

DE GRUYTER

Jan Radicke

ROMAN WOMEN'S DRESS

LITERARY SOURCES, TERMINOLOGY,
AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

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and Historical Development

With an Archaeological Contribution by Joachim Raeder

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To my daughters Alma and Julia

Preface

The study of Roman dress is about five hundred years old now. It started with much flourish and enthusiasm in the 16th century, and interest in the subject has changed over the centuries, as have points of view. The interest our society has in traditional Classical studies is decreasing. In terms of the *longue durée*, European humanism as a model for intellectual life comes to an end in the Computer Age. In Germany, ‘traditional’ culture and elite intellectual pastimes are dissolving and quickly losing ground. Knowledge of ancient European languages is in retreat, and this could well be the last book on dress and dress terms that is written in a philological manner. In a mixed global culture of international mass media, the internet, and consumerism, the traditional culture I was brought up in only leaves symbolical traces. In this nostalgic feeling of loss and of reshaping, I felt very close to the people I wrote about. In the first century BCE, the Romans seem to have experienced something similar, though on a smaller scale. As to dress, traditional Roman dress culture metamorphosed into a new cosmopolitan style that combined all sorts of regional elements. Augustus tried to preserve some of the traditional Roman garments like the *toga* and the *stola*, but his cultural policies just blocked the trend for a century. Then his cultural measures were gone for good and remained but a memory from a distant Roman past. It was maybe for these personal reasons that the narrative of transformation and cultural flux readers will find in this book attracted me most.

I am still surprised at me having written a book about a cultural topic I had never dreamt of writing about, and besides this, one that ignores the traditional borders limiting the diverse branches of Classical scholarship in Germany. In looking back, it now appears to me as a mixture of my scholarly upbringing and my personal hobby-horsical interests in modern cultural history. The result will perhaps be appreciated in its entirety by only few readers. And yet, it seemed for me the only way to tackle the complexities of a seemingly trivial, though in fact very difficult subject.

When I started busying myself with Roman dress about ten years ago, I was led on by curiosity and ventured into what was a *terra incognita* to me. I did not know more about Roman dress than a Classicist raised on the cultural stereotypes from his books would: The Roman men wore the tunic and the *toga*. And the Roman women? I was not so sure as to this and therefore wanted to find it out. When my first reading proved unsatisfactory, I got more and more involved, and a scholarly pastime turned into a serious enterprise. Initially, I had planned to write about all Roman dress, but my plans proved overly ambitious, and so I focused on women’s clothing, which I thought was more interesting. My short trip became a long journey.

What I saw on it was not all to the best. Archaeological studies had advanced much thanks to the natural sciences, but linguistic studies were lagging far behind. They were still, to be honest, at the level they had reached in the 19th century. There were many modern archaeological case studies, but no modern general history of Roman

dress these could relate to. The important centre ground looked strangely undefined and blurred. What was the reason? Could a modern scientific cultural history of Roman dress still be written? And if so, how could it be done? Was dress history a serious scholarly topic at all? And where to begin?

For a start, I had decided to turn to the century of ripe optimism that laid the basis for modern historical dress studies: the age of Historicism in the 19th century. However, my analysis of the works on dress accomplished in that period ended in partial iconoclasm. Most scholars were outstanding intellectuals in their times without whom our understanding of texts would not be what it is today. They all ploughed larger fields than we can do today, but, in consequence, ameliorated them in haste and, sometimes, without suitable tools. No wonder then that not all weeds had been rooted out. As Horace says: *neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris*. There were serious shortcomings. Many mistaken hypotheses had to be refuted and many new ones had to be put forward. I applied methods I had been taught in my academic career, acquiring some new skills along the way. As to theory, I did not find much help in existing works on ancient dress either, and I had to lean on philosophical works instead. In addition, I browsed some general histories of dress and fashion for inspiration and encouragement. I read many books on modern cultural history, and though many of them were not very 'scientific' as to method, most of them were at least entertaining.

The large books of my predecessors show sufficiently that mine is not the only appropriate approach to the topic. During my work, I also felt like I was communicating with them. Why did *they* study Roman dress, and how did *they* feel while doing it? I found that my enthusiasm for the subject was similar to theirs, but that my voice sounded more technical and more metallic than theirs. It was also more fractured. Their books radiate with the confidence that the rediscovery of Antiquity would be a boon for future life. Mine is written in a pensive mood, looking back, and with a feeling of farewell. Different times produce different persons and books, and my book simply is a reflection of this. Moreover, my own perspective on Roman dress has changed much over the last ten years. This too left its traces. The various discourses to which I connected over the years are inscribed in the various parts of this book. The philological, historical, and the archaeological are most visible and stand at its centre, but there is also a more philosophical one that lies behind them and is as dear to me.

The entire book would not have been written in this form without the help of others. The first to mention is my friend and archaeological colleague Joachim Raeder. He raised my interest in ancient dress and supported me the whole time by patiently answering all my questions concerning the archaeological evidence. He drew my attention to things I had overlooked and reined in my fantasy when it went astray. The identification and the precise description of many garments would not have been possible without him. Talking with him often relieved me when despair about the never ending story seemed near. The depictions of the archaeological evidence and his archaeological contribution at the end are the visible signs of the imprint he made on this book. I thank him for ten years of friendship and learned discussion.

I was also fortunate to have help from some other friends and colleagues. They checked my bolder hypotheses (and improved on them) and encouraged me to put them forward. Konrad Heldmann and Markus Stein read through the entire manuscript. Thomas Riesenweber commented on the thorny philological parts (A, C, D). Bruno Bleckmann and Steffi Grundmann read the historical part (B). In addition, the late Rudolf Kassel commented on chapters A 1 and A 7, Marcus Deufert on chapters A 4 and A 5, Armin Eich on chapter B 4, Berit Hildebrandt on B 9, Alessio Mancini on D 5, and Tilo Klaiber on the epilogue. Hilmar Klinkott discussed many general methodological questions with me and helped me test new ideas. Hans Rupprecht Goette generously contributed photographs. I thank all these scholars very much for their help.

Writing on a complex subject matter and for different groups of readers was a difficult task. As readers will find, I tried to combine the qualities of a monograph and a dictionary. Those interested in the broad outlines, may turn to the various introductions; those interested in particulars, like a specific text, a dress term, or an item of dress, may consult the individual chapters. I also tried to write in a language that also non-specialists might understand without difficulty. The book needed three drafts to achieve its final form, two in German and one in English. Since English is not my mother tongue, help was needed and found in the person of Frederik Kleiner. Revising the book together with him in English was a pleasure. He mended my linguistic blunders, cut back scholarly lingo, and inspired me with a sense of humor that my Teutonic scholarly *persona* is not too much inclined to. Karsten Wolff patiently supported me in computer matters and in mastering the intricacies of LaTeX. My research assistants Kristin Wodka, Leandros Manos, and Fabian Lange helped with the manuscript and the indexes. My home university, the Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel, provided free library access and a warm office and German taxpayers kept me in bread and butter. The book is put on open access so that they can see what is done in the ivory tower.

Last but not least, my thanks go to my family. My wife Petra bore all my scholarly and other personal whims with patience and also helped with the final layout. My daughters Alma and Julia taught me that life is about living—a most precious lesson to a Classical scholar. I dedicate this book to them in gratitude.

Kiel, July 2022

Jan Radicke

Abbreviations

CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CLE	F. Buecheler (ed.), <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , Leipzig 1895–1897.
DNP	Der Neue Pauly
Georges	K. E. Georges, <i>Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch</i> , Leipzig ⁸ 1913.
GRD	L. Cleland, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn Jones (eds.), <i>Greek and Roman Dress from A–Z</i> , London 2007.
HAW	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols., Berlin 1892–1916.
K.-A.	R. Kassel/C. Austin (eds.), <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , 1983–2001.
KS	R. Kühner/C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> , Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre, 2 vols., Hannover ² 1914.
LHS	M. Leumann, <i>Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre</i> , Munich 1977 (= M. Leumann/B. Hofmann/A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i> , vol. I).
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zurich/Munich 1981–1999.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell/R. Scott/H. Stuart Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . With a revised supplement, Oxford 1996.
OLD	P. G. W. Glare, <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1982.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Latini Romani</i> , Berlin ² 1933–2015.
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
Syll.	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , Leipzig ³ 1915–1924.
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles 2004–2014.
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
Walde/Hofmann	A. Walde/J. B. Hofmann, <i>Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , Heidelberg ³ 1938.

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General Introduction

Dress is a most complex subject matter despite seeming trivial at first. The following remarks concerning aims, content, and applied methods try to reduce complexities and should be read in conjunction with the introductions to the individual parts (A–D). A more theoretical statement can be found in the epilogue. Talking about Roman dress culture seems easy and is often done by scholars in an off-handed manner. Things get difficult when it comes to precise terminology and to writing a sourced-based and methodical cultural history.

1 Scope

“No man ever steps in the same river twice.”¹ Heraclitus’ riddling remark about identity also applies to Roman (dress) culture. Fortunately, the puzzling contradiction depends on words and not on objects. If we define the term ‘Roman dress culture’ in the broadest sense, it includes all the garments which Roman people (if we also allow for a broad definition of the term ‘Roman’) wore from the beginnings of Rome until the year 476 CE, when the Western Roman Empire officially ended. If we divide the subject matter into different parts, such as when we talk of *the* Roman dress culture of a given period, linguistic identity dissolves, and we find a Roman dress culture I and a Roman dress culture II etc. that differ from each other. This allows us to search for *ur*-Roman costume as opposed to garments acquired through acculturation, most notably the garments added through Hellenization. In this book, the term ‘Roman dress culture’ is used in both the general sense of ‘worn by Romans at some point’ and the particular meaning of ‘worn during a specific period.’ The particular Roman dress culture that is the focus of this book concerns the garments worn by the Romans in the third century BCE, which were later considered traditional dress by the first century BCE. Beyond any labelling, ‘Roman’ dress was very likely a heterogenous mix of ethnic garments from the start. However, creating the sub-set ‘traditional Roman dress’ helps to elucidate the great changes Roman dress style underwent after the end of the Punic Wars.

The following study focuses on female Roman dress worn in the time from 200 BCE to 200 CE for which we have direct literary evidence. It also ventures some hypotheses on early Roman dress that all rest on linguistic inferences, specifically etymology. The year 200 BCE was chosen as a starting point for the following reason: As regards political history, Rome started to transform from a medium-sized regional power into *the* political capital of the Ancient Mediterranean world after the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE), a process culminating in the conquest of Egypt. The contact between Rome and other dress cultures led to an important evolution. Rome, the new rich capital of the oikumene, attracted all sorts of luxury products and luxury clothing (Greek, Oriental, Celtic) from its ever-growing empire, galvanized them, and created a

1 Heraclitus F 91 D.-K.

new cosmopolitan Mediterranean dress style. ‘Traditional’ Roman style disappeared under the foreign cultural influences, but ‘new’ Roman style became the standard against which any regional style has to be judged. We can discern such social and cultural developments more clearly in Rome than in any other part of the ancient world. We can even watch something like ‘fashion’ and see how it transformed into a new dress style. Rome is thus a unique example from antiquity for processes we find in modern times in cultural capitals like Paris, London, and New York.

Cultural evolution itself is, of course, a never-ending process. However, the year 200 CE was chosen as the endpoint for this book because the first major transformation of ‘traditional’ Roman to ‘cosmopolitan’ dress style came to an end at about that time. Afterwards, we can observe a second transformation towards Late Antique dress style. In the third century, Rome’s cultural lustre was declining. Various political reasons led to the transference of the imperial court first to Milan (and other centres) and then to Byzantium, which is the veritable successor of Rome as to culture and dress and which bequeaths its dress culture to the medieval courts. The third century, which is rather transitional, thus seemed a beginning or a new story rather than the end of an old one. In addition, literary evidence begins to fade out at the end of the second century CE, and the description of Late Antique dress culture is based on a completely different set of sources. For these reasons, the historical period from 200 BCE to 200 CE seemed to form a suitable self-contained narrative unity as regards dress history. In an Aristotelean sense, it is a *mia praxis* that we can describe.

2 Sources

The study relies on all existing Latin evidence on female dress in Republican and Imperial times until the end of the second century CE. I have assembled the corpus by reading the relevant authors extensively and by consulting modern dictionaries and indices. As to Republican times, the list of texts is complete. As to Imperial times, the book focuses on all important passages. It also includes some Greek sources, mainly to explain the meaning of Latin words borrowed from Greek, or, if there are only few Latin examples, to broaden the evidentiary base. This also applies to texts in which male dress is mentioned.

In contrast to the literary, the archaeological sources, which have been collected by Joachim Raeder, are used in a more limited manner. The evidence is not intended to be complete, but is provided only to the extent that is necessary to identify a respective piece of dress and to determine its social usage and history. Apart from a few exceptions, only depictions representing *Roman* women have been included, which stands in contrast to existing works on the subject. Mythological works of art have also been used for the sake of illustration when no other sources are available.

3 Aims

In essence, the study is meant to be basic research in the field of Classical philology and cultural history. It is more philosophical than it may seem at first glance considering its rather profane subject. It is not only about words (*nomina*) and objects (*res*), but also about the different discourses on Roman dress. It is about social continuity and change, and it implicitly addresses the basic epistemic questions: What *can* we actually know about Roman culture, and where are the limits of our knowledge? What is the basis of our inductions? And finally: What kinds of conclusions are we permitted to make based on the available evidence? In general, the book is thus about how cultural history should be written today. As regards the female Roman dress in the period in question, it has the following specific aims:

- collect all extant evidence on the subject matter.
- restore all early Latin texts and provide a thorough source analysis (A).
- define all Latin dress terms in neutral language (B).²
- describe the garments designated by them and elucidate social dress codes (B).
- describe the history of female Roman dress (B).
- reconstruct the theory of ancient scholars regarding early Roman dress (C).
- explain all dress glosses and trace them back to their origin (D).³

4 Research

Many great scholars wrote about Roman dress. The following remarks are only meant to outline the history of scholarship. They try to characterize the respective works that are—*notwithstanding their deficiencies*—scholarly milestones that mirror the periods in which they were written. In fact, most of the books that will be mentioned are outdated by now, but they laid the foundations we still build on, and the erudition of their authors evokes admiration.

While Latin dress terms had been used throughout the Middle Ages, research on Roman dress started about 500 years ago in the age of Humanism. Latin dress terms came easily to the lips of medieval authors when describing the dress of their own times.⁴ In the 16th century, however, it was the historical Roman costume that was at stake. It was also the time when print started to become normal. Bits of information hence got detached from the original texts and were reprinted in thematical collections. In the field of Classics, we find the first editions of fragments and all sorts of *Cornucopiae*.

² For a definition of neutral language cf. Introduction to part B p. 227.

³ For a definition of gloss, cf. Introduction to part D p. 587.

⁴ Cf. on medieval dress and dress terminology, for example, J. Bumke, *Höfische Kultur. Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, Munich 1986), 172–197.

In the same way, texts mentioning Roman garments were collected and revised into a handbook. The first to do this was the French Humanist St. Lazare de Baïf (1496–1547), or as he would have called himself in Latin, Bayfius.⁵ In 1526, at the age of thirty, Bayfius published his treatise *De re vestiaria*. Classical studies were in their heydays by that time, and Bayfius was not a social nobody. He was the son of a French knight, and his book on clothing served him well as his entrance card to the world of diplomacy. In 1529, the French king Francis I sent him to Venice as an ambassador. The great Erasmus of Rotterdam had already praised Bayfius for his fine book: *Lazarus Bayfius, qui unico libello de Vestibus, eoque non magno, magnam laudem meruit summamque spem de se praebeuit*.⁶

However, despite the eulogy from Erasmus, who in turn was praised by Bayfius, the shape of *De re vestiaria* can be described as highly idiosyncratic. Bayfius starts from the statements on dress in the Digests⁷ and, commenting on them, evolves his own narrative. His account is structured only in a superficial way. It meanders through its sources, including texts from Latin and Greek authors, as Bayfius came across them. No wonder that already the printer Robert Estienne (Stephanus) (1536) felt the need to shorten and to rearrange the material according to the functions of the garments. And yet, Bayfius' work held the ground. It remained influential for the next hundred years to come and saw many reprints in both its original and revised forms.

It was only more than hundred years later, about the middle of the 17th century, that the next two authors on Roman clothing turned up, whose works were to remain standard until the 19th century. The first is Ottavio Ferrari (1607–1682),⁸ who was an Italian scholar who taught Greek and Roman Classics at the University of Padua. In 1642, Ferrari published his *De re vestiaria* in three books. In 1654, he enlarged this by four further books, which took—as he complains—ten years to write. He dedicated his new edition to Christina, the famous queen of Sweden, who abdicated the year the new volumes were published, converted to Catholicism, and went to Rome. Christina was a patroness of arts and a great collector, and she appears on the title page of Ferrari's book dressed most suitably as Minerva. It is the Baroque period, and Ferrari's work is in tune with his times. His final version of *De re vestiaria* comprises more than five hundred pages in total in the beautiful Paduan editions. It is not the hastily written *primitiae* of an aspiring candidate, but the mature work of learned man who has pondered his subject for some time. Ferrari focuses on the male costume, but he also includes a few pages on the female one. In accordance with the bias of the ancient sources, he begins with the *toga* (1) and the *praetexta* (2) before turning to the common *tunica* (3). A short chapter on the female tunic (*de tunica muliebri*) is the starting point for

⁵ See on him L. Pinvert, Lazare de Baïf, Paris 1900.

⁶ Erasmus I 1012 A.

⁷ Cf. Digest. 34.2.

⁸ See on him Francesco Piovan, art. Ottavio Ferrari, in: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, vol. 46 (1996).

Ferrari's comprehensive remarks about female dress at the end of the first volume. In the second volume, he proceeds with the *lacerna* (4), the *paenula* (5), the *chlamys*, and the *sagum* (6), and he ends with the *pallium* (7). Again, the focus is on male costume.

In comparison to Bayfius, Ferrari's work marks a great progress. The number of sources has increased, and Ferrari uses them in a more judicious way. He takes time to explain his texts and also adduces archaeological evidence. However, since he does not yet fulfil modern standards as to source analysis, he gets mixed results. He correctly distinguishes, for example, between the *toga* and the *pallium*, but erroneously identifies the *stola* with the *tunica*. He also follows Pseudo-Asconius (fifth century CE), whom he believes to be the Julio-Claudian scholar Asconius, in stating that the *toga* was worn by both men and women at an early time, and in this way he helps corroborate a myth that still pervades modern scholarship.⁹

In the year 1665, a scholar with a famous family name disturbed Ferrari's peace of mind. It was Albert Rubens, in Latin Albertus Rubenius, son of the painter Peter Paul Rubens (as his printer remarks on the title page).¹⁰ Albert Rubens, who dedicated his life to scholarship and politics, had already died in 1557, but a collection of his treatises was published posthumously. It contained his treatise on the famous Gemma Augustea, which had also been drawn by his father Paul Rubens, and two books *De re vestiaria, praecipue de lato clavo*. From a modern perspective, the character of this work is quite odd. Rubens touches on all major garments, but views them mainly from the angle of the *latus clavus*, the ornament that distinguished the senator's tunics and, as Rubens believed, other garments. It is also highly antagonistic and criticizes existing scholarship, especially Ferrari's *De re vestiaria*.

For this reason, Ferrari took up the plume again. In 1670, he published his *Analecta de re vestiaria siue exercitationes ad Alberti Rubenii commentarium de re vestiaria et lato clavo*. This time, he dedicated his work to Jean Chapelain (1595–1674), a sort of minister of culture of Louis XIV, who lavished the king's stipends on worthy scholars. The *Analecta* are written with the express purpose of refuting Rubens' *De re vestiaria*, but one gets the impression that money and cultural politics (France against Habsburg Netherlands) might have occasioned them as well. In any case, the *Analecta* did little more than restate Ferrari's former hypotheses on Roman dress. In the end, time healed all scholarly rivalry. In 1697, Johann Graevius' reprinted both Ferrari's and Rubens' works side by side in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* (vol. 6), which was a kind of anthology of research. By that time, their books had become classics. They provided the 'philological' basis for the scholarship on dress in the hundred years to come.

⁹ Cf. on this C 2.

¹⁰ See on him M. van der Meulen, in: *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, s.v. Rubens, Albert (2015).

The next work on dress to be mentioned here stood in marked contrast to its predecessors. It was composed by Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741) and was published about seventy years after Rubens and Ferrari. Montfaucon was an aristocrat turned Benedictine monk and a great scholar who, among other things, brought the tapestry of Bayeux back to French memory. His oeuvre is stupendous and makes him look like a modern Varro. In collaboration with Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), Montfaucon worked on an edition of the Greek church fathers, dedicating his spare time to antique monuments. Like Graevius' *Thesaurus*, his contribution on dress was part of a multivolume encyclopaedia (1719–1724). However, his *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* was written with another purpose and in another style than Graevius' work. We may call it the first 'archaeological' work on dress. Up to that point, Classical scholars had focused on texts. Now the attention turned to the monuments. According to Montfaucon, his *Antiquité* contained 1220 tables with about 30–40,000 figures. It had taken him about twenty-six years to collect the evidence. In his preface, Montfaucon complains that there was a mass of increasingly specialized scholarly work that had made it difficult to not lose track. He was especially bothered by the many meandering and fruitless textual discussions. Therefore, he intended to cut short on this and to include only the most significant texts. His own encyclopaedia was to provide a comprehensive overview of antiquities on the basis of the monuments. In 1722, Montfaucon published a volume (3.1) containing *Les usages de la vie: Les habits, les meubles, les vases, les monoyes, les poids, les mesures, des Grecs, des Romains, et des autres nations*. In 1724, there also appeared a supplement to this.

We are in the age of enlightenment by now, in an age of beginning social reform and general education, and Montfaucon's work is very typical for it. He wished knowledge on Antiquity to leave the ivory tower of universities. In order to make it accessible to a broader public, Montfaucon did not only turn to visual depictions, but also provided a bilingual edition that was written in French and Latin. According to him, the Latin version (printed below the French text in smaller letters) was meant for foreign scholars who did not know French, while the French version was for French students who lacked sufficient command of Latin. We see Montfaucon in a balancing act here. Non-knowledge of Latin still needed the excuse of young age, and there had to be a Latin version to stress the scholarly quality of his enterprise. On the other hand, the aristocratic reading public in France only read in French. Montfaucon was among the first to use a national European language for scholarship. In the next centuries, this became the new norm. He also created what can anachronistically be called a 'best seller' that was found in the libraries of the well-off. Very typically, in his novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Goethe makes the learned society of a little court consult Montfaucon for information on Minerva's dress.¹¹ Reading the work, Montfaucon's success is very understandable. His books are written in a French style that is both elegant and

¹¹ Cf. *Lehrjahre* p. 171.5 (Hamburg edition).

accessible. The preface is unpretentious and appears quite ‘modern.’ In his description of Roman clothing, Montfaucon judiciously adduces the specialist literature (Ferrari, Rubens), but he refrains from bothering his readers with its pettifogging aspects. There are also the many impressive depictions of the monuments that make what he says very plastic, and they give a vivid impression of ancient Roman life. Scholarly reception of Montfaucon’s encyclopaedia, on the other hand, was rather cold. It was simply not ‘academic’ enough, and Montfaucon himself had not spared criticism against scholars. Some shortcomings of his work were undeniable, and they seem to have lent a welcome pretext to disregard the work completely. The rediscovery of Pompeii (1738) also brought to light a lot of new monuments shortly afterwards. Hence Montfaucon is mentioned but rarely in subsequent scholarly literature on dress, even though his books were translated into English and German.

As time went on, research on Roman dress changed places. In Germany, Romanticism fostered new intellectual interest in what was called *Privataltertümer* (private antiquities). The milieu we find it in now was that of German high school (*Gymnasium*) and university. Humanist *grandezza* and French *illumination* have given way to bourgeois homeliness. In 1803, Karl August Böttiger (1760–1835), director of the Museum of Antiquities at Dresden and an archaeologist, published his *Sabina, oder Morgenszenen im Putzzimmer einer reichen Römerin* (Sabina, or morning scenes in the boudoir of a wealthy Roman lady). His *Scenes in the boudoir* was what we would call a coffee table book. However, it inspired the scholar Wilhelm Adolf Becker (1796–1846), professor of archaeology and Classical studies at the University of Leipzig, to do similar things on a more serious scale. Romanticism was transforming into Biedermeier, and the atmosphere of German *Gemütlichkeit* hang in the air. People at the time liked historical novels, and Becker decided that this was the best way to promote Classics. He therefore wrote two novels on Greek and Roman private life. In 1838, he published his novel *Gallus or Roman scenes of the time of Augustus*.¹² The hero of this book is the historical poet Cornelius Gallus (70–26 BCE), whom we follow moving about in Rome. In 1840, the novel *Charicles or illustrations of the private life of the ancient Greeks* followed suit.¹³ In these works, Becker combined fictional scenes with scholarly notes and excursuses. Since Becker was aiming at historical lessons, the action of the novel is a bit forced in order to include all possible *Privataltertümer*. In the eighth scene of the *Gallus*, for example, we first see Gallus’ mistress Lycoris in her full attire and then watch Gallus himself dressing, leaving the house, and buying some gifts (among them garments) for Lycoris at the market. In a long excursus (about sixty pages), Becker then tells us everything we need to know about female Roman dress. All in all, Becker’s *Gallus* makes for bad literature and good scholarship. It nevertheless found much public acclaim. It

¹² *Gallus oder römische Scenen aus der Zeit Augusts. Zur Erläuterung der wesentlichsten Gegenstände aus dem häuslichen Leben der Römer.*

¹³ *Charikles, Bilder altgriechischer Sitte. Zur genaueren Kenntniss des griechischen Privatlebens.*

was translated into English and reprinted several times. In 1880/2, the scholarly part was enlarged and updated by Hermann Göll, thus finding its final form.

In the long run, however, another scholarly initiative of Becker proved even more important than his novels. In 1843, Becker started the *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* (Handbook of Roman Antiquities) which was to contain a volume on Roman private life as well. Becker himself died before it came to that, but the project was taken up by the historians Theodor Mommsen and Karl Joachim Marquardt (1812–1882). In 1864, Marquardt, who by then was the head of a *Gymnasium* at Gotha, published the respective two volumes on *Das Privatleben der Römer* (The private life of the Romans). In 1886, these volumes were updated by the archaeologist August Mau (1840–1909). By then, it was the high time of historicism. Classics had become more methodical and ‘scientific.’ Against Nietzsche’s protest, history (including cultural history) had taken an antiquarian turn. Many voluminous handbooks and encyclopaedias appeared in Prussian dominated Germany. In 1885, the multi volume *Handbuch für Altertumswissenschaft* got started, which was to contain contributions on every aspect of antiquity. The respective volume on dress *Die römischen Privataltertümer* written by the archaeologist Hugo Blümner was published in 1911. In 1890, Wissowa’s ‘revision’ of Pauly’s *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* got under way, which was to comprise articles on (nearly) all Roman and Greek garments in the next decades.¹⁴

The conceptual reconstruction of female Roman dress, as it presents itself today, dates back to these times and is highly influential even now.¹⁵ However, female dress only formed a small part of a broad description of Roman private life in the comprehensive studies mentioned above. The scholars who wrote these books were all more or less ‘all-rounders’ in Classical studies. They knew Greek and Latin well and relied most on written sources for their descriptions despite being inclined towards the archaeological side. The evidence they present in long footnotes is nearly complete and very impressive. It is clear that methodological skill and knowledge had advanced considerably since Ferrari and Rubens.

However, in spite of all its merits, the approach towards literature that pervades these later works has serious methodological flaws that affect the results in a negative way. It is, in a word, too ‘factual.’ All statements in the literary sources are taken at face value and used indiscriminately, as if they were all unbiased reports on Roman costume. In particular, there are four aspects where these studies are prone to fail:

1. The textual transmission of many texts is difficult. Especially the texts dating to the Pre-Classical period suffer from corruption and can only be restored by means of conjecture. Textual criticism had been a thriving business in the epoch of Humanism—the 16th century. In the 19th century handbooks, many of the early

¹⁴ These were often written by leading archaeologists, like for example Walther Amelung or Friedrich Goethert (*toga*).

¹⁵ In Germany, for example, the book of Marquardt/Mau, which is indeed most comprehensive and provides the most source-based over-all access to the subject matter, has been reprinted in 2016.

emendations had already acquired a canonical dignity and were mistaken for the text of the ancient authors themselves. However, quite a lot of the emendations, as well intentioned as they were, are questionable and need rethinking.

2. Our sources refer either to dress the authors themselves witnessed in daily life (primary sources) or to dress they did not know from personal experience (secondary sources). There was both a literary and a scholarly discourse on Roman costume already in Antiquity. However, ancient scholars (*grammatici*) often went wrong in their explanations. They also endowed obscure words (glosses) with a meaning these words never had. Taking up their opinions without reserve, 19th century scholars mix up real and fantastical terms and garments.
3. Our sources are not technical dress inventories. Most are fictitious texts, mainly poetry. Ancient authors use both literary and neutral language, and they make no factual self-contained statements on clothing, but only mention garments to characterize the wearer. In addition, they are influenced by literary genres and by social stereotypes. Disregarding different registers of language and neglecting auctorial intentions led to lexicographical error and social bias in 19th century scholarship.
4. Our sources date to different historical periods. In the old handbooks, they are often combined without discrimination to form one synchronous entity and to prove a single state of dress. This leads to an unjustified homogenous image of female Roman dress (similar to that established in Augustan times) and camouflages the great changes Roman clothing underwent in the first century BCE. It turns out that the handbooks accomplished what Augustus could only dream of. They homogenized Roman dress into a fixed, ahistorical ideal that shaped outward perception of Roman culture for centuries.

Nevertheless, the handbooks of the 19th century still evoke admiration for their erudition and for erecting the great building of what we consider 'Roman culture' today.

In the 20th century, enthusiasm and scholarly capability for such comprehensive enterprises dried up with the First World War. In Germany, Classical studies completely retired to universities and split up into the different branches we know today (Latin and Greek language, history, archaeology). In the process of specialization, Roman clothing became an exclusive subject of study for archaeologists, while scholars of Latin were more inclined to read the poet Stefan George and to muse about the aesthetics of literature. Women now also entered into what had been a man's reserve. The first one to mention is Margarete Bieber. Her personal history is similar to that of the great Hannah Arendt and shows what life was like for intellectual women and for persons of Jewish faith in Germany and central Europe in the 20th century. In the Weimar Republic (1923), after much struggle, Bieber was the first woman to become a professor of archaeology in Germany. Under Nazi terror (1934), she had to emigrate to the United States, never to return again. In two monographs, called *Griechische Kleidung* (1924) and *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht* (1967), Bieber dealt with Greek

clothing. In addition, she wrote several RE-articles on ancient garments. Her studies mainly concern Greek dress, but include important remarks on Roman dress as well. In contrast to Bieber, the American archaeologist Lillian May Wilson focused on Roman clothing in her books *The Roman Toga* (1925) and *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (1938). Written with sound judgement, her books set standards in their time and are still influential among English scholars today. Her book on Roman clothing is still one of the best contributions on the subject matter. In contrast to their predecessors, Bieber and Wilson again concentrated on the archaeological sources. Like Montfaucon, they banned literary sources to the margins, relying on the existing handbooks, and they thus initiated the trend that still prevails today.

Finally, some short remarks on our own times. The computer age saw and is seeing a steady increase in articles and monographs on specific garments and collective works on (female) dress. There are several important archaeological contributions, like F. Kolb, *Römische Mäntel: Paenula, Lacerna, Mandye* (1973), H. R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (1990), and B. I. Scholz, *Untersuchungen zur Tracht der römischen Matrona* (1992). Cultural history is written on a small scale by J. L. Sebesta, L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume* (1994), A. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (2000), and K. Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman* (2008). Most recently, archaeobotany also begins to make its impact felt. In contrast to all this progress in other fields, a modern analysis of the written sources is completely missing. Montfaucon's visual way of approaching Antiquity has won the day, and literary texts are largely ignored. All this leads to a strange Janus-faced appearance of current research. There are many very skilful studies as to archaeological details that apply 19th century methodical standards when it comes to the generalities of Roman dress and to interpreting texts. One might describe the present situation in the following comparison: You have an old castle that has much water in the basement, but instead of securing the foundations, you prefer putting solar panels on the roof in order to power the newest trends in home electronics.

5 Method and structure

The present study does builders' work in order to secure the stability of the tottering, but beautiful building for some time. It focuses on the single written sources and proceeds from there to a more extensive theory of what Roman costume looked like. Current trends in historical research of how to interpret Roman culture are most conveniently examined by A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008), to whom readers are referred for more discussion.¹⁶ However, the book's theoretical approach owes

¹⁶ Cf., especially, pp. 3–37, 441–454. In addition, see D. Maschek, *Die römischen Bürgerkriege. Archäologie und Geschichte einer Krisenzeit*, Darmstadt 2018, 10–20. My views largely concur with Wallace-

more to several books that do not belong to the world of Classical scholarship, but to the world of philosophy. Readers will find their names and more detailed remarks on abstract concepts of thought in the epilogue.¹⁷ The following section is *not* about theory, but rather on its practical consequences and on what is done in this book.

The basis of the entire work is the textual reconstruction and interpretation of *all* Latin literary evidence on female Roman dress in the period from about 200 BCE to 200 CE. This statement applies in particular to the sources dating to the time of the Roman Republic, whose wording is quite often reconstrued in a new way. Furthermore, all important texts are interpreted in accordance with their place in time, the literary intention of the author, and the social context.

The analysis distinguishes between primary evidence and secondary evidence, i.e. between the literary and the scholarly discourse. This principle is already applied in other parts of ancient history, like that of philosophy.¹⁸ However, the situation is somewhat different as regards the history of dress and other parts of cultural history (e.g. death rituals, marriage). Here a sufficient distinction between primary and secondary sources has not been made so far.¹⁹ In this respect, the present study breaks new ground. The methodological distinction serves to sort out genuine facts and ancient hypotheses and to make room for an objective analysis of the primary sources that has often been blocked by false preconceptions derived from secondary evidence.

Within the literary discourse, the following study keeps in mind the individual nature of our texts and the different registers and functions of language. Beyond definitions of neutral dress terms, it enquires into social dress codes and the social changes that are expressed in them. Doing this, it proceeds from words to historical reality. On the other hand, it explores the ancient scholarly theory on early Roman dress and examines the various dress glosses that belong to the fictional world created by ancient scholarship.

The general distinction between primary and secondary sources produces the overall structural dichotomy of this book (A B vs C D). Parts A and B are about the literary sources and the knowledge we can gain from them. Parts C and D deal with secondary sources, i.e. the discourse ancient scholars had about the early Roman garments and their character. In short, parts A and B concern reality, parts C and D fiction. Within

Hadrill's, though I would refrain from using the word 'revolution.' Cultural change may speed up in consequence of a social crisis, but is in general a process of *longue durée* and hence better termed an 'evolution.'

17 For a recent overview of the methodological ideals pursued in this book, cf. P. Hoyningen-Huene, *Systematicity. The Nature of Science* (Oxford Studies in Philosophy of Science), Oxford 2013.

18 No one would try to explain the philosophical thought of Pythagoras (6th century BCE) by relying on the comments of the Neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus (3rd–4th century CE), instead of using only the most ancient evidence. In case of Pythagoras, who did not write down any of his doctrines, this also presents formidable challenges for interpretation.

19 Isidor of Sevilla (6–7th century CE), for example, is often thought to be a valuable witness for Classical Roman dress.

this general framework, part A discusses all literary texts there are on women's dress in the period in question, and it keeps to the literary discourse. The authors are dealt with in chronological order, emphasis being on the correct interpretation of the respective texts. In the case of the authors of the early and middle Republic (up to 80 BCE), the discussion of the transmission is in the foreground because it poses many difficulties. As regards the late Republican authors (80–40 BCE), the main focus is on literary interpretation. In contrast, Imperial literature is only presented in an overview since its discussion is at the core of the next part. Part B considers Roman female dress as it might have shown itself in daily life. It is centred on dress terms in neutral language (excluding literary and scholarly language). The enquiry is carried out against the background of the corresponding archaeological evidence, without which the literary sources would be blind. Part B is perhaps the most important part of the present study and took the most time to write. Part C then deals with the ancient theory on female Roman dress. It is about the (secondary) discourse of ancient scholars who no longer knew the garments they were discussing. The Romans began to take interest in their costume as a part of cultural history in the second half of the second century BCE. The *grammatici*—the word can be rendered with grammarian, antiquarian, philologist, or scholar—tried to explain the meaning of difficult words they found in literature to their students. This was done orally during lessons, in commentaries, or in annotated editions. In the first century BCE, the grammarians' work turned itself into 'literature' and was socially upgraded. For us, this process is associated above all with the name of the senator and polymath Varro (117–26 BCE). Accordingly, part C will discuss his views on early Roman dress. It is in his works that the ancient discourse can be systematically put together for the first time. However, grammarians' research on obscure dress terms (glosses) continued after Varro for a long time. In the Augustan period, a transition to the lexicographic form took place. Part D follows this post-Varronian scholarly discourse. It deals with all the words which were already obscure in their meaning to scholars in Classical Antiquity and disregards those that became difficult only in Late Antiquity. In addition, it includes some new glosses created by Antique and Late Antique scholars which affect modern research.

The entire study focuses on the written evidence. However, archaeological sources play an important role in it. Both words and depictions are signs that refer, though in a different way, to the same historical object: Roman dress. Statues and pictures allow us to understand the ancient texts more precisely, and they fill the gaps our texts leave as to the outer appearance of garments. At the same time, they bolster up what our texts indicate as to the garments' social function and history. The short archaeological contribution of Joachim Raeder is included to remedy the partial neglect of archaeological sources in this book. It is based on the same principles of source distinction and precise definition as the study of the written evidence.

6 The limitations of approach

After all this, a final word about the limitations of the book's approach is appropriate here, as it suits our sceptical times and the character of its author. Part D of this book contains several cautionary tales that should be kept in mind. Our sources only allow a certain degree of approximation as regards (female) dress because there are no material remnants of Roman clothing from the Italian heartland from the period in question. In short, we know only as much about Roman dress as our texts and depictions allow us to know. Where there is no dress term and no picture, Roman dress culture is completely lost to us. Since most specific technical terms are missing, we have at best a rough idea of both the diversity of everyday fashion and of the multi-faceted terminology of dress. In addition, there are aesthetic and social limitations. Average dress only rarely finds its way into the literary and visual arts. Our written sources mainly deal with festive clothing. There is no description of a normal Roman tunic, the everyday garment *par excellence*, in all of Latin literature. The deformation that results from this trend even extends to the most basic level of lexicography, and it has sometimes deformed the modern perspective.²⁰ Conversely, we do not find everyday footwear—such as the *soccus* and the *solea*—with ordinary women in visual art. We see it with men, goddesses, and deified women. Given the bias of our sources, we have few sources on the trivial items of undergarments. Normal dress is always at the fringes of our evidence. Moreover, since our written sources are mostly concerned with fine clothing, they deal more with the attire of the elite and less with the costume of the common people. It is the same with the archaeological evidence. This all leads to a lopsided scholarly perspective. The present book counteracts this as best as possible, although certain distortions could not be avoided due to the nature of the material. The same applies to the gender perspective. With few exceptions, the texts offer the male point of view and reduce women to the opposite stereotypical pair of either matron (*matrona*) or prostitute (*meretrix*). They often talk about female costume only as it either relates to the dress of the matron (*stola*) or the *meretrix* (*toga*) and tend to classify female clothing in these categories. This book replaces the stereotypes with a social perspective as far as possible and eradicates the moralizing pattern of thought that is omnipresent in our sources.

In the end, there are great gaps in our knowledge, and it seems better to identify them than to hide them and to create an idealized ahistorical world. I hope that this book will give a realistic image of what we can and what we cannot know about specifically *female* and specifically *Roman* dress. The final epigram taken from Horace that Ferrari addressed to his readers in 1654 still holds good in the 21st century:²¹ 'Farewell! If you

²⁰ Cf. on this phenomenon, the chapters B 1 p. 243; B 2 p. 277.

²¹ *Vive, vale; si quid novisti rectius istis || candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.*

know something that is more correct than what I have written, be so kind and let me know. If not, use my book together with me.' (= Hor. epist. 1.6.67–68)



Part A: **Literary Sources**

Introduction to part A

1 Scope and method

This part considers all extant primary sources on female dress in Latin from Antiquity. There are about sixty references to women's garments in Republican literature. Twenty of them belong to Pre-Classical literature (240–100 BCE) and forty to Classical literature up to the end of the Republic (100–35 BCE). There is more evidence in Imperial times, and it only decreases in the second century CE until it ends with Ulpianus (223/228 CE). Evidence then recommences after a long interval with the Edict of Diocletian (303 CE) in Late Antiquity. The present study halts at Ulpianus and only occasionally references the edict.¹

Most of our sources are literary texts transmitted in manuscripts.² We miss all everyday talk about dress and only hear its dim voice mediated by literature. Literature, the treatises of ancient scholars, and depictions are all that informs us about female Roman dress. Part A focuses on the literary sources and their nature. For this, it partly relies on the results achieved in the parts B–D. Hence, it does not define garments nor does it explain neutral dress terms (B). It also omits the scholarly discourse and does not explain glosses (C–D).³ The firm lines between literature, real Roman life, and ancient scholarship are drawn in order not to mix the various discourses on dress even though they overlap in our written sources.⁴

Within these limits, part A aims for a new comprehensive analysis. It discusses all texts that date to the time of the Roman Republic (excepting only those few that seemed better dealt with in part B) and gives an overview of the Imperial sources. The reason for this is the different condition of the later evidence. The Imperial texts offer few difficulties as to their transmitted form and are too many to allow for a sensible discussion. In contrast, the Republican texts relating to dress, especially the Pre-Classical ones, are few and often in a bad shape since they were composed at a time when book trade was still in its infancy in Rome. In addition, many of them are only quoted by Nonius in Late Antiquity.⁵ The form available to us thus first appears four or even six hundred years after the texts were conceived, and we do not know what happened to them in the intervening period. In particular, the fragmentary texts are piece meal, and they require a lot of effort to find out what they say. And yet, they have suffered

1 Cf. General Introduction p. 4.

2 There are only few exceptions, cf., for example, p. 421.

3 Glosses are words that are obscure in meaning. They originated in early Roman literature, but rather belong to the realm of ancient scholarship. They are marked in this book by an asterisk. For further definition, cf. Introduction to part D p. 587.

4 Cf. General Introduction p. 13.

5 On Nonius, cf. p. 589.

from scholarly neglect. They have often been ‘restored’ in the 16th century and then been virtually left untouched. Many improbable or incorrect emendations of Humanist scholars have never been challenged, but were taken over uncritically as the basis for further thought.

For this reason, the following is principally about the basic understanding of the transmitted texts. It cleans the early spolia, as it were, from later plasterwork, removes mistaken ancient explanations and unlikely modern conjectures, and proposes new emendations.⁶ In order to achieve this, part A uses the traditional methods of textual criticism and literary hermeneutics. As regards fictional texts (and most are fictional in this part), the distinction between author and narrator is essential. It should be taken for granted even where—for the sake of brevity—an expression like ‘Ovid tells us that’ is used instead of ‘the author Ovid makes his narrator x say that.’ In some cases, the interpretation has also been cut short since this book is not about literature, but about female dress *in* literature.

2 Literary language and content

In Antiquity, literary language is not as homogenous as it is in our times. It varies according to the specific genre, and it has different registers. There are also some genres in which garments are rarely referred to. In contrast to the medieval *Nibelungenlied*, clothing is not usual content in Roman epic poetry because epic poetry is too grand for common Roman clothing. If an epic poet mentions dress, like Lucan in his *Bellum civile*, he has to amplify the garments using poetic and not neutral terms for them.⁷ Roman history that is concerned with great politics and not with normal life proceeds in the same manner. The historian Tacitus thus rarely mentions dress, and if he does, he writes about it in an elevated style. For this reason, we owe only a handful of instances to epic poetry and history. Naturally, it is the literature closer to everyday life that provides

⁶ Readers may occasionally feel like the priest who reacted to a new critical text of the Bible as told in an anecdote by Erasmus of Rotterdam (epist. 456). Readers, like the priest, may be shocked to see that—after long discussion—an old and beloved nonsensical *mumpsimus* is replaced by a new, but meaningful *sumpsimus*. Indeed, one should not overestimate the power of conjectural criticism. Emendation is not equal to transmission, but is only a hypothetical reconstruction. However, no ancient text is transmitted in the author’s original manuscript. Textual corruption in the long process of transmission is a common phenomenon, especially if the text contains difficult words. The proposals advocated by me are always ‘minimally invasive.’ As a rule, I keep to the transmitted characters as far as possible and try to dissolve the darkness of the texts so that they offer a simple and culturally meaningful statement. In the end, it comes down to the choice between a hypothesis and leaving the question open altogether. One should not take refuge in illusory knowledge by glossing over or simply not acknowledging the difficulties of the transmitted text. As regards female Roman dress in the time of the Republic, there are, as this part shows, narrow limits to our knowledge.

⁷ Cf. pp. 272–273, 319.

much of our information on garments. In poetry, this is comedy, satire (Lucilius, Horace, Juvenal), and Love Elegy (Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid); in prose, this is political speech (Cicero), biography (Suetonius), moral treatises (Seneca), novels (Petronius, Apuleius), and technical works (Vitruvius, Pliny). In contrast to epic poets and historians, all these authors use neutral language, including the poets (though they do it to varying degrees), and only shun dress words (often Greek loanwords) that border on the lower registers of language or might sound too technical.

3 Literary description

In modern literature, one occasionally finds long descriptions of garments like the following in Edith Wharton's *The Age of Innocence*:

“It was usual for ladies who received in the evenings to wear what were called ‘simple dinner dresses’: a close-fitting armour of whale-boned silk, slightly open in the neck, with lace ruffles filling in the crack, and tight sleeves with a flounce uncovering just enough wrist to show an Etruscan gold bracelet or a velvet band. But Madame Olenska, heedless of tradition, was attired in a long robe of red velvet bordered about the chin and down the front with glossy black fur. Archer remembered, on his last visit to Paris, seeing a portrait by the new painter, Carolus Duncan, whose pictures were the sensation of the Salon, in which the lady wore one of these bold sheath-like robes with her chin nestling in fur. There was something perverse and provocative in the notion of fur worn in the evening in a heated drawing-room, and in the combination of a muffled throat and bare arms; but the effect was undeniably pleasing.”

In sympathetic words, Wharton describes what female dress looked like in 19th century New York. Combining the particular and the general, she creates a fine panorama of high female American fashion and its social function, alluding even to its reflection in contemporary art. Modern readers who are not specialized in ancient literature might imagine the situation to be similar in Latin texts. However, it is not. Ancient authors hardly ever describe groups of women wearing different garments or go into much detail. Many references consist of allusions or lists that allow for only an oblique and restricted view of the subject matter. There are few texts like Petronius' description of Fortunata that permit an insight into the personal dress style of a single woman. Most are short and conform to social stereotypes since Roman literature is far less individualistic than modern prose.

4 Influence of Greek literature

Roman literature (like Roman art) is a late-comer in a cultured Hellenistic world, and it is largely derivative. This is especially the case at its beginnings. Many Republican authors adapted Greek texts. For this reason, they are basically describing a Greek world with minor Roman touches, and it is Greek female costume they refer to. Republican authors talking about real Roman costume are few: Cato (A 2), Roman Togata (A 7), Lucilius (A 8), and the scholar-politician Varro (A 9). We find in them about twenty references to female Roman dress. In contrast, the authors relying on Greek sources are many. Naevius (A 3), Plautus (A 4–6), other Palliatae (A 7), Lucretius (A 11), Catullus (A 12), and even Cicero (A 10) use Greek literary models and do not depict Roman reality beyond Latin terminology. The problems created by the syncretistic nature of Roman literature are best illustrated by the literary oeuvre of Varro. It is a strange mixture of Greek and Roman life and scholarship, and it has to be sifted through with much care. It is only in Imperial times that Roman literature becomes more ‘Roman’ as to its content. Horace, Ovid, Petronius, Martial, and other authors (A 12) illustrate what female Roman dress style and fashion was like. If they mention Graeco-Roman dress, they do not copy Greek literature, but describe real Graeco-Roman life. This is different in the Republican sources.

5 Literary stereotypes and social roles

Roman literature is not a tailor’s manuals or fashion catalogue. Authors are not primarily interested in dress, but in its wearers. They mention single garments only to implicitly characterize someone by it. Mostly, they do this by reference to literary stereotypes that reflect the social roles women were assigned in Roman society. These social roles are like a magnetism, and there are hardly any loose ends in our sources that do not relate to them. In general, there are three female role-models as prefigured by the goddesses Diana, Juno, and Venus: the virgin (*virgo*), the married woman (*matrona*), and the young mistress/prostitute (*puella/meretrix*). If a woman tries to transgress these boundaries (like Vergil’s Dido), disaster ensues—at least in literature. Like male roles, all female roles are defined in relation to sexuality. The *virgo* has (had) no sexual relationship with a man, and she is young. The term also comprises female children. The *matrona* is married, and she is a mature woman and often has children. The term also comprises old women (*anus*). The *puella* is a young sexually free-wheeling and attractive lover. There are also some other tropes that go with these roles. The *matrona* is a worthy and honoured woman. On the other hand, she is sometimes stern with her husband (*vir*) and spends his money. The *puella* is intelligent, beautiful, and emancipated. On the other hand, she is infidel, even reckless, and she exploits her silly young lovers (*adulescentes*). All these stereotypes go back to Greek literature, and we already

find them in Homer. They remain fairly constant and are only slightly adapted in Latin literature, receiving a light Roman tinge. The typical Roman *matrona* is married to a Roman citizen in a Roman marriage (*matrimonium*); the *puella* is a (Greek) freedwoman (*liberta*) who subdues a Roman *adulescens*; and the *meretrix* may even be a slave (*ancilla*). Roman literature likes these tropes, and they pervade almost all texts considered in this book, starting with the Palliata (second century BCE) and ending with Apuleius (second century CE). There are only slight variations as to literary genre and time. Love Elegy is less clear cut than satire, and Horace is less drastic than Martial and Juvenal. In their wish to outdo their Augustan predecessors, Flavian poets strain stereotypes so that they come close to caricature. It is dull to read all these repetitions, but they sometimes help us reconstruct the fragmentary evidence.

Beyond role models, there are some abstract categories women are judged in. The main qualities a woman should have are charm (*venustas*), chastity (*castitas*), and—in the case of matrons—dignity (*dignitas*). Ovid's *Ars amatoria* gives a concrete short guide to the social and cultural skills a young Roman woman should acquire to appear attractive. Ovid lists both physical and intellectual virtues. However, we hear more of women's 'natural flaws.' Latin literature is full of misogynistic discourse, i.e. women-bashing. This also has its origin in Greek literature and is most popular in Graeco-Latin philosophy and diatribe. Moralists like Cato and Seneca are extremely critical of women. Comedy (Plautus), satire (Horace, Juvenal), novel (Petronius), and epigram (Martial) use misogynistic tropes less in earnest, although the line between moralism and fun is often difficult to draw. The essence of these tropes is easy to describe: They concern sexuality, luxury, and the spending of money. Women spend more money on luxury goods than they should, and they are also more prone to sexual pleasures than they should be. Many lack chastity and sometimes even transgress their sexual role (homosexuality), as seen in Martial and Juvenal. Women are also dangerous for men because love causes men to do stupid things. In general, misogyny is a constant and very unpleasant trait of Roman literature, and it is only a small comfort that stereotypes about men are as bad.

Almost all references to clothing imply these rolemodels and abstract stereotypes. *Matronae* dress in a *stola*, a *vitta*, and a *pallium*. They wear traditional and expensive garments and are criticized if their costume is either too luxurious or too erotic. Criticism culminates in several long dress catalogues (Plautus, Cato) and the typical Roman feature of reproaching *matronae* who fail to wear a *stola*. Matrons who are criticized in this manner are often commanded to wear a *toga*, a prostitute's garment. As chapter B 5 argues, the command has to be understood in a figurative sense. The literary description of prostitutes and their garb varies. We find a dichotomy that is veiled by terminology and hence often overlooked in research. On the one hand, we find the cultured Greek-inspired hetaera. In Latin literature, this is the (Greek) freedwoman and the typical *puella* of Love Elegy. Greek and Latin literature slightly diverge at this point. In general, the Greek hetaera strives to outdo the married woman in ornament. The Roman *puella* does the same, but in a slightly different way. She does not go for the same, i.e. the

traditional matronal dress—the *stola* and the *vitta*—but likes elegant and expensive clothing. She is part of the demi-monde that introduces new fashion to Rome. On the other hand, there is the unfree prostitute of low social status (*scortum*). This type of *meretrix* should not be mixed up with the *puella*, who is often called—by a deluded lover or by the moralists—by the same name. The prostitute’s stereotypical dress is the *toga* (often opposed to the matronal *stola*). Finally, both female and male children wear the *toga praetexta*, which has a purple hem. In addition, we find many descriptions of female dress in men’s travesties. This also depends on social role models and the nature of literature, which, like modern mass media, is more about the spectacular and transgressive behaviour. Female clothing that is unspectacular on a woman is extraordinary when worn by a man. For this reason, travesties are described in detail by ancient authors.

6 Social bias

We should not conclude from the frequency of these descriptions that Roman society liked cross-dressing and was full of transvestites. On the contrary! It rather indicates the fondness of literature (and communication in general) to focus on abnormal things. This and the liking for stereotypes are also the reason why everyday dress culture is underrepresented in our sources. The dress of the average people—the regular Roman *tunica*, the *pallium*, and the *paenula*—is of no interest to the authors. This fact leads to a strong social bias of the evidence that has left its traces even in research. Moreover, all texts, apart from one, are written by the male members of the cultured elite. It is their view of the (dress) world we find there. The common woman’s dress world and her view on it are all but lost to us.

7 Structure of part A

The chapters of part A are arranged in a chronological order following the *floruit* of the authors. The only exception is the chapter on Cato (A 2). This has been placed directly after that on the Twelve Tables (A 1) in order to keep the first prose texts on Roman dress together. They both concern luxury laws. The chapter on Naevius (A 3) is followed by several chapters on comedy and satire (A 4–10). A 4–6 focus on Plautus, A 7 assembles all fragmentary evidence from early comedy. A 8 deals with the fragments in the *Satires* of Lucilius, A 9 with the fragments of Varro’s *Menippean satire* that concern female garments. A 10 considers the travesty of Clodius as described by Cicero. This is pure comedy, despite coming from a political speech. In A 11 and A 12, the focus and the mode of analysis changes. The chapters are on two important passages in Lucretius and Catullus, and both deal with complete texts (all other evidence except from Plautus

is fragmentary) and explore two different literary techniques involving descriptions of dress. Up to this point, the evidence, which all dates to the time of the Roman Republic, is collected more or less completely. In contrast, the chapter on Imperial literature (A 13) only provides an overview.

1 The law of the Twelve Tables (tab. 10.3–4 Bruns) – the **ricinium* and the **lessus*: two primeval women’s garments?

1. Introduction
2. Cicero’s text of tab. 10.3–4
 - 2.1 *tunica purpurea* (or *purpurae*)?
 - 2.2 *vincula purpurea*?
 - 2.3 *VIII cla<vis> purpure<is>*
3. Towards a text of tab. 10.3–4 – two purported dress glosses and their real meaning
 - 3.1 **lessum* > *os laesum*
 - 3.2 **ricinium* > *triclinium*

The supposedly earliest evidence of Roman female garments can be found in a ruling in the Tenth Table of the Twelve Tables (ca. 450 BCE) concerning burial luxury (tab. 10.3–4 Bruns). The passage in question is first quoted about four hundred years later in Cicero’s *De legibus* (On Laws, ca. 52 BCE). The law as preserved by Cicero speaks of a **ricinium*¹ and a **lessus*. These are two dress glosses found only in the Twelve Tables that have already attracted the curiosity of scholars in Antiquity. In Varro’s theory of early Roman female dress, the **ricinium* played a leading role. He thought the word designated a thick proto-*pallium* that women wore in Rome in early times (C 1). Other scholars, including Sextus Aelius (see below), interpreted the word in other ways. They maintained that **ricinium* was either the general term for an archaic coat or a special female coat with purple stripes (D 1). As to the word **lessus*, ancient scholars disagreed completely. They thought that it referred either to a garment worn in mourning or not even a garment at all, but that it denoted a female cry of lament. This leads to our main question: What do the words **lessus* and **ricinium* really mean? Do they have any meaning at all?

But this is not all. There is also a second question. The text of Cicero’s *De legibus* offering the quotation from the Twelve Tables is clearly corrupt. The French scholar Turnebus (1538) extracted from a meaningless reading of the manuscripts of Cicero (*vimcla*) a third garment, a *tunicula* (small tunic). His emendation has been taken up by scholars for centuries without reserve, treating the entire text (including Turnebus’ emendation) as if the word *tunicula* had been written by Cicero himself. However, there are serious doubts as to whether Turnebus was right. In fact, as will be shown, he was not.

In order to come to a correct interpretation of the passage of the Twelve Tables, we therefore have to solve two problems. These are obviously interconnected because we know the respective text of the Tenth Table only through the much later mediation

¹ On the **ricinium*, cf. also C 1 pp. 565–568; D 1.

of Cicero. We therefore have to go back in time slowly. First, we must reconstruct what Cicero wrote in *De legibus* and what *his* version of the text looked like. Then, we must think about whether Cicero's version of the stipulations of the law was correct or whether the copy he used already contained some textual corruptions that impeded his and other ancient scholars' correct understanding of the law. Accordingly, the following analysis will proceed in two steps. It will deal first with the transmission of Cicero's *De legibus*, then with that of the Twelve Tables. The method used will be that of elementary textual criticism. The next pages will therefore make for a 'thorny' reading for the non-specialized reader, but there will be some rewards.

The result will be that Turnebus' emendation *tunicula* and the two other purportedly archaic female garments mentioned by Cicero, the **ricinium* and the **lessus*, will all disappear. The three articles of clothing, or rather the three words, will be found to be simple misspellings caused by damages to the text that occurred at different stages of its transmission. However, a new colourful world will emerge that may be just as fascinating. We will find instead another article of clothing: tunics with purple stripes (the first evidence of *clavi* on the garments of the Roman upper class); a social custom of lament: mourners scratching their faces; and finally an archaic coat (**ricinium*) will transform into furniture: a couch (*triclinium*) for the banquet in honour of the dead.

1.1 Introduction

The Twelve Tables are the most important written testimony of the culture and language of early Rome.² The law was dated by the ancient scholars to around the middle of the

² On the Twelve Tables see also J. Radicke, *Drei Triklinien, neun Tuniken mit Purpur-Clavi und zehn Flötenbläser. Zu einer neuen Interpretation einiger Grabluxusbestimmungen der Zwölf Tafeln (Tab. 10,3–4 Bruns)*, ZPE 195 (2015) 47–62 and *Salböl, Kränze, Myrrhenwein, Kratere. Nochmals zum Grabluxus in den Zwölf Tafeln (Tab. 10,6 Bruns)*, ZPE 196 (2015) 72–87, where the respective sections of the law have been treated with a slightly different emphasis. The readers are referred to these articles for more comprehensive documentation. On the legal background in general, cf. F. Wieacker, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte. Erster Abschnitt. Einleitung, Quellenkunde, Frühzeit und Republik (HAW X 3.1.1)*, Munich 1988, 287–309; M. Kaser/K. Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht (HAW X 3.4)*, Munich ²1996, 25–148; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes*, London 1996 (BICS Suppl. 64), 555; D. Liebs, in: W. Suerbaum (ed.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, 1. Band. *Die Archaische Literatur von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod. Die vorliterarische Periode und die Zeit von 240 bis 78 v. Chr. (HAW VIII 1)*, Munich 2002, p. 67–69; on the archaeological and historical background see K. Raafaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome. New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*, Berkeley 1986; M. Toher, *The Tenth Table and the Conflict of the Orders*, in: Raafaub (1986), 301–326; R. Ross Holloway, *The Archeology of Early Rome and Latium*, London 1994; T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)*, London 1995; F. Kolb, *Rom. Die Geschichte der Stadt in der Antike*, Munich 1995 (²2002), 27–139.

5th century BCE,³ but parts of it, especially the Tenth Table, could be much older. The evidence we have on the history of the law indicates that it was first published by Cn. Flavius (304 BCE). However, our text seems to go back to a book version made by the lawyer Sextus Aelius Catus in about 200 BCE. He edited the Twelve Tables together with a commentary on them in a work called *Tripertita*.⁴ It remains in the dark whether Sextus Aelius still read the law in its original form on stone or bronze or relied on a copy of the text he found in a public or perhaps even private archive. In any case, it is clear that, apart from a few glosses, the language of the law, as we read it now, has been orthographically modernized and is similar to the language of Plautus. To what extent the content of the laws has also been altered and adapted over the centuries can no longer be determined. For example: At some point, two of the Twelve Tables that contained, among other things, a ban on marriage between patricians and plebeians were ruled out in later centuries because their provisions were regarded as unjust. In any case, the edition and commentary of Aelius brought an end to the dynamic phase of the Twelve Tables, creating the final, canonical version. All later authors probably owe their knowledge directly or indirectly to Aelius's work. At least the fact that there are no significant variants to the text suggests that none of them still read the original copy of the law. Regarding the attention the scholars in Classical period usually devoted to the monuments of early Roman history, it may be safely assumed that the original copy of the Twelve Tables had meanwhile been lost and could no longer be consulted at that time. Otherwise it would certainly have left its mark on our texts.

1.2 Cicero's text of tab. 10.3–4 Bruns

The table of interest in this chapter is the tenth, with its provisions concerning the burial cult (10.3–4).⁵ The literary testimony from which the entire modern discussion takes its starting point is a reference found in Cicero's work 'On Laws' (*De legibus*),⁶

³ On the origin of the law in the years 451/450 BCE, see Liv. 3.9–57, Dionys. 10.1–60 (passim); Digest. 1.2.2–6. It is difficult to decide to what extent the historical account is based on factual knowledge, cf. for example Wieacker (n. 2) 289, who accepts the dating and the historical framework.

⁴ Wieacker (n. 2) 290–291, 530–531.

⁵ For the tenth table, see the various contributions by F. Wieacker, *Zwölf Tafelprobleme*, *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 3 (1956), 459–491 and *Die XII Tafeln in ihrem Jahrhundert*, in: *Les Origines de la République Romaine*, *Entretien Fondation Hardt* 13 (1967), 293–362; Toher (n. 2) 301–326; E. Baltrusch, *Regimen morum. Die Reglementierung des Privatlebens der Senatoren und Ritter in der römischen Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit*, Munich 1988, 44–47; J. Engels, *Funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentia. Begräbnis- und Grabluxusgesetze in der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Stuttgart 1998 (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 78), 164–170; on the **ricinium*, see e.g. Sebesta (1994) 50; Edmondson/Keith (2008) 13, 27.

⁶ The work was written by Cicero in the years 55–51 BCE. Maybe it was published posthumously.

where Cicero gives some of the Law’s stipulations on the funerary luxury. He partly paraphrases the text, partly directly quotes from it:

Cic. de legibus 2.59, 64⁷

iam cetera in XII minuendi sumptus sunt lamentationisque funebris, translata de Solonis fere legibus. ‚hoc plus’ inquit ‚ne facito. rogum ascea ne polito.’ nostis quae sequuntur. discebamus enim pueri XII ut carmen necessarium, quas iam nemo discit. extenuato igitur sumptu tribus riciniis et t̄vimcla purpure† et decem tibicinibus, tollit etiam lamentationem: ‚mulieres genas ne radunto neve lessum funeris ergo habento.’ hoc veteres interpretes Sex. Aelius L. Acilius non satis se intellegere dixerunt, sed suspicari vestimenti aliquod genus funebris, L. Aelius lessum quasi lugubrem eiulationem, ut vox ipsa significat. quod eo magis iudico verum esse, quia lex Solonis id ipsum vetat. (...) quam legem nostri eisdem prope verbis decemviri in decimam tabulam coniecerunt; nam de tribus riciniis et pleraque illa Solonis sunt. De lamentis vero expressa verbis sunt. ‚mulieres genas ne radunto neve lessum funeris ergo habento.’

The other provisions in the Twelve Tables are also about limiting the expenditure and the lamentation at the funeral. They have been taken up for the most part from the Solonian laws. They say: ‘One should not do more than this. One should not use an axe to prepare the funeral pyre.’ You know what follows. When boys, we learned—something that no one does anymore—the Twelve Tables by heart like the ABC. Thus, after limiting the expenditure to three **ricinia* and t̄*vimcla purpure†* and ten flute players, the law also abolishes the lamentation: ‘The women shall not scratch their cheeks nor have a **lessus* for the funeral.’ The old commentators on the law, Sextus Aelius and Lucius Acilius, said they did not quite understand this, but they suspected **lessus* to be some kind of burial garment. Lucius Aelius (sc. Stilo) said *lessum* was a plaintive exclamation, as the word itself indicates. I consider this all the more correct because Solon’s law forbids just this. (...) Our *decemviri* using nearly the same words have included this law in the tenth table. For the three **ricinia* and most of the provisions are taken up from Solon. As regards the lamentations, there is a verbatim translation: ‘the women shall not scratch their cheeks or have a **lessus* because of the burial.’

Cicero adduces several prohibitions from the Tenth Table. First, he gives a verbatim quotation of a stipulation concerning the funeral pyre. It is not to be hewn or smoothed with an axe. Carpentry is therefore forbidden. Then Cicero interrupts his direct quotation and uses a paraphrase. Perhaps the text of the law contained too many details that seemed cumbersome and superfluous to him. After the funeral pyre, one may expect

7 *riciniis* codd.: *reciniis* <*relictis*> Schöll; *uimcla* B (*uincla* rell.); *tunicula* post Turnebum (1552) Vahlen (1871) et edd.: *VIII cla<vis>* Radicke (*clavis* iam Lambinus); *purpure* vel -ę codd.: *purpure<a>* C. F. W. Müller (1889) (<*rica*> *purpurea* iam F. Ursinus); *purpure<is>* Radicke; *genas* B^xAP: *enas* B¹ESHL. See also FGrHist 228 (Demetrios of Phaleron) F 9; Demetrios of Phaleron F 135 Wehrli; Ruschenbusch (1966/2014) F 72a-b.

regulations on the *lectus*, the decoration of the corpse and the funeral procession, to have been omitted. Cicero then summarizes the result as follows: *extenuato igitur sumptu tribus riciniis et tunicla purpurea et decem tibicinibus* (Thus, after limiting the expenditure to three **ricinia* and *tunicla purpurea* and ten flute players). The damages of the text cause several difficulties at this point: First, the best manuscript of Cicero (B), written around the middle of the 9th century, has the meaningless row of characters VIMCLA. All other manuscripts, representing another hyparchetype, instead have the reading VINCLA. This disagreement over M and N could be the correction of an intelligent scribe since it produces a supposedly comprehensible text (see below). Second, the E of the following *purpure* is written with a cedilla (ç), which could refer to an abbreviation in the archetype.

Since the problem of the *uimcla* or *uincla* is complex and its solution very important for understanding the Twelve Tables, Roman funerary customs, and early Roman culture in general, it seems best to first discuss the various suggestions made by other scholars and point out their difficulties before developing a new (in part already very old) hypothesis.

1.2.1 *tunicla purpurea* (or *purpurea*)?

Turnebus (1552) changed the expression *uincla purpure* to *tunicula purpurea* (and not as recorded in later editions, *purpurea*);⁸ Fulvius Ursinus (1583) actually shortened the *uincla* and suggested *rica purpurea*.⁹ The following editors did not follow either proposal but instead wrote *vinculis purpurea*, a change already found in some younger manuscripts, until Vahlen (1871 [1883]), as he himself says in the apparatus of his edition, brought Turnebus's *tunicula* back to honour, putting *tunicula purpurea* into the text. Müller, the next editor, went even further by taking up the entire suggestion of Turnebus (*tunicula purpurea*) and writing *tunicla* in the syncopated form.¹⁰ This is the text that has been printed in the last editions of *De legibus* (Ziegler [1979]; Powell [2006]), thus acquiring a quasi-canonical status in research.¹¹

⁸ In his notes (p. 123), Turnebus commented: “*puto legendum et tunicula purpurea.*” He did not propose the genitive *purpurea*, as one would expect reading Vahlen's (1883) apparatus criticus (“*Turnebi coniecturam ... nunc probavit Muellerus cum ceteris sed ut tunicla purpurea mallet; et haec est sane postea vulgaris dicendi ratio*”), but the adjective *purpurea*. The apparatus of Powell (2006) should be corrected accordingly.

⁹ According to Davisius/Moser/Creuzer (1824) in their *De legibus et senatus consultis liber*. Neither Powell (S. lix n. 3) nor I was able to find a Cicero edition of Orsini. He wrote a commentary called *In omnia Ciceronis notae* (1581), where nevertheless nothing is to be found about his emendation either.

¹⁰ Powell's critical apparatus is misleading in its brevity. It only mentions Orsini's emendation *purpurea*, but not his conjecture *rica*.

¹¹ See, for example, G. Colonna, *Un aspetto oscuro del Lazio antico. Le tombe del VI-V secolo a.C.*, *Parola del Passato* 32 (1977), 159; Engels (n. 5) 165; J. H. Blok, *Solon's Funerary Laws. Questions of*

The emendation TUNICULA may first seem paleographically attractive. However, putting aside the fact that the character M (the spelling found in the important codex B) is to be rejected, this solution is still far from easy because it requires several assumptions. First, one T must have been lost. Then a wrong word division occurred. And finally the sequence of the characters was mixed up, UNI thus becoming UIN. As to the content, the singular of the *tunicula* is somewhat out of line with the plurals of the other items. It is also missing a quantity. But there are also other, stronger reasons to doubt the existence of a *tunicula purpurea*.

(1) What did the law want to say when using this expression? The diminutive form *tunicula* denotes a small *tunica*. There is no reason why the law should have mentioned such a garment.¹² On the contrary, it is highly improbable that it prescribed that a deceased and most importantly a wealthy Roman—the law in general concerns the wealthy upper class—should be buried with bare legs in a short *tunica*. One need only consider Roman burial customs in later centuries. A similar impasse is reached if we attribute the *tunicula* to Cicero. Why should he, who generally quotes the law precisely and without any recognizable criticism, have belittled the *tunica*? (2) Other ancient scholars dealing with the same passage of the law do not seem to have had the word *tunicula* in their text (D 1).¹³ For they associate the purple directly with the preceding word **ricinium*. That they should not have mentioned the *tunicula* is very surprising considering the importance this passage had for ancient grammarians explaining early Roman dress. The silence of all our sources thus seems to indicate that the word *tunicula* was not expressly used in the law. For these reasons the conjecture of Turnebus should be dismissed.

1.2.2 *vincula purpurea*?

The editors before Vahlen put *vinculis* or *vinclis* in the text. As to paleography, this solution has the advantage that the sequence of letters UINCL can be preserved. Nevertheless, the M (preserved in B, the most reliable manuscript) must also be discarded and the ablative ending A in *vincla* has to be replaced by the plural IS. In the textual transmission of *De legibus*, however, this type of error in endings is found only rarely when all manuscripts stand together. Far more often, individual syllables and words are missing or letters are interchanged. Moreover, in contrast to the other items of the enumeration, a quantity is still missing.

But what would the law mean by *vincula purpurea*? In Classical Latin, *vinculum* often denotes a ‘bond’ or a ‘chain’, but the word can also be used more generally for

Authenticity and Function, in: J. H. Blok, A. P. M. H. Lardinois (eds.), *Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches*, Leiden 2006, 214; *ThesCRA VI* (2011) 117 (Harich-Schwarzbauer).

¹² Against Crawford (n. 2) 706: “a little purple tunic.”

¹³ Cf. pp. 592–593.

everything tied around an object and fastening it. Unfortunately, we do not know more about burial customs in early Rome than the Twelve Tables and the depictions in tombs tell us. We are better informed about later times, but in all our sources purple straps never occur. Thus, we can only guess what their function was. The text of the law suggests that they were used during the funeral procession or the burial, if at all. Since purple is a sign of honour, it seems best to associate the *vincula pupurea* with the corpse or the deathbed. Wytttenbach (1824) therefore explained the passage as follows: “*lex concedit, ut mortuus involvatur tribus riciniis, obligetur fasciis purpureis, et decem tibicines adsint pompae funebri.*”¹⁴ According to Wytttenbach, the *vincula* thus served to decorate the bier and to fasten the deceased to it. However, this explanation is hardly satisfactory. Why should the law have drawn attention to such trifles? Why should ‘transport bands’ be so important for the burial that they were made of purple? Other small items are also mentioned in the Twelve Tables, like crowns and drinking vessels. Yet all these are true articles of luxury and, in contrast to *vincula*, are also attested in other sources. Thus, the textual emendation *vinculis* creating unparalleled purple straps is not very satisfactory.

1.2.3 VIII *clavis purpureis*

In the following, a new hypothesis is put forward, based on a solution of Lambinus (1565/66).¹⁵ It is most plausible that the text should be emended to *VIII cla<vis> purpure<is>* (tunics with purple stripes). This creates a clear list of items as well as their prescribed maximum: *III ricinia et VIII lavi purpurei et X tibicines*. Syllables or whole words are often omitted in the manuscripts of Cicero's *De legibus*. We would thus start from a common type of error. Looking for what to add to VIMCLA, the sequence of letters offered by B, the word *clavus* (stripe) comes to mind, which in connection with the following purple would fit in particularly well. The *clavus purpureus* is the purple insigne of the *tunica* well known to us through archaeological and literary evidence as part of the Roman aristocratic costume in historical times. In the text of Cicero, the ablative *cla<vis>* should thus be restored. The corresponding addition would then be the adjective *purpure<is>*, the *ę* of the manuscripts pointing to an abbreviation of the ending. A similar solution was obviously already considered by Lambinus and also by Turnebus, but was completely ignored by the later editors.¹⁶ If the emendation *cla<vis>* should be correct, then the sequence VIM is still to be explained. The other

¹⁴ “The law permits that the deceased is wrapped in three *ricinia* and is bound by three purple straps, and that ten flute players accompany the funeral procession.” See Davisius/Moser/Creuzer (1824) 343.

¹⁵ I came to the solution independently, before finding out that Lambinus had preceded me.

¹⁶ Davisius/Moser/Creuzer (1824) p. 343 remark on the lemma *tribus riciniis et vinclis purpurae*: “Turnebus autem reponit *et clavis purpurae*; nec multum abijt Lambinus, cuius editio prae se fert *et clavis purpureis*. Sic et Alb. Rubenius de re Vest. I,7, nisi quod interdum mavult *cum clavis purpurae*.”

two stipulations of the law show us where to look for a solution. Both, the obscure **ricinia* and the flute players are qualified by a quantity, and one would expect that in the case of *clavi purpurei* a number had been added as well. Regarding the remaining letters, the number nine (VIII)¹⁷ seems to be the easiest solution. The last bars would have been corrupted to an M. From the paleographical point of view, this emendation is relatively simple and removes all difficulties that stand in the way of the other two proposals.

Moreover, a second testimony concerning the same passage of the Twelve Tables supports the emendation to *clavi purpurei*. It is the entry in the dictionary of Festus (Verrius) that deals with the gloss **ricinium*.¹⁸ There, the purple stripe is mentioned as a part of the **ricinium*. This shows that the law spoke of *clavi purpurei* at this point and that, as in Cicero's version, no other word like *tunicula* stood between the words **riciniis* and *clavis purpureis*. Otherwise, Festus (or rather his source) would not have connected the *clavi purpurei* with the obscure **ricinia*.

But what is hidden behind the expression *clavi purpurei*? They must refer to a material object. It is not possible to associate them with the preceding **ricinia*, since both are equally items of the quantified enumeration. The solution seems to lie in a usage of language known to us from later times. Vertical stripes in purple, often simply called *clavi*, were usually part of the *tunica* of knights and senators. As is well known, during the imperial period the *tunica laticlavia* (tunic with broad purple stripes) is called by a common metonymy the *latus clavus*.¹⁹ If we assume a similar metonymy (*clavus* = *tunica cum clavo*) in the law, we arrive at nine tunics with purple *clavi*, defined by the law as the allowed maximum of such garments. The assumption that a tunic with purple vertical stripes could be simply called *clavus* seems to me easily possible, since the *latus clavus* (broad stripe) and the *angustus clavus* (narrow stripe) were distinguished only from Augustan times onwards. Another interpretation of the text connecting nine broad purple stripes with a single garment is ruled out anyway because such a garment did not exist. If the emendation VIII *clavis purpureis* is correct, the Twelve Tables said that at an elite burial at most nine of these tunics could be used.

It is now necessary to determine more precisely what function these *tunicae* had within the frame of the funeral. It is very likely that they were burial gifts burnt with

And p. 344 on the lemma *et clavis purpureis*: “haec visa mihi est et antiquissima, et optima scriptura, ut et Turnebo. LAMB.”

¹⁷ In our Latin sources, the number nine is more commonly expressed in this form rather than the modern prescriptive IX.

¹⁸ Festus p. 342.20–25 L. The difficult transmission is discussed in detail in D 1 p. 592.

¹⁹ Cf. Georges s.v. *clavus*: Hor. sat. 1.5.36: *praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum*; 2.7.10: *vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas*; Sueton. Caes. 45.3: *usum enim lato clavo adamussim striato* (E. Schulze: *usque ad manus fimbriato* codd.); 80.2: *Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt*. In OLD s.v. 4, the metonymic use of *clavus* is not mentioned, but some of the references adduced there can be interpreted in this way.

the dead, since the regular guests at the funeral banquet (see below) naturally wore their own clothes. The festive tunics were probably intended for the afterlife. As their number shows, they were hardly intended as change clothes for the deceased himself. Rather, one should think of his guests in the hereafter. The dead man was to be allowed to equip them decently at a future banquet. For this purpose, tunics with purple *clavi* were given to him. The garment clearly indicates what kind of guests were expected to this dinner party. By its very nature, the *tunica* with purple stripes is the social emblem that characterized the political elite (i.e. the knighthood) in Rome. Since the Twelve Tables were concerned with the maximum of luxury, it therefore pertained to a dead man from the top of society. He should be able to dress his ancestors at the banquet with dignity, since they also belonged to the elite and had worn such *tunicae* in their lives. In the end, the luxurious burial gift aimed at the glorification of the *gens*. We are thus faced with a funeral in the circle of nobility, which is well conceivable in the context of Roman sepulchral culture.

1.3 Towards a text of tab. 10.3–4 – two purported dress glosses and their meaning

The difficulties offered by the text of the Twelve Tables go far beyond the manuscripts of Cicero and their corruption. Even the earliest commentators on the law in Antiquity were obviously unsure regarding the meaning of some words and therefore offered different interpretations. They thus established a tradition of thought that has continued to this day without going beyond the ancient hypotheses. And even worse is the fact that some of the guesses of ancient grammarians are treated in our times as if they were real facts. This is the case with the two glosses **lessus* and **ricinium*, which are among the hardest problems the Twelve Tables have to offer. The difficulty of the glosses is mainly due to the fact that their meaning can neither be satisfactorily explained by adducing parallels—both words are attested only once in primary sources—nor can they be explained by an etymological derivation.

1.3.1 **lessum < os laesum*

In the case of the word **lessus*, Cicero's explanations clearly show us—and that is why the term is treated first here—what trouble the ancient scholars had in trying to explain it and what methods they used to find a solution. The oldest commentator on the Twelve Tables, the jurist Sextus Aelius Catus (early 2nd century BCE) said very frankly that he did not quite understand the meaning of the text. With due and explicit caution, he put forward the hypothesis (*susplicari*) that the **lessus* could have been a kind of mourning garment. We are still at a very early point of the exegesis of the Twelve Tables. It is very likely that it was the *Tripartita* of Sextus Aelius which made the Law of the

Twelve Tables accessible to a reading public in book form for the first time. The much younger grammarian Lucius Aelius (sc. Stilo, 2nd half of 2nd century BCE), who was also Varro's teacher, explained the meaning of the word **lessus* differently. In contrast to the cautious jurist Aelius, the grammarian Aelius Stilo was endowed with greater self-confidence. He maintained that the word **lessus* denoted a lamentation.²⁰ It seems a bit odd that the law should have used the expression **lessum habere* for this rather than the usual words *canere* (sing) or *lamentari*. Nevertheless, Cicero thought that Stilo's guess was correct because Solon's law offered a similar stipulation.²¹ Cicero's reasoning is likewise not based on any factual knowledge, but—to say it tongue in cheek—he saved us from having to cope with still another archaic garment, the **lessus*, because the modern Latin dictionaries and historians usually follow him and declare the **lessus* with more or less confidence to be a lamentation.²²

However, the word formation and the context seem to suggest that the ancient scholars could already have been wrong in their explanations.²³ An unbiased look at the transmitted *les(s)um* recommends associating it with the word *laedere* (to violate). The word *les(s)um* is then to be understood either as an obsolete noun corresponding to the later term *laesio* (violation) or as a participle perfect passive (*laesum*) of *laedere*. The latter solution would point to the loss of a noun such as *os* (face) or the corruption of the ending (*laesas*). If this is right, the law simply said: *Mulieres genas ne radunto*

20 Stilo F 13 Funaioli. The work in which Aelius Stilo made this statement is not certain. There is no evidence that he wrote a commentary on the Twelve Tables, even though he explained numerous words from them, see W. Strzelecki, *De legibus XII Tabularum apud Festum servatis*, *Eos* 56 (1966), 108–114. Dyck (2004) 405 in his commentary on Cicero also links the **lessus* with a lamentation.

21 See also Cic. Tusc. 2.55: *ingemescere non numquam viro concessum est, idque raro, eiulatus ne mulieri quidem. et hic nimirum est lessus* (Muretus : *fletus* codd.), *quem duodecim tabulae in funeribus adhiberi vetuerunt*. [To men it was sometimes permitted to moan, but only rarely, loud wailing was permitted not even to women. And this is without doubt the *lessus* which the Twelve Tables forbade to use in funerals.]

22 Georges: “das Trauer- oder Totengeheul, die Totenklage”; OLD [dub.] (app.): “funeral lamentation”; ThLL “i.q. lamentatio funebris”; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 352 n. 4: “Der alte Ausdruck für diese Klage war *lessum facere alicui*”; Toher (n. 2) 303: “a funeral lamentation (*lessum*).” The references adduced by Toher in n. 9 (Plin. NH 11.157 and Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 12.606) do not refer to wailing, but to ritual self-mutilation. Baltrusch (n. 5) 45 n. 38: “An dieser Stelle ist die Bedeutung von *lessus* zweifelhaft, wie schon zur Zeit Ciceros sein Ursprung nicht mehr gegenwärtig war. Man darf aber wohl davon ausgehen, dass es sich nicht dabei um ein *vestimenti aliquod genus funebris*, sondern um *lugubris eiulatio* handelt.” Engels (n. 5) 166: “Gleichfalls sollten sie keinen *lessus*, einen schrillen Klageruf, ausstoßen. Damit sollte die *nimia lamentatio*, eine allzu expressive und sozial anstößige Form der Totenklage in der Öffentlichkeit (und der Einsatz professioneller Klageweiber?) eingeschränkt werden”; Crawford (n. 2) 707: “hold a wake”; Dyck (2004) 404–405 in his commentary: “*lessus* was obscure even to the ancients but was probably a keening or wailing ... Powell, perhaps rightly, conjectures *leiium* for *lessum* on the basis of Sex. Aelius' etymology and Cicero's comment on its transparency.”

23 Historically, the provisions of Solonian law were certainly not the model for the Twelve Table Law. It is therefore methodologically advisable to separate the interpretation of the Solonian law from that of the Twelve Tables and to record the differences.

neve <os> laesum funeris ergo habento or genas ne radunto neve laesas funeris ergo habento (women shall not scratch their cheeks nor have their face hurt because of a funeral). The prohibition surrounding the opaque *lessus* would thus be less severe than Cicero thought it to be, not forbidding human lamentation in general, but only its excesses. Women in mourning should not also scratch their cheeks. The confusion only arose because the meaning of a normal word was obscured by textual corruption.

1.3.2 **ricinium < triclinium*

Something similar could have happened to the gloss **ricinium*. The ancient grammarians knew nothing about this word either, but that did not stop them from confidently forming theories. For example, Cicero uses the word in *De legibus* as if its meaning was self-evident. Varro too leaves no doubt that he knew exactly what it meant.²⁴ It is only the entry in Festus (Verrius) on the **recinium* [!] that shows us that the word was an obscure gloss and that its meaning was discussed by ancient scholars. Varro's views on the **ricinium*—he thought it to be a proto-*pallium* of the Roman woman—and other grammarians' attempts to explain it are dealt with in detail in other chapters of this book (C 1; D 1). At this point, we will only think about how the first commentators on the Twelve Tables arrived at their explanations and what the gloss **ricinium* might actually mean.

Looking at Cicero's comments on the gloss **lessus*, we find that the *lex Solonis* played a major part in the interpretation of the obscure passages of the Twelve Tables.²⁵ We may therefore assume that the same was true in case of the **ricinium*. Provisions of Solon's laws that at first glance appear very similar indeed have been handed down to us by Plutarch, who in turn probably owed his information indirectly to Aristotle or some other attidographer. The ancient Roman commentators of the Twelve Tables and Cicero will have obtained their knowledge from similar sources:

Plutarch Solon 21,5²⁶

ἐπέστησε δὲ (sc. ὁ Σόλων) καὶ ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς πένθεσι καὶ τοῖς ἑορταῖς νόμον ἀπείργοντα τὸ ἄτακτον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἐξίέναι μὲν ἱματίων τριῶν

²⁴ See C 1 pp. 565–568.

²⁵ On Solon's law and his restrictions of funeral luxury, see E. Ruschenbusch, *Solon. Das Gesetzeswerk – Fragmente. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Wiesbaden ²2010 (1966); Blok (n. 11) 197–247; on the connection of the Twelve Tables with Solon's laws in general, see P. Siewert, *Die angebliche Übernahme solonischer Gesetze in die Zwölf Tafeln*, *Chiron* 8 (1978), 331–334, who thinks that Cicero first started to explain the Twelve Tables in this way. However, Aelius' explanation of the **ricinium* and Stilo's explanation of the **lessus* in the sense of the Solonian *χωκύνειν* suggest that Cicero already had predecessors. For an overview of the various hypotheses, see Wieacker (n. 2) 301 n. 80.

²⁶ Ruschenbusch *leg. Solonis* F 72 c with reference to FGrHist 328 (Philochoros of Athens) F 65 n. 4; Blok (n. 11) 205–206.

μη πλέον ἔχουσαν κελεύσας μηδὲ βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν πλείονος ἢ ὀβολοῦ φερομένην μηδὲ κἀνητα πηχυαίου μείζονα μηδὲ νύκτωρ πορεύεσθαι πλὴν ἀμάξης κομιζομένην λύχνου προφαίνοντος, ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ τὸ θρηνεῖν πεποιημένα καὶ τὸ κακῶειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς ἐτέρων ἀφεῖλεν. ἐναγίζειν δὲ βοῦν οὐκ εἶασεν οὐδὲ συντιθέναί πλέον ἱματίων τριῶν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀλλότρια μνήματα βαδίζειν χωρὶς ἐκκομιδῆς.

However, he (sc. Solon) issued a law concerning the going out of women, their mourning and their feasting, intended to restrict disorder and licentiousness. He decreed that a woman should not go out taking with her more than three *himatia*, carrying food or drink that was worth more than one obol, and carrying a basket more than one cubit in size. A woman was not to travel at night except in a carriage and by lamplight. He forbade mourning women to scratch their cheeks, and to sing poetic funeral songs, and to lament at the burial of other people. He did not permit sacrificing a cow, contributing more than three *himatia*, and going to other people's graves when not burying them.

The present section offers some pieces of the *lex Solonis*. In the first part, the law is characterized as a moral law, thought to generally restrict the freedom of movement of women. Some prohibitions are listed that made public meetings for women more difficult. They were only allowed to bring little food or drink, a small basket, and three *himatia* (*pallia*). Then some restrictions concerning travelling at night are added. In contrast, the second part of the section shifts the focus to the funeral. The law forbids scratching one's cheeks, lamenting professionally, slaughtering a cow, bringing along more than three *himatia*, and going to other people's graves unless it is for a funeral. The repetition of some items suggests that Plutarch combined at least two sources that interpreted the *lex Solonis* from different angles.²⁷ Amongst the repeated stipulations, we find the maximum of three *himatia*. As to its form, a *himation* is, to put it in the words of Aelius Sextus, a *vestimentum quadratum* (square garment) that could be used either as a coat or as a blanket.²⁸ Maybe the law permitted women two blankets in addition to their coat or even three blankets. In any case, it seems clear that Solon wanted to prevent large parties at the tombs and therefore limited the food and the number of blankets the guests could sit on.

Solon's own words cannot be extracted anymore from the text with ultimate certainty. However, the reasons why Roman scholars were attracted to comparing his law with the Twelve Tables are obvious. First, both laws said that women should not scratch their cheeks in grief. For the grammarian interpreters, the parallel suggested also linking other provisions of both laws, especially the ones placed near the stipulation on self-mutilation. The sameness of number led scholars to identify the *tria ricinia* of the

²⁷ Ruschenbusch (see above); Blok (n. 11) 215–216.

²⁸ Varro assumed that in early times the *toga* could also be used in both functions, cf. C 2 p. 580.

Tables with Solon's three *himatia*.²⁹ The prohibition of **lessus*, they concluded, then had to correspond to the Solon's prohibition of wail. The earlier commentators of the law of the Twelve Tables were more cautious than their successors. From Varro onwards, when the scholarly discussion became increasingly independent of the text of the law itself, the *himatia*/**ricinia* were regarded as a thick female coat, a conclusion bordering close to nonsense when looking back at the supposedly similar stipulation of the *lex Soloris*.³⁰ That a woman should have been allowed to wear 'only' three thick cloaks by the Twelve Tables is a completely nonsensical restriction. What woman would be dressed in more than one?

However, there is some reason for believing that neither the hypothesis of the earlier legal commentators that the **ricinium* is any kind of *vestimentum quadratum* is correct.³¹ To start with, the **ricinium* is a gloss whose etymology defies any reasonable explanation.³² The word cannot be meaningfully associated with any other word, either Greek or Latin. As for the **lessus*, we might therefore look for another solution that leaves the beaten paths of ancient and modern research. In particular the tenth table of the Twelve Table Law contains numerous provisions concerning objects of everyday life. This suggests that the word **ricinium*, like the purple *tunicae* mentioned later in the law, might denote something very normal that was in regular use at a funeral of the upper class in Rome. One object often mentioned or depicted in connection with the funeral is the *triclinium*.

Against this background, the three incomprehensible **ricinia* of the Twelve Tables may in fact have been three very comprehensible *triclinia*. The reason for the incomprehensibility of **ricinium* would then be similar to that of the **lessus*. The text of the Twelve Table Law contained a misspelling at this point that even the grammarians in Antiquity did not recognize. The corruption was very minor indeed, if we keep in mind that the original text of the law was written in capital letters without word division (IIITRICLINIA). In the end, everything boils down to a few bars of letters having disappeared over the centuries preceding the ancient grammarians. A similar mistake—an initial T being lost—may have occurred in case of Plautine gloss **rica* which could have

²⁹ Cf. e.g. Wieacker (n. 2) 301: "Bei der Beschränkung ins Grab mitgegebener Frauengewänder auf gerade drei sind sie [the similarities with Solon's law] so zwingend, daß die unmittelbare Entlehnung in die Augen springt."

³⁰ The ambiguity of the ancient explanation of the word **ricinium* is mirrored in modern research. Burial gifts: Marquardt/Mau (1886) 575: "ein viereckiges Tuch, das schon in den zwölf Tafeln erwähnt wird und dort einen Teppich bezeichnet, mit dem man den Scheiterhaufen schmückt"; Wieacker (1967) (n. 5) 347; Baltrusch (n. 5) 46; D. Flach, Die Gesetze der frühen römischen Republik, Text und Kommentar, Darmstadt 1994, 193–194; Crawford (n. 2) 706. Female dress worn in the funeral procession: Toher (n. 2) 302; Engels (n. 5) 165.

³¹ Quoted by Festus, see above and D 1 p. 592.

³² For an overview of the various explanations, see Potthoff (1992) 163–167. The modern discussion is complicated by the fact that the word **ricinium* is often mixed up with the likewise obscure glosses **rica* and **riculum*, cf. D 4 p. 622.

developed out of a *trica*.³³ There are also other glosses in the Twelve Tables that can be explained by textual corruption.³⁴

The word *triclinium* denotes, in the sense required here, a couch for three persons.³⁵ Such *triclinia* could have served either as equipment at a funeral banquet or as grave goods and were thus carried in the funeral procession. The law does not specify their function, but only lists them like other items that could be used during a funeral. Such matter-of-fact thinking is also found in many other parts of the Twelve Tables. It contributes much to their very succinct manner of expression that makes such a strong impression on modern readers. We may therefore assume that the three *triclinia* were both the maximum of grave goods and the maximum of banquet beds at the funeral feast.³⁶ The fact that the law did not deem it necessary to distinguish between burial gifts and objects in use can also be understood if we look, for example, at the banquet scenes depicted on the walls of Etruscan tombs. There is a controversy among archaeologists as to whether these scenes are meant to show banquets of the living or banquets of the dead. Some scenes clearly relate to the hereafter and others to this world. However, an ancient person looking at the paintings may not have put the question in such a binary way, believing life and death to be a continuum. Thus, the celebration in this world merged into a celebration in the other world, the funeral being exactly the point where both worlds meet. The deceased, the dead ancestors, and the living family all took part in the funeral celebration, an idea that has been preserved impressively in the Roman *pompa funebris*.

Why a maximum of three *triclinia* were allowed at a funeral can be easily explained if we consider the number of *triclinia* used at a normal Roman dinner party (*convivium*). It consisted of exactly three such couches. The legislator, it may thus be concluded, probably did not want to deny a regular symposium to the living or the dead. Keeping in mind that nine persons usually took part in a symposium, we also arrive at the number of the nine *tunicae* with purple stripes mentioned shortly afterwards in the law.³⁷ If we interpret it as referring to a burial gift, we thus find the complete equipment for a dinner party in the afterlife. A visual parallel for such a banquet dating to the same time as the Twelve Tables is provided by a painting in the *Tomba del letto funebre* in Tarquinia that shows, in addition to three empty *triclinia*, seven participants (four men, three women)

³³ See A 4 pp. 72–74; D 4.

³⁴ Radicke (n. 2) 58.

³⁵ On the word and its different meanings, see Radicke (n. 2) 57.

³⁶ On the banquet in Etruscan-Roman burial culture, see most recently K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality*, Cambridge 2003, 127–129; F. Prayon, *Die Etrusker. Jenseitsvorstellungen und Ahnenkult*, Mainz 2006, 44; S. Braune, *Convivium funebre. Gestaltung und Funktion römischer Grabtriklinien als Räume für sepulkrale Grabfeiern*, Hildesheim 2008, 148–157; *ThesCRA VI* (2011) 192–194 (Knosala); 212–213 (Jaeggi).

³⁷ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 300–305; Dunabin (n. 36) 41–43; K. Vössing, *Mensa Regia. Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Kaiser*, Munich 2004, 564–565.

and some flute players.³⁸ The words of the Twelve Tables could therefore be taken as to refer to the ‘ideal’ Roman guest table, consisting of three *triclinia*.³⁹ They certainly do not indicate that in early times Roman women wore a proto-*pallium* called **ricinium*. This garment has to be regarded as a fantasy of overzealous antique scholars. Sadly, we must reject their magic trick of transforming a couch into clothing. However, this rejection opens up a clearer view into the lived world of Roman pre-history: a familial gathering where the worlds of the living and the dead coalesce for a short while.

38 S. Steingräber, *Etruskische Wandmalerei*, Stuttgart 1985, 327–328 no. 82; M. Moltesen/C. Weber-Lehmann, *Catalogue of the Copies of Etruscan Tomb Paintings in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Copenhagen 1991, 61–64 no. 22–25; C. Weber-Lehmann, in: B. Andreae et alii (eds.), *Die Etrusker. Ausstellung Hamburg, Munich 2004*, 144–147.

39 See, however, Vössing (n. 37) 565.

2 Cato *Origines* F 113 P. – Female Dress in Public Discourse about Luxury in the Second Century BCE

1. Introduction
2. Festus' version of Cato F 113 P.
 - 2.1 *ars inheret* < **arsinea ret<icula*>
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3. Cato's version of Cato F 113 P.
 - 3.1 **arsinea* < *argentea*
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4. Conclusions

2.1 Introduction

The only prose text from Pre-Classical Latin literature dealing with clothing of Roman women is an excerpt from the *Origines* of Cato the censor (234–149 BCE). Not to mislead the historians among the readers, it must be said first that this chapter, like the preceding one, will mainly deal with textual criticism and philological intricacies. Historical issues will only be touched on at the end (without ultimately coming to a straightforward solution).

The short fragment of Cato's *Origines* concerning female dress has come down to us in very corrupt form in the dictionary of Festus (Verrius) and contains three glosses (**arsinea*, **rusceus*, **galbeus*). It has been edited many times in editions of Festus, Cato, and the ancient Roman historians. After bold beginnings (Joseph Scaliger [1565]; Popma [1620]) a gradual loss of editorial courage can be perceived, as well as a self-contentedness as to understanding a difficult text.¹ Recently, it has even been maintained that Cato does not describe a Roman, but an odd Spanish female garb.² Indeed, exotic **arsinea* on the head, belts coloured like a butcher's broom, linen armbands (**galbei*), and animal skins (*pelles*) all make for a very folkloric outfit.

¹ Progress in matters of textual criticism is confined to the oldest editions: Joseph Scaliger (1565): *arsinea*, *rete* ... *russeas fascias* (in the *Castigationes* p. 168); Popma (1620): *pallas*. See also Karl Otfried Müller (1839) Festus p. 262.31–263.3 *galbeas lineas*; Lindsay (1913) p. 320.17–23; Cato Orig. F 7.8 Jordan (1860) *galbeos lineos*; F 113 Peter; F 7.9 Chassignet (1984); F 128 Cugusi (1996); F 7.9 Beck/Walter (2005); F 109 Cornell (2015). The last edition contains errors in the text, in the critical apparatus, and in the translation.

² M. T. Sblendorio Cugusi/P. Cugusi, *Problematica catoniana*, *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 24 (1996), 99: "e si occupò non solo del lusso delle donne di Roma: infatti in orig. frg. 113 P², egli denuncia il lusso

But did the clothes of the women described by Cato really look like this? This chapter contradicts the theory that the fragment is about a special Spanish costume. It argues instead that the female garments we read about are completely in tune with what we hear about Roman female clothing elsewhere. Cato's supposedly Spanish women will turn out to be rich Roman matrons wearing precious headdresses and coloured robes.³ Due to the corruption of the fragment, it will take much energy to extract this sense from beneath centuries of errors. As with the Twelve Tables (A 1), the investigation will again be undertaken in two steps.

In general, one has to distinguish between the author Festus and the author Cato. We will thus first try to find out what Festus wrote and then think about what Cato himself might have written. As to textual criticism, this implies that we first have to correct the mistakes in our text of Festus and then the mistakes in Festus' text of Cato. As in case of the Twelve Tables, the conclusion will be that already Festus' text of Cato suffered from textual corruption, containing some misspellings, and that the strange glosses mentioned above go all the way back to Festus and did not simply occur over successive centuries.

The *Origines* of Cato have always received much attention in modern research and are part of the general knowledge of ancient literary history.⁴ A few remarks may therefore suffice to describe them. They are the first historical work known to us to have been written in the Latin language. Cato may have started to write them in about 170 BCE; at the time of his death in 149 BCE they had grown to seven books.⁵ The first traces of them, however, we find only about hundred years later, in Cicero and Nepos, then in Sallust, who venerated Cato as *Romani generis disertissimus* (most eloquent Roman).⁶ The early history of the text of the *Origines*, like that of the other early Roman historians, therefore remains in the dark.⁷ We have no evidence about how the work was published

delle donne ispaniche, fornendo una precisa testimonianza di coerenza comportamentale al di sopra di fatti o circostanze contingenti"; Cornell II (n. 4) 140.

³ Against G. Perl/I. El-Qalqili, Zur Problematik der lex Oppia (215/195 v. Chr.), *Klio* 84 (2002), 418. According to them, colourful clothing was inappropriate for Roman matrons. This was certainly the view held by Cato, too. In reality, Roman everyday clothing was, as Cato's criticism shows, variegated.

⁴ Research reports: Cugusi/Sblendorio Cugusi (n. 2) 82–88; id., Catone. opere, vol. II, Torino 2001; W. Suerbaum, Cato Censorius in der Forschung des 20. Jahrhunderts. Eine kommentierte chronologische Bibliographie für 1900–1999 nebst systematischen Hinweisen und einer Darstellung des Schriftstellers M. Porcius Cato (234–149 v. Chr.), Hildesheim 2004; general introductions e.g. F. Leo, Geschichte der römischen Literatur, Berlin 1913, 290–300; W. Suerbaum, art. Cato, in: W. Suerbaum (ed.), Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 1. Band. Die Archaische Literatur von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod. Die vorliterarische Periode und die Zeit von 240 bis 78 v. Chr. (HAW VIII 1), Munich 2002, 380–418; H. Beck/U. Walter, Die frühen römischen Historiker, Darmstadt 2005, 148–154; T. J. Cornell, The Fragments of the Roman Historians, Oxford 2015, vol. I, 191–218.

⁵ On the dating, see Suerbaum (n. 4) 389–390.

⁶ Sallust. hist. F 4 M.

⁷ This is probably the reason why the circumstances of its transmission are mostly ignored by modern research.

at a time when the book trade in Rome was still in its infancy,⁸ how it was distributed, by whom it was read, nor how it survived in the period before becoming a classic. We can only use guesswork based on analogies and try to answer these questions. The literary character of the *Origines* suggests that, unlike Cato's writings *ad Marcum filium*, they were perhaps not only written for Cato's own household but were also intended for a broader public.⁹ Private copies based on one another in a kind of 'snowball system' may have played a major part in the spread and eventual corruption of the text. At the beginning, when the work was still new, other members of the social elite may have comprised its readership although Cato intentionally tried to upset them by not mentioning their names, but the name of an elephant instead.¹⁰

Afterwards, when the *Origines* became a classic of early Roman literature, educated people may have read them—although they probably preferred Polybios writing in Greek—as well as professional grammarians. At least with this last group of readers, the *Origines* might have always been popular. They liked the work because it offered old word forms, an occasionally idiosyncratic syntax, and, above all, words in need of explanation (i.e. glosses): every ambitious grammarian's dream! In summary, it can be said that however we may think about its early transmission, Cato's text may have been far more unstable and prone to errors than, for example, the text of the works of Cicero and Virgil.

2.2 Festus' version of Cato F 113 P.

Festus quotes the fragment from Cato as early evidence for the word thorn bush (*ruscus* or *ruscum*).¹¹ He also refers, as he sometimes does, to the grammarian Verrius, whose extensive dictionary (called *De significatu verborum*) was epitomized by Festus in his own work. According to Festus (Verrius), the adjective **rusceus*, a hapax legomenon, derives from **ruscus* and serves to indicate a specific colour:

Festus p. 320.17–23 L.

ruscum est, ut ait Verrius, amplius paullo herba et exilius virgultis fruticibusque, non dissimile iunco; cuius coloris rebus uti mulieres solitas commemorat Cato Originum lib. VII:

The butcher's broom (*ruscus*) is, as Verrius says, a bit larger than an herb and smaller than bushes and shrubs, not unlike the rush (*iuncus*). Women used to wear things in its colour, as Cato says in the seventh book of the *Origines*.

