13.

(17: 77)

The alignment of the Greek city-states prior to the Peloponnesian war.

- Athens and Allies
- Sparta and Allies
- Neutral
way through Greek politics. Athens was forced to surrender in 338 to Philip and become subject to Macedonian rule.

In 267 B.C., Sparta and Athens rose against Philip in the Chremonidean War which lasted until 261 B.C. "The conflict...is noteworthy as Athens' last attempt to regain some measure of political power and prestige." (51: 387) Athens itself was sacked in 86 B.C. by the Roman, Sulla. By 51 B.C., the Hellenistic Age was at an end. The Greek states had become subjects of the Roman empire in the previous century, never again to achieve the greatness of Classical Greece.

Many events that occurred in Greece helped to cause the final downfall of that country. The economic factor led to other problems. Greece had to rely heavily on imported grain to feed the citizens. However, other countries were catching up with Greece in products for export and were thus taking the Greek markets abroad for their own goods. The imports were becoming more expensive and the revenues of Greece were becoming fewer. This increase in the cost of living caused most Greek families to practice family limitation. This was in the form of abortion, exposure or abstinence. Very few families reared two girls, and sisters were rare. Many families had no children at all. This practice was a contradiction of their religious beliefs since
children (sons) were necessary to tend the spirits of the departed parents. However, the fear of a religious revenge was not great enough to induce couples to have children.

The Greek city-states had been weakened by the many wars and civil strife. The Athenian expedition to Syracuse in 414 and the subsequent loss of the navy and men "...broke the spirit of Athens. Nearly half the citizen body was now enslaved or dead; half the women of the citizen class were in effect widows..." (16: 448)

The law of Athens permitted double marriages following this disaster since many girls could not find husbands. Socrates and Euripides were among those who took upon themselves this patriotic obligation.

Demosthenes tried to prepare Athens and form an alliance with other Greek city-states to stop Macedonia. His opponents tried to stop him.

Demosthenes attacked his opponents in the courts on charges of treason and corruption and advocated that Athens accelerate its military buildup and raise a Greek coalition against Philip. Slowly Athens began to prepare for the final struggle. (51: 320)

In the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., the Macedonians defeated the Greeks and ended the rally instigated by Demosthenes.

The Roman empire was building up rapidly from a barbarian level to a more advanced civilization just short of Greece in technology. The Roman army was a
trained military which was capable of better troop
discipline than the citizen armies of Greece. This
superior ability was able to overcome the patriotic
spirits of the Greeks and finally enclose Greece in
the immense Roman empire.

The political unrest of Greece did not affect the
stability of the classes; nor was it reflected by
fashion changes.

Economic structure

The sixth and fifth centuries were the most eco-
nomically productive for Greece. During these centuries
the Athenians moved from an agricultural economy such as
was depicted by Homer with each family being self sup-
porting to an exporting economy dependent on the grains
of other countries for food.

In one century (the fifth) Athens moves from house-
hold economy—wherein each household makes nearly
all that it needs—to urban economy—wherein each
town makes nearly all that it needs—to interna-
tional economy—where each state is dependent upon
imports, and must make exports to pay for them.
(16: 275)

While Athens remained powerful at sea, her economy
grew and prospered. At this time, pirates were very
common so the state which could control the seas could
also control the trade between states. In the first
half of the fifth century, Athens could claim to be
mistress of the Greek seas. Since Athens was dependent
on other countries for her food this control was very important. In the second half of the fifth century when Athens' fleet began to fail and was destroyed by Sparta at Syracuse, 414, and Aegospotami, 405, Athens was eventually forced to surrender or starve.

From Solon onwards the Athenian government minted silver coins as a medium of exchange. Iron bars served the same purpose that gold bars do today. Gold was a product of export until the Romans came into power. An owl was stamped on the coins as a symbol of Athena, the goddess of Athens. Athens' refusal to devalue the coins led to its ready acceptance by other countries as a means of payment. This alone had a great effect upon the trade of the country. Merchants no longer had to ship goods on the return trip in order to make a profit. They could accept the owls of Athens in payment.

The communications of the time consisted of runners, carrier pigeons, travelers, or word of mouth. If you had a letter to send, you had to wait for a government runner or a traveler willing to deliver the letter. It is not to be assumed that communications were necessarily slow since runners were able to go great distances in a day. Besides the mainland of Greece is not very large, for example the distance from Marathon to Athens is only twenty-six miles.
Faulty communications by word of mouth did occur. Thrace had heard the rumor that Alexander was dead. This gave the Thracians the courage to rise up against the Macedonian rule. A much alive Alexander appeared to crush the revolt and to destroy the city as an example to other cities not to follow suit.

Businessmen who traveled to other countries brought back news of world happenings to Greece. They also brought with them new ideas and products from these countries helping to make Greece, especially Athens, very cosmopolitan.