⁸ F. Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike*, Darmstadt 1967, 22–23; DNP 2 (1997) s.v. Buch, col. 813 (Carmassa/Hild).

⁹ Leo (n. 4) 290; most recently Cornell I (n. 4) 196–198.

¹⁰ Cato F 88 Peter (= 4.11 Beck/Walter).

¹¹ On Festus and Verrius in general, cf. D 1 pp. 588–589; D 5 pp. 643–647.

The verbatim quotation from Cato's *Origines* follows the remarks of Festus which it is supposed to prove. Some words in the transmitted text are clearly corrupted or of doubtful sense. In the manuscripts it reads as follows:

mulieres opertae auro purpuraque ars inheret diadema coronas aureas ruscea facile galbeos lineas pelles redimicula.

(for a translation see below)

2.2.1 *ars inheret* < *arsinea ret<icula*>

As Joseph Scaliger (1565) already recognized, a gloss is hidden under the meaningless words *ars inheret* that caused Festus to create another lemma in his dictionary. Paulus Diaconus (19.7 L.) gives us what is left of the original entry in Festus: *arsineum: ornamentum capitis mulieris* (an **arsineum* is a female headdress).¹² In his *Castigationes*, Scaliger therefore suggested restoring the expression **arsinea ret<e>*, without putting it into his text of Festus.¹³ His emendation was successful in the case of **arsinea*. As is obvious, it corrupted to the hardly translatable *ars inheret* by a simple error concerning word division. Scaliger's suggestion *ret<e>*, however, does not hit the mark, although it was universally adopted by later editors.

On the one hand, the word *rete* does not refer to a hairnet as Scaliger and the other editors supposed it does.¹⁴ On the other hand, we would expect a plural, as is used in case of most other things listed by Cato in the same passage. Both difficulties are removed if we read *ret<icula*> instead, which gives us both the common word for the hairnet (*reticulum*) (B 12) and the required plural (*reticula*). The letters after RET may have fallen victim to abbreviation or haplography. A similar thing seems to have happened in case of the following word *diadema*. Here too the plural *diadema <ta>* is required.

2.2.2 **rusceas facile* < *russeas fasciolas*

In the case of *facile*, Scaliger's genius has also pointed in the right direction. He emended it to *fascias*.¹⁵ Instead of *fascias*, however, which most of the later editors have put into the text, we should restore the diminutive form *fasciolas*. As to paleography, the diminutive shows well how the mistake could have again originated out of

¹² In Lindsay's edition, a mistype in the word *arsineum* needs to be corrected.

¹³ Scaliger (1565) 263.

¹⁴ One should beware of a circular argument. Scaliger's conjecture is the only reference for the meaning 'hairnet' in OLD s.v. *rete* 2 b.

¹⁵ Scaliger (1565) 263.

an abbreviation or a shorthand of *fa(s)ci(o)le(s)*. As in Apuleius,¹⁶ the term *fasciola* designates a breastband *fascia* (B 22). Maybe, Cato used the diminutive to stress the triviality of this article of dress. Since the preceding adjective **rusceas* must qualify *fasciolas*, its ending should also be changed to the accusative plural.

2.2.3 *galbeos lineas pelles* < *galbeos lineas pallas*

The meaning of the sequence *galbeos lineas pelles* also causes some difficulty. The word **galbeus* (adj.) or **galbeum* (noun), variously spelled with the letter G or C at the beginning,¹⁷ is a hapax as regards primary sources. It is explained by Festus in two other places in his dictionary.¹⁸ Again, we only have the version of Paulus Diaconus:¹⁹ *galbeum ornamenti genus* (The **galbeum* is a kind of ornament), and *calbeos* [!] *armillas dicebant, quibus triumphantes utebantur et quibus ob virtutem milites donabantur* (**calbei* was a name for bracelets (*armillae*) worn in triumph and awarded to soldiers for their courage). The two entries belong together and indicate how uncertain the lexicographers were about the grammatical gender and the meaning of the word. In any case, the **galbeum* or **calbeus* was a gloss that had to be explained.

In theory, the form *lineas* could be the accusative of the noun *linea*, but a string is meaningless in the context of the luxury of female dress.²⁰ We should therefore think of the adjective *lineus* (made of linen). Since this cannot refer to the following word *pelles* (animal skins), editors have combined it with the preceding *galbeos* and changed the text accordingly. Thus Jordan (1860) restores *galbeos lineos*; in the critical apparatus (in the text he leaves it at a crux), Müller (1839) proposes *galbeas lineas*.²¹ However, triumphal bracelets (*armillae*) made of linen are hard to believe.²² It is also surprising that Festus did not add a reference to linen in his definition of the **galbeus*. A look to the following *pelles* might solve the dilemma. The word *pelles*, which denotes animal skins, is meaningful in itself, but it should be kept in mind that in antiquity, unlike in modern

¹⁶ Apul. Met. 2.7; cf. also B 1 pp. 275–276.

¹⁷ The difference in spelling does not matter. As is well known, up to the 3rd century BCE the phoneme G was expressed by the letter C. Afterwards, C and G are also often mixed up in the transmission.

¹⁸ The word is also used once by the grammarian (and dress specialist) Suetonius (Galb. 3.1). This, however, does not prove that it was used in everyday language. Suetonius is adducing some grammarian's guesses about the etymology of the name of the Emperor Galba. One of this was based on the gloss **galbeus* that had to be explained to the general reader: *quod in diuturna valitudine galbeo, id est remediis lana involutis, adsidue uteretur* [(he was called Galba) because in a long illness he regularly used a **galbeus*, that is a woollen pharmaceutical compress].

¹⁹ Paulus p. 85.12 L. and p. 41.2–3 L.

²⁰ Against Scaliger and ThLL VII s.v. *linea* col. 1431.7–59: *in ornamento muliebri fere i.q. monile*.

²¹ The edition of Cornell (2015) suffers from a misprint. In the text, *galbeas* should be corrected to *galbeos*. The apparatus criticus should be changed accordingly.

²² Against RE 6.2 (1909) s.v. Flachs, col. 2464 (F. Olck).

times, furs were not regarded as a luxury good.²³ On the contrary, *pelles* were usually associated with early times, when clothes had not yet been invented. Tribes living in a ‘state of nature’ like the Germans were dressed in *pelles*. Lucretius, in a famous passage, places animal skins at the earliest stages of culture.²⁴ According to him, primitive men first wore nothing at all and then adopted *pelles* as their first clothing. For this reason, skins and furs are completely out of place in a list of what must have been well-known articles of luxury.²⁵ The difficulty is solved when we consider that a textual corruption could have occurred again. A suitable word is then easily at hand. It is already found in Popma’s edition (1620) of the Roman historians.²⁶ In Roman literature, women usually do not wear *pelles*, but *pallae*. We should thus alter *pelles* to *pallas*. The word *palla* can designate either a precious cloak or a long sleeveless robe with straps (*‘peplos’*) (B 3). We will discuss later on what it meant in Cato, because it does not matter for the moment. In any case, this first change would yield *galbeos lineas pallas*, which resolves at least the problem of what word *lineas* belongs to. Unlike linen furs, a garment made of linen (*palla linea*) makes perfect sense.

Up to this point, however, we are not talking about what Cato wrote himself, but about what the text of the *Origines* that Festus had before his eyes looked like. We are still at the first stage of our analysis. As far as we can see now, Festus seems to have read the following version of the text:

*mulieres opertae auro purpuraque **arsinea** ret<icula> diadema<ta> coronas aureas
rusceas fasciolas **galbeos** lineas pallas redimicula <...>*

(for a translation, see below)

We can now turn to the question if this text faithfully reproduces Cato’s words or if Festus’ copy of the *Origines* already suffered from some textual corruption. My answer to this question is that it was corrupted to some extent.

²³ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 587, who for the time of the Republic can only refer to Cato.

²⁴ Lucr. 5.953–4: *neque uti pellibus et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum* [and they did not use furs nor clothed themselves in animal skins], 5.1001: *inde ... casas ac pellis ignemque pararunt* [then ... they created huts, furs, and fires].

²⁵ The difficulty has already been noticed but not satisfactorily resolved by Chassignet (1984) 105.

²⁶ I could not trace the origin of this particular conjecture. Popma does not comment on it in his critical appendix. In Peter’s critical apparatus, the emendation is wrongly attributed to Karl Ludwig Roth (1852), who edited the *Historicorum veterum Romanorum reliquiae* in the appendix of the Sallust edition of F. Gerlach. The text of the fragment can be found there on pp. 286–287.

2.3 Cato's version of F 113 P.

In the version known to Festus (Verrius), the text of Cato contained three glosses that Festus seems to have explained with all his art. The amount of dark words is thus very high (20 %), considering that the *Origines* do not belong to the dark ages of Roman literature and actually date to after the *Corpus Plautinum*. It seems that Festus (Verrius) has gone methodically wrong by attributing various implausible contents to all these words. As with other glosses,²⁷ some dark words could have resulted from textual corruption, and a far more meaningful text of the *Origines* can be restored by correcting the mistakes. The three glosses under discussion (**arsineus*, **rusceus*, **galbeus*) can be easily emended to the meaningful words **argenteus* (made of silver), *russeus* (red), and *galbinus* (green). This would seem to be the original wording of the *Origines*, which would then have been slowly corrupted until it became the obscure gibberish found in Festus' manuscript.

2.3.1 **arsineus* < *argenteus*

Cato begins to criticize female luxury by enumerating valuable headdresses. According to Festus, Cato lists four articles: the obscure **arsinea*, hairnets, diadems, and golden wreaths. Generally, it should be noted that **arsinea* does not figure in Varro's list of early Roman headdresses.²⁸ It is not amongst the obscure words discussed by the first Roman scholars and seems to be relatively recent, its life beginning only with Festus (or Verrius). Moreover, the content of the passage itself raises serious doubts that the word ever denoted a real garment. When we look at the two last headdresses in the list above, we find that their value is clearly indicated. The *diadema* is shown by its very name to be a royal ornament, and a wreath of gold (*aureus*) is very precious in contrast to a wreath made of cheap and more ephemeral materials like flowers and twigs.²⁹ Against this background, it is surprising that Cato should mention a simple hairnet (*reticulum*) that by itself is not a valuable headdress.³⁰ Women can wear normal hairnets without further ado. As to its value, the noun **reticula* thus necessarily requires an attribute.

This is provided by the preceding word **arsinea*, which, in contrast to Festus' view, is not a noun, but, as its ending already seems to indicate, an adjective referring to some precious material, i.e. either to gold (*aurum*) or to silver (*argentum*). Regarding orthography and rhetorical variety, the adjective *argentea* is clearly preferable. Maybe

²⁷ Cf. D 1, D 4.

²⁸ B 12 p. 455; C 1 pp. 574–575.

²⁹ On *coronae*, see most recently J. Radicke, *Salböl, Kränze, Myrrhenwein, Kratere. Nochmals zum Grabluxus in den Zwölf Tafeln* (Tab. 10,6 Bruns), ZPE 196 (2015), 78–79.

³⁰ B 12 p. 456.

it was written in an abbreviated form and thus became an obscure **arsinea*.³¹ If we accept this emendation, Cato criticized that women wore luxurious hairnets made of silver. Such an interpretation would be at least partly in tune with our further evidence. Precious **reticula* woven of golden threads are attested by archaeological findings and Latin literature: For example, Fortunata, the wife of the Petronian Trimalchio, is portrayed as possessing a specimen made of high-carat gold.³² By emending the meaningless **arsinea* to *argentea*, the noun **reticula* receives its required attribute, and Cato's criticism finally finds a meaningful target: Women are wearing silver hairnets, diadems, and golden wreaths or crowns on their head that are—at least according to Cato—overly expensive and ostentatious items of luxury.

2.3.2 **rusceus* < *russeus*

After the headdresses, Cato turns his attention to eye-catching garments. The term *fasciola* usually designates a breast wrap that is worn with the *tunica* (chiton). This is a typical accessory mentioned elsewhere in Greek and Latin literature (B 22). The emphasis here must be not so much on the value of the belt as on its striking colour. Contrary to Festus and the OLD, the word **rusceus* (attested only once) does not denote a colour at all.³³ The plant *ruscus* can be identified with certainty by the ancient information. It is a shrub called butcher's broom (incidentally, chosen as Germany's medicinal plant of the year in 2002). Although it has berries that are red when they are ripe, its main characteristic, as expressed by its Latin botanical name *ruscus aculeatus*, is that it is thorny. As the Latin sources show, this emphasis on the thorns was similarly prevalent in Antiquity.³⁴ According to the botanist Castor, the pointed leaves of the *ruscus* were used to make primitive brooms.³⁵ The berries do not constitute a permanent and defining quality of the plant. The adjective **rusceus* should thus not be thought to denote a colour. If anything, the hapax **rusceus* should rather be taken to mean 'thorny.'³⁶

³¹ In ThLL I col. 677.9–13, the **arsineum* is etymologically associated with the Egyptian town called Arsinoe (= *arsin(o)eum*). However, this case also requires a conjecture, which leaves us with an unknown hairnet.

³² B 12 p. 458.

³³ OLD s.v. *rusceus*: "coloured like the berries of butcher's broom, i. e. bright red"; there is no entry on it in the Georges.

³⁴ All places listed in OLD s.v. *ruscus* refer to this characteristic.

³⁵ Plin. NH 23.166: *Castor oxymyrsines ... foliis acutis, ex qua fiunt ruri scopae, ruscum vocavit* [Castor called the *oxymyrsines* ... with pointed leaves from which brooms are made in the countryside *ruscus*]; RE 1.1 A (1914) s.v. *ruscus*, col. 1235 (Orth).

³⁶ It cannot be compared with the other Greek and Latin colour terms (*crocotha*, *caryinus*, *cerasinus*, *violaceus*) (B 11 pp. 416, 419, 439) which derive their meaning from the distinct colour of the fruit or flower referred to.

However, the difficulty may have again been caused by textual corruption. This time as well an easy emendation is possible. The gloss **rusceus* is not far away from *russeus* (red) in terms of orthography. Scaliger (1565) already wanted to correct **rusceus* to *russeus* in Festus, but the corruption must lie deeper and go back to Festus' copy of Cato, because Festus' lemma **ruscum* hinges on the form **rusceus*.³⁷ The colour red is also attested for other female garments (B 11).³⁸ A red belt, for example, is found in Apuleius. There, the young female servant Fotis is dressed in a *tunica* and a striking *russea fasceola* (B 1).³⁹ The emendation **russeus* in Festus' text (creating *russeas fasciolas*, red cords) is thus very simple and provides a perfect sense. Using a usual word (the common adjective *red*) and not an overly specific word (the name of a bush supposedly used as a metonym for that colour) to describe a general situation, Cato takes a stand against colourful clothing because he found it inappropriate for Roman matrons, either in general or in a crisis situation.

2.3.3 **galbeus* < *galbinus*

The last riddle to solve is the meaning of the gloss **galbeus*. Again, we should first have a look at the entire context. The **galbeus* is mentioned after red cords (*russeae fasciolarum*) and before linen *pallae*. If we take the word, as Festus did, to be a noun and to denote an unknown kind of bracelet, it surprises that a piece of unusual jewellery should intrude into the description of two well-known normal garments. Even if we allow—in contrast to the preceding headdresses—for a certain disorder in Cato's enumeration, a second difficulty arises concerning the *pallae* made of linen. Like the simple hairnet (*reticulum*), linen clothes are nothing to induce a scathing criticism. Again, a qualifying attribute seems to be missing and again we may turn our eyes to the preceding gloss **galbeus*. As in the case of **arsinea*, we should think that the attribute had the form of an adjective, traces of which are still preserved in **galbeus*. A quite simple solution is not far away. The adjective *galbinus* (light green) would paleographically fit in well. An abbreviation may have caused the mistake.

The colour light green is attested elsewhere in Roman literature as a typical colour of female dress.⁴⁰ Again, Petronius' Fortunata may serve as an example of wearing a cord in the same light green shade together with a dark red undertunic.⁴¹ Men are

³⁷ Chassignet (1984) 105.

³⁸ Cf. pp. 439–443.

³⁹ Apul. Met. 2.7. The adjective *russeus* has been corrupted there too by an abbreviation.

⁴⁰ Cf. B 11 pp. 430–433.

⁴¹ Petron. 67.4: *venit ergo galbino succincta cingillo, ita ut infra cerasina appareret tunica et periscelides tortae phaecasiaeque inauratae* [She (sc. Fortunata) thus came having gathered her tunic with a light green belt, so that underneath a cherry red undertunic appeared and twisted leg-bands and gilded *phaecasia*]; for the interpretation of the passage, see B 1 pp. 268–272 and B 11 p. 443.

stigmatized as passive homosexuals (*pathici*) by reference to this colour. Juvenal rails against transvestites dressed in green tunics (*galbina rasa*).⁴² Martial describes a decadent dandy in a light green garment (*galbinatus*)⁴³ and decries a man who raves against luxury and wears dark clothes as a person with a dubious character (*galbini mores*), i.e. as being a disguised *pathicus*.⁴⁴ The colour *galbinus* is thus very well suited to garments worn by rich matrons. Together with red (*russeus*), it forms the same contrast of striking colours that we see on the clothing of the Fortunata. In a similar way, Cato adduces *russeae fasciolae* and *galbinae lineae pallae* to evoke the picture of inadequate female dress, especially when worn together.

We still have to see what the term *palla* designates in Cato. Does it refer to a cloak or to a foot-long sleeveless tunic (*'peplos'*)? A definite decision is difficult, but there are several points favouring the latter solution. Linen is exactly the material we would expect in case of a tunic (*chiton*), whereas an expensive coat would have to be of wool. Being coloured fits a tunic better than a coat too, as the parallels adduced above show. In addition, the odd colour contrast is more impressive when we imagine both colours visibly worn together in one garb. A coat, in contrast, would cover the red *fasciae*. Finally, the term *palla* also takes on the sense *'peplos'* in Naevius and Plautus, two authors that are roughly contemporary to Cato. For these reasons, the meaning *'peplos'* (i.e. a long sleeveless garment) seems preferable. The Roman matrons in Cato would thus be wearing a garment that we would later learn of as a *stola* (B 4).

2.4 Conclusion

Cato's remarks, if my reconstruction is correct, originally read as follows:

mulieres opertae auro purpuraque <...> argentea ret<icula>, diadema<ta>, coronas aureas, russeas fasciolas, galbinas lineas pallas, redimicula

Women covered over and over with gold and purple ... hairnets of silver, diadems, wreaths of gold, red cords, light green linen *pallae*, chains

Syntactically, the predicate that governs the accusative of the enumeration is missing in the quotation. Maybe, we should insert it after *purpuraque*. The statement of the text is thus far less odd than Festus and the Augustan grammarians believed it to be. Like some modern researchers, these scholars had the tendency, though the interval was only about hundred and fifty years, to think of Cato as a figure of Roman prehistory. Cato's perceived prehistorical status would then obviously have him using strange

⁴² Iuven. 2.97.

⁴³ Mart. 3.82.5.

⁴⁴ Mart. 1.96.8–9: *habeat et licet semper || fuscis colores, galbinos habet mores* [even if he always wears dark colours: he has light green mores]; for the interpretation of the epigram, see B 11 p. 428

archaic words. The historical reality looked different: Cato already lived in a luxurious Hellenistic world; his language and his vocabulary were quite similar to that of Cicero. Placing him in prehistory creates dual mistakes: He is neither a reliable source of true Roman prehistory (which was still four centuries before his time), nor should glosses simply be accepted as a supposed use of archaic Latin terms.

The person who speaks the critical words about the women's *luxuria* is not expressly noted, but it seems very likely that it was Cato himself. There is also the question of how the fragment fits within the framework of the *Origines*. Perhaps it was part of a speech that Cato inserted into his historical work.⁴⁵ Cato's so-called Rhodian oration (*Pro Rhodiensibus*) provides an example for the fact that he sometimes incorporated political speeches that he had actually delivered into the *Origines*. Thus we may suppose that he did the same in this case.

Our sources mention two actions taken by Cato against the luxury of female clothing.⁴⁶ First we hear that he unsuccessfully tried to stop the abolition of the *lex Oppia*, a luxury law banning the use of gold and purple enacted during the Second Punic War, in his consulate in 195 BCE,⁴⁷ then that he later introduced a luxury tax as a censor in 184 BCE.⁴⁸ It seems very attractive to link the fragment examined in this chapter to one of these occasions. To start with, it should be noted that the status of our historical sources on Cato's actions is very different. As regards the censorship, we still have verbatim quotations of two of Cato's own speeches, of *De vestitu et vehiculis* (On clothing and cars) and *De signis et tabulis* (On statues and pictures).⁴⁹ In contrast, Cato's consular speech on the *lex Oppia* is first attested by the historian Livy, who gives us a long debate between the tribune Valerius and the consul Cato. Modern historians have long been more or less sceptical of Livy's account.⁵⁰ It cannot be excluded that Livy

⁴⁵ Cf. Cato F 163 Malcovati with the testimonies; especially Gell. 6.3.7; Suerbaum (n. 4) 398–399.

⁴⁶ See, however, Beck/Walter (n. 4) 219: "Kontext des Luxus- und Dekadenzdiskurses im 2. Jh., an dem Cato intensiv teilnahm"; Cornell I (n. 4) 140: "Cato returned to it again and again." The fragments that have survived are only few.

⁴⁷ Liv. 34.1–8 (Val. Max. 9.1.3). Livy summarizes the provisions of the law as follows (34.1.3): *ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu vestimento versicolori uteretur neu iuncto vehiculo ... veheretur* [No woman should have more than half an ounce of gold, nor should she wear a colourful garment, nor use a carriage]; cf. on the *lex Oppia* in general: I. Sauerwein, Die leges sumptuariae als römische Maßnahme gegen den Sittenverfall, Hamburg 1970, 40–46; H. Tränkle, Cato in der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius, Mainz 1971, 9–16; Ph. Culham, The Lex Oppia, Latomus 41 (1982), 786–793; E. Baltrusch, Regimen Morum, München 1989, 52–59; Perl/El-Qalqili (n. 3) 414–439 (with an extensive bibliography); most recently Wallace-Hadrill (2008), 334–335; B. Feichtinger, Streiten über luxuria. Überlegungen zur lex Oppia-Episode bei Livius, Latomus 74 (2015), 671–688; Cornell III (n. 4) 140.

⁴⁸ Liv. 39.44.2; Plutarch. Cato maior 18.2.

⁴⁹ *De vestitu et vehiculis*: Cato F 93 Malc. (= Prisc. inst. 6.36, GL 2 p. 226.16–18); *De signis et tabulis*: F 94 Malc. (= Festus p. 364.11–14 L.); F 95 Malc. (= Plin. NH 34.3).

⁵⁰ Meyer ORF (1842) 23: "ut autem Livius orationem Catonis fictam operi suo inseruit, ita Graeci quoque scriptores idem fecerunt"; see also the overviews of the various opinions in Sauerwein (n. 47) 59–66; Perl/El-Qalqili (n. 3) 430–431; Feichtinger (n. 47) 674.

invented Cato's entire consular intervention against the *lex Oppia* in order to fill up gaps in Cato's biography. In any case, there is some reason to believe that Cato himself did not include a long oration in his *Origines* during his consulship.⁵¹ It would only have highlighted his political defeat—he *tried* to stop the abolition. It thus seems better to attribute the fragment to Cato's time as censor and date it to the year 184 BCE.⁵²

However, there remains a difficulty even if we put it to the time of Cato's censorship.⁵³ According to Festus (Verrius), the fragment belongs to the seventh book of the *Origines*. There, however, Cato was already concerned with a much later period, i.e. the last years of his life. He went down to the year 167 BCE in the fifth book.⁵⁴ It is thus not the seventh, but the fifth book that will have comprised the years of his censorship. We therefore have to assume that either Cato did not insert the speech in which he criticised female luxury at its correct historical point in his work or that the book number seven given by Festus (Verrius) is wrong. Regarding the corrupt transmission of Festus, the latter hypothesis seems preferable to me. Nevertheless, we know too little to reach a well-founded conclusion in this matter. It is best to leave the whole question open. Maybe Cato spoke *de luxuria mulierum* at another occasion that has not found any echo in later historians.

51 Cf. also RE 22.1 (1953) s.v. Marcus Porcius Cato Censorius, col. 111–112 (M. Gelzer) (a remark in Cato's *Origines* inspired Livy to write the speeches); Perl/El-Qalqili (n. 3) 430–437 (the whole incident has been invented by Livy, Cato was not even in Rome at the time of the *abrogatio* of the law); Cornell (n. 4), vol. I, 214 n. 70.

52 Perl/El-Qalqili (n. 3) 426 n. 32.

53 The difficulty manifests itself in the evasive comments on the fragment, see most recently Beck/Walter (n. 4) 219; Cornell (n. 4) I 140.

54 Leo (n. 4) 295; most recently Cornell I (n. 4) 213–217.

3 Naevius *Lycurgus* F 18 R. – Greek female bacchantes and their costume

1. Introduction
2. Nonius' two versions of Naevius
3. Naevius about Thracian bacchantes
 - 3.1 The meaning of *patagus* (noise)
 - 3.2 The meaning of *malaca mortualia* ('degenerate songs')
4. Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

The first piece of Latin poetry concerning female dress available to us is a verse from a tragedy by Naevius (ca. 280–200 BCE) bearing the title *Lycurgus*. It does not deal with the costume of Roman women, but with that of Thracian bacchantes—priestesses of the god Bacchus (Dionysus). The fragment, twice quoted by Nonius about six hundred years later, presents some difficulties. In contrast to the Twelve Tables and Cato, these arise less from a corrupt transmission of the text, but rather from the choice of the right variants and from the correct interpretation of single words, especially the term *mortualia*.

The section has been published many times in various editions of Naevius, of Roman tragedy, and of Nonius.¹ The text, as we read it today, goes back to Ribbeck (1852); the interpretation of the word *mortualia* as funeral dress goes back a few more years, having been proposed by Bothe (1837). Bothe's views have become canonical today and have found their way into Latin dictionaries. As a result, the bacchantes described by Naevius are dressed in a cheerful long robe of a striking red colour (*crocata*) and a dark mourning dress!² The aim of the following analysis is to solve this contradiction and to offer a new solution for some old problems. Unfortunately, as in A 1–3, some odd garments—the **patagium* and the *mortualia*—will disappear in this process. Noise (*patagus*) and song will hopefully make up for this loss.

The myth about Dionysus and the Thracian king Lycurgus was dramatized by Aeschylus in his trilogy called *Lycurgeia* and, at about the same time, by Polyphrasmon,

¹ Cf. Naevius, *Lycurgus* F 12 Bothe (1823) 88; F 18 Ribbeck (1852) = Ribbeck² (1871); Naevius F 39 Warmington (1936); F 40 Schauer (2012); Marmorale (1950) 197; F 34 Traglia (1986); Lattanzi (1994) 231. Further editions are listed in Schauer (2012) 114, who provides a comprehensive doxography. It is unfortunate that the editions of the fragmentary Latin tragedies and comedies, unlike those of the Greek poets (TrGF, PCG), do not contain *subsida interpretationis*.

² See also Warmington (1936) (see below) and most recently R. Seaford, Euripides. *Bacchae*, Warminster 1997, 27, 222.

a tragic poet about whom we know very little.³ The *Bacchae* of Euripides show us, with king Pentheus in the role of Lycurgus, how to imagine the basic structure of the plot. Dionysus is persecuted by Lycurgus, king of the Edonians, who is punished for his sacrilege in different ways afterwards.⁴

We have only few fragments left of both the Greek tragedies on Lycurgus and Naevius' play. So it is no longer possible to determine with certainty the Greek model Naevius used and adapted.⁵ In some points, the *Lycurgus* resembles the *Edonoi* of Aeschylus.⁶ However, the similarities are not so close that one can call Naevius' play a translation; they might simply be caused by parallel motifs.

In total, twenty-four fragments of Naevius' *Lycurgus* have survived, all but one transmitted by Nonius. It is also Nonius to whom we owe the fragment under discussion. The text has some difficulties that are characteristic of Nonius (which will be discussed in other chapters of this book).⁷ Many quotations adduced by Nonius are in bad shape. Apart from that, they are nearly all mutilated at the beginning or at the end. There are also plenty of omissions and misspellings that impede understanding. It is often not clear whether mistakes are due to Nonius himself, his sources, or the manuscript tradition. However, they eventually had, so to say, a creative effect: Some obscure dress terms fascinating modern scholars, like the *mortualia*, were born out of this chaos.

3.2 Nonius' two versions of Naevius

The fragment of Naevius is quoted twice by Nonius. These quotations are given below as version A and version B. The two versions differ slightly, and it therefore seems best to first discuss which one we should use as a starting point and how to use it:

³ Cf. Aeschyl. T 68. 78 (on the trilogy); F 23–25 (*Bassarai*). 57–67 (*Edonoi*). 146–149 (*Neaniskoi*) Radt; Polyphrasmon 7 T 3 Snell. Schauer (2012) 89 should be corrected; his reference leads to the Euripidean *Likymnios*.

⁴ On the *Lycurgus* of Naevius, see especially O. Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik*, Leipzig 1875, 55–61; K. Deichgräber, *Die Lykurgie des Aischylos. Versuch einer Wiederherstellung der dionysischen Tetralogie*, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Altertumswissenschaft* 3 (1939), 256–265; L. Lattanzi, *Il Lucurgus di Nevio*, *Aevum antiquum* 7 (1994), 191–265; W. Suerbaum, *Religiöse Identitäts- und Alteritätsangebote im Equos Troianus und im Lycurgus des Naevius*, in: G. Manuwald (ed.), *Identität und Alterität in der frühromischen Tragödie*, Würzburg 2000, 185–198.

⁵ E. Bruhn, *Ausgewählte Tragödien des Euripides. Die Bakchen*, Berlin ³1891, 29: “wenn wir wüßten, daß die aeschyleische Lykurgie die Vorlage für den Lucurgus des Naevius gewesen sei: was wir nicht wissen. Immerhin mögen die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem Lucurgus und den Bakchen erwähnt sein”; for a recent doxography, see Schauer (2012) 90.

⁶ Deichgräber (n. 4) 232; E. R. Dodds, *Euripides. Bacchae*, Oxford ²1960, xxxi–xxxiii; D. Ferrin Sutton, *Aeschylus' Edonians*, in id. (ed.), *Fons Perennis. Saggi Critici di Filologia Classica. Raccolti in Onore del Professore Vittorio D'Agostino*, Torino, 388–389; Lattanzi (n. 4) 198; most recently Suerbaum (n. 4) 190.

⁷ Cf., for example, A 7 pp. 138–142; D 4 pp. 625–638; D 6 pp. 663–665.

A p. 866.7 L. *patagium*] ... *pallis patagis crocotis malacis mortualibus*

B p. 880.32 L. *caltulam et crocotulam*] ... *pallis patagiis crocotis malaciis mortalibus*

(for a translation, see below)

Both times, the verse of Naevius does not form the basis of Nonius' lemma, but follows after other quotations as additional evidence. In the first case (A), it is preceded by a half verse taken from the *Epidicus* of Plautus (231) *indusiatam patagiatam*; in the second case (B), it is quoted fourth in a lemma that is very chaotic. It has long been noted that the original verse in Naevius' text must have been a trochaic septenar.⁸ In A, a syllable is missing. In contrast, B is metrically complete (for an analysis, see below). However, Nonius or some later scribe must have interfered with the text of version B to create the complete verse, adding inter alia a (mistaken) second I in *malaciis* for the lost letter U in *mortalibus*. After Ribbeck (1852),⁹ editors of both Naevius and Nonius usually combine what they think to be the correct bits of both versions, putting together the first part of B (*pallis patagiis*) with the end of A (*malacis mortualibus*).¹⁰

At first glance, it might seem right to prefer the beginning of version B offering **patagiis* and to correct version A offering *patagis* accordingly. This is because Nonius adduces the verse in A as an example for the word *patagium*. He writes: *patagium aureus clavus qui pretiosis vestibis inmitti solet* (**patagium*: a golden stripe that they are accustomed to insert into expensive garments). However, there are some serious objections to restoring the form **patagium* in the text of Naevius. As to orthography, the spelling used by Nonius does not imply that a word was written in the same way by the authors quoted by him. It only shows which form of the word Nonius found in his copy of the respective authors or rather, as we will see in other places, which form he *wanted to* extract from it.¹¹ One should therefore avoid 'correcting' quotations of other authors in Nonius that offer a meaningful alternate spelling by using the form a word has in a lemma of Nonius. Moreover, the noun **patagium*, a gloss derived from the Plautine adjective **patagiatus* and only used by grammarians,¹² can hardly carry the meaning in Naevius that Nonius wants to assign to it.¹³ Ancient scholars before

⁸ Cf. most recently Schauer (2012) ad. loc.

⁹ The first editions usually print the hypermetrical version of B, cf. the Aldina (1513) of Nonius: *pallis patagiis crocotis malatiis (or manicis) mortualibus*; so also Stephanus (1564) 225 in his edition of Naevius. Vossius detected the mistake, noting in his *Castigationes* p. 68 to the edition of Scriverius (1620): "*itaque, si malacia displicet, malacis legam, quomodo pallium malacum ibidem dixit Comicus.*" Bothe (1823) offers an odd proposal to get rid of the superfluous syllable: "*vel pronuntiantum est metri gratia malacis, vel U in mortualibus elidendum.*"

¹⁰ Marmorale (1950); Lattanzi (n. 4) 231; Schauer (2012).

¹¹ See on it also my remarks p. 664.

¹² See D 3 pp. 612–615.

¹³ The difficulty is usually not noted or is glossed over, cf. Warmington (1936): "with gowns and golden edgings"; Rousselle (1986) 196: "gowns with golden stripes"; Traglia (1986): "con ampi mantelli e frange dorate"; Lattanzi (1994): "con ampie vesti, frange dorate, crocotule, morbide gramglie."

Nonius thought that the word referred to a kind of trimming of dress. However, such a trivial ornament does not fit in with a literary genre like tragedy that is written in an elevated style.

As regards methodology, it is therefore better to not mix versions, but to choose between A or B. In contrast to B (*malaciis mortalibus*), version A does not have any obvious orthographical mistakes. As regards the content, we have already seen that it is difficult to explain the unparalleled word **patagium* in B, whereas the **patagus* in A has at least a good parallel in the Greek word πάταγος (see below). We should thus use version A as the basis of our reconstruction.

3.3 Naevius about Thracian bacchantes

In version A, the verse is to be interpreted as an incomplete trochaic septenar, missing one syllable. It can be completed by, for example, adding a *cum* at the beginning of the verse. The text then reads as follows:

<cum> pallis, pātāgis, crōcotis, mālācis mortūalībūs
with *pallae*, noise, *crocotae*, and degenerate songs

The speaker of the words is not mentioned. It is either Lycurgus or one of his servants, who tells the king about the unusual apparel of Dionysus and his followers.¹⁴ He describes some female bacchantes. The basic elements of their costume can be identified clearly. The term *palla* denotes their long dress.¹⁵ Depending on the literary genre, our Greek sources call this either χιτών (in prose) or πέπλος (in poetry).¹⁶ The Latin word *palla* suggests that Naevius found the term πέπλος in the tragedy he imitated. The long robe of the bacchantes was colourful and was also called βάσσαρα.¹⁷ Women wore it together with the *crocota*, a red tunic typical for the cult of Dionysus.¹⁸ The source of Naevius at this point may have spoken of χροκωτοί, which is still reflected in the Latin loanword *crocotae*. The costume consisting of two garments we read about in our text is thus similar to that of a statue of Dionysus described in a famous passage by the

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Ribbeck (n. 4) 59: “Bericht eines der Schergen”; Deichgräber (n. 4) 259: “paßt in Ton und Inhalt nur in eine Rede des Königs”; Schauer (2012) ad F 40.

¹⁵ On this meaning, cf. B 3 pp. 292–297.

¹⁶ For the term πέπλος, see Euripid. Bacch. 821: βυσσίνους πέπλους; 935–936: πέπλων στολίδες (Pentheus dressed in the robe of a bacchante). In the Euripidean expression βύσσινοι πέπλοι, the present and the heroic age are melted together. The peplos was made of wool, the chiton of linen.

¹⁷ Cf. RE 3.1 (1897) s.v. Bassarai, Bassarides, col. 104 (O. Jessen); for further references, see Aeschyl. F 59 Radt and Ps.-Acro (~ Porph.) ad Hor. carm. 1.18.11.

¹⁸ Cf. also A 10 pp. 205–206; B 1 p. 259; B 11 p. 417.

historian Kallixenos:¹⁹ “a statue of Dionysus, ten cubits tall, pouring a libation from a golden drinking-cup, with a foot-long *chiton* (= *palla*) in purple reaching to the feet and a transparent *crocota* over it. He was wrapped in a purple himation with golden embroidery.”

The description given by Naevius fits perfectly with other images and descriptions of bacchantes. A fragment of the *Edonoi* of Aeschylus (F 59), a tragedy belonging to the Aeschylean trilogy that was perhaps used as a source by Naevius in his *Lycurgus*, comes very close to it in content: ὅστις χιτῶνας βασσάρας τε Λυδίας ἔχει ποδήρεις (who wears a *chiton* and Lydian *bassarai* reaching to the feet). The situation of the speech in Aeschylus seems to be very similar to that in Naevius. The words could be part of a report of a messenger or a speech of Lycurgus. They refer, however, not to a woman, but to a man wearing the costume of Dionysus, maybe the god himself.

3.3.1 The meaning of *patagus* (noise)

In Naevius, the two terms referring to dress—*palla* and *crocota*—are separated by the word *patagus*. As the correction to the gloss **patagium* in version B implies, Nonius looked for a further article of clothing because he wanted to have a continuous enumeration of garments. However, the word *patagus* is meaningful on its own and we should first think about whether it fits in. A *patagus* (παταγός) is the noise made by the retinue of Dionysus. It is also mentioned by the tragic poet Pratinas, a contemporary of Aeschylus:²⁰ “What hubris came to the altar of Dionysus that is full of *patagus* ... but I must make *patagus*, storming over the mountain with the naiads.”

The *patagus* is mainly caused by drums (*tympana*) carried by the bacchantes. In his play *Edonoi*, Aeschylus also lists the various instruments and their noise, including a *tympanum*.²¹ Together with clothes, music is usually considered the defining characteristic of Dionysus and his cult in literature. Propertius, for example, describes Bacchus and his procession as follows:

Prop. 3.17.29–34
candida laxatis onerato colla corymbis
cinget Bassaricas Lydia mitra comas,
levis odorato cervix manabit olivo,
et feriet nudos veste fluente pedes.

¹⁹ Athen. 5.28 p. 198c (= Kallixenos FGtHist 627 F 2): ... ἄγαλμα Διονύσου δεκάπηχυ σπένδον ἐκ καρρησίου χρυσοῦ, χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ἔχον διάπεζον καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ κροκωτὸν διαφανῆ. περιεβέβλητο δὲ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν χρυσοποίκιλον.

²⁰ Pratinas (4) F 1 Snell: τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν ... ἐμὲ δεῖ παταγεῖν ἄν’ ὄρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναϊάδων.

²¹ Aeschyl. F 57 Radt.

*mollia Dircaeae pulsabunt tympana Thebae,
capripedes calamo Panes hiant canent.*

Loose clusters of ivy-berries (= garlands) will rest on your white shoulders. A Lydian *mitra* will surround your Dionysian hair. Your neck will be slippery, dripping with streams of sweet-smelling oil, and a flowing robe will touch your bare feet. Thebes in Boeotia will beat the wanton drum; goat-footed Pans will play on shepherd's pipes.

The *patagus* we find in Naevius is thus a typical element of a Dionysian revelry. The only objection to it could be that it is inserted between two garments. However, this 'disorder' creates the nice alliteration *pallis patagis*, making the position of *patagus* plausible. It also suits an agitated or even angry person talking about what he regards as a tumultuous rabble. The rest of the verse also seems to support this interpretation. However, there are some difficulties to be solved first.

3.3.2 The meaning of *malaca mortualia* ('degenerate songs')

The adjective *malacus* (= *mollis*) is a Greek loanword attested elsewhere in early Latin texts.²² Naevius simply translated the Greek adjective *μαλακός* that he found in his source. But to which word does *malacis* refer? To *crocotis* or to *mortualibus*? In Plautus,²³ *malacus* is connected twice with a cloak (*pallium*); the Greek *μαλακός* can also refer to garments.²⁴ In Naevius too, the word could thus refer to the *crocotis*.²⁵ However, the alliteration, the metre, and the rhetorical structure of the entire statement point in the opposite direction. Taking *malacis* together with *mortualibus*, we get a meaningful caesura after the fourth foot. This structural interpretation has the additional benefit of bringing the sentence into complete accord with Behaghel's law, which states that single limbs of a sentence tend to become longer.

But what then does the expression *mortualia* mean? At present, *mortualia* (as a plural noun) are defined in the dictionaries with more or less confidence as funeral garments.²⁶ This explanation goes back to Bothe (1837).²⁷ Since Bothe's view had so much influence on later research, it will be discussed here at full length. Bothe printed the text of Naevius as *pallis, patagis, crocotis, manicis, mortualibus*. He then

²² The editions up to Bothe (1823) print the noun *malacis* (as translation of the Greek *μαλακία*), to which the following *mort(u)alibus* is added as an adjective. Apart from text-critical considerations, however, the content of this phrase is not clear either.

²³ Bacch. 71; Miles 688.

²⁴ Cf. LSJ s.v. *μαλακός* I.

²⁵ See Vossius (1620) (see above n. 9); Warmington (1936): "with soft saffron dresses."

²⁶ ThLL VIII s. v. *mortualia* col. 1520.63–65: *i. q. res ad mortuos sive funera pertinentes. de vestimentis*. Georges s.v. "Leichenkleider, Trauerkleider"; OLD s.v. b. (app.) "mourning garments"; see also LHS I 350 (3).

²⁷ F. H. Bothe, *Emendationes Nonianae*, RhM 5 (1837), 271.

commented at it as follows:²⁸ “The meaning is that the field is strewn with those garments of the fleeing bacchantes. The person, whoever it may be, calls them all *mortualia*, obviously because they belong to women who are destined for death by Lycurgus.”

The starting point of Bothe’s reasoning was, as it seems, the word **patagium*, which he took to denote the border of a garment. He wondered how it was to be explained in the given context and came upon the supposition that the clothes of the bacchantes could have already lain torn and scattered on the ground. He then buttressed his assumption by putting the old (and mistaken) conjecture *manicae* (sleeves) into the text,²⁹ finding in it another piece of the torn clothes. Since there was still the word *mortualia* to account for, Bothe added another twist to his explanation. According to him, the torn clothes of the bacchantes were called ‘funeral dress’ by the speaker because the person wanted to express that the bacchantes were destined for death by Lycurgus anyway. It is obvious that Bothe’s complicated theory was an ad hoc invention on his part. However, it was later taken up by the dictionaries. In a kind of circular reasoning, it was further spun out afterwards by later scholars, who took the meaning ‘funeral dress’ for granted.³⁰ The cheerful reveling of the bacchantes thus turned into a funeral procession.

The blatant contradiction to the red tunica called *crocota* shows that Bothe’s interpretation of *mortualia* is not correct. Bright red is not a colour of mourning among ancient Mediterranean cultures (and probably not of any culture at any point in history). Moreover, with the *palla* and *crocota*, the clothing of the bacchantes is already complete. We must therefore find another explanation. Methodologically, it is best to first look at parallels for the word *mortualia*. The adjective *mortualis* is attested two more times, only in early Latin literature, where it is always used as a noun in the neuter plural. This usage suggests that *mortualia* was a well-defined word, the meaning of which should not be changed at will.

The example most important to establishing its sense is a quotation from Cato which has been handed down to us by Gellius. He tells us how the grammarian Domitius accuses philosophers of busying themselves with mere linguistic trifles for their own sake:

²⁸ *stratus fuisse campus dicitur vestimentis illis fugientium Baccharum, quae cuncta vocat ille, quisquis est, qui narrat, mortualia, utpote morti destinatarum a Lycurgo.*

²⁹ Cf. already the editio Aldina (1513) of Nonius.

³⁰ Warmington (1936) 129: “an unexpected end to the list; perhaps it means grey or dark clothes”; Marmorale (1950) 197 “le vesti da lutto”; Traglia (1986): “fine gramaglie”; Lattanzi (1994) 232; Seaford (n. 2) loc. cit.

Gellius NA 18.7.3 (Cato F 19 inc. Jordan)³¹

vos philosophi mera estis, ut M. Cato ait, mortualia (mortuaria codd.); glossaria namque colligitis et leixidia, res taetras et inanes et frivolas, tamquam mulierum voces praeficarum.

You philosophers are, as M. Cato says, pure *mortualia*; for you collect glosses and words in need of explanation, things that are horrible, empty and frivolous like the wailing of mourning women.

The fragment of Cato comprises only the word *mortualia*.³² Probably, Cato used the word in a depreciating way to denote a statement that he regarded as nonsensical. The archaist Gellius, himself a lover of the linguistic trifles he makes Domitius criticize, without doubt appreciated the word for its archaic sound. He therefore inserted it at any cost, even though it provoked some incongruity of sense when applied to philosophers (it refers to things, and not people). That *mortualia* was a gloss at the time of Gellius (Domitius) is shown by the fact that he adds an explanation of it at the end. According to him, *mortualia* (sc. *carmina*) are *mulierum voces praeficarum*, utterances of professional female wailers. As far as we can see, this explanation is right.

The meaning proposed by Gellius also fits in with the second evidence we have for the word *mortualia*, which comes from the *Asinaria* of Plautus. There, a speaker comments on a comic contract with a prostitute as follows (808): *haec sunt non nugae, non enim mortualia* (It is no joke because it is not *mortualia*). Again the expression *mortualia* denotes words without any meaning; again it is used metaphorically.³³ As is shown by its etymology, *mortualia* must have to do something with *mors* (death). That they were uttered by professionals-for-hire adds some point to the wit in Plautus because prostitutes could also be regarded as such.³⁴ We may therefore feel quite confident that Gellius' definition of *mortualia* is correct. As to its meaning, the word *mortualia* is thus equivalent to *neniae*, which is a more common word for lamentations and which is also used in a metaphorical sense.³⁵ Although the etymology of the term *neniae* cannot be elucidated with certainty (Etruscan?), it seems that, like in other cases, a Latin word (*mortualia*) existed side by side with a word of foreign origin, until one of them dropped out of use. In this case, the common *neniae* caused the rare *mortualia* to disappear in literature.

³¹ *mortualia* has been rightly restored out of the dubious *mortuaria*; cf. also H. Tränkle, *Subsivica Gelliana*, *Hermes* 111 (1983), 110–111.

³² Cf. Ch. Heusch, *Die Macht der Memoria. Die 'Noctes Atticae' des Aulus Gellius im Licht der Erinnerungskultur des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Berlin 2011, 360.

³³ Cf. the comment of Ussing (1875) 199–200 on Plautus ad loc.: “*haec, inquit, seria sunt, non nugae; neque enim mortuis haec cantantur, sed vivis scribuntur. Etenim moris erat apud Romanos, ut in funeribus a conductis mulieribus, quae praeficae appellabantur, neniae cantarentur in honorem defuncti, inepta et incondita carmina.*”

³⁴ F. Hurka, *Die Asinaria des Plautus*, Munich 2010, 256: “Die Wertung des Vertrags als Negation der *neniae* ist besonders passend, da die Klageweiber wie Philaenium angemietet wurden.”

³⁵ Cf. OLD s. v. *neniae* 5.

On the basis of the attested sense (meaningless song or wail), we may now turn to the question what *mortualia* might signify in Naevius. It is obvious that the person speaking is referring to the music of the followers of Dionysus. In another fragment from the *Lycurgus*, the singing of the bacchantes is described positively as a melodious song (*suavisonum melos*).³⁶ Here, however, the speaker's attitude towards them is hostile, as is appropriate for Lycurgus or one of his servants. He therefore calls their song a lamentation (*mortualia*). In the metaphorical use of the term, two negative connotations are mixed up. On the one hand, the singing of the bacchantes is characterized as a kind of wail. On the other hand, it is declared to be completely void of sense (*nugae*). The attested meaning of *mortualia* thus fits in perfectly. We do not have to postulate a new meaning which has no parallels. The attribute of these lamentations (*malaca*) can be explained with the Greek word μαλακός sometimes used with music, then denoting tunes that were regarded as soft or 'effeminate.' This derogatory meaning applies well here, too. The expression *malaca mortualia* is spoken in utmost contempt and should be translated as 'degenerate songs.'³⁷

3.4 Conclusion

Naevius describes bacchantes in their typical costume, the long robe (*palla*) and the red tunic (*crocota*). They beat drums (*patagus*) and sing 'degenerate songs' (*malaca mortualia*). The person speaking mixes up the logical sequence of words. The *palla* is followed by the *patagus*, the *crocota* by the singing. Maybe Naevius wanted to mirror the excitement of the speaker, who speaks of the bacchantes in a depreciating way. Rhetorically, the emotion felt by him is also underlined by a double alliteration. This much simpler interpretation makes perfect sense and accounts for all elements in the line without needing to take refuge in two dress glosses.

In his description, Naevius may have also kept close to his source, a Greek tragedy (Aeschylus?). The Greek verse translated by him is lost beyond retrieval, but three words are Greek loanwords. In any case, with Naevius' fragment we are entirely on Greek ground. It is no evidence for female Roman dress. This means that yet another Roman female garment has vanished before our eyes.

³⁶ Naevius, *Lycurgus* F 4 Ribbeck² = Naevius F 31 Schauer.

³⁷ Cf. LSJ s.v. μαλακός III 2 e of music, "soft, effeminate." Cf. also Prop. 3.17.33 (see p. 60): *molliā ... tympana* with Fedeli ad loc.

4 Plautus *Epidicus* – the dress catalogue

1. The introduction of the catalogue (219–228)
2. The catalogue (229–235)
 - 2.1 Grammar and structure of thought
 - 2.2 The catalogue – a *contaminatio* of Plautus?
3. The dress terms
4. Conclusion

The following chapter deals with scene II 2 of the *Epidicus* of Plautus, especially the comic catalogue of garments. The *Epidicus*, titled after the name of the main character, is the second-shortest comedy of Plautus (733 verses).¹ It is only half as long as, for example, the *Miles gloriosus* (1437 verses), differing in the greater conciseness of its dialogues. A reliable dating of the drama is not possible. It is usually associated with the abolition of the *lex Oppia* (A 2) in the year 195/194 BCE,² among other reasons because of the scene to be discussed here, where Epidicus gives the supposed names of women's articles of clothing.³ However, there is no clear reference to luxury legislation in the play. On the contrary: purple and luxury carts, restricted by the *lex Oppia*, are not mentioned in the *Epidicus*. Gold too only plays a minor role in the comedy. Thus, it seems best to leave the question of dating open.

The *Epidicus* is an anagnorisis drama in which several stock characters are involved—a slave (*servus*), some beautiful hetaerae (*meretrices*), a young man in love (*adulescens*), and a worried father (*senex*). At the centre of the plot is the slave Epidicus, whose tricks shape the action. In scene II 2, the common comical motif of a *senex* learning of his son's inappropriate love affair is varied in so far as the love affair is largely invented. By telling it, Epidicus only wants to scare his master, the *senex* Periphanes, in order to take money from him in the interest of the son. The young man (*adulescens*) is in urgent need of money because he wants to free his young mistress, a *meretrix*. Epidicus therefore describes to Periphanes in detail how the urban hetaerae, in full apparel, welcomed the young men (*amatores*) returning from war at the city gate. He tells Periphanes that his son was also expected there by such a mistress. The young lady's fine clothing causes him to talk about the supposed 'modern' names of female garments. This leads to a comic catalogue of dress in which the many unusual terms

1 U. Auhagen (ed.), Studien zu Plautus' Epidicius (= Scripta Oralia 125), Tübingen 2001; J. Blänsdorf, art. Plautus, in: W. Suerbaum (ed.), Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, 1. Band. Die Archaische Literatur von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod. Die vorliterarische Periode und die Zeit von 240 bis 78 v. Chr. (HAW VIII 1), Munich 2002, 200–201 for recent overviews.

2 Cf. p. 53

3 Th. Ladewig, Zum Epidicus des Plautus, ZA 8 (1841), 1081–1086; G. E. Duckworth, Titi Plauti Macci Epidicus, Princeton 1940, 239–240; K. H. E. Schutter, Quibus annis comoediae Plautinae primum actae sint quaeritur, Groningen 1952, 69–76; Blänsdorf (n. 1) 201.

(*nova nomina*) of female garments are listed. This chapter argues that these terms are mostly puns created by Plautus to seem like they might be ‘modern’ terms (at time of writing) used by fashion-conscious women. Most of them therefore do not refer to any historical garments.

The section has already been considered a key text for early female Roman garments in antiquity. It contains numerous words that are attested only once (*hapax legomena*) and are altogether obscure in meaning. Varro, following his teacher Aelius Stilo and others, tried to explain them and to make use of them for the history of primeval Roman clothing (C 1; D 3–5). The exegesis of the Plautine glosses stands at the beginning of an extensive scholarly discussion about Roman dress terms that we can still find in the dictionaries of Festus (Verrius) and Nonius. The pseudo-knowledge of antique and late antique scholars, which is mostly based on etymological guesswork, has left deep traces in modern research and has obscured the fact that many of the Plautine garments are only comedic chimaeras. Despite the warning of Wilson (1938),⁴ many words coined by Plautus ad hoc have been taken too seriously, resulting in a veritable hodgepodge of genuine and fictitious terms in cultural history.

The following chapter has two aims: All words concerning dress will be explained as far as possible. Real and fictitious terms will be sifted through and separated. On the other hand, the passage will be examined as regards the transmission. It will be argued that the text already suffered from corruption at several points before the time of Varro, several changes of speaker being missing and a corrupt word (**ricam* = *tricae*) impairing the understanding.

4.1 The introduction of the catalogue (219–228)

In scene II 2 (181–305), the slave Epidicus (E.) begins to spin his intrigue against the *senex* Periphanes (P.).⁵ He tells him about the beautiful young woman who supposedly awaited his son at the city gate. He is interrupted several times by Periphanes, who is curious and wants to know more about her. The humour of the scene comes from precisely the words’ meaninglessness coupled with the *senex*’s cluelessness of real dress terms.

Plaut. Epid. 221–228

E. *ea praestolabatur illum apud portam. P. viden veneficam!*

E. *sed vestita, aurata, ornata ut lepide, ut concinne, ut nove.*

P. *quid erat induta? an regillam induculam an mendiculam?*

E. *inphuviatam, ut istaec faciunt vestimentis nomina.*

⁴ Wilson (1938) 154.

⁵ Apart from the commentaries, see E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, Berlin 1922, 134–137; Th. Baier, *Griechisches und Römisches im Plautinischen Epidicus*, in: *Auhagen* (n. 1), 20–24.

P. *utin impluvium induta fuerit? E. quid istuc tam mirabile est?* 225
quasi non fundis exornatae multae incedant per vias.
<P.> *at tributus quom imperatus est, negant pendi potis:*
illis quibus tributus maior penditur, pendi potest.

E. She was waiting for him at the city gate. P. What a sorceress! || E. Her dress, her jewellery, her entire outfit, how charming, how elegant, how extravagant! || P. What was she wearing? A royal robe or a beggarly robe? || E. An *impluviata*, for that is what clothes are called now! || P. You mean she was wearing an *impluvium*? || E. What's so amazing about that? || Do not many women walk the streets dressed in whole estates? || **<P.>** However, when a tax is imposed, they say 'it cannot be paid.' || To those who charge higher taxes, they can pay it.

quid erat induta? regillam induculam aut mendiculam? (223)

The first pun of Plautus and the meaning of **regilla* have already caused difficulties for scholars in antiquity.⁶ The starting point is the adjective **regillus*, which Plautus humorously interprets as diminutive of *regius* (royal). Plautus' etymology is hardly correct, though it has made some career in both ancient and modern explanation. The gloss **regillus* is rather to be connected with the noun *regula*.⁷ It is probably a technical term that has not been adopted in Latin 'high' literature—it is only discussed by grammarians. This hypothesis is supported by the way the pun is constructed. The word play needs an anchor in reality. The 'beggarly robe' (**mendicula*) that is the opposite of the 'royal robe' (**regilla*) clearly is a comical ad hoc formation.⁸ The same is true for the word **inducula* that forms a word play with **mendicula* by means of assonance. The term **inducula* also only occurs here in primary use and is based on the verb *induo*, from which Plautus coined the gloss in analogy to the common term *subucula* (sc. *tunica*).⁹ Of the three words, only **regilla* is therefore left as a real term that could give rise to the humorous misinterpretation.

The ancient attempts to explain the word **regilla* are discussed elsewhere in this book.¹⁰ It is probably the Latin translation of the Greek term χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος, which denotes a long and fabric-rich *tunica* of Greek type. Perhaps the Greek term ὀρθοστάδιος already existed in the Greek comedy Plautus used as a model. However, as the Latin etymology shows, the word play following the **regilla* is certainly Plautus' own invention.

⁶ C 1 pp. 570–571; D 3 pp. 602–606.

⁷ Cf. D 3 p. 605.

⁸ See Duckworth (n. 3) ad loc.

⁹ C 1 p. 571; D 3 pp. 609–610.

¹⁰ Cf. n. 6.

***impluviatam, ut istaec faciunt vestimentis nomina* (224)**

When Periphanes asks him what kind of garment the girl was wearing, Epidicus responds (224) that she was dressed in an **impluviata*. The accusative *impluviatam* is the object of the elliptical main clause (sc. *induta est*). It is followed by a subordinate clause with *ut* + indicative (*ut istaec faciunt vestimentis nomina*). The Latin is trickier than it appears at first glance and needs more explanation than commentaries were willing to bestow on it so far. First, the conjunction *ut* seems to have causal sense (OLD s.v. 21) as it sometimes does in Plautus.¹¹ As to the form of the following pronoun, our manuscripts offer the orthographic variants *istae* (A, Nonius) and *istaec* (P). The form *istae* (from *iste*) is unequivocal in its grammar (it is nom. pl. fem.). The form *istaec* (from *istic*) is ambiguous. It is either nom. pl. fem. or nom. or acc. pl. neuter. Which case and gender do we have to choose? Does *istae(c)* refer to the subject or does it belong to the object *nomina*? Under the impression of v. 229 (*quid istae*), Fraenkel¹² and Wheeler¹³ prefer the nominative (“to judge by the names *those* females give their clothes”). However, a point of reference in the immediately preceding words is missing.¹⁴ Moreover, considering the expression *haec vocabula* in v. 235 (see below), it seems preferable to read *istaec* here and in v. 229, creating a similar expression. Being an attribute to *nomina*, *istaec* (‘like these,’ acc. pl. neut.) refers to the preceding *impluviatam*.¹⁵ *Faciunt*, being left without indication of a specific subject, then serves to generalize the statement, as does the expression *nomina vestimentis*. We should thus translate as follows: “an *impluviata*, since they give names like these (*istaec*) to clothes (nowadays).”

The **impluviata* is another pun of Plautus.¹⁶ In contrast to **regilla*, the comic effect is not produced by misunderstanding a real dress term, but by creating a funny new

11 Plaut. Amph. 329: *lassus sum hercle, navi ut vectus huc sum* [I am tired because I have travelled to this place on ship]; Most. 268: *ut speculum tenuisti, metuo ne olant argentum manus* [Since you have held the mirror, I fear that your hands will smell of silver]; KS II 364.

12 Fraenkel (n. 5) 135–136.

13 In Duckworth (n. 3).

14 Fraenkel (see n. 5) therefore argues that the players turn to the spectators.

15 Leo and Lindsay put *istaec* into the text. However, it cannot be decided what they thought because the form of the fem. nom. pl. is also *istaec* (= *istae*).

16 See Ussing: *ridiculi causa fictum videtur. non intellexit Nonius* p. 548 [21–24]. Nonius (p. 879.21–24 L.) gives us the following nonsense: *impluviatus color quasi fumato stillicidio implutus, qui est Mutinensis quem nunc dicimus. Plautus in Epidico: impluviata, ut istae faciunt vestimentis nomina* [The colour *impluviatus* like ‘rained upon (*implutus*) with grey drain water’ that we call ‘*Mutinensis*’ (= of Modena) now. Plautus in his *Epidicus*. . .]. Not everyone has believed Ussing, cf. Blümner I (1912) 258 n. 3: “Ebenso glaube ich nicht, dass die *vestis impluviata* bei Plaut. Epid. 224 ein schachbrettartig gemustertes Gewand war, indem die Karos den Impluvien ähneln (Becker-Göll a. a. O. [= Charikles] 257), vielmehr halte ich dies für einen dunkel gesprenkelten Stoff”; Fraenkel (n. 5) 135 n. 2: “Ussing hat den Witz vollständig mißverstanden . . . Die Umdeutung in V. 225 . . . hat ja eine Pointe nur, wenn *vestis* (oder *inducula*) *impluviata* eine Bezeichnung des Lebens war, sie bezieht sich auf die Musterung des Stoffs . . . Was bei Nonius steht . . . ist durchaus vernünftig.” Georges s.v. *impluviatus*: “I. von der Gestalt eines *impluvium*; II. wassergrau, blaugrau”; OLD s.v. “resembling an *impluvium*.”

word for a fictional garment. That the **impluviata* is no real garment but something ludicrous is shown by Periphanes' astonished question as to its meaning and by Epidicus' comic explanations. Plautus probably modeled the word after a genuine term taken from Latin fashion language as is suggested by the similar words **indusiata* and **patagiata* (see below).¹⁷ Regarding the assonance, the word that led Plautus to his invention may have come from the semantic field *pluma* that has to do with brocade (*plumare*).¹⁸

at tributus quom imperatus est, negant pendi potis: || illis quibus tributus maior penditur, pendi potest (227–228)

The manuscripts and the editors of Plautus give these verses to the slave Epidicus. However, they are better fit for the *senex* Periphanes. The adversative conjunction (*at*) at the beginning shows that the remarks are a kind of interjection, as is typical for Periphanes in the whole scene. The comment is critical and contrasts with what has been said by Epidicus. After all, it is Periphanes who as a citizen has to pay the tax.¹⁹ It is therefore better to assume that a change of speaker has been lost in the process of transmission.

4.2 The catalogue (229–235)

This exchange contains Plautus' famous catalogue of dress terms, which mixes technical words with Plautine malapropisms and inventions in a funny way. The catalogue has a long history as a literary form before Roman comedy. It is also well known in the comedic genres.²⁰ For example, a similar list of female jewellery and garments can be found in the second *Thesmophoriazusai* of Aristophanes.²¹ The Hellenistic poet Herondas in his Mime *Shoemaker* gives a long list of shoes.²²

Since the 19th century, the catalogue in the Epidicus has been discussed many times under the heading of whether it was written by Plautus or instead added later by some other author. It has been branded an 'interpolation' first by Wagner (1843).

¹⁷ As is shown by the Latin nature of the puns, vv. 223–228 are additions made by Plautus to his Greek source, see Fraenkel (n. 5) 135; W. G. Arnott, *Plautus' Epidicus and Greek Comedy*, in: Auhagen (n. 1), 81.

¹⁸ See on it below p. 81.

¹⁹ For the discussion whether the *tributus* is a Roman tax or a Greek εἰσφορά taken over from Plautus' Greek source, see Fraenkel (n. 5) 135; Arnott (n. 17) 81.

²⁰ Arnott (n. 17) 81.

²¹ Aristophanes F 332 K.-A.

²² Herondas 756–61, cf. C 30 p. 549.

Since then, opinions as to its authenticity have been diverging.²³ After Fraenkel's contribution to the question (1922), no new arguments have been added. Wagner noticed a seeming contradiction in the catalogue. *Epidicus* extensively tells *Periphanes* about the luxurious garments of wives, and a little later (267) advises him to marry off his son as soon as possible.²⁴ Wagner solves this contradiction by attributing the catalogue to another writer who inserted it without regard for the entire context. In fact, the catalogue does not submit to any strict logic. Yet one may ask, like Fraenkel, whether this standard is to be applied to a comic excursus and whether the incongruities do not form part of 'situational comedy.'²⁵ After all, comedy written for stage is more free-wheeling in thought than poetry meant for books. Moreover, Wagner's argument does not prove that Plautus did not write the catalogue himself. Plautus may well have enlarged his Greek source with an intentional addition or by inserting a piece of another Greek play (*contaminatio*). As we will see below, the catalogue fits in very well when all questions as to the text are solved. Thus, it seems best to attribute the catalogue to him.

4.2.1 Grammar and structure of thought

Epidicus is talking to *Periphanes* as before. In the end, *Apoecides* (A.), a friend of *Periphanes*, intervenes and asks *Epidicus* to return to the matter at hand:²⁶

Plaut. *Epid.* 229–237

E. *quid istae<c>, quae vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova?*
*tunicam rallam, tunicam spissam, linteolam caesiciam,*²⁷ 230
indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam aut crocotulam,

²³ For an overview of the different positions, see Duckworth (n. 3) 244. 'Interpolation' by some later author: Leo in his edition; O. Zwierlein, *Zur Kritik und Exegese des Plautus IV. Bacchides*, Stuttgart 1992, 172 n. 380; M. Deufert, *Textgeschichte und Rezeption der plautinischen Komödien im Altertum*, Berlin 2002, 326; catalogue written by Plautus himself: C. Schredinger, *Observationes in T. Macci Plauti Epidicum*, Schweinfurt 1884, 28–38; Fraenkel (n. 5) 134–137; Arnott (n. 17) 81–82; W. Hofmann, *Die Monologe im Epidicus und Truculentus*, in: Auhagen (n. 1) 242.

²⁴ W. Wagner, *De Plauti Aulularia*, Bonn 1864, 33: "sed mirum est, neminem adhuc animadvertisse, quam importune illa de matronarum luxu expositio hic sit intrusa: hic enim non de matronis deque earum luxu sermo est. qua igitur ratione Epidicum decet uxorum luxuriam tangere vel adeo fusius pertractare? quod si fecisset, non ea quam semper sequitur calliditate rem instituisset: nam infra (II 2,82) ut Strathippocles a meretrice abducatur, ei uxorem arbitrandam censet. quid igitur debebat Periphanis animum praeoccupare importunarum uxorum commemoratione."

²⁵ Vgl. Fraenkel (n. 5) 136 n. 3.

²⁶ The places where my text deviates from that of printed editions are given in bold characters. Among others, the obscure garment called *rica (D 4) may be nonsense (*tricae*) in the true sense of the word. The translation attempts to reproduce the Plautinian puns as far as possible.

²⁷ *linteolam caesiciam* Radicke: *linteolum caesicium* codd.

*subparum aut subnimum ... <P.> tricae!²⁸ <E.> basilicum aut exoticum,
cumatile aut plumatile, carinum aut cerinum ... <P.> gerrae maxumae!
<E.> cani quoque etiam ademptumst nomen. P. qui? E. vocant Laconicum.
haec vocabula auctiones subigunt ut faciant viros. 235
A. quin tu ut occepisti loquere? E. occepere aliae mulieres
duae post me sic fabulari inter sese.*

E. What about these new names that are invented every year for clothing? || Thin tunic, thick tunic, a tunic made of fine linen, || *patagiata, indusiata*, ‘little marigold’ or ‘little crocus,’ || ‘not-enough-underneath’ or ‘too-much-underneath’ ... **<P.>** Nonsense! **<E.>** royal robe or exotic robe, ‘wave-dress’ or ‘cave-dress,’ ‘brown-nut’ or ‘crown-nut.’ || **<P.>** Utter nonsense! || **E.** Even a dog’s name has been stolen! **P.** What? **E.** They speak of a ‘Spaniel!’ These are the words that force men to sell their homes! || **A.** Why don’t you talk like you started? **E.** Two other women behind me started talking like this...

As to grammar, vv. 229 to 233a (*cerinum*) offer, in the transmitted form (with **ricam*), a long uninterrupted question. The catalogue (230–233a) consists of a series of accusatives standing in apposition to the expression *nomina nova* in v. 229. In the form in which it has been handed down to us, it contains sixteen terms in succession. However, there are several problems as to the transmitted text.²⁹

quid istae<c>, quae vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova? (229)

Verse 229 offers some difficulty. The verse is linguistically similar to v. 224 (*impluviatam, ut istae/istaec faciunt vestimentis nomina*), to v. 225 (*quid istuc*), and to v. 222 (*nove*). As to grammar, the same question has to be asked as in v. 224 (see above), namely what to make of *istae/istaec* and *quae*.³⁰ In contrast to v. 224, this time the textual transmission is not split. It has only the feminine form *istae*. If we keep this, the following relative pronoun *quae* has to be understood as a nom. pl. fem. as well (“what about those women who... invent new names?”). But does this remark fit the context? The problem arises that the following catalogue of dress terms in the accusative is not sufficiently introduced. For this reason, some scholars have taken *quae* as acc. pl. neut., thus separating it from the preceding *quid istae* (“what about these women? What new names they invent!”).³¹ This solution, however, is against the expected linguistic ductus. After *istae*, a relative pronoun (*quae*) referring to it seems more natural.

²⁸ *tricae* Radicke: *ricam* codd.

²⁹ Editors leave readers in the lurch. They usually put a question mark after v. 229. In v. 233, they separate the nominative *gerrae maxumae* from the preceding accusatives by a dash. Lindsay also puts a dash before the word **subnimum* in v. 232, without any obvious reason. Duckworth (n. 3) does not explain the syntax in his commentary.

³⁰ The difficulty is still to be felt in Duckworth’s comment ad loc.

³¹ Schredinger (n. 23) 36–37.

An easy remedy for all these difficulties is to correct the fem. *istae* to the neut. *istaec*<c>. This is then to be connected with the expression *nova nomina* that has been transferred from the main clause into the relative clause (“What about these new names that are invented every year for clothing?”). The following catalogue (231ff) is thus introduced in an adequate way. The question *quid istaec nova nomina* is also in tune with the *istaec nomina* of v. 224, and what is most important, with *haec (vocabula)* in v. 235 that again takes up *istaec*. The variant *istae/istaec* in v. 224 shows that the textual transmission is uncertain as to the ending of the word *istic*. One should therefore emend *istae* to *istaec* at this point to restore a proper sense.

***tunicam rallam, tunicam spissam, linteolam caesiciam (linteolum caesicium codd.) ||
indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam aut crocotulam (230–231)***

The verses contain a total of seven ‘dress terms,’ all but one in the feminine and referring to different sorts of tunics (*tunica*). The expression *linteolum caesicium*, which as it stands has to be translated with ‘a cloth of some special type of linen’ (see below), intrudes into this homogenous list, interrupting the sequence of feminine forms and also breaking up the line of *tunicae*. It also makes the feminine participles *indusiatam* and *patagiatam* follow abruptly, the reference word *tunicam* being cut off. All problems are solved if we instead read *linteolam caesiciam* (sc. *tunicam*), understanding *linteolam* not as a noun, but as an adjective. This would refer to a tunic made of specially worked linen (see below). The error of the endings could have been caused by a scribe reading the rare adjective form *linteolam*, not understanding its grammatical nature, and replacing it with the more common noun *linteolum* (a piece or strip of linen). My proposed emendation *linteolam caesiciam* not only solves the syntactic knot, but also creates a nice series of tunics.

tricae (*ricam) – gerrae maxumae (231b–233)

The next issue is found in verse 231b, which is marked by a change of syntax and literary technique. The asyndetic listing of terms that characterized the preceding lines comes to an end. Instead, we now always find a pair of nouns connected by *aut* (or) that are each used for a humorous play on words. In v. 232, the enumeration moves on from the *tunica* to other ‘garments.’ In total, vv. 231b–233 contain five pairs of terms. In overview, the structure of the passage is as follows:

*caltulam aut crocotulam,
subparum aut subnimum – †ricam – basilicum aut exoticum,
cumatile aut plumatile, carinum aut cerinum – gerrae maxumae!*

As the text of v. 232 stands, two pairs of nouns are interrupted by the incomprehensible gloss **ricam*. In v. 233, two pairs in the accusative precede the nominative *gerrae maxumae* (utter nonsense). Let us tackle the unexpected change of construction first.

Editors usually mark it by a dash. They, like the manuscripts, nevertheless give these words to the speaker Epidicus. But does the remark “utter nonsense” really belong to him? Syntax and content suggest that a change of speaker has been lost in the manuscripts at this point and that the words *gerrae maximae* are spoken by Periphanes. The muttering “utter nonsense” is very much in tune with the other comments made by him. In vv. 225 and 234, he also reacts to the words of Epidicus, who, in turn, surprises the *senex* with ever new and fantastical inventions, so that such a negative remark would be inappropriate in Epidicus’ mouth. Moreover, the word *gerrae* is connected with a change of speaker in Plautus’ *Trinummus* 760 and Caecilius Portitor F 1 R.² (*cur depopulator? gerrae* [Why a looter? Nonsense!]). Two fine parallels. It therefore does not appear too hazardous to correct the manuscript tradition and to indicate a change of speaker.

Under this premise, we can now again turn to the second difficulty: the word **rica* in v. 232. This interrupts the series of word plays without any discernible meaning. The word itself was already incomprehensible to scholars in antiquity and has remained so until today. Because of the context, ancient grammarians postulated that the **rica* was some kind of garment. In the following, a new hypothesis will be put forward that touches the roots of the transmission of Plautus. The complete history of the gloss **rica* will be discussed in chapter D 4. Here, it is only to be noted that the word is a hapax. It is attested—contrary to the impression caused by the evidence—primarily, i.e. outside the grammarians, only here. No meaningful Greek or Latin etymology can be established in its case. The word cannot be assigned to any historical garment, and there is no reason that it should have been invented by Plautus to make a pun. All this taken together makes the word **rica* appear very dubious. It resembles other dark glosses such as **ricinium* (A 1; D 1), and a similar explanation will be proposed for it here, namely that it is nothing more than an early corruption in the text of Plautus.

This begs the question: What did Plautus actually write? As in the case of **ricinium* (<t>ric<l>inium), emendation should respect the letters handed down to us. If we look for a word similar in orthography, the noun *tricae* (trifles, nonsense) comes close to **rica*. This would mean that the same combination of the letters (TR) as in **ricinium* would have been affected by corruption. Maybe, there was a misleading ligature. As to its sense, the word *tricae* perfectly fits into the context. It is well attested, especially in Plautus, where it is used in situations similar to the one at hand, i.e. when someone rejects or criticises the statement of another person: *Quas tu mihi tricas narras?* [What kind of nonsense do you talk about?].³² In Plaut. *Rudens* 1323, it also serves as a short interjection: (A) *nummos trecentos* (threehundred sesterzes). (B) *tricas* (trifles). It is clear that ‘nonsense, trifles’ has to be another short comment of Periphanes. The word should thus be written in the nominative, and a change of speaker should be assumed.

³² Curc. 613: *quas tu mihi tricas narras?* [what nonsense do you talk about?]; Most. 572: *quin tu istas mihi mittis tricas?* [Stop talking nonsense!].

The situation then is as follows: Periphanes listening to Epidicus gets increasingly annoyed. First, he says only ‘nonsense’ (*tricae*), then ‘utter nonsense’ (*gerrae maxumae*). Putting *tricae* in the text, the scene gets more dynamic and coherent. Emendations like these remain, of course, hypothetical reconstructions. However, they sharpen our view for the difficult nature of the transmission and give an idea about the fragility of our knowledge. If we think that Plautus’ comedies were transmitted in the beginning through copies owned by actors and impresarios, an emendation such as *tricae* does not seem too daring.

4.2.2 The Catalogue – a *contaminatio* of Plautus?

The interpretation of the catalogue shows that it is not necessary to assume a second rate ‘redactor’ to resolve the difficulties in the text. On the contrary: The verses contain more dialogue than has been previously thought. They are carefully composed and excellently fit into the rest of the scene. One can hardly deny them to Plautus. Nevertheless, there are some more peculiarities to explain. The similarity between v. 229, the beginning of the catalogue, and vv. 223, 224 and 225 has already been noted by Wagner, who thought this to indicate that the catalogue was inserted only later.³³ The words are indeed similar, but offer no stylistic offence. The repetition seems quite natural. There is, however, another more striking repetition not mentioned so far. In v. 236, some remarks of *Apoecides* put an end to Epidicus’ digression and lead back to the main narrative: A. *Quin tu ut occepisti loquere?* E. *Occepere aliae mulieres* (A. why do you not speak as you began? E. Two other women began to speak behind me like this). The repetition of *occipere* in Epidicus’ answer seems somewhat clumsy. The word is used in different contexts without creating any stylistic effect. One might thus consider it a trace of interpolation by a later scribe. However, since the passage as a whole cannot be denied to Plautus, it may be Plautus himself who is at work here, putting pieces from different Greek plays together (*contaminatio*). In case of v. 236, he was stylistically less successful than at the beginning of the catalogue, where the change from one literary source to the next is hardly noticeable.

4.3 The dress terms

The dress terms mentioned in the scene can be divided into three main groups according to word formation. Many are new comical inventions or funny adaptations of ‘real’ dress terms. It is sometimes difficult to assign them to exactly one category. However,

³³ Wagner (n. 24) 34.

with the exception of **rica*, it is possible to determine their etymology and their content to a certain extent:

1. Greek dress terms (sometimes with Latin endings): *basilicum*, *exoticum*, *Laconicum*; **indusiata*, **patagiata*, *crocotula*, **cumatile*, *carinum*, *cerinum*.
2. Latin dress terms: **ralla*, *spissa*, *linteola*, **caesicia*, **supparus*, (**regilla*).
3. Comic inventions: **subnimum*, **caltula*, **plumatile*, (**impluviata*, **inducula*, **mendicula*).

The first group consists of those words which are either entirely Greek words or Greek words with Latin endings. Some of them are attested in Greek literature, though they do not always refer to dress there (*basilicum*, *exoticum*). The second group contains Latin terms that denote garments or characteristics of garments. Some of them, like **ralla*, **regilla*, and **caesicius*, are attested only once. They might thus have been coined by Plautus, but there is no clear literary reason why he should have done so. The last group comprises the words, all hapaxes, that are used in comical puns and are likely to be inventions of Plautus.

tunicam *rallam, tunicam spissam (230a–b)

The catalogue begins with the *tunica* made of wool. The adjectives **rallus* and *spissus* form a contrasting pair. The gloss **rallus* is only attested here. In connection with textiles, we usually find the similar adjectives *rarus* and *rasus*. Since scholars often mix up the meaning of these words, it seems reasonable to discuss them first before turning to **rallus*. The term *rarus* refers to a specific type of weaving.³⁴ It describes a loosely woven fabric in which the weft thread (*subtemen*) is only lightly beaten with a batten (*spatha*).³⁵ In contrast, the term *rasus* (from *radere*, to shave) refers to a completely different process. It characterizes the way the cloth is treated during fulling. It is about the shearing (*radere*, κείρειν, ξύω) of the matted cloth, which is well documented in antiquity.³⁶ During this process, the cloth is freed from protruding wool fibres with a blade to produce a thin and soft woollen fabric. The equivalent Greek dress term is ξυστικός (from ξύω),³⁷ which is attested several times in connection with female dress in Greek comedy, for example in the dress catalogue in the second *Thesmophoriazusai* of Aristophanes. The Latin-based **rallus* seems to have the same meaning as *rasus*, i.e. ‘made of thin woollen cloth.’³⁸ It could well be a neologism or

³⁴ For the evidence, see OLD s.v. 1b.

³⁵ Blümner I (1912) 154, 160.

³⁶ Blümner I (1912) 181–182.

³⁷ Vgl. LSJ s.v.

³⁸ Duckworth (n. 3) 245. Sebesta (1994) 66 (“woolen loose-woven, gauzy tunic [ralla]”) and GRD (2007) 159 (“*ralla*: A thin tunic, with an open weave”) combine real facts with Nonius’ wrong etymological explanation p. 865.15 L.: *ralla vestis dicta a raritate* [*vestis ralla* called thus after its looseness].

a comical malapropism. It should be connected with *rasus* for the following three reasons: The word formation suggests that it is derived from *radere* like the noun *rallum* (a kind of scraper).³⁹ The adjective *spissus* (thick), which follows in Plautus, seems to stand in contrast to **rallus*.⁴⁰ And finally, the parallels in Greek comedies, which Plautus used as models, point to this solution. The gloss **rallus* is thus to be regarded as a translation of the Greek word ξυστίς.

Beginning with the contrasting adjective *spissus* (thick), we see it attested in connection with cloth several times. Again, scholarship is marred by a lack of precision. In OLD s.v. 3b, for example, *spissus* is translated as ‘thick, closely woven.’⁴¹ However, *spissus* does not refer to the type of weaving but to the thickness of the fabric. A cloth in which the weft is compressed with the weaving comb is called by another name, *densus* (dense):⁴² *densum a dentibus pectinis quibus feritur* (dense after the teeth (*dentes*) of the comb that hit it).⁴³ The weaving term *densus* (= Greek δασύς) is the opposite of *rarus*. In contrast, *spissus* again concerns the process of fulling. It is the opposite of *rasus*. The protruding pile of the felted wool is not cut off but left standing and pressed along with the fabric to form a thick cloth. The Celtic *gausapum* (B 9) was produced in this way.⁴⁴ The adjective *spissus* also carries the meaning ‘thick’ in a remark of Seneca that forms the closest parallel. Seneca mocks the different and often inadequate appearance which poets give to the Muses and says he will certainly find someone that makes them dressed in thick woollen tunics with belts (*spissis aut Phryxianis*).⁴⁵ Indeed, in Roman art, muses sometimes appear in a thick ‘*peplos*’ and girded with a wide belt. The Greek adjective that corresponds to *spissus* is παχύς. It is found in a comedy of Theopompos, cf. F 11 K.-A.: χλαῖναν <δέ> σοι || λαβῶν παχεῖαν ἐπιβαλῶ Λακωνικήν (I will take a thick Spartan cloak and dress you in it). This parallel is very interesting, because the geographical name *Laconicus* is used by Plautus for a pun later on.

***linteolam caesiciam* (230c)**

Now, Plautus moves from woollen *tunicae* and their make-up to a garment made of linen (*linteolum caesicium*). If my emendation is correct, he is speaking of a linen *tunica*

³⁹ Walde/Hofmann s.v. *rallum*; against LHS I 306.4 who—in contrast to the noun *rallum*—connect the word with *rarus*.

⁴⁰ Ussing: “contrarium huic videtur, quod sequitur, *spissa*”; Duckworth (n. 3) ad loc.

⁴¹ Similarly, Sebesta (1994) 66; GRD (2007) 176.

⁴² Blümner I (1912) 159–160.

⁴³ Varro LL 5.112 giving a false etymology.

⁴⁴ See B 9 p. 395.

⁴⁵ Sen. de benef. 1.3.7: *inveniam alium poetam, apud quem praecingantur et spissis aut [aut om. M.] Phryxianis prodeant* [I will find another poet where they (sc. the Muses) wear a belt and appear in thick garments or garments made of Phryxian wool].

(*linteola*). In analogy to other diminutives like *tunicula* (χιτώνιον), the diminutive *linteola* could point to a short garment or even an undergarment.⁴⁶

The adjective **caesicius* is attested only here. As regards its etymology, modern scholars associate the hapax in diverging ways: either with the colour term *caesius* (blue-grey)⁴⁷ or with the Greek adjective *χαίροεις* (close woven);⁴⁸ Nonius connects it with verb *caedere* (to strike, beat).⁴⁹ Both modern attempts to explain the word are not satisfying. The etymological connection with the adjective *caesius* is not plausible and is also ruled out by the implicit order of the catalogue that seems to list different types of cloth first.⁵⁰ The connection with the word *χαίροεις* is also not appropriate. The separation of the vertical threads (*stamen*) of the loom, which may have been brought about by the so-called *καῖρος*,⁵¹ is part of the basic arrangement of the loom. The adjective therefore cannot denote a special type of cloth. Nonius' guess about the etymology of **caesicius*, however, might well be correct. It is very likely derived from *caedere* or, to put it more precisely, from its passive perfect participle *caesus*.⁵² There are numerous other Latin adjectives formed in this way, the suffix *-icius* transforming the participle into an adjective expressing a general quality.⁵³ The meaning of *caesicius* would thus be 'beaten.' We know from the fulling of linen sheets that the cloth was 'beaten,'⁵⁴ making the fabric soft using sticks.⁵⁵ Plautus' *linteolam caesiciam* therefore seems to refer to a high-quality short linen tunic.

****indusiatam, *patagiatam (231a)***

Both words are attested outside the grammarians only once again and in variation. They form the basis of the *caupones* (merchants) **patagiarum* and the **indusiarum* paraded by Plautus in his funny catalogue of invented dress merchants in *Aulularia* (509), in which the catalogue of the *Epidicus* may have been used.⁵⁶ The meaning of both words was already uncertain in antiquity. The history of the glosses will be told in chapter D 3. We might be dealing with two real terms from the Greek-Latin fashion language,

⁴⁶ See, however, Wilson (1938) 154: "the *linteolum caesicium* ... was a small blue linen cloth, probably a kerchief for the head."

⁴⁷ Sebesta (1994) 66: "sky blue"; GRD (2007) 28: "a sky-blue colour."

⁴⁸ Georges s.v. *caesicius*; in the OLD s.v., the sense is left open.

⁴⁹ Nonius p. 866.31–32 L.: *caesicium linteolum dicitur purum et candidum, a caedendo, quod ita ad candorem perveniat* [*caesicium linteolum* is the name given to a pure and white garment, namely after beating, because this, as they say, results in a white colour].

⁵⁰ Duckworth (n. 3) ad loc.

⁵¹ For the different explanations of this difficult term, see Blümner (1912) I 145–146.

⁵² Wheeler in Duckworth (n. 3) ad loc.

⁵³ KS I 763; LHS I 301.

⁵⁴ Plin. NH 19.18: *textumque rursus tunditur clavis* [and the fabric is again beaten with 'nails'].

⁵⁵ Blümner I (1912) 196 refers to the *linteolum caesicium*.

⁵⁶ The connection of both catalogues has long been noticed, cf. Wagner (n. 24) 32; Fraenkel (n. 5) 137. Apart from this verse, there is another striking parallel, see p. 82 on **carinum*.

whose hybrid talk was imitated by Plautus in the comic adjective **impluviatus*. In both cases, the basis of the adjectives may have been, as scholars thought in antiquity, Greek nouns (**ἐνδύσιον*, **πατάγιον*) to which the Latin ending of PPP (-atus) was added, in the sense of ‘provided with.’ However, it is not possible to assign a definite meaning to the Latin loanwords. The Greek diminutives **ἐνδύσιον* and **πατάγιον* are not attested, and the normal forms *ἐνδυσις* and *πάταγος* do not allow a precise conclusion as to what their meaning in fashion language might have been. Plautus (or Roman fashion language) maybe distorted both Greeks words beyond our ability to reconstruct them, and we might already be on the wrong track as to their derivation (see D 3). According to Festus (Verrius), the **patagium* was a decorative strip at the top of the *tunica*.⁵⁷ Yet it is uncertain whether this is genuine knowledge or only a guess of Verrius based on Plautus. It therefore seems best to leave the question as to the sense of the words open, not piling guesswork upon guesswork.

****caltulam aut crocotulam* (231b)**

Both terms refer to the colour of the *tunica*. The diminutive form **crocotula* occurs in Latin literature only here, in contrast to the normal form *crocota*. The Latin **crocotula* is the exact translation of the Greek *χροκωτίδιον*. The noun *crocota* (= *χροκωτός*) commonly denotes a red tunic.⁵⁸ In the Plautinian corpus, it is only found in the catalogue of merchants and in F 1 of the *Aulularia* (A 5). The *crocota* is not a genuine Roman garment, but a Greek item of dress we know mainly from Greek comedy.

Even though the second part of this expression refers to a real garment (albeit not a Roman one), the **caltula* turns out to be another non-garment invented for comic effect. Trying to explain it as a real dress term, modern scholarship gives various definitions.⁵⁹ According to Georges, it is a female dress of yellowish colour, according to OLD a short undergarment worn by women. However, one should be very sceptical as to the existence of this supposed article of clothing. Modern definitions go back to the dictionary of Nonius.⁶⁰ His remarks (s. v. **caltula*) will be the subjected to detailed

⁵⁷ Paulus/Festus p. 246.27–28 L.: *patagium est, quod ad summam tunicam adsui solet, quae et patagiata dicitur, et patagiarii qui eiusmodi faciunt* [The *patagium* is what is commonly sewn on the top of the kind of *tunica* that is also called *patagiata* (Epidic. 231), and *patagiarii* (Aul. 509) are those who do this].

⁵⁸ Cf. A 3 p. 58; A 10 pp. 205–206; B 1 p. 259; B 11 p. 417.

⁵⁹ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506; Blümner I (1912) 258; Wilson (1938) 154; André (1949) 296; Potthoff (1992) 77–78; Sebesta (1994) 66; GRD (2007) 29; Olson (2002) 203; id. (2008) 52; R. B. Goldman, *Color-terms in Social and Cultural Context in Ancient Rome*, Piscataway, NJ 2013, 60.

⁶⁰ Nonius p. 880.24–37 L. (= Varro F 330 Salvatore = 46 Rip.): *caltulam et crocotulam, utrumque a generibus florum translatum, a calta et a croco. Vergilius in Bucolicis* (Ecl. 2.50): ... *Plautus in Epidico* (231): ... *Novius Paedio* (71) ... *Naevius Lycurgo* (43): ... *sed castulam* [!] *Varro de vita populi Romani lib. I palliolum breve voluit haberi. castula* [!] *est palliolum praecinctui, quo nudaе infra papillas praecinguntur; quo mulieres nunc et eo magis utuntur, postquam subuculis desierunt* [*caltula* and *crocotula*, both words are derived from flowers, from the marigold (*calta*) and from the crocus. Virgil in the *Ecloges* ..., Plautus

scrutiny in chapter D 6.⁶¹ The text of his entry suffers from several corruptions and is not a good starting point for a serious historical discussion. It is very likely that the hapax **caltula* was coined by Plautus himself to produce a pun. As to language and content, it fits rather well with the preceding **crocotula*. There is a nice alliteration and assonance between both words, and both names refer to flowers. However, the analogy between both diminutives is not exact. The word *crocotula* is a regular dress term, whereas the word *calta* usually designates a flower⁶² and is used metaphorically here. The dress term *caltula* is hence singular. There is no other garment called like a plant in Latin. All in all, the pun *crocotula* and **caltula* seems very similar to the pair *regilla* and **mendicula*. There, a deliberate etymological misunderstanding of an existing word (*regilla*) led to the comical coinage of an altogether new term. We may therefore assume a similar process of invention here. This means that the **caltula* should be banned to the world of comical fictions.

***supparum* aut **subnimium* (232)**

The following pun has not always been understood fully by scholars. In contrast to the previous pair, Plautus starts with a real garment, the **supparus*, which was perhaps a kind of long tunic (D 5). The following *sub-nimium* is not some sort of female underwear,⁶³ but altogether a non-word that is formed in funny contrast to the preceding *sub-parum*.⁶⁴ For his joke, Plautus makes use of the apparently fluent orthography of the word *supparus/subparus*, associating it in the accusative with *sub* (under) and *parum* (not enough). The opposite to *parum* (not enough) is *nimum* (too much), giving us **subnimium*. The ‘under-not-enough’ is followed by the ‘under-too-much.’ As in other puns, Plautus disregards the length of vowels. It does not bother him that **supparus* has the short vowel A (the accent therefore being on the first syllable) and that *parum* has a long A. Most famous is the pun *mala* (apples) (with a long vowel) and *mala* (evils) (with a short A). We may find a similar prosodic licence in the following **cumatile* aut **plumatile* (see below).

in the *Epidicus* ...; Novius in the *Paedium* ..., Naevus in the *Lycurgus* ... However, in the first book *On the Life of the Roman People*, Varro suggested identifying the *castula* [!] with a short little *pallium*. The *castula* [!] is a small *pallium* for wrapping which naked women wrap their nipples with. They use it even more nowadays that they have stopped using the undertunic (*subucula*).

61 Cf. pp. 663–665.

62 This is usually identified as the marigold (*Calendula officinalis*). The identification is based on Verg. Ecl. 2.50. It is not known that this flower was used as a textile dye in antiquity.

63 Sebesta (1994) 66: “*subnimium* (slip?).”

64 Fraenkel (n. 5) 135 n. 1; Duckworth (n. 3) ad loc.; M. Fontaine, *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy*, Oxford 2010, 46.

****basilicum* aut **exoticum* (232b)**

The noun *vestimentum* (dress) is probably to be added to the following six adjectives in the neuter.⁶⁵ It is difficult to judge the extent to which the Greek loanwords *basilicum* (βασιλικόν, royal) und *exoticum* (ἐξωτικόν) reflect Roman fashion language. Both words are no new coinages and have a real touch. There are, however, no parallels in Greek or Latin in which they designate an item of clothing. If they denote real garments, we must think of Persian or Oriental fashions.

****cūmātilē* aut **plūmātilē* (233a)**

Greek and Latin are mixed in these words. It is therefore difficult to determine the length of some vowels.⁶⁶ In case of the Greek loanword **cūmātilis* (from κύμα), the short vowel A is regular; in the case of **plūmātilis*, if it is to be connected with Latin *plūmāre* and *plūmārius* (brocaded), the short A is a prosodic licence. Plautus would thus have either manipulated an existing word or—given that **plumatilis* only occurs here—formed it as he liked, to establish a prosodic analogy to **cumatilis*. Because of these difficulties, Stowasser (1884) proposed deriving **plūmatilis* (with a short Y) from the Greek word πλύμα (rinsing water), thus establishing an antithesis between garments in the colour of seawater and in the colour of rinsing water.⁶⁷ The solution is good as regards the vowel A, but it creates more problems than it solves. One would prefer a long vowel U in *plūmatile* in analogy to *cūmatile* to strengthen the word play. As to content, the etymology is wholly implausible. What is the colour of rinsing water? Moreover, punning with two Greek terms fits better into Greek comedy than into Roman comedy. Thus, it is better to accept the metric licence in a hapax and instead connect it with the Latin word *plumare* (see below).

The meaning of the term **cumatilis* is difficult to define, although its etymological derivation (see above) is clear. Besides Plautus, it seems to be attested once more in a Togata of Titinius called *Setina* (F 7 R.²) adduced by Nonius under the corresponding lemma. The quotation has made its way into modern Latin dictionaries s. v. *cumatilis*. However, the transmitted text points to another direction:

Nonius p. 879.10–15 L.

cumatilis: aut marinus aut caeruleus, a graeco tractum, quasi fluctuum similis; fluctus enim graece κύματα dicuntur. Titinius Setina (F 7): quem colos cumatius (LA^AB^A: cumatilis C^A) deceat? Plautus in Epidico (233): cumatile aut plumatile.

cumatilis: either 'belonging to the sea' or 'green-blue,' from the Greek, as it were similar to waves. For the waves are called κύματα in Greek. Titinius in his Setina (F 7) ... Plautus in Epidicus (233) ...

⁶⁵ Wilson (1938) 154.

⁶⁶ Duckworth (n. 3) ad loc.

⁶⁷ J. M. Stowasser, *Satura*, WS 6 (1884), 213–214.

Nearly all manuscripts of Titinius' *Setina* offer the form **cumatius*, only two codices give **cumatilis*. Editors put **cumatilis* into the text, wishing to harmonize the quotation with the lemma. However, Nonius often adduces texts containing forms that are not equal to that of the lemma, but only similar. So, one should avoid correcting seemingly mistaken quotations after the wording of the lemma, keeping instead to the better manuscript tradition.⁶⁸ Moreover, there are some other reasons that the form **cumatius* is correct in Titinius. It is not only the *lectio difficilior*, but also close to the regular Greek form **κυμάτιος* that we find in some composite adjectives (see below). On the other hand, **cumatilis* with the Latin ending (-*ilis*) looks very much like a Plautine coinage. It therefore seems better to keep **cumatius* in Titinius, isolating **cumatilis* as a funny Plautine hapax.

But what does **cumatilis* mean? Dictionaries usually propose that it signifies the colour of the sea.⁶⁹ However, in this case one would rather expect a more specific word—like, for example, *thalassicus*, derived from θάλασσα (sea)⁷⁰—because κύμα can be used for the water of rivers as well.⁷¹ If we look at **cumatilis* without being prejudiced by Nonius' explanation, it should denote a shape—a wave or moving water surface—as do its Greek near relatives περικυμάτιος and παρακυμάτιος. Both adjectives are used once, each in connection with garments. In the catalogue of the temple treasures of Artemis of Brauron,⁷² a ἱμάτιον περικυμάτιον and a χιτωνίσκος παρακυμάτιος are listed among the gifts. Both words refer to the border of the garment that is decorated with a wave pattern (κύμα). Such a border is known to us also from illustrations. The different prefixes περι- (around) and παρα- (along) can be easily explained if we keep in mind the different appearance of the respective vestments.⁷³ The himation (= *pallium*) is a square piece of cloth. It is then decorated with a border all around. In the case of the closed chiton (*tunica*), the border is located at the lower end of the garment. The Greek simplex **κυμάτιος* is not attested, but must have the meaning 'provided with a wave-ornament.' Perhaps Plautus found this or a similar word in his Greek source and translated it into **cumatile* ad hoc. The Latin equivalent of the Greek adjective is *undulatus* (*unda* = wave).⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Cf. also A 3 p. 57; D 6 p. 664.

⁶⁹ Georges, OLD, ThLL IV s.v. col. 1378.37–41; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506; Blümner I (1912) 258: "die wellenfarbigen Stoffe"; Walde/Hofmann s.v.; Wilson (1938) 154: "sea blue"; André (1949) 193–194; Sebesta (1994) 66; GRD (2007) 45.

⁷⁰ The term *thalassicus* is in fact used twice by Plautus (Mil. 1179, 1282) in connection with a garment. The adjective *thalassinus* in Lucretius 4.1127 is to be explained differently. It means purple (A 11 p. 212). On the colour aquamarine, cf. B 11 p. 416

⁷¹ LSJ s.v. κύμα.

⁷² IG II² 1514.17 and 46.

⁷³ LSJ s.v. παρακυμάτιος; "with a wavy border" (better: with a border ornamented with wave pattern); Cleland (2005) 122.

⁷⁴ We find this in Latin texts referring to the border of the *toga praetexta*, cf. Varro De vita populi Romani F 291 Salvatore (= 17 Rip.); Plin. NH 8.195.

We can now turn to **plumatilis*, which is likely to be derived from *pluma* or *plumare* (see above). Although it remains a hapax, the semantic group it belongs to has something to do with dress. The adjective *plumarius*, for example, refers to a sort of brocade fabric with some pattern produced by interweaving coloured or golden threads or to a maker of such garments.⁷⁵ The form *plumatilis* may have been coined by Plautus after it and may thus be similar in meaning. If this hypothesis is correct, both **cumatile* and **plumatile* are based on existing dress terms used for specifically ornamented garments. This meaning is highly appropriate to a list of expensive and confusingly named women's clothing

carinum aut cerinum

The list ends with a pair of colour terms, which are clearly chosen for the concluding punch: *gerrae* (nonsense)! The final *cerinum* phonetically prepares the following expression *gerrae maxumae*. The similarity of the words has led to errors in the textual transmission. In the manuscripts of Plautus, we read *carinum* (A: *garinum* P) et *gerrinum* (AP); Nonius, who quotes the half verse (p. 880.1 L.), has *cerinum aut gelinum*. The adjective **carinum* perhaps had already disappeared in his text of Plautus. Otherwise, it would certainly have made a fine lemma in Nonius' book on the colours of robes. Editors usually use the gloss to restore the version *carinum aut cerinum*, a version that is convincing as to paleography and content (see below).⁷⁶

The adjective **carinus* is attested in this form in Latin only here, but **cariarii* or rather *cari<n>arii*, fictive dealers of the **carinum*, are mentioned in the catalogue of merchants in the *Aulularia* (A 5) that could be partly based on the catalogue of the *Epidicus*. The gloss **carinus* is nothing more than the slightly deformed version of the existing Greek loanword *caryinus* (καρύϊνος)⁷⁷ that denotes the colour of the κάρυον.⁷⁸ The general term κάρυον denotes all kinds of nuts up to the chestnut. So what kind of nut is meant here? Many scholars think of the walnut because it provides a colouring agent.⁷⁹ However, colour terms usually refer to the thing in nature that has the specific colour (B 11). In addition, the walnut is qualified in both Greek and Latin by the addition

⁷⁵ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 539; Blümner I (1912) 219. The etymological nonsense of Nonius p. 867.21 L.: *aut clavatum aut ex plumis factum* [striped or made out of plumes] has left its traces in modern scholarship, cf. Wilson (1938) 154: “downy or decorated with feathers”; Sebesta (1994) 67: “The *plumatilis* tunic may have had a soft pilelike down (*plumeus*), created by teasing the woolen fibers, or it may have been a forerunner of the tapestry cloth called *plumata* of late antiquity”; GRD (2007) 149: “downy or even made of feathers.” See also OLD s.v. *plumatilis*: “feathery appearance, feathered.”

⁷⁶ See, however, Wilson (1938) 154.

⁷⁷ Wilamowitz (in the apparatus of Leo's edition). The correct form *caryinus* is found in Pliny, see OLD s.v.

⁷⁸ Theophrast. de sensu 78: τὸ δὲ καρύϊνον (sc. χρώμα) ἔκ χλωροῦ καὶ κυανοειδοῦς [the colour of the nut is a mixture of green and black].

⁷⁹ Sebesta (1994) 67.

of an adjective: βασιλικός or *iuglans*. Looking for a parallel, Ovid comes to mind, who talks about clothes in the colour of the chestnut in the *Ars amatoria*.⁸⁰ This suggests that we should think of the same colour here.

The adjective *cerinus* also has some difficulties. According to Nonius, it is derived from the noun *cera* (wax). In fact, *cērinus* (κήρινος) and *cēreus* are used in Latin and Greek as colour terms, denoting a pale yellow (B 11).⁸¹ However, the vowel E in *cēra* is long, whereas that in Plautus' *cērinum* must be short. Regarding the playfulness with which language is used elsewhere in the catalogue, the change of length nevertheless seems to be acceptable.⁸² A similar prosodic licence can be found in the pun **cumatile* aut **plumatile* (see above). Between *gerrae* and **carinum*, which is also slightly modified in form, the unusual prosody of **cerinum* should cause no offence.

Laconicum (234)

In v. 234, the episode concludes as it had begun: with a pun.⁸³ It is completely absurd to connect the dress term *Laconicum* with the name of the dog breed.⁸⁴ Both obviously derive from Greek Λάκων (Lacedaemonian, Spartan) referring to Sparta. The pun thus has a Greek basis.⁸⁵ Garments are often named after a place.⁸⁶ In the *Lysistrata*, for example, Aristophanes talks of Κιμμερικὰ ὀρθοστάδια (a Cimmerian chiton) that can be called in abbreviation Κιμμερικόν (a Cimmerian).⁸⁷ As the term *Laconicum* serves to characterize the garment, it is difficult to describe its exact outer appearance. Different clothes labelled as 'Spartan' are frequently mentioned in literature. In Aristophanes, there are several mentions of shoes (Λακωνικαὶ ἔμβαδες); the comic playwright Theopompos once talks about a 'Laconian' coat (χλαῖνα);⁸⁸ Plutarch refers to a 'Spartan Peplos' that seems to be a light female garment;⁸⁹ and finally, the Septuagint translation of Isa-

80 Ovid ars. 3.183; cf. B 11 p. 419.

81 Besides the dictionaries, cf. Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506; Duckworth (n. 3) ad loc.; Wilson (1938) 154: "wax color, or a shade of yellow"; André (1949) 157–158; Sebesta (1994) 67: "brownish-yellow"; s. also B 11 p. 420.