By the sixth century, Greece was already denuded of her perviously extensive forests so that all the wood used for shipbuilding and furniture had to be imported. Mainland Greece was poor in metals so that these also had to be imported. Farming was not much better. Of the 630,000 acres in Attica, over a third were not usable for farming. Even using good soil conservation techniques, the farmers could not feed a quarter of the population. For this reason grain had to be imported from Asia Minor, Egypt, Italy and other countries. This dependence on foreign grain was a weakness that Greece could not afford without seapower.

The Greeks chose to concentrate on a few items for export that were suited to the soil and the conditions of the population. Much of the population was centered
in the large cities so it was very simple to set up factories to employ some of the workers that were idle in the cities. Olive trees were planted and under the guidance of Peisistratus and Pericles were made into an exceptional export product. The olive trees grew well in the barren countryside of Greece and were partly responsible for the expansion of the Greek economy. The Peloponnesian war dealt a death blow to the Greek economy by the devastation of the olive groves. It takes fourteen years for the trees to mature and forty before they are at their best. As can be easily seen this economic source could not be readily replaced.

Grape vines also did well in Greece, leading to the production of wine for export. The wine was generally mixed with water, usually at the discretion of the host since it was quite heavy and sweet. The Greeks used a preparation of pine tar to seal the jars that held the wine. When the Persians invaded Greece, they thought the wine had been poisoned since it had a turpentine taste to it. The Greeks had simply become used to the flavor and did not mind it. A wine with this flavor can still be found in Greece.

The hills of Greece were suited for the raising of sheep for the wool. Sheep were not used for meat except on special occasions since their wool was so important. The raw wool was exported with some of the prepared wool
This fabric was extensively used for clothing by the Greeks so it had a large home market as well as an export market.

Other products were exported to foreign countries including: pottery; metal ware, such as vases, statues, jewelry, shields; marble; and works of art. Athens became an international trading center where luxuries and rare items could be readily purchased. "'The magnitude of our city,' says Thucydides, 'draws the produce of the world into our harbor, so that to the Athenians the fruits of other countries are as familiar a luxury as those of his own'. (16: 275)

The last half of the fifth century and the fourth century saw a drastic decline in the seapower and exports of the Greek mainland. The growth of the other countries into exporters and trade centers tended to eliminate the need for Greek exports and thus an unfavorable balance of trade was created. Even the Greek colonies were also becoming self-sufficient thus ending this area as an outlet for mainland products. This era saw the end of the economic power of Greece.

The Greeks did much for the expansion of the technology as well as the factory system. The Greeks were familiar with glass window panes although they were reserved for the wealthy citizens. The engineers of the time had worked out a means of central heating for
the homes using heated pipes in the walls. Even a form of shorthand was practiced so that speeches made in the assembly could be recorded.

Specialization in the manufacture of products had forced the creation of a factory system in Greece. Workshops were set up in Athens which specialized in different products such as shoes, armor, baked goods, or fabric. Labor was divided as in modern factories with one man doing the same task all the time. However, machines were very slow in replacing men since slaves could be purchased to do the work more cheaply than the machines. Although weaving was also transferred to the factories, this does not mean that the weaving was taken completely out of the home. The basic quantities of fabric were still woven at home. The mills produced the excess fabric for the wealthy and for export. It must be remembered that slaves did the work in the factory. There was no actual improvement of the loom as described earlier.

Athens had a middle class composed of the merchants and businessmen. When Athens became a strongly commercial center, the wealth started passing to the middle class. The aristocrats had the property, but not the money, and so were willing to accept the nouveau riche as sons-in-law or daughters-in-law.

The fashions of the wealthy and the middle class were basically the same with the wealthy naturally
having more elaborate finishing details. However, the poor could not afford the fabric to copy these styles nor was the technology of weaving sufficiently advanced to place copies within the reach of all. Subsequently, the wealthy did not need to change their fashions to remain distinct.

The political organization

The main political organization in Greece was the polis. This term has been used to describe an area surrounding an acropolis of a city. However, the polis was more than this to the Greeks. It was a way of life; to be a citizen was to be part of a polis. It was as much an enlarged family as a governmental unit since everyone knew everyone else. Aristotle remarked, "that any man who could live without a polis 'must be either a beast or a god.'" (17: 70) This illustrates how important the polis was to the Greeks.

A person could be a citizen of a polis only if he was the son of free citizen parents and was twenty-one years of age. If a citizen of Athens were to move to Thrace, he would have only the rights of a metic or resident alien. He could not become a citizen of the second town unless special dispensations were made or if he had done something very worthwhile for the city. Needless to say, these regulations discouraged people
from moving.

The political organizations of the Greek city-states varied widely. However, because the thesis is concerned with the fashions of Athens, that city-state's government will be discussed.