82 Alternatively, one could think of a syncopated *cerasinus* (κεράσινος), in analogy to *imus/infimus*, *ditiae/divitiae* and *matus/madidus* (Petron. 41.12). The colour term is attested both in Greek, cf. LSJ s.v. κεράσινον: "cherry coloured dye," and in Latin in connection with of garments (Petron. 26.8: *cingulum*; 67.4: *tunica*). The dark red colour, cf. B 11 p. 439, forms an excellent pair with the preceding brown. A similar shade is also found in the catalogue of the *Aulularia* (510). There we hear of **violarii*.

83 Ussing ad loc. "*ademptum: lepide, quasi vestimenti nomen, quod est Laconicum, non traductum solum a canibus sit, sed etiam eis ereptum.*"

84 On the type of dog, cf. RE 8.2 (1913) s.v. Hund, col. 2550–2551 (F. Orth); DNP 5 (1998) s.v. Hund, 756.

85 Arnott (n. 17) 81 against Fraenkel (n. 5) 136.

86 On *Sicyonia*, cf. B 30 pp. 551–552; on *Gallicae*, cf. B 30 pp. 554–555; on *Coae vestes*, cf. B 9 pp. 386–391; on *Maltesia*, cf. B 9 pp. 384–385.

87 Aristoph. Lys. 45, 52.

88 Theopomp. F 11 K.-A.

89 Plutarch. Lyc. 25.3 with RE 3.2 (1899) s.v. χιτών, col. 2314 (W. Amelung).

iah mentions a transparent female Spartan dress (διαφανῆ Λακωνικόν).⁹⁰ Something like this could be well hidden behind the *Laconicum* of Plautus, since it is all about luxurious female clothes.

4.4 Conclusion

Finding out the meaning of the different dress terms in Plautus' *Epidicus* has turned out to be a quite lengthy and difficult affair. The general lesson to be taken from it is that genre and authorial style need to be carefully considered in the treatment of dress terms. Plautus, writing comedy, clearly played with language for comic effect. The word plays might not seem very sophisticated, but 'high art' was never the intent. The audience was supposed to recognize the absurdity of the terms. The mess of etymologies, translations, and prosody seen in this chapter also indicate that Plautus did not care much for the source of the pun. The point was to make funny names that sounded like they could be some term only women would know, since no serious Roman man could be asked to keep up with the world of fashion. Ultimately, just because a gloss most likely refers to the realm of clothing in the widest sense does not mean that it represents anything beyond the possibility for a laugh. It seems that Plautus has one more joke for us, placing us in the position of the confused *senex*.

⁹⁰ Is. 3.23.

5 Plautus – the catalogue of the dress dealers in the *Aulularia*

1. Introduction
2. The catalogue of the dress dealers (505–535)
 - 2.1 Textual difficulties
 - 2.2 The text
3. Version A: the short catalogue (508)
4. Version B: the long catalogue (515, 509–521)
 - 4.1 The first group (515/509/512a)
 - 4.2 The second group (512b–514a)
 - 4.3 The third group (514b–519a)
 - 4.4 The fourth group (521/510)
 - 4.5 The fifth group (511/521)
5. Conclusion

Although focusing again on comedy, the following chapter is mainly about ‘defictionalizing’ scholars’ accounts of Roman professional culture. It concerns the catalogue of dress dealers in Plautus’ *Aulularia*. As regards Plautus, most important is again the question that has vexed scholars also in case of the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus* (B 4): Was the entire text written by Plautus himself? Or does it contain verses added as a part of a so-called actor’s interpolation? This might have been done by some later author when the play was brought to stage anew about fifty years after Plautus’ death. This time my answer is another than in the case of the *Epidicus*. It has been argued by me elsewhere that our text combines two variants: a short catalogue (A) and a long one (B). The B-version creates a fine solo for an actor to show off his skill, and it is probably the work of an ‘interpolator’ if we do not want to attribute the striking incongruities to Plautus himself. This would suppose that he rather clumsily fused different Greek models (*contaminatio*). However, it would leave us with the fact that the manuscript created by Plautus for the first production already contained surprising ‘doublets.’ Since we know of actor’s interpolations in Plautus’ oeuvre and in other plays (for example of Euripides), the hypothesis that the B-version is a later addition is preferable. That the B-version was not written by Plautus does not imply that it is bad poetry. In fact, we will see that the unknown author was a poet in his own right.

However, this chapter does not focus on these great textual problems, but rather on the structure of the catalogue in general and on the various terms of professions we find in it. It is mainly about the single words that designate or purport to designate professions. The question that must always be kept in mind is this: How did the author want his audience to understand these words, many of which are *hapax legomena*? Do they designate real professions, or are they comical coinages instead? And what was the author’s purpose for using them? Did he use them to describe an existing reality,

or did he rather want to ‘enhance’ reality for the sake of comic effect, even risking or rather wishing that some words were misunderstood or recognized as comic inventions by his audience? Careful analysis will show that the second solution is right. At least in the B-version, many terms of professions, if not all of them, are ad-hoc-creations and comic inventions, thought up on the basis of a Greek model. We find a comic, not a naturalistic approach to reality, both distorting words and things.

In terms of cultural history, a clear answer to this question is even more needed in the case of the *Aulularia* than in the case of the *Epidicus*. Again, the discussion of the words is very important because it is not only their meaning that is at stake but how we perceive Roman historical reality. The catalogue of the *Aulularia* has left fewer traces in Antiquity than that of the *Epidicus*. However, dictionaries list many of its words as if they designated real professions, without even giving a hint that many of them are comic word formations. Many scholars use the catalogue to develop a large panorama of dealers and manufacturers populating the streets and markets of Rome. Starting with Marquardt/Mau (1886),¹ there is—despite some cautionary voices²—a long tradition of scholarly fantasy nourished by the passage in question.³ Fictitious designations are often mixed up indiscriminately with those clearly known to be everyday terms. The picture of the ancient world resulting from this ‘method’ is colourful, if at times a bit bizarre. However, it frankly lacks any firm basis in reality. It is pure fantasy based on a comedic device. In contrast, the principles we find to be guiding word formation

1 Marquardt/Mau (1886) 584–585 (comic inventions are marked by bold print): “2. Die Händler mit Rohstoffen und die Importeure fremder Waren; die Wollhändler, *negotiatores lanarii*, die Haartuchhändler, *cilicarii*, die Leinenhändler, *linterarii*, die Malvenstoffhändler, ***molochinarii***, die Seidenhändler, *sericarii*, *holosericiarii*. 3. Die Fabrikanten, nämlich: a) die Filzmacher, *coacitiliarii*; b. die Wollkrempler, *carminatores*, *pectinari*; c. die Färber, *infectores*, *offectores* und zwar: Blaufärber, ***violarii***, Wachsfärber, ***cerinari***, Saffranfärber, ***crocotarii***, Braunfärber, *spadicarii*, Purpurfärber, *purpurarii*; d. die Weber, *textores*, und zwar die Wollweber, *lanarii*, Leineweber, *linterones* oder *linarii*, Weber gemusterter Zeuge, *polymitarii*; e. die Walker, *fullones*, *lavatores*, *lotores*; f. die Sticker, *phyriones*, *plumarii*, *segmentarii*, *barbaricarii*; die Goldschläger, *bractearii*; h. die Borten- und Besatzmacher, ***limbolarii***; i. die Brustbindenmacher, ***strophiiarii***; die Hemdenmacher, ***indusiarii***; die Schneider, *sartores*, *sarcinatores* und Scheiderinnen, *sartrices*, *sarcinatrices*; m. die *centonarii*, d. h. Verfertiger von Kleidern aus alten Flickern (*centones*)”; p. 506: “Rotfärber (***flammarii***)”; André (194) 115, 154; Sebesta (1994) 67: “Nor does *Epidicus*’ list exhaust the possible colors and styles. Elsewhere Plautus mentions the *flammarii* and the *molochinarii*, dyers of reddish orange and mauve, respectively. The *violarii*, also mentioned by Plautus, were dyers of a violet hue of purple.”

2 Blümner I (1912) 208: “unter den in der plautinischen *Aulularia* genannten Garderobe- und Luxushändlern aller Art finden wir *patagarii*, *indusiarii*, *manulearii*, *limbolarii* und viel andere derartige Detailverkäufer, doch ist wohl eine solche ins kleinste gehende Arbeits- und Geschäftsteilung nicht der Wirklichkeit entnommen, sondern komische Übertreibung des Plautus.”

3 Cf. most recently R. B. Goldman, *Color-terms in Social and Cultural Context in Ancient Rome*, Piscataway, NJ 2013, 26–27: “Megadorus in *Aulularia* (Pot of Gold) gives a vivid picture of the crowd of dyers who swarm in front of a wealthy Roman’s villa, along with cloth fullers, goldsmiths, woolworkers, weavers, dealers in lingerie and balsam scented footgear, calcei makers, squatting cobblers, sandal merchants, beltmakers, girdle makers, lacemen, and cabinetmakers.”

in the catalogue show that the various terms (and professions) are very likely comic inventions, something the ancient audience would have immediately known. This chapter thus aims to separate the wheat from the chaff, drawing a clear line between ‘reality’ and ‘literary fiction.’

5.1 Introduction

The *Aulularia* (Comedy of the Little Pot) is named after a pot (*aula*) filled with gold which causes the protagonist, Euclio, to have sleepless nights.⁴ As usual, Plautus used a Greek comedy as a model. Despite agreement on this, scholars have not reached unanimity on what particular play it was or who wrote it (Menander?).⁵ There is also still discussion about what the plot of this Greek model looked like in relation to the *Aulularia*.⁶ Plautus’ play was perhaps first brought to stage in the time between the abolition of the *lex Oppia* (194 BCE) and the prohibition of the *Bacchanalia*, a festival for the god Bacchus/Dionysus, in the year 184 BCE.⁷ A rerun of the play may have taken place about fifty years later, in the second half of the second century BCE, when Terentius, the last champion of the *Palliata*, had died and there was high demand for new plays.⁸ On the occasion of the re-enactment, the *Aulularia* may have been revised. At least some passages, especially solo scenes (like the catalogue of dress dealers), suggest that a revision did take place, variants being incorporated into Plautus’ original text.⁹

Now to the play itself: At its centre is the miser Euclio, a *senex*, whose daughter both a young man (*adulescens*) and his uncle Megadorus, a rich but much older bachelor, intend to marry. Megadorus explains to his sister how he came upon this thought (120–176). He thinks that a young woman from modest circumstances (*pauper*) without dowry is less demanding than a spoiled wife (*uxor dotata*) coming from a wealthy

4 Commentaries: Wagner (1866); Ussing (1875), Nicastrì (1970); Stockert (1983); recent surveys on research: E. Lefèvre, *Plautus’ Aulularia*, Tübingen 2001; J. Blänsdorf, art. *Plautus*, in: W. Suerbaum (ed.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, 1. Band. Die Archaische Literatur von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod. Die vorliterarische Periode und die Zeit von 240 bis 78 v. Chr. (HAW VIII 1), Munich 2002, 191–192.

5 R. Hunter, ‘The “Aulularia” of Plautus and its Greek Original,’ *PCPhS* 207 (1981) 37–45; Stockert (1983) 13–16; W. G. Arnott, ‘The Greek Original of Plautus’ *Aulularia*, *WS* 101 (1988), 181–191.

6 Stockert (1983) 8–18; A. Primmer, ‘Der “Geizige” bei Menander und Plautus,’ *WS* 105 (1992), 69–127; Lefèvre (n. 4) 130–135; A. Primmer, ‘Review Lefèvre,’ *Gnomon* 76 (2004), 27–34; L. Braun, ‘Zu einer neuen Rekonstruktion des *Aulularia*-Originals,’ *Hermes* 135 (2007), 107–108.

7 Stockert (1983) 27–29; Lefèvre (n. 4) 154–156.

8 M. Deufert, *Textgeschichte und Rezeption der plautinischen Komödien im Altertum*, Berlin 2002, 29–35.

9 Cf. vv. 460–474 and 587–607. The double verses are deleted by Leo in his edition. Lindsay does not comment on them at all.

family.¹⁰ Such a *uxor dotata* would bring great influence (*magnae factiones*) and a rich dowry (*dos dapsilis*) into the marriage. Her financial demands, however, originating from her social position, would finally lead to her husband's bankruptcy.¹¹ Megadorus specifies these wishes as luxurious carts (*eburata vehicula*), precious (*pallae*), and purple tunics (*purpura*):¹²

Aul. 167–169

*istas magnas factiones, animos, dotes dapsiles,
clamores, imperia, eburata vehicla, pallas, purpuram,
nil moror, quae in servitutem sumptibus redigunt viros.*

I do not care about these great social connections, this arrogance, these rich dowries, the shouting, the commanding, the carts adorned with ivory, *pallae*, purple tunics. By their costs, these things reduce husbands to slaves.

The passage has a Roman tinge and could refer to the political discussion about the *lex Oppia*, a law that in particular regulated the possession of gold jewellery, the wearing of purple robes, and the driving in carts.¹³ Later in the play, Megadorus returns to the subject and speaks more profusely than before. In a soliloquy (475–536), overheard by the miser Euclio with great pleasure, Megadorus talks about the *uxor dotata* and her exaggerated wishes, working himself up into a real rage. His tirade picks up on his first speech, putting the very claims he himself had already formulated previously into the mouth of a fictitious rich wife:¹⁴

Aul. 498–502

*nulla igitur dicat "equidem dotem ad te adtuli
maiolem multo quam tibi erat pecunia;
enim mihi quidem aequomst **purpuram** atque **aurum** dari,*

10 On the *uxor dotata*, cf. E. Schuhmann, Der Typ der *uxor dotata* in den Komödien des Plautus, *Philologus* 121 (1977), 45–65.

11 On the thought that the financial demands of women make the husband poor, cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 235: *haec vocabula auctiones subigunt ut faciant viros* [These are the words that force men to sell their homes!], cf. A 4 p. 71; Plaut. *Astraba* F 2.

12 On the scene in general, cf. Lefèvre (n. 4) 56–61.

13 Cf. Liv. 34.1–8; on the law, albeit in Livy's version, see especially 34.1.3: *ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu vestimento versicolori [i.e. purpureo] uteretur neu iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove ... veheretur* [that a woman should possess no more than half an ounce of gold, nor wear a purple robe, nor travel in a carriage in the city of Rome or a small town]. Lefèvre (n. 4) 155–156 wants to see an allusion to Cato the Elder in the figure of Megadorus. This assumption is unlikely for literary and historical reasons, cf. B 2 p. 53 on the *lex Oppia* and Cato.

14 On the entire scene, cf. the commentaries and G. A. B. Wolff, *De Plauti Aulular. act. III, scen. V*, *Programm Schulpforta* 1843, 1–8; W. Wagner, *De Plauti Aulularia*, Bonn 1864, 15–23; A. Krieger, *De Aululariae Plautinae exemplari Graeco*, Diss. Gießen 1914, 48–49; E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, Berlin 1922, 137–140; Lefèvre (n. 4) 76–79, 101–103.

*ancillas, mulos, muliones, pedisequos,
salutigerulos pueros, vehicla qui vehar.”*

No woman shall then say to me: “I brought a dowry to you that was much greater than the fortune you had. Therefore, I have to receive purple and gold, maidservants, mules, muleteers, manservants, messengers, carts I may ride on.”

5.2 The catalogue of the dealers (505–535)

After a short remark, spoken as an aside by the hidden Euclio (503–504),¹⁵ Megadorus continues. It follows the catalogue of the dress dealers, whose services the *uxor dotata* has used and who are now besieging the troubled husband to get their payment. Within the *Aulularia*, the catalogue is unique in length and form. It is a virtuoso piece for the actor playing the character of Megadorus. Other lists in the *Aulularia* are usually no more than two verses long. In terms of content, the catalogue (at least its B-version) stands out from the rest of the play, in which there are no additional detailed descriptions.

A Greek literary model has not been preserved. The content and form of the catalogue, however, indicate that whoever wrote it was already inspired by some existing but now unknown model. This was a Greek comedy, because the Latin is strongly based on Greek and bears all signs of being a translation. On the other hand, the catalogue shows astonishing similarities with the dress catalogue in the *Epidicus*, in terms of language and content. Three parallels in particular are very remarkable: In v. 509, we hear of both *caupones *patagiarii* and **indusiarii*, merchants that deal with exactly the obscure (*vestis*) **indusiata* and **patagiata*. These are two garments which we otherwise only know from the list in the *Epidicus* (231). In v. 510, we find dubious **carinarii*, dealers who purportedly sell clothes in the colour *carinus*, a colour that in Latin is also only attested in the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus* (233). This parallel is especially striking, since the word **carinarii* shows exactly the same orthographical peculiarity that we find also in the *Epidicus* (the correct form being *caryinus* with a Y).

5.2.1 Textual difficulties

The dealer catalogue contains numerous textual problems. Various verses have been transposed or discarded by editors without finding a convincing solution. Readers are referred to the Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (GFA) (2022) for a detailed discussion of all problems and a new hypothesis. Here it may suffice to roughly outline

¹⁵ Plaut. Aul. 503–504: *ut matronarum hic facta pervovit probe! || moribus praefectum mulierum hunc factum velim* [How well he understands the doings of the matrons. I wish he would be made the guardian of women’s morals]. O. Zwiernlein, *Zur Kritik und Exegese des Plautus IV. Bacchides*, Stuttgart 1992, 225 n. 508 argues that these verses were also not written by Plautus.

my method and its results. As to method, textual criticism has to proceed in two steps, as in case of the Twelve Table Law (A 1) and Cato (A 2): First, we must reconstruct the text of the archetype of our manuscripts—dating to Late Antiquity—and correct its mistakes. There is strong reason to believe that vv. 510–511 have been misplaced in our manuscripts, their right place being between vv. 521 and 522. A smooth progress of thought is produced if we put vv. 510–511 in there. Some textual problems connected with their dislocation can then also be solved. The meaningless *murodiabatharii*, for example, is to be emended to **murotheciarum* (see below).

Second, we have to consider this text with respect to the question outlined above, namely whether there are signs of a later (actor's) interpolation. In contrast to the garment catalogue in the *Epidicus*, two versions of different length (A and B) have been merged in the catalogue in the *Aulularia*. The opening and closing sections of the entire passage contain some inconsistencies and 'doublets.' For example, v. 508 is partly equal to v. 515 in content; v. 527 is similar to v. 528. Instead of deleting the superfluous verses, all difficulties can be solved if we assume that a longer B-version has been fused with a shorter A-version. Both versions show significant differences as to style and content. In version A, the situation is still quite realistic, there being only a few dealers (in singular) with real professions in front of the hapless husband's door. In version B, in contrast, the scenario is completely unreal, showing us myriads of fantastical merchants (all in plural). The poetical differences strongly support the view that versions were written by different authors. The short A-version of course belongs to Plautus himself, and the long B-version would therefore be an actor's interpolation created on occasion of the second performance. This differentiation between the sources assumes that we do not want to impute the incongruities to Plautus' fusing of different Greek sources (see above).

5.2.2 The text

The form of the text on which the following explanations are based is a combination of both the A- and B-versions. The preceding letters A or B denote from which version a given line comes. The letters A/B taken together denote that the line is the same in both versions. The following translation does not gloss over the incongruities that arise through the fusion of the two versions. The English translation of the A-version is marked by bold print. The hybrid text is as follows:

	Aul. 505–531 ¹⁶	
A/B	MEG. <i>nunc quoquo venias plus plaustrorum in aedibus</i>	505
A/B	<i>videas quam ruri, quando ad villam veneris.</i>	506
B	<i>sed hoc etiam pulchrum est praequam ubi sumptus <u>petunt</u>.</i>	507
A	<i>stat fullo, phrygio, aurifex, lanarius;</i>	508
B	<i><u>petunt</u> fullones, sarcinatores <u>petunt</u>;</i>	515

B	<i>caupones patagiarii, indusiarum,</i>	509
B	<i>propolae linteones, calceolarum;</i>	512
B	<i>sedentarii sutores, diabath<r>arii,</i>	513
B	<i>solearii astant, astant molocinarii;</i>	514
B	<i>strophiarum astant, astant simul zonarii.</i>	516
B	<i>iam hosce absolutos censeas: cedunt, petunt</i>	517
B	<i>treceni, cum stant thylacistae in atriis</i>	518
B	<i>textores limbularii, arcularum.</i>	519
B	<i>ducuntur, datur aes. iam absolutos censeas,</i>	520
B	<i>cum incedunt infectores corcotarii,</i>	521
B	<i>flamm<e>arii, violarii, carinarii,</i>	510
B	<i>aut manulearii aut myrotheciarum</i>	511
B	<i>aut aliqua mala crux semper est, quae aliquid <u>petat</u>.</i>	522
...		
B	<i>ubi nugivendis res soluta est omnibus,</i>	525
B	<i>ibi ad postremum cedit miles, aes <u>petit</u>.</i>	526
B	<i>itur, putatur ratio cum argentario;</i>	527
A/B	<i>miles inpransus astat, aes censeat dari.</i>	528
A/B	<i>ubi disputata est ratio cum argentario,</i>	529
A/B	<i>etiam ipse ultro debet argentario:</i>	530
A/B	<i>spes prorogatur militi in alium diem.</i>	531

Megadorus (A/B): **Now, wherever you go, you can see more carts in front of a townhouse than in the country when you have come to a country estate.** (B) But that is still fine if you compare it to the situation when they want their money. (A) **There stands the fuller, the tailor, the jeweller, the wool merchant.** (B) Fullers want their money, tailors, producers of *vestes patagiatae*, producers of *vestes indusiatae*, dealers in linen clothing; dealers in ladies' shoes, sitting shoemakers, producers of *diabathra*. There stand producers of sandals; there stand producers of cotton clothes; there stand producers of cords; at the same time there stand producers of belts. You think they are paid, then three hundred others (sc. dealers) come and want their money, standing like doorkeepers in the *atria*: weavers of borders, producers of boxes. You admit them, you give them money. You think they are paid now, then come dyers of *vestes crocotae*, dyers of red shawls, dyers of purple clothes, dyers of brown clothes, or producers of tunics with sleeves or producers of boxes for unguents or there is always some pain in the neck that demands some money of you ... At last, when all the merchants of useless stuff are paid, a soldier comes and wants his money. You go and make the bill with the bank. (A) **There stands a soldier not having had his morning meal and demands his pay.** (A/B) **When the master of the house has made the bill with the bank, he also owes the bank money. The soldier is put off to the next day.**

The two versions of the catalogue will be discussed separately in the following sections because they differ in content and emphasis. As noted above, version A is characterized by realism, listing real professions in sensible numbers (one person for each). Version

B relies on comical exaggeration and lists mainly fictitious or overly specialized professions (represented by multiple people). Version A shows us a Roman world (with a townhouse and a *villa*); version B mirrors the dress world of a Greek comedy. The question that must always be kept in mind in both catalogues is this: What did the audience understand the word to mean?

5.3 Version A: the short catalogue (508)

The four professions mentioned in the short catalogue are all real professions: *fullo*, *phrygio*, *aurifex*, *lanarius*. They are also designated with Latin terms taken from everyday language. Except the *phrygio*, all are recorded in inscriptions. The word *phrygio* is only found in literature, but it is not a hapax and is also a genuine term for a historical profession.

fullo (508a)

The *fullo* (fuller) produces cloth and complete garments (made of wool) and provides laundry services.¹⁷ In contrast to modern times, where the tailor is the most relevant profession as concerns the garments, the *fullo* was the most important in Antiquity—the cut of the garments (as for example the *pallium*) often being quite simple. He was also responsible for the trade and distribution of the garments. The profession is well recorded by numerous documents from the Roman world. Inscriptions show us that *fullo* was the term used for this profession in Roman everyday language. In Greek, there is the word *κναφεύς* (also meaning fuller), which is also mentioned by Aristophanes.¹⁸ We also find the noun *πλύντης/πλύντρια* (cloth-cleaner/washerwoman from *πλύνω* = to clean, wash), which could indicate that production and cleaning were more rigidly separated in Greece. The noun *fullo* in Plautus is found only here and in v. 515. In his *Asinaria* (907), there is talk of *fullonia* (fuller's trade) in an obscene sense; in his *Pseudolus* (782), the adjective *fullonius* is used similarly. In Roman comedies (i.e. the *Togata*, the *Atellan farce*, and the *Mime*), the fuller must have been a popular character. Titinius wrote a *Fullonia*,¹⁹ Pomponius an *Atellan farce* called *Decuma fullonis*. Novius also wrote several *Atellan farces* entitled *Fullones* (fullers), *Fullones feriati* (fullers on holiday), and *Fullonicum* (fuller's shop). Laberius called one of his mimes *Fullo*. The

¹⁷ Blümner I (1912) 170–190 (on the terminology and the kind of work done by a *fullo*); L. Schumacher, *Sklaverei in der Antike. Alltag und Schicksal der Unfreien*, Munich 2001, 144–147 (on the social role). On the economic function, see comprehensively, M. Flohr, *The World of the Fullo. Work, Economy and Society in Roman Italy* (Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy), Oxford 2013.

¹⁸ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1128, *Ecl.* 415, *Plut.* 166 (together with the *χρυσόχοος* = *aurifex*).

¹⁹ On the play, cf. A 7 p. 148.

fact that the profession is so rarely mentioned in the Greek inspired Palliata perhaps reflects a difference in attitude towards this profession in Greece as opposed to Rome.

***phrygio* (508b)**

The word *phrygio* (tailor) is less well attested than the other terms found in v. 508.²⁰ It occurs only in early Latin literature. Its meaning is not as clear cut as modern dictionaries want readers to believe (on my translation, see below). Apart from our passage, it is only attested in Plautus' *Menaechmi*, where a *meretrix* is speaking to her lover:

Plaut. Men. 426–427

*pallam illam, quam dudum dederas, ad phrygionem deferas,
ut reconcinnetur atque una opera addantur quae volo.*

Please bring the *palla*, which you have given me a little while ago, to the *phrygio* so that it is adjusted and that the things I want are added at the same time.

It is also found in a Togata of Titinius called *Barbatus* (a man with beard):²¹

Titinius Barbatus F 4–5 R.

*phrygio fui primo, bene id opus scivi.
reliqui acus aciasque ero atque erae nostrae*

First, I was a phrygio. I knew my profession well. I left needles and threads to my master and mistress.

The parallel form in Titinius proves that *phrygio* is not a linguistic creation of Plautus, but a real term. However, there is no evidence for it in inscriptions or in Classical literature. In later times, we only find it in the works of grammarians (who loved old words) and in the archaist Apuleius, who shared the grammarians' linguistic interests.²² This shows that the term *phrygio* was obsolete in spoken language by Imperial times.

Like *fullo*, the word *phrygio* is a regular Latin word formation.²³ It is derived from the ethnic name *Phryx* (Phrygian) by the addition of the suffix *-io(n)*. Its formation is similar to that of the name *Cario*, deriving from *Carus* (Carian), and of the term *ludio* (stage performer).²⁴ In contrast to *Cario*, which is used as a slave name in Greek and Latin, the Latin term *phrygio* is not employed as a name in either language. The word

²⁰ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 537–540; Blümner I (1912) 218–222, giving too much credit to the ancient grammarians.

²¹ Nonius p. 6.20–21 L.

²² Apul. apol. 29.

²³ LHS I 356.

²⁴ This presupposes that *ludio* is to be connected with *Lydus* (Etruscan) and not with *ludus* (play, show).

phrygio obviously designated a ‘Phrygian,’ implying at the same time some specific quality associated with that ethnic group.

But what kind of work did a *phrygio* do? According to scholars of the Imperial period, he did artistic embroidery. If we believe them, the *phrygio* was an embroiderer who stitched ornaments on clothes.²⁵ The meaning is taken up by modern dictionaries. But were the ancient grammarians right in explaining what was probably a gloss to them? To find out, we should make a fresh start from Plautus. What did the word mean for him, and what Greek word did he translate by it? The case of the *Aulularia* is not conclusive. Plautus might have translated the Greek term ποικιλεύς/ποικιλτής (embroiderer)²⁶ or ἄκεστής (tailor).²⁷ However, in the *Menaechmi*, the sense of the word is plain. It must refer to a common tailor who mended clothes, certainly not to a sartorial artist like an embroiderer. The changes that are to be made to the *palla*—given by one of the *Menaechmi* to the *meretrix*—are very basic and simple.²⁸ Likewise, the fragment of Titinius deals with a tailor and not with an embroiderer. The entry in modern dictionaries should therefore be modified accordingly. In archaic texts, the term *phrygio* designates a tailor—whatever its early history. It is thus largely congruent with the term *sarcinator/sarcinatrix* (tailor/tailoress), which we find in v. 515. In fact, the term *sarcinator* may have replaced the somewhat unspecific *phrygio* in everyday language (terms of professions usually tell you what the profession does). This assumption would at least explain why the word *phrygio* is attested only in archaic Latin literature.

aurifex (508c)

The next profession in the *Aulularia*’s list is much more straightforward. The *aurifex* (goldsmith) usually makes the gold jewellery of wealthy women.²⁹ The profession’s position in the list nonetheless raises some questions. Its mention in v. 508 stands out against the long catalogue (B). It has nothing to do with textiles, while the following professions all concern dress and shoes—other items only featuring at the end. If we

25 Plin. NH 8.196 (*pictae vestes*): *acu facere id Phryges invenerunt, ideoque Phrygioniae appellatae sunt* [(clothes embroidered in colour): the Phrygians invented doing this with a needle, and therefore these clothes have been called *Phrygioniae*]; Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 3.484: *phrygiam chlamydem* aut *acu pictam*; *huius enim artis peritos Phrygiones dicimus secundum Plautum*; *in Phrygia enim inventa est haec ars* [a Phrygian cloak: or one embroidered with a needle; for we call those who understand this art *Phrygiones* after Plautus; for in Phrygia this art has been invented]; Varro Men. 228 (= Nonius p. 6.24–25 L.): *phrygio qui pulvinar poterat pingere* [a *phrygio*, who could decorate the couch].

26 LSJ s.v. ποικιλεύς/ποικιλτής and ποικίλλω; ποίκιμα; see especially Alexis F 329 K.-A. (= Pollux 7.34).

27 LSJ s.v. The seamstress (ἀκέστρια) was a comical stock character. A comedy of Antiphanes had this profession as its title, cf. Antiphanes F 21–24 K.-A., as well as a mime of Sophron. The Latin playwright Laberius also wrote a mime called *Belonistria* (seamstress), cf. βελώνη or βελονίς (needle). ThLL II s.v. *Belonistria* col. 1859.66.

28 On the entire story, see A 6.

29 Marquardt/Mau (1886) 157 n. 2; 700; Blümner IV (1887) 302–306.

think the entire catalogue (A+B) to be one entity, the *aurifex* disturbs the order. It thus provides an additional indication that we have two different versions on our hands.

The word *aurifex*, composed out of the words *aurum* (gold) and *facio* (to make), is the everyday Latin term for the jeweler, as numerous inscriptions and literary evidence show.³⁰ The Greek equivalent is χρυσοχόος. This profession is already mentioned in Attic comedy. We find it, for example, in the comic catalogue of crafts in Aristophanes' *Pluto* (160ff) as well as in his *Lysistrata* (408), where it stands next to the shoemaker. In Plautus, the term *aurifex* appears once again in the *Menaechmi*, in the same place that has already been mentioned for the word *phryrio*. Menaechmus did not only steal a *palla*, but also a *spinter* (bracelet) from his wife (*uxor*). The goldsmith is then asked to adapt it for the *meretrix* Erotium.³¹

lanarius (508d)

The last profession in the list is also straightforward. The *lanarius* (dealer in wool) is the first term designating professions that is formed in the way of an adjective with the suffix *-arius*. This is the word formation that is usual in the following long catalogue (B), where, however, all terms stand not in singular, but in plural. In literature, the word *lanarius* is attested only here, but numerous inscriptions show that it was an everyday term. In these inscriptions, the noun *lanarius* is often qualified by an adjective, denoting special functions.³² In general, a *lanarius* has to do with production of wool in different ways, i.e. carding, felting, and distributing the wool prepared in this way. Wool is associated with the *uxor dotata* in many other places in Plautus. We find it, for example, in *Menaechmi* 121: *tibi ancillas, penum, lanam, aurum, vestem, purpuram bene praebeo* (I provide you well with maidservants, food, wool, gold, dress, purple).³³ Wool is also mentioned as an object of the female household elsewhere in the *Menaechmi* and in the *Miles Gloriosus*.³⁴ The *lanarius* therefore fits in excellently here.

30 ILS 3.2 p. 277; L. Larsson Lovén, Women's Work. Readings beyond Marginality, in: A. Wilson/M. Flohr (eds.), *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World*, Oxford 2016, 212.

31 Plaut. Men. 525–526: *hoc ... ad aurificem deferas | iubeasque spinter novom reconcinnarier* [Take this ... to the goldsmith and have him make a new bracelet]. In the same passage, Plautus lists two more pieces of jewellery that are typical for an *uxor dotata*: *armillae* and *stalagmia*. On the importance of the *aurifex*, see also Lucilius F 993–995 M. (of a woman who is always not at home): *aut apud aurificem, ad matrem, cognatam, ad amicum ... lana, opus omne perit* [either to the goldsmith, to the mother, to the relatives, to the girlfriend ... the wool, all work perishes].

32 *lanarius coactor* (ILS 7557); *lanarius coactilius* (ILS 7558); *lanarius carminator* (ILS 7290); *lanarius pectinarius* (ILS 7290a); *lanarius negotians* (ILS 7559).

33 The list is very similar to that of Plaut. Aul. 500–501, 508.

34 Plaut. Men. 796–797: *dare una opera pensum postules, || inter ancillas sedere iubeas, lanam carere?* [Do you demand that he (sc. your husband) be given a workload of wool, do you want him to sit among the maidservants and card wool?]; Plautus Mil. 687–688 (about an *uxor*): *quae mihi numquam hoc dicat "eme, mi vir, lanam, unde tibi pallium || malacum et calidum conficiatur tunicaeque hibernae bonae."* [who

However, the transmission is divided as to the word itself. Even though the meaning is the very similar, the variant *linarius* is attested in the Codex Palatinus B.³⁵ This has been adopted in the text by some editors.³⁶ The term *linarius* is also attested in inscriptions and designates the linen manufacturer or linen dealer.³⁷ In Plautus, the material linen occurs only in two other places: in the following long catalogue (512: *linteones*)—if we should adopt *linarius* here, there would be another doublet—and in the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus* (230). However, linen does not fit in as well as wool does in this list. In contrast to *lana*, it is not a basic material worked on by a housewife and is never mentioned together with gold. We also have another witness from Late Antiquity that speaks against it belonging to the original list. It is very likely that the list *fullones*, *lanarios*, *phrygiones* (fullers, dealers in wool, tailors) we find in the Christian apologist Arnobius († 330 CE) is based on the *Aulularia*.³⁸ The reading *lanarius* is thus already attested before the Late Antique archetype of Plautus. Therefore, we should keep it and reject the variant reading *linarius*.

5.4 Version B: the long catalogue (515, 509–521)

The long version of the catalogue contains a total of twenty real or fictitious designations of professions. With the exception of v. 510, never more than two are combined in one verse. Only three of them (*fullo*, *sarcinator*, *solearii*) are found elsewhere in literature and in inscriptions. The absence in inscriptions, in which many professions are mentioned beyond those we find in literature, suggests that the terms are mostly comic ad hoc formations and that most if not all of the other seventeen professions are comic inventions. The formal principle underlying the word formation (see below) points in the same direction. The long enumeration of supposedly historical professions in Marquardt/Mau, in which fact and fiction are mixed, should be reduced accordingly.³⁹

The basis of the list consists of seven Latin nouns designating ‘real’ professions. These terms are known from everyday language and create a kind of ‘realism effect’ in this literary context. However, they sometimes carry another meaning in non-literary usage (see below). The list is as follows:

shall never say to me: ‘Buy me, my dear husband, wool, that I may prepare a soft and warm *pallium* and good winter tunics for you.’]

³⁵ A similar variation between both forms is found in *Menaechmi* 121 (see above p. 95.). Servius (ad Aen. 4.373) offers the wrong reading *linum lanam praebeo* instead of the correct *penum lanam praebeo*. Obviously, the letters *lin(um)* given as a variant to *lanam*, intrude into the text, ejecting *penum*.

³⁶ Wagner (1866); Goetz (1881); cf. also Marquardt/Mau (1886) 584 n. 6; Blümner I (1912) 195 n. 13.

³⁷ ILS 7560; Blümner I (1912) 195.

³⁸ Arnob. adv. nat. 2.38; cf. Stockert (1983) ad loc.

³⁹ Cf. n. 1.

1. *fullones* (515); 2. *sarcinatos* (515); 3. *caupones* (509); 4. *propolae* (512); 5. *sedentarii sutores* (513); 6. *textores* (519); 7. *infectores* (521).

Apart from the *fullones* and the *sarcinatos*, all these nouns are connected with seventeen adjectives denoting different professions, sixteen of them being formed with the suffix *-arius*. One of them is actually a noun (*linleo*) that is being used as an adjective (for the reason, see below):

1. *patagiarum*; 2. *indusiarum*; 3. *linleo* [!]; 4. *calceolarum*; 5. *diabathrarum*; 6. *solearum*; 7. *molocinarum*; 8. *strophiarum*; 9. *zonarum*; 10. *limbolarum*; 11. *arcularum*; 12. *corcotarum*; 13. *flamm<e>arum*; 14. *violarum*; 15. *carinarum*; 16. *manularum*; 17. *myrotheciarum*.

The Latin nouns are intended as a prop for several adjectives, which are then slowly released into independence, so to speak. As to grammar, it is not always possible to exactly determine whether an adjective still belongs to the preceding noun or whether it has already assumed an independent status. In v. 509, for example, it is easy to connect the noun *caupones* to *indusiarum*; in v. 512, the *calceolarum* have already gained greater independence; and in v. 519, the *arcularum* (after the *textores limbularum*) have already gained full autonomy. In the catalogue, grammar takes a back seat to the linguistic effect, which is about the rattling off adjectives ending in *-arii*.

The simple principle underlying the formation of the adjective terms can be characterized as follows: The term for a dealer or craftsman is obtained from a specific item of clothing or only a part of it by adding the suffix *-arius*. The dress names forming the basis are partly Greek loanwords and partly Latin terms:

1. **patagiata*[?] – **patagiarum*
2. **indusiata*[?] – **indusiarum*
3. *calceolus* – **calceolarum*
4. *diabathrum* – **diabath<r>arum* (διάβαθρον)
5. *solea* – *solearum*
6. *molochinum* – **molochinarum* (μολόχινον)
7. *strophium* – **strophiarum* (στροφίον)
8. *zona* – **zonarum* (ζώνη)
9. *limbulus* – **limbularum*
10. *arcula* – **arcularum*
11. *corcota* – **corcotarum* (χροκωτός)
12. *flammeum* – **flamm<e>arum*
13. **violare* – **violarum*
14. **carinum* – **carinarum* (καρύϊνον)
15. *manuleata* – **manularum*
16. *myrothecium* – **myrotheciarum* (μυροθήκιον)

Although it may not seem so at first glance, the catalogue is well structured. We may distinguish five main groups: At the beginning, there are five designations that refer to the main garment: 1. *fullones*, *sarcinatos*, *caupones patagiarum*, *indusiarum*, *propolae*

linteones. Then we find four terms related to shoes: 2. *calceolarii*, *sedentarii sutores*, *diabathrarii*, *solearii*. Then come four terms that refer to accessories: 3. *molochinarii*, *strophiarii*, *zonarii*, *limbularii*. In v. 519, box makers (*arcularii*) intervene, which makes for a good first pseudo-conclusion. The list then unexpectedly proceeds, listing four dyers whose names are derived from differently coloured garments: 4. *infectores corcotarii*, *flamm<e>arii*, *violarii*, *carinarii*. At the end, there come two more ‘professions’ which have no connection as to content. The words obviously stand together for the effect of alliteration: 5. *manulearii*, *myrotheciarii*.

5.4.1 The first group (515/509/512a)

The comic invention in these verses only partially converges with the real world of dealers. Only two of five terms have some historical counterpart: the *fullo* (fuller) and the *sarcinator* (tailor), who are both placed at the beginning of the list. It is easy to see why: If the author had put fictitious terms first, he would already have taken away any believability from the start. The expression *propola linteo* (trader in linen fabrics) also refers to a real profession, but is not the regular everyday designation. In contrast, the author seems to have taken complete poetic liberty with the composite designations *caupones patagiarii* and *indusiarii*.

sarcinator (515)

The term *sarcinator*, which refers to the same profession as the word *phrygio* (508), is found once more in Plautus. It designated a tailor and was the everyday word for this craft, as shown by numerous inscriptions.⁴⁰ As the connection of the term with *sarcire* indicates (see also the Greek ἀρέστης and ἀρέομαι), a *sarcinator* sews and also mends clothes. The connotation of the profession is sometimes negative, the mending of clothes being regarded as menial labour. It is often linked with *centones* (second-hand cloth).⁴¹ The social prestige of a *sarcinator/trix* was correspondingly low.⁴² The inscriptions show that it was a typical profession of the class of freedmen.⁴³

⁴⁰ ILS 7435a: *Attalus sarcinator*; 7345b: *Phyllis Statiliae sarcinatrix*; 7567: *Matiae J. l. [= Gaiae libertae] Primae coniugi suae sarcinatrici*; 7882b; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 156; Blümner I (1912) 212–213.

⁴¹ Plaut. *Epid.* 455: *alium quaeras cui centones sarcias* [Find someone else to mend his *centones*]; Lucilius F 747 M.: *sarcinatore esse summum, suere centonem optime* [to be the best tailor, to best sew *centones*]; see also the edition of Christes/Garbugino (2015) and their comment ad loc. (F 789).

⁴² Varro *Men.* 363: *homines rusticos in vindemia incondita cantare, sarcinatrices in machinis* [peasants sing simple tunes at the vine harvest, seamstresses at the machines].

⁴³ Stockert (1983) ad loc.

***caupones patagiarum indusiarum* (509)**

The expression remains partly obscure. The noun *caupo*, forming a composite expression with the adjectives **patagiarum* and **indusiarum*, is found only here in Roman comedy. When we look at the parallels, the word *caupo* has a highly restricted meaning in this context. It designates a dealer or merchant here, and this meaning of the word is only found in this passage. The entry in the OLD s.v. *caupo* generalizes this meaning and is therefore highly misleading. In contrast, *caupo* designates an ‘innkeeper’ everywhere else. A *caupo* is a person leading a *caupona* (tavern/pub).⁴⁴ A dealer is not called *caupo* in Latin, but instead a *negotiator*. Why then does the text use this extended meaning? It could result from the fact that the author was translating a Greek text. He may have been looking for a Latin word that was phonetically similar to a Greek one. It is striking that the Latin *caupo* shares some letters with the Greek word for dealer, *κάπηλος*.⁴⁵

Apart from this, the connection of *caupones* with the two adjectives *patagiarum* and *indusiarum* is also very remarkable, since the word *caupo* is never qualified by an adjective elsewhere. The unique composite Latin expression *caupones patagiarum* suggests that the author wanted to imitate Greek composite nouns. In the Greek language, this kind of word formation is much more common than in Latin. For example, Greek has the words *ἱματιοκάπηλος* (dealer of cloaks), *ἱματιοπώλης* (dealer of cloaks), and *χλαμυδοπράτης* (dealer of the *chlamys*).⁴⁶ In Plautus, both Latin composite terms are thus morphologically and phonetically marked as a comic invention.⁴⁷

The meaning of the adjectives **patagiarum* and **indusiarum* themselves can no longer be determined since we do not know the meaning of the nouns underlying them.⁴⁸ It makes sense, however, to consider how the author might have proceeded in forming them. Keeping in mind how word formation works in the catalogue, the adjectives **patagiarum* and **indusiarum* could be derived from the nouns **patagium* and **indusium* (which are not attested elsewhere in other primary sources and are therefore hypothetical). Another starting point is perhaps more convincing. As noted above, the dress catalogue in the *Epidicus* has some striking parallels with our passage. It mentions two garments that fit in well with the glosses **patagiata* and **indusiata* found in the *Aulularia*: the (*vestis*) **patagiata* and the **indusiata*, neither of which is attested elsewhere in Latin literature. Since all four words are hapaxes, the similarity (and the parallelism) is probably due to some conscious imitation. But who imitated whom? If the B-version of the catalogue of the *Aulularia* is really a later ‘interpolation,’ it is clear that an imitation based on the *Epidicus* took place there. Word formation also points to this because the dress terms morphologically precede those that designate

⁴⁴ A *puer cauponi*, cf. Plaut. Poen. 1298, is a slave working in a tavern.

⁴⁵ LSJ s.v. 1. The evidence LSJ s.v. 2 gives for the alternative meaning ‘tavern keeper’ is not conclusive.

⁴⁶ Wolff (n. 14) 7

⁴⁷ Blümner I (1912) 208.

⁴⁸ Cf. B 4 pp. 77–78; D 3 pp. 607–614.

dress dealers. The glosses **patagiarii* and **indusiarii* should therefore be understood as individuals trading in (*vestes*) **patagiatae* and **indusiatae*. In the end, the author of version B of the *Aulularia* was probably less interested in the nature of the clothes than in imitating his model (presumably the *Epidicus*).

***propolae linteones* (512a)**

The composite expression *propolae linteones* is at least as unusual as the preceding one. It again shows that word formation in the catalogue was guided by a Greek model. This should caution us against generalizing the meaning of the words. The noun *propola* is a Greek loanword (προπόλης), which is only found here in Plautus. The OLD gives us only ‘retailer’ as its meaning, probably because of the word formation and its usage in Greek.⁴⁹ That may be correct for the passage at hand, but it is mistaken in terms of general usage. Let us first look at the Greek parallels. In Greek literature, the term προπόλης is attested once in Aristophanes.⁵⁰ In inscriptions, we also find the form προπωλητής.⁵¹ Both Greek words indeed designate a dealer. However, the usual Latin equivalent for this would be the term *negotiator*, which is often found both in literary texts and in inscriptions and belongs to everyday language. In contrast, the word *propola* is only used in a narrower sense in Latin literature, the passage at hand being an exception of the rule. It always refers specifically to the grocer who traded with victuals (*obsonium*), i.e. fish, vegetables, or fruit.⁵²

In the catalogue of dress dealers, however, the meaning ‘grocer’ does not fit. It appears that the term *propola* had a more general meaning, as is proposed in the OLD for all instances. How can we explain this extension of meaning? We have to turn to the following word *linteo* to find the reason. It goes with the word *propola* to form a single expression. The noun *linteo*, which is used as an adjective, is also found only here in Latin literature. Its formation shows that it is a regular Latin word, which is corroborated by its occasional appearances in inscriptions.⁵³ A *linteo* is defined as a person who has to do with linen cloth (*linteum*) in the broadest sense. He can be either

⁴⁹ Cf. Georges s.v. *propola*: ‘Höker.’

⁵⁰ Pollux 7.12: ὁ τοῖς πιπράσκουσι προξενῶν προπράτωρ, ὡς Δείναρχος (F 34 p. 150.17–12 Conomis) καὶ Ἰσαῖος (F 46 Thalheim) εἶρηκεν προπόλην δ’ αὐτὸν Ἀριστοφάνης (= Aristoph. F 874 K.-A.) καλεῖ, προπωλοῦντα δὲ Πλάτων [A person that procures something for buyers, is a *proprator* (broker), as Dinarchus and Iseaus said. Aristophanes calls him a *propoles* (broker); Plato says that he is brokering].

⁵¹ LSJ (+ suppl.) s.v.

⁵² Cf. Lucilius 198 M.: *cum primos ficos propola recentis* || *protulit* [when the *propola* (grocer) displayed the first fresh figs]; Cic. Pis. 67: *panis atque vinum a propola atque de cupa* [bread and wine from the *propola* (grocer) and from the barrel]; ILS 3624: *piscatores et propolae* [fishermen and *propolae*]; Varro res rust. 3.14.3: *numinantes* (sc. *cochleae*) *ad propolam* (*propalam*: codd.) [snails feeding themselves at the grocer’s store].

⁵³ ILS 7561 (with further evidence): *ossa P. Postumi Felicis lintionis* [the bones of the *lintio* P. Postumus Felix].

a weaver or a dealer in linen. In our passage, the function of *linleo* is specified by the noun *propola*. This suggests that the composite word's usage in this passage does not refer to a weaver (i.e. the manufacturer), but to a trader who deals in linen cloth or robes. This fits with the rest of the list and the general content of the scene, where various merchants are seeking payment.

In the catalogue, the expression *propola linleo* stands out because it combines two nouns. The other compounds consist of a noun and an adjective with the suffix *-arius*.⁵⁴ The exceptional meaning of *propola* and the unusual form of the entire expression suggest that the author performed a linguistic creation—as with *caupones patagiarum*. This creativity resulted from the decision to directly translate from Greek instead of creating a more liberal adaptation.

It is easy to see how the author proceeded when we look at the Greek equivalent. The starting point of the invention was again a Greek composite word, namely ὀθονιοπώλης (linen merchant).⁵⁵ A direct translation into Latin first faced the problem that there was no Greek loanword for ὀθόνη and ὀθόνιον in the Latin language. The author therefore used the Latin general term *linleo*: He specified its meaning by combining it with *propola*, which also mirrored the second part of the Greek composite ὀθονιοπώλης. The expression *propola linleo* thus corresponds in content to the *negotiator linlearius* we find in Latin inscriptions. It refers to a real profession, but is a 'custom built' hybrid expression, so to speak, created in order to stay as close as possible to the Greek original.

In contrast to wool (*lana*), which is found several times in Plautus, fine linen is only referred to at one other point in his oeuvre. Tellingly, this is in the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus* (230). There a *linleola caesicia* (a tunica of fine linen) is mentioned immediately before the (*tunica*) **patagiata* and **indusiata*. This could suggest that the author of the longer catalogue of the *Aulularia* was inspired by Plautus at this point as well.

5.4.2 The second group (512b–514a)

After the robe, the list turns to the shoes. The author derives four names of professions from four different types of shoes. The comic invention here is also clearly based on female shoes and not on everyday terms designating shoemakers. In contrast, there is some tension between 'real' and fictitious terms. On shoes and their Latin terms in general, see chapters B 26–30.

⁵⁴ For examples of this word formation, cf. ILS 3.2 p. 736 s.v. *negotiator*.

⁵⁵ LSJ s.v.

calceolarii* (512b) – *calceolus

The adjective **calceolarius* is derived from the noun *calceolus* (little shoe or *soccus*). If it still goes with *propolae*, the author may have imitated another Greek composite noun, like ὑποδηματορράφος, ὑποδηματοποιός, κρηπιδοποιός, or κρηπιδουργός. However, it could also have been used as a noun, like other genuine Latin terms designating various shoemakers, such as *caligarii*, *calcearii*, *solearii*, and *sandalarii*. In contrast to these names, which are attested in inscriptions, the word **calceolarius* is a hapax. The OLD gives its meaning as ‘shoemaker,’⁵⁶ but overlooks the fact that **calceolarius* derives from the diminutive form *calceolus* and not from *calceus* (shoe)—unlike the everyday terms *calceator* and *calcearius*. A *calceolus* is a small closed shoe, probably a Greek *soccus*, which was often worn by women.⁵⁷ The meaning of **calceolarius* is therefore ‘producer of female shoes or *socci*.’ The Greek word on which the Latin translation was based may have been κρηπιδοποιός or κρηπιδουργός. In any case, **calceolarius* is no regular everyday Latin term for a shoemaker, but a comic invention.⁵⁸

***sedentarii sutores, diabathrarii* (513a)**

The wording of these terms is difficult. The question is whether the expression *sedentarii sutores* (sitting cobblers) should be taken together with the following word *diabathrarii*. Sitting cobblers are a bit out of the ordinary, because they do not produce a certain shoe type. The expression however creates a fine oxymoron (sitting cobblers standing while waiting). As to style, two separate designations ending in *-arius* are preferable to one formed by two similar adjectives. We should therefore put a comma after *sutores*.⁵⁹ The meaning of *diabathrarii* is examined below.

The structure of the verse would thus correspond to that of vv. 509, 510, and 519. In each verse, a designation consisting of two words (*caupones patagiarum, propolae linteones, textores limbularum*) precedes a supposed profession consisting of one word (*indusiarum, calceolarum, arcularum*). Moreover, the list always contains at least two professions per verse. Most importantly, the irregularity of the expression *sedentarii sutores* can be easily explained. The author has his fun with the regular word formation with the suffix *-arius*, which we find in many real terms designating shoemakers (see above). He thus inserted the quite nonsensical (but linguistically appropriate) expression ‘sitting cobbler.’ The image of a cobbler sitting at this work had been already used in v. 73 of the *Aulularia*: *quasi claudus sutor domi sedet totos dies* (like a lame shoemaker sitting whole days at home). The oxymoron heightens the comedy of the B-version. Men who normally spend all day sitting made the effort to come and stand in front of the house in order to demand payment.

⁵⁶ Cf. also ThLL III s.v. *calceolarius* col. 131.70–72; Georges s.v.

⁵⁷ Cf. B 27, especially p. 537.

⁵⁸ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 596; Blümner I (1912) 277; Stockert (1983) ad loc.

⁵⁹ Stockert (1983) ad loc. against Leo.

diabath<r>arii (513b) – diabathrum

The profession **diabathrarius* is based on a Greek loanword, the *diabathrum* (διάβαθρον). In contrast to *calceus* and *solea*, the word *diabathrum* was not well known in the Roman world (nor was the shoe for that matter).⁶⁰ The grammarian Festus (Verrius) felt that the subject matter needed some explanation. His entry maybe owes its origin to our passage of the *Aulularia*. The little we know about the *diabathrum* comes from this one text. Festus defines the *diabathrum* as a type of sandal of Greek style: *diabathra genus solearum Graecanicarum* (the *diabathrum* is a type of Grecian sandals). We thus have an overlap of content with the *solearii* (traders of sandals), who directly follow in the list. The lack of knowledge on the *diabathrum* and this imprecision show that the **diabathrarius* must also belong to the realm of comic fiction.

solearius (514a) – solea

In contrast, fiction and reality square in the next word. The word *solearius* (sandal-maker) is based on the word *solea* (sandal) (B 28). Sandals are well attested for Roman women in literature, though statuary evidence on them is lacking. Inscriptions indicate that sandals were made by specialists. For example, we have a tombstone of *L. Braetius Litorinus solearius* (ILS 7550). We also hear of a *collegium fabrum soliarium* [!] *baxiarium* (ILS 7249). The author could thus rely on a real Latin designation when translating Greek equivalent terms like ὑποδηματορράφος and ὑποδηματοποιός.

The second group of supposed professions demonstrates the difficulties the Latin author faced in translation and the requisite invention, especially when comparing this section with the shoe catalogue given by the Greek poet Herondas in his *Mimes* (7.56–61). There are relatively few Latin terms for female shoes.⁶¹ In contrast, Herondas' Greek text lists fifteen different types. Since the catalogue in the *Aulularia* does not list special luxury items, which are usually called with names derived from places or regions, the translator's possibilities for finding equivalent Latin words were exhausted quickly. This meant that he had to resort to inventing his own. Despite these challenges, the author of version B is not yet done with his hyperbolic list of petitioners.

5.4.3 The third group (514b–519a)

The most important regular items of dress all being exploited, he moves on to the accessories. He begins his list with cotton cloth (*molochinum*), which was probably used for undergarments, continues with the cord (*strophium*) and the belt (*zona*), and ends with the lower border (*limbolus*) of the long female dress. A *limbus* is not a proper

⁶⁰ Cf. on it, B 30 p. 550.

⁶¹ Cf. B 30 p. 549.

garment, but was produced as a separate item before being sewn onto a larger garment like a dress. On this basis, the author creates four more fictitious professions.

molochinarii* (514b) – *molochinum

The meaning of the Greek loanword *molochinus* (μολόχινος), which is the basis of the **molochinarii*, is discussed in detail in chapter A 7.⁶² The author will have taken up the rare word from his Greek model, a Hellenistic comedy. The adjective *molochinus* most likely designates cotton, being equivalent in meaning to the more common term *carbasinus*. The **molochinarii* are accordingly (fictitious) traders of items made of cotton cloth (*molochinum*). The position in the catalogue (after the shoemakers and before three dealers of accessories) is noteworthy. It is perhaps to be explained by the fact that underwear was sometimes made of cotton.⁶³ The **molochinarii* are thus the first dealers that trade in accessories. However, the list is intended for comedic effect and does not have to be strictly logical.

****strophiarii* (516a) – *strophium***

The professional name **stropharius* (producer of *strophia*) is based on the Greek loanword *strophium* (gr. στρόφιον). Again, the author seems to be relying on a Greek model. The **stropharius* is attested only here and is clearly a comic invention.⁶⁴ To see what the author meant by it, we have to turn to the word *strophium*. Its sense has not always been correctly understood in research, but it refers to a cord that can be used in connection with various parts of the body, functioning either as a hairband (B 15) or as a belt (B 21). In the latter function, a *strophium* comes close to a *zona* (belt), the words being sometimes used as equivalents. In our passage, the **strophiarii* are usually interpreted as ‘producers of belts.’ However, the meaning ‘producers of hairbands’ fits better for two reasons. First, it clearly distinguishes between the professions of **strophiarii* and **zonarii* (producers of belts). And second, the list would be based on all items of dress that are shaped like a band and would systematically go through the body from top to bottom, beginning with the hairband and ending with the border of the garment.

zonarii* (516b) – *zona

The term *zonarius* or *sonarius* (belt maker) is connected with the Greek loanword *zona* (= ζώνη). The word *zona* designates the belt of both men and women (B 20). In Latin, the male belt is usually called *cingulum*, the female one *cingillum*.⁶⁵ We again feel the influence of a Greek source here. The author uses an item of dress, the *zona*, to create the

⁶² Cf. pp. 139–141.

⁶³ A fragment from Caecilius seems to refer to an *interula* (undertunic) made of cotton (A 7 p. 138).

⁶⁴ Blümner I (1912) 208 against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 585.

⁶⁵ As in *calceolus*, the diminutive is used to denote the female garment.

name of a supposed profession. However, reality and fiction merge in the word *zonarius*, necessitating some further distinction. Like the term *solearius*, the word *zonarius* is a real Latin designation of a profession. However, a craftsman usually called *zonarius* fabricated other types of belts than those suggested by the catalogue. He produced male *zoniae* that were—as examples in Plautus already show—clearly different from female ones.⁶⁶ Male *zoniae* were very robust, consisted of leather, and served as small bags or wallets in which money was worn on the body. These were the *zoniae* made by a *zonarius*, who is reckoned among the leatherworking craftsmen.⁶⁷ The real *zonarius* should therefore be kept separate from the fictitious *zonarius* producing more delicate female *zoniae*, presumably out of other materials.⁶⁸

textores *limbolarii (519a) – limbolus

The *textores *limbolarii* (weavers of borders) derive their name and their profession from the word **limbolus* (a small *limbus*). As the word formation shows (see below), the word is again a comic invention.⁶⁹ In Latin, a *limbus* is a woven border that is sewn onto the bottom of a female long robe.⁷⁰ Like the preceding *strophium* and *zona*, it lies in a ring around the body. It brings the top to bottom survey of female accessories to an adequate end.

However, the composite expression *textores limbolarii* is singular.⁷¹ Its sense is clearly ‘weaver of borders.’ There is a small problem connected with the *limbolus*: Unlike the other items referred to in the catalogue, it is not a proper garment, but only an ornament. This difficulty was already felt by scholars in antiquity, as an explanation in Nonius shows:

66 Plaut. Pers. 154–157: *cape || tunicam atque zonam, et chlamydem adfero et causeam; ... quasi sit peregrinus* [take the *tunica* and the belt, bring the cloak and the *causea* (i.e. a certain type of hat), ... as if he were a traveller]; Truc. 954–955: A: *ubi est quod tu das? solve zonam, provocator. quid times?* B: *tu peregrinu's, hic <ego> habito: non cum zona ego ambulo*. [A: Where is what you have to give? Undo your belt, challenger. What are you afraid of? B: You are a foreigner. I live here. I do not take a walk with a belt].

67 Lucilius 1057 M.: *ancillae, pueri, zonarius, textor* [maidservants, servants, a *zonarius*, a weaver]; (with Marx ad loc.); Cic. Flac. 17: *id sutores et zonarii conclamarunt* [shoe makers and *zonarii* cried it out].

68 Against the OLD s.v.

69 The transmission of Plautus is not uniform at this point. Nonius quoting the verse offers the form *limbolarii*, while the manuscripts of Plautus have *limbuarii* (V) or *linbuarii* (BD). Editors rightly prefer Nonius’ reading. Although the diminutive **limbolus* and the **limbolarius* are not attested elsewhere, they show a regular word formation similar to the one we find in the pair *calceolus* and **calceolarius*.

70 Cf. B 4 p. 309.

71 Goetz (1881) separates the *limbularii* from the *textores*. However, both words must belong together, as is shown by the parallels. The singularity of the phrase is to be explained by the fact that it is a poetic word formation.

Nonius p. 869.25–27 L.

limbus, ut adnotatum invenimus, muliebre vestimentum, quod purpuram in imo habet. Plautus in Aulularia: textores limbolarii, arcularii.

The *limbus* is, as we found annotated, a female garment with a purple border at the lower end. Plautus in the *Aulularia* etc.

Nonius' remarks are very interesting because they show that he did not only possess a copy of Plautus, but also some kind of commentary on it (*ut adnotatum invenimus*). There, a grammarian (mistakenly) maintained that the *limbus* was a garment with a purple border. The singular meaning given to the word *limbus*—equating it with the Greek word *παρυφίς* (garment with a border)—indicates that we are dealing with an ad hoc explanation of Plautus' text. The anonymous grammarian was not so much concerned with the meaning of the term *limbus* as with the explanation of the singular expression *textores limbolarii*. In contrast to him, we should resist the temptation of inventing Latin dress terms and keep to the common meaning of *limbolus* (small border), which is also a better fit for the principles underlying the catalogue. That it is an ornament and not a proper garment does not need to bother us, insofar as hems were produced separately and later sewn onto the robe. It is sufficiently related to the (confusing and overwhelming) world of fashion to not be passed up by a comic author looking for more professions to add to his list.

But how do we have to explain the singular composite expression *textores limbolarii*? We should again start with a look at word formation. The reason why the author chose the noun *textores* (weavers) as a basis becomes evident when we keep in mind his method of word formation and his Greek model. The lower border of a garment is called a *παρυφή* in Greek, which is derived from the verb *παρυφαίνειν* (to weave along)—hence the terms *παρυφέξ* and *παρυφίς* designating garments decorated with such a border.⁷² Imitating Greek, the author first picked the noun *textor* because it is related to the process of weaving. It was a good Latin noun and a good Roman profession, lending a touch of realism to the otherwise absurd list. Since the reference to the border and part of the Greek word were still missing, the author then added the adjective **limbolarius* (small border). In this way, he created a completely artificial Latin expression, which nonetheless conveyed the necessary meaning to his audience.

The *arcularii* (519b) – *arcula*

The **arcularius* is the first 'craftsman' in the B-version of the catalogue whose name is not derived from an article of clothing.⁷³ Already Lambinus (1576) derived the word from

⁷² They belong to everyday language, cf. Aristophanes F 322 K.-A. (a catalogue of garments); Menander F 370 K.-A.; IG II² 1514B 71; 1517B 121; 1524B 218. 220 (Brauron clothing catalogue).

⁷³ See already the *aurifex* in the A-version.

arcula (small box), the diminutive of *arca*, and understood it to mean ‘box maker.’⁷⁴ The suffix *-arius* is also strange in this context since the term *faber* is usually used indiscriminately for all sorts of carpenters. It seems that the suffix was chosen in order to continue the parallelism of the list. As to content, *arcula* and *arca* are equivalent to the Greek words *κιβώτιον* and *κιβωτός*. In general, an *arca* is made of wood, has a lid, and can have a lock. It was used for various objects.

But what kind of *arca* did the author have in mind when using the diminutive *arcula* (small box) for this container? Is it large (a chest for garments) or small (a ‘beauty case’)? An *arca* could be used to store clothes.⁷⁵ In Plautus’ *Menaechmi*, for example, a wife is complaining about her husband plundering her *arcae*.⁷⁶ Cato recommends rubbing an *arca* with a kind of olive oil to protect the clothes from being damaged by moths.⁷⁷ In Lucilius, a wife takes her *palla* from an *arca*.⁷⁸ In contrast, an *arcula* (*κιβώτιον*), a small box, is used to store medicines.⁷⁹ In Plautus’ *Mostellaria*, the term *arcula* refers to a make-up box.⁸⁰ Different colours (*pigmenta*) are stored in it.⁸¹ Cicero metaphorically uses the word in the same sense.⁸² Varro also keeps colours in the *arcula*.⁸³ However, the diminutive is later also used for larger chests. It is first attested in Cicero, though in a pointed sense.⁸⁴ Cicero ridicules the fact that even the smallest dress boxes of women

⁷⁴ Lambinus (1576) 179.

⁷⁵ On the chests found in Pompeii and Herculaneum, cf. E. Pernice, *Hellenistische Tische, Zisternenmündungen, Beckenuntersätze, Altäre und Truhen*, Berlin/Leipzig 1932, 71–94; S. Mols, *Wooden Furniture in Herculaneum*, Amsterdam 1999; on Greek and Roman chests, see in general G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London 1966, 72–78, 114; E. Brümmer, *Griechische Truhenbehälter*, *JdI* 100 (1985), 1–168; D. Andrianou, *The Furniture and Furnishing of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs*, Cambridge 2009.

⁷⁶ Plaut. *Men.* 803–804: *at ille suppilat mihi aurum et pallas ex arcis domo, || me despoliat, mea ornamenta clam ad meretrices degerit* [but he robs me of my gold and my *pallae* from my chests at home; he plunders me; he secretly takes my equipment to heteraes].

⁷⁷ Cato agr. 98.1: *vestimenta ne tiniae tangant, amurcam decoquito ad dimidium, ea unguito fundum arcae et extrinsecus et pedes et angulos* [lest the moths do not touch the clothes, boil the *amurca* halfway, and oil with it the bottom of the box, its outside, feet, and corners].

⁷⁸ Lucilius F 504 M.: *cum tecum est, quidvis satis est: visuri alieni || sint homines, spiram pallas redimicula promit*. [When she is with you, anything is good enough: but if other men could be seeing her, then she takes out her *spira*, her *pallae*, and her chains]; cf. on it A 8 p. 179.

⁷⁹ Aristoph. *Plut.* 711ff.

⁸⁰ Plaut. *Most.* 248: *cedo mi speculum et cum ornamentis arculam actutum* [Pass me the mirror and the box with the make-up immediately].

⁸¹ Plaut. *Most.* 248–264.

⁸² Cic. *ad Att.* 2.1.1 (see below).

⁸³ Varro *res rust.* 3.174.

⁸⁴ Cic. *off.* 2.25: *qui scrutarentur arculas muliebres et, ne quod in vestimentis telum occultaretur, exquirerent* [who are to rummage the *arculae* of the women and to examine them lest no weapon is hidden in their clothes].

are searched by soldiers. In the Imperial period, *arcula* becomes a regular designation for this type of chest.⁸⁵

The choice between both meanings is stark. The early parallels and the following term *murothecium* (see below) suggest that the author was thinking of small make-up boxes. On the other hand, a box for dresses fits well at the pseudo-end of a catalogue concerned with garments. The author also often uses diminutives to characterize female belongings. In any case, the term **arcularius* is an odd profession, though there may have been specialized box makers. It is again striking that the diminutive (*arcula*) and not the normal form (*arca*) should be the basis of the derivation. The author perhaps wanted to imitate a Greek composite word like *κίβωτοποιός*. All of this means that the question of size must remain unanswered.

Interpreting **arcularii* as a box maker unfortunately raises two new difficulties: The **arcularii* immediately follow after the *textores limbolarii*. In the catalogue, most Latin nouns seem to rule the sequence of the adjectives that follow. We should therefore connect **arcularii* with *textores* (weavers). Unlike all other articles mentioned so far, the box is also not an article of clothing. Because of these difficulties, Ussing in his commentary suggested that the noun *arcula* designates a check pattern.⁸⁶ According to him, the expression *textores arcularii* should be interpreted as ‘weavers of cloth with check patterns.’ His solution eliminates the mentioned objections, but seems too far-fetched. Unlike the word *scutula* (lozenge), the word *arcula* is not used in the sense of an abstract rectangle or square elsewhere. The traditional explanation that **arcularii* are box makers should be preferred for three reasons: We do not have any parallel for it in Greek dress terms; in the comic list, some adjectives detach themselves from the preceding nouns; and the term *arcula* otherwise always clearly designates a box. Apart from this, v. 519 forms a conclusion to the catalogue, albeit only a provisional one. A box is not an overly extravagant object at this place, all terms for garments being seemingly exhausted. The reason for its placement could be that the *uxor dotata* will purchase so many clothes that she will even need new chests in order to store them.

5.4.4 The fourth group (521/510)

After what seems like the ending of the soliloquy, the enumeration of professions suddenly takes a new start. It increases the literary effect of confusing and overwhelming the hapless husband. The author adds four kinds of dyers. He derives their designa-

⁸⁵ Sen. epist. 92.13: *quis ... umquam vestimenta aestimavit arcula* [who has ever judged clothes by the box they were stored in?]; Mart. 2.46.4: *sic micat innumeris arcula synthesibus* [so the *arcula* glitters with countless dinner suits].

⁸⁶ Ussing (1875) ad loc: “*arcularii non ii intelligendi videntur, qui arculas mulieribus faciunt ... sed potius textores arcularii, qui arculas texunt, i.e. scutulas sive rhombos, ut ait Censorinus ..., unde scutulata vestimenta dicta sunt.*”

tions from four garments in various colours. All terms are comic word formations.⁸⁷ As to grammar, the noun *infectores* (dyers) rules the following four adjectives,⁸⁸ which differentiate its meaning. Beyond the general denomination, all these specific dyers are fictitious professions. There is no evidence in inscriptions of specialist dyers in Rome apart from those using the purple snail.

***infectores corcotarii* (521) – *corcota* (*crocota*)**

The **crocotarius* is derived from the garment that is called *crocota* (sc. *vestis*) in our sources. It clearly is a fictitious profession.⁸⁹ An orthographical comment may help to avoid confusion about the form of the word. The usual spelling, which is used elsewhere in this book, is *crocota* (hence **crocotarius*), the R preceding the first O. This is also the form that is transmitted in the text by all manuscripts and by Nonius.⁹⁰ Yet it does not fit in here for metrical reasons. To restore metre, Wagner (1866) created the form **corcotarii* by a common metathesis which is also found in *Aulularia* F 1.⁹¹

The word *crocota* is a Greek loanword based on the Greek expression κροκωτός (sc. χιτών). This designates a red coloured *tunica* (*chiton*).⁹² The garment takes its name not from the colour created by the dye, but from the colour of the stigmas of the flower *Crocus sativus* (κρόκος). In contrast to what we understand by saffron-coloured, the term referred to a red.⁹³ Apart from the striking red colour, the main association connected with the *crocota* was that it was made of a thin and elegant cloth.

The *crocota* is known to us especially from old Attic comedy.⁹⁴ There, it is worn by women and in travesty by men. In the archive of the temple of Artemis in Brauron, it is often registered among dress donations.⁹⁵ At the same time, it is a typical garment of Dionysus and his followers.⁹⁶ Plautus mentions a *crocota* in F 1 of the *Aulularia*; a *crocotula* is also among the garments listed in the catalogue of the *Epidicus* (231).⁹⁷ Given that the author of version B of the *Aulularia* drew on this passage, it seems likely that he was also inspired by it here. With the *crocota*, we find ourselves in the world of Greek literature. It is not a garment that is typical for a Roman woman. One may doubt

⁸⁷ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506; Sebesta (1994) 67.

⁸⁸ In inscriptions, dyers are variously called *infector* (ILS 7594), *offector* (ILS 7595), *colorator* (ILS 7450, 7596), cf. Blümner I (1912) 228.

⁸⁹ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506, 584; André (1949) 154: “à l’époque de Plaute l’usage en était assez implanté pour être confié à des spécialistes, les *infectores corcotarii*”; Goldman (n. 3) 27.

⁹⁰ Nonius p. 882.27 L.

⁹¹ *Aulularia* F 1 (= Nonius p. 863.13 L.): *pro illis corcotis, strophiiis, sumptu uxorio*.

⁹² Cf. A 3 p. 58; A 10 pp. 205–206; B 1 p. 259; B 11 p. 417.

⁹³ On the colour *croceus*, cf. B 11 p. 416.

⁹⁴ Cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 46, *eccl.* 318, 332; Cratinus F 40 K.-A.

⁹⁵ Cleland (2005) 119.

⁹⁶ Cf. A 3 p. 58.

⁹⁷ Cf. A 4 p. 78.

that it was ever common in Rome.⁹⁸ A *crocota*-dyer (*infector crocotarius*) would be an oddly niche profession. This suggests that it belongs to the realm of comic invention.

***flamm<e>arii (510a) – flammeum**

The *infectores* **flammearii* are another profession made up by the author ad hoc.⁹⁹ They are mentioned in v. 510, which should also be transposed. The reasons for this are discussed in detail in my article in GFA (2022). Apart from stylistic reasons, the transposition is above all plausible because of the content of the verse, which also concerns dyed clothes. The transposition implies that the adjective **flammearii* is still ruled by the noun *infectores* (dyers).

In contrast to what dictionaries tell us, the gloss **flammearii* does not refer to ‘dyers of flame coloured garments’ in general, but to ‘dyers of the specific garment called *flammeum*,’ the adjective **flammearius* being derived from *flammeum* and not from *flamma* (flame).¹⁰⁰ A *flammeum* was a bridal scarf worn by Roman women on occasion of their wedding (B 18). Unlike a veil, it was worn over the shoulders and could be pulled up onto the head as opposed to covering the whole head (including the face). Its colour was yellow. It is noteworthy that a ritual garment is included among ordinary female clothes in our list.¹⁰¹ The author’s main concern was probably to bring together as many garments that were named after their colour as possible. So he accepted the slight inconsistency. He was perhaps yet again inspired by a Greek model. The Greek word for a scarf is κάλυμμα, as Aristophanes’ comedies and the treasury records of Artemis Brauronia show.¹⁰² It was a common part of female Greek dress. This is perhaps how it found its way into our Latin comedy.

***violarii (510b) – viola**

The term **violarius* is also a comic linguistic coinage (at least as it is used here).¹⁰³ Fiction and reality merge in the word **violarius* as they do in some other terms in the catalogue. The word **violarius* indeed existed, but it designated another profession. In the catalogue, its meaning must be ‘dyer of the garment called *violare*’ (see below). In contrast, its common meaning is ‘merchant of violets’ in everyday language. The

⁹⁸ Cicero’s description of Clodius’ travesty in *crocota* seems to contradict this assumption, but it has all the traits of a literary comedy scene. Significantly, Cicero replaces the term *crocota* with the term *tunica manicata* in his second account of the same event, cf. A 9 p. 206.

⁹⁹ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506; Blümner I (1912) 250 n. 7; André (1949) 115; Sebesta (1994) 67; Goldman (n. 3) 27 (a circular argument): “The *flammarii*, dyers of the *flammeum* bridal veil, with its particular red-orange shade, are mentioned first; not surprisingly, as these veils were in high demand and required a whole class of specialists to produce an adequate supply.”

¹⁰⁰ Against ThLL VI 1 s.v. *flammearius* col. 870.55 and Stockert (1983) ad loc.

¹⁰¹ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506 n. 12; Blümner I (1912) 250 n. 7.

¹⁰² LSJ s.v.; Cleland (2015) 116.

¹⁰³ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506, 584; Sebesta (1994) 67.

surprising difference can be explained when we look at word formation. In everyday language, the word **violarius* goes back directly to the flower *viola* (violet). In the catalogue, as the other examples show, word formation proceeds differently. Its basis is always the designation of a garment. When coining the profession **violarius*, the author would not have had the flower *viola* in mind, but a violet garment. We should therefore take the term *violare* (sc. *vestimentum*) as the basis of his word formation, hence the difference in meaning. The translation of the comic word **violarius* thus gets rather tricky. In analogy to the words **crocotarius* and **flammearius*, we should not translate it with ‘one who dyes garments violet’ (OLD), thereby generalizing its meaning, but define it as ‘one who dyes the garment called *violare*.’

In antiquity, various flowers were called *viola*. The plant giving its name to the colour and the *violare* is the so-called *viola odorata*. It is called black or dark violet (ἴον) in Greek, as is its colour.¹⁰⁴ This passage from the *Aulularia* is the only place in Latin literature where a violet garment is designated by referring to the colour of this *viola*. Commonly, another term is used to denote this colour. The linguistic exception can be explained if we again think of a Greek model. In Greek texts, the adjective ἰάνθινος, which is equivalent to *violaceus* and *violaris*, is used several times in connection with clothing.¹⁰⁵ Although our evidence only dates to the Imperial period, it is very likely that a Greek expression like ἰάνθινον (sc. ἱμάτιον) prompted the author in his translation.¹⁰⁶

As concerns the profession **violarius*, all these irregularities show that we are in the field of poetic freedom. The merchants of the violets are as real as the dyers of the *violare* are fiction. We hear nothing of specialized dyers in inscriptions. This strongly suggests that most dyers worked with multiple plant-based colours, and there were no niche specialists in Rome (again, with the exception of those using an animal-based dye derived from purple snails). In any case, the author of the catalogue appears to not have had the one exceptional group in mind when writing this passage. He was not thinking in ‘realistic’ terms, but merely wanted to transfer Greek dress words into as long a list of professions as possible. Roman historical reality was far removed from this exaggerated list.

104 Theophrast hist. plant. 1.13.2: ἴον τὸ μέλαν [the black violet]; caus. plant. 1.13.12; Verg. ecl. 10.39: *et nigrae violae* [and dark violets] (~ Theocr. 10.18); Georg. 4.275: *in foliis violae subluceat purpura nigrae* [on the foliage of the dark violet there gleams a purple colour]. In Latin, the flower is called *viola purpurea* or with the Greek loanword *ion*: Plin. NH 21.27 (the reference should be corrected in the OLD): *purpureae ... Graeco nomine a ceteris discernuntur, appellatae ia et ab his ianthina vestis* [The purple violets... are distinguished from the others by a Greek name. They are called *ia*. The *ianthina vestis* gets its name from them]; NH 21.64: *viola ... quae ion appellatur et purpurea* [The violet ... which is called *ion* and ‘purple violet’].

105 Cf. B 11 p. 423.

106 Strab. 15.3.19 p. 734 C.: ἱμάτιον ... πορφυροῦν ἢ ἰάνθινον [a purple or violet cloak]; Plin. NH 21.27 (n. 99); Mart. 2.39.1.

***carinarii (510c) – *carinum**

The last group of dyers are the so-called **carinarii* (sc. *infectores*).¹⁰⁷ The designation is attested only here and is another comic invention. It derives from the expression **carinum* (sc. *vestimentum*), which does not denote a colour, but designates a maroon garment. Like the other terms, we should not generalize the **carinarius* in translation. Hence the meaning should not be not ‘one who dyes brown’ (OLD), but ‘a dyer who is specialized in the garment that is called *carinum*.’ The adjective **caryinus* (καρύινος) is a Greek loanword. The colour it denotes was probably that of the chestnut.¹⁰⁸ As has been stated above, the author (speaking of **carinarii*) uses the word in a slightly corrupted form (*carinus* vs. *caryinus*), the letter Y being missing.¹⁰⁹ That is also the spelling we find in the *Epidicus* (234). The parallel makes it very likely that the author was directly inspired by this play.

In conclusion, we can say that specialized guilds of **crocotarii*, **flammearii*, **violarii*, and **carinarii* did not exist in Rome. They existed only in the comic creativity of the author and later in the fantasy of scholars.¹¹⁰

5.4.5 The fifth group (511/521)

The catalogue slowly begins to dissolve in the verses after the dyers. A ‘rational’ structure based on theme or occupation can no longer be made out. It seems that the section is tied together with nothing more than the alliteration of the words **manulearii*, *myrothecarii*, and *mala crux*.

manulearii* (511a) – *manuleus/manuleata

The **manulearius* is also a fictitious profession. The difficulty of the explanation is already obvious in the dictionaries, where the **manulearii* are alternatively defined as ‘makers of long sleeves’ (Georges) or as ‘manufacturer of long-sleeved tunics’ (OLD). As with many other terms in the catalogue, ‘reality’ is less important to solving this question than the principles of comic word formation. In case of **manulearius*, it is difficult to decide whether the ‘profession’ is based on the word *manuleus* (sleeve, glove) or on the expression *manuleata* (sc. *tunica*)—which is equivalent to the Greek

¹⁰⁷ Nonius pp. 869.30, 882.29 L. twice has the form *cariarii*, differing from the manuscripts of Plautus. The letter N in him probably fell victim to an abbreviation.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. B 11 p. 419.

¹⁰⁹ The correct spelling is attested several times in Pliny.

¹¹⁰ The same applies to the profession of the **cerinarii* (“dyers of wax coloured garments”), which is found in Marquardt/Mau (1886) 506, 584. This craft owes its birth to a conjecture in the text of Plautus proposed by Bapista Pius (1500), which was subsequently accepted by many scholars, cf. Lambinus (1576) 178 ad loc.

expression χιτῶν χειριδωτός and designates a tunic with sleeves.¹¹¹ Looking back to the example of the **limbolarii*, the derivation of the word from *manuleus* (sleeve) may be slightly preferable because the joke would then be more pointed: A niche specialist for sleeves is completely absurd. In the end, the question of what exactly the **manulearii* produced is largely academic since the **manulearius* is a comic word formation.

****myrothecarii* (511b) – *myrothecium***

The text needs discussion at his point. Apart from the fact that v. 511 has been misplaced in our manuscripts, the transmitted composite noun **murobatharii* is nonsensical and must be corrected. The reasons for transposing the verse to this place have been given elsewhere. The following section only deals with the corrupt word **murobatharii*, although we will see that both problems are interrelated to some extent.

The emendation of **murobatharii* should start with keeping the meaningful components and rejecting the meaningless parts. We can therefore retain the beginning MYRO (*muro* = *myro*, Y being realized orthographically as either U or I in early texts) and the suffix *-arii* at the end. We only have to change the letters BATH in the middle. The sequence MURO is meaningful on its own. The suffix is also acceptable because all but one adjective in the catalogue end in it. The beginning shows that the ‘profession’ must have something to do with perfume because this is called μύρον in Greek. The Greek noun either never entered Latin or soon fell out of use, there being the common Latin word *unguentum* as an equivalent. It has, however, been preserved in some composite nouns beginning with MYRO—all of which are Greek loanwords. In the world of Plautus, the most notable is the *myropola* (seller of unguents or perfumes). Unfortunately, we cannot simply use it to fully replace the **murobatharii* in this verse since it does not fit metrically.

Let us start with the best existing solutions: **myrobrecharii* (Merula, in the *editio princeps* 1472) and **myrobaptarii* (Leo 1895). Both emendations are correct in focusing on the second part of the word, but they are not satisfactory as to content. Merula’s **myrobrecharii* is based on the adjective *myrobrechēs* (μυροβρεχής).¹¹² This is a Greek loanword meaning ‘wet with unguent.’ However, it is hard to see how a ‘sensible’ profession should come from it—even given our author’s low comedic standards. The same statement holds true for the word **myrobaptarii*. The Greek noun μυροβαφία (there is no loanword in Latin) bears the meaning ‘the act of dipping into perfume,’ but there is also no ‘realistic’ profession we can connect with it. This means that we must look for something better.

The premise of both orthographical solutions is to keep as close as possible to the transmitted letters BATHARIL. However, it has a flaw when we consider how the textual corruption possibly originated. To find out what could have happened, we must look

¹¹¹ B 1 pp. 257–261.

¹¹² LSJ s.v.

back to v. 513. In the manuscripts, it ends with the invented profession **diabatharii* (slightly misspelling the correct form *diabatharii*, with an additional R). The word **diabatharii* is very similar to **murobatharii* in terms of spelling, both words sharing the component BATHARII. If v. 513 preceded v. 511 in the archetype, it is easy to see how the mistake arose. The scribe's eyes must have leapt, causing him to erroneously repeat the end of a line. From *diabatharii*, the wrong component BATHARII was copied to MURO, obliterating the correct reading. This hypothesis may seem hazardous to those not familiar with textual criticism, but it is surprising how frequently this type of error occurred in the transmission of handwritten manuscripts. Assuming such a perpetuated error is to blame, we must change BATHARII to something more 'sensible' (at least in the context of a comedy). We should thus look for a meaningful composite noun beginning with MURO.

Of the Greek loanwords with MURO at the beginning, there is only one fitting as to metre and content: **myrothecarius*. The plural form, **myrothecarii*, is required in the context of the scene, where all of the petitioners come in groups. Like most designations of professions in the catalogue, it is a *hapax legomenon* formed according to the rules that guide word formation in this passage. Despite it being a hapax, we can understand its meaning through the Greek loanword *myrothecium* (μυροθήκιον) from which it derives.¹¹³ This designates a box where bottles of ointment and perfume were kept. Such boxes are attested as an article of daily use several times in Greek papyri. In Latin texts, a *myrothecium* is mentioned only once in a letter of Cicero—together with the *arcula* discussed above:

Cic. ad Att. 2.1.1

meus autem liber totum Isocratis myrothecium atque omnis eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit.

But my book has used up the entire *myrothecium* of Isocrates, all the *arculae* of his pupils, and also some Aristotelian colours.

Cicero is speaking about the rhetorical ornamentation he used in writing a monograph on his consulate. He compares the rhetorical embellishment to 'make up' contained in the 'boxes' of various masters of the art, especially of Isocrates and Aristoteles. It is very remarkable that we find the same two boxes in Cicero that we find in Plautus. A *myrothecium* is no garment, but as the mention of *arcula* in v. 519 shows, there are exceptions to this rule. Two different sections are then ended with a type of box: The *arcula* creates a pseudo-ending after the section on garments, and the *myrothecium* would end the additional section of dyes.

113 LSJ s.v.

Specialized **myrothecarii*, producers of such boxes, should be considered a fictitious profession. They share this fate with almost all professions listed in catalogue of the *Aulularia*, or more precisely, those enumerated in its B-version.

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, many Roman garments, many professions, and even entire guilds have fallen victim to close textual analysis. Like with the *Epidicus*, we have a comic scene whose effects are entirely based on comic exaggeration of misogynistic stereotypes. In it, we do not find reality, but comic fantasy. Megadorus, the speaker of the soliloquy, is trying to stress that the financial risk of marrying an *uxor dotata* is that the husband cannot even imagine just how many different articles of clothing and accessories his wife might purchase. Being ignorant of the world of fashion and craftsmanship, it is overly dangerous to allow a demanding wife to go shopping. Who knows what debts she will incur? How should the husband even find out when there are so many niche professions? He can only anxiously wait for these petitioners to come out of the woodwork, so to speak, only increasing his financial uncertainty.

We have to admit that the seeming bounty of ‘historical’ professions is only a comic author showing his linguistic prowess. At the same time, this admission reveals new findings: We discover Plautus and an author adapting Plautus’ *Aulularia* for a rerun. We see how this unknown person was labouring to write a fine (and intentionally overly long) solo aria for an actor, consisting of a long catalogue (B) of dress dealers. The inventiveness of the ‘professions’ shows that he was no intellectual amateur. He knew his ‘Plautus’ (of course) and even had a Greek comedy at hand, which he tried to convert for his project. He faced many difficulties translating Greek composite nouns or creating completely new ones in Latin, a language not suited for them. All the while, he is trying to not appear as an author himself. He is hiding behind Plautus’ *persona* and hides his own traces by using some words of Plautus and by trying to write like him. Through him, we have some residue of literary history: an unknown Greek comedy and what must have been a catalogue of garments, similar to the catalogues still existent in other fragments. These new discoveries can perhaps compensate for the loss of the old (but unfortunately mistaken) ‘knowledge.’

6 Plautus *Menaechmi* – a long robe (*palla*) and a travesty

1. Introduction
2. The *palla* and the dramatic action
 - 2.1 Act I, scene II (110–181)
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3. The *palla* in other Plautine comedies
4. Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The following chapter concerns the *Menaechmi*, one of Plautus' best and most burlesque plays.¹ In contrast to the preceding two chapters on Plautus, this one is not about deciphering the wording on a microscopic level, but about describing some part of the dramatic plot of this comedy and about elucidating the nature of the garment that most prominently features in it: the *palla*. Up to now, research has always thought this *palla* to be a precious cloak.² In face of the evidence, however, this must be mistaken. The following argues for the hypothesis that (1) the term *palla* designates a long female robe ('*peplos*') worn on the skin as it does in many other places in Roman literature and that (2) the dramatic action of the play starts with a veritable travesty scene.³

The production date of the *Menaechmi* remains uncertain, though it is often dated to the nineties of the 2nd century BCE.⁴ In contrast to other Plautine plays, there was no major reworking when the comedy was brought on stage again. Except for the prologue,⁵

1 Commentaries: Ussing (1880), Brix (1880), revised first by Niemeyer and then by Conrad (1929), Gratwick (1993); short introduction and select bibliography: J. Blänsdorf, art. Plautus, in: W. Suerbaum, *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike I* (= HAW VIII.1), München 2002, 201–202; and in general: W. Steidle, *Zur Komposition von Plautus' Menaechmi*, RhM 114 (1971), 247–261; E. Stärk, *Die Menaechmi des Plautus und kein griechisches Original*, Tübingen 1989; V. Masciadri, *Die antike Verwechslungskomödie*, Stuttgart 1996, 68–155; C. Questa, *Sei letture Plautine. Aulularia. Casina. Menaechmi. Miles. Mostellaria. Pseudolus*, Urbino 2004, 59–75; R. Raffaelli/A. Tontini, *Lecturae Plautinae Sarsinates X. Menaechmi*, Urbino 2007.

2 See, for example, Stärk (n. 1) 14: "Menaechmus E hat aus Überdruß an seiner reichen Gattin derselben einen Mantel, *palla*, gestohlen"; Questa (n. 1) 60: "un elegante mantello da signora (*palla*)", 70.

3 On other travesty scenes in Latin literature, cf. A 7 p. 155; A 10.

4 See on it Blänsdorf (n. 1) 202 (with further references). An allusion to the *Mostellaria* might suggest that the *Menaechmi* were written after it, cf. vv. 983–984 with Gratwick (1993) ad loc.

5 Cf. v. 3.

there are no verses that could be sensibly interpreted as actors' interpolations added in order to lengthen Plautus' text. The dialogues are very precise and to the point. There are no otiose repetitions as we find them in other plays, for example in the *Miles gloriosus*, but Plautus' literary mastery is always on full display. The comedy of an unknown Greek author on which the *Menaechmi* are based must have been a great work, and Plautus handled it with care when using it to create his funny Latin operetta.⁶

In short, the *Menaechmi* can be called a Comedy of Errors. The play is centred on the fate of two young twin brothers (*adulescentes*) who, by a whim of fate, even bear the same name, Menaechmus, and are constantly mistaken for one another. In addition to them, we find the usual personnel of a *Palliata*: a wife (*matrona*) constantly quarrelling with her husband Menaechmus I, a prostitute (*meretrix*) who is after his money, a *senex*, a parasite, a cook, a doctor, and a male and a female servant. They all know only one of the twins—mainly Menaechmus I, because Menaechmus II is a stranger to the country—and therefore mistake his brother for him. This leads to a chain of ten errors until the entanglement is dissolved at the end when both twins finally meet. Of course, the dramatic plot is not plausible in real life, but it works well within the literary framework. As in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the actors (and the spectators) enter an enchanted world and only wake up at the end rubbing their eyes in wonder. Beyond the fun, the *Menaechmi* raise the question of what constitutes human identity, a question that remains with its readers when the immediate laughter is gone, and it makes the *Menaechmi* rank among the finest comedies European culture has ever produced.

In the *Menaechmi*, the garment called *palla* is important for the entire dramatic action.⁷ It appears on stage and serves as a dramatic device in many acts. A short sketch of what happens to the garment will suffice for the present purpose. Originally, the *palla* belongs to the wife (*uxor*) of Menaechmus I. As we learn later on, it is a part of the regular wardrobe of a proper *matrona* a caring husband has to provide for. But Menaechmus I is no caring husband. He steals the *palla* from his wife and gives it to the prostitute Erotium for her sexual services. Erotium in turn gives it to Menaechmus II (mistaking him for Menaechmus I) in order to have the garment altered and embellished. However, the wife of Menaechmus I gets wind of the affair and orders her husband to restore her *palla* to her. He therefore tries to get it back from Erotium, who no longer possesses it. All this produces much funny despair. At the end of the play, the *palla* turns up again—in the hands of Menaechmus II. This again causes much confusion. As concerns dramatic technique, the *palla* is thus an important visual token so that the spectators can keep the otherwise identical twins apart. In the first act, it marks Menaechmus I, in the fifth act, it marks Menaechmus II. In his *Comedy of Errors*,

⁶ The question of the Greek source has vexed research for a long time, but to no avail. Stärk (n. 1) 134–146 argues that there was no Greek model.

⁷ Cf. also Questa (n. 1) 70–71.

Shakespeare skips the garment, but instead uses a chain as a similar distinguishing device.

6.2 The *palla* and the dramatic action

6.2.1 Act I, scene II (110–181)

The *palla* is most prominent in the first act,⁸ and the three major scenes of the act focus on it. In act I, scene II, Menaechmus I (in the following only Menaechmus), one of the principal actors, makes his entrance. He is already expected by his parasite Peniculus. Menaechmus does not behave as a stern Roman husband (or even a Greek one) should. He enters on stage singing a solo aria, complaining about his wife and boasting that he has filched a *palla* from her in order to give it to the prostitute Erotium, who lives next door. Unlike the ancient Roman audience, we do not see how Menaechmus is dressed since there are no author's notes to help us. We have to infer it from the character's words and from what we generally know about dress.

The usual male costume on stage consists of a tunic and a *pallium* (cloak), and Menaechmus would likely be wearing these garments when leaving his house.⁹ In addition, he tells us that he has stolen his wife's *palla* (v. 130), meaning it should be somewhere on his person. But where and how does he wear it? The commentaries are a bit evasive as to this point. Ussing thinks that Menaechmus is clad in the cloak, but does not comment on its exact nature or on the question of how Menaechmus could be dressed in two wrapped cloaks at the same time.¹⁰ Brix/Niemeyer/Conrad seem to waver in how to imagine the scene.¹¹ Gratwick appears to be aware of the difficulty. He is also not very explicit about the problem, but seems to think that Menaechmus holds the *palla* in his hands (under the *pallium*).¹² Let us tackle this crucial question.

In the following exchange of words between Menaechmus and his parasite, we get the impression that Menaechmus' garb somehow looks strange. Menaechmus is in a playful mood. He speaks about the beautiful mythical young boys Ganymedes and Adonis and invites Peniculus to compare him to them:

vv. 143–146

M. *dic mi, enumquam tu vidisti tabulam pictam in pariete,
ubi aquila Catameitum raperet aut ubi Venus Adoneum?*

⁸ Cf. on it Stärk (n. 1) 66–75.

⁹ Cf., for example, Gratwick (1993) on vv. 110–137.

¹⁰ Ussing (1875) on v. 110: *meretricii enim pallam uxoris furto subreptam dono daturus erat, eamque, ne quis videret, ipse induerat suoque pallio tectam gerebat.*

¹¹ See Brix/Niemeyer/Conrad (1929) on v. 130, 145, 196, 199.

¹² Cf. Gratwick's comment on v. 196.

P. *saepe. sed quid istae picturae ad me attinent? M. age me aspice. ecquid adsimulo similiter? P. Quis istest ornatus tuos?*

M. Tell me. Did you ever see a painted picture on the wall where an eagle abducted Ganymedes or Venus Adonis? **P.** Often, but how do these pictures matter to me? **M.** Come on. Look at me. Don't I look very much like them? **P.** What is this strange dress of yours?

How do we have to imagine the dramatic action? Menaechmus is dressed in a *pallium* so that his strange attire is not immediately apparent, but must be partially hidden under his cloak. He seems to direct Peniculus' view to it (*age aspice me*). It is only on closer inspection that the parasite gets the clue. He sees that Menaechmus is wearing a fancy attire, and his surprised question seems to imply that Menaechmus is wearing it on his person (*quis istest ornatus tuos?*).¹³ As it will also appear more clearly later on, Ussing is right as to this point. Menaechmus is clad in his wife's *palla* instead of only carrying it.

The Roman audience, watching from a distance, had perhaps already wondered about what Menaechmus was getting at. The audience had been prepared for the following joke by Menaechmus' reference to Ganymedes (lat. *Catamitus*).¹⁴ Ganymedes, the cupbearer of Zeus, is a beautiful boy (*puer delicatus*). He represents passive homosexuality—the English term 'catamite' goes back to the Latinized version of his name—and for effeminateness. It is a common trope in Latin literature that passive homosexuals like wearing female garments.¹⁵ Hence, Menaechmus, wearing the *palla* of his wife, is implicitly compared to the mythical boy. The same idea is deepened and repeated in a more overt form in the third act when Peniculus recalls this scene to Menaechmus II (whom he mistakes for Menaechmus I). Being told that he has worn a female garment, Menaechmus II reacts harshly:

vv. 509–514

M. *neque hercle ego uxorem habeo neque ego Erotio dedi nec pallam surrupui. P. satin sanus es? occisast haec res. non ego te indutum foras exire vidi pallam? M. vae capiti tuo. omnis cinaedos esse censes, tu quia es? tun med indutum fuisse pallam praedicas?*

M. By Hercules, I don't have a wife, and I don't have given a *palla* to Erotium, nor have I stolen it. **P.** You are mad. That crowns it all. Didn't I see you come out of the house dressed in a *palla*? **M.**

¹³ See also Brix/Niemeyer/Conrad (1929) on v. 146. Unfortunately, Gratwick does not comment on this line.

¹⁴ On the mythical comparisons, cf. E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches in Plautus*, Berlin 1922, 75–76; Stärk (n. 1) 69.

¹⁵ Cf., for example, B 1 p. 256.

You impertinent person! Do you think that all are fags only because you yourself are one? You contend that I have been dressed in a *palla*?

With great subtlety, Plautus exploits the comic action of the first act, which must have made a strong impression on the audience, by bringing it up again. At the same time, he varies the register of language and the perspective on the literary figures. Now it is Peniculus who looks mad by only imagining that Menaechmus has worn a female garb.

But what kind of dress is referred to by the term *palla*? As is shown in B 3, the word *palla* can designate two different garments: (1) a precious cloak and (2) a foot-long dress with shoulder straps ('*peplos*'). In this passage, all of the information squares well if we take *palla* in the second meaning and assume that Menaechmus is clad in a foot-long (female) robe. In contrast to a wrapped cloak, the long robe is something that is 'typically' feminine, and men are mocked elsewhere for wearing tunics that are too long¹⁶ since length is the principal trait that defines female garb. As to the dramatic action in the original instance in act I, Menaechmus I may have simply pointed to his covered legs¹⁷ (hence Peniculus' reaction). All of this is much more complicated if we take *palla* to be a second cloak that Menaechmus wears on his arms or under his own *pallium*.

The nature of the *palla* gets even clearer when we come to the next joke that is made about it. It is similar to a joke about a long tunic we find in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusai* in a famous travesty scene.¹⁸ In both cases, the smell of the garment is exploited for a smutty gag. Here, Menaechmus invites Peniculus to smell the *palla*:

vv. 166–170

M. *Agedum odorare hanc quam ego habeo pallam. quid olet? apstines?*

P. *Summum olfactare oportet vestimentum muliebre, nam ex istoc loco spurcatur nasum odore inlucido.*

M. *Olfacta igitur hinc, Penicule. lepide ut fastidis.* **P.** *Decet.*

M. Come on, smell on the *palla* that I have on! How does it smell? You do not want to? **P.** One should always smell on the upper part of a female garment. For from this part here the nose is stained by an unattractive odour. **M.** Well, then smell on this part, Peniculus. How fussy you are. **P.** As one should be.

Peniculus first refuses to smell the garment (*abstines* sc. *nasum*) because Menaechmus offers him the bottom part of the garment.¹⁹ He excuses himself by saying that this part does not smell well, and one should rather use the upper part. Following his advice,

¹⁶ Cf. B 1 p. 256.

¹⁷ He may also have opened up his *pallium* at the front, cf. Brix/Niemeyer/Conrad (1929) on v. 145.

¹⁸ Cf. B 21 p. 502 and A 10 p. 203.

¹⁹ Against Gratwick (1993) on v. 166.

Menaechmus makes him smell that. As in Aristophanes, the joke must have something to do with the smell of the pubic area or the anus. Maybe the words were accompanied by some obscene action. Whatever it exactly was, it is clear from this that the word *palla* cannot refer to a cloak, but must refer to a long ‘*peplos*.’ A cloak (a rectangular piece of cloth) does not have an upper and a lower part, and above all, it does not smell because it is not worn on the skin. In contrast, there is no problem if we assume the meaning ‘*peplos*.’ Like the long tunic in Aristophanes’ joke, it is worn directly on the body and has a distinctive shape. It can also acquire some smell. But let us see further and turn to the next scene.

6.2.2 Act I, scene III (182–218)

In the third scene, Peniculus and Menaechmus meet the prostitute Erotium, to whom Menaechmus wants to donate the *palla*. Again, the *palla* is not in the foreground at the beginning. It first comes into play when Peniculus jokes about Menaechmus’ despising his wife, but at the same time wearing his wife’s garment.²⁰ This all leads to a typically Plautine wordplay on *induviae* and *exuviae*.²¹

vv. 189–191

M. *ut ego uxorem, mea voluptas, ubi te aspicio, odi male.*

P. *interim nequis quin eius aliquid indutus sies.*

Erot. *quid hoc est? M. induviae tuae atque uxoris exuviae, rosa.*

M. How I hate my wife, my darling, when I see you. **P.** But at the same time you have to wear your wife’s dress. **Erot.** What is this? **M.** Your new dress and my wife’s ex-dress, my rose.

From Peniculus’ words it is clear that Menaechmus is still dressed in the *palla*. The word *induere* is the usual word for garments that are put on over the head, whereas a cloak is usually said to be wrapped around the body.²² It is also evident from the undressing that is going to follow. This gives occasion for a last joke:

vv. 196–199

M. *sustine hoc, Penicule. exuvias facere quas vovi volo.*

P. *cedo, sed obsecro hercle, salta sic cum palla postea.*

M. *ego saltabo? sanus hercle non es. P. egone an tu magis? si non saltas, exue igitur.*

²⁰ Brix/Niemeyer/Conrad (1929) ad loc. suppose that Peniculus opens up Menaechmus’ *pallium* in order to show the *palla*, but this is not necessary. It suffices directing attention to Menaechmus’ legs.

²¹ Cf. also A 4 p. 67 and M. Fontaine, *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy*, Oxford 2010, 76, 210.

²² Cf. C 1 p. 566.