The citizens had *isonomia* and *isegoria* or equal rights at law and in assembly. Each citizen had a share in the government since he was a part of the assembly. Also, each citizen was expected to take his turn as magistrate or judge. These officials as well as jury-men were drawn by lot on the day that they were to serve. It was hoped that this process would cut down the amount of bribery that had been carried on in Athens previously. For civil cases, the jury was usually composed of five hundred citizens. For more important cases such as Socrates' trial, the jury could consist of as many as three thousand citizens. Murder cases were left to the Areopagus which had been shorn of most of its power.

The archon was the head of state in Athens. He was elected by drawing lots. The archon had to undergo a rigid character examination before he was allowed to assume the head office. He had to prove that his parents were free born Athenian citizens, that there was nothing in his background to hide and that he was legally married. The archon could be challenged by any
citizen so it made a prospective archon very circumspect in his behavior or frightened away men with any scandal in their lives. The full assembly had to give the archon a vote of confidence nine times a year. If he made it through the year, he became a part of the Areopagus. However, the archon was held responsible for his decisions and could be fined or even put to death for bad decisions or misconduct.

The citizens of Athens numbered 43,000 out of a population of 315,000 during the age of Pericles. All women and children, the 115,000 slaves, and the 28,000metics were denied most privileges of citizenship. All the support for the government, though, also fell to the citizen. He supported the armies and paid the taxes to support the financial burdens of the state. In view of this circumstance, perhaps the privileges were not unearned.

The citizens of Pericles' day had to own property to be eligible for the assembly. The peasant usually owned his own land, but since he could not hire someone to work the land while he attended the assembly, few peasants could be active in politics. Also, the wealthier men on estates some distance from Athens could not attend the four monthly meetings of the assembly. The wealthier leisured group of citizens in the city composed the main body of the government and
made the decisions of state.

The polis had been called the city-state which means that each city (including the surrounding countryside) acted as an independent state having its own foreign policies. Partially due to the geography of the country, the Greeks could not develop a unified system of government. Their natural love for freedom also was a hindrance to the uniting of the cities. Each city-state jealously guarded its liberties from infringement by other city-states. Athens managed to unite the country to some extent through the Delian League. However, Athens began to use force to keep the cities under her control and thus caused many of the allied cities to revolt.

This lack of unity worked against Greece during most of her history. When the warring was between rival city-states, the odds were not bad for either side. But when a large country such as Persia, Macedonia or Rome took on the city-states, the odds were definitely against the latter. It is to Greece's credit that these individual cities managed to continue to exist and to remain independent for so long. If they could have united, the Greeks may have remained free from Rome and gone on to even a greater place in history.

This essentially constituted the Athenian democracy which was the narrowest and fullest in history;
the narrowest in that it was restricted to a small group, the citizens, the fullest since each citizen had a part in the government and administration. Of course, there were all sorts of evils that came with the democracy since it was essentially an experiment in government. Simonides said, "the city...is the teacher of the man." (16: 267) This was no laissez-faire state since the city financed the drama, built the Parthenon and made itself responsible for the welfare of its people. It gave them the opportunity "not only to live, but to live well." (16: 267)

The women of Greece were denied the rights of citizens, even those rights at law given to metics despite the fact that her "citizenship" was important to prospective politicians as far as marriage was concerned. The status of women will be more fully developed in a later section.

The close relationship between the status of women and the expression of sex role through dress can be demonstrated in almost every period of fashion history. Clothes that restrict or hamper the movements of the female have always been prevalent in cultures or periods in which the woman's position is inferior, and her sphere of activities confined largely to the home. (29: 134)

**Kinship**

The Greek family was founded upon the religion with the rights and duties of the family resting in that religion. "Every Athenian citizen is expected to
have children, and all the forces or religion, property, and the state unite to discountenance childlessness." (16: 287) "The letter of the law forbids him (citizen) to remain single, but the law is not always enforced in Periclean days;..." (16: 304)

The first born son assumed all the obligations from the father at the latter's death. The son carried on the honoring of the ancestors to six generations removed, became the priest for the family and as such tended the sacred fire, and assumed the guardianship of the mother and unmarried sisters.

If there were more than one son in the family, the land was divided between them with the largest share plus the ancestral home going to the eldest son. Many families tried to prevent having too many sons by family limitation. "At the same time law and public opinion accept infanticide as a legitimate safeguard against excess population and a pauperizing fragmentation of the land;..." (16: 287)

Descent was recorded through the father's side. A woman's sister's son was not considered to be related to her. The kinship was determined by religion rather than by birth. The blood relatives on the father's side had the duty to avenge any injuries done to the family.
The right of inheritance always passed to the legitimate son. The daughters had no share in the inheritance beyond a dowry. The woman recounced her father's home and religion when she married so she no longer had the right to worship the family god or to inherit from the father. She had no hearth of her own, only her father's or husband's. If her husband died, she became a ward of her son.