M. Hold this (sc. my cloak), Peniculus. I want to make the offering/striptease I have vowed to do.
P. Pass it to me. But, by Hercules, please perform a dance like this in the *palla* later on. **M.** I shall dance? By Hercules, you are insane. **P.** Who is the more insane of us, you or I? If you do not dance, then put the garment off.

Again, we have to imagine what the spectators saw on stage. The dramatic action is not described in full (because it was visible) and thus involves reconstruction work. First, Menaechmus asks Peniculus to ‘hold this’ (*sustine hoc*).²³ We are not told what ‘this’ is, but since Menaechmus does not have something in his hands, the easiest solution is that the word *hoc* refers to his *pallium* (cloak). He removes it and hands it to Peniculus, who is prepared to receive it (*cedo*).²⁴ Menaechmus does this in order to have both hands free and to take off the *palla* that he wore underneath his *pallium*. It is the first time that the *palla* is seen in full, and Plautus uses this to insert a last joke. He makes Peniculus beg Menaechmus to dance in the long robe (*sic cum palla*) like a female dancer.²⁵ Dancing in a long dress again involves the insinuation of passive homosexuality. Plautus (adapting a Greek comedy) proves that this trope must already go back to Greek comedy. We find it first in the Hellenistic historian Duris of Samos, who tells us that the Macedonian commander Polysperchon dressed himself in a *crocota* (a long orange-red tunic) and Sicyonian shoes (B 30) when drunken and went about dancing.²⁶ In Latin literature, Cicero makes Clodius dress like a *psaltria* (a female fluteplayer), who also danced.²⁷ For this reason, it is no wonder that Menaechmus rejects Peniculus’ wish as a mad proposal.

After this, there follows the undressing. In contrast to Aristophanes (see above), this is not commented on, and we are left with a blank space. It might have included some funny dramatic action. In any case, Menaechmus does not end up naked, but is dressed in his usual *tunica*. In v. 199, he starts handing the *palla* over to Erotium. He accompanies this act with some clownish boasting, comparing himself to Hercules.²⁸ Peniculus also comments on Menaechmus’ behaviour (vv. 204–206). He stresses the great value of the garment and complains that great dress gifts lead men to financial ruin. Plautus thus makes him use a common trope we find in Greek comedy, Plautus, and

²³ Cf. Ussing (1880) ad v. 196: *pallium meum, id enim parasito tradit, dum pallam, quam intus gerit, exuat*; Brix/Niemeyer/Conrad (1929): “*sustine*: halt einmal, *hoc*: deiktisch, das Pallium, das er eben ablegen will, um die darunter gezogene *palla* ausziehen und der *amica* zu geben.” Against Gratwick (1993) on v. 196.: “*sustine hoc*: sc. pallium; ‘lift up my cloak’, not entirely removing it, but revealing the stolen mantle.”

²⁴ Against Gratwick (1993) on v. 197: “*cedo* ... ‘give me it’ (sc., the edge of the *pallium*).”

²⁵ The deictic word *sic* might point to some lascivious gesture on Peniculus’ part, cf. Fontaine (n. 20) 107.

²⁶ FGrHist 76 F 12 (= Athen. 4.42 p. 155c): καὶ ἐνδύμενον αὐτὸν (sc. Πολυσπέρχοντα) καὶ ὑποδούμενον Σικυώνια διατελεῖν ὄρχούμενον.

²⁷ Cf. A 10 p. 204.

²⁸ Cf. on it Fraenkel (n. 14) 10; Fontaine (n. 21) 45.

Lucretius.²⁹ After this, the travesty is over, and the focus shifts to the meal (*prandium*) Erotium is going to give her guests.

6.2.3 Act II, scene III (351–445), and act III, scene II (466–523)

In the following acts, the *palla* is less prominent than in the first. It is mentioned by Erotium in vv. 393–394 to Menaechmus II, whom she mistakes for Menaechmus I. There is no indication, such as a deictic word, that Erotium has brought the *palla* with her on stage, and she does not point to it in the ensuing discussion with Menaechmus II. In fact, this discussion makes even more sense if it is about things and persons Menaechmus II has never seen in his life. When Menaechmus II finally acquiesces to his new role as Menaechmus I, Erotium asks him to bring her new *palla* to the tailor:

vv. 425–426

Erot. *pallam illam, quam dudum dederas, ad phrygionem ut deferas, ut reconcinnetur atque ut opera addantur quae volo.*

Erot. Please bring the *palla* you have given me a little while ago to the tailor, in order to have it fitted and to have added what I want at the same time.

It is not much that we hear about the *palla*. Nevertheless, it contains information further corroborating the hypothesis that the term *palla* does not designate a cloak in this play, but that it must refer to a long tailored robe. It seems evident that a cloak, which is basically a rectangular piece of cloth, does not need adapting (*reconcinari*). In contrast, the words make sense in reference to a tailored garment that has to be adjusted to fit a new wearer. Moreover, adding stripes or other ornaments seems to be more in tune with tunics than with cloaks. And a tailor (*phrygio*)³⁰ is exactly the professional to do this.

At the end of the scene, Erotium and Menaechmus II enter Erotium's house. In act III, scene II, Menaechmus reappears with the *palla*. He is already expected by Peniculus, and it is through Peniculus' words that we know that Menaechmus II is bearing the *palla* in his hands (v. 469). In the following discussion about the *palla*, we find the deictic word (*istaec*, v. 508) that is missing in the preceding one between Erotium and Menaechmus II. Menaechmus' II reaction ('I am no passive homosexual') when Peniculus tells him that he had been dressed in the *palla* (vv. 509–515, see above) also makes it clear that he is not clad in the garment, but is carrying it in his hands. With Menaechmus II's exit from stage in v. 558, the *palla* disappears for some time. It

²⁹ Cf. A 5 p. 88; A 11 p. 209.

³⁰ On the term, cf. A 5 p. 93.

is, however, always present in mind, since it is repeatedly mentioned and looked for by Menaechmus I and the *matrona*.³¹

6.2.4 Act V, scene I (701–752), scene II (753–874), and scene IX (1060–1162)

In first scene of the fifth act (vv. 701–752), the *palla* reappears on stage. Menaechmus II is carrying it in his hands. The matron is glad to get back her *palla*, but, mistaking him for her husband Menaechmus I, starts chiding Menaechmus II at once:

vv. 705–709

Mat. *provisam quam mox vir meus redeat domum.
sed eccum video. salva sum, pallam refert.*

...

Mat. *adibo atque hominem accipiam quibus dictis meret.
non te pudet prodire in conspectum meum,
flagitium hominis, cum istoc ornatu?*

Mat. I will go out and see how soon my husband comes home. But there he is, I see him. I am saved. He brings back the *palla*. ... I will approach him and welcome him with the words he merits. You scoundrel, do you not feel ashamed to come into my view with these clothes?

We already know from the preceding scenes that Menaechmus II is not dressed in the *palla* (why should he?). The wording too makes this sufficiently clear. The matron says “with these clothes” (*cum istoc ornatu*) and not “in these clothes.” In contrast, in v. 146, Peniculus’ reaction to Menaechmus’ I dress is different. He asks: “What is this strange dress of yours? (*Quis istest ornatus tuos?*). There may be some latent dress symbolism at this point, contrasting both twins. Menaechmus’ I initial dressing in his wife’s clothes could be taken to mean that he is in her power, while Menaechmus II, keeping off the woman’s garments, is literally free. His complete freedom also appears in his response to the matron’s rebukes. For he outrightly rejects them and contends (rightly) that he did not steal her belongings (vv. 729–733, 739–740). The scene also shows how the words we read rely on what spectators saw on stage. The unspecific term *ornatus* designates the *palla*, which in the following is mainly referred to by means of pronouns (*eandem, hanc*, vv. 730, 732). We have to imagine that both actors point at it in turn. The specific word *palla* is only used when the matron is summing up the charges she will bring up against Menaechmus before her father.

In the second scene, the matron’s father, a *senex*, enters the stage. The action is somewhat repetitive at this point. Again, the matron complains, now towards her father, that Menaechmus II has stolen her belongings (803–807), and Menaechmus II rejects (vv. 813–814) her allegations. His behaviour is against all appearances, and so

³¹ Cf. vv. 563, 608–619, 645–660, 680–691.

the *senex* believes him to be mad. In consequence, interest in the *palla* fades out in the latter part of the scene, and the focus shifts to *Menaechmus* II's madness. At the end of the scene, *Menaechmus* II manages to get away to his ship.

He only returns on stage in the great finale, (vv. 1050–1162), when both twins meet and all riddles are solved. We do not learn at once what *Menaechmus* II's attire looks like, and it is only v. 1139 that indicates that the *palla* must still be with him. This is against all odds, but plausibility of the action is not among the primary objectives of the farcical *Menaechmi*. The last scene is about telling a complicated story in full, and the fortune of the *palla* forms a large part of it. So both twins, after their recognition, turn to the *palla* and again tell what all spectators already know:

vv. 1137–1142

M. I *namque edepol iussi hic mihi hodie prandium appararier, clam meam uxorem, quoi pallam surrupui dudum domo; eam dedi huic. M. II Hanc dicis, frater, pallam, quam ego habeo? M. I <Haec east>. quo modo haec ad te pervenit? M. II meretrix, <quae> huc ad prandium me abduxit, me sibi dedisse aiebat. prandi perbene, potavi atque accubui scortum, pallam et aurum hoc <abstuli>.*

M. I By Pollux, yes indeed, I begged her to prepare here a lunch for me today without the knowledge of my wife, from whom I had just stolen a *palla* from the house. I gave it to her. **M. II** My brother, are you talking about the *palla* that I have? **M. I** Exactly, that is it. How did it come into your possession? **M. II** The hetaera who led me hither to lunch told me that I had given it to her. I had a very good lunch, I had a drink, and I slept with the prostitute. And I received the *palla* and this golden jewellery.

The visual 'logic' of Plautus' *Menaechmi* requires that we see what we are told about. At the same time, the *palla* reminds us of the turbulent travesty scene with which the play started. The theft of the garment is essential to the plot, and so it is more than right that it should feature at its end. Roman comedy is much more 'physical' than we who only read the plays tend to imagine. The *palla* of the *Menaechmi* may remind us of that fact.

6.3 The *palla* in other Plautine comedies

The *palla* is also mentioned in three other Plautine comedies. In the *Aulularia*, the *Asinaria*, and the *Mostellaria*, it figures as a garment that is typical for rich wives (*uxores*).³² In the *Epidicus* (A 4), which is about the dress of young *puellae*, it is missing. In the *Mostellaria*, we also find the motif that a hetaera is wearing a wife's dress. Even

³² Plaut. *Aul.* 168 (cf. A 5 p. 88); *Asin.* 885, 929–930, 935; *Most.* 282.

more intriguing is what we read about it in the *Asinaria*. In this play, an old husband who has fallen in love with a *meretrix* (his son's mistress) plans to rob his wife (*uxor dotata*) of a *palla* and to give it to the young woman.³³ However, he is overheard in this by his wife and is forced to 'confess his sins.'³⁴ It is interesting to see how the motif we know from the *Menaechmi* is varied in the *Asinaria*. In the *Menaechmi*, a young husband successfully filches a *palla* from his wife, whereas in the *Asinaria* a *senex* unsuccessfully plans to do this. It looks a bit as if both plays could be interrelated at this point and as if the *Menaechmi*, whose version is far more elaborate (including a travesty), exerted some influence on the *Asinaria*. However, this hypothesis stands in contrast to the traditional dating of both plays, which places the *Asinaria* in an early period of Plautus' work.³⁵ It is therefore best to leave the question open. All in all, the theft or loss of garments may have been literary motif that was more common in Roman comedies than is seen in the scarce remains that are left of it.³⁶

6.4 Conclusion

The dramatic action of the *Menaechmi* and the information we find on the garment prove beyond doubt that the term *palla* in Plautus takes on the meaning 'foot-long female garment' ('*peplos*') as it does elsewhere in later texts. It is surprising that, contrary to all evidence, research has not found this for so long. Scholarly blindness certainly had to do with the established meaning of the word *palla*, which since the 15th century was thought to refer exclusively to a precious cloak. The modern 'traditional' meaning, once established, then blocked all other possible interpretations. In the case of Plautus' *Menaechmi*, it impeded understanding the first full-fledged travesty scene in Latin literature. To be fair, it was hidden to me as well for many years until very recently. In fact, I only discovered it while finishing the manuscript of this book. Suddenly, the dramatic action of the first act of the *Menaechmi*, a play that I have cherished for years, became visible to me in all its subtle art.

³³ Cf. vv. 884–885: *Egon ut non domo uxori meae || subripiam in deliciis pallam quam habet, atque ad te deferam!* [How I would like to steal my wife's favourite *palla* from home and bring it to you!].

³⁴ Cf. vv. 929–930: *Iam subrupuisti pallam, quam scorto dares? || Phil. Ecator qui subrupturum pallam promisit tibi.* [Did you already steal my *palla* in order to give it to the slut? **Phil.** By Castor, he has promised that we would steal your *palla*].

³⁵ On the dating of the *Asinaria*, cf. Hurka (2010) 27–28 in his commentary on this play.

³⁶ See A 7 p. 150 on Titinius *Prilia* (or *Procilla*) F 5 R.², where a *pilatrx pallae* [female pilferer of a *palla*] is mentioned, and also Stärk (n. 1) 14; Hurka (2010) on Plaut. *Asin.* 884.

7 Roman Comedy – *The Shadow of Young Girls in Flower*

1. Naevius
2. Plautus
 - 2.1 *Miles Gloriosus* 789–792
 - 2.1 *Poenulus* 304 and the topic of the *purpura*
3. Caecilius Statius
 - 3.1 *Pausimachus* F 1 R. – about Greek cotton underwear
 - 3.2 *Synaristosae* f 1 R. – the *flammeum*
4. Terence
5. Turpilius
 - 5.1 *Hetaera* F 1 R.
 - 5.2 *Philopator* F 13 R.
6. Titinius
 - 6.1 *Fullonia* F 14 R.
 - 6.2 *Procilla/Prilia* F 5 R.
7. Afranius
 - 7.1 *Consobrini* F 4 R.
 - 7.2 *Epistula* F 12 R.
 - 7.3 *Exceptus* F 1 R.
 - 7.4 *Fratrīae (Fratres?)* F 13 R.
 - 7.5 *Fratrīae (Fratres?)* F 15 R.
8. Quinctius Atta
 - 8.1 *Aquae caldae* F 1 R.
9. Novius
 - 9.1 *Paedium* F 4 R.
 - 9.2 *Paedium* F 3 R.
10. Decimus Laberius
 - 10.1 *Natalicius* F 2 R.
11. Conclusion

In contrast to Roman tragedy, references to female dress are more frequent in Roman comedy. This is mainly due to the differing conventions of the two genres. Comedy is about everyday life and its articles, whereas tragedy is about more noble figures like mythical kings and queens. In absolute reckoning, however, references to female dress in Roman comedy are still but few. With the exception of two passages in Plautus, this chapter will deal with evidence from lost plays (seventeen fragments). These give us at best a glimpse into female dress and beauty in a Graeco-Roman world long perished by now. Mirroring the mood of the author when in search of a lost time, the chapter is

baptized with the melancholic subtitle *The Shadow of Young Girls in Flower*, slightly modifying a famous work title of Marcel Proust.

The chapter bridges the gap between the authors of the Pre-Classical and those of the Classical period, dealing with Roman comic drama in a time span of about a hundred and fifty years. It is structured according to the various subgenres of Roman comedy. First stands the Palliata (Naevius, Plautus, Caecilius, Turpilius), then follow the Togata (Titinius, Afranius, Atta), the Atellan farce (Novius), and finally the Mime (Laberius). These genres evolved over time, usually based on a previous form. For example, the Roman Mime is a later development of styles and motifs taken from earlier Roman comedy. The sequence of subgenres supplies the rough chronological framework for the chapter.

Even though the fragments are few in number, it is still possible to discern the changes that the motifs and scenes introduced in the Palliata underwent in the following subgenres: Beautiful women (*puellae*) enhance or conceal their charms by fine clothing; young men (*adulescentes*) fall in love with them; and old fathers (*senes*) worry that these females are no adequate partners for their sons (Turpilius, Novius). Occasionally the male lover, all too daring, disguises himself as a girl (Afranius). Respectable married women (*matronae*) complain that hetaeras (Latin *meretrices* or in modern parlance ‘escorts’) try to dress like them (Afranius, Atta). The literary motifs are similar throughout, but clothing in the Togata is associated with a clearer differentiation of social status than in the Palliata. The *ornatus* of the matron distinguishes her more strongly from the *meretrix* and the young girl. The Greek *palla* (*‘peplos’*) (B 2) is replaced by the Roman *vestis longa* or *stola* (B 4) as an insigne of married women’s dress. Young unmarried girls sometimes also wear the so-called **supparus*, which might have been a typical Italian costume (D 5).

In contrast to Greek comedy, evidence on the topic of Roman comedy is only provided by very few sources. The fragments discussed in this chapter show that the file our knowledge depends on is very thin. Ten of the fragments are quoted by Nonius, three by Festus (Verrius), one by Gellius, and one by the so-called *Scholia Bobbiensia* on Cicero. One more fragment is quoted by Gellius and Nonius, and one by Festus and Nonius. This distribution roughly corresponds to that of the fragments of early Roman comedy as a whole. Almost two thirds of them are quoted by the Late Antique author Nonius, who may be called a ‘sheep with a golden fleece.’ However, Nonius’ deficiencies as an archivist and scribe seen in other chapters are also a factor here. On the one hand, there are false explanations, misspellings, and misquotations that already go back to Nonius himself; on the other hand, there are errors due to our manuscripts of Nonius. In the case of some mistakes, it is even difficult to judge who was responsible for them. Was it Nonius or a later copyist of his work? Therefore, this chapter could just as well have been entitled *Studia Noniana*.

A modern edition of the fragments of Roman comedy in the quality of the *Poetae Comici Graeci* does not exist. The standard work is still Ribbeck’s *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, especially in its second (ed. maior, R. ²1873) and third edition (ed.

minor, R. ³1898).¹ Ribbeck's work very much reflects the state of research achieved at his time. That is why his critical apparatus is now out of date. Therefore, Lindsay's two editions of Nonius and Festus (1903, 1913) always have to be consulted, which in most cases provide reliable information about the manuscript tradition.² Nevertheless, there was still much to be done as to the text of the respective fragments. In many cases, this chapter gives new editions differing from Ribbeck. Textual criticism has to come first to lay a basis for a correct historical understanding of the sources. As a rule, emendations by earlier scholars (from the time of the Renaissance on) are always discussed first to pay them due honour and to avoid the impression that new proposals are put forward rashly.³ The passages which will be discussed over the course of this chapter are given below together with their respective English translations. They are then listed separately at the start of their respective section. The passages where a new form of the text is proposed—differing from previous editions—are marked by a plus sign (+). The translations aim to aid in understanding the texts and their cultural-dramatic context. The tenuous nature of our evidence should nevertheless always be kept in mind.

1. Naevius, *Nautae* F 1 (+)

<vest>em confec<tam> ... nunc supparos || ... <in> malam crucem.
a manufactured garment ... now several *supparus ... go to be hanged

2. Plautus, *Miles* 789–792 (+)

(A) *habeo eccillam meam clientam, meretricem adulescentulam.*
(B) *sed quid ea usus est? (A) ut ad te eam iam deducas domum*
itaque eam huc ornatam adducas ex matronarum modo,

¹ Following the general practice, this chapter, if nothing else is noted, refers to Ribbeck's editio maior, which has a more detailed apparatus, although his editio minor offers a better text in several places. Compared to Ribbeck's editions, as already noted in the very critical reviews of the time, more recent editions of single subgenres or authors (Atellan farce: Frassinetti [1965], Mimus: Bonaria [1965]; Titinius and Atta: Guardì [1985]) do not represent any progress with regard to the text. Sometimes, like the edition of the *Togata* by Daviault (1981), they even fall behind Ribbeck's previously established critical standard. There are, as far as I see, only two exceptions from this rule: the edition of Turpilius by Rychlewska (1971) and the edition and commentary of Laberius by C. Panayotakis, *Decimus Laberius*, Cambridge 2010, which can serve as a kind of benchmarks for future undertakings.

² On the editions, see also below pp. 148, 167; on Lindsay's edition of Festus, cf. D 5 p. 645.

³ The respective texts are often adduced as the basis for far-reaching historical hypotheses without any warnings as to the underlying difficulties. However, most of them are comprehensible only through the means of textual criticism and are usually printed with more or less extensive 'corrections.' In general, my interference begins where previous scholars seem to have gone wrong in their assumptions or where existing difficulties have been glossed over. My emendations deal with the transmission more conservatively than was done in preceding editions. They also always try to produce a text that is meaningful as to both literary topic and history.

*capite compto, crinis vinctasque habeat adsimuletque se
tuam esse uxorem:*

(A) Look, I have got a client of mine, a young *meretrix*. (B) What for? (A) Lead her now to your home and then back here dressed like a *matrona*, with headgear on, and she shall have her hair tied (with ribbons) and shall pretend to be || your wife.

3. Plautus, Poenulus 304

meretricem pudorem gerere magis decet quam purpura.
A prostitute should rather 'wear' chastity than a *purpura*.

4. Caecilius, Pausimachus F 3 R. (Nonius) (+)

[*carbasi*] *molochina interula*
[made of cotton] a cotton undertunic

5. Caecilius, Synaristosae F 1 R. (Gellius, Nonius)

heri vero prospexisse eum se ex tegulis.
haec nuntiasset et flammeum expassum domi.

(he said) that he had seen him yesterday from the roof. The *flammeum*, which was exposed in the house, also gave notice of these things.

6. Sextus Turpilius, Hetaera F 1 R. (Nonius) (+)

ducit me secum. postquam ad aedem venimus,
veneratur deos. interea aspexit virginem
iniectam in capite reticulum indutam ostrina.

He took me with him. After we came to the temple, he prayed to the gods. While doing so, he saw a young girl who had put a hairnet on her head and was dressed in a crimson *tunica*.

7. Sextus Turpilius, Philopator F 13 R. (Nonius)

me miseram! quid agam? inter vias epistula excidit mi:
infelix inter tuniculam ac strofium conlocaram.

Oh, poor me! What can I do? On the way, I dropped the letter. Unlucky me, I had stuck it between my *tunica* and my belt.

8. Titinius, Fullonia F 14 R. (Festus) (+)

<sup>*parum puni*<ceum>
a **supparus* in crimson

9. Titinius, Procilla/Prilia F 5 R. (Nonius) (+)

*qua ego hodie extorrem
domo hanc faciam, pilatricem pallae evallaro pulchre.*

... in this way, I will ban this woman from my home and I will throw out this robber of a *palla* in fine style.

10. Afranius, Consobrini F 4 R. (Scholia Bob. ad Ciceronem) (+)

cum mitris calvaticis
with headscarves

11. Afranius, Epistula F 12 R. (Nonius + Festus)

tace!
puella non sum, supparo si induta sum?
Shut up! Am I not a girl since I am dressed in a **supparus*?

12. Afranius, Exceptus F 1 R. (Nonius)

(A) *meretrix cum veste longa?* (B) *peregrino in loco
solent tutandi causa sese sumere.*

(A) A hetaera in a *vestis longa*? (B) In a foreign place they commonly wear such clothes to protect themselves.

13. Afranius, Fratris (Fratres?) F 13 R. (Nonius) (+)

*mea nutrix, surge si vis, profer purpuram,
[praeclavium contextus]*

My nurse, please get up, bring me the tunic with purple ornaments [A *praeclavium* is a woven fabric].

14. Afranius, Fratris F 15 R. (Nonius) (+)

<...> *equidem prandere stantem nobiscum incinctum toga*
<I invite you> to have breakfast with us standing here, in the *toga*.

15. T. Quinctius Atta, Aquae caldae F 1 (Nonius) (+)

cum meretricae lupantur nostro ornatu per vias
while little strumpets prostitute themselves on the street in our dress

16–17. Novius, Paedium F 4 + 3 R. (Nonius) (+)

(A) <...> *molliculam crocotam chiridotam reticulum, supparum purum Melitensem*. (B) *interii, escam meram!*

(A) <She was wearing> a soft *crocota* with long sleeves, a hairnet, a **supparus*, pure Maltese stuff.

(B) I am doomed, a true bait!

18. Laberius F 2 R. (= F 40 Panayotakis) (Gellius)

induis capitium, tunicae pittacium <...>.

You put on a wrap (around the chest); <you tuck> the note into the *tunica*.

Palliata

The first genre discussed in this chapter are the *fabulae palliatae*. These are imitations of Hellenistic Greek comedies, sometimes coming close to a verbatim translation. At best, they show us real Roman life in a fractured manner, grafted as it were onto a Greek model. Reading them, it is therefore always necessary to think about which Greek words and matters might be at the bottom of the Latin text. This implies, as with Plautus, that cultural-historical inferences about Roman dress can only be drawn with utmost caution.

7.1 Naevius

Naevius, the earliest author of a Palliata to be listed here, twice mentioned the **supparus*. The term perhaps designated a kind of outer tunic (D 5), but scholars had difficulties identifying the garment already in Antiquity. Accordingly, we owe both fragments of Naevius to the grammarian Festus who quoted him in his dictionary in order to illustrate the meaning of the word **supparus*. Unfortunately, the text of Festus is in a bad shape in the respective section, and it needs much effort to extract sense from his words. Following an emendation of Scaliger, modern scholarship has attributed the first fragment to Naevius' epic poem *De bello Poenico*. However, as is argued in chapter D 5, Scaliger's conjecture is very unlikely, and we should rather assign the fragment (like the second) to a comedy. In any case, since everything of it is lost in a gap, the information we get from it is not more than that Naevius mentioned the **supparus* somewhere in his play.

Our situation is better (though only slightly) in the case of the second fragment. It comes from a comedy called *Nautae* (Sailors). In the form that has been restored by me, the text of it (probably the rest of two trochaic septenars) runs thus:

<vest >em confec<tam > ... nunc supparos
 ... <in>malam cruce[m].

a manufactured garment ... now several *supparus ... go to be hanged

The setting of the scene and the meaning of the words are discussed at length in chapter D 5. The dialogue seems to have evolved along the misogynistic trope that women are fond of fine clothing and demand all sorts of expensive dress articles from their partners.⁴ It is likely that the words were uttered by a disillusioned husband. We cannot tell exactly what happened or who spoke to whom, but at the end some person was wished to go to hell.

7.2 Plautus

Apart from the two *loci classici* and the *Menaechmi* already dealt with in the chapters A 4–6, there are several references to specific female garments in Plautus. Almost all concern the *palla* or the *pallium*. As they do not contain any textual difficulty, they will be presented in part B. This space is reserved for the two references in Plautus that need more discussion. The first is about the headband (*vitta*). In the second, there is talk about purple clothing (*purpura*).

7.2.1 *Miles Gloriosus* 789–792

The female custom of fastening the hair with bands is referred to by Plautus in the *Miles Gloriosus*. It is thought to be the first Latin evidence for the word *vitta*. However, the text offers some difficulties and seems to be corrupted at the crucial point. The following argues that the expression *vittasque* (and headbands) should be emended to *vincitasque* (tied with), from *vincire*, to tie. The passage in question is about a hetaera dressing up as a matron. The general content of the passage is clear, keeping in mind the usual contrast between *matrona* and *meretrix*:⁵

(A) *habeo eccillam meam clientam, meretricem adulescentulam.*

(B) *sed quid ea usus est? (A) ut ad te eam iam deducas domum*

itaque eam huc ornatam adducas ex matronarum modo,

⁴ Cf. also A 4 p. 66; A 5 p. 88.

⁵ B 4 pp. 330–331; B 6 p. 367.

*capite compto, crinis vinctasque⁶ habeat adsimuletque se
tuam esse uxorem:*

(A) Look, I have got a client of mine, a young *meretrix*. || (B) What for? (A) Lead her now to your home || and then back here dressed like a *matrona*, || with headgear on, and she shall have her hair tied (with ribbons) and shall pretend || to be your wife.

A prostitute is told to dress up like a regular wife (*ex matronarum modo*) and shall wear her hair like a matron would, tying it with hairbands. Nevertheless, the grammar of the transmitted text is not as easy as editors suggest. There is a change from the second person (*adducas*) to the third (*habeat, simulet*), indicating a change of grammatical subject. But where does the second part of the sentence begin, and to which part does the expression *capite compto* (with headgear) belong? In the transmitted form, the second part has to begin either before or after *capite compto* with the phrase *crinis vittasque habeat*. Wherever we make the division, there is a remarkable asyndeton, since either position would usually require a conjunction. But we also have to state a second anomaly. The expression *crinis vittasque habeat* (she shall have hair and hairbands) is very odd. As it stands, the object can only be interpreted as a hendiadyoin (= she shall have hair with hairbands). This stylistic feature, however, though suitable for high flown poetry, fits neither everyday language nor the literary genre of comedy.

Both problems are solved if we write *vinctasque* instead of *vittasque* and translate the expression *crinis vinctasque habeat* accordingly (and she shall wear her hair tied). First, the asyndeton is removed. The conjunction *que* is now forming part of a series of three *que* (and ... and ... and), by which one part of the sentence is added to the next. The language is not very polished. It keeps—as we should expect in comedy—rather close to normal language, the person speaking adding what comes up in his mind. Second, the expression *crines vinctas habeat*, in which *vinctas* is part of the predicate, is very easy as to its grammar. A parallel in connection with hair is found in Varro LL 7.44: *crines ... quos habent velatos* (they have their hair veiled). In the cult regulations of Andania, we find a similar expression in Greek: μή ἐχέτω ... τὰς τρίχας ἀνπεπλεγμένας (she shall not have her hairs bound up).⁷ The verb *vincire* is also used by Propertius in connection with hair.⁸ It semantically corresponds exactly to the Greek verb ἀναδέω,⁹ which is frequently used with headbands. If this reasoning is correct, Plautus no longer offers the first evidence for the word *vitta* (the word would then be attested only from Varro onwards). That being said, the passage still refers to hair ornaments. Plautus is saying that matrons tied their hair in some special way.¹⁰ However, his play is a *Palliata*,

⁶ *vittasque* codd.

⁷ IG V 1.1390.22 (= Syll.³ 736).

⁸ Prop. c. 4.11.34: *vinxit et acceptas altera vitta comas* [and another hairband received and bound her hairs].

⁹ LSJ s.v.

¹⁰ See also Plaut. Most. 226: *capiundas crines* [you should fasten your hairs].

which means it mirrors Roman customs only indirectly against the background of a Greek model.

7.2.2 *Poenulus* 304 and the topic of *purpura*

There are a several passages in Plautus about the *purpura*. *Poenulus* 304 paradigmatically illustrates the difficulties caused by this general term. The word *purpura* denotes purple, but its precise meaning is sometimes difficult to define. Although it often refers to purple-dyed cloth in general, it implies the notion of a specific garment or of a purple stripe in some cases.¹¹ As to women, the word *purpura* is used by Plautus several times in generalizing statements.¹² In *Poenulus* 304, we have the usual contrast between the attire of a *meretrix* and a *matrona*. The entire section (300–306) suffers from later intrusions or variants stressing its moralizing character. One of its verses (306) is even identical with Plautus' *Mostellaria* 291. However, the verse at hand is without blemish:

meretricem pudorem gerere magis decet quam purpuram

a prostitute should rather 'wear' chastity than *purpura*

The character speaking these words is a 'good' *meretrix*, a stock figure found in several comedies. In contrast to what prostitutes are regularly thought to do (see below), she claims that a *meretrix* should not wear purple clothes, attire usually reserved for a rich and respectable *matrona*. But what did a *purpura* look like? It is not, as we might imagine, a coat, but a *tunica*, and it is not a *tunica* made all of purple, but a *tunica* with purple stripes or ornaments sewn on it. In favour of this hypothesis, one has to say first that a coat entirely made of purple is all too costly and exceptional in daily life.¹³ However, apart from the general reasoning, our evidence also points to this direction. In Plautus, *purpura*—like gold (*aurum*)—is listed several times as a separate item besides the *vestis/palla*. Both materials are regarded as a kind of ornament. Moreover, the Latin word *purpura* and the Greek πορφύρα for which it is a translation often denote a stripe sewn on a garment (*toga*, *tunica*).¹⁴ In fact, both are used to denote such garments metonymically. For these reasons, the image that came to mind of the ancient spectator of Plautus and Afranius (see below) was very likely that of a *tunica* with purple stripes or trims.

¹¹ OLD s.v. 3.

¹² Plaut. Aul. 168: *eburata vehicula, pallas, purpuram* [carts adorned with ivory, *pallae*, *purpura*]; 500: *enim mihi quidem aequomst purpuram atque aurum dari* [it is appropriate for me to get purple and gold]; cf. A 5 p. 88; Plaut. Stich. 376: *lanam purpuramque multam* [much wool and purple]; Men. 121: *lanam, aurum, vestem, purpuram* [wool, gold, clothes, purple]; Most. 289: *pulchra mulier nuda erit quam purpurata pulchrior* [a beautiful woman will be more beautiful when naked than when clad in purple].

¹³ On possible restrictions as to its use, cf. A 1 and A 2.

¹⁴ OLD s.v. *purpura* 3 c and d; LSJ s.v. πορφύρα.

7.3 Caecilius Staius

The poet Caecilius Staius lived, if the ancient biography is to be trusted, about 230–168 BCE.¹⁵ In the *diadoche* (succession) of the poets of the Palliata, he stands between Plautus and Terence, forming with them a triad that is often dealt with together in the history of Latin literature. In contrast to the plays of these authors, Caecilius' comedies have survived only in fragments. We know of a total of forty-two plays, of which only about three hundred verses are still extant. As to his literary model, Caecilius often used comedies of Menander. There are numerous play titles both poets have in common. Moreover, the grammarian Gellius makes a detailed comparison between the *Plocium* (necklace) of Caecilius and that of Menander, thus offering valuable information on how Caecilius used his model.¹⁶ Judging by this example, Caecilius refrained from major changes and from *contaminatio* (combination of different sources).

7.3.1 *Pausimachus* F 3 R. – about Greek cotton underwear

The Greek model Caecilius used in his *Pausimachus* remains unknown. The play is preserved only through five quotations in Nonius. Its content was roughly this: There was a clever hetaera (*meretrix*) that made an imprudent young man (*adulescens*) fall in love with her (F 2). She seems to have been pleased with this new client: *libera essem || iam diu, habuissem ingenio si isto amatores mihi* (I would have been free long ago if I had had lovers with such a mind). The father of the young man (*senex*) apparently asks her to end her relationship with his son (F 4):¹⁷ *hoc a te postulo || ne cum meo gnato posthac limassis caput* (I demand that you stop rubbing heads with my son from now on).

The garment at issue in F 3 must be that of the hetaera. The fragment contains the word *carbasinus* (made of linen) and is supposed to be the earliest Latin evidence for cotton. It is therefore often mentioned in cultural studies on Roman dress.¹⁸ However, Caecilius' words cannot be taken to show when cotton was introduced in Rome, since he reproduces a Greek model at this point. This section argues that, at best, the *Pausi-*

¹⁵ Cf. in general Fr. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Berlin 1913, 217–226; more recently DNP 2 (1997) s.v. Caecilius Staius, 895–897 (Blänsdorf); J. Blänsdorf, art. Caecilius, in: W. Suerbaum (ed.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, 1. Band. Die Archaische Literatur von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod. Die vorliterarische Periode und die Zeit von 240 bis 78 v. Chr. (HAW VIII 1), Munich 2002, 229–231; C. Riedweg, *Menander in Rom. Beobachtungen zu Caecilius Staius Plocium fr. I* (136–53 Guardi), *Drama* 2 (1993) 133–159; S. Boscherini, *Norma e parola nelle commedie di Cecilio Stazio*, SIFC 17 (1999), 99–115.

¹⁶ Gell. NA 2.23; Menander F 296–298 K.-A.

¹⁷ Cf. Guardi (1974) 158.

¹⁸ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 488; RE 3.2 (1899) s.v. carbasus, col. 1575 (F. Olck); more recently Sebesta in Sebesta/Bonfante (1994) 68.

machus gives us a glimpse of the Hellenistic Greek world, not the Roman world (see below). The word *carbasinus* is not to be attributed to Caecilius but should instead be seen as the comment of a later grammarian on the term *molochinus*.

In contrast to the impression caused by present editions, the text of F 3 is very problematic. It will take some time and patience to unravel. Unlike many others fragments, F 3 does not come from the 14th book of Nonius, which is about clothes in general (*De genere vestimentorum*), but instead from the 17th book called *De colore vestimentorum* (On the colour of clothing). This volume is very short and superficial. It causes the impression of being compiled even more hastily than the rest of Nonius' work. F 3 is quoted by Nonius under the lemma *molochinum*. He refers to the colour mallow (our modern *mauve*, a pale purple):

Nonius p. 879.16–20 L.

molochinum, a graeco, color flori similis malvae. Caecilius Pausimacho (138): carbasina molochina, †amperita (L: amperinta A^A: amperina B^AC^A). Plautus in Aulularia (514) institores molochini coloris molocinarios appellavit.

molochinum, after the Greek word, a colour similar to the blossom of the mallow. Caecilius in his *Pausimachus* (see below). Plautus in his *Aulularia* called retailers of mallow colour *molocinarii*.

As usual, Nonius begins with his own definition and then gives some examples. These are provided by a verbatim quotation from Caecilius and a paraphrase referring to the comic catalogue in the *Aulularia* of Plautus (A 5). Nonius' explanation that the *molochinum* is a colour term is incorrect. In contrast to what he and some modern scholars thought, the word cannot denote a colour,¹⁹ as the content of the Greek equivalent *μολόχινος* shows (see below). It must instead refer to some type of cloth. The Plautine **molochinarii* then are merchants who trade with such fabric (not with the colour), the word being altogether a comical coinage.²⁰

The last word of Caecilius F 3 is obviously corrupt and has been transmitted in different orthographical variants: *amperita* L, *amperinta* A^A, *amperina* B^AC^A. Editors following Michael Bentinus (1526)²¹ usually emend it to *ampelina*, after the Greek

¹⁹ Cf. the dictionaries: ThLL VIII s.v. *molochinus* col. 1387.33–56: “*fere i.q. e malva factus*,” where Nonius' explanation is rejected, and OLD s.v. *molochinus*: “(prob.) made of mallow fibres” against Warmington (1935); E. F. Leon, *Molochina and a Fragment of Caecilius*, TAPhA 84 (1953), 176–180; Guardì (1974) 158; Sebesta in Sebesta/Bonfante (1994) 67 (“*molocinarii* ... dyers of mauve”); R. B. Goldman, *Color-terms in Social and Cultural Context in Ancient Rome*, Piscataway, NJ 2013, 27, 31.

²⁰ Cf. A 5 p. 97.

²¹ Bentinus printed his conjecture in the text of his edition of the *Cornucopiae* of Nicolaus Perotti (1526) 1432.36. In his commentary (*Castigationes*) on the edition, he does not comment on this. In addition to Ribbeck, cf. Caecilius, Pausimachus F 4 Bothe (1824) = F 4 L. Spengel (1829) = Caecilius F 127 Warmington (1935): “dresses of flax, mauve and wine-hued”; = Caecilius, Pausimachus F 3 Guardì (1974): “*vesti fatte di lino, del color di malva, del color di vite*.”

adjective ἀμπέλινος.²² However, the adjective has no parallel in ancient Latin literature. Although, in later times, Juvenal once has *xerampelinus*,²³ Bentinus' suggestion causes some doubt for the following reasons: Why should Nonius have missed writing about such an interesting colour in his book *De colore vestimentorum*? More important still, restoring *ampelina*, we have to cancel the letter T in *amperita* offered by important textual witnesses (by A^A and by L, the manuscript usually closest to the archetype of Nonius).

To get an idea of what Caecilius might have written, one should keep in mind the content of the *Pausimachus* and the kind of women who appear in comedy in general. The fragment is about the clothing of a young woman or a *meretrix*.²⁴ It is too short to reconstruct the exact plot in detail, but, in analogy to other comedies (for example the *Epidicus* of Plautus), it might well belong to a scene where a *meretrix* is dressing or where a male is describing her beautiful dress (B 4).²⁵

Another difficulty in understanding Nonius' entry is that in contrast to other descriptions, a noun is missing to which the adjectives *carbasina* and *molochina* refer. This could be hidden in the meaningless letters AMPERI(N)TA. Since Codex L²⁶ and the group of manuscripts A^A are closest to the archetype, this sequence should be taken as a starting point for further conjecture. The word *interula* (undertunic or inner tunic) would factually and orthographically fit as a dress term. This is not found in archaic texts, but is used twice by the archaist Apuleius.²⁷ The undertunic, often called *subucula*, is a normal item of female clothing.²⁸ An *interula* will fit very well with the adjective *molochina* (of cotton). The origin of the error could be explained as follows: Setting aside the first AM (which may be a variant of the ending of the preceding word), the abbreviation for UL in the sequence AMPERINTA was not resolved correctly. The INT, possibly written above the line, were inserted afterwards into the text at the wrong place. This veritable anagram may seem a rather hazardous guess, but a chaos like this is found elsewhere in the manuscripts of Nonius. As we will see later on in this and other chapters,²⁹ the abbreviation of the letters UL and mistaken transpositions of letters have sometimes caused errors, either of Nonius himself (who misunderstood

²² Georges s.v. "vom Weinstock"; OLD s.v. "vine-coloured or made of wine leaves"; ThLL I s.v. col. 1978.11–13. The entry only refers to the Greek adjective, but gives no other meaning. On the meaning of (*xer*)*ampelinus*, cf. B 11 p. 423.

²³ Iuven. 6.519: *xerampelinas veteres* (sc. *vestes*) [old clothes in the colour of dry vine leaves]; the colour term *ampelinus* is found only in late antiquity, cf. ThLL in n. 22.

²⁴ Warmington (1935): "dress of a courtesan."

²⁵ The parallel to the *Epidicus* was already observed by Salmasius (1620) 357 in his edition of the *Historia Augusta*.

²⁶ Cf. on this codex Lindsay's introduction to Nonius p. XIX.

²⁷ Apul. Met. 8.9: *discissa interula* [an *interula* that was torn apart]; flor. 9: *tunicam interulam tenuissimo textu* [a *tunica interula* made of very thin cloth].

²⁸ Cf. B 1 p. 261.

²⁹ See below p. 166 and D 4 p. 628.

his own notes) or of later scribes who did not copy the text correctly. In a first step, we should thus read *carbasina molochina interula*. Considering the ending AM for now at the beginning of the sequence, we should put the whole line into the accusative because dress is mainly referred to as an object. This gives us *carbasinam molochinam interulam*.

But is this already what Caecilius wrote? Before answering this question, we must first find out what the adjectives *carbasinus* and *molochinus* mean and how they relate to each other. The word *carbasinus* is easy to translate. It derives from the noun *carbasus* (κάρπασος), which refers both to cotton and, especially in non-technical language, to linen.³⁰ In contrast, the exact meaning of the adjective *molochinus* (μολόχινος), used in Latin only once,³¹ is more difficult to determine. It is a Greek loanword and derives from the noun *moloche* (μολόχη or μαλάχη), which usually denotes the common mallow.³² The evidence in Greek for the adjective μολόχινος is also rare, but in the first century CE *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (a description of the Red Sea), we hear of cloth made of this plant fibre.³³ But what type of Malvaceae is referred to by *molochinus*? Marquardt/Mau thought it to be the common mallow (*malva sylvestris*),³⁴ as is suggested by the common usage of the noun *moloche/malva*. But this type is (and was) only used as medicine and as food.³⁵ However, it should be noted that mallow and cotton are quite similar plants. Today, they are both labelled as *malvaceae*. Cotton therefore fits in perfectly with clothes, especially with underwear (*interula*).³⁶ The slight broadening of meaning is easily explained. While the common mallow was cultivated of old in the Greek world, cotton came—as among other sources the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* shows—from the Orient and was introduced to the West only after the conquest of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). We may thus assume that a foreign product was first named by the Greeks with a name from their own world.

If this reasoning is right, the adjectives *carbasinus* and *molochinus* are synonyms. This causes a problem concerning the expression *carbasina molochina interula* since both adjectives cannot refer to *interula* at the same time. This would produce a tautology—a cotton undertunic made of cotton. Even if we take *carbasinus* to mean ‘made of linen,’ it must refer to a second garment. However, an elaborate chiasmic word order (x *carbasina*, *molochina* y) does not seem plausible, given the type of scene the

³⁰ RE 3.2 (1899) s.v. carbasus, col. 1572–1574 (F. Olck).

³¹ Cf. also D 4 p. 629.

³² OLD s.v. *moloche*. The Greek loanword is found in Latin language very rarely, which has for it the noun *malva* (mallow).

³³ LSJ s.v. μολόχινα, μολόχινος ὀθόνιον, μολόχιναι σινδόνες.

³⁴ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 491; Blümner I (1912) 200.

³⁵ RE 14.1 (1928) s.v. Malve, col. 922–927 (A. Steier).

³⁶ It is not expedient to derive the term from μαλάκιον, which is found in Aristophanes in a catalogue of female ornaments and garments (F 332.10 K.–A.) because we have no firm knowledge of it either. The definitions given by scholars of the Imperial period are very probably only conjectures.

quotation is taken from.³⁷ It is also very unlikely that Nonius should not have included a further garment in his book on clothing if he had found it mentioned in his source. Therefore, the riddle should be solved in another way. We must start again from the proposition that *carbasinus* and *molochinus* are synonyms, an expected occurrence in the work of an ancient grammarian seeking definitions. The Greek loanword *molochinus* was a difficult term, even for grammarians. It seems very likely that it was explained by the common word *carbasinus*. The explanation was then erroneously combined with the gloss explained by it. Nonius occasionally used annotated editions and other intermediate sources.³⁸ This was also the case with Caecilius' comedies, which Nonius did not know firsthand.³⁹ Nonius may have copied an entry from a handbook without due diligence. These changes lead to Caecilius' fragment comprising only two words. It should be edited as follows:

[*carbasinam*] *molochinam interulam*
[made of cotton] a cotton tunic

Caecilius wrote a *Palliata*, necessitating a search for his Greek model. In early Greek comedy and Aristophanes (fifth century BCE), we do not read about cotton garments, because cotton was still not in use at that time. Instead, Aristophanes in his *Lysistrata* makes a woman talk about ἀμόργινα χιτώνια (chemises from Amorgos), referring to fine underwear.⁴⁰ The literary motif thus goes back to Classical times. Similarly, the orator Aeschines mentions a woman who produced ἀμόργινα and sold ἔργα λεπτά (fine and thin clothes) on the market.⁴¹ An *interula* comes very close to such a χιτώνιον. Caecilius maybe found something like the iambic expression μολόχινον χιτώνιον in the Greek model that he adapted in his *Pausimachus*. It was a Hellenistic comedy since it mentioned a fibre which had only shortly come into use in Greece with the conquest of Alexander the Great: cotton.

Taken all together, this means that we should discard the passage as evidence for Roman cultural customs, odd textile fibres and special colours, finding in it instead a cotton undertunic, later commonly called *subucula* among the Romans.

³⁷ The difficulty is also felt in the translation of Warmington (1935) 127 “dresses of flaxe, mauve and vinehued.”

³⁸ Lindsay's introduction p. XV–XVI.

³⁹ The presumed first evidence for the word *carbasinus* thus belongs to a later time.

⁴⁰ Aristoph. Lys. 150.

⁴¹ Aeschin. 1.97.

7.3.2 *Synaristosae* F 1 R. – the *flammeum*

The respective verses, quoted by Gellius and (with an omission) by Nonius, are from Caecilius' *Synaristosae* (Women who have a luncheon together).⁴² They are the only remains of this *Palliata*, but we roughly know what it was about. The title shows us that Caecilius had reworked in Latin a lost comedy of Menander with the same name.⁴³ Menander's play had already been used by Plautus in his *Cistellaria*, and this is what allows us to both reconstruct the outlines of Menander's play and to interpret Caecilius' verses with some confidence. In the *Cistellaria*, we find a pair of lovers. For dramatic convenience, they live in adjacent houses. Remember the famous Ovidian couple Pyramus and Thisbe! But the girl is a hetaera (and only later turns out to be a citizen), and this makes for the social drama. She does not qualify for a marriage, and the mutual love is impeded by many obstacles. Plautus' *Cistellaria*, following its Greek model, starts at a point of crisis: The lover is forced by his parents to marry another woman and wants to commit suicide.

But let us turn to Caecilius. He appears to have used a section of Menander's comedy that had been omitted by Plautus. However, his verses fit in well within the framework of the *Cistellaria*. As Süß (1935) has pointed out, they must belong to the exposition scene.⁴⁴ In Plautus, the heroine tells other hetaerae (real ones) she is breakfasting with the sad news: Her lover is about to marry another woman. And this is the situation we also find in Caecilius:⁴⁵

*heri vero prospexisse eum se ex tegulis.
haec nuntiasset et flammeum expassum domi.*

(he said) that he had seen him yesterday from the roof. The *flammeum*, which was exposed in the house, also gave notice of these things.

The heroine, whose name is unknown to us, obviously got to know of the imminent wedding by some other person (very likely a male slave) since she is reporting his words. He had looked—like Sceledrus in Plautus' *Miles*—from the roof in his neighbour's house and had spotted the bridegroom to be (*eum*) and the preparations for the wedding. The grammar of the second verse allows for several possibilities. Probably, *haec* is the grammatical object to *nuntiasset*, and the following *et* is equivalent in sense to *etiam* (also).⁴⁶ In this case, the pronoun *haec* refers back to the wedding that must have been mentioned before, and the *flammeum*, the yellow wedding scarf, is the sign that

⁴² Gellius NA 15.15.2; Nonius p. 589.17–18 L.: *heri vero prospexisse <...> eum <...> expassum domi*. It is a fine example of what kinds of omissions we have to reckon in Nonius.

⁴³ On Menander's *Συναριστώσαι*, cf. F 335–344 K.-A. with introduction.

⁴⁴ W. Süß, *Zur Cistellaria des Plautus*, RhM 84 (1935), 186–187.

⁴⁵ Gellius NA 15.15.2: *nuntiasset et* De Buxis (1469): *nuntiasset* codd.

⁴⁶ Against K. K. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding*, Cambridge 2010, 95 n. 133.

indicates that the wedding is going to take place soon. It has been exhibited to view in the atrium of the house (*expassum domi*). Caecilius adapts the Greek comedy scene to the world of his Roman audience by introducing a Roman dress custom unknown in the Greek world. We also learn some interesting detail about the *flammeum* (B 18): It was exposed before the bride put it on and served as a visible sign in the household. This in turn shows, among other things, that the *flammeum* was probably a scarf (*palliolum*) and not a smaller headscarf or veil.

7.4 Terence

The Palliatae of the poet Terence (195/185–159 BCE), from whom we have six entire plays, contain no mentions of any specific female garment. There is one general reference to the custom of young women tying their breasts with a *fascia*.⁴⁷

7.5 Turpilius

The *floruit* of Turpilius was in the time of the Gracchi.⁴⁸ Turpilius' death is dated by Jerome in his *Chronicon* to the year 104/103 BCE.⁴⁹ He is the last in the series of poets of Palliatae of whom we know more than the mere name. Again, Nonius is our most valuable source. We have about 140 fragments of Turpilius and know thirteen play titles, all transmitted by Nonius. The titles are all Greek loanwords and show us that Turpilius followed authors of the Greek New Comedy as did Terence.⁵⁰

7.5.1 *Hetaera* F 1 R. (= F 1 Rychlewska)

A somewhat longer fragment containing a description of a garment comes from Turpilius' Palliata with the title *Hetaera*.⁵¹ We know this play only through eleven quotations provided by Nonius. The metre of F 1 is the iambic senarius. It could thus have been taken from the prologue. The dramatic situation in which the words were spoken was probably as follows: A slave (*servus*) reports what happened to his young master (*ad-*

⁴⁷ B 22 p. 509.

⁴⁸ The best introduction to the author is given by Rychlewska (1971) VII–XXXIX; see also Bardon (n. 12) 135–138; J. Blänsdorf, art. Sex. Turpilius, in: Suerbaum (n. 15), 258–259. On the *praenomen* Sextus that goes back only to the Renaissance scholar Petrus Crinitus, see Rychlewska loc. cit. The notice has escaped Blänsdorf. There this fact is not even mentioned.

⁴⁹ Hier. chron. p. 148.15–16 Helm: *Turpilius comicus senex admodum Sinuessae moritur* [the comic playwright Turpilius dies at a rather high age in Sinuessa].

⁵⁰ For the fragments, the excellent edition by Rychlewska (1971) should be consulted.

⁵¹ This was also the title of a *fabula Atellana* of Novius (see below).

ulescens). When praying in a temple, he saw a beautiful woman. This was very likely the woman who gave the play its title (*hetaera*).⁵² The *adulescens* falls in love with her at once, as it happens, for example, to a young man in a comedy by Menander with the title *Phasma*.⁵³ In F 2, the slave goes on: *erus stupidus adstat, ita eius aspectus repens || cor torporavit homini amore* (My master stood there stupidly. So her sudden sight stunned his heart through love).

Let us turn to F 1 now. The edition and interpretation of it raises numerous difficulties. These are discussed in detail in chapter D 4 (**rica*).⁵⁴ In my version, which differs significantly from the traditional one established by Carrion (1583), the text reads as follows:⁵⁵

*ducit me secum. postquam ad aedem venimus,
veneratur deos. interea aspexit virginem
iniectam in capite reticulum, indutam ostrina.*

He led me with him. After we came to the temple, || he prayed to the gods. On that occasion, he saw a young girl || who had put a hairnet on her head and was wearing a crimson tunic.

Turpilius, or rather the speaker of the words, focuses on two garments of the young woman (*virgo*). Over her hair, she has thrown (*iniecta*) a hairnet (*reticulum*, B 12). Greek and Roman women could wear this kind of headdress in different forms in everyday life.⁵⁶ It appears often in comedy. The hairnet (κεκρύφαλος) is mentioned several times by Aristophanes and other playwrights,⁵⁷ and a play of Menander got its title from it.⁵⁸ In addition, the girl is wearing a *tunica* (*chiton*) (B 1), which is metonymically called *ostrina* after its colour (as with the *purpura*). This is the colour of the *tunica* that Cynthia

⁵² L. Carrion, *Emendationes et observationes*, Paris 1583, vol. 1 p. 5; recently Rychleswka (1973) on F 1 and her introduction p. XV. If F 3 (*Rhodiensist, sed istuc commigravit iam diu* [she is from Rhodes, but moved here a long time ago]) refers to the *hetaera*, her life resembled that of Chrysis in the *Andria* of Terence, cf. esp. vv. 69–70: *interea mulier quaedam abhinc triennium || ex Andro commigravit huc viciniæ* [in the meantime a certain woman moved here from Andros into the neighbourhood three years ago], and that of Moschis in the *Exceptus* of Afranius (see below).

⁵³ Rychleswka (1973) on F 1.

⁵⁴ See pp. 634–636.

⁵⁵ Difficulties arise above all in v. 3, which has been transmitted in two different forms (*instantem, iniectam*) by Nonius. The variant could be due to the fact that Nonius excerpted Turpilius not only directly, but also took up quotations of him from other sources, cf. Rychlewka (1971) XXXVI. At the centre of the problem is the misunderstanding of the gloss **riculam*. This is probably a corruption of the word *reticulum* (= hairnet), cf. D 4 p. 636.

⁵⁶ IG II² 1522.18, 1523.195–196 with Cleland (2005) 118.

⁵⁷ Aristoph. Thesm. 138, 257 (with Austin/Olson [2004]); Aristoph. F 332.6 K.-A.; Antiphanes F 115, 187 K.-A.; Eupolis F 170 K.-A.

⁵⁸ Menander F 208–217 K.-A.

wears on festive occasions.⁵⁹ In a similar way, the young girl described by Turpilius clad herself in festive attire when visiting the temple.

The specific shade denoted by *ostrinus* is difficult to determine.⁶⁰ The adjective (scanned here, if transmission of the text is correct, with a short I)⁶¹ is attested only rarely.⁶² It derives from the Latin noun *ostrum*. This word denotes either the colour or the dye extracted from a certain type of aquatic snails (commonly called ‘purple’), or a garment of that colour.⁶³ However, the shade of ‘purple’ could vary between purple in its proper sense and carmine red. The erotic content of our evidence suggests that we should rather think of this type of dark red. This colour is more appropriate for an erotic situation than a regal purple. This means that the word *ostrinus* is probably to be regarded as synonymous to the adjectives *puniceus* or *coccinus*.⁶⁴ The Greek word that Turpilius translated with *ostrina* (sc. *tunica*) is likely to be φοιννίς (*puniceus*), which also designates a dark red robe.⁶⁵

In general, it should be noted that carmine red is a signal colour that had a double social connotation in the eyes of the ancient observer.⁶⁶ On the one hand, as a red shade, it was an erotic colour. On the other hand, it was the colour of insignia and is therefore associated with ‘exquisiteness.’⁶⁷ Thus, the young woman (*virgo*) is not presented as a vulgar person. She is wearing an attractive but also dignified dark red *tunica*.

7.5.2 *Philopator* F 13 R. (= F 13 Rychlewska)

Another fragment of Turpilius in which a piece of clothing is mentioned comes from a comedy entitled *Philopator* (Loving one’s father). Like many others, this play is known

⁵⁹ Prop. 2.29.25–26: *non illa formosior umquam || visa, neque ostrina cum fuit in tunica* [she never seemed more beautiful to me, not even when she was dressed in a crimson tunic].

⁶⁰ See B 11 p. 440.

⁶¹ In Properz, it is measured with a long I. Ribbeck’s transposition thus seems very attractive.

⁶² Rychlewska (1973) on F 1. The evidence shows that the adjective is a fancy word used by authors to display their erudition.

⁶³ ThLL IX s.v. *ostrum* col. 1161.27–1163.16; OLD s.v. *ostrum*. The Greek word ὄστρειον originally denoted an oyster or some kind of sea snail, see LSJ s.v. The fact that the purple was extracted from it led to the transfer of meaning, see Vitruvius 7.5.8: *quod ex concharum marinarum testis eximitur, ideo ostrum est vocitatum* [because it is extracted from the shell of the purple snails, it is called *ostrum*]. For the terminology and the technical process, see ThLL IX s.v. *ostrum*; Blümner I (1912) 233–248.

⁶⁴ The translation in the dictionaries (Georges “purpurn”; OLD “purple”) should be modified accordingly.

⁶⁵ LSJ s. v. φοιννίς. In contrast, the Greek adjective ὄστρεῖνος in Classical times does not denote a colour but means ‘living in a shell.’ See, however, POxy 109.5 (3rd–4th century BCE): ὄστρεῖνος (= *ostrinus*).

⁶⁶ See B 11 p. 436.

⁶⁷ ThLL IX s.v. *coccus* col. 1162.6–7: “plerumque insigne est condicionis alicuius nobilioris.”

to us only through Nonius, who gives us a total of thirteen fragments. Greek comedies of the same name were written by Antiphanes (fourth century BCE) and Poseidippos (third century BCE). Turpilius maybe used the play of Antiphanes as a model.⁶⁸ The plot cannot be reconstructed with certainty. It was about a forbidden love and a resulting pregnancy (F 3): *disperii misera! uterum cruciatur mihi* (Poor me, I am lost! My womb is giving me pain). In connection with the love affair, a letter is lost. This was deplored in F 13:⁶⁹

me miseram! quid agam? inter vias epistula excidit mi!
infelix inter tuniculam ac strophium conlocaram.

Oh, poor me! What am I going to do? I have lost the letter on the way. || Unlucky me, I had stuck it between my *tunica* and my belt.

The despair shown by the female speaker about the loss of the letter is great. This can be seen from the sentence structure and the choice of words (*misera, infelix*).⁷⁰ The letter in question was a billet-doux carried on the body by a young girl or, more likely, a female servant. She had put the letter between her short tunic (*tunicula*, χιτώνιον)—this is a garment typical for a female servant—and her belt/cord (*strophium*, στρόφιον).⁷¹ There are two parallels for the motif of the lost letter in comic Latin literature: in a mime (*mimus*) of Laberius (see below) and in Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*.⁷² In F 13, the letter was found by a third person.⁷³ It is very likely that this resulted in dramatic consequences.⁷⁴

Taken together, the fragments of Palliata contain mentions of six specific female articles of clothing: a **supparus*, a carmine red tunic (*ostrina*), a short tunic (*tunicula*), an undertunic (*interula*) made of cotton, a hairnet (*reticulum*), and a belt/cord (*strophium*). There is also a reference to tying the breasts (with a *fascia*). This brings us to the next genre, the Togata.

68 Rychlewska (1973) pp. X–XI; Antiphanes F 220 K.-A.

69 Cf. Nonius p. 863.9–10 L. Rychleswka (1971) rightly preserves the tradition and produces two iambic septenaries, as do Buecheler and Lindsay. For the use of this metre in Turpilius, see Rychlewska, p. XVIII; for abbreviated forms (*conlocaram*) p. XXV. Earlier editors, as Bothe (1824), P. Grautoff, Turpilius comoediarum reliquiae, Diss. Bonn 1853, Ribbeck²⁺³, restored two iambic octonaries (v. 1: *mihi*; v. 2 *conlocaveram*). In v. 2, against Grautoff and Ribbeck² (differently R.³) hiatus before *ac* is permissible, since we have a middle caesura, cf. Rychlewska (1971) p. XVIII.

70 On the stylistic device of the exclamatio in Turpilius, see Rychlewska (1971) XXXI.

71 See B 21 p. 500.

72 Cf. B 22 p. 508.

73 *Philopator* F 12: *simul cirumspectat: ubi praeter se neminem || videt esse, tollit aufert: ego clam consequor* [At the same time he/she looks around. As soon as he/she sees that no one is present except him/herself, he/she picks it up and carries it away. I secretly follow him/her]. Rychleswka (1971) ad loc. points out that there is a similar motif in the *Cistellaria* of Plautus 617ff. There, however, the servant loses a *cistella*.

74 See Ribbeck on the play *Philopator* in general: “*epistula amissa et ab alio clam sublata* (XII. XIII) *facile fieri potuit ut magni in res vel intricandas vel expediendas momenti esset.*”

Togata

In contrast to the Palliata, the Togata is located in Roman-Italian everyday life.⁷⁵ Its fragments are therefore of particular value for Roman cultural history.⁷⁶ This also applies to the garments mentioned in the fragments. They show social distinctions by which Roman society was more strongly marked than Greek society. Among other things, we hear of a purple *tunica* worn by a young girl from the upper class as well as of the *vestis longa* of the Roman matrons. The literary description of everyday life nevertheless takes place along the lines established in the Palliata and thus in Greek New Comedy (at least indirectly). Dramatic plots and motifs remain similar, but small variations can be detected.

7.6 Titinius

Titinius is generally thought to be the earliest author of the Togata.⁷⁷ But his exact *floruit* is uncertain. Most scholars place it in the first half of the second century BCE. Although Titinius' dates of life cannot be established, he seems to have lived earlier than Afranius (second half second century BCE). We have titles of fifteen of his plays and about 125 fragments, most of which have been transmitted by Festus and by Nonius.⁷⁸ One of them concerns a female garment.

7.6.1 *Fullonia* F 14 R. (= F14 Daviault)

The Togata with the title *Fullonia* (A Fullers' story) is very important as regards Roman clothing.⁷⁹ A dispute between weavers (*textores*) and cloth manufacturers (*fullones*) seems to have been presented on stage.⁸⁰ We know little else about the plot. As in the

⁷⁵ For an introduction to the genre, see Leo (n. 15) 374–384; E. Stärk, art. Togata, in: Suerbaum (n. 15), 259–261; J. T. Welsh, The Grammatian C. Iulius Romanus and the Fabula Togata, HSCPh 105 (2010), 255–285; id., The Dates of the Dramatists of the “Fabula Togata”, HSCPh 106 (2011), 125–153.

⁷⁶ For the Togata, the editions of Ribbeck are still to be consulted. The edition of Daviault (1981) has been reviewed very negatively by A. S. Gratwick, Gnomon 54 (1982), 725–733 and H.D. Jocelyn, CR 32 (1982), 154–157. It does not meet the standard of a modern critical edition.

⁷⁷ Bardon I (n. 43) 39–43; Guardì (1985) 18–19; Stärk (n. 75) 261–262; most recently Welsh (n. 75) 126–138.

⁷⁸ The fragments of Titinius and Atta were last edited separately by Guardì (1985). However, his edition does not bring any progress to the text compared to Ribbeck's, cf. the negative review by H. D. Jocelyn, Gnomon 58 (1986), 608–611.

⁷⁹ On the title, cf. Leo (n. 15) 376 n. 1. It is very likely that the noun *fabula* is to be added to the adjective *Fullonia*; see also Guardì (1985) 110–112. On the transmission of this play in Nonius and in Festus, cf. Jocelyn (n. 78) 609.

⁸⁰ Titinius, *Fullonia* F 4–10.

Menaechmi of Plautus, there is an *uxor dotata* who lives with her husband in mutual dislike.⁸¹ In contrast to the housewife in Plautus, this woman is pretty and young. F 14 discussed here exemplarily shows all difficulties by which the understanding of fragmentary texts is impeded. It has been handed down in the dictionary of Festus under the lemma of the dress gloss **supparus*, the meaning of which was discussed extensively by ancient antiquarians. The shape of the **supparus* is uncertain. Perhaps it had the form of a *tunica*.⁸² The section of Festus where Titinius is quoted is badly damaged in the Codex Farnesianus.⁸³ Although it is certain that the term **supparus* was mentioned in the *Fullonia*, we do not know exactly (1) which words were taken from Titinius, (2) whether he was quoted directly or only paraphrased by Festus in the traces that remain (*omne quod <...> <sup>parum puni<...>*),⁸⁴ (3) whether these words belong to Titinius at all or instead to Naevius, the author quoted next to him. At present, both the editors of Titinius and those of Naevius claim the remaining word *supparum* for their author.⁸⁵ As regards Naevius, following a conjecture of Joseph Scaliger (1575), the fragment is usually assigned to Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, but Scaliger's guess is almost certainly not correct.⁸⁶ The form of the text will be discussed in detail later on. Chapter D 5 attributes the garment mentioned to the *Fullonia* of Titinius. In the version proposed there, the fragment reads as follows: *<sup>parum puni<ceum> (supparus in crimson)*.

The term **supparus* indicates that F 14 is about the clothing of a woman, especially that of a young and attractive woman, because according to our other evidence a **supparus* is worn by this female group.⁸⁷ The same applies to the carmine red colour (*punicus*, φοινίκεος). This shade is often used by young women and like its rare synonym *ostrinus*, it has an erotic signal effect.⁸⁸ In the *Fullonia*, this group is represented by the moody young wife. In F 3, her husband describes her appearance when he got to know her like this: *videram ego te virginem || formosam esse sponso [esse] superbam, || forma ferocem* (I had seen that you were a beautiful girl, haughty against your fiancé, wild because of your beauty).⁸⁹ In F 4, the woman herself seems to judge her beauty

81 F 1: *ego me mandatam meo viro male arbitror, || qui rem disperdit et meam dotem comest* [I think that I have been badly handed over to my husband, who wastes my fortune and squanders my dowry], F 3, F 6.

82 See D 5 p. 656.

83 Festus p. 406.8–21 L.

84 Ribbeck on *Fullonia* F 14: *“itaque de auctoris nomine non constat, nec verba omne quod decerni potest utrum grammatici sint an poetae”*; Guardì (1985) 121.

85 Titinius, *Fullonia* F 14 R.²: *omne quod ... supparum* = F 14 Guardì (1985); Naevius, *Bellum Poenicum* F 27 *Marmorale*: *supparus ... parum punic ... cat nevius*.

86 Cf. above p. 134.

87 Cf. D 5 p. 647.

88 Cf. above p. 146.

89 On the form of the text, see Leo (n. 15) 383 n. 1, who wants to find in it rests of a lyrical passage (“Jamben, Bakcheen, Reizianum”). In contrast, Ribbeck² tries to restore trochaics: *videram ego te*

likewise (F 5): *specta formam <meam> atque os contempla meum* (watch my handsome appearance, look at my face). A crimson *tunica* would go well with such a woman as it does with the *virgo formosa* described in Turpilius' *Hetaera* F 1.⁹⁰

7.6.2 *Procilla/Prilia* F 5 R. (= F 12 Daviault)

The title of the play remains uncertain. The transmission variously offers *Prilla* (Festus) and *Proelia* and *Prilia* (Nonius).⁹¹ In Priscianus, we also find *Proclia* as a variant.⁹² The form of the title (ending in A) shows that it must refer to a woman or girl. *Prilla* and *Proelia* are senseless. *Prilia* could be based on a toponym, referring to the little Etruscan lake *Prilius* (Padule). It is often taken to mean 'The girl from lake Prilius,'⁹³ but this solution is not as easy as it seems.⁹⁴ There are several similar titles of plays of Titinius, like *Insubra* (The Insubrian woman), *Ferentinatis* (The woman from Ferentium), *Setina* (The woman from Setia), *Veliterna* (The woman from Velitrae). However, Setia (Sezzo), Ferentium (Ferentino), and Velitrae (Velletri) are little towns, and the *Insubri* are a people of Cisalpine Gaul. The parallel is thus not exact, and one might well ask whether a small lake could denote the origin of a person. The names of the great Italian lakes, *lacus Benacus* (lake Garda), the *lacus Larius* (lake Como), and the *lacus Trasumennus* (lake Trasimeno) are not used in this way, and one may have some doubts as to the *lacus Prilius*. The codices of Nonius have both *Prilia* and *Proelia*, and there might be some further reaching corruption. Some play titles of Titinius are personal names (*Hortensius*, *Quintus*, *Varus*). Hence, *Perilla*,⁹⁵ *Pr<oc>illa*,⁹⁶ and *Pyrria*⁹⁷ have been suggested. We will never know for certain what the title was, but Ribbeck's *Procilla* seems to make the best of the corrupted transmission.

virginem || *formasam, forma ferocem, <mihi> esse sponso <tu> superbam*; see, however, his self-criticism in Ribbeck³: "*temptata varia sunt, sed audaciora, cum a me tum ab aliis.*" On the different editions of Ribbeck in general, cf. Gratwick (n. 76) 730.

90 Cf. above p. 146.

91 Cf. *Prilla*: Festus p. 448.8 L.; Nonius p. 100.1 L. (*Proelia*), 145.2 (*Prilia*), 263.18 (*Proelia*), 426.30 (*Proelia*), 448.8 (*Proelia*), 558.6, (*Prilia, Proelia*), 597.2 (*Praelia*), 832.10 (*Prilia*). The apparatus criticus of Lindsay's edition of Nonius is unreliable and misleading. Lindsay sometimes corrects the transmission to *Prilia* without telling his readers. I have checked the references against the editions of Lucian Mueller and, as far as possible, against the new edition of Paolo Gatti et al.

92 Prisc. inst. 15.13, GL 3 p. 70.17–19 (*Prilia, Proclia, Proelia*).

93 Cf. Ribbeck³ in his edition, who changed his views on the issue. In his second edition, he recommended *Procilla*; see also Daviault in his edition p. 111.

94 Cf. RE 6.2 A (1937) s.v. Titinnius, col. 1544 (St. Weinstock).

95 F. Corssen, *Über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der Lateinischen Sprache*, vol. I, Leipzig ²1868, 474.

96 For the reasons, see Ribbeck² on the play. He also restored the long form of the name (*Proculeia*) in F 4.

97 J. H. Neukirch, *De Fabula Togata Romanorum*, Leipzig 1833, 126.

It is impossible to reconstruct the plot of the entire play out of eleven short fragments, but we may confidently say that some theft happens. In F 5 (see below), we hear of a *pilatrix* (female robber) who is threatened to be banned from the house. Moreover, the Scholia of Pseudo-Acro on Horace tell us that Titinius in some play introduced a maidservant who has stolen a ball of wool and is detected.⁹⁸ This could be a reference to our play, although not all details square. In general, the quality of the scholia is very low, and they often give us only a shadow of reality.⁹⁹ They may have slightly distorted Titinius' plot to suit Horace's poem that refers to a drunken maidservant who has stolen some wool.¹⁰⁰ In any case, if F 5 is at the core of the play, the real or (supposed) theft and its consequences may have formed the backbone of the dramatic action. Was it a comedy about an innocent girl that was wrongly accused?

F 5 is transmitted in Nonius and needs some repair. The general run of the sentence is clear: Someone accuses a female person of having stolen something and threatens to ban her from the house. The form of the text I am going to argue for is this:¹⁰¹

*qua ego hodie extorrem
domo hanc faciam, pilatricem pallae evallaro pulchre.*

... in this way, I will ban this woman from my home and I will throw out this robber of a *palla* in fine style.

Before discussing the emendations, let us see how far we get without them. The accused person is an *ancilla* because no one would throw his/her own daughter out of his/her house (nor would she steal something). The speaker has the power to do this. Hence, he must be either the *patronus* or his wife. For several reasons, however, it must be the *matrona*. In Roman comedy, no man ever would threaten a maidservant in this way. It is always the *uxor* that is getting angry and berates other people (especially her husband). We find this common trope also in Plautus' comedy *Menaechmi*, which has some other parallels with Titinius' play.¹⁰² In addition, F 3 and F 6 of the *Procilla* perfectly fit with the hypothesis of a dominant and angry housewife. In F 3, we hear

⁹⁸ Ps.-Acro ad Hor. epist. 1.13.14 p. 250.23–25 Keller (Γ'bfV): *apud Titinium in quadam fabula inducitur ancilla, quae lanae glomus furatur et deprehenditur. ... Pyrria autem nomen ancillae in fabula* [In Titinius, in some play a maidservant is brought onto the stage who steals a ball of wool and is caught red-handed. ... In the play, the maidservant is called Pyrria].

⁹⁹ Cf. on them, B 6 p. 367.

¹⁰⁰ Hor. epist. 1.13.14: *ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrria lanae* [like the vinous Pyrria a ball of stolen wool].

¹⁰¹ *domo hanc* Radicke: *hanc domo* codd.; *pallae* Buecheler: *paliae* codd.; *evallaro* Radicke (*evallavero iam* Lipsius): *evallavito* codd.

¹⁰² See A 6.

about husbands who are subservient to their wives (*uxores dotatae*) because of their rich dowry,¹⁰³ and in F 6, a woman is said to be angry (*iracunda*).¹⁰⁴

We can now turn to the details. There are several difficulties concerning the exact form of the texts, the interpunction, and the metre. The fragment has first been discussed by Justus Lipsius in his *Antiquae Lectiones* (1575) and his *Epistolicae Quaestiones* (1577).¹⁰⁵ His text has been reprinted by Daviault in his fragments of the *fabula togata* (1981). Lipsius indeed paved the way, though his solutions need some modification. Most important for the content is the sequence PALIAEVALLAVIT O PULCHRE, which Lipsius changed to *palli evallavero pulchre*. However, the garment that is at stake is very likely a *palla*, and not a *pallium*. The female *pallium* (cloak) is mentioned in comedy only rarely (B 2), while the *palla* (in the sense of long robe) (B 3) is the garment usually worn by matrons. In Plautus' *Menaechmi*, it is the *palla* that is stolen from a *matrona*, and it is very likely that Titinius used the same motif. We should hence follow Neukirch (1833) and Buecheler and write *pilatricem pallae*.

As to *evallavero*, Lipsius is certainly right in restoring the first person of the future perfect. But should we read *evallaro* or *evallavero*? There are two reasons suggesting that the contracted form *evallaro* is correct. For this, we must first make a detour into metrics. As regards the metre, Neukirch thought the verses to contain remains of trochaics and Buecheler (in Ribbeck²) assumed them to be anapaests. However, their analyses imply some metrical licences. Other editors (like Daviault) are altogether reticent on this issue. There is, however, a better solution than those proposed. If we make a small change in word order, the second verse is a complete and perfect iambic septenarius, and the preceding words *qua ego hodie extorrem* are the end of one. Since errors in word order are common in Nonius, the metre should be restored accordingly. This solution necessitates changing the expression *hanc domo* to *domo hanc* and to reading the contracted form *evallaro* instead of the full form *evallavero*. But there is a second reason for reading *evallaro*. The lemma of Nonius offers the contracted form *evallaro*, too (later corrupted to *evallare*). This points to that Titinius had *evallaro* in his text, since Nonius usually takes up the form of his lemma from the sources he adduces. As elsewhere in Nonius, a variant, which was originally written (*ve*) above the text, probably intruded into the main text of his quotation of Titinius and caused the mess.

The first word of the fragment is *qua* (abl. sg. fem. of *qui*). Since Lipsius, all editors have found fault with it. The following argues that the transmission makes perfect sense. The discussion will lead us to a hypothesis on how we have to understand the sentence structure. But let us first look at what the other editors have to offer. Lipsius proposed

103 F 3 R.² (= 2 Daviault): *verum enim dotibus deleniti ultro etiam uxoris ancillantur* [for in truth, they get bewitched by the dowry and even by their own will become maidservants of their wives].

104 F 6 R.² (= 11 Daviault): *date illi biber, iracunda haec est* [give her something to drink! She is angry].

105 J. Lipsius, *Antiquarum lectionum commentarius*, Antwerp 1575, V 22 p. 146, and *Epistolicarum quaestionum libri V*, Antwerp 1577, IV 20 p. 164.

reading *quia* (because); Bothe (1824) suggested correcting it to *quam*.¹⁰⁶ Both solutions have found adherents. Lipsius assumed that *quia* introduced a subordinate sentence ending with the word *palli* that would depend on the following *evallaro pulchre* as the main clause. He therefore put a comma before *evallaro*. However, the construction with a preceding causal clause is very awkward (especially in a lively speech). The parallelism in structure and content suggests that we should put a comma (as Ribbeck) after *faciam*. In this way, we get two parallel sentences: *extorrem hanc domo faciam* (I will ban her from my home), *pilatricem pallaevallaro pulchre* (I will expel the robber of my *palla* in fine style). The style suits the speaker. The matron is very angry. The alliteration underlines her excited angry state of mind. In her wrath, she is repeating the same thing in other words (“I will ban her; I will throw her out”). Lipsius’ solution disturbs this natural flow of thought and should hence be excluded.

In a similar way, this holds true for Bothe’s proposal *quam* (taken up by Ribbeck). Bothe thought this to be a relative pronoun (acc. sg. fem.) and made it the object of *extorrem faciam* (I will ban her). This is fine for itself, but causes a problem because we already have a grammatical object (*hanc*) in this clause. Bothe (and Ribbeck) therefore also changed *hanc* to *hac* in order to create the expression *hac domo* (from this house). As to method, this looks rather complicated. Moreover, the word *domo* is often used alone elsewhere in comedy in the meaning ‘from my house.’ For this reason, we should remember the lex Youtie (*‘iuxta lacunam ne conieceris’*) and look if we can do something with the transmitted *qua* (abl. sg. fem.). In theory, this can be either an interrogative pronoun (how?) or a relative pronoun (the manner in which). The interrogative pronoun (in direct questions) is quite rare, and so we should opt for the relative pronoun. Remember that we are dealing with a fragment! The sense of the sentence would then be: ‘... in which way I will expel her from my house.’ We do not know what preceded. Perhaps it was simply something like ‘that is the way in which ...’ If we retain the transmitted *qua*, the adverb *pulchre* (in fine style) at the end of the sentence also makes good sense. We may paraphrase: ‘That is the way how I will throw her out in fine style.’ We do not know what preceded. All we can tell is that the matron is very angry. But was her wrath justified? If we believe her words, she is missing a valuable garment, a *palla*. If the scholia on Horace tell us the truth (see above), she might be exaggerating, and it was perhaps just a minor offence that caused her anger. The negative trope of the *uxor dotata* might point in this direction. But we will never know for certain what really happened.

106 Cf. F 2: *quam hodie hac domo pilatricem palli pulchre evallavero*. Bothe’s text implies too many changes to be plausible.

7.7 Afranius

L. Afranius is the most important among the poets of the Togata.¹⁰⁷ About three hundred fragments and forty-three titles have been preserved of him. His life is to be dated approximately to the second half of the second century BCE.¹⁰⁸ A *terminus post quem* for his plays is perhaps provided by the comedies of Terentius (†159 BCE), which were much admired by Afranius. Apart from Terentius, Afranius used the Greek comic playwright Menander as a model, but he also drew on other Greek and Latin comedies.¹⁰⁹

7.7.1 *Consobrini* F 4 R. (= F 4 Daviault)

The first fragment is taken from a comedy that is usually called *Consobrini* (male cousins). However, it has to be said that the title has only been transmitted in the ablative (*in consobrinis*). Editors usually choose the masculine form in analogy to a corresponding title of Menander (ἀνεψιοί, male cousins).¹¹⁰ Perhaps Afranius—their argument goes—used Menander’s play as a basis. We know that Afranius knew it because he seems to have also used it in another of his comedies, the *Vopiscus*.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the question of gender must remain open. The ablative title could equally refer to female *consobrinae* (female cousins). This is even more likely, since many Togatae are named after female relatives.¹¹² For once, the fragment is not transmitted by Nonius (though he also mentions the play), but by the unknown learned scholiast on Cicero’s speech *In Clodium et Curionem* (Against Clodius and Curio).¹¹³ It is extremely short and runs as follows: *cum mitris calvaticis* (with headscarves).

The expression *mitra calvatica* denotes, if my explanation is correct,¹¹⁴ a headscarf worn by Greek and Roman women of every age. The adjective *calvaticus*—to be spelled thus from *calva* (skull) and not, as editors usually do, *calauticus*—was perhaps added to the noun *mitra* to avoid confusion with other types of headdress likewise called *mitra*. In

¹⁰⁷ Bardon (n. 12) 138–143; Stärk (n. 75) 263–264.

¹⁰⁸ On his time of life date, see most recently Welsh (n. 75) 138–145.

¹⁰⁹ Afranius, *Compitalia* F 1–2.

¹¹⁰ Menander F 57–62 K.-A.; for another example, see also Com. Adesp. 4 K.-A.

¹¹¹ Afranius, *Vopiscus* F 3.2; see also the introduction and commentary on Menander Ἀνεψιοί F 1 K.-A.

¹¹² For example, *gemina* (female twin) (Titinius), *martera/ae* (aunt/s) (Afranius, Atta), *nurus* (daughter in law) (Atta), *privigna* (step daughter) (Titinius), *socrus* (mother in law) (Atta), *sorores* (sisters) (Afranius). On the male side, in Latin there is only the *privignus* (step son) (Afranius). In Greek comedy too, gender varies in titles denoting a relationship. There are brothers (ἀδελφοί) (Menander), but also sisters (ἀδελφαί) (Antiphanes and others) and so on. For an overview, cf. Alkaios com. F 1 K.-A. However, for the title ἀνεψιά, the Greek equivalent to *consobrina*, is not attested.

¹¹³ Cf. on this speech, A 10.

¹¹⁴ See B 13 p. 462.

any case, the expression refers only to one and not to two different headdresses.¹¹⁵ The context of the fragment is uncertain. Taking the hairnet (*reticulum*) and its occurrences in literature as an example, one may safely assume that the reference to the *mitra* was part of a more extensive description of the female costume mentioning at least one other garment. The plural further indicates that the statement was about several women. As the example of the *Epidicus* shows, this could have formed part of a collective description of young women.¹¹⁶ However, it could also be about two individual women wearing this type of bonnet. Could these be two *consobrinae* and their headwear?

7.7.2 *Epistula* F 12 R. (= F 12 Daviault)

The second fragment of Afranius is found in a Togata called *Epistula* (Letter).¹¹⁷ We have a total of nineteen fragments from it, which have all been transmitted by Festus and Nonius. F 12 is the only quotation that has been handed down to us twice, both in Festus and in Nonius.¹¹⁸ A young man, as far as we can see, sneaks into the house of his sweetheart in female clothing¹¹⁹ and is detected by the girl's mother.¹²⁰ Perhaps the encounter happens in front of his lover, who has to burst out laughing (F 15): *ego misera risu clandestino rumpier || torpere mater, amens ira fervere* (But I, poor me, had to burst with secret laughter; the mother was baffled; she was foaming with rage). F 12 is spoken either by the young man dressed in female clothing, who is discussing with the girl's mother, or, a bit more complicated, spoken by the girl herself reporting the scene to someone else:¹²¹

115 Against Daviault “avec des mitres et des coiffures à voile.”

116 Plaut. *Epid.* 213–235.

117 Comedies with similar titles were written by Alexis (ἑπιστολή) F 81 K.-A.; Euthykles (ἄσωτοι ἢ ἐπιστολή) F 1 K.-A.; Machon (ἑπιστολή) F 2 K.-A.; Timokles (ἑπιστολαί) F 9–10 K.-A.; Caecilius (*epistula*) whose play may be based on the comedy of Alexis with the same title, cf. Alexis T 11 K.-A.

118 Festus p. 406.20–21 L.; Nonius p. 866.14–15 L. On the slightly diverging transmission, see D 5 p. 654.

119 A similar motif is perhaps found in Titinius inc. F 10: *feminina fabulare succrotilla vocula* [speak with a trembling female voice], see Leo (n. 15) 378.

120 See Ribbeck's introduction on the play: “*supparo indutus* (XII), *id est puellam mentiens* (XIV) *adulescens in amatae domum irrepsit, ubi sero nescio quibus turbis intercedentibus agnoscitur a matre irata. id enim narrat filia fr. XV.*”

121 If *Epistula* F 1 relates to his outfit, he also wore sandals: *quis tu es ventoso in loco || soleatus, intempesta noctu sub Iove || aperto capite, silices cum findat gelus?* [Who are you in this windy place in sandals, in the dark night under the open sky with nothing on your head, although the cold splits the stones]. On this fragment and its possible connections with Menander, see P. G. McBrown, *Two Notes on Menander's Misoumenos*, ZPE 41 (1981) 25–26.

tace!

*puella non sum, supparo si induta sum?*¹²²

Shut up! Am I not a girl since I am dressed in a *supparus?

For Roman scholars, the word *supparus was a gloss. It probably denoted, as passages like this show, a long dress worn exclusively by women and considered inappropriate for men. The motif of transvestism is already found in the *Thesmophoriazusai* of Aristophanes. There, *Mnesilochos*, disguised as a woman, unsuccessfully tries to take part in a meeting of Athenian ladies.¹²³

7.7.3 *Exceptus* F 1 R. (= F 11 Daviault)

The third fragment from Afranius comes from a Togata with the title *Exceptus* (The Rescued Man). It is very important for the history of Roman dress. Fifteen pieces of the *Exceptus* have been preserved by Nonius altogether. Although the plot of the play cannot be reconstructed completely, various details are clear enough. A young man (*adulescens*) has been rescued from the sea by a fisherman. Perhaps he had attempted suicide out of unhappy love. In any case, a reconciliation with his sweetheart is brought about by the woman's intentionally dramatic lamenting for the allegedly deceased lover, knowing that he was listening to it (F 10–12).¹²⁴ A good hetaera (*meretrix*) named Moschis, who came from Naples, is somehow involved in the trick.¹²⁵ Judging by similar comic plots, she was not the lover herself, but a friend of hers. For example, in the *Andria* of Terence, the *meretrix* Chrysis is a friend of the blameless girl *Glycerium*. In his *Eunuchus*, the hetaera Thais is a friend of the girl Philumena. F 1 seems to refer to the clothing of the *meretrix*:

(A) *meretrix cum veste longa?* (B) *peregrino in loco solent tutandi causa sese sumere.*

(A) A hetaera in a *vestis longa*? (B) In a foreign place they commonly wear such clothes to protect themselves.

¹²² On the rather rare 'causal' meaning of *si*, cf. KS II 427.

¹²³ See A 10 p. 203; B 21 pp. 502–504.

¹²⁴ On the plot, see Ribbeck: "*exceptus ex mari a piscatore (IV–VIII) fortasse amoris miseris ad consilium mortem sibi contrahendi adactus fuerat. Potest autem amica eius fuisse Moschis, de qua I–III, quaeque, ut reconciliaret desperantem, quasi de mortuo viro lamentari subauscultante eodem simulaverit (X–XII).*"

¹²⁵ See F 3: *ubi hinc Moschis, quaeso, habet meretrix Neapolitis?* [Where does Moschis, the hetaera of Naples, live here?]. The fragment is quoted by Nonius p. 497.5–6 L. as evidence that *habere* can be used intransitively in the sense of *habitare*. For parallels, see Plaut. Aul. 5 (also quoted by Nonius): *qui hic habet*; Bacch. 114: *quid huc? qui istic habet?* Men. 69: *geminus, qui Syracusis habet*; Trin. 193: *ubi nunc adulescens habet?* 390: *haec sunt aedes, hic habet.*

The text contains a part of a dialogue.¹²⁶ Perhaps the context was as follows: Like in Terence's *Andria*, a man (from Naples?) has come to a foreign city in search of a girl and asks where the house of the *meretrix* Moschis is, since he knew her address.¹²⁷ As the preserved words show, this leads to a general conversation about how hetaeras dressed when not in their own city (*in peregrino loco*): They try to appear as decent women.¹²⁸ The fragment is very important for the history of Roman dress because it contains the earliest evidence for the Roman *vestis longa*,¹²⁹ the long dress generally associated with Roman matrons (B 4).¹³⁰ Thus, the fragment illustrates everyday Roman fashion and social categories, as it is to be expected in a Togata. In contrast, in the Palliata, matrons usually wear another garment, the *palla* (B 3). The fragment therefore illustrates that (1) the *vestis longa* was a real Roman female garment and that (2) it had clear social associations, since the fact that a *meretrix* was wearing one was noteworthy.

7.7.4 *Fratriae* (*Fratres?*) F 13 R. (= F 14 Daviault)

Afranius' comedy that is usually called *Fratriae* (Sisters-in-Law) is left to us through twenty-one fragments. Again, we owe almost all of them to Nonius.¹³¹ The word *fratria* is rare and is otherwise only found in the dictionary of Festus/Paulus, who defines the meaning of the word as *uxor fratris* (a brother's wife).¹³² In spite of the large number of fragments, a reconstruction of the plot has not yet been achieved, not even to a

126 On the interpunction, see Bothe (1824) on F 15: "*vulgo: – longa, peregr. etc. ut haec ab una persona pronuntientur; quod manifesto falsum: nam miranti cuidam, meretricem dici, quae veste longa seu stola induta sit, cum scorta veste succinctiore uterentur, ut monet Nonius, respondet alter, eo illam habitu prodire in publicum inter peregrinos, ne condicioni suae insultent.*"

127 The situation of Moschis was probably similar to that of the 'good' hetaera Chrysis we meet in the *Andria* of Terence. Chrysis had left her homeland Andros out of necessity and had moved to Athens, where she first tried to lead a decent life (*Andr. 75: lana ac tela victum quaeritans* [trying to make a living with wool and loom]), but then slipped into prostitution. From the point of view of a male observer, her career is described thus (796–798): *in hac habitasse platea dictumst Chrysidem, || quae sese inhoneste optavit parere hic ditias || potius quam honeste in patria pauper viveret* [It was told to me that Chrysis lived in this street. She preferred obtaining wealth dishonourably rather than living honourably in modest circumstances in her native city].

128 In F 2, the behaviour of the prostitutes seems to have been further described: *consimili grassantur via, quibus hic est omnis cultus* [they behave very much like those who possess all esteem here].

129 The fragment is quoted by Nonius p. 868.7–10 L. without lemma referring to a specific dress term. This is singular in this book. The entry begins with the words *meretrices apud veteres subcinctiore veste utebantur* [in ancient times, prostitutes wore their dress more gathered up]. The remarks from Afranius are introduced to prove this point *e contrario*. It is not clear what prompted Nonius to unexpectedly insert the entire section. Perhaps he still had in mind the prostitutes' garb (*toga*) he had been talking about in the preceding section.

130 Cf. especially B 4 p. 330.

131 F 13 is preserved in both Nonius and Priscianus.

132 Festus p. 80.8 L.

small extent. This is partly due to the fact that none of the fragments fit in with the complicated title that seems to require at least two brothers with their respective wives. Before discussing the content of F 13, a new proposal as to reconstructing the plot will therefore be made.

First of all, our sources also refer to the play by the alternative title *Fratres*.¹³³ The plural of the Latin male term *frater* (brother) can also be used for siblings like a brother and sister. So far, the editors have chosen the title *Fratriae* as the *lectio difficilior*. A number of reasons, however, suggests that the title may have been *Fratres*. In the fragments, we do not find the slightest trace of two brothers and their wives (*fratriae*), while they fit perfectly with a brother and a sister. This is especially true of F 3, in which a person speaks scornfully or indignantly about the marriage of a young woman: *pistori nubat cur non scribilitario, || ut mittat fratris filio lucuntulos?* (Why shouldn't she marry a baker? In this way she could send cookies to her brother's son).¹³⁴ The connection between the marriage of a sister and the son of her brother (*filius fratris*) is very striking. It can best be explained if the play describes a close relationship between two siblings, as illustrated by the title *Fratres*.

The *Figurenkonstellation* (the *dramatis personae* and their relationships) resulting from the fragments would then be the following: The main characters are a sister and a brother who, like in the *Aulularia* of Plautus, suffer from their father's stinginess. They face various difficulties and, like in the *Adelphoe* (Brothers) of Terence, help each other; at least the sister supports her brother. Because of the father's stinginess, the sister is apparently to marry a man below her station (F 1–3); the brother could not

133 Nonius quotes the play mostly as *in fratris* (*fratri<bu>s?*) or *fratris*. Once he speaks of it as *fratres* and twice as *fratribus*. Priscian gives the title *in fratribus*, cf. J. H. Neukirch, *De fabula togata*, Leipzig 1833, 213. Starting with Ribbeck, the alternative title *Fratres* has been lost in research.

134 Nonius p. 191.25–26 L. The attribution of the words to one person, so Lipsius in his *Antiquarum lectionum commentarius* (1575) 47, Neukirch (1833) and Ribbeck, is preferable to the assumption of two speakers, as in Bothe (1824) and most recently Daviault (1981). Neukirch (1833) and Ribbeck put a question mark after *nubat* and thus create two questions. However, it is easier, so Lipsius (1575) 47, to refer the adjective *scribilitario* to *pistori* and to make the verse one single question. (1) *nubat* (*novat* codd.): Confusion of B and V is frequent in the manuscripts of Nonius. The obvious emendation of Lipsius is already found in the Codex G of Nonius. (2) *scribilitario*: The reading of the important manuscript L (*scribitario*) again shows the difficulty the syllable IL or UL caused in the transmission of Nonius. It reappears as a superfluous UL in the following misspelling *lic[ul]entulus* (= *lucuntulus*). For an overview of the different spellings of *scribita*, see Leo on Plautus, *Poenulus* 43; on the formation LHS 188, 344; Walde/Hofmann s.v. However, it may be a Greek loanword, cf. Athen. 15.57 p. 647d: ἐκ τυροῦ δέ. ψησί, γίνεται πλακουνηρά τάδε. ἔγχυτος, σφιβλίτης (corr. Casaubonus: σφιβαίτης A), σουβίτυλλος. (3) The correct spelling of the second biscuit is *lucuntulus*, deminutive of *lucuns*, see LHS 187; Walde/Hofmann s.v. In OLD s.v., the misleading reference to the variant *luculentaster* (Titinius F inc. 7) should be deleted, since it is an orthographic corruption of Nonius. Cf. also Athen. 14.57 p. 467d: λούκουντλοι. (4) The connection to F 2 is obvious due to its content: †*da* (codd.: *da<re>*) Radicke: *det* Lipsius (1575): *dat* Bothe [1824]) *rustico nesciocui, vicino suo, || perpauperi, cui dicat dotis paululum* [to marry her to some farmer, his neighbour, a very poor man, to whom he can give very little dowry].

marry a beloved woman whom he has obviously already impregnated (F 3, F 6). He too is lacking money. In the end, of course, things turn out well. The money is somehow raised (F 7, F 9). At least the brother can take the beloved girl (*puella*) as his wife (F 11).¹³⁵ Apart from this, we do not know how the plot unfolds in detail, since much of the sister's fate remains in the dark. We hear of other standard characters, a nurse (*nutrix*) (F 13) and a slave (*servus*) (F 18).

A highly intriguing character is a woman bearing the allusive name of Castalia, who is called upon by the speaker, perhaps by the brother or a servant of his, to take an active part in the intrigue (F 7).¹³⁶ Castalia is a Greek name. The famous fountain on the poetic mountain Parnassus shares the same name. In general, this name would fit well with either a female servant or a hetaera (*meretrix*).¹³⁷ However, its artistic implications make it especially suitable for a hetaera, as is also shown by later parallels (Cynthia, Delia).¹³⁸ Since Castalia plays a leading role in the intrigue, she was probably a good hetaera, playing a role similar to that of the hetaera we find, for example, in the *Miles Gloriosus* (The Braggard Soldier) of Plautus. Castalia perhaps uses her seductive tricks in the interest of the young hero by turning the head of his mean father.

We can now turn to the two fragments of the play (F 13 and F 15) that deal with articles of Roman clothing, either female or male. In F 13, the carelessness of Nonius (or some scribe) causes a difficult problem. The fragment of Afranius is quoted by Nonius under the lemma *praeclavium*. Stephanus (1564) and all editors after him consider the fragment to comprise two verses. In contrast, the following argues that the second

135 Nonius p. 257.34–35 L.: *curre et nuntia || venire <me> et mecum speratam adducere. || vide ut puellam curent, conforment iube* [Hurry and tell them that I am coming and bring the woman I hoped for. See that they take care of the girl; tell them to dress her up]. The word *me* that is the subject of the Acl is most likely to have fallen out. The correct version was restored by Lipsius (1575). As to the text, Ribbeck's 3rd edition should be consulted, where the exaggerations of his 2nd edition are revoked.

136 Nonius p. 482.17–18 L.: <...> *nunc vide hoc quo pacto ego aurum in medium proferam. || tu, Castalia, cogita, tu finge, fabricare uti libet* [Now see how I will raise the money. Castalia think about it, contrive something, devise something as you want]. *hoc* is to be taken with *aurum* (Ribbeck and Lindsay) or interpreted as *huc*. Apparently, the question of money had already been discussed.

137 F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, 567 (Καστάλια τὸ γένος Σύρα [Kastalia, Syrian by origin]); A *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I*; III A, IV s.v. Καστάλια; II s.v. Καστάλιος. Ribbeck's scepticism concerning the transmitted name is inappropriate. It is unlikely that scribes would have come upon this relatively rare name, which is to be considered a *lectio difficilior*, instead of Bücheler's emendation *cavilla* or any one of the suggestions made by Ribbeck in the apparatus. Ribbeck's assertion that Greek names are suspect in the *Togata* is a *petitio principii* not backed by the evidence. One should rather remember the *meretrix* named with the Greek name Moschis (see above).

138 Daviault (1982) 187 thinks that *Castalia* could be a satiric nick name: "Cognomen satirique? Une servante ... portée sur le vin ... pourrait par antiphrase être appelée du nom d'une source d'eau pure." However, such an allusion does not seem likely given the name and the literary motif.

verse (given below) does not belong to Afranius, but is a comment of Nonius or some later scribe.¹³⁹ The fragment at issue runs as follows:

mea nutrix, surge si vis, profer purpuram,
[*praeclavium contextus*].

My nurse, please get up, bring me the *purpura* [A *praeclavium* is a woven fabric].

The first verse is, as it stands, metrically without fault. If we put a line end after *purpuram*, as all editors do, it is an iambic senarius. It contains two twofold alliterations. As to its content, a trusted elderly female servant addressed after her former role as wet-nurse (*nutrix*) is asked politely (*si vis*) to bring a fine *tunica*, certainly from the laundry chest (*arca*) where such clothing was usually stored. The words are very likely spoken by the sister dressing up for an unknown occasion—maybe forming part of a dressing scene (common in comedy). She asks for a *purpura*. Female garments of or at least with this colour are mentioned elsewhere in comedy. As we have seen above (Plautus, Poenulus 304),¹⁴⁰ a *purpura* was not all purple, but had only a striking purple ornament, most likely a stripe or a border, that led to its name. The word *purpura* needs no further qualification by an adjective, but is clear in itself. Like *ostrina* (see above), it describes a well-known type of *tunica*. We should keep this in mind before turning to the second part of the fragment. In general, the reference to the *purpura* shows that the social status of the family is not low, since the sister can afford expensive clothes. A garment with such a purple ornament serves to indicate wealth and status, and it does not stress sexual attractiveness (unlike the carmine tunic of the girl in the temple). For this reason, the sister clearly does not dress up for a lover, but rather for paying an official visit to someone (for example a household of dignitaries) or, less likely, for receiving a visit from them. If this reconstruction of the plot is sound, she acts as her brother's emissary going to the house of his bride (F 10, 11, 14). Up to *purpuram*, the transmitted text itself is completely unproblematic.

Difficulties begin only with the next two words (*praeclavium contextus*). They are sufficiently clear for themselves. We do not know exactly what a *praeclavium* is, but since it has something to do with the *clavus* (stripe), it should be a kind of woven stripe or trimming that was sewn onto the front of the garment (*prae*). If we take *contextus* as a noun and make it a part of the predicate, we get the simple explanatory statement: *praeclavium contextus <est>* (a *praeclavium* is a woven textile). However, this statement does not fit in with the preceding context. Bothe (²1834) and Ribbeck (1873) therefore suggest changing the text either to *praeclavio contextam* (a *tunica* with a *praeclavium* woven onto it) or to *praeclavium contextumst* (a *praeclavium* is woven on it), taking *contextum/contextam* to be the PPP of *contexere* (OLD: to make

¹³⁹ Nonius pp. 89.23–90.28 L.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. p. 137.

by weaving, joining, etc., together). This implies multiple difficult ending changes. As to content, it produces a mistaken statement. A *clavus*,¹⁴¹ though a woven piece of cloth, is sewn and not woven onto a *tunica*.¹⁴² If we assume that a *clavus* was connected with the *tunica*, we would expect a compound of *suere* (to sew) and not of *texere* (to weave).¹⁴³ Moreover, it is hard to see why the *purpura* (which implies a purple ornament) should be qualified so meticulously in the given situation of speech. Similar scenes usually describe the garment with only a simple noun. For these reasons, Bothe's and Ribbeck's emendations are to be rejected, and we should look for another solution. We first have to turn to the question of why editors wanted to attribute the words to Afranius at any cost. Their rationale is that the fragment of Afranius is adduced by Nonius under the entry of *praeclavium* and hence must contain the word. However, this assumption is wrong. As can be seen in other cases, references in Nonius are not always to the point. Sometimes fragments quoted by him pertain to the topics discussed in the respective entry only superficially. This could well be the case here since a *purpura* may be regarded as a *tunica* with a (purple) *praeclavium*. Moreover, F 13 is only the second example adduced by Nonius, the first one also coming from Afranius. We may thus assume that both quotations taken from Afranius formed a kind of cluster in Nonius' notes. A similar process is to be seen in Nonius' entry **rica*.¹⁴⁴ In any case, connecting the words *praeclavium contextus* with the fragment of Afranius is overly complicated. An easier and more likely explanation is attributing them to Nonius or isolating them as a later intrusion into the text. No matter the final attribution, Nonius' F 13 of Afranius' *Fratriae* gives us the *purpura* as a definitively attested female Roman garment.

7.7.5 *Fratriae (Fratres?)* F 15 R. (= F 20 Daviault)

F 15 is often adduced in cultural histories. It is quoted by Nonius as evidence for his view that in primeval times Roman women also wore the *toga*.¹⁴⁵ Nonius is certainly wrong about this, since in the historical times to which the comedy of Afranius must refer, the *toga* was worn only by prostitutes of the lowest social status (*scorta*) (B 6). Moreover, the content of the fragment raises strong doubts about whether Nonius' version of F 15 is correct at all. The following argues that the words of F 15 refer to a

¹⁴¹ Cf. also A 1 p. 33.