The Laws of Manu says, "Woman, during her infancy, depends upon her father; during her youth, upon her husband; when her husband is dead, upon her sons; if she has no son, on the nearest relative of her husband; for a woman ought never to govern herself according to her own will." (11: 87)

In Periclean Greece, a man with no children of sons had several alternatives open to him. 1) He could divorce his wife after eight years if she had no children. 2) He could have a relative impregnate his wife (a practice carried on quite frequently in Sparta). 3) He could give his daughter in marriage with the understanding that her first son would be his heir rather than the natural father's. A man could inherit from only one family; therefore, he could not inherit from both his grandfather and father. 4) He could adopt a son who would be considered his natural son with all the rights and duties of a son. 5) He could let the estate pass to his nearest male relative. Whatever happened, the family was not supposed to die out since this condemned all the ancestors to Hades without the
solace of the offerings.

Wills were not permitted since the land did not belong to the father, but rather to the family for generations to come. It was not up to the father to dispose of the land since in effect, he had been only a caretaker for the next generation. The land could not be sold except under heavy fine from the government. This fine was an attempt to halt the sale, but the government could not confiscate the land for debts either.

The Greek, then, marries not for love, nor because he enjoys matrimony..., but to continue himself and the state through a wife suitably dowered, and children who will ward off the evil fate of an untended soul. (16: 303)

It (the family) remains to the end the strongest institution in Greek civilization... (16: 307)

The kinship system kept women subordinate to men. They were relegated to a minor role as far as privileges and rights were concerned. This in turn had its effect on clothing as will be discussed in the section on role of dress.

Religion

The main type of religion practiced by the Greeks was ancestor worship. Each family had the tombs of their ancestors on the family property. The male head of the house was the priest for the family and
performed the ritual prayers and rites to the ancestors.

Each family also had their own gods who had a shrine built in their honor. Since the shrine was a permanent fixture, it was very seldom moved to another place. The only time the family left the ancestral lands was in the face of invasion or if the land could not support the family. Since the land belonged to the ancestors, the father could not sell the land.

The women had no part in the religion, either as a priestess or as one of the honored ancestors. (The only priestesses were at the famous shrines such as Delphi.) The women took their husbands' religions for their own, renouncing their fathers' religions at their marriage ceremony. At their death, they were counted only as part of their husbands.

The Greek religion often becomes confused with the Olympian gods as portrayed by Homer's stories. The Greeks did honor the Olympian gods, but their religion went far beyond the naive view of the gods as illustrated by Homer.

The Greeks had progressed beyond the savage, sacrificial worship practiced by their neighbors. The sacrifices referred to in Greek religious ceremonies were usually animals such as pigs or lambs. The sacrifices did not include humans. The other offerings to the gods and ancestors were cakes and wine. Homer
does talk of slaves being killed to accompany the departed soul and serve their masters. There is a difference between these killings and sacrifices to the gods.

The philosophers and poets helped to shape the Greek religion and to remove it from the realm of magic. The poet Aeschylus used these words to suggest that the power of God was beyond categorical statement.

God--the pathways of his purpose
Are hard to find.
And yet it shines out through the gloom,
In the dark chance of human life.
Effortless and calm
He works his perfect will. (24: 174)

There were religious festivals nearly all year round. Besides honoring the gods, the festivals served to break the monotony of the everyday life. This was a time when the people came out in their best clothes and a very jovial atmosphere prevailed.

As part of the Panathenaea (Olympic) games in Athens, the entire citizenry processed to the temple of Athena to present the sacred peploes, a gorgeously embroidered robe which was to be placed upon the image of the city's goddess.

The Dionysian festival was perhaps one of the most gay and joyous. Dionysus was a fertility and wine god. The rites were held in the spring to insure the growth and abundance of the crops. The chorus of young maidens for this festival were said to have worn
scarlet gowns and gorgeous robes. The priests wore either purple or purple edged gowns. The festival also served as a safety valve since sexual freedom was winked at that day. No one was held unfaithful for any "wandering" that day. However, women could not let this happen on any other day of the year without serious consequences.

The Greek religion was a strong influence in the Greek life.

We can say that he (Fustel de Coulanges) has produced evidence that in ancient Greece and Rome the religion on the one side and the many important institutions on the other are closely united as interdependent parts of a coherent and unified system. The religion was an essential part of the constitution of the society. The form of the religion and the form of the social structure correspond one with the other. We cannot, as Fustel de Coulanges says, understand the social, juridical and political institutions of the ancient societies unless we take the religion into account. But it is equally true that we cannot understand the religion except by an examination of its relation to the institutions. (44: 163)

The art of Greece reflects the religion in statues and paintings depicting myths about the gods. Some of the best art have been sculptures of gods. The "Nike of Samothræce" more commonly known as the "Winged Victory" is a beautiful example. The "Mourning Athena" and the statue of Aphrodite known as the "Venus de Milo" are also illustrations of this point. The Parthenon was built as a house for the gods with many smaller shrines and temples also built in their honor.
Another ideal of religion was the perfection of the body. The statues depict the human form in all its grace and beauty. Even though the women were subjugated by the men, the artists used the female form frequently in their work. They were more interested in beauty than in the social role of women.

The relationship of religion to the family unit has been discussed. Religion also entered into the political structure. The priest Archon was the chief priest for the religion of the city-state. He lead the processions, made the offerings and recited the prayers. The religion was guarded by the government as vital to social and political order.

Philosophers and poets had much to do with the shaping of Greek religion. The ideas of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle as well as the poets contributed to this forming process. Socrates looked for the truth and reality. He did not try to put what he had learned into hard and fast statements. "to find the Father and Maker of all is hard,...and having found him it is impossible to utter him." (24: 175) Aristotle explained the search for truth as follows: "Excellence much labored for by the race of men." (24: 175)

It was the good fortune of Greece to have a religion human enough—in later days humane enough—to associate itself joyfully and creatively with art, poetry, music, and games, even, at last, with morality. (16: 200)
It was not the simple, naive ritual that might be assumed from the very human gods of Homer; but rather the Greek religion went on to search for the truth and beauty and reality of the world. A fitting religion for the advanced civilization of the Greeks.

**Sumptuary laws**

The fifth and fourth centuries saw a rise in the leisure class and also a rise in the cost of living. Clothing was becoming more sumptuous and costly. Women had their gowns adorned with gold and silver threads and used jewel encrusted pins at the shoulders and for decoration. When a lady went visiting it became a major operation to transport her luggage.

Solon, the great law maker of the sixth century, had felt it necessary to pass laws limiting the number of garments a lady might have. There is some contradiction here as to whether he meant to limit the woman's whole wardrobe or only her travelling one. Reference is made to both types of restriction in the literature. In either case, the law referred to the quantity of garments not to the styles.

The laws on clothing were difficult to enforce since it was difficult to find someone to bring charges against the women. What type of punishment could be imposed for this offense? After all, the men enjoyed seeing the women dressed in nice clothing so why should
the women want to change?

Needless to say, this law had little effect in limiting the wardrobe of women. It may have made women a bit more cautious in showing off the size of their wardrobes. However, women were just as vain about their looks in fifth century Greece as they are today.

The role of women in the Greek society

In Periclean Greece the role of women was one of subjugation to her husband or to her male relative if she were unmarried. Women were treated as property of men and as such they had to be protected against any possible thieves or trespassing males.

Doubtless the male knows too well the license allowed to his sex in Athens to risk his wife or daughter at large; he chooses to be free at the cost of her seclusion. (16: 306)

The seclusion was probably necessary so that the husband could go out to meet with his friends without fear that misfortune would come to his wife or daughters. Women spent most of their lives secluded in special quarters of the homes which protected them from the outside world. The wife deferred to her husband everywhere except in the women's quarters which was her domain. Within these quarters, she directed the duties of the slaves, supervised the properties of the home and welcomed her husband at the end of the day.
The idea of seclusion was brought to Greece by the Ionians from Asia Minor as a modified version of the oriental harem. The Achaeans had not placed as stringent restrictions on their women. The poems of Homer and the legends of the gods give many instances of the relatively freer position of women in Achaean Greece. Helen had been left by Menelaus to entertain the Trojan visitors when Paris first saw her and fell in love with her. Jason was indebted to Medea for her help in his rescue from her father, but later she became the cause for his loss of the throne of Ioleus. Most of the cities of Greece adopted goddesses as the patrons of the city such as Athena at Athens. The goddesses do not appear to have been subordinate to any male gods with the possible exception of Zeus. Women provided the reasons for the trials of heroes; but they also taught men courtesy, idealism and softer ways.

The custom of marriage prices changed from the Achaean to the Ionian period. Originally, the prospective husband presented the bride's father with a good bride price which usually consisted of livestock and other materials; in Dorian Greece, the husband's bride price was generally balanced by the dowry provided by the bride's father. The Ionians eliminated the bride price leaving the dowry of the bride by
which the woman "bought" her husband. The term "bought" is used since men often shopped around to find the best dowry. The dowry usually became the property of the husband, remaining with him even when the woman was divorced by her husband. This was changed in the third century B.C. when the dowry became the property of the woman and returned to her if she were divorced. Since the loss of the dowry was usually a sizable blow to the husband's finances, this may have discouraged some divorces.

The citizens of Athens had to look for more than just a dowry in the selection of a wife since only citizens could marry citizens. The population of Athens had been expanding too rapidly due to the free marriage between citizens and foreigners. Pericles passed legislation to reduce this trend which stated that only marriages between citizens were recognized as legal and that only children born of such a union would be considered the legal offspring of the father with the subsequent rights to citizenship and inheritance. Pericles, himself, suffered by this legislation when he fell in love with Aspasia, a woman of foreign birth.