¹⁴² This is shown by the first fragment (F 8) quoted by Nonius (p. 89.25 L.) from the *Omen* of Afranius as evidence for the meaning of the word: *tertium (totum Buecheler apud Ribbeck) diem praeclavium unum texere* [to weave (only) one *praeclavium* in three days]. Here a woman is probably rebuked for her low productivity.

¹⁴³ Cf. Ulpian. Digest. 34.2.19.5: *clavi aurei et purpurae pars sunt vestimentorum, etsi non sunt clavi vestimentis consuti* [Golden *clavi* and purple ornaments are part of the clothing, even if the *clavi* are not actually sewn to the clothing].

¹⁴⁴ Cf. D 4 p. 631.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. C 2 p. 579.

man and that significant corruption took place during textual transmission. In the form handed down to us by the manuscripts, the text reads as follows:¹⁴⁶

<...> *equidem prandere stantem nobiscum incinctam togam*

(for a translation, see below)

As to its text, F 15 presents two obvious problems.¹⁴⁷ The metre is a trochaic septenarius; a long syllable is thus required at the beginning. Yet the first syllable of the word *equidem* is short. To make up for the missing quantity, Lindsay in his edition of Nonius emends it to *et quidem*. This is also found in two isolated manuscripts (E and P), where it appears to be an attempt to restore a complete septenarius. The same may hold true for the mistaken *equidem*. Perhaps this really was Nonius' version, but it is not satisfying as regards Afranius. Let us now first look at *quidem*. The particle serves to emphasize the preceding word; the expression *et quidem* (and what is more) has no point in this position. Ribbeck therefore rightly marks a lacuna in his editions of Afranius. As his critical apparatus indicates, there is no easy solution for the problem. In any case, the words offered by F 15 could form part of an AcI with the accusative subject missing. There are then two ways of tackling the question: (1) adding the subject at the beginning of the verse. Because of metre and grammar, it must then be a pronoun like *te*, *me*, *eam*, *se*. Lucian Müller (1888) in his edition of Nonius added *se* (*me* is excluded in any case because of the following *nobiscum*, 'I with ourselves' being nonsense), but the result looks rather complicated. In this case, character A reports to C that a female B has invited herself to have lunch (*prandium*) with them (she says that she has lunch with us). However, this is an all too rude self-invitation if spoken by a female. We would also expect a future form of *prandere*. Adding *te* is much easier. In this case, A would either invite B directly: "It would be nice if you (*te*) have lunch with us (*nobiscum*)."

¹⁴⁶ Nonius p. 867.35 L. Lindsay puts *toga*, a conjecture of Bothe, into the text and corrects unmetrical *equidem* to *et quidem*, as do some of the manuscripts. This shows the difficulties editors of Nonius have to face. Presumably, Nonius is responsible for the metrical and grammatical errors. From Ribbeck onwards, F 15 is thought to refer to the same context as F 14 (Nonius p. 103.29 L.): *dimittit adsestricem, me ad sese vocat* [She dismisses her *assestrix* (the woman that sat at her side) and calls me to her]. However, the situation of F 14 seems to be different. Everything hinges on the correct interpretation of the word *assestrix* that is only attested here. Scholars since Bothe understand this in the sense of 'female counsellor, adviser', cf. Bothe (1824) on F 3: "*consiliatricem intelligam potius quam obstetricem cum quibusdam lexicographis*"; OLD s.v. 'fem. of assessor'. In F 6, however, there is talk of a pregnancy. The verb *assidere* is often used for persons who are sitting at the bed of some ill person, see OLD s.v. 1 c. The word *assestrix* may thus denote a nurse, cf. Neukirch (1833), in the literal sense of 'a woman that sits beside an ill person's bed.' It is then much easier to reconstruct the scene in this way: A female tells a male person how she was admitted to the bedroom of a pregnant woman. She sends her nurse away so that they can both talk undisturbed. This would fit in well with the plot of the comedy. Perhaps we are listening to the sister reporting to her brother. In any case, F 14 and F 15 do not form part of the same context.

¹⁴⁷ Against Daviault (1981).

Another option is that B tells C about this: “They said: it is nice, if you (*te*) etc.” Only the letter T would then have to be added (<*t*>*e quidem*). However, it is not necessary that the subject of the AcI stood in the transmitted verse. It could have been mentioned in the preceding line.

There is, however, an alternative solution: (2) supplementing *hic* at the beginning. First, there is no indication where the unusual *prandium* in full formal dress with cloak is going to take place. The local adverb *hic* (here, on stage, in front of the house) could well provide this. The particle *quidem* would then appropriately stress the place: “We may have lunch just here (*hic quidem*).” This is very much in tune with the rest of the sentence where the other particulars of the meeting are emphasized.

The second obvious difficulty is the form *togam*. The accusative cannot be correct. Numerous parallels show that the adjective *incinctus* (dressed in) always takes the *ablativus instrumentalis*.¹⁴⁸ For this reason, the accusative *togam* should be changed to the ablative *toga* as in Bothe (1824).¹⁴⁹

But are all riddles of the text really solved with this? We still have to ask what the content and the possible context of the fragment are. The *prandium* (lunch) referred to is not a normal one.¹⁵⁰ Several unusual details are mentioned. The guests are supposed to take part in it while standing (*stantem*), and not, as usual, lying down at a table. The *toga* does not have to be taken off or changed for a more comfortable garment as usual. Presumably, the meal is to take place in front of the house—in view of spectators—, as may be stressed by *hic*. But this is not all. If the transmitted feminine form *incinctam* is correct, the invitation must be addressed to a woman. This woman cannot be an ordinary Roman woman, as Nonius claims, but must be a prostitute (B 6). She can be specified further as not an elegant hetaera but a prostitute of the lowest social order; for only such women wore the *toga* in historical times, which was considered a disgraceful garment for a woman.¹⁵¹ But is this a possible scenario?¹⁵² The answer must be: not at all. It is unthinkable that a male invited a prostitute to have ‘lunch’ with him on an

148 ThLL VII s.v. *incingo* col. 911.58–912.12; Quint. 11.3.146; Val. Max. 3.1.1: *incincta praetexta*; Petron. 135: *incincta pallio*; Ovid. fasti 5.657: *incinctus tunica*. Especially in the case of garments like the *toga* that are wrapped around the body, the word *incingere* (to wrap round) fits well.

149 Against Daviault (1981) 21–22: “*Incinctus* + acc. de la chose dont on est revêtu, seul exemple [!]: syntaxe archaïque sur le modèle de *succinctus* ... et *indutus* + acc.” Apart from the fact that the accusative is without parallels, the correction of *togam* to *toga* also eliminates the double ending *-am* that looks very clumsy if both words do not form one expression. On the other hand, the origin of the error is easily explained by a misunderstanding of the preceding *incinctam* as an attribute to *togam*.

150 On the meaning of the word and the type of meal, see ThLL X s.v. *prandere* col. 1122.24–1124.64; s.v. *prandium* col. 1125.2–1127.42; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 264–267; RE 22.2 (1954) s.v. *prandium*, col. 1687–1689 (A. Hug).

151 Against Daviault (1981) 188, who thinks of an elegant hetaera (“courtisane”). However, in Rome, this type of women did not wear the *toga*, but, as Cynthia and Delia, elegant clothes.

152 Cf. the fantasy of Daviault (1981) 188: “Le propos se rapporte à une courtisane, reconnaissable à sa toge ... Son comportement est insolite, puisqu'elle ne quitte pas sa tenue de ville pour le vêtement de

open stage. An invitation like this is inappropriate even in the mouth of a *lena* (female brothel-keeper), considering that the *toga* of the prostitutes was regarded as socially degrading. A banquet (*convivium*) of elegant hetaerae, as is mentioned in the *Cistellaria* of Plautus,¹⁵³ but not shown on stage, is therefore also to be excluded.

For cultural and dramaturgical reasons, it is very doubtful that the transmitted form *incinctam* is correct. We may therefore advance the hypothesis that Afranius wrote the masculine form *incinctum* which—influenced by the feminine noun *togam* next to it—corrupted to *incinctam*. Taken with the changes proposed above, the text would have been as follows:

<hic> *quidem prandere stantem nobiscum incinctum toga*
to eat with us here standing dressed (as you are) in *toga*.

The person invited to the *prandium* is therefore a man. Invitations to men for a meal are well attested in Roman comedy.¹⁵⁴ They can be issued by other males as well as by prostitutes (*meretrices*). In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, for example, one of the twins tells his brother how the *meretrix* Erotium had invited him to a *prandium* at the beginning of the play (351ff) because she mistook him for his brother:

Plaut. Men. 1140–1142
meretrix huc ad prandium
me abduxit, me sibi dedisse aiebat. prandi perbene,
potavi atque accubui scortum.

The prostitute led me hither to the *prandium*. She said I was all hers. I had a great meal and drink and slept with the whore.

If a female spoke in Afranius, the words may belong to a first flirtation. One *meretrix*, out of a group of prostitutes (*nobiscum*) standing before the house, wanted to lure a suitor with the prospect of an informal *prandium*. We can definitely say that he is a Roman citizen, wearing the *toga* that clearly marks his social status in relation to slaves or a freedman. It is no longer possible to determine which of the *dramatis personae* is invited. One thing is obvious: The deliberately staged and unusually dressed lunch

table ... et ne s'allonge pas sur le triclinium pour manger: la remarque cherche sans doute [!] à illustrer la goinfreterie du personnage, qui se jette sur la nourriture sans prendre la peine de s'installer à table."

153 Plaut. Cist. 10–11: *ita in prandio nos lepide ac nitide || accepisti apud te, ut semper meminerimus*. [The reception for lunch you gave us was so excellent and elegant that we will always remember it].

154 Plaut. Bacch. 79–82: PIST(OCLERUS): *Quid si apud te eveniat desubito prandium aut potatio || forte aut cena, ut solet in istis fieri conciliabulis, || ubi ego tum accumbam? BACCH(IS). Apud me, mi anime, ut lepidus cum lepida accubet. || locus hic apud nos, quamvis subito venias, semper liber est [(P) What if by chance a breakfast or a drink or a dinner should suddenly take place at your home, as is customary in these meeting places, where will I lie down then? (B) On my side, my darling, so that beautiful man lies down with a beautiful woman. This place is always free with me, even if you come unexpectedly].*

could have been a ploy towards devious ends. One possible target may have been a mean old man (*senex*), as it is in Plautus' *Miles gloriosus*.

Perhaps *Fratriae* F 16 placed next by Ribbeck belongs to the same scene.¹⁵⁵ There we also hear of an invitation, but no longer to a *prandium* (lunch), but to a *cena* (dinner). Different meals are also mentioned together in other comedies.¹⁵⁶ Again, the text suffers from corruption, but may be restored as follows:¹⁵⁷

interim merendam accuro; ad cenam cum veni<as>, iuvat.

Meanwhile I take care of the *merenda*; if you should come to the *cena*, I am pleased.

The *merenda* is an afternoon snack considered a meal in itself that could also be part of a light *cena*.¹⁵⁸ If F 15 and F 16 formed a unit, the entire situation was perhaps like this: Character A declines B's invitation to an informal *prandium* because he has other things to do first. Nevertheless, he accepts the offer. Character B then promises to take care of the food and says he would be glad to see A later on in the evening. Nothing spectacular, just everyday life, as it is put on stage by Roman comedies.

7.8 T. Quinctius Atta

The last playwright of the Togata discussed here is Quinctius Atta, whose life is to be dated roughly to the times of Sulla, when the Togata—as the Palliata had done long

¹⁵⁵ Gratwick (n. 76) 733 against Daviault (1981) 185.

¹⁵⁶ Plaut. *Miles* 712: *me ad se ad prandium, ad cenam vocant* [they call me to lunch with them, to have dinner with them]; Vidul. 51–53: *prandium ... merendam ... cenam* [lunch ... afternoon meal ... dinner].

¹⁵⁷ Nonius p. 41.34 L.: *interim merendam occurro ad cenam. cum veni, iuvat*. As to the text printed by Lindsay, there are two difficult points. The translation of Daviault (1981) 185 “entre temps je tombe sur un casse-croûte après mon arrivée, bravo!” is not convincing. In the present form, there is missing at least a preposition with *occurro*. Ribbeck's emendation *accuro* (cf. his *Corollarium* p. LXX) is the best so far, even though Ribbeck banished it from the text in his 3rd edition. It is supported by a parallel in the *Menaechmi* of Plautus (210: *iube igitur tribus nobis apud te prandium accurarier* [Let breakfast be prepared for the three of us at your place!]). Apart from that, the transmitted *veni* must be corrected. That it is an imperative is ruled out by metrical reasons (law of Luchs), and that it is a perfect form (so Ribbeck) by the content. The *Menaechmi* show how we have to imagine the situation: One of the brothers says goodbye to the *meretrix* Erotium, who tells him that he can expect a meal at any time (215): *Quando vis veni, parata res erit* [come when you want; things will be ready]. In the *Bacchides* of Plautus, the hetaera Bacchis says goodbye to her lover (82): *locus hic apud nos, quamvis subito venias, semper liber est* [this place at my side is always free for you, even if you come unexpectedly]. As regards metrics and content, the second person singular *venias* should be restored in Afranius.

¹⁵⁸ ThLL VIII col. 801.69–802.5. In the ‘living’ language, the word is attested only in Plaut. Vidul. 50–53 and Ennius (Sota) F 5 Courtney (= *Varia* v. 26 Vahlen³); see RE 15.1 (1931) s.v. *merenda*, col. 1017–1018 (H. Schroff).

before—came to an end.¹⁵⁹ In a brief notice, Jerome gives us information about the full name, date of death (77 BCE), and burial place of this playwright, who is otherwise the least known of the three authors of Togatae.¹⁶⁰ As to statistics, we know only twelve play titles and only have access to them through seventeen fragments.

7.8.1 *Aquae caldae* F 1 R. (= F 1 Daviault)

His first play discussed here is best preserved of the twelve plays. As the name *Aquae caldae* (Hot Springs) suggests, the play must have been about a seaside resort, such as Baiae and its amusements. A similar backdrop, albeit from a different perspective, is found in Seneca and the Augustan poets. A mime of Laberius (see below) carried the same title. F 1 refers to the various activities of prostitutes in this spot. Again, the fragment is quoted by Nonius and therefore needs some restoration work:¹⁶¹

cum †meretricae (L) nostro ornatu per vias †lupantur

(for a translation, see below)

The manuscripts offer the variants *meretricae* L¹ *meretrice e* B^A and *meretrice* C^AD^A. Among the various suggestions, the emendation *meretriculae* (harlots) proposed by Onions (1895) seems the most likely. Onions rightly starts his reasoning with the version of the codex L (*meretricae*). This manuscript usually represents the archetype (and its mistakes) quite faithfully. In the other manuscripts, medieval scribes seem to have already interfered with actual or purported corruptions, offering mistaken solutions and thereby masking the original defect. F 1 provides a good example of this. The letters UL have obviously been omitted, as often happens in the manuscript tradition of Nonius. The error was caused by an abbreviation of this syllable that was misunderstood or disappeared afterwards. The diminutive *meretriculae* (harlots) fits perfectly with the depreciating tone of the rest of the fragment. In contrast, Buecheler's (1873) suggestion to emend the adverb *meretricie* (in the manner of a prostitute), based on the readings C^AD^A and accepted by Ribbeck and by Lindsay in their respective editions, seems much less attractive when taking paleography and content into account.

In addition, the word order offered by the manuscripts creates a metrical difficulty. Lindsay and Daviault (1981), who follows Lindsay, retain the transmitted order and split the quotation into two half verses. However, the number of syllables we have

¹⁵⁹ Bardon I (n. 12) 165–166; Stärk (n. 75) 262.

¹⁶⁰ Hier. chron. p. 152.7–9 Helm: *Titus Quinctius Atta scriptor togatarum Romae moritur sepultusque via Praenestina ad miliarium* II [Titus Quinctius Atta, writer of Togatae, died in Rome and is buried on the Via Praenestina near the second milestone].

¹⁶¹ Nonius p. 193.12–13 L.: *lupari, ut scortari vel prostitui. Atta Aquis Caldis: F 1 [lupari as scortari or prostitui (to prostitute oneself). Atta in the *Aquae Caldae*: F 1].*

corresponds exactly to the number needed for a trochaic septenarius. It is thus attractive to transpose *lupantur* following Buecheler und Onions, because single words are often misplaced in Nonius. This restores the following perfect verse:

cum meretricae lupantur nostro ornatu per vias
with harlots fornicating in our garb in the streets

The situation described is simple enough.¹⁶² An indignant Roman matron vents her anger, complaining that prostitutes are plying their trade on the streets of *Aquae Caldae* in the garb of honourable women (like herself). Her annoyance expresses itself in the diminutive *meretriculae* (harlots) and in the exaggeration *per vias lupantur*. In a typical Roman manner, the social status of the matron is marked by clothing (*ornatus*). The garment in question that has been usurped by the prostitutes is the *vestis longa* or *stola* (B 4).¹⁶³ The opposition between the clothing of the *matrona* and that of the *meretrix* is a literary commonplace. We also find it, for example, in Afranius (see above).

The literary *fabula Atellana*

The *literary* Atellan farce (*fabula Atellana*) is an artificial literary product that was created—together with the Mime (*mimus*)—by the Roman poets after hundred fifty years of experimenting with comic forms.¹⁶⁴ It traces its origins back to an improvised Oscan farce with at least four fixed characters (Maccus, Bucco, Pappus, Dossennus), which is only known to us through its literary successor and the notions ancient scholars had about it. Pomponius and Novius, the two best known authors of this type of comedy, lived in the first half of the first century BCE.¹⁶⁵

162 Against Daviault (1981) 255: “Interprétation incertaine. Une matrone désavouerait d’autres matrones, qui ... vivent comme des courtisanes au vu de tout le monde et déshonorent le costume de la femme honnête ... Mais le blâme pourrait au contraire vises les courtisanes qui osent pratiquer leur métier vêtues comme les femmes honnêtes avec le chignon e la stola” and McGinn (1998) 158–159: “The speaker might be a matron indignant at the behavior of prostitutes usurping matronly garb or [!] a prostitute indignant at matrons adopting her mode of dress.”

163 Cf. also B 4 p. 330.

164 RE 2.2 (1896) s.v. Atellanae fabulae, col. 1914–1921 (F. Marx); F. Leo, *Römische Poesie in der sullanischen Zeit*, *Hermes* 49 (1914), 161–195 (= *Kl. Schriften I* (1960) 249–282); recently Stärk (n. 75) 264–269 (with bibliography).

165 The edition by Frassinetti (1967) offers no progress compared to Ribbeck. It has shortcomings as to the constitution of the text, see the very critical reviews by H. D. Jocelyn, *Gnomon* 41 (1969), 41–48 and A. S. Gratwick, *CR* 20 (1970), 34–36.

7.9 Novius

Looking for descriptions of female clothing, we have to consider only Novius because there is no fragment of Pomponius concerning dress. As to Novius' person, we know nothing more about him than his Oscan name. A total of about ninety fragments and forty-four titles of his comedies have been preserved. They have been handed down to us mostly by Nonius. We know very little about the content of all his plays. Not a single plot can be reconstructed, even approximately. Our ignorance stems from the fact that we usually have no more than two or three verses of each comedy.

The play of which most fragments (six, including two concerning female dress) survive is referred to throughout by Nonius as <in> *Pedio*.¹⁶⁶ Since Bothe (1824), editors usually extract from this the title *Paedium* (παίδιον). The same name is attested for a Palliata of Turpilius. It is also known from Greek comedies.¹⁶⁷ In the *fabula Atellana*, titles consisting of Greek loanwords are very rare. Pomponius wrote *Adelphi* (ἄδελφοί) and *Synephebi* (συνέφηβοι). Apart from Novius' Greek *Paedium*, we only find his *Hetaera* (ἑταίρα), which is once mentioned by Nonius. Like *Paedium*, it is the name of a Palliata of Turpilius.¹⁶⁸ According to Leo (1914), the farces *Adelphi* and *Synephebi* of Pomponius may have been a parody of famous comedies or well-known comic themes (Caecilius, Terence) performed by the comic Atellan characters of Maccus and Pappus.¹⁶⁹ The *Paedium* of Novius may have been a similar literary product. Here a farcical masked performance may have been performed on the basis of a well-known comic play. For his theory, Leo draws on the analogy of known travesties of 'serious' myths and well-known tragedies. The premise of all this reasoning is that Novius, the *Atellanarum probatissimus scriptor* (the best author of Atellan farces),¹⁷⁰ exclusively wrote *Atellanae fabulae*. However, being considered the best at one genre does not guarantee that he never at least dabbled in others. The few fragments of the *Paedium* prove little that it was a *fabula Atellana*. One indication that the *Paedium* could have been part of the genre Novius was famous for is that in F 1 there is talk of a huge *rostrum* (snout, beak), a word colloquially also applied to human noses.¹⁷¹ This could refer to the comic mask

166 Nonius pp. 494.5, 803.17, 865.21, 867.24, 880.29: *Novius Pedio*. 729.12: *Nonbis in Pedio* (with the common confusion of B and V); For orthographical details, see the edition of Müller. Lindsay usually does not note them, cf. his introduction pp. XXXVI–XXXVIII; and the criticism of Jocelyn (1969) 42. In p. 866.11 L., all manuscripts have *Nevius* (*Novius* edd.) *in Pedio*. In the edition of Stephanus (1564), all fragments were therefore attributed to Naevius (*Pedius*). They are correctly assigned to Novius only since Bothe (1824).

167 Apollodoros (of Karystos or Gela) F 9–10 K.-A.; Menander F 273–279 K.-A.; Poseidippos F 22 K.-A.; Platon comicus (παιδάριον) T 1, F 98 K.-A.

168 Nonius p. 813.33 L.

169 Leo (n. 164) 147 (= I 264–265).

170 Macrobian Sat. 1.10.3.

171 Nonius p. 729.13–14 L.: *nec unquam || vidit rostrum <in> tragoedia tantum Titi <theatrum>* (Buecheler apud Ribb.) [Never has a Roman theatre seen such a big beak (= nose) in a tragedy].

worn by one of the actors of this sort of comedy. Apart from this, we have no further linguistic hint as regards the comic form of the *Paedium*. There are no other parodic exaggerations to be found in our fragments. Its style reads very much like a Togata, suggesting that maybe the farcical effect of a *fabula Atellana* was mainly caused by the funny costume of the actors.

This dearth of evidence makes it impossible to reconstruct the entire plot of the *Paedium*. We can identify some characters that are typical for comedy: a beautifully dressed young woman (*puella*) that is perhaps the *paedium* of the title herself, a young man (*adulescens*) in love with her, and a father (*senex*) worrying about it. F 3 and F 4 refer to clothing. They clearly belong to the same description, referring to the garments of the young woman. Editors have arranged the fragments in different ways (F 4, F 3 or F 3, F 4). The following section argues that the continuous description of clothing ends in F 3 in the middle of the verse. For this reason, it is better to place F 3 *after* what is usually considered F 4, as was already suggested by Bothe (1824). My reconstructed and rearranged form reads as follows:

Novius, *Paedium* F 4 + 3 (Nonius)

(A) <...> *molliculam crocotam chiridotam reticulum,*
supparum purum Melitensem. (B) *interii, escam meram!*

(A) <She was dressed in> a soft *crocota* with long sleeves, a hairnet, a **supparus*, pure Maltese stuff. (B) I am doomed, a true bait!

In this form, the text offers two easy statements. However, it will be a long way to achieve this result from the text found in the manuscripts. The transmission suffers from heavy corruptions that have not yet all been healed. A detailed discussion of both lines is necessary.

7.9.1 *Paedium* F 4 R. (= F 4 Frassinetti)

F 4 is a trochaic septenarius as to its metre. It is quoted three times by Nonius in varying forms under different lemmas:¹⁷²

- (A) *ricam] mollicinam*¹⁷³ *crocotam ceridotam ricam ricinum*
(B) *mollicina] mollicinam crocotam, ceridotam ricinum*
(C) *crocotulam] mollicinam crocatam uridotam richam ricinum*

The text poses several difficulties as to its content and transmission. Only the meaning of the second and third words (*crocotam ceridotam*) is clear. There is talk of a red tunic

¹⁷² Nonius pp. 865.22, 867.25, 880.30 L.

¹⁷³ *mollicinam* LA^AB^A: *molucina* C^AD^A.

(*crocata*) with long sleeves (*ceridota*).¹⁷⁴ All other words, however, are more or less incomprehensible glosses and are interpreted differently by editors.

Let us first consider some seemingly insignificant detail: the spelling of the Nonian hapax *mollicina*. Different solutions have been proposed for this. Munk (1840) and Lucian Müller (1888) in their editions give the form *mollicinam* throughout; Lindsay gives *molucinam*, though it is only found in one manuscript as a variant; Bothe (1824) and Ribbeck (1852) give *mollicinam*; Ribbeck²⁺³ also uses *molucium* (his own conjecture); and finally, Frassinetti (1967) gives *molucinam*. Which orthography is correct? As to the spelling of Nonius (separate from the original by Novius his entry is based on), Müller's edition is correct. Nonius must have read *mollicinam* (with double L), as is shown by his explanation *a mollitie dicta* (called thus after its softness). The spelling *mollicinam* is also found in codex L, which usually comes closest to the archetype. In contrast, Lindsay's text of Nonius based on the less well attested variant *molucinam* is to be rejected.

But is *mollicina* the form Novius (and not the later Nonius) wrote in his comedy? This is very unlikely *prima facie* because the gloss *mollicina* first occurs in the dictionary of Nonius. We should thus try to emend it as is done by modern editors of the playwright Novius (Ribbeck and Frassinetti). In contrast to them, however, it is advisable to stick to the meaningful phoneme *moll-* (soft), with a double L, and to consider the word ending. The solution is simple and was already proposed by Bothe (1824) in the critical apparatus of his edition: *nihili verbum videtur mollicina ... recte se haberet mollicula crocata* (the word *mollicina* is void of sense; *mollicula crocata* would be right). Obviously, the error in Nonius originated from an abbreviation for the letters UL being resolved incorrectly to an IN. This causes difficulties in many other places in Nonius, i.e. a second time in this fragment (see below). The diminutive adjective *molliculus*, from *mollis* (soft), is attested by Plautus, albeit not in connection with a garment.¹⁷⁵ In contrast, *mollis* itself is used with clothing in several passages.¹⁷⁶ The feminine form *mollicula* goes with the following *crocata ceridota* (red tunic with long sleeves). It has nothing to do with the rare adjective *molochinus* (of linen) discussed above¹⁷⁷ or a pseudo-garment called **molucium* (OLD: "(perh.) a women's ornament") and should be removed from modern Latin dictionaries as supposed evidence for this garment.¹⁷⁸ The woman described is just wearing a *mollicula crocata ceridota*, a soft red tunic with long sleeves.

This is only a prelude to the changes to come. There are still more thorny problems waiting at the end of the verse. Given that the fragment is quoted three times by Nonius in various versions, we should have first asked —as in the case of Naevius¹⁷⁹—which

174 Cf. A 4 p. 78 and B 1 pp. 257–261.

175 Plaut. Cas. 492, Poen. 367; ThLL VIII s.v. *molliculus* col. 1082.33–43.

176 ThLL VIII s.v. *mollis* col. 1372.31–47 (*de vestimentis*).

177 Cf. p. 139.

178 Against Frassinetti (1967) 137: "una veste color malva, una color zafferano."

179 Cf. A 3 p. 56.

of them is Nonius' starting point. Editors usually remove the differences, taking A/C, which contain the gloss **ricam*, as a starting point. They also prefer the dubious **ricinum* (without I after the N)¹⁸⁰ offered by A/B (only attested here, in Nonius) to **ricinium* (with the I). This solution is attractive, since it restores a metrically correct septenarius.¹⁸¹ However, as to method, it is better not to mingle different versions in Nonius. Moreover, it is unclear what the obscure words **rica* and **ricinium* should signify in this context. A meaningful solution has not been put forward so far. Chapters A 4 and D 4 propose a possible solution.¹⁸² In D 4, Nonius' entire lemma **rica* and the respective quotation of Novius will be subjected to more detailed textual criticism since the arguments can be understood more easily in an overall panorama. The results may be summed up here as follows: Version B (without **ricam*) is to be regarded as the original version of Novius. In addition, the meaningless Nonian hapax **ricinum* should be emended to the meaningful *reticulum* (hairnet), the false resolution of UL to IN again playing a decisive part in the corruption process. When all of these errors are removed, the content of F 4 is quite simple. It refers to two garments commonly worn by young and beautiful women, at least in comedy: a coloured tunic (*crocata*) and a hairnet (*reticulum*). We can now turn to F 3 and see how it fits in with the beautiful clothing mentioned in F 4.

7.9.2 *Paedium* F 3 R. (= F 3 Frassinetti)

F 3 is quoted by Nonius as the second of four examples for the term **supparus*. In its transmitted form, the metre is a trochaic septenarius:¹⁸³

supparum purum belliensem interim escam meram.

The first two words are quite clear. The gloss **supparus*, though a difficult term, denotes an over-tunic worn by a young woman.¹⁸⁴ The adjective *purus* (pure) must refer to it or to the adjective **belliensem* next to it. The problems start here since the hapax **belliensis* is altogether a non-word. It is completely void of meaning. The following adverb *interim* (meanwhile) is also hard to explain in the context. As to metre, the hiatus before and after *interim* have to be justified as well.

180 Bothe and Ribbeck¹ put the **ricinium* in the text. This gloss, thought to denote a thick and rough primeval cloak, is already out of the question for reasons of content.

181 In addition, Lucian Müller puts the word **ricam* before the word *cheridotam*.

182 Cf. A 4 p. 73; D 4 pp. 628–630.

183 Nonius p. 866.11–13 L. The entire entry is dealt with in D 5 pp. 653–655.

184 Cf. D 5 p. 656.

The solution to the first difficulty is straightforward. Ribbeck (²1873) corrects the corrupted **belliensem* to *Melitensem*, an adjective derived from the island *Melite* (Malta).¹⁸⁵ This solution makes perfect sense as regards what Novius wrote (Nonius may well have had a corrupted version of Novius' text). As Diodorus and Cicero show, expensive clothing was produced on Malta, a Phoenician colony (B 9).¹⁸⁶ The Roman magistrate Verres, for example, had garments made for his wife at Malta because he appreciated the quality of *Melitensia* (Maltese clothing) very much.¹⁸⁷ In Lucretius, Maltese clothing is mentioned among articles of luxury.¹⁸⁸ Isidor of Seville talks about a nonsensical *tunica Velenensis* (= *Melitensis*) that must refer to Maltese garments.¹⁸⁹

The next challenge is the word *interim*, which is more difficult to emend. To start with, Munk (1840) restores the verse to *purum Veliense linteum omnem escam meram*. Regarding the transmission, Munk's rewriting of the verse looks rather precarious. Nevertheless, his conjecture *linteum* (piece of linen cloth) appears to have some merit since it takes up Nonius' lemma: *linteum femorale* (a linen loin cloth). However, as a rule, Nonius' own words do not guarantee the wording of the authors quoted by him. Moreover, understanding the noun *linteum* while maintaining the gloss **belliensem* requires putting the opaque adjective into the neuter. The changes—as can be seen in Munk—thus begin to multiply. Ribbeck's conjecture *supparum purum Melitensem linteum* (a real Maltese **supparus* made of linen) takes *linteum* to be a form of the adjective *linteus*. This might seem more attractive at a first glance, but there is also an obstacle to it. The expression *supparum purum Melitensem* (a **supparus*, pure Maltese stuff) does not require any further addition, but is already complete in itself. The mentioning of Malta already implies that the garment was made of fine linen, since that was the type of clothing for which Malta was famous. Any further explicit reference to the material is unnecessary. The origin usually serves to fully characterize the garment in question. In Varro, for example, we read of a *mitra Melitensis* (a bonnet from Malta)

185 In the first edition, Ribbeck still offers the conjecture *Veliensem*, which goes back to Lipsius (1577) in his *Epistolicae Quaestiones* 4.20 [4.19]. Modifying Lipsius' suggestion, E. Munk, *De fabulis Atellanis*, Leipzig 1840 and Frassinetti (1967) print *Veliense*. However, Lipsius' interpretation of the passage is not tenable.

186 On the *vestis Melitensis*, see Marquardt/Mau (1886) 490; RE 15.1 (1931) s.v. Melita (11), col. 544 (J. Weiss); B 9 pp. 384–385.

187 Cic. Verr. 2.4.103: *insula est Melite ... in qua est eodem nomine oppidum ... quod isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem vestem conficiendam fuit* [There is an island called Malta ... on it there is a city with the same name ... Three years, it served as textile factory for this guy (= Verres) to produce female clothing]; 2.2.176, 183; cf. also A 10 p. 201.

188 Cf. A 11 p. 213.

189 Isid. Etym. 19.22.21: *Velenensis tunica est quae affertur ex insulis* [The *velenensis* is a tunic brought from the islands]. Isidor obviously thought the name to refer to the *velum* (sail) and thus concluded that it was imported by ship (therefore *ex insulis*). Cf., however, Pausch (2003) 138, 142 on the non-existent *tunica velenensis*.

without any addition.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, the famous *Coae vestes* (Coan clothes) are usually mentioned without any further specification. For this reason, the reference to linen either by the noun *lintheum* or the adjective *lintheus* is superfluous. We should refrain from creating it by conjecture and should try to find a simpler solution instead.

The reason why Munk and Ribbeck came to propose something else for the word *interim* in the first place may serve as a starting point for further discussion: Both obviously wanted to remove the hiatus caused by *interim*. A hiatus may indeed indicate that a transmission is troubled, but it has to be noted that there are certain places where it is allowed in comic verse without any restriction.¹⁹¹ Early editions of dramatists are often impaired by postulating too severe metrical rules in this respect. Hiatus is possible, especially when there is some cause for this metrical licence, and such reason could exist here: a change of speaker.¹⁹² The first letters of the word *interim* therefore do not need to be altered. However, the meaning of *interim* and the hiatus after it still cause difficulties. If we keep close to the transmitted letters, the emendation to *interii* removes both problems. The exclamation *perii* or *interii* (I am doomed, I am lost) is often found in comic language.¹⁹³ It is used as an interjection, only loosely connected with the rest of the sentence. It fits in here very well. We have to imagine the following situation: Character A describes a beautiful young woman; B responds with the expression of astonishment, even fear: *interii*.

Why this fear? To understand it, let us first see what is next. The noun *esca* means “bait,” especially when it is used metaphorically in connection with an attractive *meretrix*.¹⁹⁴ It evokes the image of fishing or bird hunting. In the *Epidicus* of Plautus (216), prostitutes are said to have hunting nets under their clothes (*sub vestimentis secum habebant retia*). In the mouth of a father (*senex*) who worries about the amorous adventures of his son (*adulescens*) an exclamation like *interii* makes good sense. The beautiful girl is called an *esca mera* (a pure bait) because she will decoy the *adulescens* or has already done it, exactly as it happens in the *Epidicus*. There, the *senex* Periphanes, when informed how his son fell into the snares of a hetaera, first cries *perii hercle* (I am dead, by Hercules) (246), then *certo ego occidi* (I am certainly dead) (253). The situation described in the *Hetaera* of Turpilius is very similar to that.¹⁹⁵

190 Varro Men. F 433 Astbury; cf. A 9 p. 193; D 4 pp. 637–638.

191 On hiatus in the *fabula Atellana*, see Leo (n. 164) 171 n. 1. A comprehensive metrical study on the subject is still missing.

192 A change of speaker after *interim* is already adopted by Müller and Lindsay in their editions of Nonius.

193 On *interii*, see Plaut. Amph. 399, 1076, As. 243, Aul. 713, Bacch. 836, 853, Cist. 576, Epid. 56, 325, Merc. 751, Miles 206, Most. 1031, Pseud. 910.

194 Plaut. As. 219–221: *auceps sum ego, || esca est meretrix, lectus inlex est, amatores aves* [I am a bird catcher; the *meretrix* is a bait; the bed is a decoy; the lovers are the birds] with F. Hurka, *Die Asinaria* des Plautus, Munich 2010, 123–124; somewhat differently, Miles 581: *numquam hercle ex ista nassa ego hodie escam petam* [By Hercules, I will never get food out of this fish trap today].

195 See above pp. 144–146.

But what about the hiatus between *interii* and *escam meram*? Ribbeck, reading *linteum*, puts in the interjection *em* (look at this) before *escam meram* to avoid the hiatus. He may have also thought that the M of *interim* preserves traces of *em*. It is, however, not necessary to interfere here. The accusative *escam meram* is to be understood either as an accusative of exclamation or as taking up the accusative of the preceding words. As to grammar, the cry *interii* is disconnected from *escam meram* so that a hiatus at this place appears to be tolerable. A further interjection in addition to *interii* is superfluous since *interii* already has this function. Thus, it seems best to accept the hiatus.

In summary: The lady described is elegantly dressed. She wears a red tunic with long sleeves (*crocota cheridota*) and a **supparus*. She has a hairnet (*reticulum*) on her head. Her beauty causes concern in the male observer, who probably fears for his son. In the scene, the Greek tradition and the Roman variation of the theme can be studied. As to literary motifs, the parallels to the *Epidicus* of Plautus and the *Hetaera* of Turpilius are clearly visible. In the *Palliata*, the beautiful clothing of the women contributes in no small part to the fact that an *adulescens* falls in love with them (and subsequently pays for their services). In Plautus, we hear about elegant tunics, as well as in Turpilius, who also mentions the hairnet as a second article of dress (see above). Already in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes (138–139), the *προκωπτόν* and the *κεκρύφαλος* (hairnet) are basic components of the costume of a young woman, together with a fine cloak (*χλανίς*).

Novius therefore shows us three elements of costume. The *crocota* and the hairnet remain as in Aristophanes, but the cloak is replaced by a **supparus*. It is difficult to exactly determine what this was, but it seems to be a tunic that could be worn as an upper garment. With the exception of the catalogue in the *Epidicus*,¹⁹⁶ the term **supparus* is only found in the *Togata* and might thus denote a typical Italian costume element. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Italic everyday life also comes into the comedy scene inspired by Greek models through the adjective *Melitensis*. As far as I can see, the island of Malta is not mentioned in Greek comedy as a production site of fine clothing. In Greek comedy, it is mostly the fine wool from the city Miletus that makes clothing valuable.¹⁹⁷ We may therefore call the **supparus Melitensis* an Italic variation of an old Greek literary motif.

¹⁹⁶ See A 4 p. 79.

¹⁹⁷ On wool production in Miletos, see Blümner I (1912) 99–100. On the elegant and expensive Μιλησία χλανίς [Milesian cloak], see Plutarch. Alc. 23.3; de genio Socratis 14 p. 583 E.

The Mime

The Mime (*mimus*) is a Greek theatrical genre.¹⁹⁸ It was originally an improvised performance without masks. The literary (comic) Mime, however, leads us down in time to the end of the Roman Republic, the Mime—like the *fabula Atellana*—only then being adapted to Latin literature. The Mime replaced the short-lived literary Atellan farce and remained the only theatrical comic form in the Roman Empire. As its titles and literary motifs show, it came close to the preceding comic genres,¹⁹⁹ though it was more spectacular in expression and dress, nude female actors also appearing on stage. The playwrights of mimes best known to us are Decimus Laberius (see below) and Publilius Syrus (first century BCE). Here, we have to consider only Laberius because there is no reference to female dress in the fragments of Publilius Syrus.

7.10 Decimus Laberius

The poet Decimus Laberius (ca. 106–43 BCE) was a Roman knight (*equus*).²⁰⁰ He is famous for Julius Caesar forcing him to perform on stage in one of his own plays. Caesar then immediately restored him to the status of an *equus* that he had lost through his forced performance (acting was forbidden to higher social classes at Rome). Of his entire oeuvre, forty-two play titles and about hundred fragments have been preserved.

7.10.1 *Natalicius F 2 R.* (= F 40 Panayotakis)

Only one of Laberius' fragments mentions female articles of clothing. For once, it is not quoted by Nonius, but by the grammarian Aulus Gellius in his *Noctes Atticae*. In the respective essay, Gellius deals with the topic that Laberius created his own language in his mimes so that it is sometimes difficult to see whether his glosses are real Latin words at all. F 2, which refers to female dress, is very short and highly problematic. A new explanation will be offered here.²⁰¹ The section of the *Noctes Atticae* in which F 2 is quoted runs like this:

¹⁹⁸ C. J. Gysar, *Der römische Mimus*, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 12 (1854), 237–337; RE 15.2 (1932) s.v. Mimos, col. 1727–1764 (E. Wüst); Leo (n. 15) 372–374; DNP 8 (2000) s.v. Mimos, col. 205–207 with further literature; Panayotakis (n. 1) 1–32. Besides Ribbeck, the commented editions of Bonaria² (1965) (cf. Ch. Garton, *Rez. Bonaria*, *Gnomon* 39 (1967), 362–365) and of Panayotakis (2010) are to be consulted.

¹⁹⁹ Kroll (1924) 247.

²⁰⁰ Cf. RE 12.1 (1924) s.v. D. Laberius, col. 246–248 (W. Kroll); Bonaria (n. 198) 5–9; recently DNP 6 (1999) s.v. Laberius, 1030–1031; Panayotakis (n. 1) 33–90; H. Leppin, *Histrionen*, Bonn 1992, 26–27, 150–153, where the numerous inscriptions of mimes and pantomimes are collected.

²⁰¹ On the fragment in general, cf. Panayotakis (n. 1) 294–296.

Gellius NA 16.79

item in mimo, qui inscribitur Natal<icius>, “cippum” dicit et “obbam” et “camellam” et “pittacium” et “capitium”: “*induis*” inquit “*capitium, tunicae pittacium.*”

Likewise, in the mime entitled *Natalicius*, he (sc. Laberius) uses the words ‘*cippus*’ and ‘*obba*’ and ‘*camella*’, and ‘*pittacium*’ and ‘*capitium*’. He says: “You put on a **capitium*, into the tunic a *pittacium.*”

The form of the title is uncertain. The manuscripts have *Natal* (R.²⁴³; Bonaria² 1965), which editors have variously changed to *Natalis*,²⁰² *Natalicium* or *Natalicius* (sc. *mimus*).²⁰³ The form *Natal* is attested only once and, if correct, should be taken as a noun.²⁰⁴ In any case, as shown by the title, the play had something to do with a birthday and its celebration.

The *obba* (some kind of drinking vessel) and the *camella* (cup or bowl) both belong to a festive meal. In contrast, it is unclear why a *cippus*, a large stone used to demark a boundary or a tomb, should have been mentioned in this context. Perhaps Gellius’ text of Laberius already suffered from a mistake. Laberius could have actually been talking about *cyprum* (*ciprum*) or *cyprinum*. This is an aromatic oil made from the *κύπρος*, the henna bush (= *Lawsonia inermis*). Perfume is a suitable ingredient at a fine banquet.²⁰⁵

Contrary to Gellius’ view of Laberius’ linguistic creativity, Laberius’ glosses do not constitute new coinages, at least not with most terms in the fragment. The words *obba*, *camella*, and *pittacium* should not be considered artistic coinages.²⁰⁶ Parallels show that Laberius rather used terms from everyday Roman language (including Greek loanwords) rather than restricting himself to formal register. The same may be assumed for the dress term **capitium*. As the parallels with Varro suggest, **capitium* was probably a genuine Roman word that was perhaps equivalent in meaning to the word *fascia* (chest band).²⁰⁷

Let us now turn to the decisive part of Laberius F 2. It comprises just four words: *induis capitium tunicae pittacium*. As to content, the words somehow belong together.²⁰⁸

202 Bothe (1824); Ribbeck¹; Gysar (1854) 294; cf. Panayotakis (n. 1), who offers a convenient overview.
203 Hertz (1853) in his edition of Gellius; A. Fleckeisen, *Zur Kritik der altlateinischen Dichterfragmente bei Gellius*, Leipzig 1854, 38 (in response to Hertz in a critical epistle); Marshall (1968) in his edition of Gellius.

204 LHS I 92, 350.

205 On the word *cippus*, cf. ThLL III col. 1975.76–1078.69; on *cyprus*, cf. LSJ s.v. *κύπρος* and *κύπρινος*, OLD s.v. *cyprus*, and Plin. NH 35.195; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 785.

206 On *obba*, cf. ThLL IX 2 col. 36.32–48; on *camella*, cf. ThLL III col. 201.23–29. The words are not attested in archaic texts. However, later sources (Varro, Ovid, Petronius) suggest that they are genuine old words.

207 B 22 pp. 507–508; C 1 pp. 573–574.

208 The metre can no longer be identified with certainty. Bothe (1824) does not try to produce a verse; Ribbeck² suggests a catalectic cretic tetrameter; Hertz and Fleckeisen restore parts of two trochaic septenarii (*induis || capitium tunicae pittacium*).

Editors usually interpret them as a complete sentence, but this premise is not necessary. In fact, a better sense can be elicited from the text if we posit a missing predicate at the end. Let us therefore turn to basic grammar first. The conjugated verb *induis* (you put on) is the predicate, **capitium* (chest band) being the direct object. Then the problems start. In the traditional solution, *tunicae* is thought to be the genitive attribute to *pittacium*, the expression *tunicae pittacium* being understood as an apposition to **capitium*. This takes the phrase to mean ‘put on a *capitium*, a small stripe of a *tunicae*.’ However, this assumption raises some difficulties. In Greek, the word πικτάκιον commonly denotes writing tablets, notes, labels, and the like. In Latin, for example, the word *pittacium* is used similarly by Petronius as the label on a wine bottle and as lottery tickets.²⁰⁹ It is therefore not easy to see what the expression *tunicae pittacium* and especially the word *pittacium* should mean in this context. Is the latter really a piece of cloth as OLD and other Latin dictionaries assume on the basis of our fragment?²¹⁰ And why should a **capitium*, a chest band, be qualified in this complicated way? There may be a better solution, if we start from another premise.

First of all, **capitium* should be separated from *tunicae pittacium*. It alone is the object to *induis* (you put on). The present tense is used like a future, a feature of everyday language. Character A tells B what clothes to wear. We can imagine a female servant giving advice to her mistress, or, the other way around, a mistress telling her female servant what dress to use. In this case, the words *tunicae* and *pittacium* are left without grammatical reference. However, Gellius was only interested in difficult words and not in quoting complete sentences. A second predicate directing *tunicae* and *pittacium* could have been lost because Gellius abridged the quotation.

But what could be missing? The Greek loanword *pittacium* may give us a clue. It is equivalent to the Latin word *tabella*. It could thus denote a letter or some message written on a *tabella*. A piece of advice the teacher of love gives in Ovid’s *Ars amatoria* to his female pupils provides an idea (C 9) of what the scene in Laberius might have looked like. The teacher recommends to a *puella* that a female servant should smuggle out letters (*scriptas tabellas*) hidden under her chest band (*fascia*).²¹¹ This is a more clandestine version of the mishap of the letter slipping from the girl’s belt in Turpilius’ fragment discussed above. Similarly, in Laberius, a mistress perhaps gives advice to her servant on how to dress for the assigned task as a messenger. She should put on a chest band (*induis capitium*) and fix a letter in her tunic in this way (*tunicae pittacium*). If we add, for example, *inseris* at the end of the clause, we get the respective short sentence: *tunicae pittacium inseris* (you tuck the note into the tunic), *tunicae* being a grammatical object in the dative. In Laberius and Ovid, we might thus have a variation of the letter

²⁰⁹ LSJ s.v. and Petron. 34.6.

²¹⁰ Georges s.v., Walde/Hofmann s.v.

²¹¹ Ovid. ars 3.621–622: *conscia cum possit scriptas portare tabellas, || quas tegat in tepido fascia lata sinu* [although a female accomplice could bring letters, that a broad *fascia* might hide under her warm bosom]; cf. B 22 p. 508.

motif that we already see in Turpilius.²¹² Even though this is only an experiment, this seems to give better sense to the text than the traditional solutions, and all this without creating new meanings for known words.

7.11 Conclusion

Turning our eyes back to the entire evidence discussed in this chapter, we may sum up the results as follows: References to female dress in Latin comedy are but few, offering only a shadow of what female fashion in Roman antiquity may have looked like. We mostly hear of different *tunicae*, long ones and short ones (*tuniculae*). They are used as festive garments in conspicuous colours (*purpura*, *ostrina*, *crocota*) and as underwear (*interula*). One of them is provided with long sleeves. Besides this, the long garment of the Roman *matrona* (*vestis longa*) is mentioned twice. There are also several mentions of an article of clothing called **supparus* that seems to be an elegant garment of younger women. References to further apparel are very rare. We find hairnets (*reticulum*), headscarves (*mitra calvatica*), a cord/belt (*strophium*), and finally a kind of *fascia pectoralis* (wrap around the chest) called **capitium*. As to materials, we learn of linen and cotton. Wool, being the normal material, is left out. All in all, the evidence in early comedy is largely congruous with what we find in other (later) literary genres. Thus, it helps to back up our knowledge of what otherwise would be a very shrouded cultural period. However, the melancholy remains despite all efforts made in this chapter. What we know is still no more than a shadow of Roman girls and women and their vibrant and dynamic sartorial culture.

²¹² On such motif adoptions, see Wüst (n. 198) 1746.

8 Lucilius

This chapter comprises the three testimonies from the satires of Lucilius (ca. 180–103 BCE) in which a particular female garment actually is or could be mentioned. Since the satires of Lucilius have been published several times and commented on in detail, my explanations are limited to the most important facts and textual matters. In the case of the third fragment, there was reason to depart from the standard editions of Marx (1904), Krenkel (1970), and Christes/Garbugino (2015).¹

From the thirty books of satires, only two passages which deal with women's clothing have survived. In addition, there is a fragment which is usually thought to refer to female dress, but instead probably describes garments of Oriental men. If the evidence, again mostly provided by the golden fleeced Nonius, allows us to draw a conclusion about the entire source, Lucilius (like Horace) very rarely spoke of female clothing. Nonius quotes Lucilius quite intensively for other things. Presumably, he would not have missed adducing further dress terms from Lucilius if Lucilius had offered them.

F 504–505 M. (= 510–511 Chr./Garb.) – *palla*

The most important fragment from Lucilius is quoted in Nonius and concerns the *palla*.² It deals with a Roman matron who brings out (*promit*) the entire contents of her wardrobe to impress other men with it, all the while no longer dressing up for her husband. Some character is speaking with the husband and points out this troubling behaviour:³

*cum tecum est, quidvis satis est; visuri alieni
sint homines, spiram pallas redimicula promit.*

when she is with you, anything is good enough; but if other men could be seeing her, then she takes out her *spira*, her *pallae*, and her chains.

The fragment presents two lexicographical difficulties. (1) The meaning of the term *palla* is ambiguous since it can designate either a luxury cloak or a foot-long sleeveless robe ('*peplos*') (B 3). What does the word mean in Lucilius? In Naevius (A 3) and Plautus (A 6), it takes the meaning 'long robe' and there is some reason to think that it is used here in the same way. The receiving of guests takes place indoors, and an outdoor garment like a cloak would not fit into this scene. Moreover, we hear of various jewellery. Chains

¹ All editions also provide valuable comments.

² Nonius p. 862.3–4 L.

³ Cf. Marx (1904) ad loc. (with further parallels): "*agi apparet de mulierum placendi cupiditate qua marito numquam, alienis hominibus semper volunt pulchrae videri et honestae.*"

and necklaces go well with a long tunic as part of visible attire, but they do not fit with a cloak that would hide them. The meaning ‘*peplos*,’ paralleled in Plautus and Naevius, hence seems preferable in Lucilius, too.⁴ (2) The exact meaning of the word *spira* is obscure.⁵ It is a Greek loanword (σπεῖρα) denoting various twisted or braided things, such as the coils of a snake or a rope. It also refers to braided hair. Commentators on Lucilius hence differ as to their opinions. Marx thinks the *spira* to be an ornament for the hair,⁶ whereas Krenkel considers it a false braid. We will never know the meaning of the word for certain, but if the woman was a Roman matron, maybe the *spira* was a type of headgear like the *vitta* (B 16).

In any case, the necklaces (*redimicula*) and the long robes *pallae* characterize the woman as a wealthy wife. In its basic form, the literary topos goes back to comedy, where rich wives exploit their husbands financially and disrespect them all the more for it. It is used similarly by Tibullus, also with the contrast between husband and other men.⁷ In the second century BCE, the chauvinist Juvenal adds some poignancy to it in his satire on marriage, as is typical for the literature of the Imperial period.

Iuven. 6.464–466

*ad moechum lota ueniunt cute. quando uideri
uult formonsa domi? moechis foliata parantur,
his emitur quidquid graciles huc mittitis Indi.*

They go to their lover with washed skin. When does a woman want to appear beautiful at home?
They purchase exotic scents for their lovers. They buy for them whatever you, slender Indians,
send to us here.

The differences between Lucilius and Juvenal are stark. In Juvenal, the luxury goods already come from the far Orient (*Indi*). No clothes, only the skin (*cutis*) is mentioned.

⁴ F. Dousa in his edition (1597) changed the transmitted plural form *pallas* to the singular *pallam*, but this emendation is not very likely. In the textual transmission of Nonius, characters are usually well preserved in such cases. The plural *pallas* is also the *lectio difficilior* and can be easily explained, since there is talk of several men (*alieni*). There are thus several occasions in which the faithless wife displays her wardrobe to other men. A rich matron would also have several fine *pallae* in her possession, displaying them either during the same performance or spread across multiple occasions.

⁵ Plin. NH 33.39: *habeant* (sc. *aurum*) *feminae in armis* (*armillis* codd.) *digitisque totis, collo, auribus, spiris* [Women shall have gold on their arms and on all their fingers, on their neck, on their ears, in their braided hair]; Val. Flacc. 6.396–397: *aegida tum primum virgo spiramque Medusae* || *ter centum saevis squalentem sustulit hydris* [then for the first time the virgin (sc. Athena) lifted up her Aegis and the curls of Medusa bristling with three hundred furious snakes]; Pollux 2.31: ὑπόσπειραν εἶδος πλέγματος, ὡσπερ καὶ σπεῖραν [*hypospeira*: a kind of plaited hair, as also *speira*].

⁶ After Plin. NH 9.117: *Lolliam Paulinam ... vidi zmaragdis margeritisque opertam alterno textu fulgentibus toto capite crinibus* [*spira*] *auribus collo* [*monilibus*] *digitisque* [I saw how Lolliia Paulina was covered with emeralds and pearls, alternately woven and shining all over her head, hair, ears, neck and fingers]. However, the words *spira* and *monilibus* are probably later additions and are deleted in most editions.

⁷ Tib. 1.9.67–72.

The scene is clearly sexualized compared to Lucilius. In Lucilius, the matron only shows herself to other men; Juvenal has her actively going to her lovers (*moechi*) for intercourse.

F 1161 M. (= 1263 Chr./Garb.) – *Sicyonia*

The second fragment from Lucilius concerning dress is quoted by Paulus (Festus)⁸—Nonius' book on shoes (*De genere calciamentorum*) has unfortunately been lost during the textual transmission. In the quote by Paulus (Festus), Lucilius mentions so-called *Sicyonia*, Hellenistic luxury shoes:

et pedibus laeva Sicyonia demit honesta

and she is pulling off the pretty *Sicyonia* from her feet with her left hand⁹

The Greek shoes called *Sicyonia* are attested several times in Roman literature.¹⁰ Presumably the fragment is part of a love scene. Hands and their movements are often described in small Hellenistic epic poems to create a kind of reality effect, especially when it comes to the gathering of some garment. Here an unknown woman (a hetaera?) is removing her shoes with her left hand. One wonders what she is doing with her right hand. Perhaps she is pulling a lover towards her.

F 71 M. (= 71 Chr./Garb.) – *chirodytae auratae*

The last fragment, which could conceivably be about women's clothing, is again quoted by Nonius. It forms part of his long explanation of the gloss **rica/riculum*. The entire lemma will be discussed in detail in chapter D 4. It contains numerous text-critical problems that can only be elucidated in a broader context. The passage mentions three articles of clothing. In the form I have produced there, the text reads as follows:

chirodytae auratae, thoracia, mitrae

tunics adorned with gold and with long sleeves, decorative cuirasses, *mitrae*

The issue is not whether the reference is to clothing at all, but instead whether this list refers to articles Roman women wore. Chapter D 4 argues that Lucilius here does not

⁸ Paulus/Festus p. 455.7–8 L.: *Sicyonia genus calciamenti* ... [the *Sicyonia* are a type of shoe].

⁹ As to grammar, *honesta* could be interpreted either as nom. fem. sg. or as acc. neutr. pl. Several parallels (Lucr. 4.1125: *pulchra Sicyonia* [beautiful *Sicyonia*], cf. p. 211; Ciris 169: *coccina Sicyonia* [crimson *Sicyonia*], cf. p. 211) show that it should be taken with *Sicyonia*.

¹⁰ Cf. B 30 pp. 551–552.

talk about either women's or even Roman clothing, but about the clothing of =Oriental men.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. pp. 630–634.

9 Varro – Menippean Satires and Logistorici

1. Women's dress in Varro – introduction
2. Menippean Satires
 - 2.1 *Eumenides* F 149, F 150 (+), F 119 (+), F 120–121
 - 2.2 Γερωντοδιδάσκαλος F 187
 - 2.3 Κοσμοτορύννη, περὶ φθορᾶς κόσμου F 229
 - 2.4 *Meleagri* F 301, 302
 - 2.5 *Papia Papae* περὶ ἐγκωμίων F 372 (+)
 - 2.6 *Prometheus Liber* F 433 (+)
 - 2.7 *Sesqueulixes* F 463 (+)
 - 2.8 Τάφη Μενίππου F 538 (+)
3. *Logistoricus – Catus (or Cato) de liberis educandis*
 - 3.1 *Catus* F 32 Riese

9.1 Women's dress in Varro – introduction

This chapter is about the complexities of Roman female clothing seen through several fragments in Varro, who is also our most important source on the matter. His remarks should, however, be used with the utmost caution. It is always necessary to carefully distinguish between two contexts: when Varro tells us about the clothing of his own time (primary evidence); when he makes claims about the primeval Roman costume (secondary evidence) by interpreting glosses. On the one hand, he talks about the *palla* and *pallium*, the *stola*, the *tunica* and *subucula*, the *strophium*, the *zona*, the *cingillum*, the *reticulum*, and the *mitra*, in other words, all the important garments and accessories women wore in the first century BCE.¹ On the other hand, we also hear about the **ricinium* and **rica*, the **indusium*, **capital*, and **supparus*, which are obscure or non-historical pseudo-garments (marked by an asterisk). Unfortunately, these glosses have haunted the history of Roman dress ever since Varro.²

The various passages on female clothing found in Varro's *De lingua Latina* and *De vita populi Romani* are discussed elsewhere in this book.³ The following section only considers the remaining references from his other works, namely those from the

¹ *palla*: LL 5.131; *pallium*: LL 8.13; 9.48; *stola*: 8.13; 9.48; *tunica*: de vita p. R. F 329 S. (45 R.); F 331 S. (47 R.); *subucula*: LL 9.23; de vita p. R. F 329 S. (45 R.); *cingillum*: LL 5.114; *strophium*: de vita p. R. F 331 S. (47 R.); *zona*: de vita p. R. F 331 S. (47 R.); *reticulum*: LL 5.130; *mitra*: LL 5.130.

² **ricinium* LL 5.133; de Vita p. R. F 411 S. (105 R.); F 333 S. (49 R.); **rica*: LL 5.130; **intusium*: LL 5.131; **supparus*: LL 5.131; **capital*: LL 5.130.

³ On Varro's historical theory as to early Roman dress, cf. especially C 1 and 2.

Menippea (Menippean satires) and from his *Logistoricus* entitled *Catus* (or *Cato*) *de liberis educandis* (On children’s upbringing). As in the chapter on Roman comedy (A 7), the starting point of this chapter’s discussion is technical textual matters, which provide the basis for increased historical understanding. The fragments where I diverge from existing editions are again marked by a plus sign (+). Since Varro’s satires are extensively commented on by Cèbes (1975–), all remarks that do not concern dress in particular are kept to a minimum.

9.2 Menippean satires

The *Menippea* bear their name after the author who invented the literary genre, the Cynic philosopher Menippos of Gadara (third century BCE). Varro composed them in the years 80–60 BCE. They are written in the so-called *prosimetrum*, a mixture of verse and prose. In terms of content, they are close to verse satire, being clearly inspired by Lucilius. Yet again, they have been handed down to us almost exclusively by Nonius. Given Nonius’ method of quoting, we mostly have the *Menippea* as a patchwork of short quotations, many of which are corrupted to some extent.

The literary texture created in the *Menippea* is very difficult to unravel. We always have to distinguish between the ‘real’ and the ‘literary’ world, between the world Varro lived in and the world he only imagined, between genuine dress terms and glosses. Reality and fiction are at times fused so closely that it is hard to separate them. Apart from this, the fragmentary condition of our text does not always allow a clear determination of what is historical reality and what is fiction. In contrast to Varro’s *Logistorici*, the dominant literary mode of the Menippean satires seems to be fiction.

9.2.1 *Eumenides* F 149, F 150 (+), F 119 (+), F 120–121

The satire *Eumenides* (Furies) takes its name from its subject matter.⁴ It refers to the well-known philosophical opinion that every fool is insane (ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται). It is about the frenzy that drives people to commit foolish actions—symbolized by the figures of the Furies. In comparison to other *Menippea*, the *Eumenides* have been preserved quite well. Nevertheless, it is no longer possible to reconstruct a convincing plot. Many fragments concern madness. Yet their content is so divergent that it is difficult to combine them and form a general story. The satire perhaps showed a schol-

⁴ Cf. in general J. Vahlen, In M. Terentii Varronis saturarum Menippearum reliquias coniectanea, Leipzig 1858, 168–190; G. Roeper, M. Terentii Varronis Eumenidum reliquiae, particula altera, Gdansk 1861; O. Ribbeck, Über Varronische Satiren, RhM 14 (1859), 105–113; Cèbe IV (1975) 545–546 (on the title).

arly symposium where the philosophical question of fools was discussed by different participants.

The fragments 149–150, 119–121 perhaps formed a small scene.⁵ The narrator passes by a temple of the goddess Cybele (*magna mater*). He hears some noise and becomes curious about what is going on there. He approaches and sees a crowd of young priests (*galli*) celebrating a service:⁶

- 149 *iens domum praeter matris aedem exaudio cymbalorum sonitum*
 150 *cum illoc venio, video gallorum frequentiam in templo, qui,*
dum e scaena coronam adlatam inponeret aedilis signo deae,
<...> et deam canentes vario retinebant<ur> studio.
 119 *nam quae venustas his adest gallantibus,*
quae casta vestis, aetas quae adulescentium,
quae teneris species!
 120 *partim venusta muliebri ornat<i> stola,*
 121 *aurorat ostrinum hic indutus supparum,*
coronam ex auro et gemmis fulgentem gerit
luce locum afficiens

149: On my way home, passing the temple of the Magna Mater, I hear the sound of cymbals. 150: When I get there, I see a crowd of Galli in the temple. While the temple minister was bringing a wreath from the background and putting it on the statue of the goddess, they pursued various activities, <...> and singing to the goddess. 119: How graceful are these Galli! How chaste their dress, how beautiful their youth, how delicate their appearance! 120: Some of them are clothed in a charming female *stola*. 121: This one looks like the dawn, dressed in a purple **supparus*, wearing a shining wreath of gold and precious stones, giving light to the place.

All the fragments suffer from textual corruption. This applies in particular to F 150. Its text can only be reconstructed by means of conjecture, but the meaning is clear.⁷ F 149 and F 150 seem to form an introduction (written in prose) to the following verses (in

⁵ F 149 = Nonius p. 849.13–15 L.; F 150 = Nonius p. 171.2–3 L.; F 119 = Nonius p. 171.5 + 408.12–13 + 618.36–37 L.; F 120 = Nonius p. 862.30–31 L.; F 121 = 881.12 + 867.17–18 + 836.3–4 L.

⁶ F 149 *iens* Buecheler: *en* codd.; F 150 *illoc* Ribbeck (1859): *illos* codd.; *venio* Salmasius (1629): *vento* codd.; *e scena coronam* Scaliger (1565): *essena hora nam* codd.; *deae* Madvig (1873) 657: *siae* codd.; *canentes* Radicke: *gallentes* codd.; *retinebant<ur>* Radicke: *retinebant* codd.; F 119 *his* Laetus (1470): *hic* codd.; F 120: *ornat<i>* Ribbeck (1859): *ornat* codd.

⁷ For an overview of the numerous emendations of F 150 (134) see Astbury (2002); Cèbe IV (1975) 623–628; Krenkel (2002) 259–260 in their editions. A discussion of all proposals is not intended here. Only a short justification for my text is given. **(1)** *e scaena coronam* Scaliger (ca. 1565): *essena hora nam* codd.: Scaliger's emendation is found in the margin of his copy of Junius' edition of Nonius. It was in Scaliger's possession since the year 1565 and was made available to the public by Nettleship (1893) 225. Scaliger's conjecture restores the correct word division, while also preserving nearly all transmitted letters. Moreover, his conjecture makes an excellent sense. The confusion of the letters S and C is often found in the manuscripts of Nonius, see for example F 150 (*illos* instead of *illoc*), F

iambic senarii), in which the narrator speaks about the beauty of the young priests (Galli).⁸ His enthusiasm for the eunuchs and effeminate men could indicate that he either has homosexual preferences or himself adheres to the cult of Cybele. Apart from their physical beauty, the speaker is particularly attracted to the young men who dress like women and young girls.

But how should we understand the description? Does it refer to real Roman life, or is it a literary invention of an author trained in archaic literature? The evidence is not clear, but there is something to say in favour of the second solution. In everyday language, the term *stola* refers to the foot-length garment worn in Rome by matrons (B 4). Here, Varro defines it more precisely by adding the word *muliebris* (female). This is seemingly superfluous because in ordinary language the term *stola* in itself already denotes a female garment. Varro could be adding it either to show his knowledge of the Pre-Classical poetic use of the word—for example, the word *stola* can also denote a male garment in the tragedies of Ennius.⁹ The situation is clearer as regards the word **supparus*. This was no usual term, but already a gloss in Varro's time (D 5). According to the grammarians (including Varro himself), it denoted the long dress of a girl (*vestimentum puellare*), though the exact definition remained subject of debate. The word **ostrinus* seems to be a poetic usage as well. In everyday language, we would expect *purpureus* or *puniceus* to denote the colour in question (crimson).¹⁰ For these reasons, it seems that Varro is not describing actual clothing, but rather wants to show

119 (*hic* instead of *his*), and the examples collected in Cèbe (1975) 623 n. 426. (2) *deae* Madvig (1873): *siae* codd.: The transmitted AE shows that the genitive of a word of the A-declension should probably be restored as an attribute to *signo*. J. N. Madvig, *Adversaria critica ad scriptores Graecos et Latinos*, Copenhagen 1873, II 657 n. 1 therefore hesitatingly proposed the conjecture *deae* and changed *et deam* to *eam*. *Deae* is an easy correction based on the assumption that the scribe repeated the SI from the preceding *signo* by mistake. On the other hand, Madvig's deletion of the following *et* and his reading *eam* are not convincing. The *et* rather indicates that one or more words have been lost before it in the quotation. Therefore, I have indicated a lacuna. (3) *deam canentes vario retinebant<ur> studio* Radicke: *deam gallentes vario retinebant studio* codd.: The object *deam* needs to be governed by a verb. However, neither *gallentes* nor *retinebant* gives a satisfactory sense. Lucian Müller (1888) proposed the conjecture *recinebant* in his edition of Nonius. This is simple as to paleography, but the prefix *re-* does not make sense. Moreover, it does not fit with the following expression *vario studio* (with various activities). That is why Müller also changed *studio* to *cantu* (with song). In contrast, it is much easier to arrive at singing by changing *gallentes* to *canentes*. Again, the letter C has caused some confusion. Since *gallentes* is part of Nonius' lemma, we have to suppose that already Nonius misread Varro's text. Misspellings are also adopted in other lemmas of Nonius, cf. on *mollicina* (p. 867.25) A 7 p. 170; *castula* (p. 880.24–37) D 6 p. 664. The passive *retinebant<ur>* (they were busy with) makes the *Galli* the grammatical subject. For a parallel, see Cic. Lig. 28: *omnes ... vincendi studio tenebamur* (we were all busy trying to win). The *Galli* fit in better than *dea* because they were busy worshipping the goddess in various ways. In Nonius, endings are often omitted, see for example in F 120 *ornat<i>*.

8 On the costume of the Galli and the respective iconography based on female dress, see ThesCRA V (2005) 97–100 (N. Mekacher).

9 Cf. B 4 p. 301; on the expression *muliebris stola*, see also Varro LL 8.13 (B 2 p. 280).

10 Cf. A 7 p. 146; B 11 p. 440.

the knowledge he has of difficult words. This would mean that he is describing the clothing of the priests in an elaborate and figurative manner. We thus have a more literary discourse than a straight-forward depiction of reality.

‘Wrong’ clothing also plays a role in another passage of the same satire. The narrator is again speaking in first person. It must remain open whether he is identical with the narrator of the previous scene.¹¹ Once again, we see female clothes on a man, this time by accident. In an alcohol and love fuelled stupor, the narrator puts on the ‘wrong’ clothing:¹²

154 *ego autem qui essem plenus vini et Veneris*

155 *stolam calceosque muliebris propter positos capio*

154: But I, being full of wine and love, 155: grasp the *stola* and the women’s shoes that were placed beside it.

F 154 and F 155 probably belong together.¹³ They describe a small, funny scene similar to one we find in the *Ekklesiazusai* of Aristophanes.¹⁴ F 155 clearly consists of the words of a man. Otherwise the mention of *calcei muliebres* would be tautological. He therefore accidentally dresses in women’s clothes that just so happen to be lying near him. Why does he have access to them at all? Probably because he is in bed with a woman, both undressed. This is the situation hinted at in F 154. The fragment also indicates a possible reason why the man could have dressed in the wrong clothes. He was *plenus vini et veneris* (full of wine and love). One could assume that the dressing had to be done quickly at night. In the dark and in a hazy state, the man somehow mistakes the woman’s garments for his own. As to its historical reality, the passage at least reinforces the clear gender assignment of the *stola*.

9.2.2 Γερωντοδιδάσκαλος F 187

The satire ‘Old man’s teacher’ was about the Roman past, one of Varro’s favourite subjects. The past was compared with present times. The fragment in question concerns a dress ritual of the early Roman period:

novos maritus tacitulus taxim uxoris solvebat cingillum

the new husband would quietly and carefully loosen the wife’s belt.

¹¹ See, however, Krenkel (2002) 268.

¹² F 154 = Nonius p. 801.39 L.; F 155 = Nonius p. 383.5–6 L.

¹³ Ribbeck (1859) 110; Krenkel (2002) 266–268; but see also Cèbe (1975) 619–623, 583–586.

¹⁴ Aristoph. *Eccl.* 314–319. A man cannot find his shoes [*embades*] and therefore takes those of his wife: τὰς ἐκείνης Περσικὰς ὑφέλωμαι [I trail her Persian shoes under my feet].

The primeval Roman wedding and its rituals were also described in detail by Varro in the first book of his cultural history *De vita populi Romani*.¹⁵ The loosening of the belt, which is known from Greek literature as a literary motif, may indeed have played a role as a symbolic act. This connection between chastity and belts can also be seen with Corinna, Ovid's mistress, who shows her willingness to engage in a sexual tryst by not wearing a belt.¹⁶ In any case, the *cingillum* of the ancient Roman bride was subject to scholarly debate in antiquity, as is shown by a detailed entry in the dictionary of Festus/Paulus.¹⁷ This then means that Varro's explanation does not reflect a custom of dress contemporary to him.

9.2.3 Κοσμοτορύνη, περί φθοράς κόσμου F 229

As shown by the subtitle, the satire with the fancy title 'Stirrer of the universe' (τορύνη = stirrer, ladle) deals with the philosophical question of whether the universe (κόσμος) is destructible or everlasting.¹⁸ Sadly, the remaining fragments do not touch on this interesting subject. In the fragments we have, a male person (who has travelled the world as a soldier) is speaking in first person. Perhaps the narrator even has autobiographical traits.¹⁹ He tells a second person and/or his readers about women dressed in splendid garments:²⁰

mulieres: aliam cerneres cum stola holoporphyro

women: You could have seen one with a purple robe, <another>...

This passage is about several women (*mulieres*) and their luxurious dress. We only have the beginning of the list, which was probably continued with a second *aliam* (another). The clothing described is extremely expensive. It is a long robe (*stola*), which is completely purple. Again, we have to ask about the cultural setting. Roman matrons ideally wore the *stola*.²¹ However, it should be noted that Varro not only uses a Greek

¹⁵ C 2 p. 580; Cèbe V (1990) 876–879; Krenkel (2002) 327–328.

¹⁶ Cf. B 1 p. 267.

¹⁷ Festus/Paulus p. 55.13–18 L.: *cingillo nova nupta praecingebatur, quod vir in lecto solvebat, factum ex lana ovis, ut, sicut illa in glomos sublata coniuncta inter se sit, sic vir suus secum cinctus vinctusque esset. hunc Herculeo nodo vinctum vir solvit ominis gratia, ut sic ipse felix sit in suscipiendis liberis, ut fuit Hercules, qui septuaginta liberos reliquit* [The new bride used to gird herself with a belt (*cingillum*), which the husband untied on the wedding night. This belt was made of sheep's wool, so that her husband would be bound and chained to her like the wool formed to a ball-shaped mass was joined together. The husband untied the belt that was fastened with a Herculean knot, as a good omen, in order that he himself might be as blessed with offspring as Hercules, who left seventy children].

¹⁸ Cèbe (1983) 1044–1048; Krenkel (2002) 393.

¹⁹ Krenkel (2002) 395.

²⁰ Nonius p. 862.27–28 L.

²¹ Cèbe (1983) 1072–1074; Krenkel (2002) 409.

loanword (ὀλοπόρφυρος), but even keeps its Greek ending (-ο = -ωι).²² The adjective *holoporphuros* is a hapax in Latin. In contrast to the entirely purple garment, the purple of the matrons' *stola* was, as far as we can tell, usually limited to the border.²³ It is therefore likely that Varro does not use the term *stola* here in a narrow Roman sense (i.e. garment of the Roman matron), but in a broader sense (i.e. long female garment). Perhaps we are dealing with Greek culture and Greek women. The form of the past potential subjunctive predicate (*cerneres*) shows that the narrator is describing a situation in which the Roman dialogue partner and/or reader did not participate. A festival or a parade in another place or at another time where women adorned themselves with expensive clothing comes to mind—for example in Alexandria with its festive processions. The fact that the narrator also points out one woman in particular, who is wearing such an expensive garment, also suggests that her outfit was highly unusual and a rare sight to behold.

9.2.4 *Meleagri* F 301, F 302

The satire entitled 'Men like Meleager' was about hunting enthusiasts, symbolized by the mythical hunter Meleager.²⁴ The relevant fragments first cover the men's costume. As in the satire *Eumenides* (see above), a deviation from the norm is highlighted:²⁵

301 *non modo suris apertis, sed paene natibus apertis ambulans*

302 *cum etiam Thais Menandri tunicam demissam habet ad talos*

301: walking around not only with bare calves, but with almost bare buttocks, 302: whereas even the hetaera Thais of Menander is letting her *tunica* down to the ankle-bones.

F 301 is about the costume of hunters that is compared with female dress.²⁶ In hunting, the male *tunica* was usually girded up so that the legs remained visible.²⁷ However, hunting enthusiasts exaggerating this style almost (*paene*) show their bare buttocks. The description makes an implicit reference to homosexual *pathici* who try to attract a sexual partner by revealing their backside. F 302, which compares them to prostitutes, also points in this direction. It is about the famous hetaera Thais, who also appears in Menander's play of the same name.²⁸ Although Thais is a *meretrix*, she wears her *tunica*

²² LSJ s. v. ὀλοπόρφυρος; cf. also ὀλοπράσινος (completely green).

²³ Cf. B 4 p. 310.

²⁴ Cèbe (1987) 1324–1326; Krenkel (2002) 522–523.

²⁵ F 301 = Nonius p. 353.34 L.; F 302 = Nonius pp. 442.20–21, 861.20–21 L.

²⁶ Against Krenkel (2002) 535–536.

²⁷ On the garb on hunters, see also B 25 p. 522.

²⁸ Menander K.-A. (Θαίς), where F 302 is given as *testimonium ii*.

at foot-length.²⁹ She thus behaves like a modest woman while the criticized *Meleagri* comport themselves like prostitutes.

A similar contrast between male clothing that is either too long or too short is found in Horace's second satire, which deals with the lack of sound judgement:

Hor. sat. 1.2.24–26

dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat, est qui
inguen ad obscaenum subductis usque.

While they, being fools, try to avoid mistakes, they fall into opposite extremes. Maltinus walks around with his tunics let down, another man with tunics raised to his private parts.

Comparing Horace and Varro shows striking word coincidences between the two authors (*tunicis demissis, ambulat*) as well as the same latent criticism of the persons seen as *effeminati*.³⁰ Horace was certainly familiar with Varro's *Menippea*. The parallel suggests that he may have even imitated him. At the very least, both authors drew from a common Greek intellectual tradition.

9.2.5 *Papia Papae* περὶ ἐγκωμίων F 372 (+)

The satire *Papia Papae*, as the Greek subtitle makes clear, was about praise (ἐγκώμια).³¹ The interpretation of the title is uncertain. The word *papae* (παπαῖ) is an exclamation of astonishment, known in Latin literature mainly from Plautus' plays (which were admired by Varro). As to the word *Papia*, the gens *Papia* or a woman from just this family comes to mind. This could perhaps result in a translation like 'Olala *Papia*' (and in a modern context, accompanied by whistling). This admiring exclamation was perhaps caused by the beauty of a woman. At least four fragments of this satire deal with the subject of admiring beautiful women.³² F 372, the fragment in question here, is adduced by Nonius in his entry on the *regilla vestis* as a female dress.³³ Since Varro's statement has not yet been properly separated from Nonius' own words, it is necessary to consider the entire passage first. It shows what kind of confusion Nonius and his transmission are capable of. Without critical intervention, the text reads as follows:

²⁹ On the usual length of the female tunic, cf. B 1 p. 251.

³⁰ On the topic that homosexuals want to appear exceedingly male, see also B 11 p. 428.

³¹ On this satire, see also the commentary of Zumsande (1970).

³² F 370–372, 375.

³³ Zumsande (1970) 8–11.

Nonius p. 864.9–865.14 L.

regilla vestis diminutive a regia dicta, ut et basilica. †an regillam tuniculam indulam an mendiculam? Varro Papia Papae, περὶ ἐγκωμίων (F 372): collum procerum fictum levi marmore; regillam tunicam †diffingitur purpura.

(for a translation, see below)

The lemma is based on the Plautine gloss **regilla* from the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus*, from which the first quotation is taken (223: *quid erat induta? an regillam induculam an mendiculam*).³⁴ In Nonius, the name of Plautus and the title of the play have fallen out after the word *basilica*. Maybe even more (such as the beginning of verse 223) is missing. Furthermore, the wording of the verse has been corrupted. The noun *induculam* has been replaced by *tuniculam indulam*. It seems that a correction *indu-* written over the text caused the confusion. The editors of Nonius therefore rightly print the following text:

regilla vestis diminutive a regia dicta, ut et basilica; <Plautus Epidico: quid erat induta?> an regillam induculam an mendiculam?

the *regilla vestis* is diminutively named after the *vestis regia*, just like the *basilica*: <Plautus in the *Epidicus*: What did she wear?> The dress of a queen (*regilla*) or of a beggar woman?

The quotation taken from Plautus is followed by one from Varro. Since Stephanus (1564), editors think that Varro's words run until the end of Nonius' entry. However, there are some difficulties with this hypothesis. The first part of the fragment is clear as to metre and content. It is a complete iambic senarius (*collum procerum fictum levi marmore*). This is followed by three more iambic feet: *regillam tunicam*. The expression (a *tunica* **regilla*) is understandable in itself, but cannot be construed with the following *diffingitur purpura*. Moreover, the transmitted *diffingitur* cannot be correct since *diffingere* (to mould into a different shape) in connection with *purpura* does not give a satisfying sense. Regarding orthography, *disting(u)itur* (to distinguish, to embellish) is an easy emendation. It has already been put forward by an unknown scholar in the margin of his copy of Junius' edition of Nonius (1565). That a *tunica* should be ornamented with purple stripes seems to be the underlying sense of the passage. However, the grammatical and metrical obstacles are hard to overcome if all these words actually belong to Varro.³⁵ In order to form a second meaningful senarius, we would have to not only transpose the words *distinguitur* and *purpura*, but would have to also alter the grammatical case of *regillam tunicam*. Such a number of different errors is unlikely, even with Nonius. All difficulties disappear if we end the quotation taken from Varro with the words *regillam tunicam* and instead give Nonius the expression *distinguitur purpura*. Nonius would thus have commented on the **regilla*, saying that it

³⁴ On the meaning of the verse, cf. A 4 p. 67.

³⁵ For the various suggestions, see the critical apparatus of Astbury.

was ornamented with purple stripes. Similar comments are also found elsewhere in Nonius' texts. Further changes to the text would then not be necessary. The fragment of Varro's satire stripped of Nonius' additions should therefore be given in the following form:

*collum procerum fictum levi marmore,
regillam tunicam*

a long neck formed of smooth marble, a *tunica* **regilla*

Although it may seem so at first glance, the passage is probably not about a statue. It is more likely about a woman who, in a very common comparison, is likened to a statue.³⁶ The context of this short enumeration can no longer be determined with certainty. It could be a description of a specific person or (since the satire is about eulogies) a list of points one should keep in mind when praising a woman. After the neck (*collum*), the body and its clothing follow quite naturally. The expression **regilla* is a hapax from Plautus' *Epidicus*, which also served Varro for inspiration elsewhere.³⁷ Believing in the funny (but incorrect) etymology given by Plautus (**regilla* = royal), Varro probably thought it denoted an elaborately decorated *tunica*.³⁸ In reality, it is a translation of the Greek term χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος (long ungirded *chiton*). In any case, a *tunica* **regilla* is no Roman everyday garment. As in Varro's *Eumenides*, we are again in a literary world speckled with glosses.

9.2.6 *Prometheus liber* F 433 (+)

In the satire *Prometheus liber* (Free Prometheus), the hero Prometheus is speaking with an unknown person, possibly a philosopher, about the pros and cons of his creation.³⁹ The fragment pertaining to female clothing forms the end in a long entry of Nonius on the glosses **rica*/**ricula*.⁴⁰ This lemma contains some of the most difficult problems Nonius bequeathed to modern research on Roman garments. Chapter D 4 contains a detailed discussion of the entire lemma. For the purposes of this chapter, it should only be noted that my version differs significantly from that of other editors:⁴¹

aliae [mitrant] reticulum aut mitram Melitensem

other women a hairnet or Maltese headscarf

³⁶ Cèbe (1990) 1568; Krenkel (2002) 675.

³⁷ Cf. C 1 pp. 570–571; D 3 pp. 602–606.

³⁸ We should not think of a wedding dress and the description of a bride here; against Krenkel (2002) 676.

³⁹ Cèbe (1996) 1766–1768; Krenkel (2002) 778.

⁴⁰ Nonius pp. 865.17–866.30 L.

⁴¹ Cf. D 4 pp. 637–638.

In this fragment, two pieces of headgear of Roman and Greek women are mentioned: the hairnet (B 12) and the headscarf (B 13), which could be worn alternatively. In this passage, the reference to Malta fits with the historical perception that these accessories were luxury items. The Phoenician colony of Malta was known for producing and trading luxury textiles.⁴² It is an easy assumption that this passage of the satire was generally about luxurious female clothing, because the wearers of the headgear form only one group (*aliae*) of the women that are mentioned. However, a connection to other fragments and to the subject of the satire cannot be established.

9.2.7 *Sesqueulixes* F 463 (+)

In the satire ‘The one-and-a-half times Ulysses,’ a person who has endured and experienced more than Ulysses is speaking. Like with the narrator of the ‘Stirrer of the universe,’ the narrator of F 463 probably also has autobiographical traits.⁴³ A fragment concerning clothing has been handed down to us in Nonius.⁴⁴ A connection with the main subject of the satire is not recognizable:

*suspendit Laribus manias, mollis pilas,
reticula ac strophia*⁴⁵

she hung up figurines, soft balls, hairnets, and hair circlets on the *lares*

The simple emendation *manias* instead of the transmitted *marinas* (marine) proposed by Meursius (1599) gives an excellent sense.⁴⁶ A girl (*virgo*) consecrates small figurines (*maniae*) with ugly faces made of dough, balls of cloth (*pilae*), hairnets (*reticula*), and hair circlets (*strophia*) to the household gods.⁴⁷ It is uncertain on which occasion this act takes place, perhaps a marriage ritual.⁴⁸ Since Varro spoke a lot about ancient Roman wedding ceremonies and was interested in ancient customs (see above), this passage might refer to early times as well.

⁴² Cf. B 9 pp. 384–385.

⁴³ Cèbe (1996) 1859; Krenkel (2002) 858.

⁴⁴ Nonius p. 863.15–16 L., repeated s.v. *reticulum* p. 869.8–9 L.

⁴⁵ *manias* Meursius (1599); *marinas* codd.

⁴⁶ In his *Exercitationes criticae* pars II cap. XI p. 45; for further conjectures, see the apparatus criticus of Astbury.

⁴⁷ Cf. B 15 p. 472.

⁴⁸ Cèbe XI (1996) 1880–1881; Krenkel (2002) 863–864.

9.2.8 Ταφή Μενίππου F 538 (+)

The scenario of the satire ‘Menippos’ funeral’ is perhaps a commemorative celebration in honour of Menippos.⁴⁹ The moderate lifestyle of past periods was probably talked about and compared with the luxury of current times.⁵⁰ The fragment in question easily fits into such a context. Again, it is handed down to us by Nonius under the lemma **ricinium*.⁵¹ The entire entry is discussed in detail in chapter D 1.⁵² The text of the fragment is disturbed so that the wording can only be produced by means of emendation. My modified version of the lemma differs from that of Astbury and other editors.⁵³ For the sake of clarity, it is given here in full:

Nonius p. 869.1–7 L.

ricinium, quod nunc mafurtium dicitur, palliolum femineum breve. Varro Ταφή Μενίππου (F 538) nihil[o] magis di<cit de>cere mulierem quam [de muliebri ricinio] pallium simplex; idem de Vita populi Romani lib. I (F 333 S.): ex quo mulieres in adversis rebus ac luctibus, cum omnem vestitum delicatiorum ac luxuriosum postea institutum ponunt, ricinia sumunt.

The **ricinium*, now called *mafurtium*, is a short female cloak. Varro says in *Menippos’ tomb* that nothing adorns women more than [on the female *ricinium*] a simple *pallium*. The same in the first book *On the Life of the Roman People*: “Therefore, in cases of misfortune and mourning, women take off all more refined and luxurious garments, which were adopted in later times, and instead put on **ricinia*.”

This passage from Nonius probably does not offer a direct quotation from Varro’s satires, but only a paraphrase, which he follows up with a direct quotation from *De vita populi Romani*. In the satire, Varro (or rather the narrator) does not speak of a **ricinium*, but only of a simple cloak (*pallium simplex*). The association with the **ricinium* was first established by Nonius, who was looking for evidence of the gloss. Later, a remark of Nonius written on the margin or as a heading (*de muliebri ricinio*) was mistakenly incorporated into the text, causing some confusion. The satirical narrator is probably expressing his opinion of the *simplex pallium*, comparing the primeval Roman dress with the luxurious clothing of the satire’s present day. He does the same in the fragment from *De vita populi Romani* following after. This may also have been one of the reasons that led Nonius to equate Varro’s *pallium simplex* with a **ricinium*.

⁴⁹ Cèbe XI (1998) 2012–2104.

⁵⁰ Cèbe (1998) loc. cit.

⁵¹ Nonius p. 869.1–7 L.

⁵² Cf. pp. 594–596.

⁵³ See most recently Krenkel (2002) 1055–1056: *nihil magis decere mulierem quam de muliebri ricinio pallium simplex* [“dass sich für eine Frau nichts mehr gezieme als unter einem Umschlagtuch ein einfacher Mantel” (transl. Krenkel)].

9.3 *Logistoricus* – *Catus* (or *Cato*) *de liberis educandis*

Varro speaks of clothing in two places in a so-called *Logistoricus*, which bore the title *Catus* (or *Cato*) *de liberis educandis* (On the upbringing of children). On the one hand, several garments of Roman girls are mentioned. On the other hand, the clothes of a young Roman man are referred to.⁵⁴ In both cases, Varro is talking about the garb of the social elite. Following the overarching topic of this book, this section only deals with Varro's reference to female dress. His remarks are of great cultural importance, as they may show the extent to which Roman female fashion was already Hellenized by Varro's time. However, our textual basis is very small. We must therefore hope that Varro's listing of Greek terms is not only literary 'name dropping.'

The *Logistorici* belong to Varro's later writings.⁵⁵ They seem to have been published from about 60 BCE onwards. They probably had the form of dialogues similar to those of the Peripatetic philosopher Heraclides Ponticus.⁵⁶ In each of them, a main character (referred to in the title) speaks about a specific topic. Being fiction, the conversation is only reported by Varro. Being the author, he was completely responsible for its contents, exactly as is the case in Cicero's dialogues *Laelius de amicitia* and *Cato de senectute*. As far we know them, the people that are referred to in the titles are all well-known contemporaries of Varro. They had perhaps recently died when Varro wrote the respective *Logistoricus*, using it as a posthumous eulogy, among other things. In any case, the respective subjects were chosen to suit the characters. For example, the historian Sisenna speaks about historiography; the *pontifex maximus* Scribonius Curio talks about the worship of the gods.⁵⁷

The speaker of the dialogue in question can only be identified with reservation. Nonius, to whom we owe most of its fragments (34 in total), quotes the work as *Cato vel de liberis educandis*. Since Nonius usually gives titles in the ablative, the name was thus *Catus*. The cognomen *Catus* is also found twice in Gellius, though once only restored by emendation.⁵⁸ Even though this cognomen clearly existed, the first issue that arises in the context of Varro's texts is that there is no famous contemporary of Varro bearing it.

⁵⁴ Nonius p. 155.24–26 L., cf. on this fragment B 26 p. 526.

⁵⁵ On the *Logistorici* in general, RE Suppl. 6 (1935) s.v. M. Terentius Varro, col. 1262–1268 (H. Dahlmann); H. Dahlmann/R. Heisterkamp, *Varronische Studien I. Zu den Logistorici*, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Mainz 1957, 123–142; H. Dahlmann/W. Speyer, *Varronische Studien II. Zu den Logistorici*, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Mainz 1959, 715–735; B. Cardauns, *Varros Logistoricus über die Götterverehrung*, Würzburg 1960; Chr. Rösch-Binde, *Vom δεινός ἀνὴρ zum „diligentissimus investigator antiquitatum“*. Zur komplexen Beziehung zwischen M. Tullius Cicero und M. Terentius Varro, Munich, 543–561; B. Cardauns, *Marcus Terentius Varro, Einführung in sein Werk*, Heidelberg 2001, 72–76. On the work *Catus de liberis educandis*, cf. R. Müller, *Varros Logistoricus über Kindererziehung*, Leipzig 1938.

⁵⁶ Müller (n. 55) 7–8; see, however, now Cardauns (2001) 72.

⁵⁷ Müller (n. 55) 12.

⁵⁸ Gell. NA 4.19.2, 20.11.4.

Because of the famous lawyer Aelius Catus, it is also associated more with jurisprudence than with child rearing. Müller (n. 55) therefore thought that the reference is not to an unknown Catus, but to Varro's famous younger contemporary Cato the Younger (95–46 BCE).⁵⁹ Cato's character would fit the contents of the dialogue much better than some unknown person because he was a sort of moral philosopher (education being part of moral philosophy). The ablative of the name 'Cato' being *Catone*, we then have to assume some mistake in the transmission of the title.⁶⁰ Perhaps Nonius simply used the nominative Cato instead of the ablative, elevating Cato to the rank of an author, as was done also by Macrobius:⁶¹ *meminit huius arae et Cato De liberis educandis* (Cato in his work *On the upbringing of children* also mentions this altar). A similar confusion must have occurred in Gellius, given that he only knew the work indirectly.⁶² Whoever the main character was (Cato or Catus), the content of the work reflects the views of Varro in any case.

9.3.1 *Catus* F 32 Riese

The fragment from Varro dealing with the dress of the young girl stands at the end of Nonius' book on clothing. In the corrected form, it reads as follows:⁶³

ut puellae habeant potius in vestitu chlanidas, encombomata ac peronatidas quam togas.

so that the girls have rather *chlanides*, *encombomata*, and *peronatides* than *togae* for dress.

Nonius adduces the fragment under a heading that is clearly derived from it: *encombomata et parnacides, genera vestium puellarium* (*encombomata* and *parnacides* are types of girls' clothing). As usual, the text shows a great amount of textual corruption. The corrupted non-word *parnacides* has even affected the wording of the lemma itself,

⁵⁹ Müller (n. 55) 15–28.

⁶⁰ Müller (n. 55) 23–27 supposes that Nonius found a *logistoricus* Catus in his index and confused it with a *logistoricus* Cato.

⁶¹ Macrobius 3.6.5 (= Varro F 17 Riese).

⁶² Gell. NA 20.11.4: '*sculnam*' *autem scriptum esse in Logistorico M. Varronis, qui inscribitur Catus, idem Lavinius in eodem libro admonet* [Lavinus also mentions in the same book that '*sculnam*' is written in the *Logistoricus* of M. Varro that bears the title *Catus*]; 4.19.2: *idem plerique alii medicorum philosophorumque et M. Varro in Logistorico scripsit, qui inscriptus est †capis* (*Catus* Mercerius) *aut de liberis educandis* [The same was written by most other physicians and philosophers and by M. Varro in the *Logistoricus* called *Catus* or *On the upbringing of children*]. The fact that Gellius takes several authors together suggests that he did not read Varro's work, but rather took the reference to it from an intermediate source.

⁶³ Nonius 870.30–2: *chlanidas* Stowasser (1884): *chlamydas* codd.; *peronatidas* Stowasser: *p/barnacidas* codd.

as is the case elsewhere in Nonius.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the thought is clear in its rough outline. The person speaking (see above) complains that young Roman girls prefer Greek clothing over the Roman *toga praetexta*.⁶⁵ This statement likely reflects Varro's criticism directed at the Hellenistic influence on the fashion of his own time.

But what are the names of these objectionable garments, and what function did they serve? The following argues that two of the terms used in Nonius have become corrupted and that Varro is referring to three Greek garments which were worn—the *toga praetexta*—as outer garments in some manner.

The *chlamys* (= χλαμύς) denotes a typical male cloak. The transmitted *chlamydas* therefore does not make sense. Stowasser (1884) changes it accordingly to *chlaniidas*. The *chlanis* (χλανίς) is a fine and soft cloak, which Greek literature often uses in connection with women and infirm or effeminate men.⁶⁶ The loanword does not occur in Latin, but the same applies to the Greek dress terms discussed below. For these reasons, the term *chlanis* should at least be included in Varro's text (and not necessarily in Nonius).

The term *parnacidas* is also not correct. In his edition of Nonius, Junius (1565) proposed changing it to *arnacidas*. His idea was accepted as a supposedly simple solution right up to the last editions of the *Logistorici* and also in the ThLL.⁶⁷ However, there are some difficulties with this solution. The emendation is not easy from a palaeographical point of view, since the distinctive P at the beginning of the word has to be removed. Moreover, Junius' proposal raises doubt with regard to the subject matter. The word ἀρναιίς is found in Classical Greek and Hellenistic literature. It does not, however, refer to a garment, but to a sheepskin⁶⁸ used as a blanket or, in exceptional cases, as footwear.⁶⁹ For example, unlike the ascetic Socrates, Athenian soldiers wrap their feet in felt or in skins of this kind during the cold Thracian winter. In a list of girls' fine clothing, *arnacides* are therefore very ill-suited. On the other hand, the emendation *peronat(r)ides* proposed by Stowasser (1884) is very attractive. It is palaeographically simple, since the existing set of letters is completely preserved. In the manuscripts of Nonius, T and C are also confused elsewhere, and syllables are abbreviated. PER could therefore easily have become PR. Above all, however, Stowasser's emendation

⁶⁴ See above p. 186 and A 7 p. 170.

⁶⁵ Müller (n. 55) 69; see also B 5 p. 360.

⁶⁶ LSJ s. v.

⁶⁷ ThLL II s. v. *arnacis* col. 624.53–55; Riese (1865) F 32; Müller (n. 55) 69.

⁶⁸ Cf. LSJ suppl. (1996) s.v. There the mistaken translation 'sheepskin coat' is corrected to 'sheepskin.'

⁶⁹ Aristoph. nub. 730 (cover); Plat. Symp. 220b: τοὺς πόδας εἰς πέλους καὶ ἀρναιίδας [covering their feet with felt shoes and sheepskins]; Aristonymos com. F 5 K.-A. (= Antiatt. α 150 p. 121 Valente (SGLG 16)): ἀρναιίς: Ἀριστώνυμος Ἠλίῳ ῥιγοῦντι [*arnakis*: Aristonymos in his play *The sun shuddering of cold*]; Theocrit. id. 5.50: ἢ μὰν ἀρναιίδας τε καὶ εἶρια τεῖδε πατήσεις [indeed, on sheepskins and wool you will walk about here].

is convincing as to its content since Hellenistic literature mentions the *περονατ(ρ)ίς* twice as a female garment.⁷⁰

In our most important source (Theocritus), a woman wears a *peronatrix* as an intermediate garment over a light tunic (χιτώνιον)⁷¹ and under another coat or wrap (ἀμπέχονον). It is characterized as a luxurious and expensive article of clothing. The woman puts it on for a celebration. The text also mentions the value of the *peronatrix*.⁷² Since the text mentions folds that we also know from the Roman *stola*, the *peronatrix* must be another long garment.⁷³ The derivation of the term from *περόνη* (fibula/needle) also suggests that it was fastened on the shoulders with clasps. In the same poem, we also here about *περονάματα θεῶν* (dresses of gods),⁷⁴ so that we may typologically equate the *peronatrix* with a *peplos* (~ *stola*). Our second source, an epigram of Antipater of Sidon (second century BCE), points in the same direction. It is about Hipparchia, the wife of the Cynic philosopher Krates. Hipparchia, like her husband, chose a frugal way of life (wearing only a *chiton*) and therefore renounced Hellenistic luxuries of clothing—such as shoes with thick soles, glittering hairnets, and a long *peplos* (ἀμπεχόναι περονητίδες).⁷⁵

The third Greek garment (either called *κόμβωμα* or *ἐγκόμβωμα*) is transmitted correctly. However, its form is also difficult to determine.⁷⁶ Its name shows that it was knotted or tied—*κόμβος* meaning knot.⁷⁷ Apart from Varro, our knowledge derives exclusively from Imperial (Atticistic) authors, to whom the garment and its term were probably exclusively known from literature.⁷⁸ The lexicographer Pollux (second century CE) defines the *encomboma* as some small, white coat (*himatidion*), stating that it was worn by slaves over the basic *tunica*.⁷⁹ As elsewhere, Pollux probably draws his knowledge from a passage in an Attic comedy, the statements of which he (inadmissibly) generalizes. Some scepticism is therefore called for. Varro's reference to the garment

⁷⁰ Theocrit. id. 15.21: τῷμπέχονον καὶ τὰν περονατίδα λάζευ [take your cloak and your *peronatrix*]. 34: καταπτυχῆς ἐμπερόναμα [the *peronatrix* with folds]; Anth. Pal. 7.413.

⁷¹ Theocrit. id. 15.31.

⁷² Theocrit. id. 15.34–38.

⁷³ An archaeological attempt to identify the *peronatrix* in Hellenistic art was made by A. Filges, Schlauchkleid - Peronatrix - Stola, AA 2002, 259–271 and B. Schmaltz, ‘... wirklich Aphrodite?’, in: E. Dündar (ed.), Lykiarikhissa, Festschrift H. Iskan, Istanbul 2016, 689, who interpret the *peronatrix* as a *peplos*.

⁷⁴ Theocrit. id. 15.79.

⁷⁵ On the meaning of ἀμπεχόνη (covering for the body), see LSJ suppl. 1996 s. v.

⁷⁶ Cf. the cautious definition in the LSJ Suppl. 1996 s. v. ‘kind of overgarment.’

⁷⁷ Cf. LSJ s. v.

⁷⁸ Pollux 4.119 (see below); Longos 2.33 (see below); Symm. Is. 3.20 (cf. LSJ Appendix 1996 s. v.); Hesych.κ 3433 p. 639 Alpers/Cunningham: κόμβωμα· στόλισμα· σίρωμα [*comboma*: a garment; a hardened swelling].

⁷⁹ Pollux 4.119: τῇ δὲ δούλων ἐξωμίδι καὶ ἱμάτιδιόν τι πρόσκειται λευκόν, ὃ ἐγκόμβωμα λέγεται ἢ ἐπίραμμα [upon the *exomis* of slaves there lies also some white coat called *encomboma* or *epiramma*].

already shows that Pollux’s definition must be wrong with regard to the group of people wearing it, since Varro lists the *encomboma* among female garments. The other parts of Pollux’s definition should also be subjected to careful examination. Pollux claims that the *encomboma* was worn over a basic *chiton* (*exomis*). He might have taken this from his source. The cautious specification ἱματίδιόν τι (a kind of coat), however, is a guess on Pollux’s part. We should therefore be careful and not accept it without further proof. The *encomboma* could just as well be a kind of second *chiton* (*tunica*) since we know the *chiton* to have had knots.⁸⁰ Pollux’s source was probably similar to the comedy scene described in Longos’ Atticistic novel *Daphnis and Chloe*.⁸¹ In the novel, a servant takes off his *encomboma*, i.e. *chiton*, for an errand and runs ‘naked’ (γυμνός), i.e. in only his undertunic.

Varro therefore gives us three different female Greek outer garments fastened differently than the *toga praetexta* (which was only wrapped around). If we assume that Varro’s remarks mirror reality (and not only his fictional literary world), we see how Roman female fashion was much more diverse than our stereotyped sources usually show. All in all, this may be the general lesson learned from this thorny chapter. It is quite difficult getting through to ‘Roman’ reality through the thick layer of literary stereotype. It also seems that actual ‘Roman’ fashion was already far more Hellenized in this period than our Latin texts tend to suggest.

80 Cf. B 1 p. 247.

81 Cf. Longos 2.33: ὁ μὲν οὖν ῥίψας τὸ ἐγκόμβωμα γυμνὸς ὥρμησεν τρέχειν [So he threw off his *encomboma* and ran off in light clothing]. Longos may follow an Atticistic dictionary here.