Demosthenes summed up the position of wives in Greece in the following statement. "We have courtesans for the sake of pleasure, concubines for the daily
health of our bodies, and wives to bear us lawful offspring and be the faithful guardians of our homes." (16: 304) Concubines could be brought into the homes, usually to the disgrace of the wives. Living with the concubine, however, could cause a scandal that would damage a man's political ambitions. After the Sicilian expedition of 415 B.C. which reduced the number of eligible male citizens for husbands, men were allowed to take two wives. However, only the children of the first wife were considered the legal children of the husband. Often the second wife became almost a concubine when her youth and sparkle began to wane.

Marriage in Greece, as in present time, did not always go smoothly. The husband was often blatantly unfaithful to his wife as has been illustrated above with no possible recourse for his wife. Unfortunately, the laws of Greece had been designed by males for the benefit of males, carrying out the idea expressed by Samuel Johnson several centuries later: "nature has given woman so much power that the law cannot afford to give her more." (16: 307) An unfaithful wife could be killed by her husband and her paramour sued for damages. A man could divorce his wife for giving him no children, even if he should be the one at fault. It was not until the third century that women were allowed the right of divorcing their
husbands due to excessive cruelty on the husbands' part. Even in these cases, the children stayed with the father owing no loyalty to their mother. Divorce left a mark of disgrace on the woman regardless of the reason for the divorce much as it did in the United States up to the present century. One has to consider what is socially allowable in any society rather than what is in fact legally possible. Divorce may have been a legal fact, but that did not make it socially acceptable for women in Greece.

In most cultures, a woman's position in society is closely correlated with the importance of her economic function. Women provided the goods for the home, did the baking, cooking, spinning, and weaving. Occasionally there would be an excess of goods which could be sold. However, since the wealthy women did not have to do all of these tasks because of servants, the excess products were not significant. The men of the upper class were not dependent on their wives to help in the family economy. There were servants to do all the work of the household and whatever else the master wanted.

Women generally did not have an opportunity to become economically independent of men since as soon as men found a profit could be made from pottery or spinning or weaving they took over the majority of
the business. In this way men could keep women subjugated since even their arts, their only means of profit, could be controlled by men.

Women received no formal education. They did learn the domestic arts; i.e., spinning, weaving, cooking, and the duties of the wife. They were taught enough reading, writing and arithmetic to manage the household. Women did not attend any type of school outside the home as the men did, but occasionally there were women who broke away from the seclusion of the home to attend schools such as the one operated by Sappho. Here, young girls were trained to become hetairai—companions. Unfortunately, the hetairai often became prostitutes and only women with no reputation to lose would attend such schools. The learned women were usually of foreign birth or freed slaves. Due to their positions as the chosen companions of men, the hetairai were able to wield most of the power that the Greek women had. Virtually all women who held positions of influence were hetairai.

One of the reasons for the subjugation of women has been the long held belief that women were inherently bad or evil. The Greek myth of Pandora gives an excellent example of the male projection of evil on women. H.R. Hays, in The Dangerous Sex, theorizes that men consider women dangerous because of their sexua-
lity. The Greeks were living in an age when a philosophical approach was arising, men no longer admitted they were afraid of women on superstitious grounds. Empusa, a Greek version of Lilith who visited men in the night to drain them of their potency, was no longer openly feared, but secretly men held a deep dread of her. The fear of women was hidden by keeping women always dependent on men so that women would not be able to do any harm. The harm that was feared was the draining or denial of the male power. Aristotle even gave the man the dominant role in childbearing relegating the wife to the position of only an incubator for the fetus. In Aristotle's explanation, the wife contributed nothing to the initial conception of the child. Perhaps by excluding women, the Greek men were trying to exclude the evil (or was it the sexual threat?) which Pandora had released.

Role of dress

The climate of Greece was very mild and temperate. There was snow on the mountains in the winter, but it seldom came down to the plains where the cities were located. The summers were also mild, never getting extremely hot. Under these circumstances, the clothing did not have to protect the wearer from extreme changes in the weather. The loosely draped clothing was ideal since it allowed air to circulate around the body and
yet could provide warmth when it was needed.

Clothing was worn when in public at assemblies, shopping (men did this task), or at festivals. The competitors in athletic events generally had no clothing on since the clothing would have hampered their movements. Warriors usually went into battles with only their shields and what other armor (breastplates, greaves, armshields) they had. The nakedness at these activities was considered normal and no one felt it was obscene. The human body was regarded as a beautiful creation that should be perfected in order to reach excellence (a religious conception).

The nakedness of women, however, was out of place in Athens. Here, a woman had to deport herself with all due modesty. Her counterpart in Sparta knew more freedom since the maidens were encouraged to take part in athletic events. (Figure 14, p. 75) The clothing for them was short, hitting midway on the thighs and caught on only one shoulder. This was not considered out of place since the Spartan ideal was a well developed body which would give the state strong children.