10 Cicero – the travesty of P. Clodius Pulcher

1. Women's Dress in Cicero
2. The travesty of Clodius – introduction
3. Cic. In Cur. et Clod. [14] 22, 23, 25
4. Cic. De harusp. resp. 44

10.1 Women's Dress in Cicero

In contrast to Varro, Cicero talks about female clothing only a few times. His reticence has to do with the character of his literary oeuvre. Politics and philosophy have little room for female fashion. Cicero's lack of interest in the subject can even be seen in the few references he does make to the topic. He mentions female clothing in connection with 'real women' very rarely, once when criticizing the extravagant dress (*Melitensia*) of the wife of the corrupt provincial governor Verres,¹ and once when accusing him of depriving an innocent girl of her *toga praetexta* (= her civil rights).² The other examples from Cicero's writings include two mentions of statues of goddesses,³ and five instances where he inveighs against men purportedly wearing female clothes (using the trope of the *effeminatus*).⁴ The passages in question are mostly short and will be dealt with in part B under the heading of the individual garments. This chapter only discusses

1 Cic. Verr. 2.4.103: *insula est Melite ... in qua est eodem nomine oppidum... quod isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebre[m] vestem conficiendam fuit* [There is an island called Malta ... on it there is a city with the same name ... Three years, it served as textile factory for this person (= Verres) to produce female clothing]; cf. also 2.2.176, 183. On the *Melitensia*, cf. B 9 pp. 384–385.

2 Cic. Verr. 2.1.113: *eripies igitur pupillae togam praetextam, detrahes ornamenta non solum fortunae sed etiam ingenuitatis?* [So, will you carry off the *toga praetexta* of the ward, will you strip her of the adornment not only of her wealth but also of her free birth (*ingenuitas*)?]; cf. C 5 p. 357.

3 Cic. Verr. 2.4.74 (Diana): *erat admodum amplum et excelsum signum cum stola; verum tamen inerat in illa magnitudine aetas atque habitus virginalis* [It was a quite large and tall statue with a *stola*. Nevertheless, the age and the condition of a young girl (*virgo*) were shown in that size]; cf. on it B 4 p. 303; Cic. de nat. deor. 1.82 (Juno): *cum calceolis repandis* [with shoes curling up at the toes]. The Renaissance had a similar type of shoe variously called *poulaine* or *pike*, which had an elongated beak that was sometimes curled back. On the type of shoe (a *soccus*), see B 27 p. 537.

4 Apart from the passages discussed in this chapter, see Cic. Verr. 2.5.31: *cum iste (sc. Verres) cum pallio purpureo talarique tunica versaretur in convivii[m] muliebribus* [when this person (sc. Verres) with a purple *pallium* and an ankle-length *tunica* spent time at feasts with women], cf. B 1 p. 256; Cic. Cat. 2.22: *manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis* [wearing ankle-length tunics with sleeves, wrapped in veils not in *togae*], cf. B 1 p. 260; Cic. Phil. 2.44: *sumpsisti virile[m], quam statim muliebre[m] togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum, certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit* [You (sc. Antony) put on the men's *toga*, which you immediately made into a woman's *toga*. At first, you were a public whore (a sure reward for fornication, and not a little), but Curio quickly intervened and

Cicero's oratorical attacks against P. Clodius Pulcher because they contain a long and coherent description of female clothing (albeit worn by a man).

10.2 The travesty of Clodius – introduction

The issue which led Cicero to ridicule Clodius was as follows: In the year 62 BCE, Clodius secretly joined a group of upper class *matronae* celebrating the rites of Bona Dea in the house of Caesar. Since this was a festival reserved for women, Clodius needed to dress up as a woman in order to attend. He was then caught in the act. His daring prank led to a social scandal, Caesar even divorcing his wife. For some unknown reason, Cicero destroyed Clodius' *alibi*, turning Clodius into a formidable enemy. This rivalry finally forced Cicero into exile in 58 BCE.⁵

Cicero later used Clodius' travesty to ridicule him.⁶ In two speeches, he gladly and extensively describes how Clodius dressed up as a woman: once in the pamphlet called *Against Clodius and Curio* published in 61 BCE (of which some fragments remain),⁷ and once in the fully preserved speech *De haruspicum responso* (About the response of the soothsayers), which Cicero held before the senate in 56 BCE after his return from exile.⁸ It is for this reason that we owe Cicero two of the most detailed descriptions of female dress in Latin literature. Nevertheless, we must add a caveat here: Cicero does not describe everyday female Roman clothing. As we will see, there is a considerable amount of 'literarization' in it. Cicero's account resembles a scene from a Greek comedy. It turns the social scandal, at which Cicero himself was not present, into a comic

took you away from the whore trade and, as if he had given you the *stola*, associated you with himself in a firm and lasting marriage (*matrimonium*)], cf. B 4 p. 331.

⁵ On the historical events, cf. J. Balsdon, *Fabula Clodiana*, *Historia* 15 (1966), 65–73; A. W. Lintott, *P. Clodius Pulcher – Felix Catilina?*, *G&R* 14 (1967), 157–169; D. F. Epstein, *Cicero's Testimony at the bona dea Trial*, *CP* 81 (1986), 229–235; H. Benner, *Die Politik des P. Clodius Pulcher. Untersuchungen zur Denaturierung des Klientelwesens in der ausgehenden römischen Republik*, Stuttgart 1987, especially 37ff; H. Brouwer, *Bona Dea. The Sources and a Description of the Cult*, Leiden 1989, 363ff; W. J. Tatum, *Cicero and the bona dea-Scandal*, *CP* 85 (1990), 202–208 and id., *The Patrician Tribune. Publius Clodius Pulcher*, Chapel Hill 1999, 62ff; A. Mastrocinque, *Bona Dea and the Cults of Roman Women*, Stuttgart 2014, 94ff; T. Boll, *Ciceros Rede 'cum senatui gratias egit'*, *GFA Beiheft* 10, Berlin 2019, 7–12.

⁶ On the *topoi* of the invectives concerning clothes, cf. *RAC* 4 (1950) s.v. *effeminatus*, col. 629–632 (H. Herter); most recently on Cicero's invectives in general and the passages discussed here, J. Hessel, *Cicero as Evidence for Attitudes to Dress in the Late Republic*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (eds.) (1994), 139–140; A. Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter. Political Humor in the Late Roman Republic*, Princeton 1996, 159–173 and id., *Ciceronian Invective*, in J. M. May, (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Cicero. Oratory and Rhetoric*, Leiden 2002, 197–217; C. Craig, *Audience Expectations, Invective and Proof*, in: J. Powell et al. (eds.), *Cicero the Advocate*, Oxford 2004, especially 200–201; J. Booth (ed.), *Cicero on the Attack. Invective and subversion in the orations and beyond*, Llandysul 2007.

⁷ M. Schanz/C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur II* (= *HAW VIII.2*), Munich 1935, 445–446.

⁸ Schanz/Hosius (n. 7) 429.

scene. Clodius comes very close to the comic character Mnesilochos from Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusai* (Women celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria), and Cicero's description of Clodius' travesty should be read against this literary background.

In Aristophanes' play, Mnesilochos also wants to sneak in among some women, specifically at the festival of *Thesmophoria*. He therefore puts on a female attire, which he gets from the 'effeminate' tragic poet Agathon. Aristophanes depicts the travesty in a funny scene (249–263).⁹ First, Mnesilochos puts on a *crocota* (= χροκωτός [sc. χιτών] 253), then a cord (στρόφιον 256). Then he asks for a 'hair bag' (κεκρύφαλον 256) and a headscarf (μίτρα 256), and receives a silly night cap (κεφαλή περίθετος 257) instead. Finally, he puts on a shawl (ἔγκυκλος 261) and sandals (ὑποδήματα 262). The humour of the scene is created by two interrelated factors: the female clothes do not suit a male, and the process of dressing in this ill-fitting clothing is nonetheless done with great ado.

10.3 Cic. In Cur. et Clod. [14] 22, 23, 25

Returning to Cicero, the relevant passages in his speech *Against Curio and Clodius* are as follows:

Cic. in Cur. et Clod. [14] 22, 23, 25

(22) *nam rusticos nos ei videri minus est mirandum, qui manicatam tunicam et mitram et purpureas fascias habere non possumus. Tu vero festivus, tu elegans, tu solus urbanus, quem decet muliebris ornatus, quem incessus psaltriae, qui effeminare vultum, attenuare vocem, levare corpus potes.*

(23) *tunne, cum vincirentur pedes fasciis, cum calvatica capiti accommodaretur, cum vix manicatam tunicam in lacertos induceres, cum strophio accurate praecingerere, in tam longo spatio numquam te Appi Claudii nepotem esse recordatus es?*

(25) *sed, credo, postquam speculum tibi adlatum est, longe te a puchris abesse sensisti.*

(22) for it is not surprising that we are peasants to him, who cannot have a tunic with sleeves, a headscarf and purple sandal straps. You, however, are pretty; you are elegant; you alone are chic, adorned by a woman's garment and by walking like a female lyre player, a man who knows to make his face appear feminine, to soften his voice and to smooth his body.

(23) When your feet were wrapped with straps, when your headscarf was fitted to your head, when you pulled your tunic with sleeves over your upper arms with difficulty, when you carefully girded yourself with a cord, have you never remembered in such a long time that you are the grandson of Appius Claudius?

⁹ For a detailed interpretation of Aristophanes, cf. B 21 pp. 502–504.

(25) Yes, I think that after a mirror was brought to you, you realized that you were far from being a beautiful one (a pulcher).

In F 23, Cicero imagines a veritable dressing scene. First, Clodius puts on his sandals with straps (*fasciae*) and a headscarf (*mitra*)—as in Lucretius, feet and head stand together.¹⁰ Then he puts on a tunic and cord or braided belt (*strophium*). In F 22, in contrast, the tunic is mentioned first as the most important garment, followed by the other garments—the headscarf and the foot straps. Again, head and feet are grouped together.

Let us now turn to the single garments. Like Mnesilochos (257), Clodius wears a *mitra* on his head. This is a typical female headgear that is also mentioned in other invectives against men and travesties. Cicero calls it alternatively a *mitra* and a *calvatica* (sc. *mitra*).¹¹ Something akin to the *calvatica* also appears in English in the form of the skullcap (*calva* referring to the scalp). Cicero may have used the word *calvatica* for rhetorical effect, thus producing an alliteration and assonance (*capiti calvatica accomodaretur*). On the other hand, the technical term gives the scene a touch of everyday life. In contrast to Mnesilochos, Clodius has no κεκρόφαλος. This is not surprising. A hairnet (or rather ‘hair bag’) is a headgear typical for the fashion of Greek Classical times and would be completely out of place in this Roman context.¹²

Cicero also claims that Clodius wore a *tunica* with attached long sleeves (*tunica manicata*). The sleeves indicate that it is a long female *tunica*, since Roman men were usually dressed in sleeveless tunics.¹³ The *tunica manicata* is also found in other invectives and travesties.¹⁴ The long sleeves may have led readers to imagine a Greek or even Oriental version of the tunic, a type that would fit a female freed-woman dancing and playing the lyre (*psaltria*). Cicero also uses the tight sleeves for a joke, describing how Clodius has to squeeze his arms in.¹⁵ Like Mnesilochos, Cicero’s Clodius girds his dress with a cord (*strophium*). The *strophium* is also a typical female accessory and serves as a belt to fix the garment to the body (B 21).¹⁶ Cicero makes fun of Clodius by describing how he puts it on with all diligence (*accurate praecingere*). This is very pertinent if we imagine Clodius wearing a wide Greek *chiton* that needed exact girding. In any case, Clodius dresses carefully and neatly, as a woman would have done. This also begs the

¹⁰ Cf. A 11 p. 211.

¹¹ Cf. B 13 p. 462 and RAC 4 (1950) s.v. effeminatus, col. 631 (H. Herter).

¹² Cf. B 12 p. 457.

¹³ On tunics with sleeves, cf. B 1 p. 257 and RAC 4 (1950) s.v. effeminatus, col. 630 (H. Herter).

¹⁴ Cf. p. 201 n. 4 above.

¹⁵ A similar joke is made by Ovid about Hercules, who squeezes himself into the robe of the Lydian queen Omphale; Ovid. fasti 2.321–322: *ventre minor zona est; tunicarum vincla relaxat, || ut posset magnas exseruisse manus* [The belt is smaller than his belly. He widens the bands of the tunics, || so that he can stick out his big arms]. Unlike Clodius, Hercules wears a sleeveless chiton. His muscular body does not fit into his female tunic and ends up tearing seams trying to force it on.

¹⁶ It should not be confused with the *fascia pectoralis* (B 22) that is wrapped around the breast.

question of where Clodius learned how to tie his garment is such a precise manner. The scene culminates in Clodius vainly checking the fit of his dress in a mirror. A pun based on Clodius' cognomen Pulcher (*pulcher* meaning beautiful) completes the scene.¹⁷ It turns out that despite his best efforts Clodius is neither beautiful nor does he behave like a worthy member of his aristocratic family.

Now we come to the feet. Clodius' footwear is difficult to explain and is the most confusing aspect of the passage. Cicero talks of purple *fasciae* with which Clodius wrapped his feet. But what are those *fasciae*? They have no parallel in Aristophanes, since they are no Greek custom. The term *fascia* is often thought to designate puttees (leg wraps) that have the function of modern stockings. However, I argue that the term refers to straps (μᾶντρες) fastening various types of Roman shoes. In contrast to laces, they are not permanently attached to the shoe or threaded through the material.¹⁸ There are only a few examples for this meaning, but there is at least one good parallel in Cicero's own writings. In a private letter to his friend Atticus, Cicero (again) mocks Pompey for wearing white *fasciae* with his *caligae* (a type of sandal).¹⁹ Similarly, Clodius wears purple straps with his sandals. Clodius' blunder (like that of Pompey) is not so much the wearing of straps, but rather their colour. Our lack of knowledge makes a more precise assessment impossible at this point. It is clear by Cicero's remarks that purple *fasciae* were out of place for a person like Clodius. But why? Was it thought preposterous or ridiculous because the purple was considered typically female on shoes? Or does Cicero insinuate that Clodius is imitating official dress (*praetexta*)? Is the purple strap to be interpreted as a social insignia of a Roman patrician, which Clodius perverts in wearing it on his sandals? Unfortunately, all these intriguing questions must remain open. The fact that Cicero points to the *fasciae* in particular suggests that these straps were a unique feature and something that could be exchanged at will. He does not mock new shoes which happen to have purple laces, but instead mocks the straps themselves, suggesting that Clodius, like Pompey, could also wear his shoes with some other type of strap or with a strap of another colour. In any case, the coloured straps are considered unbecoming of a Roman nobleman.

10.4 Cic. De harusp. resp. 44

In his speech *De haruspicum responso*, Cicero essentially follows the description he uses in *Against Clodius and Curio*, although he places a somewhat different emphasis.

¹⁷ See on it most recently Corbeill (n. 6) 79–80.

¹⁸ Cf. also B 29 p. 546; and Blümner (1911) 220 n. 15; against Corbeill (n. 6) 162: “purple garlands”; Croom (2000) 113: “purple puttees”; Stafford (2005) 104: “purple leggings.”

¹⁹ Cic. ad Att. 2.3.1: *Iphicratem suspicor, ut scribis, lascivum fuisse. etenim mihi caligae eius et fasciae cretatae non placebant* [I suspect that Iphicrates, as you write, has behaved a bit extravagantly. At least, his boots (*caligae*) and snow-white *fasciae* did not please me].

It must be noted that the speech is not a pamphlet but a speech in the senate. It is dated five years later (56 BCE). The relatively short list of garments can therefore be read as an allusion to the earlier invective and as a kind of quotation:

Cic. De harusp. resp. 44

P. Clodius a crocota, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis pupureisque fasceolis, a strophio, a psalterio, a flagitio, a stupro est factus repente popularis.

P. Clodius is suddenly made a *popularis* (member of the ‘popular’ party) by the *crocota*, by the bonnet, by the women’s sandals and the little purple *fasciae*, by the cord, by the lyre, by his outrageous conduct, by the fornication.

Cicero is now speaking of a *crocota* instead of a tunic with sleeves. The *crocota* is a typical female garment in the form of a Greek *tunica* (i.e. *chiton*), which is used not only in (Greek) everyday life, but also in the cult of Dionysus—the god himself wears one.²⁰ Cicero’s audience and subsequent readers might have immediately thought of a wide, flowing, and more than knee-length tunic of the Greek type. Nevertheless, the cut of the garment is less important here. The term *crocota* refers to its colour in particular, which was a bright red or orange (*croceus*).²¹ Clodius thus wears the same robe as Mnesilochos in the *Thesmophoriazusai* of Aristophanes (253). The *crocota* is an excellent symbol for the comic Dionysian costume as a whole. In Cicero, its use indicates a further ‘literarization’ of the description. The short passage might have been relished by Cicero’s readers as exactly what it is: a comical scene. Whatever the real core of the scandal, Cicero is mocking his rival less with further details than with a winking nod back to those real events. This later description need not be accurate for it to fulfil its rhetorical function of ridicule.

Another difference from the pamphlet is the explicit mention of *muliebres soleae* (women’s sandals) and the shrinking of the *fasciae* to *fasciolae*. Women’s footwear, especially sandals, is often involved in travesty and invective. The idea of Clodius wearing female footwear is the same in the senate speech and in the pamphlet (although it is not explicitly mentioned there). Here, however, the footwear is explicitly stressed. Clodius wears women’s sandals with *small* straps (*fasciolae*) as befit women’s shoes. Sandals—though always designated by the same word—were generally not unisex, there being clearly identifiable male and female variants. This reinforces the argument that the *fasciolae* are not leg wraps but something involving the shoes themselves. These diminutive straps appear to be the more delicate or filigree female variant for the specifically female variant of the sandal. By referring to Clodius’ sandals, Cicero

²⁰ Cf. A 3 p. 58.

²¹ Cf. B 11 p. 416.

brings his description further into line with that of Aristophanes, where Mnesilochos received ὑποδήματα.

Thus, Mnesilochos' garb differs from Clodius' only by a shawl (ἔγκυκλον 261). The other parallels are so close that one may assume that Cicero intentionally imitated Aristophanes. By referring to the lyre and the singing, Cicero rounds out the picture. Clodius looks like one of the Greek hetaeras we see on numerous depictions. The implicit references to Mnesilochos and Clodius cast as a female lyre player suggest that Cicero's picture of Clodius is a fantasy that is primarily fed by Greek literature and probably has only little to do with everyday Roman life. Cicero himself never saw Clodius dressed up as a woman, and therefore it is safe to assume that the detailed description is expanded on, if not intentionally exaggerated. That being said, it supports the basic contours we see of Roman female clothing in connection with other garments and in smaller textual fragments.

11 Lucretius – the invisible woman

The following chapter deals with the poet Lucretius (ca. 95–55 BCE). Lucretius mentions female dress only once in his philosophical poem *De rerum natura* (On Nature). His remarks are largely based on Epicurus' writings. He was perhaps also influenced by some other Greek text, a philosophical *diatribe*, when composing this 'satirical' section. All in all, we seem to be entering a Graeco-Roman world in it. On the one hand, we find in it all items of what appears to be a Greek lifestyle. On the other hand, we are faced with intellectual conceptions, such as *patrimonium* (inherited property) and *officium* (duty), which one would rather connect with the Roman elite.

The pertinent passage (4.1121–1130) has already been extensively discussed and commented on.¹ The following remarks therefore focus on the problems of transmission and discuss the garments referred to in the text. In contrast to other poets, for example Catullus (A 12), Lucretius does not talk about elegant dress in order to illustrate and to augment the beauty of an individual woman. The woman and her body instead remain completely invisible. The text therefore offers a seeming paradox: How does one describe women's dress without a woman wearing it?

Lucretius' remarks on dress form part of a section dealing with the negative consequences that love (*amor*) has for men. Among these, Lucretius does not only count the weakening of the physical energy of the man, but also the waste of his wealth and the endangerment of his social position. It is a literary commonplace that we also encounter in Greek New Comedy and Roman Palliata: Male lovers, especially young ones, indulge in banquets with their mistresses instead of pursuing their duties (*officia*); they waste their money on lavish gifts, including luxurious clothes. But to no avail: As is often the case with this trope, bitterness is felt even at the very height of the party (4.1134). Lucretius' version is tinged by Epicurean thought and reads as follows:²

Lucr. 4.1121–1130
adde quod absumunt viris pereuntque labore, 1121
adde quod alterius sub nutu degitur aetas,
languent officia atque aegrotat fama vacillans. 1124
labitur interea res et Babylonia fiunt 1123
unguenta et pulchra in pedibus Sicyonia rident. 1125
scilicet et grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi
auro includuntur teriturque thalassina vestis

¹ Commentaries: Lambinus (1563); Lachmann (1860); Munro (1893); Bailey (1947); Godwin (1986); Brown (1987); Deufert (2018).

² 1124/1123 Avancius (1502); 1124 *vacillans* Marullus: *vigillans* codd.; 1123 *Babylonia* codd.: *Babylonica* post Pium (1511) multi edd.; 1125 *unguenta* codd.: *crucem apposuerunt vel emendaverunt* multi edd.; 1130 *ac Melitensia* Lambinus (1563); *atque Alidensia* codd.: *atque Alideusia* Lachmann (1860); *Ciaque* Lachmann; *Ceaque* Lambinus: *Chiaque* codd.

*adsidue et Veneris sudorem exercita potat.
et bene parta patrum fiunt anademata, mitrae,
interdum in pallam ac Melitensia Ciaeque vertunt.* 1130

Add to this that they waste their strength and perish by toil; add to this that they spend their lives under the command of some other person. They forget their responsibilities, and their reputation falters and suffers. Meanwhile their wealth decays and becomes Babylonian unguents, and beautiful Sikyonian shoes laugh at their feet. Yes, large emeralds with green light are set in gold. The purple cloth is worn down permanently, and drinks, put to hard tests, the salty juice of Venus. The wealth of the fathers won by honest means becomes headbands and headscarves. Occasionally, it is converted into a *palla* and into robes of Malta and Keos.

The situation is basically the same as in comedy, but the mood of the scene is completely different. The author is very serious. Love is no child's game. It is a real social and financial threat. Lucretius is concerned with illustrating Epicurean theory and not with describing an erotic meeting. Understanding the passage presupposes that we understand its philosophical background. The focus is on the waste of financial means and not on sexual debauchery (in comparison to similar passages in Seneca). In contrast to Roman Love Elegy, the beloved woman is fully concealed behind the numerous items of luxury (purchased by the misguided lover). We do not see her, nor do we get to know anything about her personality. The 'materialistic' focus is further enhanced by the fact that Lucretius does not coherently describe an individual banquet, but merely gives a general list of things a banquet normally consists of.

One detail at the end stands out: Because the bodies of the lovers are not shown, the euphemistic physiological detail of male ejaculation (*sudor veneris*) is highly conspicuous. Lucretius does not use as vulgar a term as 'semen.' He instead resorts to the more decent euphemism of the man's 'sweat' (*sudor*) that leaves his body due to physical exertion. This exertion has to do with Venus, the goddess of love and sex. In other words, the text is referring to semen.

In the preceding section, Lucretius described the male lover's insatiable desire for physical union. However, the presence of the expensive clothing adds to the objectionable nature of this desire. In Epicurean philosophy, luxurious clothing is already a non-natural and unnecessary pleasure. The 'sweat of Venus' is absorbed by one such needlessly luxurious garment, specifically a purple one. The absorption creates a threefold criticism of the male lover: This type of clothing (1) not only does not do any good, but (2) it actually does harm by opposing (penetrative) sexual intercourse (a natural, though conditionally necessary pleasure), which in turn (3) impedes the begetting of children.

Even though the euphemism is clear enough, there are several difficulties in the text as it is transmitted to us. The vv. 1123–1125 are problematic as to their sense if we keep the transmitted order. In v. 1123, the adjective *Babylonia* (Babylonian) is not used as a noun anywhere else in Latin literature and lacks a word to which it refers. Verse

1124 interrupts the enumeration of luxury items, but would fit in well with the general statements that precede the passage. In v. 1125, the first word *unguenta* cannot be meaningfully construed. A convincing solution was proposed by Avancius (1502),³ who simply inverts the order of vv. 1123 and 1124. This removes all problems we encounter with the traditional order. The beginning of the list is thus made by a precious Oriental perfume (*Babylonia unguenta*). The reference to the Orient comes through the city of Babylon being used as a metonymy for the entire East. There is no exact parallel for the expression *Babylonia unguenta*, but there is repeated mention of Syrian nard oil in symposiastic poetry, which can be referred to as either ‘Assyrian’ or ‘Achaemenid.’⁴ The ephemeral fragrance seems to be deliberately placed at the beginning in order to achieve the greatest possible contrast to the solid (metal) fortune that is wasted on it. The hyperbole of using the impossibly ancient reference—the city of Babylon had perished centuries earlier—may be used to make the perfume appear very expensive. Though no part of the body is explicitly mentioned by Lucretius, other passages on Roman customs suggest associating this wasteful luxury (at least according to Epicurean philosophy) with hair in particular.⁵

Following the pattern seen with Cicero,⁶ Lucretius’ view connects the head with the feet. He moves from the head to specifically the shoes.⁷ Like with the ‘Babylonian unguents,’ Lucretius also refers to them by a ‘brand name’ (*Sicyonia*). ‘Sikyonian shoes’ are luxurious Greek women’s shoes in the shape of a *soccus*.⁸ In Latin, they are first mentioned by Lucilius in a scene that Lucretius might have imitated.⁹ It may seem surprising that these two parts of the body stand together, the middle of the body being left out. There is, however, a parallel for the connection between the head (again perfume) and feet in the pseudo-Virgilian poem called *Ciris*. It shows us the desperate heroine Scylla, whose luxurious dress—like that of Catullus’ Ariadne (B 11)—is in complete disarray:

[Verg.] *Ciris* 167–169:
infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe,
non storace Idaeo fragrantis vincta capillos,

³ Cf. more recently by Brown (1987) 252–253 and Deufert (2018) 275 with doxography.

⁴ Cat. 6.2: *Syrio olivo*; Hor. c. 2.7.8: *malobathro Syrio*; [Tib.] 3.6.63: *Syrio nardo*; Cat. 68.144: *flagrantem Assyrio odore domum*; Hor. c. 2.11.16: *Assyria nardo uncti*; Hor. epod. 13.8: *Achaemenio nardo*; further parallels in Brown (1987) 256; on the different *unguenta* and their names, see Marquardt/Mau (1886) 784–785.

⁵ In [Lucian.] *Amor.* 40, the lover also wastes his fortune for precious hair oil for women, cf. Deufert (2018) 275.

⁶ Cf. A 10 p. 204.

⁷ On the following, cf. especially Brown (1987) ad loc.

⁸ Cf. B 30 pp. 551–552.

⁹ Cf. Lucilius 1161 M. (= 1263 Chr./Garb.): *et pedibus laeva Sicyonia demit honesta* [and she is pulling off the pretty *Sicyonia* from her feet with her left hand], cf. A 8 p. 181.

*coccina non teneris pedibus Sicyonia servans,
non niveo retinens bacata monilia collo.*

The unhappy young girl rushes all over the city. Her hair that smells of Idaean perfume is not tied anymore. She has lost her scarlet Sikyonian shoes from her tender feet. She is not wearing her pearl necklace on her snow-white neck anymore.

It is instructive to compare this passage to Lucretius. The ingredients are similar, but they are put to completely different use. In the *Ciris*, we see a woman tormented by love. In Lucretius, no woman is mentioned at all.

Returning to Lucretius, vv. 1126–1128 form the centre of the section. They offer no problems as to their transmission and their general content. However, their precise meaning is difficult to explain. Lucretius is talking of three valuable materials: gold (*aurum*), emeralds (*smaragdi*), and purple cloth (*thalassina vestis*). This passage is the only instance of the adjective *thalassinus*. Greek parallels, however, show us that it must refer to the purple colour obtained from the purple sea snail (*murex*). The Romans used purple for distinction from ancient times on¹⁰—maybe they took up this preference from the Etruscans. Although the materials are clear, it is difficult to determine the specific objects for which they are used. Lucretius is perhaps being deliberately vague in this respect. In the case of the gold and emeralds, he could be referring to valuable rings. He would thus be among the first in a long series of Latin authors denouncing gemstones. On the other hand, it is strange that he does not use a more precise expression. We may therefore also think of other luxury items like beds and couches that could be adorned with gold and precious stones.¹¹ The same difficulty arises with the expression *thalassina vestis* ('purple cloth').¹² This can refer either to sheets or blankets or to the dress of the couple, especially of the woman. Love Elegy contains two mentions of emeralds together with valuable clothes (*vestis*) or purple.¹³ Since we are to think of the couple in bed together, a reference to a couch seems preferable.

Whatever the precise meaning, the couple itself remains invisible. We see neither man nor woman. All we have to focus on is their sexual intercourse and finally the male ejaculation, which affects the purple cloth. Although this is poetically circumscribed, the physiological detail deprives the scene of any erotic sentiment that could detract readers from the shocking philosophical truth: The purple is rubbed off (*teritur*), subject to heavy strain (*exercita*). It finally 'drinks' (*potat*) the man's semen. From the point of view of Epicurean doctrine, Lucretius perhaps wanted to show that neither the clothes nor the bodies are put to their natural purpose (*natura*). To make matters worse, this

¹⁰ Cf. B 11 pp. 445–447.

¹¹ Vergil. *Georg.* 2.505–506; Petron. 83 (with Habermehl ad loc.); Lucan. 10.123–126; Martial 3.82.5–7; cf. in general Brown (1987).

¹² On the meaning of *thalassinus*, see Brown (1987) 259–260. OLD s.v. still offers the nonsensical "(prob.) resembling the sea in color."

¹³ Cf. Prop. 2.16.43–44; Tib. 2.4.27.

unnatural act ruins expensive clothing (both by soaking it and by rubbing out the costly dye). Taken together, Lucretius presents a useless, even wasteful effort despite all the luxury that accompanies it.

In vv. 1129–1130, the banquet ‘scene’ is finally over, and Lucretius shifts his attention to the woman’s wardrobe. The focus is now on the many ‘superfluous’ items of clothing that are part of the female outfit. The short list is similar to other (misogynous) garment catalogues we find in comedy (A 3–4). In v. 1129, the solid wealth acquired through generations (*bene parta patrum*) is first set in contrast to the flimsy fashion articles for which it is squandered. The *anademata* are headbands (B 14). The Greek loanword is only used here. It probably belongs to everyday fashion language and—unlike the term *vitta* (B 16)—is a neutral term that has no obvious positive moral connotations. The same applies to the term *mitra* (B 13). This is also a Greek loanword and denotes a headscarf. Both headdresses are rather trivial accessories. Lucretius includes them here precisely because they are superfluous items. The contrast between ‘modern’ articles of fashion and ‘ancient’ wealth can also be felt on the linguistic level, since old Latin words stand aside more modern Greek loanwords. Old Roman wealth thus becomes fashionable Greek tinsel. Finally, v. 1130 stresses the cost that is at times (*interdum*) caused by expensive clothes.

The word *palla* is ambiguous since it can either designate a cloak or a foot-long sleeveless robe (*‘peplos’*) (B 3). It is difficult to decide what it means in Lucretius. On the one hand, the Greek source (Epicurus) and the context (the world of ‘banquets’) point to the meaning ‘long robe.’ On the other hand, the usage of Varro and Horace suggest that Lucretius might refer to a luxury cloak.¹⁴ It is hence better to leave the question open. In any case, the term does not allow for a definite conclusion as regards the status of the woman. A possible indicator for her status is the following *Coae vestes* (see below), which could point to a hetaera. The entire scenario is reminiscent of Plautus’ comedy *Menaechmi*, where an expensive *palla* (*‘peplos’*) is given to a meretrix, an act that is presented as squandering money.¹⁵

At the end of his short list of clothes, Lucretius turns to expensive and fashionable dress designated by its provenience. Again, we are faced with some difficulties. The wording is corrupt when it comes to the words *atque Alidensia*.¹⁶ The clothes referred to can neither come from the region Elis nor from the city Alinda in Caria. Neither place is known as a production site for clothes or cloth.¹⁷ In this context, however, there must be talk of a famous luxury brand. A term that fits all purposes is *Melitensia* (clothes

¹⁴ Cf. B 3 p. 286

¹⁵ Plaut. Men. 206 (on the *palla*): *quattuor minae perierunt* [four hundred drachmas are squandered]. On the trope that hetaeras exploit their lovers, cf. vv. 193, 204, 261–262, 340–345, 438–442.

¹⁶ Against Bailey ad loc.

¹⁷ Jessen argues the former and Munro the latter. Another argument against Elis is the wrong length of the vowel A. It is short in *Alidensia*, but has to be measured long in Elis.

from Malta) that is mentioned several times in Roman literature.¹⁸ Lambinus (1563) therefore emended the meaningless *atque Alidensia* to *ac Melitensia*.¹⁹ His conjecture was rejected by Lachmann²⁰ because it involves significant changes to the letters. This reasoning is too strict, since the emendation is not actually very difficult and produces a perfect sense.²¹ *Melitensia* denotes garments made of fine linen, a luxury article also loved by Verres and his wife.²² They also go well with the following *Coae vestes*, which were made of silk (see below).

The next mistake that impedes our understanding at this point seems to be very old. The text of Lucretius apparently already had an error at the time of the Migration Period, as a reference to it in Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636 CE) shows. Isidore, an author whose genius is much overvalued by modern research on Roman dress, must have found the nonsensical *et bene patra* (instead of *parta*) *patrum* in v. 1129 of his text. He used this reading to give an absurd explanation of the term *patratio*. He argues: *est rei veneriae consummatio* (the word *patratio* denotes the consummation of sexual intercourse).²³ Isidore also knew v. 1130 in a mutilated form, since he gives us a similarly ludicrous definition of a chimaera called *Velenensis tunica: quae affertur ex insulis* (a *tunica* that is imported from the islands).²⁴ He probably came to this explanation by connecting *Velenensis* to *velum* (sail). A *tunica Velenensis* had thus to be imported by ship, hence from islands.²⁵

The last expression in the line offers a problem of its own. It clearly refers to so-called *Coae vestes*, silken clothes that were very expensive and only came into fashion in Rome in Augustan times.²⁶ Lucretius is probably only ‘translating’ a Greek source (see below). In Rome, thin Coan clothes are associated with the emancipated hetaera and are celebrated in Augustan poetry.²⁷ However, our text offers the variant *Chiaque* (not Coaque, as one would first expect). The divergence of orthography may seem a minor

18 Cf. B 9 pp. 384–385.

19 Lambinus already derived it from Turnebus.

20 Lachmann’s own proposal *alideusia* (= purple) is not convincing. It creates a new word. Moreover, with the following expression (*Chiaque*), one would expect the corrupt transmission to instead contain a reference to a place.

21 Against Brown (1987) ad loc.

22 Cf. B 9 p. 384.

23 Isid. Etym. 9.52.5.

24 Isid. Etym. 19.22.21.

25 Against Pausch (2003) 138, 142, who thinks Isidore is referring to a real garment.

26 Cf. B 9 pp. 386–391; Becker/Göll III (1882) 284–286; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 493–494; Blümner (1911) 244 and I (1912) 202; Wilson (1938) 4; S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos. An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period*, Göttingen 1978, 82, 378–383; Sebesta (1994) 69; GRD (2007) 37; A. Keith, *Satorial Elegance and Poetic Finesse in the Sulpician Corpus*, in: Edmondson/Keith (eds.) (2008), 194; B. Hildebrandt/C. Gillis, *Silk. Trade and Exchange along the Silk Roads between Rome and China in Antiquity*, Ancient Textile Series 29, Oxford 2017, 35–36.

27 Hor. sat. 1.2.101–102; Prop. 1.2.12, 2.1.5; Tib. 2.3.53–54, 2.4.29–30; Prop. 4.2.23, 4.5.23, 57–58; Hor. c. 4.13; Ovid. Ars 2.297–298.

issue at first glance. Nevertheless, it teaches us something about ‘brand names’ and their origins and may caution us against the supposition that silken *Coae vestes* were necessarily manufactured on Kos or even exported from that island. On the other hand, it shows us a long line of learned philologists trying to find the right solution. At the beginning, Bergk (1853) simply emended *Chiaque* to *Coaque*. However, this correction does not seem necessary. We find a similar variant of the name of the island in Varro. This shows that the origin (and hence the orthography) of the *Coae vestes* was not yet fixed at the time of the Republic. Varro thought that this type of garment did not come from Kos, but from Keos/Kea, the most northwestern island of the Cyclades: *ex hac (sc. Kea) profectam deliciauiorem feminis vestem auctor est Varro* (Varro tells us that the elegant female clothes came from Kea).²⁸ The same variant of the name probably caused Lucretius’ *Chiaque*, which he might have derived from his Greek (Epicurean) source.²⁹ For this reason, Lambinus (1563) put *Ceaque*, and Lachmann (1850) put the form *Ciaque* in the text, both excluding the superfluous letter H. As to the Latin form of the name of the island, it is difficult to say what Lucretius himself wrote. Κεῖος, the Greek word, is variously transcribed in Latin as *Ceus* or *Cius*. The confusion of the vowels possibly stems from early Latin orthography, which expressed a long vowel I with the letters EI. For example, later orthography wrote *silvis*, whereas early texts would have written *silveis*. Later authors might have therefore erroneously thought that the EI in the form *Ceiuis* stood for the later form *Cius* (the EI representing a long I). In any case, the discussion of the names of the islands shows that *Coae vestes* might not be named after an island at all.

The short passage in Lucretius shows all problems we have when it comes to understanding the exact ‘cultural meaning’ of a Latin text. It is not easy to say whether Lucretius is describing a Roman scene or a Greek one. And what about the *Melitensia* and the *Coae vestes*? Do they belong to the Roman or rather to the Greek world? Without doubt, Lucretius used a Hellenistic Greek source when writing the section. However, we also know both garments from texts portraying ‘Roman’ life. In conclusion, we may perhaps say that the dichotomy underlying the question is too strict, the Roman world being in large parts also a Greek world. Thus, we might answer the question of whether Lucretius is describing the Roman or the Greek world with this: He is describing both in one.

²⁸ Plin. NH 4.62.

²⁹ Against Lachmann and Bailey ad loc.

12 Catullus c. 64 – Ariadne, dressed and yet naked

In this chapter we will take a look at Catullus' description of the heroine Ariadne (c. 64). It is the only passage where (Greek) female clothing is mentioned in Catullus' work. The poem has been discussed many times in research.¹ The following section will therefore only deal with Ariadne's clothing and its poetic function. In contrast to Lucretius (A 11), Catullus uses the mention of clothes to direct our view not only to an individual woman (Ariadne), but to her beauty (*forma*) manifesting itself in the unveiled parts of her body. The description of Ariadne's physical appearance forms part of a sultry eroticism ancient male poets and readers liked very much: The erotic woman in distress (a premise still seen in more modern adventure movies, where the hero rescues a buxom damsel in skimpy or even torn clothing).

The description of Ariadne is found in Catullus' famous short epic poem (epyllion) 64. At the heart of the poem stands the *ekphrasis* of the purple cover on the *lectus genialis* (marriage bed) of Thetis (50–264). The sheet is decorated with mythological figures and scenes.² Catullus picks out a vignette containing the myth of the heroine Ariadne. He retells her story, beginning at the dramatic turning point when she is left behind by Theseus on the island Naxos. The relevant passage starts with a detailed description of Ariadne's outer appearance. She is first compared to the marble statue (*effigies*) of a female bacchant.³ Ariadne's 'statuesque' appearance then forms the starting point for the imagination of both ancient and modern readers. Throughout the description, Catullus plays with the idea of concealment and revelation. Ariadne is not naked,⁴ but her body can be imagined very clearly. She is wearing a robe, but our attention is drawn to what parts the robe reveals and what articles of clothing she is *not* wearing. In a sense, Catullus undresses her without removing the rest of her clothing:⁵

Cat. c. 64.60–70

*quem procul ex alta maestis Minois ocellis
saxea ut effigies bacchantis prospicit, eheu,
prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis,*

¹ For a recent overview of research, see Lustrum (2015) 282–298 (Skinner); commentaries: Kroll (1922); Fordyce (1961); Godwin (1985); Syndikus (1990).

² Cat. c. 64.48–49,50–51: *haec vestis priscis hominum variata figuris || heroum mira virtutes indicat arte* [the cloth was decorated with figures of ancient men and showed the virtuous deeds of heroes with extraordinary art].

³ On comparisons with statues, cf. Syndikus (1990) 141 n. 168.

⁴ Syndikus (1990) 142 n. 169.

⁵ G. Huber, *Lebensschilderung und Kleinmalerei im hellenistischen Epos*, Diss. Basel 1926, 62; Syndikus (1990) 141–144; Godwin (1985) ad loc.: "Ariadne's loss of her clothes is partly ironically futile sexual signaling love, partly unconscious sexual signaling to a new lover whom she cannot see (Bacchus), partly an expression of her grief that she does not care about looking 'decent.'"

*non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram,
 non contexta levi velatum pectus amictu,
 non tereti strophio lactentis vincta papillas,
 omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim
 ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis alludebant.
 sed neque tum mitrae neque tum fluitantis amictus
 illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu,
 toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente.*

Ariadne watches him (sc. Theseus) from afar from the beach covered with sea-weeds with a sad look, like the marble statue of a female bacchant; alas, she watches him and is tossed around by great waves of sorrows. She does not keep the fine *mitra* on her blonde head; she does not have her chest covered with a light cloak; she does not have her milk-white breasts girded with a twisted *strophium*. All these garments had slipped down from her whole body and the tides of the sea played with them at Ariadne's feet. But at that time, she did not care for what her *mitra*, nor for what her floating shawl were doing. With all her heart, Theseus, with all her soul, with all her mind, she hung on thee.

The poet directs our view towards the open chest (*pectus*) and the milk-white breasts (*papillae*), thereby stressing Ariadne's nudity. However, we should by no means misapprehend this to mean that Ariadne is completely naked—that would spoil the effect. Catullus is not writing pornography. Ariadne is no hetaera, but a heroic woman. Comparing her to a female Bacchant, Catullus leaves no doubt that Ariadne is still largely dressed. Female Bacchantes are usually not depicted as naked, but as wearing a robe. Ariadne has only lost her shawl. Her *tunica* is ungirded and has somewhat slipped. The fact that the reader still gets the sense of a naked woman shows the erotic effect of saying what she is *not* wearing while leaving what she *is* wearing only implied.

But let us first have a look at all of Ariadne's garments. Catullus refers to the following four elements of female dress from top to bottom: (1) a headscarf (*mitra*) as headgear (B 13), (2) a light overgarment (*amictus*), i.e. a piece of cloth or shawl called *palliolium* in prose (B 17), (3) a female *tunica* (B 1), and (4) a *strophium* (B 21). Catullus does not mention any shoes. For a heroine, shoes are too prosaic.

At the moment we see her, Ariadne is wearing only her *tunica* of Greek type (*chiton*),⁶ while she has lost the rest of her clothes. By naming the three pieces of clothing that Ariadne is not wearing,⁷ Catullus creates—in a kind of *praeteritio*—the image of a 'regularly dressed' young Greek woman. The contrast intensifies the impression of Ariadne's corporeal beauty. This is what the poet wants his readers to focus on.

⁶ Cf. also the slightly different version of Ovid. epist. 10.137–138 (Ariadne): *adspice demissos lugentis more capillos || et tunicas lacrimis sicut ab imbre graves!* [Look, how my hairs hang down like that of a mourning woman in wail and how my *tunicae* [pl.] are heavy as if from rain].

⁷ For a similar poetic device, cf. Lucan. 2.350–391 (the unusual wedding dress of Marcia), D 5 p. 652.

A (normal) young woman wears a headscarf (*mitra*) on her head to cover her hair, while Ariadne is showing her heroic-blond (*flavus*) hair. She also has a *palliolum* (shawl) thrown around the shoulders and thus covers her torso (*pectus*)—Catullus uses the term *velare* for this, which describes the process of draping the *amictus* around the body in an appropriate way, but also evokes the idea of veiling and unveiling. In contrast, Ariadne has lost her overgarment and allows her chest to be seen. She also lacks a cord (*strophium*) (B 21).⁸ This is not a *fascia pectoralis* (B 22) that was worn like a brassiere on the skin. It might seem so at first glance because of Catullus' mention of Ariadne's breasts (*lactentes papillae*), but this is misleading. Catullus qualifies the *strophium* by the adjective *teres* (twisted),⁹ hinting at the Greek etymology of the word (στρέφω = to twist, plait). A *strophium* fixes the *tunica* to the body. It serves as a belt and thus tightens the cloth.

Ariadne's belt is missing. The garment has therefore slipped down a bit from its usual position, thereby giving free view of Ariadne's chest. The readers' attention is directed to her breasts, thus producing the kind of eroticism typical for this kind of Hellenistic literature. It is probably for this reason that Catullus does not mention Ariadne's *tunica* here, but only brings it up about seventy verses later. Even there, it serves to reveal rather than to dress her body. Ariadne finally lifts her long *tunica* as she walks into the sea, emphasizing what the garment reveals rather than what it covers:

Cat. c. 64.128–130

*tum tremuli salis adversas procurrere in undas
mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae (sc. perhibent)*

now she was running, as they say, into the waves of the trembling sea, lifting the soft garment that covered her naked calves.

Catullus follows a Greek example in his description. The gathering of the garment is a literary motif common in Hellenistic poetry¹⁰ and often used in *epyllia*.¹¹ Women

⁸ Against Kroll (1922) and Godwin (1985) ad loc.: “the *strophium* (also known as *mamillare*) is a band tied around the body with a twist between the breast”; Stafford (2005) 106.

⁹ Against Kroll (1922) ad loc.: “Das *strophium* ... wird rund um den Körper gelegt und heißt darum *teres*.”

¹⁰ Kroll (1922) ad loc.: “Das Aufheben des Gewandes ist ein kokettes, für den Epyllienstil passendes Motiv”; Huber (n. 5) 57–61.

¹¹ Apoll. Rhod. 3.874–875 (servants of Medea): ἄν δὲ χιτῶνας || λεπταλέους λευκῆς ἐπιγούνιδος ἄχρισ ἄειρον [they lifted their fine tunics up until over their knees]; 4.43–46 (Medea): γυμνοῖσιν δὲ πόδεσσιν ἄνὰ στεῖνὰς θέεν οἴμους, || λαιῆι μὲν χερὶ πέπλον ἐπ’ ὄφρυσιν ἀμφὶ μέτωπα || στεῖλαμένη καὶ καλὰ παρήια, δεξιτερῆι δὲ || ἄκρην ὑψόθι πέζαν ἀερτάζουσα χιτῶνος [with bare feet she ran over the narrow paths, with her left hand pulling her peplos above her eyebrows to cover the forehead and the beautiful cheeks, but with her right hand lifting up the outermost border of the tunic] with Livrea (1973) ad loc.; 4. 940: αὐτικ’ ἀνασχόμενα λευκοῖς ἐπὶ γούνασι πέζας [lifting up the border over their white knees]; 4.949; Call. hym. Dian. 11–12 (Diana): εἰς γόνυ μέχρι χιτῶα ζώννυσθαι [to gird the *chiton* up to the

lift their long robe when walking quickly (called either χιτών or, in poetry, πέπλος by our sources). This should be imagined in the same way as later European dresses that needed to be lifted up in order to walk quickly or to climb stairs so as to not step on the hem. In its normal state, the border of the *tunica* is lifted a bit from the ground because it is fastened by a cord, the bosom part of it (κόλπος) being doubled. With Ariadne's tunic, it is different. The text has already mentioned that Ariadne has lost her belt (*strophium*). Her *chiton* therefore hangs down and has to be gathered by hand. This act gives Catullus the opportunity to direct the readers' view to another part of Ariadne's body: her naked calves (*nudatae surae*).¹² Again, he plays with the idea of veiling and unveiling. Ariadne's clothes are referred to with the unspecific word *tegmen* (cover), which is derived from *tegere* (to cover). We do not get the impression of a specific garment, but only have the notion of its functioning as some kind of cover. The repeated uncovering that occurs during her movement therefore becomes even more prominent. Ariadne is dressed, but we feel that she is somehow naked. It is the erotic nature of the deserted woman.

knees]; Theocrit. id. 14.35: ἀνειρύσασα δὲ πέπλωσ [lifting her garments]; 26.16–17: πέπλωσ ἐκ ζωστήρος ἐς ἰγνύαν εἰρύσασαι [lifting up their garments up to the knees]; Moschus Eur. 126–127: χειρὶ δ' ἄλλῃ εἶρνε πορφύρεας κόλπου (πέπλου Bühler [1960]) πτύχας [with the other hand she (sc. Europa) lifted up the purple folds of her garment] with Bühler (1960) ad loc. The lifting up of the garment is already found in the Homeric hymn to Ceres, cf. Hym. Cer. 176: ὧς αἰ ἐπισχόμεναι ἐανῶν πτύχας ἰμεροέντων [thus they lifted up the folds of their fine garments].

¹² In our Greek sources, the knees are usually mentioned, see n. 11.

13 Imperial literature on dress – an overview

In contrast to the authors dating to the time of the Roman Republic, especially the early ones, Imperial literature on dress is not problematic as concerns textual transmission. In most cases, the manuscript evidence is sufficient, and the text has been established in a satisfying manner. For this reason, the Imperial sources are only discussed in part B, and a short overview will suffice here.

In general, the mention of dress depends on the literary genre. For this reason, there are only few references to it in epic poetry and high flown history; we usually find it mentioned in literature that pertains to normal life. In Republican times, the genres referring to articles of everyday culture are political oratory and comedy. This changes in Imperial times. Now, Roman Love Elegy, satire, epigram, and the novel are our main sources. In addition, there are some ‘technical’ treatises that occasionally refer to garments.

The frequency of references follows the general transmission of Latin literature. There is much evidence in Augustan times (35 BCE–14 CE). In the time of the other Julio-Claudian emperors (14–68 CE), our sources become fewer. They increase again in the Flavian period (69–96 CE). Under Trajan and Hadrian (98–138 CE), there is still some primary historical evidence. In the second half of the second century CE, however, the character of our sources changes. They become largely antiquarian, and our authors often talk about dress they do not know anymore from practical experience. The last evidence dating to Antiquity are the excerpts from various jurists later collected in the Digests. After this, there is a gap of transmission. The next contemporary source about dress is the Edict of Diocletian (301 CE), which comes about eighty years later. This places it at the beginning of Late Antiquity.

In general, there are about twenty authors in Imperial times who refer to Roman garments. All of them have specific qualities and contribute specific bits and pieces of knowledge. The following provides a rough (albeit not complete) sketch of when and how a particular author or text comes into play. The most important single sources are Ovid and Martial. However, there are many other texts that offer interesting and unique information.

Horace is our first major source as to the traditional costume of the Roman *matrona* and the prostitute and its history in the latter part of the first century BCE.¹ In addition, Vitruvius’ *De architectura* (ca. 30–20 BCE) helps us to track down the matronal *stola* on the monuments and provides the missing link that the matronal shoes were called *calcei*.² Vergil mentions female Roman garments very rarely since his epic poems and his choice of subject do not allow for this. However, he finds his place in the history of

¹ Hor. sat. 1.2, 1.6 and c. 3.14; cf. B 3 pp. 287–288; B 4 pp. 306–308, 313–316, 326, 332–333; B 6 pp. 368–370; B 9 p. 387; B 16 p. 477.

² Vitruv. 1.1.5, 4.1.6–7; cf. B 4 pp. 304–305; B 25 pp. 527–528.

female Roman dress by some veiled allusions to it and a fine description of the *mitra*.³ The Augustan Love poets Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid introduce us to the costume of the Roman *puella*. Ovid, in his *Amores* (15 BCE) and *Ars amatoria* (2 CE), gives us a comprehensive overview of the variety of young Roman women's attire and also a wonderful list of dress colours.⁴ His *Metamorphoses* (8 CE) and *Fasti* (17 CE) are of less importance, though the latter provides a fine view of how the tunic could be draped.⁵ Tibullus adds nothing to the picture we get out of Ovid, since he does not describe Delia's dress in detail.⁶ There is more in Propertius, who focuses on Cynthia's elegant garb and her Coan garments. His mention of the *soccus* also proves that it was not a sock, but a type of shoe. In his funerary elegy on Cornelia, he also describes the attire of a matron belonging to the imperial court, hinting at the same time at Augustan dress legislation.⁷ Valerius Maximus' rhetorical treatise *Facta et Dicta*, published under Tiberius (14–37 CE), also seems to mirror this legislation.⁸ All these authors help us to get a good impression of what dress style, fashion, and imperial representation was like in Augustan and Tiberian times.

In Claudian and Neronian times, the treatment of dress gets more pointed. Seneca repeatedly complains about the degeneracy of dress style.⁹ Petronius, in his *Satyrical*, shows us what such supposedly degenerate fashion looked like by giving us a full description of the attire of the freedwoman Fortunata and her husband Trimalchio.¹⁰ His novel is the point where we get closest to individual dress style and fashion. Lucan's epic poem *Pharsalia* mentions clothing only once, since the work does not allow for a mundane subject matter. However, his description of Marcia's attire helps us to define matronal dress more precisely.¹¹

In early Flavian times, Pliny's *Natural history* (ca 73 CE) is our most informative source. This encyclopaedia is very 'factual' in its subject matter and approach. Among other things, Pliny gives us a history of the production of purple and wool. He also talks about the upper-class fashion and luxury during his lifetime.¹² Under Domitian (81–96 CE), there are the epigrams of Martial. Martial comes close to Ovid as to his importance for our knowledge about female Roman dress. In his so-called *Apophoreta* (84 CE), he lists many dress terms and garments. He also introduces the *synthesis* to Roman

3 Verg. Aen. 1.648–652, 4.215–217, 9.616, cf. B 1 p. 259; B 3 pp. 294–295; B 13 pp. 462–463.

4 Ovid. am. 1.5.9–14, 1.7.47–48, 3.1.7–14, 3.3.25–36; ars 1.31–32, 2.297–302, 3.169–192, 3.273; cf. B 1 p. 267; B 2 pp. 281–282; B 3 pp. 296–297; B 4 pp. 308–309, 312; B 9 p. 390, 396; B 11 pp. 410–420; B 16 p. 480; B 20 p. 494; B 22 p. 508.

5 Ovid. fasti 1.405–410, 2.319–324; cf. B 1 pp. 248–250.

6 Tib. 1.6.67–68, 1.10.61; cf. B 1 p. 266; B 4 p. 318.

7 Prop. 2.1.15, 4.11.60–61, 4.7.40–41; cf. B 4 pp. 337–339; B 5 p. 358; B 9 pp. 388, 392; B 25 pp. 535–536.

8 Val. Max. 2.1.4, 5.2.1; cf. B 4 pp. 339–340; B 15 pp. 481–482.

9 Sen. de ben. 7.9.5, NQ 7.3.2, epist. 114.21; cf. B 9 p. 389; B 11 pp. 428, 439.

10 Petron. 67; cf. B 1 pp. 268–272; B 4 pp. 310–311; B 11 passim; B 30 p. 553.

11 Lucan. 2.360–364; cf. B 1 pp. 272–273; B 4 p. 319; D 5 pp. 651–653.

12 Plin. NH 9.137, 11.77, 30.94, 33.41; cf. B 4 pp. 350–351; B 9 pp. 389, 394–395; B 11 pp. 431, 447–449.

literature and, being fond of salacious jokes, informs us about all kinds of female bodywear.¹³ Martial makes us see Flavian Roman society and its tastes in fashion more clearly, although his epigrams are full of stereotypes. Stereotype is also what we get in the *Carmina Priapea*, which show an old woman in *tunica* and *stola*.¹⁴ In contrast to these authors, the epic poet Statius does not refer to Roman dress anywhere, not even in his occasional poems called *Silvae*. His only material contribution to the history of dress is a blatant omission. Statius does not mention the *flammeum* (bridal scarf) in a long wedding poem so that we may conclude that it was out of fashion at his time.¹⁵ The orator Quintilian also offers no more than a casual comment on the nature of female dress.¹⁶

Under Trajan, the evidence begins to fade out altogether. However, there are still some interesting sources. Pliny the Younger gives us the important information that the Vestals were dressed in a *stola*.¹⁷ Tacitus, in his ethnographic treatise *Germania* (98 CE), teaches us implicitly how rich Germanic women imitated Roman upper-class dress. In his *Annals*, he describes how Greek fashion came up briefly under Nero and then disappeared and also tells us a fine story about a heroic freedwoman hanging herself on a *fascia pectoralis* as a form of resistance against Nero's political purges.¹⁸ In contrast to him, Suetonius is very disappointing. He wrote, as we know, an entire treatise about dress, but no trace is left of it. Instead, all we get from him is gossip about the Roman Emperors' quirks and their strange attire. He introduces us to Augustus' propensity for lots of bodywear and to Caligula's extravagant feminine shoes.¹⁹ That is all. Juvenal's *Satires* read like a short appendix to Martial, focusing on cross dressing and deviations from the normal.²⁰ However, he tells us what official Roman dress style looked like in Italy at this point.

In the time of the Antonine Emperors, we first have Apuleius and Gellius. Apuleius' novel *Metamorphoses* is very artificial as to its language and shows us that the stereotypes about social roles and female dress we found in old Roman comedy were still prevalent in the second century CE.²¹ The grammarian Gellius in his learned or rather pseudo-learned *Noctes Atticae* is most concerned with the usage of old dress terms. Two interesting chapters inform us about the extent to which Roman dress style had

13 Apart from the *Apophoreta* see, for example, Mart. 2.39, 10.52; 11.99.1–6; cf. B 6 pp. 371–372; B 7 p. 376; B 8 p. 381; B 9 p. 395; B 10 pp. 401–404; B 11 pp. 428–429 and passim; B 20 p. 494; B 22 pp. 509–510; B 23 pp. 513–514; B 24 pp. 516, 518.

14 Carmen 12, cf. B 4 pp. 316–318; B 11 p. 442.

15 B 18 p. 490.

16 Quintilian. 11.3.138; cf. B 1 p. 251.

17 Plin. epist. 4.11; cf. B pp. 327–328.

18 Tac. Germ. 17.2; Tac. ann. 14.21; cf. B 4 pp. 350, 351–352; B 22 pp. 505–506.

19 Suet. Aug. 82.1, 94.10, Cal. 52; Cf. B 1 pp. 247, 254; B 25 p. 521; B 27 p. 531.

20 Iuven. 2.65–70, 3.171–172, 6.444–446; cf. B 1 p. 251; B 4 p. 354; B 5 pp. 372–373.

21 Apul. Met. 2.2,7, 11.3; cf. B 1 pp. 273–276; B 3 pp. 288; B 22 pp. 508, 510.

already changed by that time.²² Then comes Tertullian (ca. 155–220 CE). He is the only Christian Latin author included in this book. Like Gellius, Tertullian already looks back on Classical Roman dress and writes in an antiquarian mood. His remarks have caused much misunderstanding, but they can be put to good use if interpreted correctly.²³

Our last sources from Antiquity are again closer to life. They are Ulpianus (ca. 170–223/8 CE) and his fellow jurists, whose remarks are preserved in the Digests. They consist in legal definitions of dress terms used in last wills and demonstrate that many garments were still in use in their time, although we did not hear about them for a long time. The jurists are also important because they attribute garments to different genders and social classes without bias. The overview given by them is like a cross-section and feels a bit like a farewell to antique dress.²⁴

All in all, the Imperial sources on female Roman dress are not as many as we would like them to be. Their narratives and those of the Republican sources are woven together by modern scholars into what we perceive as historical Roman dress culture.

²² Gell. NA 6.12, 13.22; cf. B 1 p. 260; B 28 p. 539; B 29 p. 547; B 30 pp. 554–555.

²³ Tert. De cultu fem. 2.12, pall. 4.9; cf. B 4 pp. 337, 344–349.

²⁴ Digest. 34.2.23, 26, 28; cf. B 3 pp. 290–292; B 7 pp. 375, 377; B 10 p. 401; B 13 pp. 462, 464; B 14 p. 468; B 17 p. 486; B 25 p. 523.



Part B: **Dress and Dress Terms**

Introduction to part B

1 Sources and methods

Part B aims to reconstruct the appearance of female Roman dress from its obscure beginnings to about 200 CE. It uses all literary primary sources left in the respective period while relegating secondary sources—i.e. ancient scholars' talk about garments they did not know firsthand—to parts C and D.¹ In general, part B does not discuss basic textual matters. If the transmission of a text is difficult or equivocal, it is dealt with in parts A, C, and D.

The investigation focuses on more than forty terms designating a specific female dress item in neutral language. For the purposes of this study, 'neutral language' is defined as the linguistic idiom you use in everyday life without sounding technical, poetical, or obscene. You can employ it both on your garment shopping list and when writing a book (excluding epic poems, tragedy, and political history). Neutral language is opposed to (1) literary language that is only employed in 'high' literature and to (2) scholarly language (glosses) that is only used by grammarians and *poetae docti*.² Literary and scholarly dress terms are discussed in the parts A and C, D respectively in order to not mix different language registers, or in semiotic language, to not mix different discourses. In this part, terms or usages that belong to the other groups are only adduced when necessary. Glosses are marked by an asterisk (*) to highlight their problematic character.

The study within the single chapters proceeds, in case the evidence allows for it, in three steps.

1. At the beginning, the technical meaning of a term (= the meaning that is necessary for producing the dress item) and the appearance of the garment it designates are elucidated. It is at this point that archaeological sources come into play the most. In many cases, they help us identify the respective item of dress and to interpret the texts. They give us the visual information we need in order to fill some of the blank space left by literature. For this reason, illustrations (relating to Roman monuments) are added at the end of the book.³
2. Then, the social usage of the garment and the underlying social code are explored. The analysis hence focuses on the 'social' meaning of the dress terms. It is about the general notions Roman society would connect with the single words and about how and when the respective garment could be worn without behaving in an

¹ For the methodological reasons, see the general introduction and the conclusion.

² For further definition, cf. Introduction to Part D p. 587.

³ Many studies on the subject indiscriminately mix up mythical and 'everyday' depictions of Greek and Roman dress. In contrast, this book strictly keeps to the Roman 'everyday' evidence if it is possible and indicates the exceptions.

extraordinary manner. The second step is also about the social status indicated by clothing.

3. Finally, the evolution of terms and the history of the garments and of dress style are considered. In general, we see that some old words and traditional garments fell out of use, and new words and new garments cropped up. There were breaches of social norms that evolved into a new normality, and behaviour that was once normal became old-fashioned at a later time. There are words that were part of the everyday idiom once, but were scholarly glosses by the end of the second century CE.

Although the different aspects sometimes overlap, the distinction has been kept to facilitate access for those interested in only one of the three issues.

2 Terminology

The terms for female clothing either have a Latin etymology or they are loanwords from other languages. Apart from *pallium*, which is related to *palla*, all terms designating major garments belong to the A-declension. This obviously was the grammatical paradigm for the formation of dress words, as the adjustment of foreign words like the Celtic word *gausapa* shows. Latin terms for accessories are mostly neuters of the O-declension. Many of the terms designating the most important items of Roman dress (*palla*, *tunica*, *stola*, *toga*, *paenula*, *abolla*, *calceus*, *soccus*, *crepida*, *solea*) have a riddling etymology. All must be very old,⁴ but only *toga*, *calceus*, and *solea* have a clear Latin etymology;⁵ the words *stola* (στολή), *paenula* (φαινόλης), and *crepida* (κρηπίς) are Greek loanwords, but the term *stola* differs from the later Greek loanwords in that it does not have exactly the same meaning as the Greek matrix. Unlike the general Greek term στολή (= *vestis*), the Latin word *stola* designates a specific long female garment.

The etymologies of *palla*, *tunica*, *abolla*, and *soccus* are still under dispute. In the eyes of the non-expert in Indo-European language (like the author), they look similar to Greek words designating the same form of garment and appear like garbled (indirect) Greek loanwords. The form *pal(l)a* is close to Homeric φᾶρος (*pharos*),⁶ *tunica* to Greek χιτών (*chiton*),⁷ *abol(l)a* to Doric ἀνα- or ἀμβολά (*ambola*), *soccus* to συγχάς (*sykchas*). The terms *palla* and *pharos* designate an ornamental cloak, *tunica* and *chiton* the tunic, *abolla* and *ambola* a wrap (ἀναβάλλειν = to throw up and over), and *soccus* and

⁴ Some of them are later used to translate Greek garment terms. *Palla* (χλανίς), *tunica* (χιτών), *pallium* (ιμάτιον), *stola* (πέπλος), *abolla* (τριβών), *calceus* (ὑπόδημα), *soccus* (ἐμβάς).

⁵ The term *toga* refers to an Etruscan garment what was called *tebenna*.

⁶ We must assume an exchange of the liquids L and R and an adjustment of the ending to a new grammatical paradigm.

⁷ Usually both words are thought to derive from a Semitic word.

sykchas a kind of shoe. The equivalence of the dress items designated by the similar Latin and the Greek words is very striking, but the etymological connection is not as straightforward as in the later Greek loanwords, and has vexed modern scholars for a long time. Perhaps, we may interpret the evidence as follows: The Romans inherited the Greek words, already mediated in a slightly altered form, from other Italian peoples or from the Etruscans, to whom they owed the alphabet, some religious customs, and upper-class culture like the *toga*. This is, of course, nothing more than a tentative hypothesis, but we should keep in mind that what we now call ‘Roman’ culture was, from the very beginning, not a homogenous entity but a mixture of Latin, Greek, and Etruscan elements, as is still reflected in the heterogenous foundation myths and narratives of primeval Roman history. Romans always adapted to their cultural environment and took up things from their neighbours that they found practical, which was one of their strengths. We can see this with how they proceeded in the case of the gods. They adapted Greek religion to their own by just changing names and amalgamizing the rest: Zeus became Jupiter; Ares became Mars; Artemis became Diana; and Aphrodite became Venus. If there was no equivalent on the Roman side, foreign names could stand or prevailed, which is why Apollo remained Apollo.

The example of gods and goddesses is the most striking, but we can also observe the same process with dress terms in later times. When the Roman Empire expanded towards Greece in the second century BCE, the above-mentioned terms were already established ‘Latin’ words. Romans used them to translate Greek terms of new dress items they adopted or came to know more closely. They thereby extended the terms’ traditional meaning. The term *tunica* (tunic) hence came to comprise the Greek *chiton* as well; the term *pallium* (cloak) included the Greek *himation*, the term *soccus* (laced shoe) the Greek *embas*, and the term *reticulum* (hairnet) the Greek *kekryphalos*. In some cases, this causes difficulties for us because the Latin and the Greek garments were not completely equal, but our knowledge of them is too limited to note the small differences. We can see that the *chiton* slightly differed from the Roman tunic (B 1) and the *kekryphalos* (hair bag) from the *reticulum* (B 12). In the case of the *himation* and the *pallium* (B 2), we find no difference at all, but Greeks in Imperial times felt the need to create the Latin loanword *πάλλιον* and to distinguish between a *pallium* and *himation* in lists.⁸

In contrast, if the Romans did not know a respective Greek or other foreign dress item, they adopted the strategy that we can already observe in the case of the early major garments. They simply used foreign terms to supplement their own language. Ancient scholars thought that luxury came to Rome in the second century BCE together with Greek culture and left an imprint on Roman customs. And indeed, when we look at the second stratum of direct Greek loanwords for dress items, the Greek influence can indeed be felt. We find several Greek loanwords for various accessories: *anadema*

⁸ Cf. B 11 p. 422.

(hairband) (B 14), *mitra* (head scarf) (B 13), *strophium* I (hair circlet) (B 15), *strophium* II (cord) (B 21), and *zona* (belt) (B 20). In Imperial times, there are also Greek loanwords designating new garment forms—*cyclas* (B 9) and *synthesis* (B 10)—and new types of material—*vestis Melitensis* and *vestis Coa*. In addition, there is the Celtic term *gausapa* (B 9).

There was sometimes a rivalry between an old Latin and a new Greek loanword. As a rule, if a word with Latin etymology existed, it usually prevailed. There are only two exceptions from this: *stola* and *zona*. These terms exist alongside the expressions *vestis longa* and *cingillum*, and they seem to have gotten the better of the Latin terms for political and literary reasons. The short word *stola* was probably championed by Augustan propaganda because it better suited its male counter-part—the term *toga*—than the long expression *vestis longa*.⁹ The *cingillum* was unwieldy in verse and, being a diminutive, had a whiff of the trivial. It is therefore no wonder that poets preferred the Greek term *zona*.¹⁰

As to the words with clear Latin etymologies, we can identify the form of the various garments without doubt. Most take their meaning from the function, as for example *toga* (*tegere* = to cover) (B 6) and *cingillum* (*cingere* = to gird) (B 20). Some take it from their structure, like *praetexta* (*praetexere* = to border something) (B 5) and *vitta* (*viere* = to plait) (B 16), and others derive it from the part of the body the garment applies to, like *calceus* (*calx* = heel) (B 26) and *focale* (*faux* = throat) (B 19). The same statement holds true for the Greek loanwords *anadema*, *strophium*, and *zona*.

3 Appearance

There is no better introduction to what Roman dress looked like than Anne Hollander's remarks on Greek dress in her book *Fabric of Vision* (2002):

Clothes were very simple. Most civil garments were lengths of stuff woven to size and worn as they came off the loom, hung and wrapped or tied and pinned around the body. A suit of clothes consisted of one garment on the body and a wrap over it; both these differed in size and length, and in styles of draping and fastening, according to the wearer's sex, occupation and region, along with the garment's function. Tailoring, the cutting out and piecing together of shaped cloth segments to make a three-dimensional garment, was unknown. The beauty of clothing dwelt in the distinction of its woven fabric and in the elegance or aptness with which it was draped around the individual body. Any ugliness or awkwardness in clothing would arise from the lack of such aptness and distinction, or from noticeable disrepair of the stuff. Beyond that, the aesthetic

⁹ Cf. B 4 p. 302.

¹⁰ Cf. B 20 p. 493.

quality of clothing might be enhanced or diminished or made absurd according to the way its folds behaved when the wearer moved, or how they were acted on by wind or other circumstance.

Hollander's description hits the mark, and there is not much to add to it. It should only be stressed again that there was a general difference between ancient Roman and, if we may generalize in this way, current European dress style. Roman and Greek clothes did not follow the shape of the body. Ancient observers would have probably found the garments we wear today quite 'obscene' because they emphasize the body of the wearer so much. Ancient garments were only minimally tailored, and they did not cling to the torso and did not imitate its forms. Girding was therefore much more important than it is today. If a woman wanted to underline her physical appearance, she had to wear a cord or a belt.¹¹ There was no tapered cut, no well-fitted bra, nor any stays that would expose the physical feminine features. All a woman could do in case she wanted to accentuate her physique was tighten the fabric and make folds appear at the right places. This is an important difference from modern European dress, and we should not underestimate the impact this made to outlook, gait, and female self-representation. The best contemporary examples can be found in South Asia. A woman's *sari* is a long rectangular piece of cloth that creates its beauty through the quality and ornamentation of the fabric and the way it is draped around the body. The ancient tunic also has a close relative in the *kurta/kurti*, the long loose-fitting main garment worn by men and women.

The contrast between ancient Rome and modern Europe gets even clearer when we take a look at ancient female shoes. These did not have a feature that in our times most distinguishes them from male shoes and, as it were, 'defines' them. In Antiquity, women's shoes did not have special (high) heels, which are an invention of the 16th century. The reason why they had none is obvious when we consider both the function of high heels and the appearance of ancient costume. Heels distort the body into an unnatural position and force women to walk in a swaying manner. This effect is intensified by increasing the height. In this manner, two sexual traits of the female physique are accentuated: the backside and the breasts. High-heeled shoes thus have an erotic function, and they shape modern thought about the female body more than one might think. The reason why this overall erotic effect is possible is that modern dress clings to the body and reproduces its shape. Movements of the wearer's body are therefore not obscured by fabric. This then helps explain the absence of high heels in ancient women's wardrobes. The loose nature of ancient garments would have hidden the biomechanical effect of high heels anyway. The ornamental effect of ancient female shoes therefore lies only in the quality of the shoes and the appearance of the feet themselves.¹²

¹¹ On this aspect, cf. also B 20 pp. 494–496.

¹² You may watch this effect on the paintings in Classicist style you find in Hollander's book.

4 Social usage

Dress terms are a shortcut to definition, and they designate not only a form (or sometimes a colour and material), but also a function. They are embedded in statements that often underline these aspects and always imply a social usage of the specific garments. Social usage is not completely congruent with social use and may change in the course of history. We will deal with these changes later and focus in this section only on some basic general social rules as they might have existed in the first century BCE.

Female and male Roman garments often had the same name. In general, Roman male and female dress style existed in less of a dichotomy than has long been the case in modern Europe (for example, trousers vs. skirt). Nevertheless, there were some important differences. Female dress was longer; it consisted of more fabric; and it had more freedom as regards material and colour, whereas male dress was subject to stronger social restrictions. The long tunic and the *stola* were forms reserved for women, as were (exceptional) tunics with sewn-on sleeves. The only restriction there was for women was that they should not dress like men. Their tunics therefore had to be longer and reach over the knees.

The greater freedom of female attire is also borne out in the multitude of accessories that are often mocked by literary misogynistic stereotype. There were more kinds of female headwear than male and—if we take Herondas' lists into account—many more types of shoes for women than for men. We may also be missing some female dress options because our literary sources only rarely mention subspecies or describe an individual garb. Petronius' *Fortunata*, one of the hidden female heroes of this book, is an exception. However, we see that fine fabrics like cotton and silk and bright colours were more permitted with women than with men. As to colour, the difference in usage resembles that of 'traditional' modern dress. Women could use almost every colour without giving offence while men could not. It is only at the end of the period considered in this book when the boundary between male and female dress style became less rigid. But in the first century BCE, the elegant Roman man would avoid colour in public except on insignia.

The general social code that distinguished male and female garb is formulated by Cicero. In his *De officiis* (44 BCE), Cicero instructs his son as to reasonable behaviour, i.e. behaviour becoming of a member of the upper classes. Although Cicero's treatise is based on the writings of the Greek philosopher Panaitios (ca. 185–110 BCE), there are many interesting remarks in it concerning proper Roman societal behaviour. In a section on *decorum*, Cicero also touches on the question of dress. He starts from an abstract definition of *pulchritudo* (beauty) and its two subcategories *venustas* (grace) and *dignitas* (dignity) and then attributes them to the different genders: "Grace," he tells us, "should be considered a female, dignity a male quality."¹³ He then goes on

¹³ Cic. off. 1.130: *venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus, dignitatem virilem.*

to explain that men must avoid all that deviates from a dignified appearance. As to dress style (*vestitus*), it is best to keep to *mediocritas* (avoidance of extremes).¹⁴ Cicero does not talk explicitly about the specifics of female costume—this would have been improper for him—, but we may safely assume that he believed that female dress should express *venustas* (grace, loveliness), something that could be conveyed through the tasteful usage of artificial colour, fine fabric, and a long cut. But we do not have only Cicero. In his *Ars amatoria*, Ovid relates all female costume somewhat more bluntly in relation to how it produces *forma* (handsome appearance). As usual in Latin literature, we only get one side of the coin (the male one), but the female view of things might have been very similar. As modern female fashion shows, garments do not only serve a dress function, but are used as an ornament. This at least was similar in Antiquity.

The basic structure of the Roman women's garb in the first century BCE can be described as follows:

headwear:	<i>mitra, reticulum, vitta, etc.</i>
coat:	<i>pallium (palla), paenula</i>
intermediate garment:	<i>stola</i>
basic garment:	<i>tunica</i>
bodywear:	<i>subucula, fascia pectoralis, subligar</i>
footwear:	<i>calceus, soccus, solea, crepida</i>

The basic garment worn by most women was the *tunica* (= Roman tunic, Greek *chiton*). You had to wear a tunic in public; otherwise, you would have been considered naked (*nuda*). You could put on an extra tunic over it at will if you felt cold. Normally, you would wear the tunic girded with a belt (*cingillum*). Under it, you could have a second tunic, an undertunic (*subucula*), on your skin. In the first century BCE, a *subucula* was normal if weather, circumstance, individual dress style, or sheer poverty or asceticism did not preclude you from using it. A (traditionalist) alternative to the combination tunic/undertunic was wearing a *stola* and an undertunic. If you used a *fascia pectoralis* ('bra') and a Greek tunic (*chiton*), you probably dispensed with the undertunic. All this is documented quite well and does not cause difficulties. In contrast, evidence on women's body- or underwear around the pubic region and buttocks—the so-called *subligar*—is ambiguous. All in all, there are reasons to assume that 'panties' were less common than nowadays. On the foot, you would wear—depending on situation and weather—either a closed shoe (*calceus, soccus*) or a sandal (*solea, crepida*). The informal *soccus* and the *solea* were probably the most popular footwear. As to socks, we face the same problem as with the other bodywear. Even though the Romans had something akin to modern socks (*fasciae pedules*), they were quite uncommon. This may seem surprising at first view, but we should keep in mind that Romans did not

¹⁴ Cic. off. 1.130: *eadem ratio est habenda vestitus, in quo, sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est.*

know knitting. In addition to all these small- and medium-sized garments, you could put on a cloak—either a *pallium* (cloak) or a *paenula* ('poncho')—when going out. If you wanted to cover your head, you could use either of the two or a scarf (*palliolum*). There were no hats or caps for women as we know them today. If you wanted to have an additional ornament for your hair, you used one of the various pieces of headwear.

This is, of course, an idealized picture, similar to that we find on archaeological representations. In reality, the dress options you used depended on your personal preference, age, and social status. Young women dressed differently from old ones; poor women dressed differently from rich ones. The multifaceted dress world of Roman women is lost to us. All we have left for our imagination are literary stereotypes. The *puellae* of Love Elegy—young and attractive freedwomen—are often shown wearing only a single (Greek) tunic and a *fascia pectoralis*. In contrast, the rich Roman matrons appear dressed in a long robe (*stola*) and an ornamental *pallium* or even a *palla*. Unfree prostitutes wear a *toga* when at work. Female (and male) Roman children feature a *toga praetexta*. In Imperial times, Augustus strengthened social symbolism by creating legal dress privileges for married Roman women (*matronae*) and their children. These are the stereotypes we most often find in Roman literature. Reality was certainly more diverse than this, and we sometimes have glimpses of it. We see, for example, that mistresses of Love Elegy also wear two tunics at the same time and that Roman *matronae* did not always use a *stola*. In any case, our view remains lopsided, since we mostly hear about rich and elegant women, whereas average and poor women only sometimes (as in Petronius) make an appearance in literature. Texts pertaining to the garb of the low classes or the average people are rare, but there are at least some. In a famous passage, the jurist Ulpianus is defining the *vestis familiarica*, and he tells us that it consisted of a *tunica* and a *paenula* ('poncho').¹⁵ These two items, or perhaps a *pallium*, will have been normal dress for the majority of ordinary people in the first century BCE. Their costume consisted of normal wool or linen and usually did not feature much artificial colour. It was *pullus* (drab-coloured). Colour was something for the rich and those who wanted to appear fashionable.

5 History

Modern research often presents Antique Roman dress as a uniform entity that was all of a sudden gone in Late Antiquity, like one colour slide being replaced by another. This study, in contrast, tries to show that this change was a process and that Roman dress style was transformed over time. The evolution of Roman fashion was slower and less visible than it is today; but there was some change, and it gathered speed at the end of the Roman Republic.

¹⁵ Cf. B 7 p. 375.

The history of female Roman dress from about 700 BCE onwards has a dark and a bright period. The five hundred years up to the year 200 BCE are quite obscure because there is nearly no literary or archaeological primary evidence. Ancient scholars talked much about early Roman dress, but this is all historical fiction. Their hypotheses are considered and deconstructed in the parts C and D. As to the dark period, all we can do ourselves is to look at the etymology of the most important Latin words designating dress and draw some hypothetical conclusions. Some dress terms have a Latin, some a Greek, and some an obscure root, which on the basis of cultural inferences we can posit as Italian or Etruscan. As this linguistic mixture shows, Roman dress culture was already a hodgepodge of heterogeneous elements early on. However, it is useful treating it as a cultural entity and calling it 'Roman' dress style in order to compare it with Greek and Celtic dress styles that came to influence Roman dress when the empire expanded. In the terms of Niklas Luhmann, Roman culture can be called a 'system' that was massively influenced by new 'environments' (Greek, Celtic culture) afterwards.¹⁶ Among the garments that constituted early Roman costume were the *tunica* with seams on the shoulder (B 1), the *palla* (ornamental cloak) (B 3), the long robe (*stola*) (B 4), the toga (*toga*) (B 6), the *toga praetexta* (*toga* with a purple hem) (B 5), the closed shoe (*calceus*) (B 26), and the hairnet (*reticulum*) (B 12). We may infer that these were more or less the traditional Roman components of women's clothing, since the equivalent Greek garments differ slightly in appearance.

The bright period starts about 200 BCE with our earliest written sources. At the beginning, it is not very bright because the sources are still few, but our knowledge is considerably better for this period than for the period before. After the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE), Rome received new cultural impulses. There had been influence from the neighbouring Greek cities in Italy before, but that had been relatively weak. Now, Rome expanded its power beyond the sea and created new and stable trade connections. In the second century BCE, it came to control the entire Tyrrhenian and conquered large parts of Greece and Asia Minor, turning them into *provinciae*. Greek cultural influence therefore grew and became more pervasive. It was not only Greek philosophers that arrived at Rome. In the first century BCE, Roman society suffered a 'crisis of identity.' Rapid political and cultural expansion led to what we might call an 'over-extension' of power. Historians usually focus on politics and the various civil wars fought on Italian soil, but Roman culture and its transformation is as interesting. In many respects, the first century BCE is a decisive time. In politics, an old system (the Roman Republic) was replaced by a new one (Principate). As to dress, 'traditional' Roman garments disappeared in daily use and became 'historical,' while 'foreign' dress items advanced. Since the mass of our literary and archaeological sources increases during the period, we can watch the transformation in more detail from this time on.

¹⁶ Cf. on this the Epilogue p. 709.

Cultural evolution—Roman fashion being a great example of this—usually does not submit to politics, and single political events on their own hardly ever trigger concrete trends. Nevertheless, for heuristic reasons, it is useful to roughly distinguish the following periods:

1. From the end of the Social War to Augustus (88 BCE–30 BCE):
Traditional Roman everyday garments vanish.
2. The reign of Augustus (30 BCE–14 CE):
‘Roman’ garments become dress insignia.
3. From Tiberius to Trajan (14–117 CE)
‘Roman’ dress insignia start to decline.
4. Hadrian (117–138 CE)
A ‘supranational,’ Greek-inspired costume becomes the new *Leitkultur* in the Roman Mediterranean world.

The events and politics mentioned here—let this be stressed once again—are meant to be heuristic milestones on a long path and should not be misunderstood in terms of a single causation. Overall cultural trends and far-reaching dress changes (in contrast to fashions) do not follow on battles nor on political decisions. The Americans do not wear jeans as a popular form of dress because they won the Second World War, even though the post-war prosperity propelled a trend! As to the period at hand, there might be other historical events that would make for a good division. However, the Social War seemed to me to be a suitable milestone,¹⁷ since it was waged over social status and Roman civil rights (with which Roman dress is connected). I also thought Augustus and Hadrian might be useful historical characters, since they both ‘designed’ a specific and influential imperial dress culture.

The Roman political history of this period has often been written, and the following remarks are only meant to call to mind what happened to Roman society in this time. Following the *Bellum sociale* (91–88 BCE) and then in the ensuing civil wars, the composition of the Roman elite, which strongly influenced Roman culture, changed considerably. Citizenship was granted to all inhabitants of Italy up to the Po Valley. Romans born in Rome and its environs became a minority in the Roman citizenry. Other social groups (who were not ‘native’ Romans either), gathered influence in Roman society. Most visibly, freedmen, i.e. former slaves, became increasingly important in the economy and started to grow rich. For all these reasons, ‘Roman’ customs and ‘Roman’ costume were losing ground. They became less important among the elite and in society

¹⁷ On the Social War as a turning point, cf. also A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge 2008, 81, 126–128, 209, 443–449. I came to my conclusions independently of him and was glad to see that other cultural areas had also suggested to him the choice of this marker.

¹⁷ On the Social War, cf., for example, G. Alföldy, *Römische Sozialgeschichte*, Stuttgart ⁴2011, 94–95, 101–102 (on social change); D. Maschek, *Die römischen Bürgerkriege*, Archäologie und Geschichte einer Krisenzeit, Darmstadt 2018, 145–173 (on archaeological data).

in general, given that the ‘Hellenization’ of Roman culture was already well under way since the second century. Traditional Roman garments like the *palla* (B 3), the *stola* (B 4), and the *praetexta* (B 5) became exceptional costumes; other garments like the *tunica* (B 1) and the *pallium* (B 2) acquired more variety. The conquest of the Celtic territories in present-day France by Julius Caesar and the province *Gallia Cisalpina* becoming Roman territory in 42 BCE further accelerated this trend of decreasing influence of traditional ‘Roman’ elements in dress. Celtic costume like the *gausapa* (B 9) and the *Gallica* (B 30) started to become a common part of Roman dress style.

Under Augustus, the transformation did not stop, and it even sped up. Peace boosted the Roman economy and broadened the leisure class. After the battle of Actium (31 BCE), Alexandria was conquered, and Egypt, the once Ptolemaic kingdom, was turned into a *provincia*. Trade contact to the far eastern cultures became regular. Rome saw new articles of clothing from the Far East (silk) because trade routes to China were being opened up by Roman conquest. Dress items like the *vestes Coae* (B 9), the *cyclas* (B 9), and the *phaecasia* (B 30) became fashionable in Rome. This, as is often the case with new things, was not to everyone’s liking. Augustus tried to put a stop to this cultural change and stabilize society. As can be seen from his legislative measures affecting the Roman upper class and the freedmen, he tried to create new homogenous social and functional strata. For this purpose, he established a sort of ‘traditional’ Roman culture based on (purportedly) early Roman customs. In the case of clothing, he made use of some ‘Roman’ garments (*toga*, *stola*, *vitta*, *praetexta*), which were still worn by the elite and their clients as festive costumes, and turned them into legal privileges. He preserved the basic form of these clothes, but as the male *toga* and the *stola* show, he seems to have embellished them—at least on statues.

The propagandistic and legislative measures Augustus took to sustain ‘traditional’ Roman costume and values remained in force under the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The Flavian emperors did not change the policy of their predecessors either. In fact, when looking at the general picture, they might even have strengthened the Roman cultural roots after the intermezzo of the ‘Hellenistic’ experiments of the emperor Nero. Nevertheless, their interventions did not reverse the trend in fashion. Roman dress style yielded more and more to ‘foreign’ influences. In the second half of the first century, a new dinner dress, called *synthesis* (B 10), also made its debut and remained popular for the next two centuries.

A fundamental change in the image of official dress culture then took place under Hadrian. He created a new, Greek-inspired official Roman dress culture. ‘Traditional’ Roman dress was probably completely obsolete by his time, and Hadrian in some way officially acknowledged this. He replaced the old with a new public image of imperial clothing based on Greek fashion, or to put it more precisely (since we find emperors dressed in ‘Greek style’ before Hadrian), he dropped the ‘traditional’ Roman element in imperial dress representation and stressed the ‘Greek’ element. The *stola* (B 4) and *vitta* (B 16), which formerly had been celebrated by the Augustan poets as a sign of the Roman *matrona*, but now looked somehow ridiculous, disappeared for good and

did not even remain in art. In Roman everyday life, they had probably vanished a long time before.

In the second century CE, when this account ends, Roman culture and dress style were ‘supranational.’ Various ethnic elements from the Roman Empire had been melted into one and in this form returned to the Roman provinces. To give a brief impression of what Roman Imperial culture was like at this period: Eastern gods like Mithras and Isis were now also worshipped in Roman Gaul, and western garments with Spanish and Celtic names were also worn in Roman Egypt. As to its forms and colours, female Roman dress had retained almost all old options (except the *stola*) and had acquired many new ones. Male dress style had undergone major changes as to colour and length. As to outward appearance in clothing, gender roles had become less restrictive.

6 Structure of part B

Apart from B 9, B 25, and B 30, all chapters are centred on single garments. The chapters are not ordered alphabetically, but are structured to form a coherent narrative. The overall arrangement is simple. B 1–10 concern the major garments, B 11 is an interlude on colours, and chapters B 12–30 deal with accessories in a broad sense.

B 1–10, the chapters on the major garments, are arranged according to the following social and historical rationale: As to social usage, B 1–2 consider two garments that (though in different versions) were worn by every social group. B 3–5 turn to three garments that were rather upper-class, at least since the first century BCE. B 6 heads for the opposite of the social scale. B 7–10 then form a kind of reprise. B 7–8 again concern common garments, B 9–10 luxury dresses. The arrangement that starts from the ‘normal’ has been chosen to contravene the perspective of ancient literature (and often modern research) which focuses on upper-class dress.

As to history, B 1–2 deal with what were presumably the oldest Roman garments, upon which similar Greek garments were grafted and which survived until the end of the second century CE. B 3–5 turn to the traditional Roman garments that fell out of use in Imperial times. B 7–9 concern old garments that came into broader use and new garments that cropped up. B 10 considers the last dress combination that only came up in the first century CE and is most suitably called *synthesis*. The historical finale is reached with B 11, which is on colours and dress style. At the same time, the chapter on ornament is meant to set the tune for the subsequent chapters on accessories.

In addition, B 1–6 also contain a methodological discourse on the difficulties we face concerning terminology and definition. B 1 (*tunica*) shows how a Greek (*chiton*) and a Roman garment coalesce in the same word and how the new broader meaning superseded the traditional one. B 2 (*pallium*) is about the effects of ‘normality’ that makes a common female garment nearly disappear in our sources (and in dictionaries). B 3 (*palla*) is about the chaos that ensues when a term has two different meanings. B 4

(*stola*) is about a word bordering on the sub-literary that finds a homestead in literature. B 6 (*toga*) explores what happens when modern analysis keeps to the secondary sources.

The arrangement of B 12–30 follows similar rules. The methodological, social, and historical narratives of B 1–11 repeat themselves on a smaller scale. The chapters, which all concern minor dress items, are roughly ordered according to the position of the respective garments on the body from head to toe. B 12–21 deal with what are accessories in a proper sense. Within these chapters, the common garments precede those pertaining only to limited social groups. B 22–25 are on bodywear and underwear. B 26–30 consider shoes and sandals. The last chapter, B 30, is on subspecies and fashion and has some parallels with B 9. All chapters can easily be understood on their own, although there are often interrelations between them.

7 Appendix Terminology

Tab. 1: Terminology

Latin term	etymology	Greek equivalent	meaning
abolla	ἀμβολά (?)	τριβών	rough woollen cloak
amicorium	amicire		‘top’
anadema	ἀνάδημα	ἀνάδημα	headband
analeptris	ἀναληπτρίς	ἀναληπτρίς	strap
ansa		ἄσκιλος	eyelet
calceus	calx	ὑπόδημα	Roman shoe
cingillum	cingere	ζώνη	belt
capitium	capere (?)		breast-wrap
crepida	κρηπίς	κρηπίς	Greek sandal
cyclas	κυκλάς	κυκλάς	‘cyclas’
fascia pectoralis	fascis	στηθόδεσμος	breast-wrap
flammeum	flamma		bridal scarf
focale	faux		neckerchief
gausapa	gausap- (celt.)	γαύσαπος	shaggy woollen fleece
impilia	ἐμπίλια	ἐμπίλια	felt inner shoes
instita	instare	πεζίς	border
ligula	ligare	ἰμάς	lace
lingula	lingua	γλῶσσα	shoe tongue
mamillare	mamma		leather breast band
manuleus	manus	χειρίς	long sleeve
mitra	μίτρα	μίτρα	headscarf
paenula	φαινόλα	φαινόλα	‘poncho’
palla I	φᾶρος (?)	χλανίς (?)	ornamental cloak
palla II (poet.)	“	πέπλος	‘peplos’
pallium	palla	ἰμάτιον	regular cloak
palliolum	palliium		scarf
phaecassium	φαικάσιον	φαικάσιον	type of soccus
praetexta	praetexere		toga with purple border
reticulum	rete	κεκρύφαλος	hairnet
sandalium	σανδάλιον	σανδάλιον	sandal
soccus	συκχάς	ἐμβάς	laced shoe
solea	solum	σανδάλιον	sandal
stola	στολή	χιτών	long dress
strophium I	στρόφιον	στρόφιον	hair circlet
strophium II	“	“	cord
subligar, -gaculum	subligare	ζῶμα/περίζωμα	‘loin-cloth’
*supparus	supparo- (osc.) (?)		short over-coat (?)
synthesis	σύνθεσις	σύνθεσις	combination
toga	tegere	τήβεννα	toga

Tab. 1 – continued

Latin term	etymology	Greek equivalent	meaning
tunica	ktn (phoen.)	χιτών	tunic
t. manicata	χ. χειρίδωτος	χ. χειρίδωτος	tunic with sleeves
t. *regilla	χ. ὀρθοστάδιος	χ. ὀρθοστάδιος	unbelted long tunic
t. talaris	χ. ποδήρης	χ. ποδήρης	long tunic
vitta	viere		plaited headband
zona	ζώνη	ζώνη	belt

1 *tunica* – Roman *tunica* and Greek *chiton* (pls. 2–6)

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This chapter concerns the female (and male) garment called *tunica* in Latin literature. It is the most elementary piece of clothing in the Roman and Mediterranean world. Everyone had a *tunica*. If you did not wear it, you were considered naked. You were either extremely poor or a Cynic philosopher. It is the garment Adam and Eve wore—albeit made of animal skins—when expelled from Paradise.¹ It is also the dress form that offers the most variety and was the most open to cultural change. For this reason, it is dealt with first in this part of the book. It is also placed here to counteract the top-down view of Roman dress culture offered by our ancient sources, whose focus was on the extraordinary. The study of the *tunica* illustrates the two difficulties we face when dealing with common Latin dress and dress terms in an exemplary manner: (1) Whenever there is some unspecific mention of a woman’s garment, the *tunica* is implied. It is taken for granted. Due to this omnipresence, the tunic is only very rarely described (when was the last time a novel described a dress shirt or t-shirt in any amount of detail?). The mere term *tunica* is sufficient to characterize it. It is then up to readers to imagine the clothes worn by the woman mentioned based on the social and literary context and to fill in the gaps in the description. This was easy for ancient readers because texts talked about the world they lived in, but it is very difficult for us who lack first hand cultural knowledge.

1 Vulgat. Genesis 3.21: *fecit quoque Dominus Deus Adae et uxori eius tunicas pelliceas et induit eos.*

(2) The second problem arises from the term *tunica* itself, since it is used in Latin literature without distinction to designate the Roman *tunica* and the Greek *chiton*. This is a result of all our literary sources mirroring a Hellenized Roman society, since they all belong to the period when Romans were influenced by Greek culture. For this reason, although the Roman *tunica* and the Greek *chiton* differ slightly in their shape,² Latin sources constantly meld them together in a single term (as do Greek texts, calling both types χιτών). Apparently, the Romans perceived them as different species of the same garment. The historical genesis only played a role when it came to special forms. Reading the texts, the ambiguity of the term always leads to the question: Is the woman being described wearing a *tunica*, or is she rather wearing a *chiton*? In most cases, we can answer this only by a cultural hypothesis. Not surprisingly in a world full of Greek fashion, most Latin texts refer to what would precisely be called a *chiton*.

Regarding its importance, the *tunica* has not been treated much in previous research. This may be due to the above-mentioned difficulties. In the standard cultural histories of the 19th and 20th centuries, the woman's *tunica* only appears in the function of an undergarment (*subucula*);³ in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (RE), there are two entries on the Greek χιτών,⁴ but none on the *tunica*; in U. Scharf, *Straßenkleidung der römischen Frau* (Street Clothing of the Roman Woman) (1996), the garment is completely missing. It is only recently that Pausch (2003) dedicated a monograph to the tunic, which suffers, however, from some serious errors.⁵ Research is also characterized by the fact that the *stola* of married women (B 4), which is called *vestis longa* and *stola* in the ancient sources (but never *tunica*), is wrongly considered a species of the *tunica*.⁶ Moreover, numerous glosses⁷ are included in the analysis and are elevated to real technical terms.⁸ This all leads to an ahistorical and false picture of what a *tunica* was.

The following chapter aims to correct it as far as possible, at least as concerns the female garment. It will approach the subject matter from different sides. First, the *tunica* is described in general terms (1–3). Then, the difference between the two main species—the Roman tunic and Greek *chiton*—is stressed (4), leading to the description of two 'Greek' *subspecies*: the *tunica talaris* and the *tunica manicata* (5). Then, the focus shifts to the undertunic (*subucula*) (6), drawing attention to how the *tunica* was

² Cf. below pp. 246–250, 255–261.

³ Becker/Göll (1882) 250; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 573–574; Blümner (1911) 229–232.

⁴ RE 3.2 (1899) s.v. χερσίδωτος χιτών, col. 2206–2217; s.v. χιτών, col. 2309–2335 and suppl. I (1903), col. 288–294 (W. Amelung).

⁵ Cf. p. 674.

⁶ Becker/Göll (1882) 254; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 573; Wilson (1939) 155; Pausch (2003) 155; GRD (2007) 182.

⁷ For a definition, cf. 587.

⁸ Cf. Blümner (1911) 230–231; DNP 12 (2003) s.v. Tunica, 920–921; GRD (2007) 201–202. The monograph by Pausch (2003) is completely undermined by its careless use of glosses.

worn both as an inner and an outer garment. Finally, several literary case studies will explore the different ways the *tunica* was used and combined with other garments (7).

The purpose of these case studies is to sharpen the sense of the literary stereotype and of the perspective that derives from it. It also wants to draw attention to the limits of our knowledge. Incomprehensible words and pseudo-terms (such as **supparus*, **indusium*, **calasis*, and **regilla*) are omitted in this chapter.⁹ They should not be used anymore in historical studies on the tunic.¹⁰

1.1 Terminology

The term *tunica* generally refers to a primary garment that covers the shoulders. **(pl. 2)** It is worn on the skin if it is not an outer tunic.¹¹ In its normal form, the female *tunica* extends to at least the calves and is usually worn with a belt. In contrast to the *stola/vestis longa* (B 4), a floor-length dress with shoulder straps, the *tunica* is shorter and more closed on the shoulders.

Within this general form, there are many varieties. All these are called simply *tunica* and *vestis* in Latin literary sources if the context is unambiguous. In poetic texts, there are also other nouns for it. Often, even this is spared, the tunic being implied in expressions like ‘X was dressed, or X was dressed in red, or X had no girdle.’ A specific qualification is added only if there is some doubt as to what type of tunic is worn or in case a particular characteristic is going to be emphasized.

Besides this, there are some general terms that concern the parts of the *tunica*. The panels of cloth it was made of were called *plagulae*.¹² The upper part above the breasts is called *sinus*.¹³ The lower border/hem is called *ora*¹⁴ as is the upper.¹⁵ The exceptional long sleeve is called *manuleus* or *manica*.¹⁶ In Tacitus, the term *manica* is used to also describe the faux-sleeve found on most tunics. Further linguistic evidence is lacking. As to the strings of the *chiton*, a word designating them is missing. The knots that fastened the garment at the shoulders may have been called *nodi* or *noduli*.¹⁷

⁹ Cf. on them part D.

¹⁰ This statement holds especially true for the so-called **calasis*, which has been brought into being by Scholz (1992) and is beginning to make an appearance in more recent archaeological literature.

¹¹ Cf. below p. 254.

¹² Varro LL 9.79; cf. below p. 247.

¹³ Cf., for example, Ovid. am. 2.15.14.

¹⁴ Ovid. Fasti 2.347–348; Quint. 11.3.138.

¹⁵ Ovid. am. 1.747–48.

¹⁶ On the *tunica manicata*, cf. pp. 257–261.

¹⁷ Paulus/Festus p. 44.28–30 L. (see on it D 6 p. 666).

1.2 Appearance

1.2.1 The upper part (pls. 2,4)

In contrast to the *stola*, the tunic covered the shoulders. The fabric panels used for the tunic were wider than the body. When tightened at the waist, the panels produced short sleeves, which should be rather called faux-sleeves since they resulted from the fabric being cinched by the belt and were not extra fabric that was sewn on. In modern tailoring terminology, this could be described as a ‘dropped shoulder.’¹⁸ This type of cut for the shoulders of the tunic is known to us through numerous archaeological sources.¹⁹ In literature, there are only some indirect references to it. Propertius tells us that the *tunica* covered the upper arm (*lacertus*);²⁰ Lucan says it covered the *primus umerus* (the beginning of the shoulder).²¹ Another important source is a passage in the *Germania* of Tacitus which describes the dress of the Germanic tribes. Tacitus’ remarks are to be read against a Roman background. He has Roman clothing in mind while describing the Germanic one, as do his readers. First, Tacitus turns to the costume of the Germanic men and explains that it was close-fitting (*stricta et singulos artos exprimente*) in contrast to the Sarmatian and Parthian costume. He then goes on to describe the garb of the Germanic women:

Tac. Germ. 17.2

nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt nudae brachia et lacertos, sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

The women wear the same garments as the men, except that the women more often dress in linen clothes and decorate them with purple. They do not extend the upper part of their dress to form sleeves. Their forearms and upper arms are naked; in fact, even the adjacent part of the breast is visible.

The robe of the Germanic women is similar to the Roman *stola*.²² The words *partem vestitus superioris* are equivalent to *partem superiorem vestitus*, describing its upper part.²³ Tacitus emphasizes that the robe of the Germanic women is not cut like a *tunica* and does not have dropped sleeves (*manicae*). For this reason, the arms are left completely visible, as is the part of the breasts that is adjacent to the armpits.

¹⁸ The upper portion of the panel for the bodice is cut wider than shoulder width so that the hem of the arm hole ‘drops’ onto the arm instead of being on top of the shoulder.

¹⁹ Cf. *Archaeological Evidence*, p. 676.

²⁰ Prop. 3.6.13; see below n. 124.

²¹ Lucan. 2.360–364; cf. below p. 272.

²² On the passage, cf. also B 4 pp. 351–352.

²³ For the hypallage of *superioris*, see the commentary of Reeb (1930) ad loc.

Furthermore, due to the historical fusion of the Roman *tunica* with the Greek *chiton*, there were different types of shoulder binding (along the lateral line between the arm holes and the neck hole) (pl. 4). The front and back panels were either sewn together or tied together with several knots along the shoulder.

Although the different types are well attested in archaeological evidence,²⁴ literary evidence is scarce. There is no text pertaining to a specifically female Roman tunic, but we may rely on what is told about the male one. In a passing remark, Varro describes how the garment was produced by sewing two panels of cloth together. His example concerns the *tunica* of the knight or the senator, which had small or broad stripes (*clavi*).²⁵

Varro LL 9.79

non si quis tunicam inusitate ita consuit, ut altera plagula sit angustis clavis, altera latis, utraque in suo genere caret analogia.

Even if you should sew a *tunica* together in an unusual way, so that one panel of fabric has narrow *clavi* and the other broad *clavi*, each panel does not lack conformity in its own class.

Similarly, we hear of the shoulder seams of the Roman *tunica* in an anecdote told by Suetonius about the young Octavianus and future Emperor Augustus. Tellingly, it is also about the *tunica* with broad stripes (our Latin texts written by members of the social elite often talk about the dress of this social strata):

Suet. Aug. 94.10

sumenti virilem togam tunica lati clavi resuta ex utraque parte ad pedes decidit. fuerunt qui interpretarentur non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur.

When he (sc. Octavianus) put on the *toga virilis*, his *tunica* with broad stripes, being unpicked on both sides, fell to his feet. Some interpreted this to mean nothing other than that the political body whose insigne it was (i.e. the senate's) would be subjected to Octavianus some day.

It is hard to say for what reason Octavianus' *tunica* was opened at the upper edge—the prodigious incident, which suits its political interpretation so well, is very likely invented in any case. However, it is based on the typical nature of a Roman *tunica* with seams along both shoulders. In this case, the stitching of the shoulder seam was undone (*resuere*) so that the garment fell down.²⁶

²⁴ Cf. below p. 272.

²⁵ Cf. also Marquardt/Mau (1886) 551; and most recently Pausch (2003) 72–73.

²⁶ Most instructive in this respect is also a passage in Josephus' *Antiquitates*. Josephus tells his readers that the tunic worn by the Jewish high priest—again we hear about the dress of an elite—differed from a normal Roman tunic. Joseph. Ant. 3.74: ἔστι δ' ὁ χιτῶν οὗτος οὐκ ἐκ δυοῖν περιτημάτων (*plagulae*),

All these remarks square with the archaeological evidence so that there is not doubt as to the nature of a ‘normal’ Roman *tunica*. It was not more than two wide panels of fabric sewn together with four seams (two horizontal seams along the shoulders and two vertical ones along the sides).

In contrast, the Greek *chiton* did not strictly speaking have shoulder seams. Instead, it had what would be called an ‘opening’ in modern terminology since the knots could be untied.²⁷ Literary Latin evidence giving us a precise description of the ‘reusable’ shoulder binding (i.e. opening) of the female *chiton* is even less, although most of our Latin texts on female *tunicae* must be talking about this kind of garment. The reason for this is simple. Most of these texts are poetry, and poets usually do not care to describe technicalities in the way modern dressmaking patterns do. Nevertheless, we can understand the descriptions because we already know (from their context or external evidence) that they must relate to a *chiton*. This statement also holds true for the two texts that most closely describe its shape and draping. The first one is a section in Ovid’s *Fasti* depicting the Naiads in a procession of Bacchus. The Greek ‘spirit’ of the passage indicates that all of them are wearing a *chiton*:

Ovid. *Fasti* 1.405–410

*Naiades effusis aliae sine pectinis usu,
pars aderant positis arte manique comis;
illa super suras tunicam collecta ministrat,
altera dissuto pectus aperta sinu;
exserit haec umerum, vestem trahit illa per herbas,
impediunt teneros vincula nulla pedes.*

The Naiads were present, partly with loose and uncombed hairs, partly with an artificial coiffure. Acting as servants, one has pulled up her tunic up above her calves, one has loosened the upper part of it and bared her chest. One shows her shoulder, one pulls her robe through the grass. No shoes impede their tender feet.

As Ovid shows, there are many ways a *chiton* could be draped. It could be gathered up with the help of a girdle, or loosened and then lie on the ground. It could be opened at the top to bare the breast, or the short sleeve could be gathered or pulled down, exposing the shoulder. In general, Ovid’s description is very clear, but problems start in the case of the shoulder binding. Ovid uses the expression *dissuto sinu*. The word *sinus* designates the upper front part of the tunic. The word *dissuere*, to be connected

ὥστε ῥαπτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων εἶναι καὶ τῶν παρὰ πλευράν [This tunic does not consist of two pieces of cloth to be stitched on the shoulders and at the sides].

²⁷ The term ‘opening’ here is used in its modern tailoring sense. It refers either to a hole that remains open (allowing for the head or limbs to pass through) or to where the garment is closed and opened (such as the central vertical opening of modern dress shirts held together by buttons or a fly held together by a zipper).

with *suere* (to sew), at first glance seems to mean ‘to unpick a seam’ (i.e. destroy it). But was the Greek Naiad wearing a sewn Roman *tunica*? Did she prepare it by unpicking the seams with a needle or sheers in advance? This is unbelievable in this kind of scene showing us a Bacchantic reveling. The Naiad must thus be wearing a *chiton* with its ‘reusable’ opening. The verb *dissuere* then refers to the loosening of the ribbons tying together the panels along the shoulders, which might have come close in appearance to a seam.

A Greek parallel text shows how we have to imagine this process. In Aristophanes F 338, a woman similarly bares her breast by opening her *chiton*: τὴν πτέρυγα παράλυσασα τοῦ χιτῶνιου καὶ τῶν ἀποδέσμων, οἷς ἐνῆν τιτθίδια (she loosened the ‘wing’ of her *chiton* and the strings that held her breasts).²⁸ Ovid’s version is very similar to this description in Aristophanes. In any case, what is important to Ovid is not the exact nature of the opening of the tunic, but that the Naiad is showing her naked breasts.

The second Latin evidence is also in Ovid’s *Fasti*. Ovid describes the female clothes that Hercules dressed in while being a servant at the court of the Lydian queen Omphale.²⁹ We can also only understand his description in full when we know what a *chiton* looks like. For Hercules must wear this type of *tunica* in what is a Greek ‘comedy scene.’ His costume is just as we see it in the archaeological evidence.³⁰

Ovid. *Fasti* 2.319–324

*dat tenues tunicas Gaetulo murice tinctas,
dat teretem zonam, qua modo cincta fuit.
ventre minor zona est; tunicarum vincla relaxat,
ut posset magnas exseruisse manus.
fregerat armillas non illa ad brachia factas,
scindebant magni vincula parva pedes.*

She (sc. Omphale) gives him her tender *tunicae* dyed with African purple; she gives him the braided girdle she herself wore a moment ago. The girdle is too small for his belly. He loosens the fastenings of his *tunicae*. In this way, he can thrust his big arms out. He had already ruined the bracelets not made for such arms. His big feet have split the small shoes.

Ovid’s description—which is to be read against the background of a similar one in Propertius³¹—is remarkable in that the female garb is described completely: It consists

²⁸ The Imperial grammarian Pollux 7.62, who quotes this passage from Aristophanes, equates the πτέρυξ (‘wing’) with what is called *plagula* in Latin. This could be wrong. Maybe, the term refers to one shoulder section of the *chiton*, which resembles a wing in its appearance.

²⁹ On the entire passage, see the commentaries of Bömer (1958) and Robinson (2011).

³⁰ Cf. on it Robinson (2011) in his commentary. Clodius has similar difficulties when dressing up as a woman. He hardly gets the tight sleeves over his arms, see A 10 p. 204.

³¹ Prop. 4.9.47–50: *idem ego Sidonia feci seruilis palla || officia et Lydo pensa diurna colo, || mollis et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus, || et manibus duris apta puella fui* [I performed menial services clad

of two *tunicae*, which are belted with a cord (*teres zona*).³² The joke is that the female clothing does not suit the muscular Hercules and is too small. Among other things, we learn that Hercules widens his garment to stick out his thick arms. For this, Ovid uses the expression *vincla tunicarum relaxat*. Knowing the nature of the *chiton*, the word *vincla* cannot refer to sleeves but must designate the strings with which the garment was fastened at its upper edge along the shoulders. Hercules does not have to tear open a seam (i.e. destroy it), but only has to loosen these strings (*relaxat*) (i.e. undo in such a manner that they can be retied).

1.2.2 The middle part (pl. 2)

The middle part of the *tunica*, as we also see it with Hercules' dress, was usually fixed by a girdle (*cingillum*, *zona*) or a cord (*strophium*). This also served to regulate the length.³³ That this was the normal way to wear it can be seen *e contrario* from the many descriptions noting that a belt is either loosened or missing. In Ovid, the girdle once prevents the furious 'lover' from completely stripping his mistress:

Ovid. am. 1.747–48

*aut tunicam a summa diducere turpiter ora
ad mediam?—mediae zona tulisset opem.*

(Was it not enough) to pull apart her *tunica* from the upper border to its middle in order to shame her? The girdle would have supported the middle part of it.

In Love Elegy, mistresses usually wear *chitones*,³⁴ which is also shown by this description. The furious 'lover' pulls the garment down at the shoulders so that it opens up in the centre, thus laying bare the chest of the woman. The girdle in the middle prevents the garment from being completely pulled down. In contrast to a *chiton*, a Roman tunic can only be removed by pulling it over the head. Otherwise, it is destroyed. In the scene at hand, there is no hint that the garment is torn by being pulled down. It is the disgracing act of someone other than the wearer pulling it apart (*diducere*) that is at issue.

in a purple *peplos*, spinning wool everyday with the Lydian distaff. A soft *fascia* contained my hairy chest, and despite my rough hands I was a quite good maid]. In Ovid, Hercules wears two tunics, in Propertius a *peplos* and a breast band (*fascia*). Cf. on it also B 22 p. 511. In Ovid, the purple is denoted in metonymy by the adjective *Gaetulus* (~ African), in Propertius by the adjective *Sidonius* (of Sidon), referring to different places of Phoenician purple production.

³² Cf. B 21 p. 499.

³³ See below p. 251 and B 20 pp. 494–496.

³⁴ See below p. 265.

1.2.3 The bottom end (pls. 2–3)

The woman's tunic covered the knees and reached to the calves—which are mentioned several times in this context—or to the ankles.³⁵ A man's tunic was shorter.³⁶ The length of a tunic was not only determined by the cut, but could also be regulated by the way it was girded. Some sources describe the 'normal length' of the female tunic. For example, the rhetoric teacher Quintilian tells us how an orator should wear his tunic, distinguishing it from the garb of other 'social' groups. Again, the *tunica* with *clavi* is the point of reference for many orators belonging to the upper classes:

Quintilian. 11.3.138

cui lati clavi ius non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunicae prioribus oris infra genua paulum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque perveniant: nam infra mulierum est, supra centurionum.

Those who do not have the right to wear the *latus clavus* should gird themselves as follows: In the front, the borders of their tunics should reach a little below the knees, in the back, to the hollows of the knees. For below the knees is women's dress, above them centurion dress.

In this passage, the woman's longer tunic and the soldier's shorter tunic serve as benchmarks. The knees (*genua*) and the hollows of knees (*poplites*) are the dividing line. Similarly, the chauvinist Juvenal recommends that a female 'intellectual' might as well behave totally like a man and hike up her tunic to her thighs (*succingere*), i.e. shorten it to the usual length of the male garment.³⁷

Iuven. 6.444–446

*imponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis.
nam quae docta nimis cupit et facunda videri
crure tenus medio tunicas succingere debet.*

The wise man sets a limit even to honourable things. For a woman who wants to appear all too learned and eloquent must gather up her tunics to the middle of the leg.

The rules described by Quintilian and Juvenal in the Imperial period already constituted the social norm during the Roman Republic. We have no sources from the earlier period which mention a woman, but it is clear from Plautus' and Cicero's accounts of men's violations of norms³⁸ that a woman's tunic was usually long. Plautus calls a Phoenician

³⁵ On the archaeological sources, cf. Archaeological evidence p. 675.

³⁶ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 551–552; Pausch (2003) 92.

³⁷ Against Courtney's commentary ad loc.: "She should wear a tunic instead of a stola."

³⁸ RAC 4 (1950) s.v. effeminatus, col. 630 (H. Herter); A. Corbeill, Controlling Laughter. Political Humor in the Late Roman Republic, Princeton 1996, 160. The literary common place is already found in Attic comedy, cf. Eupolis F 104 K.-A.

man feminine (*mulierosum*)³⁹ because of his *tunicae demissiciae*; in invectives, Cicero describes Verres and the followers of Catilina as wearing foot-long robes (*tunicae talaes*).⁴⁰ Later sources from the Imperial period do have descriptions of women. However, only one of these seems to be from the real world (as opposed to from the world of myth), namely Fortunata—a character that will repeatedly come up in this part of the book.⁴¹ As we have seen above in Ovid's *Fasti*, a Naiad hikes up her tunic over her calves (*super suras*) in the manner of a servant, while another lets it hang down to the ground⁴² (i.e. she has loosened her belt). In Ovid's *Fasti*, we also find a scene where Faunus begins to undress Hercules (who is wearing female tunics while in the service of Omphale) starting from the bottom fringe (*ab ima ora*). Hercules' tunics are obviously long, insofar as they cover his legs.⁴³ The same applies to the garment of the nymph Lotis, which Priapus lifts starting at her feet (*a pedibus*).⁴⁴

1.2.4 Material and colour

A *tunica* could be made of different materials. However, there are only few literary sources which tell us about it. We hear of wool,⁴⁵ of linen,⁴⁶ and of cotton.⁴⁷ The tunic's intended function must have played a large role in the choice of material. For example, the comic playwright Caecilius refers to an 'inner' tunic (*interula*) made of cotton.⁴⁸ Supple cotton is a more suitable material for this type of garment than scratchy wool. After the conquest of Egypt, silk was also used.⁴⁹ However, our Latin sources focus on

³⁹ Plaut. Poen. 1298–1303: *quis hic homo est cum tunicis longis quasi puer cauponius? <...> sane genus hoc mulierosumst tunicis demissiciis* [Who is this man dressed in long tunics like the waiter at an inn? ... He is certainly a womanish person with his tunics reaching to the ground]. On the formation of the adjective *demissicius*, which is a hapax, cf. A 4 (*caesicius*) p. 77. The suffix *-icius* shows that the adjective does not refer to a given situation (*demissus*), but to a habitus. On the costume of innkeepers, see Prop. 4.2.38 and Marquardt/Mau (1886) 552 for further examples of tunics of men hanging too low.

⁴⁰ See below pp. 256, 260.

⁴¹ See below pp. 268–272; B 4 p. 310 and B 11 passim.

⁴² Cf. below p. 248.

⁴³ Ovid. *Fasti* 2.347–348: *interea tunicas* (sc. *Herculis*) *ora subducit ab ima*: || *horrebant densis aspera cura pilis* [Meanwhile he pulled up Hercules' tunics from the bottom border. Legs showed bristling with thick rough hair].

⁴⁴ Ovid. *Fasti* 1.431: *a pedibus tracto velamina* [I pull her clothes pull up from her feet].

⁴⁵ Plaut. *Epid.* 229, Aul. 508; Ovid. *Ars* 3.222: *quas geritis vestis, sordida lana fuit* [the clothes you wear were once ordinary wool]. For wool, see A 4 pp. 75–76; A 5 pp. 95–96.

⁴⁶ Plaut. *Epid.* 229, Aul. 512; Apul. *Met.* 2.7 (see p. 275). On linen, see A 4 p. 76; A 5 pp. 100–101; B 9 p. 384.

⁴⁷ Plaut. Aul. 515; Caecilius, Pausimachus F 3. On cotton and its terminology, see A 5 p. 104; A 7 pp. 139–141; B 9 p. 384.

⁴⁸ See below pp. 261.

⁴⁹ Cf. B 9 pp. 386–391.

the exquisite material itself, so that we never explicitly hear about a *tunica*, but only generally about clothes (*vestes*) made of silk.⁵⁰ As far as wool and linen are concerned, the fabric could have different qualities, and the garment was differentiated according to these. We get a small sample of the language of the fashion world in the dress catalogue of Plautus' *Epidicus* (A 4). Plautus first mentions a *tunica ralla* (= *rara*) as well as a *tunica spissa*, then presumably a *tunica linteola caesicia*, and finally two incomprehensible technical terms (*indusiata*, *patagiata*).⁵¹ The first two expressions refer to the thickness of the wool fabric, the third denotes—if my hypothesis is correct—a fine type of linen.⁵² As regards the *tunica* of the mistress in Roman Love Elegy, the poets only tell us that it was made of a fine fabric without further specifying it.⁵³ The translucent *Coa vestis* worn by her probably was extremely thin.⁵⁴ As Ovid explains, the garments of a *puella* were not made for cold weather:

Ovid. ars 2.301–302
astiterit tunicata, 'moves incendia' clama,
sed timida, caveat frigora, voce roga.

When she comes in her tunic, shout 'you are kindling fires,' but ask her in a frightened voice to beware the cold.

In this section, Ovid contrasts the thin tunic with the *gausapum*, a garment of Celtic origin.⁵⁵ We do not know exactly what a *gausapum* looked like, but it was made of wool cloth that was left unshorn on one side. It was therefore thicker than the tunic and could be worn in cooler weather (especially important for the Celts). Otherwise a cloak (*pallium*) was used over the tunic.⁵⁶

As far as the colour is concerned, most tunics were probably natural-coloured. Since this was the normal case, it is rarely mentioned.⁵⁷ There was also a whole range of artificial colours. The use of colours is explored in chapter B 11. Many of the colours are listed by Ovid in the *Ars amatoria* in a catalogue that gives us a sense of the variety and possibilities of a coloured garment.⁵⁸ Ovid mentions azure blue (*caeruleus/caerulus*), turquoise (*colour aquae marinae*), and red (*crocinus/croceus*). There is also dark green (*myrteus*), violet (*amethystinus*), pink (*roseus*), light pink, nut brown (*caryinus*), almond brown (*amygdalinus*), and beige (*cereus*). In addition, other sources refer to various

⁵⁰ Cf. Cass. Dio 72.17 (n. 82) on Commodus, who wore a silk *chiton*.

⁵¹ On the two glosses, cf. D 3 pp. 607–614.

⁵² Cf. A 4 p. 76.

⁵³ See below p. 261.

⁵⁴ Cf. B 9 p. 387.

⁵⁵ Cf. on it, B 9 pp. 394–399.

⁵⁶ Cf. Introduction to part B 1 p. 233.

⁵⁷ Cf. for example Mart. 1.96.4–9, 14.127,129.

⁵⁸ Cf. Ovid. ars 3.173–184; on the entire passage, see B 11 pp. 410–420.

other shades of red (*cerasinus*, *puniceus*),⁵⁹ yellow-green (*galbinus*),⁶⁰ and depending on the circumstances and the occasion, black and white.⁶¹ There were also patterned tunics, of which we are granted a glimpse by Juvenal, who describes a passive homosexual dressed in a tunic with a blue checkerboard pattern (*caerulea scutulata*).⁶² The further variety of patterns that must have existed is beyond our knowledge. Likewise, we know only little of when a tunic in artificial colours was worn. It seems very likely though that the Romans used coloured tunics at dinner parties, whereas they preferred natural colours with tunics worn outside and in everyday life.

1.3 Usage

The *tunica* was the primary garment for Roman women (and men) and could be duplicated when the situation required it. This is shown by the famous passage in Suetonius, who describes the clothing of Augustus:

Suet. Aug. 82.1

hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subucula et thorace laneo et feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur.

In winter, he used to arm himself with a set of four tunics and a thick *toga*, as well as with an undertunic, a woollen ‘waistcoat,’ and with wraps around the lower and upper parts of his legs.

The emperor Augustus (in contrast to imperial propaganda) is presented here as a frost-sensitive old man (with feminine features).⁶³ He is said to have worn four tunics on top of each other in addition to his *subucula*. This example is certainly extreme, but it teaches us that schematic thinking regarding the tunic should be avoided. In the ‘normal’ case, men and women probably wore two tunics: the main outer tunic and the undertunic (*subucula*) (pl. 5). They could also wear more tunics if they wanted to. The *subucula* and the standard combinations will be studied later in the chapter.⁶⁴ For now, it is time to have a closer look at the *chiton*.

⁵⁹ Cf. B 11 p. 409.

⁶⁰ Cf. B 11 p. 408.

⁶¹ Cf. B 11 pp. 426, 434.

⁶² See Iuven. 2.95, cf. B 11 p. 432.

⁶³ On the passage, cf. also B 25 p. 521.

⁶⁴ See below pp. 261–264.

1.4 Roman *tunica* and Greek *chiton* – a hypothetical history

A source-based early history of the female *tunica* in Rome can no longer be written because we have no contemporary evidence for it. It remains a theoretical model, suggested by the garment as it is historically attested in later times. Even though the model must ultimately remain hypothetical, it is still based on archaeological evidence and the few literary sources available to us. The early history of the tunic could have been as follows: The tunic (*tunica*) initially consisted of two panels of fabric sewn together along shoulders and was cut relatively tightly. This type of *tunica* was originally worn by women (and men) in Rome. For this reason, we may call it the Roman tunic. In the course of the Hellenization of the Roman world, which began in third century BCE, the Greek *chiton* (also referred to as *tunica* in Latin) was introduced in Rome as part of Greek fashion. In contrast to the Roman tunic, the *chiton* had strings along the shoulders and was more voluminous in fabric.⁶⁵ The tight-fitting tunic with seams at the top is identified as Roman in origin by way of exclusion because we have no evidence of this kind of garment among the Greeks. There are no early sources that show us the Roman female clothing before Greek influence started. On the contrary, the Graeco-Roman mixture that constituted Roman culture at the time when literary transmission begins is most evident with the *tunica*—more than with any other garment. By the first century BCE at the latest, both forms of tunic were used by Roman women without distinction. A foreign fashion had become a normal dress. The process of acculturation had been completed.

The difficulty caused by our literary transmission also pertains to the linguistic level. It consists of the fact that the Latin word *tunica* is used indiscriminately for the Roman tunic and the Greek *chiton* since the beginning of our textual transmission. Conversely, a Roman tunic might be called a χιτών in Greek texts. The reason for this wide use of the word may be that both garments were similar in function and appearance. They are closed garments (either sewn or knotted) which are put on over the head and in their normal form reach over the knee. A terminological distinction was therefore probably not considered necessary. The differences were less important than the similarities. Both articles of clothing could be regarded as species of one and the same garment, namely the *tunica*.

1.5 ‘Greek’ special forms of the tunic

Nevertheless, some traces show that the Romans were still aware of the different cultural origin of both kinds of tunic in the first century BCE. We see it in the case of

⁶⁵ A difference between the materials (wool = Roman tunic, linen = Greek *chiton*), as the archaeological evidence might suggest (see on it p. 676), is not supported by the literary sources.

two special forms, which are called *tunica talaris* and *tunica manicata*. Their un-Roman (= Greek) origin is still evident in Cicero. Both expressions will be explained in the following. A third term may also translate another Greek technical term: *tunica *regilla* (χιτὼν ὀρθοστάδιος). It is, however, a gloss. The only primary evidence we have is in Plautus.⁶⁶ It will therefore be discussed in part D.⁶⁷

1.5.1 *tunica talaris* (χιτὼν ποδήρης)

The Romans assigned the foot-long tunic to women.⁶⁸ It is called *tunica talaris* (*talus* = ankle) three times in Latin literature.⁶⁹ It is a visible, outer tunic. The Latin words only translate the Greek χιτὼν ποδήρης.⁷⁰ For this reason, the garment should be considered a wide tunic in the Greek tradition (*chiton*). The three Latin examples point in this direction as well. They all concern men (Verres, the followers of Catilina, and Caligula) who are described as violating the male dress code.⁷¹ It is not surprising that the term *tunica talaris* is only used with men. With a woman, a long tunic is neither exceptional nor reprehensible (and therefore almost tautological). For this reason, the word *tunica* on its own is usually sufficient to designate it. Some of the Greek heroines in long tunic mentioned above wear a *tunica talaris* (χιτὼν ποδήρης). Hercules' *tunica* is also clearly one and is designated by Lucian as χιτὼν ποδήρης.⁷² For a man, however, the general term *tunica* was not a sufficient basis to describe an 'abnormal' type of garment. Cicero therefore describes the inappropriate costume of the Roman praetor Verres as follows:⁷³

Cic. Verr. 2.5.31

cum iste cum pallio purpureo talarique tunica versaretur in convivis muliebribus.

when he took part in women's parties, dressed in a purple *pallium* and a *tunica talaris*.

Cicero stigmatizes Verres by having him wear a foot-long tunic like those worn by the women. Furthermore, the Greek context plays a major role. Here, as elsewhere, Cicero

⁶⁶ Plaut. Epid. 223; cf. A 4 p. 67.

⁶⁷ D 3 pp. 602–606.

⁶⁸ Against Pausch (2003) 168; GRD (2007) 202.

⁶⁹ In addition to the discussed passages, the term *tunica talaris* is found in Suet. Cal. 54.2 (The emperor Caligula as singer): *cum palla tunicaque talari* [with a 'peplos' and *tunica talaris*].

⁷⁰ For examples, see LSJ s.v. ποδήρης, and Amelung (n. 4) 2332–2333.

⁷¹ Corbeill (n. 38) 160. A similar common place is the accusation that the man's tunic is badly belted and therefore falls down too long. The most famous example of this is Caesar, who was called a *male praecinctus* (= *cinaedus*) by Sulla. See Suet. Div. Julius 45.2.

⁷² Lucian. Dial. Deorum [79] 15.2.

⁷³ J. Heskell, Cicero as Evidence for Attitudes to Dress in the Late Republic, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994) 134; Edmondson (2008) 35–36. Cf. also Cic. Verr. 5.86: *stetit soleatus praetor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari muliercula nixus in litore* [The praetor of the Roman people stood on the beach in sandals, dressed in a purple *pallium* and a *tunica talaris* and leaning on a little lady].

suggests that Verres has succumbed to the Greek exuberant lifestyle when governing the Greek-influenced *provincia* Sicily. He accuses Verres of two faux pas related to the dress code of a dignified Roman man: showing himself in a luxurious Greek *pallium* instead of the *toga* he should have worn as a Roman official and dressing in a wide and foot-long *chiton* instead of the tight and short Roman male tunic. The change of clothes is supposed to be indicative of Verres' change of mind. According to Cicero, Verres laid down all Roman values together with his Roman garments. He behaves like a female guest at a Greek symposium. Cicero evokes similar ideas in the case of the followers of Catilina, whom he shows in *tunicae talares* and in tunics with sleeves in order to present a critical image.⁷⁴

1.5.2 *tunica manicata* (χιτῶν χειριδωτός) (pl. 6)

The *tunica* had no 'real' sleeves in its normal form, meaning they had no tailored piece of cloth that was attached with a seam. The width of the fabric usually resulted in short 'faux sleeves.'⁷⁵ There was, however, one type of *tunica* with long sleeves attached.⁷⁶ This is to be regarded as a special form and is designated by the addition of various adjectives. The following argues that it was originally a fashion from Asia Minor that was first adopted by the Greeks and then by the Romans.

1.5.2.1 Terminology

In Greek, the tunic with attached sleeves is called χιτῶν χειρίδωτος.⁷⁷ In Latin literature, it is referred to by the Greek loanwords *chiridotus* (and *chirodyta*⁷⁸), as well as by the Latin adjectives *manuleatus* and *manicatus*. The Greek loanwords are restricted to archaic Latin literature.⁷⁹ The noun *manuleus* ('glove' or 'sleeve') is only found in Plautus and other archaic and archaistic authors.⁸⁰ The adjective *manuleatus* is found

⁷⁴ See below p. 260 and Hessel (n. 73) 140; Corbeill (n. 38) 161–162.

⁷⁵ See above p. 246.

⁷⁶ For the tunic with sleeves, see Becker/Göll (1882) 208–209; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 551; Blümner (1911) 207; Pausch (2003) 172–180; GRD (2007) 31–32.

⁷⁷ The Greek term χειρίς or χειρίδιον means either sleeve or, very rarely, (like *manuleus*), glove. See RE 3.2 (1899) s.v. χειρίς, col. (1899) 2217–2220 (W. Amelung) and LSJ s.v.; for the adjective χειριδωτός, see Herodot. 7.61.1 (n. 87); Strab. 4.4.3 p. 196 C., 11.13.9 p. 526 C.; IG II² 1514.6, 1523.275, 1529.10, and RE loc. cit. 2219.

⁷⁸ On the rare Latin word, cf. D 4 p. 631.

⁷⁹ Scipio Minor F 17 Malcovati, Lucilius F 71 (n. 87), Novius *Paedium* F 4 (n. 94).

⁸⁰ Cf. Accius *Didascalica* F 12 PL (n. 89); Fronto p. 59.10 van den Hout: *cur Parthi laxioribus manuleis uterentur* [why the Parthians use wider sleeves]; Plaut. *Cistellaria* 252. The passage, which is usually not quoted in full in the dictionaries, is badly preserved in the transmission. In the Codex Ambrosianus only the following words can be deciphered: *quid tu ergo <> ... te manuleo*. A quotation by Fulgentius in

in Plautus in the phrase *tunica manuleata*,⁸¹ but it is not used again until the Imperial period, when it refers to the wearer and means ‘dressed in a tunic with sleeves.’⁸² The noun *manicae* [pl.] and the adjective *manicatus* are used slightly differently. In contrast to *manuleus*, the noun *manicae* is first used by Virgil to designate ‘sleeves,’ whereas it had previously been used to designate only handcuffs.⁸³ The adjective *manicatus* is already found in Cicero;⁸⁴ it refers exclusively to robes and means ‘with long sleeves.’ It remains to be asked whether the terms *manicae* [pl.] and *manuleus* denote the same type of sleeve, as is the traditional view.⁸⁵ In contrast, Pausch assigns the term *manuleus* to the faux sleeves resulting from the dropped shoulder and the term *manicae* to the long ‘proper’ sleeves.⁸⁶ However, the written sources do not suggest such a distinction. Tacitus in the description discussed above, for instance, uses the word *manica* to designate short faux sleeves. For this reason, the traditional opinion is to be preferred. It seems more likely that different usage of the various words at different times is due to linguistic tendencies and does not imply a differentiation of sleeve types.

his commentary on Vergil may serve as a supplement: *apud antiquos caiatio dicebatur puerilis caedes: quid? tu amicam times ne te manuleo caiet* [In the ancient days, a blow like that of a child was called *caiatio*. ‘What? You’re afraid that your girlfriend will beat you with the *manuleus*?] It is an open question whether the gloss *caio* ever existed—the silence of all other lexicography is against it—or whether it is a misreading of *caedit*. In any case, it is certain that a girl here uses the *manuleus* against her boyfriend. Her weapon was probably a glove. The Latin *manuleus* thus covers the same semantic field as the Greek word χειρίς.

81 Plaut. Pseud. 737–738: A: *sed iste servos ex Carysto qui hic adest ecquid sapit?* || B: *hircum ab alis*. A: *manuleatam tunicam habere hominem addecet*. [A: But this slave from Karystos, who is present here, does he show any good sense (= does he smell of something)? || B: Like a he-goat from the armpits. A: The man should wear a *tunica manicata*]. The pun is based on the double meaning of the Latin word *sapere*, meaning both ‘to have understanding’ and ‘to smell like something.’ Person B misunderstanding person A, answers his question whether the slave has any good sense by saying that he smells from the armpits. This pun is not possible in Greek. It is thus Plautus’ addition.

82 Plaut. Pseud. 738; Sen. epist. 33.2; Sueton. Cal. 52 (Caligula): *saepe depictas gemmatasque indutus paenulas manuleatus et armillatus in publicum processit, aliquando sericatus et cycladatus* [Often he appeared in public dressed in colourful *paenulae* (coats) with precious stones, in tunics with sleeves and bracelets, sometimes in a silk garment and in a *cyclas*]. For the *cyclas*, see B 9 pp. 391–394. Suetonius characterizes Caligula as an Oriental despot by having him wear a long-sleeved tunic. On Commodus wearing a similar garb, cf. Cass. Dio 72.17: *χιτώνα χειριδωτὸν σθηρικὸν λευκὸν διάχρυσον* [a tunic with sleeves, of silk, white, and decorated with gold].

83 Vergil. Aen. 9.616; Stat. Theb. 7.656–657; Tac. Germ. 17.2 (see above p. 246).

84 Cic. Cat. 2.22 (see below p. 260); Clod. et Cur. F 22, 23 (see below p. 260 and A 10); Curtius Rufus 3.3.13 (n. 87).

85 See, for example, Marquardt/Mau (1886) 551.

86 Pausch (2003) 172–180.

1.5.2.2 Usage

In Greek and Latin literature, the *tunica manicata* is often mentioned as the garment of foreign peoples such as the Persians and Orientals,⁸⁷ the Galatians of Asia Minor,⁸⁸ and actors⁸⁹ (whose clothing derives from the costume of Dionysus).⁹⁰ However, already starting in Classical Greece, this kind of tunic is considered a special female garment (with possibly Oriental roots). The clothing catalogue of Artemis Brauronia twice mentions female *chitones* with sleeves.⁹¹ Similarly, we find uses of *tunica manicata* that designate a female tunic in Latin literature. It can therefore be considered part of women's fashion in Rome (albeit a special part). The use of the Greek loanword *chiridotus* in the archaic Pre-Classical texts along with the shifting Latin terminology also suggests that it was Greek women's fashion which the Romans adopted in the context of Hellenization. In general, a man wearing the garment was considered barbaric or effeminate. In other words, it was unbecoming of a Roman man.⁹²

But on what occasion was the *tunica manicata* used? It is noticeable that already in the Brauron clothing catalogue the long sleeves form part of a short (χιτωνίσκος) and an ornamented (κατάστικτος) *chiton*. Both are garments that were probably used in the house and not in the street. They belong to the symposium rather than to everyday life. The ornamented tunic recalls the colourful clothes of Dionysus.⁹³ The 'Dionysian' context is also more or less present in all Latin sources which mention a tunic with sleeves. Twice we learn that it was a *crocota* (= a red tunic). The comic playwright

⁸⁷ Herodot. 6.72.2, 7.61.1: κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους [colourful tunics with sleeves]; Xenoph. HG 2.1.8; Strab. 11.13.9 p. 526 C.; Lucilius F 71 (= 71 Chr./Garb.) (Orientals) *chirodytae auratae* [in golden tunics with sleeves], cf. on the difficult text D 4 pp. 630–634; Vergil. Aen. 9.616 (Trojans): *et tunicae manicatae et habent redimicula mitrae* [their tunics have sleeves and their *mitrae* have chinstraps], see on it also B 13 pp. 462–463; Sen. epist. 33.2: *apud me Epicurus est et fortis, licet manuleatus sit; fortitudo et industria et ad bellum prompta mens tam in Persas quam in alte cinctos cadit* [with me Epicurus is also brave, even if he wears a tunic with sleeves. Bravery and diligence and a belligerent spirit can be found with Persians as well as with high-belted people (= Spartans)]; Curtius Rufus 3.3.13: *vestem auro distinctam habebant manicatasque tunicas, gemmis etiam adornatas* [they had a gold-ornamented garment and tunics with sleeves, even decorated with precious stones].

⁸⁸ Plutarch. Otho 6.6: Γαλατικῶς ἀναζυρίσι καὶ χειρίσιν ἐνεσκευασμένους [dressed like a Celt with trousers and a tunic with sleeves]; Strab. 4.4.3 p. 196 C.

⁸⁹ Lucian. Jupp. Trag. [21] 41: καὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας (*cothurnos*) καὶ τοὺς ποδήρεις χιτῶνας (*tunicas talares*) καὶ χλαμύδας (*pallia*) καὶ χειρίδας (*manicae*) [and the boots, the foot-long tunics, the coats, and the tunics with sleeves]; Accius *Didascalica* F 12 PL (= Nonius p. 286.18–19 L.): *actoribus manuleos baltea machaeras* [the actors had sleeves, belts, knives]; on the work, see Courtney in his edition (2003) 60.

⁹⁰ Cf. Stat. Theb. 7.656a (about the robe of a priest of Dionysus): *bracchiaque in manicis* [arms in sleeves].

⁹¹ IG IP² 1523.9–10, 1529.315; see RE (n. 77) 2219 on the passage.

⁹² Cf. Vergil's famous dictum of the Trojans Aen. 9.616 (n. 87); in addition, H. Bender, *De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 147; on the invective trope, see RAC (n. 38) 630; Corbeill (n. 38) 161.

⁹³ See, however, Cleland (2005) 117.

Novius has a young girl wear a soft *crocosta* with sleeves.⁹⁴ According to Cicero, Clodius wore such a garment while dressed as a female lyre player (*psaltria*).⁹⁵ In both cases, the symposium is the context in which a tunic with sleeves is worn.

This is also true of two other instances in which a *tunica* with long sleeves figures in Latin literature. Scipio Africanus Minor accuses Sulpicius of having worn such a garment at banquets while reclining on a couch with his male lover. To make matters worse, Sulpicius is also branded a passive homosexual (Scipio describes him as acting like the submissive younger instead of the dominant ‘senior’ partner):

Gellius NA 6.12.5 (= Scipio Minor F 17 Malcovati²)

in conviviis adolescentulus cum amatore cum chiridota tunica inferior accubuerit

at banquets, he reclined as a young man with his lover, dressed in a *tunica* with long sleeves on the inner side of the couch

A similar sense underlies Cicero’s invective against the followers of Catilina. Cicero portrays them as ‘effeminate’ dandies busying themselves only with dinner parties (*cenae*):

Cic. Cat. 2.22

quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbis aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos non togis, quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur.

You see them with combed hair, well groomed, either beardless or with a fine beard, dressed in tunics with sleeves and in foot-long tunics, wearing frocks not togas. They spend all their life energy and waking hours in banquets that last until dawn.

The expression *manicatis et talaribus tunicis* is grammatically ambiguous since it could also refer to one type of garment that had both characteristics (a foot-long tunic with sleeves).⁹⁶ However, both adjectives are used separately in a technical sense

⁹⁴ Novius Paedium F 4 + 3 (Nonius): A. <...> *molliculam crocostam chiridotam reticulum ... supparum purum Melitensem*. B. *interii, escam meram!* [(A) <She was wearing> a soft *crocosta* with long sleeves, a hairnet, a **supparus*, pure Maltese stuff. (B) I am doomed, a true bait!]; cf. A 7 pp. 168–174; D 5 p. 656.

⁹⁵ Cic. in Cur. et Clod. [14] 22: *manicatum tunicam et mitram et purpureas fascias* [a tunic with sleeves, a *mitra*, and purple sandal straps]; 23: *cum vincirentur pedes fasciis, cum calvatica capiti accommodaretur, cum vix manicatum tunicam in lacertos induceres, cum strophio accurate praecingerere* [when your feet were wrapped with straps, when your bonnet was fitted to your head, when you pulled your tunic with sleeves over your upper arms with difficulty, when you carefully girded yourself with a cord]; De harusp. resp. 44: *P. Clodius a crocosta, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio, ... est factus repente popularis*. [P. Clodius is suddenly made a *popularis* (member of the ‘popular’ party) by the *crocosta*, by the bonnet, by the women’s sandals and the little purple *fasciae*, by the cord]; cf. on it in general A 10 pp. 201–207.

⁹⁶ Cf. also the Loeb translation.

elsewhere. This suggests that Cicero is speaking of two different types of tunic: the *tunica manicata* and the *tunica talaris*. Like all other examples, his remarks show that the *tunica manicata* was an originally Greek garment worn at banquets by both women and men (assuming the invectives have a true core). Perhaps it was part of the coloured *vestis cenatoria* which we hear about in the Imperial period.⁹⁷

1.6 The undertunic (*subucula*) (pl. 5)

In the case of the undertunic—mainly called *subucula*—a precise definition is necessary since our dress custom is slightly different and the word undertunic might cause misunderstanding.⁹⁸ A *subucula* can be worn by both genders. Contrary to what is said in modern research, it is not equal to modern lingerie in a strict sense. Although it was worn directly on the skin and under (*sub*) another garment (similar to lingerie), it was socially acceptable to show some part of it in public. It could be visible underneath the outer garment, another tunic, or the *vestis longa*. Varro also says that a husband liked variety in his wife's *subuculae*. This suggests that a Roman woman would probably wear a *subucula* without an outer garment at home or in an informal situation without feeling naked. It is, in short, a garment in which you would not feel ashamed to open your door to the postman. This is different with true lingerie—a *fascia* ('brassiere') or a *subligar* ('slip'). These must necessarily be worn with another garment, or else you are regarded as *nudus* (naked). The undertunic is therefore dealt with in this chapter, whereas true underwear (in the sense of lingerie) is dealt with in the chapters B 22–25.

In our sources, the undertunic is variously called *interula*, *subucula*, and *tunica interior*. There seems to be no difference of meaning between these terms.⁹⁹ The term *subucula* predominates, and it is already referred to implicitly in Plautus (see below);¹⁰⁰ then we find it several times in Varro and other authors.¹⁰¹ In contrast, the word *interula* is only used twice. It may have been used by the comic playwright Caecilius, who speaks of a cotton tunic.¹⁰² The first certain mention is in the archaist Apuleius, where it refers to a tunic worn in bed. Apuleius may well be using the word as a linguistic archaism.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Cf. B 10 p. 401.

⁹⁸ See Becker/Göll (1882) 250; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 485; Blümner (1911) 208, 229; RE 4.1 A (1931) s.v. *subucula*, col. 509 (E. Schuppe); Wilson (1939) 164–165; Potthoff (1992) 184–185; Goldman (1994) 235; Pausch (2003) 143–154; GRD (2007) 183.

⁹⁹ Against Pausch (2003) 143–154.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. p. 263.

¹⁰¹ See below p. 263 and C 1 pp. 571–573; on the etymology, see Potthoff (1992) 185.

¹⁰² Caecilius, Pausimachus F 3: *molochina interula* [a cotton undertunic], cf. A 7 p. 140.

¹⁰³ Apul. Met. 8.9.

In Valerius Maximus, dating to the reign of Tiberius (14–37 CE), we also find the term *tunica interior*.¹⁰⁴

In the Roman Republic and the early Imperial period, the undertunic was clearly called *subucula* in everyday language.¹⁰⁵ Festus (Verrius) comments on the word: *subucula: de tunicae genere notum est omnibus (subucula: everyone knows this kind of tunic)*.¹⁰⁶ If the context does not require it, an undertunic may simply be called a *tunica* or *tunicula*. This is especially the case if both tunics (*tunicae*), the inner and the outer tunic, are referred to in the plural.¹⁰⁷ The fact that the *subucula* (like the *chiton*) could be referred to with the generic term *tunica* (at least in certain contexts) suggests that it was considered a full-fledged garment that could be worn on its own. This sometimes causes difficulties for modern analysis since we lack the requisite cultural knowledge or do not know the literary context. The Greek equivalent to *subucula* seems to be χιτῶνιον and χιτωνίσκος. Other names for the undertunic have not been transmitted. The gloss **indusium*, which is often interpreted as an undergarment, is a philological chimaera.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to what Imperial (and modern) scholars maintain, the gloss **supparus* (D 5) also does not designate the *subucula*. The Late Antique term *camisia* should likewise be excluded from discussions of the Classical garment.

We learn little about the specific appearance of the female *subucula* in literature. What was the difference between the inner and the outer tunic? Was there any? Because all of our sources are from upper class authors, we have no texts from craftsmen (such as a tailor) giving us more details. Varro's talk of *varietas* implies that it could have many colours and patterns. Once, we also hear about the artificial colour of a *subucula*. As will be seen below,¹⁰⁹ Fortunata, the wife of Trimalchio, wears a flashy crimson undertunic under her outer *tunica*, whose colour is not mentioned. Both sources taken together may indicate that the *subucula* was the point where colour could manifest itself on the clothing of a (modest) Roman housewife, the outer *tunica* instead being of a natural colour. As far as the material is concerned, some sort of soft fabric (like the cotton tunic mentioned above) would have been used, given that it was worn on the skin.

The undertunic was worn as clothing by women (as well as men) of all social classes. But as is to be expected of upper class authors, we mainly hear of wealthy women. One exception is the *Carmen Priapeum* 12, which also shows us the tattered

¹⁰⁴ Val. Max. 7.4.5. In correspondence with this, Apul. Met. 11.4. calls the outer tunic of a man *tunica superior*.

¹⁰⁵ Hor. epist. 1.1.95–96: *si forte subucula pexae || trita subest tunicae* [if, for example, under the brand-new *tunica* there is a threadbare *subucula*]; Suet. 82.1 (see above p. 254).

¹⁰⁶ Festus p. 402.29–30 L.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. below p. 268.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. C 1 p. 571; D 3 p. 571.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. p. 269.

subucula of a poor old woman.¹¹⁰ It was presumably considered a sign of extreme poverty (*egestas*) if one was forced to do without a *subucula* and to wear only the coarser outer *tunica*. Accordingly, eschewal can be considered an expression of asceticism. Cynic philosophers only wore one tunic, and Christ expressly called upon his disciples to renounce a second tunic.¹¹¹

The exact date when the undertunic became established in Rome cannot be determined, but the garment was probably introduced very early.¹¹² The literary evidence shows that it was an everyday garment during the time of the Roman Republic. Already Plautus (early 2nd century BCE) provides indirect evidence for this. He uses the term *subucula* as the basis for a pun about the woman's visible tunic, which he jokingly calls **inducula*.¹¹³ A detailed discussion of the *subucula* is found at the end of the Republic in Varro's *De vita populi Romani*, in which he, presumably guided by Plautus, considered the *subucula* to be an invention of early Roman times. The passage indicates that Varro did not understand Plautus' pun:¹¹⁴

Varro VPR F 329 S. (45 R.)¹¹⁵

posteaquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et induculam

when they began to have two tunics each, they started to call them *subucula* and **inducula*.

In *De lingua Latina*, Varro also casually says that husbands prefer their wife's undertunic to show some variety:¹¹⁶

itaque in vestitu ... delectari varietate, non paribus subuculis uxoris respondeo

That is the reason, I answer, why we like variety in case of dress and when the *subuculae* of our wife are not all the same.

¹¹⁰ See below p. 272 and pp. 316–318.

¹¹¹ On the evidence in the Gospels, cf. M. Leutzsch, Grundbedürfnis und Statussymbol. Kleidung im Neuen Testament, in: A. Köb/P. Riedel (eds.), *Kleidung und Repräsentation in Antike und Mittelalter*, München 2005, 24–26. It shows that two tunics were in normal use by men throughout the Graeco-Roman world.

¹¹² Against Pausch (2003) 144.

¹¹³ Cf. A 4 p. 67.

¹¹⁴ Against Pausch (2003) 143.

¹¹⁵ Nonius p. 870.20–22 L.; cf. the comments of Riposati (1939) 161 and Pittà (2015) 222–224.

¹¹⁶ Varro LL 9.33.

Another supposed passage from Varro¹¹⁷ saying that the *subucula* was no longer worn by women has unfortunately muddled research on the female tunic.¹¹⁸ However, it should not be attributed to Varro but to the much later Nonius, and it therefore only reflects Late Antique conditions.¹¹⁹ According to the passage, the undertunic was no longer in use in Antiquity. It is difficult to say when the custom of wearing a *subucula* stopped. The last author to use the word *subucula* is Suetonius, when talking about Augustus' clothing; the last to implicitly mention it is the novelist Apuleius in the second half of the second century CE.¹²⁰ The term *subucula* is missing in the lists of Latin dress terms given by the jurist Ulpianus († 223/228 CE). This may give us a *terminus ante quem*. There is also reason to think that the *subucula* morphed into or was eclipsed by the dress custom of wearing a *synthesis*, a combination of *tunica* and *palliolum* (B 10). This dress custom started in the first century CE. A *synthesis* was used at banquets and thus comes close in function to wearing an inner and an outer *tunica*. Like the *subucula*, it was a colourful garment.

1.7 Case studies

The female tunic is very rarely described in the Latin texts. A few case studies may illustrate dress customs related to it. In the period dealt with in this book (200 BCE–200 CE), there are three main modes of wearing a *tunica* (all of which are corroborated by archaeological evidence):¹²¹ (1) a single *tunica* (with a belt), (2) an undertunic and an outer *tunica*, and (3) a *tunica* under a *vestis longa*. Every woman was allowed to wear a single or a double *tunica*. In contrast, the combination with the *stola/vestis longa* was generally reserved for the Roman *matrona* (B 4). Roman literature (and by extension Roman society) connected general stereotypes with the three different modes. The single *tunica* was closely associated with young and beautiful women, *meretrices* and mistresses. Wearing a double *tunica* suggested a mature married woman. The combination of *tunica* and *vestis longa* also referred to a married woman, but specifically

¹¹⁷ Nonius p. 880.33–37 L. (Varro F 329 Salvatore = 46 Riposati): *Varro de vita populi Romani lib. I palliolum breve voluit haberi. castula [!] est palliolum praecinctui, quo nudaē infra papillas praecinguntur; quo mulieres nunc et eo magis utuntur, postquam subuculis desierunt* [Varro contends in the first book *On the life of the Roman people* that it is a short piece of cloth. The *castula* is a small piece of cloth functioning as a wrap. They gird themselves with it naked underneath the breast. Women use it even more now that they have stopped using the undertunic (*subucula*)].

¹¹⁸ Cf. most recently, Pausch (2003) 149, who thinks, due to the contradictory nature of the sources, that the *subucula* fell out of fashion for a short time.

¹¹⁹ Cf. D 6 pp. 663–665.

¹²⁰ See below p. 274.

¹²¹ Cf. on it, Archaeological Evidence p. 677.

one married in Roman *matrimonium*. The distinction between ‘full’ *matrimonium* and other forms of legal union will be relevant.¹²²

The following sections cover four literary case studies in order to show how the *tunica* was worn and which social associations each had: (1) Ovid’s mistress Corinna, who wears only one *tunica*; (2) Petronius’ freedwoman Fortunata, a mature woman who lives in a relationship with Trimalchio and who wears a double *tunica*; (3) the Roman wedding dress not worn by Marcia in an epic poem by Lucan; and finally (4) two descriptions in Apuleius where the stereotype of the *matrona* and the young mistress are pitted against each other. Each case study shows how the women are dressed and what social group they belong to.

1.7.1 single *tunica* – Corinna

The mistress of Roman Love Elegy is a Greek freedwoman as to her social status. Her garb is similar to that of the various *hetaerae* depicted in love scenes on the walls of some houses in Pompey. She is usually presented in a single *tunica* (*chiton*) with a belt—though this is frequently either loosened or missing in literary descriptions. We occasionally learn that the mistress wears a *fascia* (‘brassiere’) (B 22). She can also put on a *pallium* (B 1). This is the literary stereotype, although we sometimes hear that she dresses in two *tunicae*—as would be normal outside the house.¹²³ That the mistress is presented in only one *tunica* has to do with the fact she is often shown in intimate situations in her own or her lover’s boudoir (*cubiculum*). This raises the question of whether the single *tunica* mentioned in this intimate setting is in fact a *subucula*. In such scenes, the young woman is often sleeping (either naked or dressed)¹²⁴ or is hastily

¹²² On the Roman *matrimonium*, cf. B 4 pp. 320–327.

¹²³ Ovid. am. 2.15.11–12: *tunc ego cum cupiam dominae tetigisse papillas || et laevam tunicis inseruisse manum* [then, when I liked to touch the breasts of my mistress and put my left hand into her tunics]; 3.14.27: *indue cum tunicis metuentem crimina vultum* [put on a face that is afraid of reproach when you put on your tunics]; Ovid. ars 3.108–110 (n. 131); 3.301–302a: *haec movet arte latus, tunicisque fluentibus auras || accipit* [this is moving her flanks with skill and takes in the breeze in her flowing tunics]; 3.639: *custode foris tunicas servante puellae* [while the guard outside watches over the tunics of the girl]; 3.707–708a (Procris): *ut rediit animus, tenues a pectore vestes || rumpit* [as soon as she came to her senses, she tore the delicate tunics from her chest]; epist. 6.27 (Hypsipyle): *protinus exilui tunicisque a pectore ruptis* [I immediately jumped up and tore the tunics from my chest]; 10.38 (Ariadne): *et tunicas lacrimis sicut ab imbre graves* [and my tunics, which were heavy with tears, as with a rain]; Fasti 2.171 (Callisto): *exuerat tunicas* [she had taken off her tunics].

¹²⁴ Prop. 2.15.5–6: *nam modo nudatis mecum est luctata papillis, || interdum tunica duxit operata moram* [sometimes she wrestled with me with bared breasts; sometimes she made a delay, wrapped in her tunic]; 17–18: *quod si pertendens animo vestita cubaris, || scissa veste meas experiere manus* [but if you persist in sleeping dressed, I will tear your clothes, and you will feel my hands]; 2.29.24–26; 3.6.13: *ac maestam teneris vestem pendere lacertis* [and the robe hangs sadly on her tender arms]; Ovid. am.

getting out of bed dressed in an ungirded *tunica*.¹²⁵ Sometimes her *tunica* is torn by her impatient lover.¹²⁶ Its material is usually very thin and even translucent.¹²⁷ It has many artificially colours, preferably tasteful shades of reds.¹²⁸ The favourite garment of the mistress (and her lover) is the *Coa vestis*, which seems to have combined all of these traits.¹²⁹ Ovid therefore makes the personified Love Elegy appear in the *vestis tenuis* (compare English ‘tenuous’).¹³⁰ In contrast to this delicate garment, the matron’s tunics are made of thicker fabric¹³¹ and are decorated with gold and other trimmings.¹³²

Ovid provides a famous example of all this in a scene in an erotic elegy where he describes how he tears the clothes off his lover Corinna in a noonday ‘lover’s tryst’:¹³³

Ovid. am. 1.5.9–18
ecce, Corinna venit, tunica velata recincta,
candida dividua colla tegente coma.
qualiter in thalamos formosa Semiramis isse
dicitur et multis Lais amata viris.
deripui tunicam, nec multum rara nocebat;
pugnabat tunica sed tamen illa tegi.

3.14.21: *illic (sc. in lecto) nec tunicam tibi sit posuisse pudori* [do not be ashamed there (i.e. in bed) to take off the tunic].

125 Prop. 4.8.61: *direptisque comis tunicisque solutis* [with dishevelled hair and ungirded]; Ovid. am. 3.1.51: *delabique toro tunica velata soluta* [to glide out of bed dressed in a loosened tunic]; 3.7.81: *nec mora, desiluit tunica velata soluta* [she immediately jumped out of bed dressed in a loosened tunic]; Ars 1.529–530 (Ariadne): *utque erat e somno tunica velata recincta, || nuda pedem, croceas inrelegata comas* [just as she came from sleep, dressed in an ungirded tunic, with bare foot, with blond hair not tied]. On the literary motif, see Cat. c. 64.60–70 (A 12 p. 217) and Ovid. Fasti 3.645 (Anna flees out of her bedchamber): *cumque metu rapitur tunica velata recincta* [she runs away in fear, wrapped in an ungirded tunic].

126 Tib. 1.10.61: *sit satis e membris tenuem rescindere vestem* [it shall be enough to tear the delicate garment from the body]; Prop. 2.5.21: *nec tibi periuro scindam de corpore vestis* [I will not tear the tunic from your perjured body]; Ovid. am. 1.7.47–48 (cf. B 20 p. 494); Ars 2.171: *nec puto, nec sensi tunicam laniasse* [I do not think and I did not notice that I tore your tunic].

127 Tib. 1.10.61; Ovid. am. 3.2.35–36: *suspitor ex istis et cetera posse placere || quae bene sub tenui condita veste latent* [I suspect from the things I see that the rest hidden under your delicate garment could also be pleasing].

128 Cf. B 11 pp. 410–420.

129 Cf. B 9 pp. 386–391.

130 Ovid. am. 3.1.9: *forma decens, vestis tenuissima, vultus amantis* [a beautiful figure, a very delicate garment, the face of a lover]; on the passage in general, cf. B 3 pp. 296–297.

131 Ovid. ars 3.108–110: *si fuit Andromache tunicas induta valentes, || quid mirum? duri militis uxor erat* [No surprise if Andromache was dressed in strong tunics! She was the wife of a hard soldier].

132 Ovid. ars 3.131: *nec prodite graves insuto vestibus auro*, [do not show yourselves in public, heavy with gold sewn to your garments]; 3.169: *quid de veste loquar? nec vos, segmenta, requiro* [What will I say of the garment? I do not need you, ornaments]; Apul. Met. 2.2 (see below).

133 On the entire the scene, cf. McKeown (1989) in his commentary.

*quae cum ita pugnaret, tamquam quae vincere nollet,
victa est non aegre proditione sua.
ut stetit ante oculos posito velamine nostros,
in toto nusquam corpore menda fuit.*

Behold, there comes Corinna, dressed in an ungirded *tunica*. Her white neck is covered by her parted hair. In this way, they say, the beautiful Semiramis went into her bedchamber, and Lais, who was loved by many men. I tore off Corinna's *tunica*. It did not prohibit the view much, being of a fine texture. Nevertheless, she still fought to be covered by her *tunica*. While she thus struggled, as one who did not want to gain victory, she was overcome, not reluctantly, by her own betrayal. As she stood before my eyes with her clothing put off, there was no blemish in all her body.

In Ovidian fiction, Corinna is a young and beautiful Greek freedwoman living in Rome. In this scene, she wears a *tunica* without or with a loosened belt (*recincta*).¹³⁴ It should be noted that a belt (*cingillum*) is a standard part of the normal tunic and is a symbol of female chastity. The fact that Corinna wears a loose tunic indicates that she has prepared herself for the meeting with Ovid and wants to have sexual intercourse with him. This is also made clear by the fact that she comes to him in the hours of the early afternoon and that she does not struggle too much against her lover. It is all part of erotic play, the woman nearly always presented as the more passive part to save decorum.

Since the social milieu of Love Elegy is Greek, Corinna's *tunica* is a *chiton*. This is also evident from the description of the garment itself and of the way in which it is removed. In contrast to a Roman *tunica*, which can only be pulled off over the head, a *chiton* can be removed by pulling it down after the knots along the shoulder opening are untied, as is the case here. In addition, Ovid uses the verb *velare*, which shows that the garment is wide and rich in fabric, since it fully shrouds Corinna.¹³⁵ The indication that she is not girded points in the same direction. It is only visually meaningful if one imagines a long flowing garment rather than one that fits snugly. The famous Greek heterae with which Ovid compares Corinna also suggest a Greek cultural context. Ovid concludes by briefly hinting at the erotic qualities of Corinna's *tunica*. He describes it as *rara*. This adjective refers to the weaving technique.¹³⁶ The fabric is wide-meshed and fine (similar to modern gauze) and probably shows much of Corinna's charms. It might even be a silken *Coa vestis*. In any case, it was an elegant Hellenistic-Roman tunic. Roman readers will have filled in the blank spaces better than we can. We have only the depictions in Pompey to compare.

¹³⁴ See Ovid. am. 1.747–48 (see above p. 250); 3.1.51. The belt prevents a tunic from being taken off quickly.

¹³⁵ Cf. also Cicero Cat. 2.22 (see above p. 260), who designates the togas of the followers of Catilina as *vela* (sails).

¹³⁶ Cf. A 4 p. 75.

1.7.2 *tunica* and *subucula* – Fortunata

The costume usually worn by (mature) women in public is mentioned in our texts, but only rarely. Beyond the mistress of Love Elegy, our sources in the Imperial period focus on the married Roman woman and her dress—the *stola/vestis longa*. They also almost exclusively concern the female clothing of higher social classes. The antithesis between *meretrix* and *matrona*, which we already met in early Latin literature, is thus given an up-to-date appearance. In consequence, we learn next to nothing about the clothing of ordinary women in ‘normal’ situations, leading to a cultural-historical gap that distorts our view. Fortunately, our sources offer some glimpses of what must have been ‘normal,’ thus disrupting the literary stereotype. We hear, for example, that the mistresses of Love Elegy did not always wear a single (translucent) *tunica*, but adapted their dress to the circumstances.¹³⁷ We also learn that they wore two tunics when moving in public.¹³⁸ Two tunics are also attested in the archaeological evidence (pl. 5). Most women probably dressed in this way in the Roman world. However, it must again be stated that literary texts referring to mature women outside of the ideal Roman *matrona* are exceedingly rare.

An interesting description concerning the dress of a ‘married’ woman outside of the social elite is found in the *Satyrica* of Petronius. It describes a non-elite woman (Fortunata) and her desire to copy elite dress. Petronius teaches us something not only about rich freedwomen’s clothing, but also about that of women of the Roman upper class, since Fortunata seeks to imitate them. His fictional character behaves like many other real freedwomen who display the insignia of the upper class on their graves. Her husband Trimalchio behaves in a similar manner and wants to imitate the costume of a knight.¹³⁹ But let us first look more closely at the social status of Trimalchio and Fortunata. They are very rich, but they do not belong to the social class of the Roman *equites*, despite all their wealth. Trimalchio is something like an ancient Jay Gatsby: aspiring to a higher social position, but despised by the old elite. Trimalchio and Fortunata are not even born free (*ingenui*), but are former slaves. Their relationship is legally not a Roman marriage (*matrimonium*), but only a *contubernium* (the type of legal union which slaves were allowed to make with each other).¹⁴⁰ The legal distinction seems to be a determining factor for the peculiar way Fortunata is dressed.

¹³⁷ Ovid. am. 2.297–302; cf. B 9 p. 396.

¹³⁸ See above p. 265.

¹³⁹ On the passage, cf. also B 4 p. 310; B 11 passim.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. B 4 p. 321.

Fortunata's clothing is described by Petronius in two places, most extensively on the occasion of her first appearance at the banquet (*cena*).¹⁴¹ Like Ovid's Corinna, Petronius' Fortunata is given a special entrance on stage (*venit*):

Petron. 67

venit ergo (sc. Fortunata) galbino succincta cingillo, ita ut infra cerasina appareret tunica et periscelides tortae phaecasiaeque inauratae. tunc sudario manus tergens, quod in collo habebat, applicabat se ... toro. ... eo deinde perventum est, ut Fortunata armillas suas crassissimis detraheret lacertis Scintillaeque miranti ostenderet. ultimo etiam periscelides resolvit et reticulum aureum, quem ex obrussa esse dicebat.

So there came Fortunata, who had gathered her garment up with a light green belt, so that underneath appeared a crimson tunic, twisted leg bands, and gilded bootees. Then, wiping her hands with a napkin she wore around her neck, she sat down upon the ... couch. ... Then it came to that Fortunata pulled off her bracelets from her very fat upper arms and showed them to Scintilla, who looked at them with admiration. Finally, she even took off her leg bands and the golden hairnet, which she said was made of pure gold.

Petronius' description raises a problem at the crucial point. How many tunics is Fortunata wearing? Is it one or is it two?¹⁴² Friedländer (1906) in his commentary argues that it is two tunics (and rightly so).¹⁴³ Fortunata is indeed wearing a *tunica* and a *subucula*. The difficulty of expression is that there is no explicit mention of the outer *tunica*. It is only implied in *succincta*. The adjective *succinctus* is often used in the sense of 'someone who is dressed in a *tunica* that is girded up' without adding the garment.¹⁴⁴ The *tunica cerasina* we read of is not the outer tunic that is girded up, but the *subucula*, whose lower part is usually hidden under the longer outer tunic. In the case of Fortunata, the undertunic emerges below (*infra*),¹⁴⁵ because the outer tunic is now removed.

Petronius does not describe the outer *tunica* of Fortunata. He only emphasizes the striking light green colour of the belt (*cingillum*) and then immediately turns to the dark red undertunic (*tunica*), whose colour is no less eye-catching than that of the belt. It is the *subucula* that later slides down Fortunata's knees when Habinnas raises her legs in an obscene joke (he seems to know Fortunata all too well):

¹⁴¹ Cf. in general now the commentary by Schmeling (2011). However, it does not go into clothing in any greater detail.

¹⁴² Unfortunately, many translations are not clear on that point.

¹⁴³ Friedländer (1906) 331: "*Infra* unter dem Oberkleide, das so hoch gegürtet war, dass die kirschröte Tunica darunter zum Vorschein kam. Vielleicht ist vor *galbino* ein Wort (*vestem, stolam, pallam*) ausgefallen, allenfalls kann es hinzugedacht werden."

¹⁴⁴ Cf. OLD s. v. *succinctus* 1a and 2. See in general B 20 pp. 495–496.

¹⁴⁵ The interpretation of *cingillum* as a sash under which the *tunica* appears is not tenable. The word *cingillum* means 'belt' and *infra* spatially means 'below' and not 'under' (*sub*). The statement that an outer *tunica* should only be visible *below* the belt is not meaningful.

Petron. 67.12–13

Habinnas furtim consurrexit pedesque Fortunatae correptos super lectum immisit. "Au! au!" illa proclamavit aberrante tunica super genua. Composita ergo in gremio Scintillae incensam rubore faciem sudario abscondit.

Habinnas got up secretly, grabbed Fortunata's feet and threw them over the the couch. She shouted "Oh dear!," as her *tunica* wandered up above her knees. Lying then in Scintilla's lap, she hid her face, which was burning red, in her napkin.

This is a veritable slapstick scene: people being thrown over furniture, clothes flying, people hiding faces.¹⁴⁶ But let us turn back to Fortunata's first appearance at the *convivium*. Summoned by the guests like an actress at a theatrical performance, Fortunata appears on stage. She plays her role just as carefully as her husband Trimalchio, even though she fails and has something comical about her (at least in the eyes of the author and his readers). It is therefore important to understand the various aspects of Fortunata's appearance and the resulting social faux pas. On the one hand, Fortunata wants to present herself as a capable housewife who has eagerly worked in the kitchen. To this end, she has girded up her *tunica*, just as servants do at work. She is also wearing a *sudarium* (a napkin or little towel), as was probably also used in the kitchen.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, Fortunata wants to show her wealth and to appear beautiful. For this reason, she has gold jewellery on all parts of her body and a *subucula* in crimson colour.

But why does Fortunata choose this colour and why does she display in this way? Her get-up only reveals its full meaning when one considers the dress she wants to imitate. During the Imperial period, rich Roman matrons of equestrian status dressed in the *stola* (B 4). This reached down to the feet. It was decorated with a conspicuous, perhaps even purple lower border (*instita*).¹⁴⁸ The *stola* was very likely a legal privilege at that time, probably reserved for women who had entered into a Roman marriage (*matrimonium*).¹⁴⁹ However, the condition for such a *matrimonium* was that both partners were no longer slaves at the time of the marriage. And just this legal prerequisite is not fulfilled by the union of Trimalchio and Fortunata. They are only living in a *contubernium*. Fortunata is therefore not allowed to wear a *stola* with trimming. To compensate for this social 'defect,' she tries to create at least a similar impression by cleverly combining two *tunicae*, making a dark red undertunic appear under the outer *tunica*. She also imitates another fashion that was common among women of

146 On the obscene gesture of Habinnas, which seems to indicate that there is some hidden previous relationship between him and Fortunata, cf. Cic. ad Att. 2.1; Mart. 10.81.4; 11.71.8.

147 On neckerchiefs, cf. B 19.

148 On the very tenuous literary evidence as concerns the colour, cf. B 4 p. 310; on the archaeological evidence see p. 683.

149 Cf. B 4 pp. 333–342.

the equestrian order¹⁵⁰ by using golden anklets (*periscelides*) on her legs.¹⁵¹ Perhaps this also applies to her fashionable shoes (*phaecasiae*),¹⁵² although we are not able to prove this.

Fortunata, however, spoils her efforts to appear like a lady by tastelessly combining the various items of dress. The combination of the different roles fails, because the costume of the housewife does not fit with that of a rich *matrona* from the equestrian order. On the one hand, Fortunata's *tunica succincta* recalls the garb of servants (and thus betrays her former slave status). On the other hand, the amount of gold jewellery, which is even shown around later, is excessive, suggesting her new status as 'new money' (rather than the 'old money' of the nobility). The *sudarium* around the neck might be a faux pas along with the fact that the undertunic was visible at all below the girded up outer garment. A fine Roman matron in her foot-length *stola* looked very different from Fortunata's hapless *imitatio*. And then the striking colours! The conspicuous light green belt (which might have had something plebeian about it in Petronius' eyes¹⁵³) along with the dark red *subucula* create a noteworthy contrast. Although Fortunata has chosen an 'expensive' shade of red, the colour red remains an erotic signal colour.¹⁵⁴ In Roman culture, it is usually reserved for young women and is not appropriate for a rather old matron. It indicates untimely sexual desire (Romans thought that sexuality was only something for young women). In addition, the red and the green garments show a combination of colours which would have been gaudy in the eyes of ancient (upper class) readers.¹⁵⁵ Fortunata is also wearing the combination of colours that is typical for Trimalchio's household, even down to the slaves.¹⁵⁶ Petronius perhaps wants to point out the origin of the couple from the slave class through their choice of strong colours. We do not have much evidence on

150 For exaggerated gold jewellery worn by matrons from the order of the knights, see in particular Pliny NH 33.41 and B 4 p. 350.

151 See Menander F 618 K.-A. for the *περισκελίδες*; Nikostratos F 32 K.-A.; Com. Adesp. 1084.27 K.-A.; Longus 1.5: *περισκελίδες χρυσαί* [golden anklets]. As the name indicates, the jewellery is worn around the leg (*σκέλος*) or the calves.

152 Cf. B 30 pp. 552–553.

153 Cf. B 11 pp. 430–433.

154 Cf. B 11 pp. 436–437.

155 There is an interesting imitation in Chekhov's drama *Three Sisters*. Natasha (N), the provincial fiancée of the brother of the three sisters, wears a pink dress with a green sash in her first appearance in the first act. Olga (O), one of the sisters, comments in shock: "You are wearing a green sash! My dear, that is not good. N: Does it mean something bad? O: No, it just does not go with your dress ... and looks strange ... N: (with tears): Yes? But it is not green, it is rather a dull colour." Natasha's odd dress is also mentioned later on, showing that she does not fit in with the household of the three sisters. Chekhov's provincial banquet takes inspiration from Trimalchio's symposium in other details as well. Obviously, he (like others) understood the passage in Petronius to refer to a single belted tunic.

156 On the choice of colours in the household of Trimalchio, cf. H. M. Currie, *Petronius and Ovid*, in: C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History V* (Coll. Latomus 206), Brussels 1989, 318–319, and B 11 pp. 443–445.

colour preferences, but it seems that lower classes preferred strong colours.¹⁵⁷ In this way, Petronius tells his readers that Fortunata's and Trimalchio's previous status as slaves cannot be concealed despite all their wealth. This would fit in with the rest of his description of their dinner party. Although both try to appear to behave like members of the upper class, the distance to their servants is very small and, in the end, breaks down completely under the influence of heavy drinking.

1.7.3 *subucula* and *stola* – Marcia (Lucan)

The following section is about two paradoxes. First, it is about a costume a woman is *not* wearing. Then, it is about a text which does not call the garments—the *stola* and the *subucula*—by their proper names. Despite this, it is highly important for identifying the *subucula*. The *stola/vestis longa* is often mentioned in Latin literature. It is part of the costume of the Roman *matrona* and became a symbol for Roman *matrimonium* in Augustan times. However, descriptions of the entire matronal garb, including the *subucula*, are exceedingly rare. Archaeological evidence shows that the *stola* was normally combined with an undertunic,¹⁵⁸ but there are only two texts which mention both garments. One is the unpleasant *Carmen Priapeum* 12 making fun of the *scissa tunica* (torn tunic) and *stola russea* (red *stola*) of a lewd old woman (again, a red garment!).¹⁵⁹ The other mention is in the passage in Lucan dealt with in this section.

In his epic Poem *Bellum civile*, Lucan (39–65 CE) fictionalizes the civil war fought between Caesar and the party of the senate (49–46 BCE). At the beginning of the war, Marcia 'remarried' Cato, both portrayed by Lucan as true Stoic philosophers. If there was any wedding ceremony at all, it must have been very simple because Marcia only returned to her former husband after an interim marriage with Cato's friend Hortensius. For this reason, Lucan focuses on what was *not* present at the scene. His description runs as follows:¹⁶⁰

Lucan. 2.360–364
non timidum nuptae leuiter tectura pudorem
lutea demissos uelarunt flammae uoltus,
balteus aut fluxos gemmis astrinxit amictus,
colla monile decens umerisque haerentia primis
suppara nudatos cingunt angusta lacertos.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. B 11 pp. 438–443.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Archaeological Evidence pp. 698–699.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. B 4 pp. 316–318.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. also on this passage B 4 p. 319 and D 5 pp. 651–653.

No yellow bridal shawl covered the lowered face in order to lightly cover the timid reserve of the bride; no belt with gemstones fastened the flowing robe; no elegant necklace hung around the neck; no **supparum* hanging on the base of the shoulders closely surrounded the naked arms.

As to the non-existent clothing, Lucan has in mind the costume we see on many statues of married women in Imperial times.¹⁶¹ He is clearly talking about the undertunic and the *stola*. However, he does not call any of these garments by their everyday name because he could not use them in his epic poem for stylistic reasons. This is a problem that we have with Latin ‘high literature’ in general, but which is most pronounced in epic poems and history. In a very literal and in a wider sense, authors aiming to write in a high style cannot call a spade a spade! Readers therefore have to know what is meant by the stylistically appropriate terms. In Lucan, the *stola* is called an *amictus*; the undertunic is called a **supparum*. The word **supparus* (Lucan uses the wrong gender) is a venerable gloss which is dealt with in chapter D 5. Lucan uses it for stylistic effect. The grammarian Verrius Flaccus (ca. 55 BCE–20 CE) in his dictionary claims that the word designated a *subucula*.¹⁶² His explanation is very likely wrong, but Lucan (as a *poeta doctus*) obviously relied on it. Putting aside whether Verrius’ claim was correct, its use by Lucan proves that a *subucula* was worn under the *stola*. The logic is this: Lucan needed a stylistically appropriate term for a particular meaning he had in mind (the garment under the *stola* usually called *subucula*). He therefore turned to a reliable source (Verrius) looking for a venerable term he might use. Trusting Verrius, he included the term **supparus* in order to designate what he needed (i.e. the *subucula*). Lucan’s description of the simple marriage ritual therefore becomes the only (indirect) literary proof that the elegant *tunica* we see on statues under the *stola* was also called a *subucula*, although the particular variant differed significantly in appearance from the unspectacular *subucula* we often find with the outer *tunica*.

1.7.4 Literary stereotypes in contrast – Byrrhena and Photis (Apuleius)

The social (and moral) stereotype of wife (*matrona*) and whore (*meretrix*) pervades nearly all descriptions of female clothing in Latin literature. It will be discussed in detail in the chapters on the *stola* (B 4) and the *toga* (B 6) because these garments embody this social contrast. However, as we have seen, the *tunica* can also be used in a moralizing manner (though less strongly). It depends on how many tunics and what kinds of tunic are worn. The mistress is characterized by one *tunica* and, at best, a ‘brassiere.’ The *matrona*—when not wearing the full garb with *stola*—dresses in a *tunica* and a *subucula*. In its pure form, we also find this contrast in the last literary description of women we have from Classical Antiquity: the matron Byrrhena and the servant Photis. They

¹⁶¹ Cf. Archaeological Evidence pp. 698–699.

¹⁶² Cf. D 5 p. 644.

are described in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (ca. 124–170 CE). Apuleius' novel is a particularly difficult source as far as everyday Roman culture is concerned. While the narrative world in Ovid and Petronius is based on Roman-Italian reality, this is not the case with the world of the archaist Apuleius. In the *Metamorphoses*, Greek reality and set pieces from early Roman literature mix to such an extent that it is often difficult to determine where reality ends and where fiction begins. This is true not only of the cultural content, but also of the style of the work. Archaic words, sometimes even glosses, are used indiscriminately like normal terms.¹⁶³

The literary substrate of the characters Byrrhena and Photis is clearly Greek, Apuleius' source being a Greek novel. Both women live in Thessaly. Their clothing probably mirrors female clothing as it was worn in the Graeco-Roman world in the second century CE. Both figures are deliberately formed according to the trope of the contrasting pair of *matrona* and *meretrix*, which Apuleius adopted from Roman comedy.¹⁶⁴ In addition, each of the women symbolizes a life-choice for young Lucius (*adulescens*), the hero of the novel. Like Hercules, Lucius is at a crossroads, but chooses the wrong path. The matron Byrrhena warns him against reckless behaviour; the female servant (*ancilla*) Photis successfully seduces him into such. In Apuleius' philosophical concept, the *matrona* embodies reason and virtue, while the *ancilla* embodies sexual desire and vice. Both women are stylized in opposite ways in the novel according to their social position and philosophical function, and clothing plays an important part in it. The matron Byrrhena is described by Apuleius as follows:¹⁶⁵

Apul. Met. 2.2

mulierem quampiam frequenti stipatam famulitione ibidem gradientem adcelerato vestigio comprehendo; aurum in gemmis et in tunicis ... matronam profecto confitebatur.

I quickened my steps and caught up with a woman (sc. Byrrhena) who was walking there surrounded by numerous servants. Gold on her rings and her *tunicae* ... showed without doubt that she was a *matrona*.

Apuleius evokes the literary image of a *matrona* by using several stereotypes. Byrrhena is accompanied by many servants. The literary motif can be traced back to the beginnings of Latin literature with Plautus.¹⁶⁶ The description of Byrrhena's apparel is also a trope. She has golden rings and is wearing several tunics (at least a *subucula* and one outer *tunica*, or two *chitones*). She is not wearing a *stola* because this is the costume of a Roman wife, and Byrrhena is Greek. Moreover, the *stola* had already disappeared

¹⁶³ Cf. also D 3 pp. 610, 613.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. on this B 6 passim.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. G. N. Sandy, *The Greek World of Apuleius. Apuleius and the Second Sophistic*, Leiden 1997, 240 and the commentary by van Mal-Maeder (2001) ad loc.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. A 5 p. 88 and B 4 p. 332.

as dress in the second century CE.¹⁶⁷ Byrrhena's garments are decorated with gold. Both jewellery and expensive robes are usually associated with rich matrons in Latin literature—Apuleius even says as much (*matronam confitebatur*). A look at the *Asinus* of Pseudo-Lucian, the parallel Greek novel based on the same literary source as Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, shows that Apuleius may have slightly changed his Greek model in order to sharpen the contrast.¹⁶⁸

Ps.-Lucian. *Asin.* 4

γυναιῖκα ὀρῶ προσιούσαν ἔτι νέαν εὐπορουμένην ... ἱμάτια γὰρ ἀνθινὰ καὶ παῖδες καὶ χρυσίον περιττόν.

I see a still young, well-off woman coming towards me ... For she had colourful dresses, lots of slaves, and extravagant gold jewellery.

In contrast to Pseudo-Lucian, Apuleius' *matrona* Byrrhena is not young, but—as he says later on in his novel—a mature woman. She does not wear colourful robes, but gold-embroidered ones. Apuleius obviously wanted to not connect a colour indication with Byrrhena. We will find it later with Photis. This has to do with the fact that conspicuous colours are considered unbecoming of a dignified *matrona* in Latin literature (that is where Fortunata goes wrong). They are instead well suited to a young, unmarried women—such as those addressed in Ovid's colour catalogue in the *Ars amatoria*.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, the unspecific Greek expression ἱμάτια (clothes) has been turned into *tunicae*. This may be because Apuleius resorted to a literary motif from Latin texts, according to which the matron wore several tunics—the *subucula* and the *tunica*.

Byrrhena's appearance stands in clear contrast to that of Photis, whose social status is low. She is a servant (*ancilla*), but she is young and beautiful.

Apul. *Met.* 2.7

ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta et russea fasceola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas succinctula illud cibarium vasculum floridis palmulis rotabat in circulum

She (sc. Photis) was dressed neatly in a linen *tunica* that was girded up with a red *fascia* in a somewhat high position just under her nipples that struck the view. She turned the vessel round with her lovely hands.

The sentence given here is part of a larger erotic scene. Photis is preparing some food under the curious eyes of Lucius. She accompanies her action with movements that might suggest sexual intercourse to him. The language is characterized by an abundance of diminutives (created by Apuleius ad hoc) to show that the narrator Lucius is already in love with this 'sweet creature.' Photis' robe, like that of Corinna,

¹⁶⁷ Cf. B 4 p. 352.

¹⁶⁸ See the introduction by van Mael-Mader (2001) 10–11 and the commentary on the passage.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. B 11 pp. 410–420.

consists only of a single simple, white *tunica*. In contrast to the robe of Byrrhena, it has no ornaments. The Greek setting implies that it is a *chiton*. The colour white is typical for a young woman.¹⁷⁰ It often denotes purity and chastity and underlines a certain neatness in dress. However, as is typical for servants at work,¹⁷¹ Photis has girded her tunic up (*succincta*) so that her legs show, creating an erotic side-effect. In addition, she wears a *fascia*. The diminutive form *fasciola* does not mean that this garment is of a small size, but that it serves as a hypocorism. The word does not designate belt, but a narrow strip of cloth that is wrapped around the breast (B 22). It is part of lingerie. Photis' *fascia* shines forth (*praenitens*) because she has wrapped it a little bit higher (*altius*), just under her nipples (*papillae*). In modern terms, she lets Lucius see parts of her 'brassiere.' The positioning of the *fascia* was perhaps also chosen to make Photis' décolleté more prominent. The colour of the *fascia* is a conspicuous red (*russeus*) and directs Lucius' view directly to Photis' *papillae*. As with Fortunata, red is an erotic signal colour. The colour *russeus* differs from *cerasinus* insofar that it denotes a lighter and perhaps more plebeian shade.¹⁷² In contrast to Fortunata's clothes, Photis' garments are an adequate garb for her, being a servant. It is also the attire we know from the *meretrices* of Pompeian wall paintings and from Roman Love Elegy. It is worn for erotic effect, and that is exactly what Photis is after. Apuleius' inconsiderate young hero immediately falls into a rapture of love, which contributes to his later downfall. He acts just like an *adulescens* in Roman comedy, whereas Photis performs the role of the young *puella*. Both are stock figures from comedy.¹⁷³

Byrrhena and Photis clearly embody two archetypes Roman authors (and men) were fond of: the wife and the vamp. Each woman's dress is described by Apuleius to strengthen the trope. In fact, all women we have seen in this chapter are literary stereotypes. These certainly contain a grain of historical truth—or else they would not have been used. The case studies must also be properly situated in Roman culture. They only offer a narrow slice of a far more complex and diverse reality. The *tunica* was a common, ubiquitous garment, and its explicit inclusion in literature always suggests a particular intent. As with modern literature, the mundane and normal usually does not merit mention in Latin texts. The *tunicae* seen in these four examples are all worn (or not worn) in a way that indicates something about the wearer precisely by deviating from neutral, everyday custom. In the end, the *tunica* was such an ordinary and ubiquitous article of clothing that when a person was not explicitly undressed, he or she was wearing at least one tunic (be it Roman *tunica*, Greek *chiton*, or the finer *subucula*).

170 Cf. B 11 pp. 434–436.

171 See above p. 271.

172 Cf. B 11 pp. 440–443.

173 Cf., for example, A 4 p. 65; A 7 p. 130.

2 *pallium* – the regular female cloak (pl. 1)

1. Introduction
2. Terminology and appearance
3. Social usage
4. History

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter concerns the regular coat (*pallium*) worn by Roman women. Romans used the *pallium* in the same function as we do a coat. They did not wear it continuously, but put it on or took it off as needed to protect against cold or rain. Apart from the *pallium*, there were other forms of coats that had other names. There are two rustic ones—the *paenula* (B 7), a hooded cape put on over the head similar to a poncho—and the *abolla* (B 7). In addition, there is a luxury article of clothing called *cyclas* (B 9) that may have been, as is suggested by its name, a wrap that had a circular cut. Prostitutes with a low social status (*scorta*) could also dress in the oval-shaped *toga* (B 6).¹

The chapter contains all important texts on the female *pallium* dating to the time of the Roman Republic and Roman Empire. It has been placed second because the *pallium* (ἰμάτιον) has a basic form and is—next to the *tunica*—the most common female Roman garment in the period treated in this book (200 BCE–200 CE). It is a very ordinary garment and has therefore lagged behind the more exceptional upper-class *palla* (B 3) in modern research. Already in Antiquity, the Roman tunic and *pallium* share a common fate: They are so normal that they are rarely mentioned in our literary sources, which focus on the extraordinary. In the case of the *pallium* (and the *palla*), the top-down-perspective of Roman upper-class culture mirrored by literature has led to two serious misapprehensions in scholarship that still hamper general understanding.² The first misapprehension is that the word *pallium* supposedly only (or at least mainly) refers to the male cloak (OLD s.v. *pallium* 1a: ‘... worn mainly by man’);³ the second is

1 In contrast, there was no such thing as a **ricinium*. The word, which has played an enormous (and inordinate) role in research, is a senseless gloss and is therefore banned from part B. It is instead discussed in chapters A 1, C 1, and D 1.

2 See Ferrari (1685) 231–237; Marquardt (1864) 179–184; Becker/Göll (1882) 258–263; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 576–580; Blümner (1911) 234–235; Wilson (1938) 148–150; RE 18.2 (1949) s.v. *palla*, col. 152–156 (R. Hanslik); RE 18.2 (1949) s.v. *pallium*, col. 249–254 (R. Kreis-von Schaeuwen); Potthoff (1992) 146–155; Scholz (1992) 100–106; Scharf (1994) 96–114; Sebesta (1994a) 48; DNP 9 (2000) s.v. *pallium*, 201; GRD (2007) 136–137; Olson (2008) 33–35.

3 DNP 9 (2000) 201: “das Gegenstück zum P. war die Palla der Frauen”; GRD (2007) 136: “female equivalent of the *pallium*.” Cf. against this dichotomy, already Scharf (1994) 104.

that the word *palla* (in contrast to the male *pallium*) is supposedly the regular term for the normal female cloak. Both assumptions are mistaken. This chapter argues that the word *pallium* is the generic term for the cloaks of both genders and that the term *palla* refers to an ornamental (and therefore expensive) *pallium*.

2.2 Terminology and appearance

The etymology of the word *pallium* is still a matter of debate.⁴ It is a diminutive of *palla*, which might be an Etruscan word.⁵ In Republican times, a *pallium* that was more elegant and had ornaments was also called a *palla*.⁶ Smaller variants, coming close to a scarf, were referred to by the diminutive *palliolum* (B 17). Latin literature also sometimes uses the unspecific terms *amiculum* and *amictus* for it. Even the most general Latin term for a garment (*vestis*) can occasionally be applied to it.

But what did a *pallium* look like? In contrast to our coat,⁷ the cut of the *pallium* was very simple. It is not more than a rectangular piece of cloth—almost a kind of blanket—that is wrapped around the body in various ways and can also serve to cover the head.⁸ It is a kind of cloak.⁹ A rough analogue can be found in the South Asian *sari*, which is a long, untailed cloth wrapped and draped in different ways. The *pallium* presumably differed from the *palla* not so much in size, but that it was less coloured and ornamented and consisted of less valuable material. Most *pallia* were very likely made of wool and had a natural colour.

2.3 Social usage

The female *pallium* is used by all types of girls and women in the entire period considered in this book. In contrast to the male *pallium*, it is only rarely mentioned in early

⁴ Walde-Hofmann s.v. *palla* and Potthoff (1992) 146–151.

⁵ Cf. B 3 p. 290.

⁶ Cf. B 3 p. 289.

⁷ The modern fashion of a ‘coat’ will generally consist of four broad characteristics: (1) It is a more or less tailored garment; (2) it has sleeves; (3) it is opened vertically along the middle; and (4) it is fastened by buttons or a zipper (Romans did not know either).

⁸ On its various drappings, cf. Archaeological evidence p. 678.

⁹ In English literature on the subject, the *pallium* (and the *palla*) are variously called ‘mantle, cloak, wrap.’ Looking for a word that might convey a similar notion to what the Roman *pallium* looked like, I have opted for the term ‘cloak’ when necessary and avoided the archaic sounding ‘mantle.’ The translation ‘cloak’ is to be understood as only an approximation, and the word is used here in the sense of a minimally tailored (if at all) large piece of fabric thrown or wrapped around the body and held together either by friction or with only a simple closure, like a brooch. In general, the chapter tries to avoid the English term and instead uses the Latin term *pallium* as much as possible.

Pre-Classical Latin literature. The first two mentions of the female *pallium* are found in Plautus. In the *Bacchides*, Plautus briefly refers to the sullied *pallium* of a nurse, which serves as a comparison to the skin of a pupil hit by his teacher because of his incompetence in reading:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 433–434

*cum legeres, si unam peccavisses syllabam,
feret corium tam maculosum quam est nutricis pallium*

if you had mispronounced a syllable while reading it, your skin would have become as blotchy as a nurse's *pallium*

The comparison is very short. As regards breastfeeding, we should imagine that the nurse is positioning the infant *under* her wrapped cloak at her exposed breast (where the *chiton* has been pushed aside). The supposition currently favoured in research is that the nurse uses a special burp cloth, 'special' in the sense that it has a specific function. In modern eyes, this may seem plausible, but the assumption has a flaw: If Plautus were referring to a small cloth (as opposed to a larger sheet) thrown over the shoulder in order to protect the fabric underneath, one would expect him to use the diminutive *palliolum* instead. For this reason, it is much easier to keep to the common meaning of *pallium* and suppose that Plautus is referring to the cloak of the nurse that was sullied when breastfeeding. She used her cloak (*pallium*) to shield the infant and her bare breast from view. A second passage in Plautus can be interpreted in a similar way. A *meretrix* wants to simulate a pregnancy by lying in bed. She asks her servant to take off her sandals (*soleae*) and throw a *pallium* over her.¹⁰ Since a bed is mentioned, the notion of a larger 'blanket' first comes to mind. However, considering stage action, it is likely that the word *pallium* refers to a simple cloak that was used as a prop on stage. Such a *pallium* would have been quickly at hand, especially in the *Palliata* (B 6). This is all the evidence we have from Pre-Classical literature. There is far more on the ornamental *palla*, which is a common object of female desire in Plautine comedy. This relative silence on the *pallium* in Plautus should not disturb us because we do have evidence from later periods.

Whichever way we understand Plautus, the word *pallium* designates the regular female cloak in neutral language in the first century BCE. Varro and Cicero both use the term in the generic sense of cloak in a perfectly natural manner.¹¹ Since dictionaries

¹⁰ Plaut. *Truc.* 479: *soleas mihi deduce, pallium inice in me huc* [take off my sandals, throw a *pallium* here on me].

¹¹ Cic. *div.* 2.143: *qui (sc. Alcibiades) paulo ante interitum visus est in somnis amicae esse amictus amiculo. Is cum esset proiectus inhumatus ab omnibusque desertus iaceret, amica corpus eius textit suo pallio* [A short time before his death, Alcibiades dreamt that he was dressed in his girlfriend's coat. When he had been cast out without burial and lay there with no one caring for him, his mistress covered his body with her *pallium*]. Cf. also Val. *Max.* 1.7 ext. 9.

and manuals are misleading in this respect,¹² we have to briefly review the references in Varro. He mentions the female *pallium* in four places. As in Plautus, we are lucky to get at least a little glimpse of the normal. Varro's remarks are short and casual, but very important for the history of Roman dress. In *De lingua Latina*, he twice adduces the normal garments worn by the ordinary Roman citizen and his wife as everyday *exempla* to illustrate his theory of language.¹³ In both places, Varro uses four different garments for illustration: two male and two female garments that made up the visible costume of Romans. The male ensemble consists of a *tunica* and a *toga*, the female one of a *stola* and a *pallium*.¹⁴ In Varro's model, the woman's *stola* corresponds to the man's *tunica* and the female *pallium* to the male *toga*. The terms *tunica* and *stola* are clearly individuated as different types of garments and are assigned to each gender by the additions *virilis* and *muliebris*. The two cloaks are also different. The cloak of the Roman man is the *toga* (with its oval cut) and that of the woman is the rectangular *pallium*. This means that the *pallium* is unambiguously assigned to a gender as the female [!] analogue of the man's outer cloak. Varro's words thus completely undercut

¹² Georges s.v. *pallium*: “der Mantel, den auch Römer unter den Griechen, sowie griech. und röm. Hetären (*amicae*) trugen”; OLD s.v. *pallium*: 1 “a rectangular piece of material worn mainly by men as outer garment”; Blümner (1911) 235: “Das *pallium* ... kommt auch als Frauentracht vor ... , aber ... scheint ... Tracht der Libertinen gewesen zu sein”; GRD (2007) 137.

¹³ Varro LL 8.13: *accedit quod quaecumque usus causa ad vitam sint assumpta, in his nos oportet utilitatem quaerere, non similitudinem: itaque in vestitu cum dissimillima sit virilis toga tunicae, muliebris stola pallio, tamen inaequabilitatem hanc sequimur nihilo minus* [Moreover, in all things that are taken into our daily life for use, we must seek utility, not similarity. Therefore, although the man's *toga* is very unlike his *tunica* and the woman's *stola* very unlike her *pallium*, we nevertheless follow this principle of dissimilarity in clothing]; Varro LL 9.48: *Ego utilitatis causa orationem factam concedo, sed ut vestimenta: quare ut hic similitudines sequimur, ut virilis tunica sit virili similis, item toga togae, sic mulierum stola ut sit stolae proportione et pallium pallio simile, sic cum sint nomina utilitatis causa, tamen virilia inter se similia, item muliebricia inter se sequi debemus* [I concede that language has been made for use, but like the clothes. We must therefore, as we follow the principle of similarity in clothing (so that in case of men the *tunica* is similar to the *tunica*, and the *toga* to the *toga*, as well as in case of women the *stola* is similar to the *stola* in proportion, and the *pallium* to the *pallium*), do so also in the case of nouns. Although nouns are made for use, we must follow the rule that the males and females are similar among themselves]. In the first passage, Varro argues that anomaly (i.e. historical linguistic dissimilarities) should have precedence over analogy (i.e. formal regularization) in word formation since language serves a function in everyday life—as does clothing. As regards the various items of dress, function and difference (*dissimilitudo*) prevail over uniformity (*analogia*), and similarity (*similitudo*) is not aimed for. According to Varro's theory, this explains why men and women wear different garments. In the second passage, Varro, using the same example, also argues the other way around for the principle of analogy. This shows how ludicrous his theoretical explanations are. Like in modern discourse, banalities are dished up in complicated words. According to Varro, analogy is also important in word formation. Words must have regular endings and forms that conform to the general paradigm. This is also shown by the example of clothing. In the case of garments, there are also certain general norms to which the individual garment must be aligned. Male *tunicae* all look alike; female *stolae* are all similar, conforming to the general form of the respective garment.

¹⁴ Varro arranges the terms differently in both passages, but that need not concern us.

the common modern view that the term *pallium* specifically refers to the male cloak. On the contrary, it is actually the common female cloak that is designated by this word.

Varro mentions the *pallium* in two further passages. This time he is dealing with the early history of Roman costume.¹⁵ In *De lingua Latina* 5.132,¹⁶ he talks about the supposed origin of both the term *pallium* and the garment itself, which he lists among the ancient female garments. He obviously believed that the term *pallium* comes from Roman pre-history. In his cultural history *De vita populi Romani*, he deals with the cloaks (**ricinia*) worn by ancient Roman women at funerals and compares them to dark *pallia*.¹⁷ All instances from Varro show without doubt that the regular cloak of Roman women was called *pallium* in the first century BCE.

We may now take a closer look at what kind of women wore a *pallium* and how they used it. Varro's remarks imply that it was the regular cloak of a normal Roman *matrona*. When we look at the rest of our evidence, this picture broadens further. The *pallium* is worn by every kind of woman in the Roman world. It is not restricted to any age and gender role, but comprises all social groups. It is used to cover the body from the head to the legs. In our literary sources, the veiling and unveiling of the body is often combined with an erotic effect. In Ovid's Love Elegy, the *puellae* may wear a *pallium* in public and in private.¹⁸ In the theatre, for example, the *puella* hides her beautiful legs with it. The amorous dandy, however, finds way and means to remove it, turning his insolence into an unambiguous compliment. A *pallium* is 'chastized' for selfishly hiding a woman's beautiful legs from view:

Ovid. am. 3.3.25–36
sed nimium demissa iacent tibi pallia terra.
collige, vel digitis en ego tollo meis!

¹⁵ Cf. C 1 pp. 565–568.

¹⁶ *Hinc, quod facta duo simplicia paria, parilia primo, <deinde pallia> dicta, R exclusum propter levitatem* [Hence the *pallia*, because two simple pairs (*paria*) were made of it, were first called *parilia* and then *pallia*, the R being excluded because of the lightness (sc. of the garment)]. Although the word *pallium* is not found in Varro's text itself (the textual transmission is corrupt), his etymological explanation necessarily presupposes the form *pallia* in the plural as the point of reference.

¹⁷ Varro VPR F 411 Salvatore (= 105 Riposati): *ut, dum supra terram esset, riciniis lugerent funere ipso ut pullis pall<i>is amictae*, [... so that, while it (sc. the dead person) was still above the earth, they mourned at the burial dressed in **ricinia* like in dark *pallia*]. The form *palliis* (with a double I) has been rightly restored by editors from the transmitted *pallis* of the manuscripts.

¹⁸ Ovid. am. 1.4.41–50: *Haec tamen adspiciam, sed quae bene pallia celant, || illa mihi caeci causa timoris erunt. ... hoc tu non facies; sed ne fecisse puteris, conscia de tergo pallia deme tuo*. [However, these things I will see, but those the *pallium* hides well will be the cause of a blind fear to me. ... You will not do this, but lest you will be thought to do it, take the conspiring cloak off your back]. In its double function as a blanket, the *pallium* might be used to conceal amorous acts.

*invida vestis eras, quae tam bona crura tegebas;
quoque magis spectes – invida vestis eras!*

But your *pallium* is all too much let down, lying on the ground. Gather it up, or, see, I myself lift it up with my fingers! You were an envious garment to cover such fair legs, and the more one looks—envious garment you were...

More mature unmarried women also had a *pallium*. In Petronius' *Satyrica*, for example, a priestess of Priapus, who is clad in a *pallium*, suddenly uncovers her head and shows her beauty.¹⁹ That is the start of what becomes an orgy afterwards.

We may thus sum up the social use of the *pallium* as follows: Contrary to the dictionaries, the *pallium* was an everyday garment worn by all groups of women; the word *pallium* was the everyday name for that type of cloak. Our literary sources mention it only rarely because they wrote from a top-down perspective, but we may use the term *pallium* without hesitation when describing statues or pictures and when talking about female clothing. The *pallium* is a perfectly normal article of female dress.

2.4 History

The early history of the *pallium* can only be surmised by means of linguistic inference and analogy. Since the term *pallium* is a regular Latin diminutive of the term *palla*, the *palla* preceded the *pallium* that was named in reference to it. As time went on, the everyday *pallium* got more popular than the festive *palla* because it was worn by more people. Hence the word became the generic term to designate a cloak in neutral language. This may have happened already when Latin dress culture 'merged' with Greek dress culture in the third century BCE. At least, it was in this time that the term *pallium* came to denote the common Greek coat called ἱμάτιον (*himation*),²⁰ whereas the term *palla* was reserved for the more elegant Roman cloak (B 3). The historical hypothesis is supported by the fact that the marginalization of the *palla* went on in Republican times and led to the eclipse of the *palla* by the end of the first century BCE.²¹

In the time from 200 BCE–200 CE, the *pallium* was worn by all groups of women. It remains in common use in Imperial times, even though there are more alternatives in a woman's wardrobe. A private Greek letter of the Egyptian woman Heraïs (2nd half 2nd

¹⁹ Petron. 17: *retexit superbum pallio caput*.

²⁰ We do not know whether the Roman *pallium* was completely identical with a Greek *himation*. In a Greek text dating to the second half of the second century CE, we find the πάλλιον (*pallium*) and ἱμάτιον listed alongside each other, cf. PHamb. 33 and B 11 421. The fact that there exists a Latin loanword πάλλιον in Greek shows that a slight distinction between both garments was seen by the Greeks. However, as with Roman *tunica* and Greek *chiton*, the Romans did not see the necessity for distinction in Latin.

²¹ Cf. B 3 p. 288.

century BCE), the last evidence treated in this book, shows that the Roman πάλλιον (*pallium*) was exported to the provinces and formed part of the international female fashion worn in all parts of the oikumene in Imperial times.²² In contrast to the *palla* (B 3), the *stola* (B 4), and the girl's *praetexta* (B 5), the *pallium* and the Roman *tunica* were the only part of traditional Roman dress style to survive, at least in name.

²² PHamb. 33.7, on the papyrus in general, cf. B 11 pp. 421–424.

3 *palla* – (1) precious cloak and (2) ‘*peplos*’

1. Introduction

2. *palla* = precious cloak

2.1 Sources

2.2 Etymology, usage, and history

3. *palla* = ‘*peplos*’

3.1 Sources

3.2 Poetical fusion of meanings

3.1 Introduction

In the year 1665, Albertus Rubenius, son of the famous painter Peter Paul Rubens, told the learned world in his book *De re vestitaria veterum* that scholars had so far misunderstood the meaning of the term *palla*.¹ The word, he contended, did not designate a cloak as was usually presumed, but a kind of ‘*peplos*.’ However, scholars did not heed his words. Ruben’s words (published post-mortem) did not make much of an impression on them. After him, the debate quickly resided without solving the problem and without seriously considering his arguments.²

However, Albert Rubens was right. There is a problem with the word *palla*. It indeed has a double meaning and can designate two distinct garments: (1) an elegant cloak, a luxurious *pallium* (B 2), that was wrapped around the body and worn outside the house, and (2) a foot-long sleeveless dress with straps worn directly on the skin. The second is a common dress form in the entire Mediterranean world. In a Roman cultural context, if worn by a Roman matron, it also takes the name *stola* (see below and B 4). For the sake of brevity, I will, following archaeological practice, call this a ‘*peplos*’ in this chapter because it is first attested with the old Doric-Greek garment called πέπλος.³ In its original form, a ‘*peplos*’ consisted of a single rectangular piece of woollen cloth (like

¹ Rubenius (1665) 116: “*sed quodnam genus vestis palla fuerit, adhuc quaerendum. et quidem vulgata opinio est, pallam fuisse amiculum muliebre, quod stolae superinduebatur: at contra pallam indumentum fuisse non amictum probari potest . . .*”

² See Ferrari (1685) 231–237; Marquardt (1864) 179–184; Becker/Göll (1882) 258–263; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 576–580; Blümner (1911) 234–235; Wilson (1938) 148–150; RE 18.2 (1949) s.v. *palla*, col. 152–156 (R. Hanslik); RE 18.2 (1949) s.v. *pallium*, col. 249–254 (R. Kreis-von Schaeuwen); Potthoff (1992) 146–155; Scholz (1992) 100–106; Scharf (1994) 96–114; Sebesta (1994a) 48; DNP 9 (2000) 201; GRD (2007) 136–137; Olson (2008) 33–35.

³ Cf. the *locus classicus* in Herodotus 5.87.3–88.2 and Bieber (1928) 13–21. In archaeological publications, the term ‘*peplos*’ is commonly used to designate a footlong robe with shoulder straps, and it is also used in this manner in this book. However, it should be noted that—as has been pointed out recently by B. Wesenberg in his study *Qualis peplos fuerit. Zum panathenäischen Peplos, Möhnesee 2020*—the

the cloak) that was folded around the body while still keeping the right flank open. It was usually doubled over the chest—leaving the arms free—and it was open at the top. On the shoulders, it was closed with a *fibula* (brooch) on each side. Another essential feature of the *πέπλος* was that it was foot-long. In later times, this form was taken up by the long *χιτών* (*chiton*), which consisted of two fabric panels that were sewn together at the sides. It thus had a definite shape, whereas the original ‘*peplos*’ was folded and unfolded each time (much like an Indian *sari*).

The dividing line between the meaning ‘cloak’ and the meaning ‘*peplos*’ is often difficult to draw in our texts, since they mostly refrain from describing the specific garment explicitly. The following rule may, however, serve as a guiding line: In texts pertaining to non-Roman dress culture or to mythical persons, the term *palla* designates the ‘*peplos*.’ In texts concerning Roman dress culture, the word refers to an elegant cloak. Undifferentiated use of the term in research has resulted in considerable disorder since. It not only prohibited meaningful statements as to dress form, but it also obscured social and historical facts. Most important, the dictionaries lack the necessary differentiation,⁴ and even the more recent historical and archaeological studies do not always sufficiently distinguish between them.⁵

This chapter tries to sort out this chaos. It therefore focuses on the various sources and also considers the meaning ‘*peplos*,’ although part B usually only includes dress terms and dresses that belong to factual Roman dress culture.

3.2 *palla* = precious cloak

3.2.1 Sources

Unequivocal evidence for the term *palla* (= precious cloak) is rare. As far as I see, there are only four clear instances offering this meaning. There is none in Pre-Classical literature, though there are some ambiguous cases (see below). The meaning ‘precious cloak’ turns up first in Classical literature. The first author who uses the word *palla* in

Greek term *peplos* did not refer to a specific garment, but was used like the Latin equivalent *palla* for a square piece of cloth that could be draped in different ways.