Clothing served as a status symbol to some degree since only the wealthy could afford to have the elaborate embroidered edges or the gold threads on their garments. They could also have colors which were not available to the poor due to the cost of the dyes.
Figure 14.

(28: Plate 114)

A comparison of the different styles in Greece.
The fineness of the fabric also made a distinction since the wealthy could afford sheer linens, silks and cottons. The coarse linen and woollen fabrics were generally worn by the peasants and slaves.

The clothing for women in Athens served as a sign of modesty in that it protected the women from the eyes of men other than their husbands. This modesty was encouraged by men since their wives became their property and they wished to protect their property. The men did not wish others to see what was theirs alone.

Clothing provided another very necessary role for women, a psychological escape from the seclusion of the home. They used clothing, adornments, and cosmetics to keep their husbands interested and also to relieve the boredom of their confined lives.

Besides using decoration on their garments, the women combined the Doric and Ionic chiton to obtain a variety of style. The Ionic or undergarment was generally of a sheer, fine material. The Doric overgarment was heavier in weight to form an interesting contrast. Occasionally the undergarment was pleated by a means of tying the fabric in place for several hours. This gave a springy, crinkly effect to the sheer fabric.

The women used earrings, broaches, bracelets,
girdles, necklaces, and hair ornaments to enhance their beauty. The earrings were of great intricacy, made of gold and precious stones. (Figure 15, p. 79)

In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., women had gone back to using the fibulae to attach the Doric chiton at the corners. These, too, were encrusted with gems. The hair was often entwined with gold threads and festooned with flowers at festivals.

The Greek women had quite a large selection of cosmetics from which to choose. Sticks of minium or akanat root were used to redden the cheeks and lips. Lampblack was used to pencil in the eyebrows. The eyelids were darkened with powdered antimony with eyelashes also being darkened. All sorts of creams were used to remove the wrinkles and freckles from the complexion. Apparently the Greek women were also concerned about perspiration since oil of mastic was used to prevent it. To obtain a whiter complexion, powdered lead was applied to their naturally dark faces. Few women were natural blondes so many dyed their hair blond.

Women became the object of comedy as the following passage indicates: "If you go out in summer, two streaks of black run from your eyes; perspiration makes a red furrow from your cheeks to your neck; and when your hair touches your face it is blanched by the
Figure 15.

(23: 264)

Earring originally intended for a goddess.

Shows intricate metal work.

(enlarged)
white lead." (15: 292) Women did not change since the makeup was what men liked.

Clothing also served the function of indicating the profession of the wearer. Laborers generally wore short chitons that would not interfere with their movements. The slaves also wore shorter garments. The hetairai wore flowered robes as the law required to indicate their profession. The Greeks did not maintain a standing army so there was no need for military distinctions.

The intricate draping of the himation has already been mentioned. The draping actually served another function besides adding beauty. The social refinement of the person could also be communicated to the observers. The himation should leave the left arm free and cover the right arm completely so that the wearer could not use the right arm. He would necessarily need a servant to do everything for him and thus indicated his wealth. Other styles of draping could indicate whether a person were pretentious or a bore depending on their skill.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The clothing styles of Greece have been explored through a variety of areas to see what influences may have affected them. The areas are listed below with the conclusions and possible explanation as to which may have affected clothing.

I. Economics

The division between the rich and the poor in ancient Greece was very wide. The poor had no chance to copy the styles of the wealthy for lack of fabric and the means to purchase fabric. The wealthy, therefore, had no need to change their fashions to remain distinct.

The technology of the time did not permit the mass production of fabric as we have today. Fabric companies can produce in ever increasing quantities so there has to be an outlet for the fabric. The fashion designers are continually changing the styles which in turn creates a demand for more fabric. Therefore, the styles create the market needed. The lack of fabric surpluses and the stability of the clothing styles in Greece negated the need for new fabric mar-
kets.

When the foreign markets began to disappear, even the wealthy were having a difficult time in getting along. The prices on food and other goods rose and diverted the attention away from thoughts of styles.

II. Political Institutions

The fifth through the first century saw Greece engaged in wars for most of the time. There is an historical theory that changes come more rapidly during periods of unrest. If this held true for fashions, then the Greeks should have undergone many changes. However, the Greek dress did not have any major changes during this time. They were more concerned with the wars and keeping their independence than in changing their styles.

The class structure of Greece remained stable through all the turmoil so that people could not move vertically in the structure without much difficulty. This stability tended to retard the fashion changes.

III. Religion

The Greeks practiced ancestor worship and also believed in numerous gods. Each family had its own god plus the city gods. The family had to be carried on by the first son so that the ancestors would be
honored. The family was established by the religion and maintained by it.

Religion entered into all phases of the culture including politics and art. The government supported religion as necessary for the social and political order.

The Greek religion does not seem to have set any restrictions on the clothing. The only restrictions were on the ceremonial garments for the priests. Women could not become priestesses in the religion as a rule, nor were they allowed to recite the prayers to the gods. Since they did not figure in the religion, there were no clothing restrictions indicated for the women.

IV. Law

The one law passed by Solon made a limitation on the woman's wardrobe of three suits or set of garments. This law was hard to enforce and consequently had little effect on the Greek women. The law, then, had little effect on the development of fashion. This statement negates the last part of hypothesis two which made the assertion that the laws did influence fashion.

V. Role of Women

The seclusion of the women had much to do with
the stability of the fashions. When women are allowed more education and independence they tend to simplify their clothing and eliminate the restraint upon the free movement of their bodies. The Greek women wore cumbersome garments which hampered their movements. When the Doric chiton was added on top of the Ionic, the combination proved even more confining in spite of the fact that more variety was obtained in the style.

Women could get along well if they stayed in their appointed place and performed those tasks that were expected of them. The women used clothing as a means to establish and strengthen their position in the society. They became the show pieces for their husbands and as such always had to look well.

Women were not given an education beyond that necessary to run the household. The women still feared the unknown and so were not eager for fashion change. Education also helps to free individuals from the inhibitions that customs produce. This was missing in Greece.

VI. Role of dress

Clothing served as a showcase for the wealthy citizens. The homes were very plain in structure and furnishing. The wealth was displayed in the jewels and ornaments worn on the clothing. The elaborate
embroidery and the use of precious metal threads also exhibited the wealth of the people.

Good taste in clothing was achieved by subtle differences rather than by major style changes. The draping of the himation required time and skill and so the more intricate draping was confined to the leisure class which had the time to develop the skill.

The class structure of Greece remained stable through the period. People in the lower classes could not move up in the system to a higher class. Clothing, which serves to establish class distinction in the present day, was not needed for this purpose in Greece.

The Greek ideal of a well developed body placed a high value on strength and straightness. Babies were tightly bound so that they would grow straight. The clothing placed on the body as an adult was to enhance the body rather than make it conform to an artificial conception of beauty. The graceful drapes and folds of the chiton did not bind the body tightly, but the bulk of the garments did hamper the free movement of the wearer.

The various sections can be summed up by showing that the forces which tend to accelerate fashion change were missing in Greece. The following statements are an expression of the theories of fashion change indi-
cated in the introduction as they applied to Greece.

1. Greece had a closed class system which did not allow people to move vertically, thus limiting the number of people capable of being considered fashionable.

2. The wealth of Greece was concentrated among a few families. Consequently, the general public did not have a great amount of purchasing power. Without consumption, the fashions do not change.

3. The wealthy Greeks did have leisure time; however, the women did not use it to pursue active sports or social activities as modern women do. Greek women stayed at home.

4. There was a minimum of education for the women which tends to inhibit fashion change.

5. The social system remained the same during this period.

6. The women were dominated by the men so that fashions tended to emphasize the women's subordinate role.

7. The Greek technology was not well developed since the scientists felt the practical application of their theories beneath them.

Relating to present

The same method of analyzing the cultural institu-
tions can be used today to explain the fashion changes. All the aspects stated in the theories of fashion changes are present today in the American society. The Americans are going through a period of rapid social, cultural, moral, and political changes all of which contribute to fashion changes.

The American trend of rapid fashion changes provides a sharp contrast to the Greek stability in fashion. Many of the same aspects of society are present today that were evident in Greece, such as leisure time, political unrest, and contact with foreign countries to name a few. However, new aspects have been added such as advanced communications, distribution of the wealth, technology, open class system, and education. The latter aspects combined with the first go into the widespread awareness of fashion and of the rewards achieved through fashion.

The designers for the spring collection of 1969 are incorporating the styles of the Classical Greek period. The graceful folds and draping are being combined into lovely, feminine clothes for the modern woman. The use of the design endorses the concept of the eternal beauty of the style. The Greeks had achieved an ultimate in simplicity and beauty of design. Perhaps they were wise to keep their basic style for so long.
Recommendations for further study

This thesis covered a span of four hundred and fifty years of history. If the number of years could be limited to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the study could become more concentrated since there would be only two hundred years to consider.

It would be interesting to compare the development of the different styles in Greece starting with the Cretan civilization and working up to the classical period. This research could be approached in another manner so that all the aspects of the culture would not need to be studied. The study would be restricted to one aspect of style such as the silhouette (fitted versus draped) of the garment.

One influence such as the wars or political unrest could be investigated throughout the Greek history to determine its role in fashion change. The author believes there is a direct relationship between the political unrest and the fashion changes in Greece.

Greek fashions are having an influence in the fashion designs this spring. It would be interesting to try to correlate this period with other periods of history when the Greek fashions have been popular. What influences would encourage people to adopt the style? Are there similarities between these periods and the classical period?
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