4 Cf. ThLL X 1 s.v. col. 119.39–41: “*pertinet ad vestitum (significatur imprimis vestis longa ... vel talis qualis gr. σύμμα dicitur ...)*”; Georges s.v.: “ein langes, weites, bis auf die Füße herabgehendes, vorn offenes u. mit vielen Hefteln zusammengehaltenes Obergewand der röm. Frauen, das über der stola getragen wurde u. worin sie ausgingen, dah. gew. prächtig gestickt, eine Art Staatsmantel, ... auch als Gewand der tragischen Schauspieler auf der Bühne”; OLD s.v.: “a rectangular mantle, worn esp. as an outdoor garment by women. b. as a male garment, restricted to non-Romans. c. worn on the stage, esp. in tragedy = Gk. σύμμα.”

5 Scholz (1992) 101; Scharf (1994) 97; H. Bender, *De Habitu Vestis: Clothing in the Aeneid*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 150; GRD (2007) 136.

this sense without doubt is Varro. In a passage explaining the etymology of ‘historical’ dress terms, Varro contrasts the *palla* and the gloss **intusium*:

Varro LL 5.131

alterius generis [i.e. amictus] item duo, unum quod foris ac palam, palla; alterum quod intus, a quo intusium, id quod Plautus (Epid. 231) dicit: intusiatam [!], patagiata, caltulam ac crocotulam.

There are also two of the second type of dress [i.e. the wraps], one worn outside and in public, the *palla*; another worn inside, from which the term **intusium* derives. This is the garment Plautus is talking about in the following verse: *intusiatam [!], patagiata, caltulam ac crocotulam.*

Varro’s theory of primeval Roman dress will be explored in chapter C 1.⁶ As far as the *palla* is concerned, he says it is an *amictus* (wrap) used outside the house, which is exactly the definition of a cloak. Varro’s short remarks are our only certain evidence in Republican times.

However, Lucretius’ ‘invisible’ woman (A 11) who is regaled with a *palla* and other luxury garments by her generous partner may receive such a cloak and not a ‘*peplos*.’⁷ In addition, we should note that Cicero, when describing the statue of the virginal goddess Artemis wearing a ‘*peplos*,’ does *not* use the term *palla*, but (though with some hesitation) prefers the term *stola*.⁸ This suggests that the meaning ‘cloak’ for *palla* was established in neutral language by that time and could not be used anymore in prose to designate a ‘*peplos*’ without causing misunderstanding.

The next certain evidence already dates to the period of political transition between Republic and Principate. It is an important passage in Horace that has much influenced scholarship as to the general meaning of the word *palla*. In satire 1.2, Horace uses the term *palla* for the elegant cloak of a real Roman *matrona*. His poem was published in about 35 BCE. It belongs to the most important sources for our knowledge about dress culture at the end of the Roman Republic. Parts of it are used elsewhere in this book.⁹ The passage in question discusses the feasibility of having sexual intercourse outside of marriage. The satirical (and very misogynistic) narrator presents three types of women for this purpose. Two of these are opposite extremes: the *matrona* from the highest upper class and the unfree prostitute working on the street or in a brothel. The narrator proposes a ‘golden middle path’—the freedwoman. Loving a married woman from Roman high nobility, he tells us, has many risks. There is also the fact that she is completely hidden under her clothing and is always surrounded by servants. The

⁶ On the *palla* cf. C 1 p. 568.

⁷ *et bene parta patrum fiunt anademata, mitrae, || interdum in pallam ac Melitensia Ciaeque vertunt.* [The wealth of the fathers won by honest means becomes headbands and headscarves. Occasionally, it is converted into a *palla* and into robes of Malta and Keos].

⁸ Cf. B 4 p. 303.

⁹ Cf. B 4 pp. 306–308.

situation is much better with a freedwoman. She is unbound and openly displays her body:

Hor. 1.2.97b–102a

*multae tibi tum officient res,
custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,
ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,
plurima, quae inuideant pure adparere tibi rem.
altera, nil obstat: Cois tibi paene videre est
ut nudam*

(in the case of the *matrona*) many things will be in your way: || her guards, her litter, her hairdressers, her parasites, || the *stola* that reaches down to her feet, and the *palla* that she wears around her, || very many things that will not allow you to openly see what there is. || In the case of the second woman (sc. the freedwomen) nothing stands in your way: You can see her almost naked in her Coan dress.

The matron is clothed in a voluminous cloak (*palla*). In fact, she is ‘surrounded’ (*circumdata*) by it like by a wall.¹⁰ Her *stola*, reaching down to the feet, covers the rest of her body.¹¹ In contrast, the ‘Coan’ dress of a hetaera worn by Horace’s freedwoman (*liberta*) is transparent¹² and makes the woman appear almost naked. In his description of the matron’s dress, Horace uses the general dress schema (*stola/pallium*) we know from Varro,¹³ in which the term *palla* displaces the common *pallium*. It is an exceptional garment that suits the very exceptional social status of the represented matron. Elsewhere in the satire, Horace refers to Fausta, the daughter of the dictator Sulla. What we see here is the caricature of a *matrona* who belongs to a very important old Roman senatorial family. Unlike in the other sources dated to Republican times, the *palla* is not the usual dress of a well-off Roman woman, but a dress symbol of a *matrona* belonging to the highest Roman aristocracy. Her *palla* is a ‘traditionalist’ garb to underline her pedigree and is therefore far from normal.

After Horace, there are just two cases in which the term *palla* clearly relates to a precious cloak.¹⁴ However, both do not concern an ordinary Roman woman. The first instance is a passage in the historian Curtius (1st century CE) describing the garb of the Persian king:

¹⁰ On the metaphor, cf. already v. 96: *si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata* [if you strive for the forbidden surrounded by a wall].

¹¹ Cf. B 4 p. 301.

¹² Cf. B 9 p. 387.

¹³ Cf. B 2 p. 280.

¹⁴ In Ps.-Tib. 3.8.11 (see B 11 p. 435) it is difficult to judge what kind of garment is referred to.

Curt. Ruf. 3.3.17

cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat, pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se concurrerent, adornabant et zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma vagina erat.

The attire of the king was noteworthy beyond all else in luxury; a purple-edged tunic woven about a white centre, a cloak of cloth of gold, ornamented with golden hawks, which seemed to attack each other with their beaks; from a golden belt, with which he was girt woman-fashion, he had hung a scimitar, the scabbard of which was a single gem. (Loeb transl.)

Curtius Rufus focuses on the king's luxurious attire. It consists of a purple *tunicae* and a precious golden *palla* with ornaments. At the same time, Curtius seems to insinuate that the king is dressing in an effeminate way. He states this explicitly when talking about the king's belt, but the same thought may well underlie the entire description. Roman readers probably would have felt that the king dressed like a very rich woman or a queen. In any case, the term *palla* here designates a cloak that is far removed from Roman reality.

The next *palla* we hear of is just as exceptional. It is described in Apuleius' novel *Metamorphoses* or *Golden Ass* (2nd half 2nd century CE). The rhetor-philosopher-novelist Apuleius belongs to the group of 'archaists.' He is fond of rare words and Plautine glosses in order to impress his readers.¹⁵ The passage in question has been very influential in research¹⁶ because it contains an elaborate description of a *palla*, the only one in antique literature.¹⁷ Apuleius refers to the black cloak of Isis (Ἴσις μελανεῖμων):¹⁸

Apul. Met. 11.3

et quae longe longeque etiam meum confutabat optutum palla nigerrima splendens atro nitore, quae circumcirca remeans et sub dexterum latus ad umerum laevum recurrens, umbonis vicem deiecta parte laciniae, multiplici contabulatione dependula, ad ultimas oras nodulis fimbriarum decoriter confluctuabat.

What most especially confounded my sight was a deep black cloak gleaming with dark sheen, which was wrapped about her, running under her right arm up to her left shoulder, with part of its border let down in the form of a knot (*umbo*); it hung in complicated pleats (*contabulatio*), beautifully undulating with knotted tassels at its lower edge (*ad ultimas oras*). (Loeb transl.)

¹⁵ Cf. B 1 p. 274.

¹⁶ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 577 n. 6, which make the *palla* of Isis the starting point of the reconstruction.

¹⁷ Cf., however, Isid. Etym. 19.25.

¹⁸ For philological comment, see Griffin (1975); Groningen Com. (2015); for archaeological comment, see J. Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Leiden 1991, 74–75; S. Albersmeier, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Mainz 2002, 85–90; and *Archaeological Evidence* p. 679.

Translation of this rhetorical bombast is very difficult. Apuleius shows all that he has learned in school about writing a fine *ekphrasis*, a showpiece description. His imagination obviously relies on statues of the goddess, which he could see and which are still known to us. A modern archaeological description of such a statue in a somewhat reduced language would be very similar. Apuleius thus does not give us a glimpse of real dress culture, but the artificial depiction of a piece of Antonine art. All of this means that the *palla* of Isis is not evidence for the actual dress style of Roman *matronae* in Imperial times.

3.2.2 Etymology, usage, and history

The etymology of the term *palla* is still under debate. It is not a Greek loanword. If we keep in mind the elegant character of the garment, the word *palla* may be Etruscan in origin because the Etruscan elite was fond of ornamental clothing. In a more distant past, the Etruscan word *palla* might be etymologically related to the Homeric word φᾶρος (*pharos*). This term also designates a wide cloak, and it seems phonetically close enough (L and R both being liquid consonants).¹⁹

The *palla* differed from a *pallium*, which had the same cut, in that the *palla* was more valuable. The increased value probably derived from better material and more valuable ornaments. Compared to the diminutive term *pallium*, the normal form *palla* might also suggest that it was somewhat larger (see also the Greek equivalents χλαῖνα and χλανίς). Our sources show that the *palla* was no ordinary article of clothing. In historical times, it belonged to the wardrobe of very wealthy matrons. It was a social privilege and ostentatiously showed the economic status of the woman wearing it.

Large parts of the history of the *palla* remain in the dark. The word formation suggests that the term *palla* might first have designated the female cloak in general and then came to designate a precious cloak over time. In the beginning, *palla* perhaps designated what was called a *pallium* afterwards. The *palla* might have also been a special Roman type of cloak whose use faded out when Roman dress culture merged with Greek dress culture and the *pallium* (= himation) won the day. In the first century BCE at the latest, we see that the ordinary coat of Roman women was called a *pallium* and that the term *palla* was reserved for very precious cloaks. In Imperial times, there is no evidence of any Roman women wearing a *palla*.

As to real dress culture in the second century CE, we should rather turn to the jurist Domitius Ulpianus († 223/228). In the respective section, Ulpianus treats the wordage of testaments and defines ‘female dress.’ For the purpose of definition, he gives a comprehensive list of neutral dress terms that fall under this heading:

¹⁹ Pothoff (1992) 149.

Digest. 34.2.23.2 (Ulpianus)

muliebria sunt, quae matris familiae causa sunt comparata, quibus vir non facile uti potest sine vituperatione, veluti stolae pallia tunicae capita zonae mitrae.

Female garments are the garments which are provided for the mater familiae and which an adult male person cannot use without being criticized, such as *stolae*, ***pallia***, tunics, breast bands, belts, headscarves.

Ulpian uses the terms *tunica*, *stola*, and *pallium* in his catalogue of matronly garments. In contrast, he does not mention the term *palla*. Ulpian is usually as inclusive as possible, also including words (and dresses) that are rare. The *stola*, for example, and perhaps also the *capitium*, were obsolete by his time. This indicates that his list is quite ‘conservative.’ And yet the *palla* is *not* in this list of women’s garments.

If we try to paint a broader picture, it seems that the change in terminology went hand in hand with a change in Roman fashion. At the end of the Republic, elegant cloaks were no longer a privilege of the aristocratic *matrona*. Our last regular source (Horace mentioning the *palla* and the *stola*) points to this as well. Both dresses are very exceptional, and they are a traditionalist statement. In Imperial times, Roman society was ever more prosperous and heterogenous. Upward mobility was high. Contact with the dress styles of conquered cultures and cultures beyond the empire’s borders (like China) also expanded available dress options, and the traditional garments therefore lost their social dominance.

A decline similar to that of the *stola* probably occurred in the use of the traditional *palla*.²⁰ The *stola* began to lose its significance as a traditional Roman garment in everyday life in the first half of the first century BCE.²¹ This was one of the reasons why Augustus used it as an insigne of true Roman *matrimonium*. The *stola* was exceptional in form and could hence be used for distinction. Augustan propaganda thus saved the term and the garment from extinction for another century. In the end, the *stola* (like the *palla*) was only worn by a small minority of aristocrats. However, a *palla* was less special than the *stola* as to its form. A *palla* was no more than an elaborate *pallium* (‘cloak’). Hence, the *palla* (term and dress) could not be and was not propagated from the top down in the same way as the *stola*. The word *palla* was lost in Latin literature and with it probably what the Romans might have called a traditional *palla*. Since literature is more conservative than reality, the object might have fallen out of use in everyday life before the word disappeared from literature. An ornamental cloak of course remained an important symbol of social status in Imperial times, as it was before. It underwent a conspicuous change in the visual arts under Augustus. On statues, it was draped in a more elaborate and complicated manner (following Classical and

²⁰ Cf. Marquardt/Mau (1886) 581, who nonetheless define the type of garment incorrectly; Wilson (1938) 149.

²¹ Cf. B 4 pp. 332–333.

Hellenistic models), and it was made more ubiquitous than it ever was.²² This elaborate wrap was thus a form of the *pallium* and not of the *palla*.

3.3 *palla* = ‘*peplos*’

In Latin literature, the term *palla* in most cases refers to a robe called ‘*peplos*’ in this chapter for the sake of brevity. Readers should recall at this point that the term ‘*peplos*’ designates two different garments that roughly have the same appearance: (1) The Greek *peplos* proper as described above; (2) the foot-long sleeveless *chiton* with shoulder straps. Our Latin texts cover the whole variety of this dress form. In general, we may rubricate the evidence according to the following principle: If a text concerns a human woman and ‘real’ dress culture, the term *palla* designates a long sleeveless *chiton*; in contrast, if authors talk about mythical women, the term always refers to a *peplos* proper (if their readers cared for these subtle differences). The same division also applies to male persons (e.g. Apollo, tragic actors, *citharoedi*) wearing the long *palla* that was technically also called a *syrma*.²³ In a strictly Roman context, the same dress form was called a *stola* (B 4), and we will see below how Roman poets used the resulting ambiguities.

3.3.1 The evidence

The word *palla* is first attested in the sense of ‘*peplos*’ in a tragedy of Naevius (ca. 280/265–200 BCE) where it refers to the dress of Bacchantes (A 3).²⁴ It then appears in Plautus, most notably in his *Menaechmi* (A 6). The evidence has been misunderstood so far, but Plautus’ descriptions clearly show that the term refers to a ‘*peplos*’ and not to a cloak.

In contrast, the next two Pre-Classical sources are difficult to interpret. They do not describe the form of the garment explicitly so that the meaning of the term *palla* must be won by inference from the context. However, all of them seem to concern the ‘*peplos*.’ Cato (A 3) mentions linen *pallae* in green colour alongside red *fasciae* (‘brassieres’). The material, the colour, and the combination of dress items suggest that he is thinking rather of a ‘*peplos*’ than of a cloak.²⁵ Lucilius (A 8) describes a wife dressing up for male

²² Cf. Archaeological evidence pp. 678–680.

²³ Blümner (1911) 234; Hanslik (n. 2) 153–155. For examples, see also below p. 296.

²⁴ Naev. F 18 R.²: <cum> *pallis*, *patagis*, *crocotis*, *malacis mortualibus* [with *pallae*, noise, *crocotae*, soft laments].

²⁵ Cf. A 3 p. 52.

visitors. For them, she puts on her finest *pallae* and her jewellery.²⁶ The erotic context, the mentioning of visible jewellery and the fact that this is an indoor scene also point to that a 'peplos' and not a cloak (that would veil the physical appearance) is at play.

After this, the *palla* (= 'peplos') appears several times in Augustan poetry. Horace mentions it in his *Epodes*.²⁷ Vergil's *Aeneid*,²⁸ Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,²⁹ and the Augustan love poets³⁰ follow suit. In later Imperial times, the equation *palla* = 'peplos' is an established usage.³¹ In this, the Roman poets (maybe even thinking up some linguistic connection) imitated the Greek poets, who similarly used the archaic word πέπλος to designate a *peplos*-shaped type of *chiton*. Probably, they also liked the word *palla* because it was a short way of referring to a foot-long sleeveless garment and because the neutral term *stola*, which described a similar dress form, was too prosaic and, above all, reserved for the specific garment of the Roman *matrona*.³²

Most of the examples of *palla* in literature concern mythical women and the *peplos* proper, since we are in the world of Greek myth. There are, however, also Roman non-matrons or non-Roman women wearing a *palla*, a foot-long sleeveless *chiton*. Ovid, for example, in the *Ars amatoria* says that a virgin's *palla* ('peplos') reaches down to her feet,³³ and Livy uses the term *palla* when describing the foot-long sleeveless dress

26 Lucilius F 504–505 M. (= 510–511 Chr./Garb.): *cum tecum est, quidvis satis est: visuri alieni || sint homines, spiram pallas redimicula promit* [when she is with you, anything is good enough: but if other men could be seeing her, then she takes out her *spira*, her *pallae*, and her chains].

27 Hor. epod. 5.65–66 (see below n. 37); 8.23–24: *vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla || Canidiam* [I saw Canidia striding with her black *palla* girded high].

28 Verg. Aen. 6.555: *Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta* [Tisiphone, who sat there, dressed up in a blood-red *palla*]; 8.702: *et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla* [Discordia walks joyfully with torn *palla*];

29 Ovid. Met. 2.672 (Ocyroe): *longae pars maxima pallae || cauda fit* [the largest part of the long *palla* becomes a tail]. Without indications of length, Ovid. Met. 3.167 (Diana): *altera depositae subiecit brachia pallae* [a second one took up the discarded *palla* with her arms]; 4.482 (Tisiphone): *fluidoque cruore rubentem || induitur pallam tortoque incingitur angue* [and she puts on a *palla* which is red from liquid blood and girds herself with a coiled snake]; 14.260–261 (Kirke): *pallamque induta nitentem || insuper aurato circumvelatur amictu* [clothed with a radiant *palla*, she is covered on top with a golden cloak].

30 Prop. 4.9.47–50 (Hercules): *idem ego Sidonia feci seruilia palla || officia* [I performed also servant's work, dressed in a purple *palla*]; cf. B 1 p. 249; Ps.-Tib. 4.6.13 (Juno): *purpureaque ueni perlucida palla* [come here, radiant, with your purple *palla*]; 4.8.11 (Sulpicia), cf. B 11 p. 435.

31 Petron. 124.235: *lacera Concordia palla* [Concordia with a torn *palla*]; Val. Flacc. 1.132 (Thetis on the dolphin): *sedet deiecta in flumina palla* [she sits there, letting the *palla* hang in the floods]; Stat. Theb. 12.537–538 (Hippolyte): *pectora palla || tota latent* [the breast is completely hidden in the *palla*]; Iuven. 10.262: *scissaque Polyxena palla* [Polyxena with torn *palla*].

32 Cf. B 4 p. 302.

33 Ovid. am. 3.13.26: *virginei crines auro gemmaque premuntur, || et tegit auratos palla superba pedes* [the virgin's hairs are pressed by gold and gems, and a proud 'peplos' (*palla*) covers her feet that are adorned with gold]; see also Ps.-Tibull 3.8.11 (Sulpicia).

given by the Romans to the Egyptian queen Cleopatra.³⁴ In these cases, the neutral word *stola* (with its social implications as a matronal and Roman dress) would not have been suitable. Neither a Roman *virgo* nor an Egyptian queen can wear a garment that is called *stola*. For this term is strictly reserved for the Roman matron’s dress.

3.3.2 Poetical fusion of meanings

Nevertheless, the matronal *stola* was also a long sleeveless garment. Its form was similar to that of a ‘*peplos*’ (= *palla*). And this is the point where things start to get tricky. For poets sometimes used this similarity to create an overlay of meanings; they occasionally mingled the real Roman and the mythical world when a mythical ‘married’ woman and marriage is concerned. In these cases, the term *palla* acquires a social sense (matronal dress) that is usually alien to it and is usually conveyed in neutral language by the term *stola*.³⁵ This extension of meaning is poetic language and poetic artistry and does not imply that the terms *palla* and *stola* were synonyms in neutral language. In neutral language, the matron’s dress (and the ‘*peplos*’)³⁶ is always called *stola* (or *vestis longa*), and the word *palla* always designates a cloak. The following three examples may serve to illustrate the exceptional literary usage of *palla* as a hybrid of ‘*peplos*’ and *stola*. The passages have caused considerable misunderstanding as to the terminology.

A passage in Vergil stands out among the exceptions that mingle the Roman and the mythical worlds through extended use of the term *palla*.³⁷ In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas gives the Carthaginian queen Dido a very ominous gift:

Verg. Aen. 1.648b–652
pallam signis auroque rigentem

³⁴ Liv. 27.4.10 (about an embassy in 210 BCE.): *Alexandream ad Ptolemaeum* (i.e. Ptolemy IV Philopator) *et Cleopatram M. Atilius M. Acilius legati ... dona tulere, regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo* [the ambassadors M. Atilius and M. Acilius went to Alexandria and brought gifts to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, for the king a *toga* and a purple *tunica* together with an ivory chair, for the queen a multicoloured *palla* and a purple coat]. The analogue to the male dress and the mention of the word *amiculum*, which must designate a cloak, show that Livy is probably referring to a long robe. The reason why he uses the word *palla* is that the other terms for this type of garment (*vestis longa* and *stola*) had social and Roman connotations and could therefore not be used in connection with the gift to a Hellenistic queen.

³⁵ For the reverse process and related problems in case of the term *stola*, see B 4 p. 303.

³⁶ Conversely, authors strictly keeping to neutral language had difficulties in describing the Greek ‘*peplos*’ of a virgin because the word *stola* was associated with the *matrona*, cf. Cic. Verr. 2.4.74 (B 4 p. 304).

³⁷ Apart from the passages discussed in detail, see also Hor. epod. 5.65–66 (the poisoned bridal gift given by Medea to Jason’s new wife): *cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam || incendio nuptam abstulit* [when the *palla*, a gift impregnated with poison, burned and killed the new bride]; Sen. Med. 570.

*et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,
ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,
Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,
extulerat.*

a *palla* that was richly embroidered with gold figures, and a *velamen* which had a woven border in the shape of the leaf of a saffron red acanthus, clothes that Helen of Argos had taken with her when she went from Mycene to Troy for her illicit wedding

Aeneas gives Dido two garments: a *palla* with embroidered gold figures and a *velamen* with an orange or yellow-orange border in the shape of the leaf of the acanthus. The context, the terminology, and the combination of *palla* and *velamen* indicate that the word *palla* does not designate a cloak, but a foot-long 'peplos' (i.e. non-Roman 'stola'). Given the role played by this type of garment in Roman *matrimonium*, the *palla* given by Aeneas is a veritable bridal gift and has the form and function of a Roman *vestis longa/stola*. The wedding motif is then further elaborated by Vergil. The unspecific term *velamen* designates a cloak.³⁸ However, the embroidery is akin to the yellow of the traditional bridal shawl worn as part of the Roman wedding ceremony (*flammeum*).³⁹ Vergil also says that the garments were the clothes that Helen brought to her adulterous marriage to Paris (*inconcessos hymenaeos*). The attentive reader (but not the characters Aeneas and Dido) now knows to what end the relationship between Aeneas and Dido will come. The garments create tragic irony by suggesting that the union of Dido and Aeneas will lead to death and ruin (at least for Dido).⁴⁰

The conflation of the Roman *stola* and the mythical 'peplos' is also found in Propertius, a poet who is fond of fusing the senses of words and metaphors. In his elegy 4.4, an aetiological poem about Tarpeia, he uses the term *palla* for the *stola* of a mythical woman. Tarpeia is a proto-Roman heroine who tries to betray Rome to the Sabines. In the passage in question, she is thinking aloud and hopes to resolve a military conflict between the Romans and the Sabines by her marriage with the Sabine king Tatiüs:

Prop. 4.4.59–61⁴¹
*commissas acies ego possum solvere nupta,
vos medium palla foedus inite mea.
adde Hymenaeae modos*

As your bride I can end the battle between you. Make a peace treaty through my *palla* (= marriage)!
Hymenaeus (nuptial god), add your music

³⁸ Cf. Ovid. Met. 4.101 (Pyramus and Thisbe), where the meaning of the word is sometimes misunderstood.

³⁹ Cf. B 11 p. 416; B 18 p. 487.

⁴⁰ At Dido's first appearance, Vergil compares her to the *virgo* Diana in hunting garb, see Verg. Aen. 1.494–503.

⁴¹ *nupta* Lütjohann : *nuptae* codd.

The verses are all about marriage. Propertius uses the literary word *palla* and not the neutral word *stola* because Tarpeia is not a real Roman woman (she is a mythical figure), and the term *stola* would be too prosaic for Propertius’ purposes. However, the term *palla* is clearly used as a metonymy for marriage since the expression *vestem* (i.e. *stola dare* is synonymous with getting married.⁴² Propertius uses the *palla* here to bridge the gap between mythical past and lived present. The term *palla* transposes the historical costume of the Roman *matrona* into the mythical world and creates a continuity between the distant Roman past and the life of the reader.

A third fine example of *palla* used in the sense of *stola* is found in Ovid. In his *Amores* 3.1, Ovid also exploits the different associations that are connected with the term *palla*. The text is about the personified Tragedy and her *palla* (= *syрма*). Like Vergil, Ovid uses the symbolism of garments. He makes the allegoric figures Tragedy (*Tragoedia*) and Elegy (*Elegia*) meet in person and talk to him:

Ovid. am. 3.1.7–14

*venit odoratos Elegia nexa capillos,
et, puto, pes illi longior alter erat.
forma decens, vestis tenuissima, vultus amantis,
et pedibus vitium causa decoris erat.
venit et ingenti violenta Tragoedia passu,
fronte comae torva, palla iacebat humi;
laeva manus sceptrum late regale movebat,
Lydius alta pedum vincla cothurnus erat.*

Love Elegy came with braided and perfumed hair, and, I think, one of her legs was longer. She was beautiful, her clothes very thin, her face was that of a woman in love, the defect of her legs adding beauty. Tragedy also came violently, walking with mighty stride. Her hairs were falling unto her grim forehead; her *palla* was trailing on the ground; her left hand was moving a royal scepter with much flourish; || a Lydian *cothurnus* (buskin) served as her high shoes.

The female figures form a contrasting pair that is often found in literature. Love Elegy wears the typical garment of a mistress:⁴³ a transparent tunic (*Coa*) of Greek type.⁴⁴ Tragedy, on the other hand, is dressed in the *vestis longa/stola* and is depicted like a proud Roman *matrona*. However, there is more to the description. By pointing out that Tragedy’s *palla* ‘lies upon’ the earth (*iacebat humi*), Ovid indicates that he is talking about the *syрма* (σύρμα), a garment with a train (σύρω = trail along) worn by tragic actors since Hellenistic times.⁴⁵ Ovid further underlines the connection with theatre

⁴² B 4 p. 301.

⁴³ In this elegy, also see v. 51 (Corinna): *tunica velata soluta* [wrapped in a loose *tunica*].

⁴⁴ Cf. B 9 pp. 386–391.

⁴⁵ Cf. Hor. ars 278 (= Aeschyl. T 103 Radt): *personae pallaeque repertor honestae* || *Aeschylus* [Aeschylus, the inventor of the mask and the decorous *palla*] (with the commentary of Brink [1971]); Ovid. am.

by mentioning the tragic shoe (*cothurnus*).⁴⁶ The word *palla* thus creates a complex picture showing us Tragedy both as a dignified Roman *matrona* and mythical queen on stage. The use of the word *palla* as a hybrid of 'peplos' and *stola* by Vergil, Propertius, and Ovid must therefore be seen as exceptional since they are the only examples where the meaning of the word *stola*—which designates a long matronal dress in neutral language—is grafted upon the mythical 'peplos' (*palla*). Poetical use of *palla* is usually clear-cut and refers to the 'peplos' of a young heroine without any reference to marriage. The fusion is possible since both the literary use of *palla* and the neutral use of *stola* refer to a similar dress form: a foot-long sleeveless robe. In defining them, we should keep the differences in social meaning and in language register (literary/neutral) in mind.

2.18.15: *sceptra tamen sumpsi curaque tragoedia nostra || crevit ... || risit Amor pallamque meam pictosque cothurnos* [I took a sceptre and engaged on writing a tragedy ... Amor laughed about my *palla* and my coloured boots]; Martial 4.49.8: *Musa nec insano symmate nostra tumet* [my poetry is not inflated by an insane *symma*]; 12.94.3–4: *transtulit ad tragicos se nostra Thalia coturnos: || aptasti longum tu quoque syrma tibi* [my muse transferred herself to tragic boots; you too have put on a long *syrma*]. Here, the *syrma* is also used as a symbol of tragedy; for further evidence of the *syrma*, see OLD s.v.; LSJ s.v.; RE 4.2 A (1932) s.v. *syrma* (1), col. 1786–1787 (M. Bieber); A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals at Athens*, Oxford 1968, 197–198; H. Blume, *Einführung in das Theaterwesen*, Darmstadt² 1984, 96–98. The invention of the tragic costume is attributed to Aeschylus in Imperial sources, but there is no evidence for it in the Classical period. The *syrma* and *cothurnus* were very likely invented in Hellenistic times.

46 The 'peplos' is also the garment worn by Apollo and the *citharoedi*. Poets usually called it *palla*, cf. Ovid. *Met.* 11.166 (Apollo): *verrit humum Tyrio saturata murice* [Apollo swept the ground with his *palla* coloured with carmine purple]; *Fasti* 2.107 (the *citharoedus* Arion): *induerat Tyrio bis tinctam murice pallam* [he had put on a *palla* coloured twice with carmine purple]; *Met.* 6.705–706 (the wind of Boreas in theatrical garb): *pulvereamque trahens pallam || verrit humum* [trailing his *palla*, he swept the dusty ground with it]. In prose texts, it is called *stola*; cf. Varro *res rust.* 3.13 (a *citharoedus*): *qui cum eo venisset, cum stola et cithara cantare esset iussus* [when he had come there, he was made to sing dressed in *stola* to the accompaniment of a lyre]; Varro *LL* 10.27: *ut actor stolam muliebrem* [like an actor wearing a female *stola*]. There are exceptions to this rule; cf. Auct. ad *Her.* 4.60: *citharoedus ... optime vestitus, palla inaurata indutus, cum clamyde pupurea variis coloribus intexta* [a very well dressed *citharoedus*, clad in a golden *palla*, with a purple cloak embroidered with different colours]; Ovid. *fasti* 6.654 (about a flute player): *quid sibi personae, quid stola longa volunt?* [What does his mask, what his long *stola* signify?]. Sometimes, the expression *vestis longa* is also used, Propertius 2.31.16 (Apollo): *Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat* [Apollo sings his song in a long dress].

4 *stola/vestis longa* – a dress of Roman matrons (pls. 7–17, 28–29)

1. Terminology
2. Appearance
 - 2.1 The longitudinal folds – *rugae*
 - 2.2 The trimming – *instita*
 - 2.3 The shoulder straps – *anal(m)ptris*
 - 2.4 Colours
3. Combination with other garments
4. The *stola* and Roman marriage – social function and dress ritual
5. Roman marriage and Roman citizenship – the *stola* on freedmen’s tombs
 - 5.1 Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.6.13 – a short history of freedmen’s civil rights
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6. The *stola* of the Vestals
7. History
 - 7.1 The time of the Roman Republic – *matrona* and *meretrix*
 - 7.2 The *stola* between Republic and Principate – a period of transition?
 - 7.3 Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) – from social emblem to legal privilege (*ius stola*)
 - 7.4 Livia – *Ulixes stolata*
 - 7.5 The *leges Iuliae* – *matrimonium* and *ius stola*
 - 7.6 The *liberta* Horaia – imitating Roman upper-class dress (1)
 - 7.7 The Julian-Claudian period (14–68 CE) – the *stola* as a symbol of female *pudicitia*
 - 7.8 *matronae sine stola in publico* – on the burden of privilege
 - 7.9 The Flavian period (69–96 CE)
 - 7.10 *stolam plebemque* (Plin. NH 33.41)
 - 7.11 The clothing of Germanic women – imitating Roman upper-class dress (2)
 - 7.12 Hadrian – the end of a ‘Roman’ dress symbol
8. Conclusion – *stola* and *toga*

This chapter concerns the *stola*. It is the point where all began ten years ago. The text has undergone several revisions throughout the years, and the last touch was only added for final publication. The *stola* is a special female garment indeed, equaling the male *toga* in importance. In fact, the stories of both *stola* and *toga* are quite similar: Both Roman garments were politicized under Augustus in Imperial times, and both ended up as symbols embodying Roman culture and mores. In consequence, the following chapter is the most complex and important chapter of the entire book. It combines the various methods used to approach the subject of dress: textual criticism, literary hermeneutics, linguistics, legal, political, and social analysis.

The long robe of the Roman wife (*matrona*) is usually called either *vestis (longa)* or *stola* in our sources. Both words are used synonymously. Augustan cultural policy

resulted in the *stola* becoming the most common female garment in Latin literature. It has therefore received a great deal of attention in research.¹ The ancient stereotype of the decent, *stola*-wearing woman (i.e. the ideal Roman wife) has been perpetuated for centuries, at least in its broad strokes. This has resulted in an exceptional garment becoming emblematic of Roman female clothing in general. In reality, the *stola* was worn in everyday life only by a vanishingly small minority of Roman women in the late Republic and the early Imperial period. The *femina stolata*, celebrated in Augustan literature and art, was actually the exception rather than the rule in public life during this span of time. The *stola*—like the *toga*—was more of a festive garment and a symbol than everyday clothing. The overgeneralization is all the more aggravating because we have reasonably reliable sources from that era, which would allow for a more nuanced picture of real Roman clothing.

The following only considers the *stola* of the *Roman* matron, although similarly cut garments with other functions also occur in other social and historical contexts of the ancient world.² In older research, the *stola* has been thought to be a special form of tunic,³ mainly because a short-sleeved *chiton* was misinterpreted as a *stola* in the archaeological evidence. However, the Latin word usage, which clearly distinguishes the *stola* from the *tunica*, suggests that we should not conflate the two garments. Scholz (1992), following Bieber (1931),⁴ has convincingly identified the *stola* in the archaeological evidence as a foot-long sleeveless garment with two distinctive shoulder straps. The differentiation between *stola* and *tunica* is not only suggested by the ancient use of the terms, but also by the outer appearance of the garments (as seen through archaeology).⁵ It is to Scholz's credit that she has established a conclusive and stable archaeological foundation for further research on the *stola*. Unfortunately, she makes a number of mistakes in interpreting written (as opposed to archaeological) sources, which reduces the philological and historical value of her study.⁶ This chapter attempts to provide textually and historically sound interpretations of all literary sources in order to establish a more complete and more correct picture of the historical garment.

¹ Cf. Becker/Göll (1882) 253–256; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 573–579; Blümner (1911) 232–233; RE 4.1 A (1931) s.v. *stola*, col. 56–62 (M. Bieber); Wilson (1939) 155–162; E. F. Leon, *The instita of the Roman Matron's Costume*, CJ 44 (1949), 378–381; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Roman Women*, London 1962, 252–254; H. Blanck, *Einführung in das Privatleben der Griechen und Römer*, Darmstadt 1976, 64–65; Potthoff (1992) 178–181; Scholz (1992) 13–93; Sebesta (1994a) 48–49; K. Thraede, *Review Scholz, Bonner Jahrbücher* (1996), 767–774; DNP 11 (2001) s.v. *Stola*, 1018–1019; Pausch (2003) 155; Alexandridis (2004) 51–55; GRD (2007) 182; Olson (2008) 27–33; P. Chrystal, *Women in Ancient Rome*, Gloucestershire 2013, 26; L. Caldwell, *Roman Girlhood and the Fashioning of F femininity*, Cambridge 2015, 56–58.

² Cf. B 3 p. 292.

³ Becker/Göll (1882) 253; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 573; Blümner (1911) 232; Wilson (1939) 155, 159 (also figure XCV); Balsdon (n. 1) 252.

⁴ Bieber (n. 1) 59–61.

⁵ Against Pausch (2003) 155; GRD (2007) 182.

⁶ Thraede (n. 1) 767–774.

Beyond defining terms more precisely and offering new interpretations of single sources, the chapter argues for three main historical hypotheses: (1) that the *stola* became a legal privilege of the Roman *matrona* under Augustus, (2) that ‘common’ people did not use the garment any more at this time, and (3) that the *stola* was depicted by *liberti* on their tombs to indicate that they had concluded a Roman *matrimonium* (marriage).

4.1 Terminology

The expression *vestis longa* for the long robe of the Roman wife is attested in Afranius, Cicero, Ovid, and Quintilian.⁷ Sometimes, a wife’s *vestis longa* is also referred to by the single word *vestis* without the qualifying adjective. It is used in this way in a kind of formula. The wedding ceremony was metonymically called *vestem dare*.⁸ Propertius uses a more poetical flourish and speaks of *generosos uestis honores emerui*;⁹ Ovid speaks of a *maritalis vestis*.¹⁰ The usage of the expression *vestis (longa)* is thus quite straightforward.

In contrast, the use of the term *stola* in Latin texts is more complex. As with the term *palla*, we have to recall that there are different registers of language and that the same word may be used differently in them. For the present purpose, it seems best to distinguish between literary (poetic) and everyday (neutral) use. The first mention of the word *stola* is in Latin archaic poetry (in Latin prose, it occurs only in texts of the Classical period). It is found in the tragedies of Ennius (239–169 BCE). There, its usage diverges from what we find later on in other genres. In Ennius, it can refer to either a man’s or a woman’s garment.¹¹ Varro also seems to allude to this usage in his Menippean satires (A 9).¹² In Ennius, the Latin term *stola* is a direct translation of the Greek term *στολή*, which Ennius found in the Greek tragedies he adapted for his own work.¹³ In Greek poetry, the word *στολή* is equally used for all clothing (male and

⁷ Afranius Exceptus, F 1 (below p. 330); Ovid. Fasti 4.134 (below p. 334 n. 149); Quint. inst. or. 11.1–3 (below p. 350 n. 220).

⁸ CLE 58.2: *vestem dedit* [he married her]; CIL 1². 1216: *illam mereto missit et vestem dedit* [he rightly released her and married her].

⁹ Prop. 4.11.60 (below p. 338).

¹⁰ Ovid. ars 2.258.

¹¹ Ennius scen. 281: *squalida saeptus stola* [dressed with a dirty garment]; 282: *regnum reliqui saeptus mendici stola* [I left my kingdom dressed as a beggar]; 396: *et quis illaec est quae lugubri succincta est stola?* [Who is the woman girded in a mourning robe?]; 396: *induta fuit saeva stola* [she was dressed in a grim robe].

¹² Varro Men. (Eumenides) 120 (of young males): *partim venusta muliebri ornatu stola* [Some of them are clothed in a charming female *stola*]; 155 (of a man): *stolam calceosque muliebris propter positos capio* [I grasp the *stola* and the women’s shoes that were placed beside it].

¹³ Bieber (n. 1) 57–58; Scholz (1992) 20.

female alike), without defining a particular type of garment.¹⁴ Ennius uses the Latin word in exactly the same general manner. However, this ‘poetic’ use does not prove that the word *stola* was used in this way in *everyday* language. Roman (and Greek) tragedy had its own language and clothing (in Hellenistic times, tragic actors wore the *syma*, a kind of *stola*).¹⁵ It could well be a linguistic experiment on the part of Ennius.¹⁶ This seems all the more likely when we turn to non-realistic poetry (in contrast to realistic poetic genres like satire) after Ennius. There, the Greek loanword *stola* is no longer in use. The Latin word *vestis* is used instead. But what is the reason for the avoidance of the term *stola* in elevated poetry? The word’s disappearance from poetry indicates that the word *stola* was perceived as being stylistically too low. This in turn suggests that it was used in everyday language for the female garment in the same way as we find it afterwards and that poets therefore had to avoid it. In a conclusion *e silentio* we may say that Latin everyday language at the time of Ennius probably already used the Greek loanword *stola* to denote the *vestis longa* of the Roman matron.¹⁷

However, the earliest literary evidence of *stola* in this narrow meaning is found only in the first century BCE with multiple instances in the prose works of Varro and Cicero.¹⁸ These show that the Greek loanword *stola* was firmly associated with the long matronly garment in everyday language by at least their lifetime. In poetry, the word *stola* is also used in its everyday meaning, but it is restricted to the ‘realistic’ genres. It first occurs in the satires of Varro and Horace.¹⁹ It is then also used in this sense in Augustan love elegies.²⁰ The everyday word *stola* had become fully integrated in poetic language and was stylistically acceptable by that time. After that, the use of the word *stola* outweighs that of the expression *vestis longa* in literature.

In conclusion, our sources seem to show that the term *vestis longa* was the original Latin everyday term for the long robe of a Roman wife. As mentioned above, it even found its way into the basic formula for marrying (*vestem dare*). The term was probably used during the whole period when the garment was actually worn. With Greek culture, the Greek loanword *stola* was introduced into Roman language. It was an everyday term and became more prominent in literature as time went on. Perhaps the usage of the word in literature reflects Augustan propaganda, which probably referred to the garment as *stola*. This resulted in a neat verbal parallel between the *toga* of the Roman citizen and the *stola* of his wife. In addition, there are some literary descriptions where (for stylistic and other reasons) the terms *stola* and *vestis (longa)* are not used at all, but

¹⁴ Bieber (n. 1) 58.

¹⁵ Cf. B 3 p. 296.

¹⁶ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 574; Blümner (1911) 232; Wilson (1939) 156.

¹⁷ Against Wilson (1939) 156.

¹⁸ Varro LL 8.13, 9.48 (B 2 p. 280 and below p. 319); Cic. Phil. 2.44 (below p. 331); Verr. 2.4.74 (below p. 303).

¹⁹ Varro Men. 120, 155, 229; cf. A 9 pp. 185, 187, 188; Hor. sat. 1.2.99 (below p. 332).

²⁰ Cf. Tib. 1.6.67–68; Ovid. Pont. 3.3.51–52; cf. below p. 318.

the garment is referred to in circumscriptions. Lucan and Tacitus, for instance, call it an *amictus*.²¹ In some cases, we also find the word *palla* (= ‘*peplos*’) used for it.²² These literary usages, however, do not reflect ‘normal’ language.

4.2 Appearance

The matron’s *stola* usually served as an intermediate garment and was worn over the undertunic (*subucula*) and under the cloak.²³ Apart from its length, ancient literature does not tell us what the *stola* in Republican times looked like.²⁴ There are no literary sources on the upper opening of the garment. To see that the Republican *stola* was very similar to the Augustan one we must take a detour past another foot-long garment, namely the mythical Greek *peplos*. A description of a statue of Artemis found in Cicero’s speech *In Verrem* (70 BCE) shows that the Roman *stola* was considered similar to this garment and that it was different from the (long) tunic closed at the top.²⁵

Cic. Verr. 2.4.74

haec erat posita Segestae sane excelsa in basi, in qua grandibus litteris P. Africani nomen erat incisum eumque Carthagine capta restituisse perscriptum. ... Erat admodum amplum et excelsum signum cum stola. verum tamen inerat in illa magnitudine aetas atque habitus virginalis. sagittae pendebant ab umero, sinistra manu retinebat arcum, dextra ardentem facem praefererat.

This statue was placed in Segesta, quite high on a base in which the name of P. Africanus was engraved in large letters and written that he had restituted it after the defeat of Carthage. ... It was a rather extensive and high statue with a *stola*. Nevertheless, the age and the condition of a young girl (*virgo*) were shown in that size. Arrows hung from her shoulder; with her left hand she held a bow; with her right hand she held out a burning torch.

As Cicero tells us, the statue of the goddess was more than life size. Diana (= Artemis) was not represented in the short *chiton* she used while hunting, but was instead wearing a long, sleeveless robe: the mythical *peplos*.²⁶ Cicero calls this a *stola* because of the general similarity between both garments without paying attention to specific

²¹ See below pp. 319, 351.

²² Cf. B 3 pp. 294–297.

²³ For the full attire, see below pp. 318–319. In some cases, archaeological evidence seems to show the *stola* without an undertunic, see pl. 10.2.

²⁴ There is, however, some archaeological evidence, cf. pp. 680–688.

²⁵ Against Becker/Göll (1882) 253; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 573; Blümner (1911) 232.

²⁶ Artemis with weapons and torch usually wears a long robe, i.e. a *peplos*: LIMC II 655–658 No. 407–454 s. v. Artemis (*dadophore*); the statue of the Artemis of the Colonna type gives a general idea of the kind of statue described by Cicero; see LIMC II 638 No. 163 s. v. Artemis.

differences. However, he and his readers obviously associated the term *stola* with the long robe of a mature married woman and not with a garment a young woman (*virgo*) like the virgin-goddess Artemis would be naturally depicted in. Cicero therefore goes on to emphasize that the youth and virginity of the goddess were nevertheless expressed in the statue through Artemis' hunting gear (arrows, bow, and torch).²⁷ Despite her *stola*, Artemis was no matron.

The next author who helps us to identify the form of the *stola* is Vitruvius. Again the talk is about (Greek) statues and their garb. In his work *De architectura* (On Architecture), published shortly after 27 BCE, Vitruvius refers to the long, sleeveless garments of the caryatid statues as a *stola*.²⁸ Like Cicero, he equates the mythical Greek *peplos* with the historical Roman *stola*. In the relevant passage, Vitruvius says that a good architect must have knowledge of history. He must know, for example, the story of the caryatids²⁹:

Vitruv. 1.1.5

quemadmodum si quis statuas marmoreas muliebres stolatas, quae cariatides dicuntur, pro columnis in opere statuerit et insuper mutulos et coronas conlocaverit, percontantibus ita reddet rationem: Caria, civitas Peloponnensis, cum Persis hostibus contra Graeciam consensit. postea Graeci per victoriam gloriose bello liberati communi consilio Cariatibus bellum indixerunt. itaque oppido capto, viris interfectis, civitate deflagrata matronas eorum in servitum abduxerunt, nec sunt passi stolas neque ornatus matronales deponere, uti non uno triumpho ducerentur, sed aeterno servitutis exemplo gravi contumelia pressae poenas pendere viderentur pro civitate.

If someone, for example, has erected marble statues of women in *stolae*, which are called caryatids, instead of columns on the building and has placed a mutule and cornice on their heads, he will give the following reason when asked: Karyai, a Peloponnesian city, allied with the Persian enemies against Greece. Later, after the Greeks had gloriously liberated themselves from war by victory, they declared war on the inhabitants of Karyai by joint decision. After taking the city, they killed the men and burned the town. Then they led the married women (*matronae*) into servitude, not permitting them to take off their *stolae* and matronly garb (*ornatus matronales*). In this way, the women would not only be led in a single triumph, but would form an eternal example of servitude, appearing to pay the penalty for the city by suffering severe indignity.

In his work, Vitruvius tries to distance himself from his 'uneducated' fellow architects (and competitors) by showing off with his own Greek *paideia*. The present passage is taken from the beginning of the work and is a mixture of antiquarian pseudo-knowledge and Augustan ideology on marriage (in which the *stola* played a central role). The

²⁷ In mythological poetry, the *peplos* of Diana is called *palla*, cf. Ovid. Met. 3.167 (B 3 p. 293 n. 29).

²⁸ Cf. Bieber (n. 1) 21.

²⁹ On this passage, cf. most recently V. Goldbeck, *Fora augusta. Das Augustusforum und seine Rezeption im Westen des Imperium Romanum*, Regensburg 2015, 26–28.

various components of the account can be clearly separated from one another. The narrative has a Greek core: The caryatids are originally female prisoners of war, and the statues are supposed to recall their punishment.³⁰ Vitruvius had the Classical female architectural supports (such as the maidens of the Erechtheion) in mind when describing the scene. He then adds his own comments to Greek history: *nec sunt passi stolas neque ornatus matronales deponere*. In this, the *stola* is equated with the long robe of the caryatids, interpreting their dress against a decidedly Roman background. The Roman addition somewhat dilutes the mythical narrative, but matches well with the Augustan ideology as regards the matronal attire,³¹ and it very likely presupposes the portrait of the empress Livia in *stola*.³²

Cicero and Vitruvius both refer to identifiable types of statues and make it clear that the *stola* (like the *peplos*) was a floor-length, sleeveless dress with shoulder straps (pl. 7).³³ In contrast, the *tunica* and *chiton* covered the shoulders and always had some form of sleeves. The sleeveless nature of the garment brings to mind Etruscan murals and urns that show a comparable garment. This is very likely the *vestis longa* or its predecessor.³⁴ It is also very similar to later depictions of the Roman *stola*.

In conclusion we may say that the *stola* was always similar to a *peplos*. The archaeological evidence shows that the Roman *stola* could have ornamental shoulder straps and a coloured trimming since at least Augustan times. The ornamental border was already a feature of the *stola* in the time of the Roman Republic.³⁵ It is an open question whether it was a defining element of the garment (*conditio sine qua non*), although it is certain that the *stola* of the social elite was decorated in such a manner. As to the distinctive shoulder straps, the same uncertainty prevails. Archaeological evidence suggests that they may be an Augustan development of a traditional (less ornamental) garment's upper opening.³⁶

The origin of this striking feature of the *stola* (used like an emblem) is very likely to be linked to the public portrait of Livia, in which the empress is depicted as a Roman matron. In contrast to its Republican predecessors, the Augustan *stola* was probably defined more clearly as to its appearance. It was modelled after elegant Hellenistic robes. Just like the *toga*, it was embellished to become a dignified part of what might be called a 'Roman matronal uniform.'

30 Copies of the Erechtheion *korai* stood on the Forum of Augustus in Rome (inaugurated 2 BCE). These caryatids wear a foot-long *peplos* held together at the shoulder with a brooch. They may have indeed served as *exempla servitutis* in the context of the forum, see P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum*, Tübingen 1968, 12–13. See, however, E. Schmidt, *Die Geschichte der Karyatide*, Würzburg 1982, 159.

31 See below p. 333.

32 See below p. 334.

33 In modern terminology, the *stola* is a pinafore or jumper dress.

34 On the archaeological evidence, cf. p. 681.

35 See below p. 306.

36 Cf. Archaeological evidence p. 684.

4.2.1 The longitudinal folds – *rugae*

In comparison to the Roman tunic, the *stola* consists of a lot of fabric (making it similar to the *chiton* in this regard). Almost all sources emphasize its length. Its voluminous character is also suggested by the fact that its longitudinal folds (*rugae*) are often mentioned as a defining feature. Vitruvius compares the *stolarum rugae* to the fluting of Doric columns.³⁷ Martial mocks an old woman by saying that her forehead has more wrinkles than even a *stola*.³⁸ The Greek synonym for these folds is *στολίδες*³⁹ or *πτύχες*.⁴⁰ The typical folds would have generally been created by a special processing of the fabric, which optically resembles modern pleating. We have no ancient literary evidence on this since we do not have writings of sartorial experts. However, the word *ἰσοπτύχης* (with regular folds) in the catalogue of the treasury of Artemis Brauronia may point to such processing,⁴¹ since it can only refer to textiles fabricated in this way. The drape of the folds created by the processed fabric was then probably reinforced by the trimming, by ironing, and by the way the garment was girded. The term *plicatrix* could refer to a female ironer who specialized in such pleated garments.⁴²

4.2.2 The trimming – *instita* (pls. 1.2, 9.1, 10.1)

Our main literary source on the lower end of the *stola* is satire 1.2 of Horace. This poem is also of great importance for the history of the *stola* as a whole.⁴³ It is often considered to be one of his earliest works (maybe because of its ‘puerile’ subject matter).⁴⁴ Dating to the political transition period between the Republic and the Principate, it is of particular socio-historical interest not only for dress. It describes several social conditions that were later the subject of Augustus’ cultural policy and seems to anticipate Augustus’ marriage legislation. Among other things, it is the earliest example of the predilection for the *stola* that later became characteristic of Augustan literature and pictorial art.

In the poem, Horace takes on the character of a popular philosopher and addresses, among other topics, the question of what kind of woman is particularly suitable for

³⁷ Vitruvius 4.1.7: *uti stolarum rugas matronali more* [like the folds of a *stola* in the manner of a matron]; on the entire passage, which proves that the *matronae* usually wore *calcei*, cf. B 26 pp. 527–528.

³⁸ Martial 3.92.4: *rugosiorum cum geras stola frontem* [although your forehead has more folds than a *stola*].

³⁹ Euripides Bacch. 935–936; Aristotle De Audibilibus 802a32; Pollux’s remarks on a purported *χρῆτων στολιδωτός* (7.54) read like an erroneous explanation of Euripides.

⁴⁰ LSJ s.v. *πτύξ* I 2.

⁴¹ IG II² 1514.228–229, 236; 1522.4, 10, 12, 16.

⁴² Plaut. Miles 695; CIL 12.4505.

⁴³ See below pp. 313–316, 332.

⁴⁴ Cf., for example, E. Fraenkel, Horace, Oxford 1957, 76.

free sexual intercourse. Keeping strictly to Epicurean philosophical doctrine,⁴⁵ Horace goes on to show that this is the freedwoman (*liberta*) because she offers all advantages (attractiveness, sexual liberty). However, Horace says that men usually do not keep to this golden mean but prefer either other men's wives (*matronae*) or unfree prostitutes:

Hor. Sat. 1.2.28–30
*nil medium est. sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas
 quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste,
 contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem.*

There is no (happy) medium. Some men only want to touch those women whose ankles are covered by the *instita* sewn to the bottom of the garment. In contrast, others only like women who are standing in a stinking brothel.

Horace characterizes the matron by her garb. He is speaking of her *stola* by focusing on the striking trimming at the bottom fringe. As all ancient commentators (rightly) explain,⁴⁶ the word *instita* designates this trimming⁴⁷ and not (as Scholz claims) the shoulder straps of the *stola*.⁴⁸ Grammar is a bit tricky in this passage and has misled some scholars.⁴⁹ Commentators on Horace usually do not elaborate on the problems offered here.⁵⁰ Some remarks on it may help to remove recent uncertainties. The general construction is straightforward. The word *instita* is the subject in the nominative; *tegit* is the predicate; and *subsuta veste* is an ablativus absolutus. It is with *subsuta veste* that interpretation gets difficult. The verb *subsuerere* is not attested elsewhere in Latin literature. The expression is also condensed by the ablativus absolutus. The first step to success lies in fully understanding the construction and meaning of *subsuerere vestem*.

⁴⁵ The philosophical message of this satire is often associated with Aristotelean thought because of its pursuit of the *aurea mediocritas*, but the ideas presented in it perfectly coincide with the Epicurean theory of a 'marginal utility.'

⁴⁶ Porphyrio on Hor. sat. 1.2.28: *matronas significat. hae enim stola utuntur ad imos pedes demissa, cuius imam partem ambit instita adsuta* [Horace is referring to matrons. For these use a *stola*, which reaches down to the feet, whose lowest part is surrounded by a sewn on *instita*]; Ps.-Acro on Hor. sat. 1.2.28–29 pp. 19.22–20.4 Keller; Servius on Verg. Aen. 2.616 (and on Aen. 4.137): *limbus: et est pars vestis extrema, quae instita dicitur, ut Horatius quarum subsuta talos tegit instita veste; [limbus: This is the lowest part of the garment, which is called instita, as Horace says ...]; the Scholia Cruquiana should be excluded since they are a modern compilation.*

⁴⁷ See Becker/Göll (1882) 254; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 544; Blümner (1911) 232; Bieber (n. 1) 58; Leon (n. 1) 378–381; Alexandridis (2004) 51.

⁴⁸ Scholz (1992) 26, 84–85; Sebesta (1994a) 49. Despite the objections of Thraede (n. 1) 769 and H. Blanck, *Die Instita der Matronenstola*, in: Komos. FS Thuri Lorenz, Wien 1997, 23–24, the mistaken interpretation of the *instita* is adopted by Pausch (2003) 128; GRD (2007) 96; Chrystal (n. 1) 26.

⁴⁹ Scholz (1992) 22; and Blanck (n. 48) 23–24.

⁵⁰ As far as I see, only Müller (1891) in his commentary ad loc. correctly explains the expression.

There are two possibilities:⁵¹ Should we explain it as *subsuerē vestem alicui rei* (acc. + dat., to sew a garment beneath something else)? Or should it be read as *subsuerē vestem aliqua re* (acc. + abl. instr., to decorate a garment by sewing something onto its bottom (*sub*) edge)?⁵² It is clear from context that the second interpretation is correct. In Horace, the expression is condensed by the ablativus absolutus (*subsuta veste*). The affecting entity in the ablativus instrumentalis (which is sewn onto the bottom of the garment) is missing in a common ellipsis. The noun *instita* is already the subject of the entire sentence (*instita tegit*), and it is thus also the implied agent of the passive construction (*subsuta veste institā*). Hence, the *vestis* is decorated by an *instita* sewn onto it along the bottom edge. The reason why the explanation has caused so much difficulty is that all other composites of *suerē* (*assuerē, insuerē, consuerē*) are used with the alternative construction of an affecting accusative and an affected dative object, for example: *insuerē aurum vesti* (= to sew a golden ornament onto a garment).

We thus have to ask why Horace chose the unusual ablative construction. His style of writing is indeed very curious in this passage. On the one hand, the sentence structure emphasizes the *instita* as the most important part by making it the agent that covers the ankles. On the other hand, the odd construction imitates the term for the male costume. The *subsuta vestis* (*vestis* with something sewn on) is very similar to the common expression *toga praetexta* (*toga* with a purple border).⁵³ This statement also holds true as to grammar, *toga* being the affected object in the expression *toga praetexta*. Using this construction, Horace places the Roman matron of his satire (whom he characterizes as a woman of the high nobility) at the side of her husband, who is a senator and high political official. His status is clear because only men of that social standing wore a *toga* decorated with purple (= either violet or crimson) trimmings.⁵⁴

Similarly, the *instita* seems to designate a visible stripe on the *stola* of upper-class women in Ovid, who mentions it at the most prominent point of his entire work: the famous ‘disclaimer’ at the beginning of the *Ars amatoria* (2 CE).⁵⁵ There, Ovid tells Roman matrons to keep away from his licentious books. His remarks are, as it seems, provoked by the *leges Iuliae* (see below) punishing *stuprum* (sexual misdemeanour) of married couples.⁵⁶ The disclaimer is all the more pointed if we assume the *stola* and

51 These two types of construction have many parallels with other similar verbs, for example: *aspergere, circumdare, induere, redimire, subnectere*; for example: *vestem aspergere aquā* (= to besprinkle a garment with water) as opposed to *vesti aspergere aquam* (= to sprinkle water on a garment).

52 In this case, the *sub* is not used in the sense of ‘beneath,’ where the entity that is sewn on would extend the garment. The prefix *sub* is instead used in the sense of ‘on top of’ or ‘onto the bottom (*sub*) edge,’ where the addition covers part of the garment.

53 This was first noticed by Kießling (1886) in his commentary on Horace.

54 On the colour, cf. B 11 pp. 445–447.

55 Cf. also Ovid. trist. 2.248 (where the verses of the *Ars* are quoted) and 2.600: *in nostris instita nulla iocis* [no *instita* is found in our jokes].

56 Cf. pp. 334–340.

the *vitta* to be a legal privilege at the time of writing. In this passage, Ovid is speaking directly to the articles of clothing and commands them:

Ovid. ars 1.31–32
este procul, vittae tenues, insigne pudoris,
quaeque tegis medios instita longa pedes

Keep away, small *vittae*, sign of chastity, and you, long *instita*, who covers the middle of the feet.

Ovid's address characterizes the Roman *matrona* by her clothing, concentrating on her 'badges': the *vitta* (hairband) and the *instita*. As to their form, both are 'bands' which encircle parts of the body. However, as the adjective *longa* (long) shows, Ovid uses the word *instita* in metonymy for the *stola* (= *vestis longa*).⁵⁷ In this passage, Ovid clearly imitates Horace to whose satire 1.2 he alludes. He also follows his warning to keep to the happy medium. The irony will not have been lost on Ovid's contemporary readers that Ovid explicitly excludes those (upper-class) women who were certainly among his reading public. Since Ovid found the word *instita* so striking that he wanted to take it up in literary imitation, we may assume it to be a technical term from everyday craftsmanship that had been introduced into literary language first by Horace.⁵⁸ This hypothesis also fits the style of Horace's satires. Apart from the poetical licence, Horace takes with the common word order, and he uses everyday speech without creating new words and without shunning 'low' ones.⁵⁹

We may now turn to the term *instita* more closely. Horace and Ovid are the only authors to use it with reference to dress. Its etymology is controversial.⁶⁰ The Greek equivalent is *πεζίς* or *πεζά*.⁶¹ In Latin poetry, the only other term for such trimming is the word *limbus*. However, *limbus* is more general and probably belonged to a higher language register.⁶² The *instita* was sewn onto the cloth along the bottom edge of the garment, as is clear from Horace's description. Horace does not provide any information about the width of the *instita*. As regards scholarly opinions, it is tempting to exclaim with Horace: *nihil medium est*. Its appearance in scholarly work diverges wildly: broad

⁵⁷ The stylistic device has not always been understood, cf. Becker/Göll (1882) 255; Blümner (1911) 232 n. 7.

⁵⁸ Against Thraede (n. 1) 770.

⁵⁹ Cf. the Horace's literary programme in Sat. 1.4.40–62. Apart from the syntax, he says to use everyday language (*sermo merus*).

⁶⁰ Walde/Hofmann s. v. *instita* derive it from *instare*. The word formation would thus be similar to that of *vitta*, cf. B 16 p. 476. See, however, the objection of ThLL VII s. v. *instita* col. 1985.22–23: "*vix ab instare ... quod notionibus non conveniunt*."

⁶¹ On the term *πεζίς*, see IG II² (Brauron) 1522, 1524, 1525; Aristophan. F 485 K.-A.; Apoll. Rh. 4.44–45; Anth. Pal. 6.287 (Antipater of Sidon); and Blümner I (1912) 211.

⁶² OLD s.v. *limbus*. Most parallels come from epic poems.

or narrow, with ruffles⁶³ or piping,⁶⁴ and if medium-width, then at least in purple.⁶⁵ In order to decide the question of width, it is advisable to look at the passages where the term *instita* is attested in another context.⁶⁶ The physician Scribonius Largus, for example, uses it to describe an abdominal bandage. In Petronius, it designates thongs that serve as a part of the bed frame.⁶⁷ This suggests that the *instita* was about 5–8 cm broad. The various technical descriptions show that the translation ‘ruffle’ must be rejected, since today it mostly refers to a long, wrinkled, and soft trimming on bedspreads or dresses.⁶⁸

Horace’s explanations also show that the *instita* was attached to the outside of the *stola* and was clearly visible. This also fits with our archaeological evidence (pls. 1.2, 9.1, 10.1).⁶⁹ Horace does not speak directly about its colour, but there may be some indirect literary evidence that the *instita* on the *stola* of an upper-class woman could have been or even usually was ‘purple.’⁷⁰ The assumption is supported by Horace’s description, which parallels the female *stola* (= *vestis*) *subsuta* with the male *toga praetexta*. The *toga praetexta* had a purple hem; tunics of the knights or senators had purple *clavi*. It is therefore likely that their wives’ robes should have had a purple trimming as well.⁷¹

Further literary evidence for this is rare, but there may be some. (1) The attire Fortunata wears in Petronius’ *Satyrica* could also point to a purple hem.⁷² Fortunata is a rich freedwoman (*libertina*). She lives with her husband, Trimalchio, in a partnership (*contubernium*), but not in a Roman marriage (*matrimonium*), which pertains only to citizens.⁷³ Since the Imperial period, the *stola* was a privilege of married women living

⁶³ Becker/Göll (1882) 254–255; Kießling (1886) on Hor. sat. 1.2; most recently, Gower (2012) ad loc. “with a flounce sewn onto their dress.”

⁶⁴ Leon (n. 1) 378–381; Thraede (n. 1) 769–770.

⁶⁵ Blanck (n. 48) 24 following Scholz (1992) 23–24.

⁶⁶ See ThLL VII 1 s. v. *instita* col. 1985.22–57.

⁶⁷ Scribon. 47 (about a feather): *fasciola tenui lintea quasi instita* [wrapped with a thin linen strip as with an *instita*]; 133: *ventrem ... constringere extra instita longa* [constrict the belly outside with a long *instita*]; Petron. 20.4: *duas institae ancilla protulit de sinu, alteraque pedes nostros alligavit, altera manus* [a servant took two *institae* from her garment and bound our feet with one and our hands with the other]; 97.4: *imperavi Gitoni, ut raptim grabatum subiret annexeretque pedes et manus institis, quibus sponda culcitam ferebat* [I told Giton to go under the couch in a rush and to attach his feet and hands to the *institae*, by means of which the frame sustained the mattress].

⁶⁸ Leon (n. 1) 378–381.

⁶⁹ Cf. Archaeological evidence p. 683.

⁷⁰ The term purple in Latin denotes either violet or (in Imperial times) crimson, cf. B 11 pp. 445–447. For the sake of brevity, the word purple is used without discrimination here.

⁷¹ Blanck (n. 48) 24.

⁷² Petron. 67.4: *venit ergo* (sc. Fortunata) *galbino succincta cingillo, ita ut infra cerasina appareret tunica* [So there came Fortunata, who had gathered up her garment with a light green belt, so that underneath appeared a crimson tunic]; cf. altogether B 1 pp. 268–272.

⁷³ See below pp. 322–326.

in Roman *matrimonium*. Fortunata therefore does not wear the *stola* (and perhaps is even prohibited from doing so). However, she tries hard to imitate the costume of a woman belonging to the upper classes. She therefore puts on two tunics, the one worn underneath (*subucula*) being purple. By leaving a stripe of the second tunic visible below the bottom edge of the upper tunic, she creates the impression that she is wearing a *stola* with purple trimming. In a similar manner, her husband, Trimalchio, imitates the tunic of a knight by inserting a napkin with a purple *clavus* into his neckline. (2) A difficult passage on Germanic dress in Tacitus suggests that Germanic upper-class women wore some type of *stola* ornamented with purple.⁷⁴ This they may have done in imitating their Roman female counterpart.

This is all of the literary evidence we have for the hypothesis that the *instita* on the *stola* of upper-class women often had a purple colour (as seen by extant traces on some statues). Although it is likely that it *could* be purple, we should refrain from generalizing that it *must* have been purple. The historical variety of the trimmings and borders on robes can be seen from other texts and monuments. In the catalogue of Artemis of Brauron, for example, various types of borders are listed and specified.⁷⁵ We also have a detailed description of an intricately decorated fringe of a long robe. An eight-line consecration epigram by the poet Antipater of Sidon (2nd century BCE) describes an elaborate border on a *peplos* of Artemis. It shows dancing girls and a meander pattern.⁷⁶ Latin literature also mentions trimming on the coats of queens and heroines. Aeneas presents Dido with a headscarf with an acanthus border.⁷⁷ When Dido goes hunting together with Aeneas, she also wears a short riding cloak (*chlamys*), which is decorated with a colourful border.⁷⁸ The heroine Atalanta has colourful knee bands.⁷⁹ Statius has Thetis give her son Achilles a long female robe with colourful trimming.⁸⁰ The historical Roman *instita* would have been similarly varied, although purple was the obvious choice for upper-class women.

4.2.3 The shoulder straps – *anale(m)ptris* (pls. 13–14)

We learn nothing in our texts about the upper end of the Imperial *stola*. In this respect, they fall short of the archaeological monuments showing elegant shoulder straps.⁸¹

⁷⁴ See below pp. 351–352.

⁷⁵ Cleland (2005) 122–124 (Appendix I) s.v. παρακυμάτιος, παραλουργός, παρυφής, περιήγητος, περιχυμάτιον, περιποικίλος.

⁷⁶ Cf. Anth. Pal. 6.287; see also Anth. Pal. 6.286.

⁷⁷ Cf. B 3 p. 294.

⁷⁸ Verg. Aen. 4.137: *circumdata picto limbo* [surrounded by a colourful border].

⁷⁹ Ovid. Met. 10.593: *picto genualia limbo* [knee bands with a colourful border].

⁸⁰ Stat. Ach. 1.330: *et picturato cohibens vestigia limbo* [restraining his steps through a colourful border].

⁸¹ Cf. Archaeological evidence p. 684.

The ornamental straps distinguish the Augustan *stola* from previous versions (as, for example, the *peplos*, which was perceived as a kind of *stola*). Perhaps, they were transferred from similar ‘Hellenistic’ dresses to the Roman *stola*, thus refining the garment. The Latin technical term for the shoulder straps has not yet been found because research has focused too much on the *stola*. However, straps are not exclusive to the *stola*, but were also used with other garments. They are once mentioned in Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*, in a passage which has not been fully understood. There, the love teacher tells women how they can hide physical defects by various means, especially by appropriate clothing. A woman with high shoulder-blades, he says, should have narrow *analeptrides*.⁸² Commentators offer different explanations of the term. Brandt (1902) thinks the *analeptrides* to be clasps; Gibson (2003) regards them as a piece of female underwear. OLD defines them as ‘(app.) a pad worn under the shoulder-blades’ (whatever that may be). Let us therefore turn to the evidence in order to more closely define the plural *analeptrides*. The Greek loanword *analeptis* is found only here in Latin, but there is a good Greek parallel. Galen uses the Greek term ἀναληπτρίς to designate a sling for a broken or sprained arm.⁸³ The verb ἀναλαμβάνειν also suggests such a meaning for ἀναληπτρίς. Although it is rarely used in physical contexts, it means, for example, ‘to pull up short’ with a horse, referring to the reins. A sling is similar in form to a strap or reins. This similarity is also evident in archaeological depictions. We can thus safely assume that the *analeptis* designates the typical sling-like shoulder strap we see on the *stola*. In consequence, Ovid recommends that any woman with high shoulder blades should try to hide the length of this part of her body. She should therefore use narrow straps on her dress. Ovid’s advice is correct, insofar as broad straps would add to the impression of length. If we like to give a Latin name to the straps of the *stola*, we should hence call them *analeptrides*.

4.2.4 Colours

Dress colours are dealt with in detail in chapter B 11. This section only discusses the three texts concerning the *stola* though the result will be somehow disappointing. All texts do not provide the information on colour they are thought to contain. They rather prove *ex negativo* that—like all other garments except the bridal headscarf—the *stola* had no fixed colour. There is no evidence that the colours of the *stola* and its trimmings were regulated in any way, though there might have been some colours that were typical for it. At least, mural paintings and preserved pigments on the marble statues show

⁸² Ovid. ars. 3.273: *conveniunt tenues scapulis analeptrides altis* [narrow *analeptrides* go well with high shoulder blades].

⁸³ LSJ s.v.

rather dark and discreet colours.⁸⁴ Our texts mention the colours purple and light red, but they refer to exceptional versions of the garment.

4.2.4.1 Purple – Varro Men. 229

The earliest colour indication concerning a *stola* is in Varro's Menippean satire called *Kosmotoryne*.⁸⁵ In a short fragment we learn of a *stola* that is entirely purple:

mulieres. aliam cerneret cum stola holoporphyro

women. You could have seen one with a purple robe, <another>

The garment described is extremely expensive. It seems that the setting described is not Roman, but Greek. Varro not only uses a Greek loanword (ὄλοπόρφυρος), but even keeps its Greek ending (-ο = -ωι). The adjective *holoporphyros*, meaning 'entirely purple' in contrast to '*purpureus*,' may be used to distinguish it from the matrons' *stola*, on which purple seems to have been usually limited to the border. A garment with a purple border could also be called *purpureus*. It is very likely that Varro is not using the term *stola* in a narrow Roman sense (i.e. the garment of the Roman matron) in this fragment, but in a broader sense (i.e. long female garment). For this reason, we should exclude this passage from the discussion of the Roman *stola* in particular.

4.2.4.2 White (*albus*)? – Hor. sat. 1.2.31–40

The next passage, which has been thought to indicate the colour of the Roman *stola*, is in Horace's satire 1.2. In it, another signal colour is at issue: the colour white.⁸⁶ Was the *stola*, at least of an upper-class wife, usually white like the *toga* of the male citizen? The grammarian Porphyrio (ca. 2nd to 3rd century CE), who commented on this difficult passage in Horace's satire 1.2, thought so, and modern research has followed suit. However, Porphyrio's hypothesis is mistaken. As we will see, Horace is not talking about a *matrona*, but about the exact opposite: a virgin (*virgo*).

The satire 1.2 of Horace is repeatedly adduced in this chapter. It is, to be honest, an unpleasant poem. In the present passage, it gets as bad as can be. In the relevant verses, Horace is dealing with an alternative to adultery, namely visiting a brothel. The satirical speaker stresses that going to such an establishment is better for the young Roman aristocrats than getting involved with other men's wives (*uxores*), but some young men reject this advice, as does a person called Cupiennius:

⁸⁴ Bieber (n. 1) 59; Wilson (1939) 161.

⁸⁵ For a more detailed discussion, cf. A 9 p. 188.

⁸⁶ On the colour white in general, cf. B 11 pp. 434–436.

Hor. Sat. 1.2.31–36⁸⁷

*quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, ‘macte
virtute esto’ inquit sententia dia Catonis;
nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido,
huc iuvenes aequom est descendere, non alienas
permolere uxores. ‘nolim laudari’, inquit,
‘sic me’, mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.*

when a certain well-known man left the brothel, Cato ingeniously said: ‘Well done!’ For when vile lust has made the veins swell, young men should resort to that place and not screw the wives of other men. ‘I do not want to be praised like this,’ says Cupiennius, a fan of white cunts.

The short attack on Cupiennius stands at the end of a section. We do not know Cupiennius from other sources, and we have to rely on what little Horace tells us about him.⁸⁸ The name Cupiennius may well be an invention. At least, it looks a bit like an extension of *cupiens* (desirous) and thus befits the person’s inclinations (‘Mr. Lecher’). But what kind of women did Cupiennius like? Did he ‘vitiare’ respectable married women despite Horace’s warnings? Is the *stola*, their defining dress, referred to in metonymy by *cunnius albus*? Does this expression, as some modern scholars think, mean ‘a woman in a white *stola*’? If we want to assume this, it needs two steps. First, the slang word *cunnius* does thus not stand for the female private parts, but metonymically for the entire woman. This is perfectly possible, as two parallels in Horace’s satires show.⁸⁹ Then the adjective *albus* (white) must relate to the woman in some way. This is more difficult. Ancient commentators apparently were already in doubt about what it meant exactly. Porphyrio hesitatingly comments:

Porph. ad Hor. sat. 2.35

... albi autem non pro candido videtur mihi dixisse, cum utique possint et vulgares mulieres et meretrices candidae esse, sed ad vestem albam, qua matronae maxime utuntur, puto relatum esse.

⁸⁷ The English translation tries to bring across the vulgarity of Latin original.

⁸⁸ Porphyrio remarks on him: *C. Cupiennius Libo Cumanus Augusti familiaritate clarus, corporis sui diligentissimus, fuit sectator matronarum concubitus* [C. Cupiennius Libo from Cumae, famous because his friendship with Augustus, taking great care of his body, liked to sleep with other men’s wives]. Porphyrio’s comment is mere scholarly guesswork. It is a failed attempt to link the unknown Cupiennius with a historical person. Horace, as a *cliens* of Maecenas, would not have been mocking a friend of Augustus, nor would Augustus have surrounded himself with a man who was known to be a notorious adulterer.

⁸⁹ The word *cunnius* is used similarly in satire 1.3.107–108: *nam fuit ante Helenam cunnius taeterrima belli causa* [For a *cunnius* was the abominable cause of a war before Helena]. In satire 1.2.69–70, the word *cunnius* is also used in metonymy. The *animus* (mind), acting for the penis, asks: *numquid ego a te magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum?* [I do not ask you for a *cunnius* that descends from a great consul. Do I?].

I think that Horace did not use word *albus* in the sense of ‘having a white complexion,’ as both women of the lower classes and prostitutes can have a white complexion, but I believe that the word refers to the white garment (*vestis alba*) which mainly matrons are using.

Porphyrio is writing more than two hundred years after Horace composed his satire. By then, Horace had already become a classical author from a remote past. There were more commentaries on Horace’s satires than we still have access to. As Porphyrio’s remarks show, he takes a contrary position in what was a controversial issue. Instead of connecting *albus* with the colour of the skin, as might at first seem obvious, he suggests that it should be interpreted as designating the colour of a garment. His difficulties are clearly reflected in the wording. He twice stresses that it is a personal opinion (*videtur mihi, puto*).⁹⁰

It is hard to solve this dispute, but it must be said that Porphyrio’s opponents might well have been right. In contrast to *albatius* (clad in white),⁹¹ the word *albus* (white), usually denotes the complexion when applied to people. It does so, for example, at another place in the same satire.⁹² If we take *albus* in this sense, it refers either to the colour of the female private parts (being without pubic hairs) or to the general complexion of the type of women who were the target of Cupiennius’ desires.⁹³ However, though we have no exact parallel, we should not exclude that *albus* could also refer to dress, as do the adjectives *candidus*⁹⁴ and *pullus*.⁹⁵

We should therefore approach the question from a more general point of view and see what type of woman is associated with the colour white in Latin literature. As with later European usage, the colour white is a symbol of purity and hence of virginity. It is, for example, the colour of the Vestal Virgins. As regards dress, it is almost

90 The Early Modern author of the so-called Scholia Cruquiana on Horace (once assumed to be an ancient grammarian) derived his explanations from Porphyrio: *respexit ad stolam candidam, qua vestiebantur matronae. nam meretrices habebant nigram vestem* [Horace referred to the white *stola* the matrons commonly wore. For prostitutes had a black garment]. His remarks do not have any basis in reality as is shown by his nonsensical explanation that prostitutes, who usually wore striking colours, were dressed in black robes. Nevertheless, Porphyrio and the Scholia Cruquiana have found their way into modern commentaries on Horace, cf. ad loc. Heindorf (1815); Fritzsche (1875); Kießling (1886); L. Mueller (1891); Kießling/Heinze (1921).

91 ThLL I s.v. *albatius* col. 1488.24–62.

92 Hor. 1.2.123–124: *candida rectaque sit, munda hactenus, ut neque longa || nec magis alba velit, quam dat natura, videri* [she should be white and erect in bearing, elegant to such an extent that she does not want to appear taller or whiter than nature gives it].

93 We encounter a similar difficulty in an epigram of Martial, 9.37.7 (imitating Horace): *et te nulla movet cani reverentia cunni* [and you have no respect for your own hoary cunt]. In this passage, which describes the bodily physique of an old woman in detail, *cunnius* clearly designates the private parts, the adjective *canus* (hoary) either referring to the colour of the pubic hairs or the hairs of the woman (although she has none, but is wearing a wig).

94 ThLL III s.v. *candidus* col. 243.57–62.

95 Calp. Sic. 7.81; Quint. inst. or. 5.10.71.

always associated with young women.⁹⁶ This indicates that Horace very likely thinks of *virgines* when speaking of a *cunnius albus*. According to him, Cupiennius is fond of having sexual intercourse with virgins (girls without pubic hair). This assumption also fits the context very well. Cupiennius does not commit adultery with married women, but turns to the opposite direction instead of heeding Horace's advice. It is also a wrong path since married women as well as virgins were protected by Roman cultural values (and law). As elsewhere in satire 1.2, Horace is describing opposite (and mistaken) extremes. In the end, the text does not give us any direct indication as to the colour of the *stola*. It may, however, indirectly point to the opposite, showing that white was naturally associated with young women and not with *matronae*.

4.2.4.3 Red (*russeus*) – Carmen Priapeum 12

The next poem relating to the colour of the *stola* is no less misogynistic than Horace's satire. It belongs to the anonymous eighty-poem collection of obscene *Carmina Priapea* (abbreviated below as CP).⁹⁷ The comic god *Priapus*, characterized by an oversized phallus, is at the core of all these poems, which sometimes border on the pornographic. The exact date of the collection is uncertain. It dates either to the time of Tiberius (14–37 CE) or to that Domitianus (81–96 CE).⁹⁸ Although there is no strictly conclusive evidence, the latter date seems preferable to me since the language and the literary stereotypes we get are similar to what we find in Martial. It is part of the poet's agenda to transfer a Greek poetic genre into the Roman world. For this reason, it is difficult to assess the degree of reality underlying the individual poems. A wooden statue of a god acting like a human person is fantastical in any case.

CP 12 is a caricature. It describes an old woman (*anus*) dressed in the 'full' attire of a Roman *matrona*,⁹⁹ which is meant to produce an 'effect of reality.' The garb of the woman consists in a *tunica* (= *subucula*) and in a *stola* of a bright red colour (*rufus, russeus*). Scholz (1992) thinks that this red was the 'normal' colour of the Roman *stola*.¹⁰⁰ In contrast, the following will show that it is rather an extraordinary colour and a satirical exaggeration. CP 12 reads like a sequel of CP 8.¹⁰¹ It belongs to the genre of 'Vetula-Skoptik.' The old woman, although characterized by her dress as 'Roman,' clearly belongs to a lower class of the population, as seen by her personal hygiene and clothing. Her clothing is run-down; she is poor and ugly; her hands have wrinkles (*manus rugosae*); she walks unsteadily (*gradus infirmus*), probably because she also

⁹⁶ Cf. B 11 p. 434.

⁹⁷ Cf. in general the commentary of Goldberg (1992).

⁹⁸ Goldberg (1992) 35–36.

⁹⁹ We find this elsewhere only on archaeological monuments and in Lucan, cf. below p. 319.

¹⁰⁰ Scholz (1992) 22–23, 26.

¹⁰¹ In CP 8, Priapus (as Ovid in his *Ars amatoria*) is warning matrons to not read his books. However, they do not heed his words: (4–5): *nimirum sapiunt videntque magnam || matronae quoque mentulam libenter* [matrons are very clever and like seeing a big phallus]. In CP 12, this becomes a physical reality.

drinks too much alcohol;¹⁰² and she is just losing her last tooth. Despite the infirmities of her age, she wants to have sexual intercourse with Priapus. This, so the poem goes, is too much even for the phallic god. He orders the woman to get away and hide her ugly private parts under her garments. As is usual in this genre, the author does not spare obscenity:

c. 12

quaedam <haud> iunior Hectoris parente,

...

infirmitate solet huc gradu venire

rugosaeque manus ad astra tollens,

ne desit sibi, mentulam rogare.

hesterna quoque luce dum precatur,

dentem de tribus excreavit unum.

“tolle” inquam “procul ac iube latere

scissa sub tunica stolaque russa.”¹⁰³

A woman no younger than Hector's mother (i.e. Hecuba) ... is accustomed to coming here with unsteady walk. Raising her wrinkled hands to the stars, she begs my phallus not to fail its duty to her. Yesterday, while praying, she spat out one of her last three teeth. I said to her: “Take it (sc. your cunt) far away and make it hide under your tattered *tunica* and red *stola*.”

We will see more closely in chapter B 11 that red garments are usually worn by young and beautiful women.¹⁰⁴ The colour red is, as in modern times, an erotic signal colour. The woman in the poem is neither young nor beautiful. She is the exact opposite: old (*vetula*) and ugly. The colour red does not suit her. This holds especially true for the shade of striking red (*russus*). By making her wear a *stola* of this colour, the author tells his readers that the *vetula* is dressing in a wrong way since the red garment directs the eyes to her appearance and signals her sexual readiness. She behaves like a *puella* without being one, and the untoward nature of her sexual advances is the fundamental theme of the poem. For this reason, CP 12 shows a colour that the *stola* of a decent *matrona* should *not* have, at least according to the author. The implied norm is, of course, that of the reading upper-classes.

102 On the common place of the *anus vinolenta*, cf. Grassmann (1966) 21.

103 The manuscripts have either *russa* or *ruffa*. Buecheler/Heraeus (1922) put the form *ruffa*, Vollmer (1923) and Goldberg (1992) the form *russa* into the text. The transmission points to *russa* as the correct form because F is very similar to S in shape in some types of handwriting. The adjective *rufus* also refers to natural colours only, cf. B 11 p. 441. The orthographical variants *rufus* and *russus* are found elsewhere, cf. Gell. NA 2.26.6 and Cat. 39.19. In the editions of Catullus, the transmitted *russam* is usually corrected to *russam*, but it should be interpreted as *rufam*.

104 Cf. B 11 pp. 436–437.

When taking all available sources together, we can conclude that the *stola* of the married woman did not have a fixed colour. However, we might infer from the passages adduced that it very likely did not have a signal colour in any direction (as was to be expected).

4.3 Combination with other garments

The complete costume of the *matrona* is shown by archaeological evidence. Her ‘full attire’ consisted in a *vitta* (hairband), a *pallium/palla* (cloak), a *stola* with a *cingillum* (belt), a *subucula* (undertunic), and a *calceus* (Roman shoe). However, there is no literary description containing all of these elements. The ‘full attire’ is thus an ideal picture. Most important (at least for the Augustan *matronae*) was the *vitta*, the braided woollen headband, which served as a kind of honorary badge and—like the *stola*—seems to have been a dress privilege. The *vitta* will be dealt with in detail in the chapter B 16. Two passages from Augustan poetry may therefore be enough for a short demonstration. The first author to mention the combination of *vitta* and *stola* is Tibullus (27 BCE), who asks the ‘mother’ of his mistress Delia to take care of her. As often, the mistress and *hetaera*, being a freedwoman, is defined in contrast to the married Roman woman. Tibullus here wishes Delia to behave like a Roman wife, although she is none and will never be:

Tib. 1.6.67–68

*sit modo casta, doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos
impediat crines nec stola longa pedes*

Teach her to be chaste, although no *vitta* binds her hair together and no long *stola* impedes her steps.

The second Augustan poet to mention the *vitta* and the *stola* is Ovid. As we have seen above,¹⁰⁵ he excluded married women dressed in this manner in the ‘disclaimer’ of his *Ars amatoria*. He repeats his words in a slightly varying form when writing in exile:

Ovid. Pont. 3.3.51–52

*scripsimus haec illis quarum nec uitta pudicos
contingit crines nec stola longa pedes*

I have written this work (i.e. the *Ars amatoria*) for those women who are neither wearing a *vitta* in chaste hairs nor a foot long *stola*.

105 Cf. p. 308.

The *stola* and the *vitta* symbolize the social group of the Roman (upper-class) *matronae*. In this passage, Ovid therefore claims to have written the *Ars* for emancipated young women belonging to the demi-monde.

The other combinations with the *stola* are mentioned far less frequently. Varro and Horace refer to the *pallium/palla* and the *stola*;¹⁰⁶ Vitruvius combines the *vitta*, the *stola*, and the *calceus*;¹⁰⁷ and CP 12 uses the *subucula* (= *tunica*) and the *stola* (as does Lucan). Lucan's description is very important as concerns the *subucula*. It is dealt with in chapter B 1,¹⁰⁸ but it is useful to repeat it here because Lucan is the only author to mention the girdle and the only one to actually describe the full attire. However, the epic style does not allow Lucan to use any 'regular' dress term. For this reason, he describes all garments with 'improper' words. It is the wedding dress of a rich upper-class matron:

Lucan. 2.360–364

*non timidum nuptae leuiter tectura pudorem
lutea demissos uelantur flamma uoltus,
balteus aut fluxos gemmis astrinxit amictus,
colla monile decens umerisque haerentia primis
suppara nudatos cingunt angusta lacertos.*

No yellow bridal shawl covered the lowered face in order to lightly cover the timid reserve of the bride; no belt with gemstones fastened the flowing robe; no elegant necklace hung around the neck; no **supparum* hanging on the base of the shoulders closely surrounded the naked arms.

In the elevated style of epic poetry, the *stola* is called an *amictus*, the *cingillum* a *balteus*, the *subucula* a **supparus*. All words stand in the poetic plural, with the exception of the *balteus* (where it would be ridiculous). The word **supparus* is a misunderstood gloss (D 5), which is added for archaic flavour. To understand the poet's words, readers have to know what he is speaking about. Ancient readers of Lucan knew this, if not from daily life, at least from the many statues of the imperial household they could see in public. These statues depicted all of these articles of clothing except for the bridal scarf (*flammeum*). Modern readers must rely on this archaeological evidence as well.¹⁰⁹ With that in mind, Lucan's idealized image should not be thought of as a realistic depiction of common dress customs. We will see in the following that by Lucan's times the *stola* already had become a festive dress of the upper-classes.

¹⁰⁶ Varro LL 8.13, 9.48 (B 2 p. 280); Hor. sat. 1.2.99 (below p. 332).

¹⁰⁷ Vitruvius 4.1.7; on the entire passage, cf. B 26 pp. 527–528.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. B 1 pp. 272–273.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Archaeological evidence p. 698.

4.4 The *stola* and Roman marriage – social function and dress ritual

This section concerns the social function of the *stola*. It was common in Roman society to indicate the position a person held in family and society through his or her clothing. We see this not only with the *stola* but also with other garments. The freeborn boy, for example, could wear an amulet (*bullā*) and a *toga praetexta*, which he exchanged for the *toga virilis* and consecrated to the *lares* when he became an adult. Similarly, a young freeborn girl (*virgo*) changed her costume when becoming adult (married) woman. At least in theory, girls (like boys) wore a *praetexta*, which they later exchanged for the costume of the *matrona* (B 5).¹¹⁰ This took place on the occasion of marriage (*matrimonium*). As we have seen above, the link between *stola* and marriage is so strong in Roman thought that the phrase *vestem* or *stolam dare* (to give the *stola*) is used metonymically for Roman marriage (*matrimonium*).¹¹¹ We will see more closely which social groups entered into this kind of relationships in the next section. For the purpose of this section, it suffices to group these women under the header of ‘all female citizens who had the *conubium* (right to marry).’

The *stola* was first put on by the young woman in a wedding ritual. We have no eyewitness accounts for this, but have to rely on the Scholia of Pseudo-Acro on Horace. These scholia date to Late Antiquity and must therefore be used with caution. Varro’s *De vita populi Romani* and Imperial grammarians all cover Roman marriage customs.¹¹² We may therefore assume that the scholia are talking about early Roman wedding customs and presumably contain some older and hopefully reliable material. The scholia briefly explain the word *repotia*, which designated the second day of the wedding:¹¹³ *repotia: secundus dies a nuptiis, quo virgo ad muliebre habitum componitur (repotia: the second day of the wedding, when the young girl is dressed in the wife’s garb)*.¹¹⁴ Thus, a woman wore the *habitus matronalis* for the first time on the second day of the wedding ceremony when she—a festively decorated bride—had been led into the husband’s house and the wedding night had been consummated.¹¹⁵ The change of dress took place on the occasion of the so-called *repotia*, when the bride performed a sacrifice to the gods of her husband’s household (*lares*). The act symbolized that she was now a member of

¹¹⁰ On the definition of the word *matrona*, see below pp. 321–322.

¹¹¹ CLE 58.2: *vestem dedit*; CIL 1².1216: *illam merito missit et vestem dedit*.

¹¹² Varro F 304–306 Salvatore (= 25–26, 44 Riposati), cf. C 2 p. 580.

¹¹³ Ps.-Acro Schol. Hor. Sat. 2.2.60 p. 131.18–19 Keller.

¹¹⁴ On the word *repotia*, cf. also Varro LL 6.84; Festus/Paulus p. 350.13–15 L.; Gellius 2.24.17.

¹¹⁵ We do not have any contemporary evidence on this part of the ritual. In Petronius’ description of a perverted wedding, there is mention of an *incesta vestis*, cf. 26.1: *iam ebriae mulieres longum agmen plaudentes fecerant thalamumque incesta exornaverant veste* [the drunken women had applaudingly formed a long procession and furnished the sleeping chamber with a lewd *vestis*]. This is most likely bed linen (*vestis stragula*) with pornographic scenes, see C. Panayotakis, *Theatrum Arbitri*. Theatrical Elements in the Satyrica of Petronius, Leiden 1995, 36, 49; Schmeling (2011) in his commentary ad loc. It fits the assumption that the *stola* was only used after the marriage was consummated.

the new family.¹¹⁶ It is no longer possible to ascertain with certainty to what extent this ritual was performed in historical times. The formula *vestem dare* shows that the factual core is beyond question, but one should beware of an idealistic generalization.

4.5 Roman marriage and Roman citizenship – the *stola* on freedmen’s tombs (pl. 16)

The term Roman *matrona* has so far only been introduced in a general way, defining it simply as ‘a woman married in a Roman *matrimonium*.’¹¹⁷ ‘Regular’ citizenship has been taken for granted in this stereotyped reconstruction. We now have to advance a step further and take a closer look at Roman citizenship and at the changes it underwent. This has to do with the fact that Roman society also comprised slaves and freedmen. We will see in the following how the civil rights of these groups developed.

The legal question is very important as regards our archaeological evidence (pl. 16). It concerns a large group of monuments: the tombs of freedmen, which came up in the first half of the first century BCE and whose numbers spiked in early Imperial times. These sepulchral monuments often depict married couples with the symbols characterizing a *matrimonium*: the *unctio dextrarum* and the *stola*. The question is: Were these symbols legally used or only usurped by freedmen? The answer to this obviously depends on the legal status of freedmen. If they had the right to marry (*conubium*), everything we see is perfectly legal. If they did not, the depictions were—strictly speaking—illegal. Kockel (1993) in his standard monograph suggests that these outward signs including the *stola* were mainly usurped.¹¹⁸ However, there is strong evidence to the contrary. The following argues that (1) all symbols we see on the tombs are the expression of a legal status; (2) freed persons, if they married after and not before being released, were granted a *conubium* and could enter into a Roman *matrimonium*; (3) that the *stola* symbolizes their social status and is shown on the monuments precisely for this reason; and (4) the marriage between two freed persons was ‘legalized’ and became a Roman *matrimonium* at some time in the first half of the first century BCE. It is exactly this legal change that is mirrored by the new class of sepulchral monuments. The following complex ‘detour’ into Roman civil rights thus has a very specific aim.

116 S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, Oxford 1991, 169.

117 Treggiari (n. 116) 35: “when *materfamilias* denotes a respectable married woman in relation to husband or household, *matrona* denotes the married woman in a less private context. She was recognizable by her dress, the long robe worn out of doors, called the *stola*.”

118 Kockel (1993) 52; Alexandridis (2004) 52. For the archaeological evidence, cf. p. 687. The only woman shown wearing a *stola* with an ornamental shoulder strap (Kockel K 10 tab. 87a) is qualified as *ingenua* by her grave inscription.

In principle, everyone who possessed the *conubium* (right to marry) could legally marry. Getting married legally is easy today, but in ancient society it was not. A *civis Romanus* could marry another Roman citizen; in contrast, a slave, being devoid of civil rights, could not. He or she could only live together with another partner in what was called a *contubernium* (cohabitation). For example, Fortunata and Trimalchio (Petronius' famous couple of freedmen frequently mentioned in this book) live in a *contubernium* since they 'married' while still slaves.¹¹⁹ All is very simple in cases where both partners have the same legal status. But what about relationships involving partners with differing civil rights? How did Romans define a relationship in which one partner was freeborn (*ingenuus/a*) and the other a freed person (*libertus/a*), i.e. a former slave? What did happen if even both partners were *liberti* and only married after being released? Many books on marriage ban these questions to footnotes or do not deal with them at all.¹²⁰ However, in Imperial times, there were many such hybrid relationships.

4.5.1 Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.6.13 – a short history of freedmen's civil rights

The sources talking about the status of the marriage of *liberti* are few. The social bias is felt in our literary tradition, many authors being members of the upper-class. Most important is a passage in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius (ca. 385/90–after 430 CE), which has not yet been sufficiently explained in research. However, it contains the history of freedmen's civil rights in a nutshell.

The outer structure tying together the *Saturnalia* is a conversation between scholars discussing various literary questions at a dinner party. The work is composed with much literary effort, but it is similar to the *Deipnosophistai* ('dinner-table philosophers') of Athenaios and other works of that genre. The *Saturnalia* are little more than a collection of excerpts and quotations (often verbatim) from the works of older grammarians, either with or without indication of the source. In short, they are a literary compilation embellished with a framework story. The lack of sophistication, however, is good for modern research because the *Saturnalia*, though dating to Late Antiquity, contain valuable source material that is much older. And yet this advantage also comes

¹¹⁹ See above p. 311.

¹²⁰ With the exception of G. Fabre, *Libertus. Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la république Romaine*, Paris 1981, the legal status of the marriage of freed persons is not discussed. Most researchers focus their attention on marriages between freeborn or between freed partners, for example M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* (= HAW X.3.3.1), München 1971, 71–82; Treggiari (n. 116) 64; H. Mouritsen, *The Freedman in the Roman World*, Oxford 2011, 43, 191–192. The perspective of research is still influenced by T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. III, Berlin 1887. He (mistakenly) doubted that marriages between a freeborn and a freed partner had the same legal status as marriages between freeborn partners in the time of the Roman Republic. Later research focused on refuting Mommsen, while the question of the legal status of the marriage of *liberti* did not come into view.

with a snag. In each section, we have to first ask which source Macrobius might have used. Sometimes there are even several layers of sources leading to inconsistencies within Macrobius’ account. In our section, for example, we can individuate two sources: Cicero’s *De re publica* and Verrius’ *De significatu verborum*. Unfortunately, some difficulties arise from combining them. For this reason, readers will have to endure some source criticism before clear historical results are possible.

In the relevant section, the guests discuss the name of the aristocrat Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (ca. 315–384 CE), in whose house the dinner takes place. His name gives Macrobius the opportunity to show off with what he knew (or had read) about the ancient *toga praetexta*. The passage in question mentions the garb of *matronae libertinae* (married freedwomen) since the *matrimonium* and citizenship of children is at issue. The *toga praetexta* was worn by male and female *Roman* children (B 5). Our text mentions a crisis in the time of the Second Punic War, during which the sons of *liberti* or *libertae* received more civil rights and were put on equal legal footing with freeborn sons (*ingenui*). The exact explanations vary (see below). The precondition for this ‘upgrading’ was that the sons had not been born in a *contubernium* but in a regular *matrimonium*: In other words, their parents had to have married after the other partner (a former slave) had been released. The term *vestis longa* (= *stola*) and the expression *iusta materfamilias* (regular wife) are used to designate this type of marriage. The account of Macrobius runs as follows (the different layers of sources are indicated by italics, and the names of the sources are underlined):

Macrob. 1.6.13

*sed postea **libertinorum quoque filiis praetexta concessa est ex causa tali, quam M. Laelius Augur refert**, qui bello Punico secundo duumviros dicit ex senatus consulto propter multa prodigia libros Sibyllinos adisse et inspectis his nuntiasse in Capitolio supplicandum lectisterniumque ex collata stipe faciendum, ita ut **libertinae** quoque quae **longa veste uterentur**, in eam rem pecuniam subministrarent. *acta igitur obsecratio est pueris ingenuis itemque libertinis, sed et virginibus patrimis matrimisque pronuntiantibus carmen. ex quo concessum ut **libertinorum quoque filii**, qui ex iusta dumtaxat matrefamilias nati fuissent, togam praetextam et lorum in collo pro bullae decore gestarent. Verrius Flaccus ait ...**

But later the *toga praetexta* was also granted to the **sons of freedmen** for the following reason M. Laelius Augur tells us: *In the Second Punic War, he says, a board of two men consulted the Sibylline Books on the basis of a senate decision because there were many prodigies. After consulting them, they announced that sacrifices should be made on the Capitol hill and that a ‘supplication banquet’ should be held from financial contributions under the condition that the **freedwomen who wore the stola** should also contribute money.* Hence, the invocation of the gods was performed, freeborn boys and boys of the freedman class, as well as half-orphaned young girls (whose father or mother was still alive) singing the religious hymn. As a result, it was allowed that **sons of**

freedmen, provided they were born by a regular wife, also wore the *toga praetexta* and a leather necklet serving as an amulet (*bullā*). Verrius Flaccus says . . .

The importance of the passage has long been recognized, but the difficulty resulting from the ambiguity in wording has not yet been explained.¹²¹ The following proposes a new solution. The problems arise from the simple fact that the quotation from Laelius Augur inserted into the main text of Macrobius does not support the assertion for which it is adduced as proof. While the framing text refers to the status of descendants from marriages between *liberti*, the quotation only concerns marriages of *libertae* with freeborn men (*ingenui*).

The lack of consistency is very likely caused by the combination of different sources. We therefore have to see what they are in this section. This time we are fortunate because Macrobius gives us some names. The first is M(arcus) Laelius Augur. A person of this name is not known, but the riddle is not too difficult. Münzer (1924), the great prosopographer, pointed out (based on prosopography and textual critique) that the personal name Marcus is a mistake due to textual corruption or carelessness on the part of Macrobius.¹²² The quote must refer to the famous politician and jurist C. Laelius Augur. Münzer's assumption is indeed very likely when we look at the content of the quotation. The fragment is, however, not taken from a book written by C. Laelius Augur himself, but from Cicero's major philosophical dialogue *De re publica* (53 BCE). Cicero's work (now partly lost) was exactly about the legal matters that are being discussed here. C. Laelius is a main character alongside Scipio.

The quotation from Cicero probably runs until the word *subministrarent*. Then, the source changes. Macrobius knew Cicero's work on the state well, at least in part (he translated the so-called *Somnium Scipionis*). However, in this passage, he probably did not read Cicero himself, but took up the fragment (together with the rest of the text) from some other scholar quoting Cicero. We have a clear indication as to who it could be. It was probably the Augustean scholar Verrius Flaccus (ca. 55 BCE–20 CE), whose name is mentioned at the end of the passage. Verrius' work is extremely valuable for this chapter in particular. He was the first chief librarian of the first public Roman library founded by Augustus and wrote a twenty volume comprehensive dictionary called *De verborum significatu*, parts of which we still have in an abridged version by Festus.¹²³ The entire passage from Macrobius—in its compilatory manner, content and tendency—fits excellently with Verrius' work. It is very likely that Macrobius took up large parts of Verrius' entry on the *toga praetexta*. As to his civil status, Verrius was himself a freedman, and so it is not surprising that he is particularly concerned with freedmen and their sons. The result of all this copying sources can be summarized as follows:

¹²¹ A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic*, Oxford 1967, 35–37; R. Astolfi, *La Lex Julia et Papia*, Padua 1970, 28; Fabre (n. 120) 181; Mouritsen (n. 120) 265 (with further references).

¹²² Münzer (1924) 413.

¹²³ On this work and its transmission, cf. also Introduction D p. 588; D 5 pp. 589–647.

Macrobius copied Verrius Flaccus, who in turn copied Cicero’s *De re publica* adding some legal reasoning of his own. The inconsistencies do not go back to Macrobius, but already to the *libertus* Verrius Flaccus. On the whole, it is an Augustean text into which information from late Republican times has been inserted.

Now that the dating and the sources are clear, the various sections can be plumbed for information about the *matrimonium* and the *stola*. First, the Republican source layer (Cicero/Laelius): Unlike in the framing parts, the embedded quotation does not mention freedmen (*liberti*) and their marriages. Instead, it focuses on the marriage of freedwomen (*liberta*), leading readers to think of marriages that had been contracted by freedwomen with a freeborn citizen (*ingenuus*),¹²⁴ in contrast to marriages in which both partners (the man and the woman) were freeborn. Cicero/Laelius said that the Roman state put the marriages between a freeborn man (*ingenuus*) and a freedwoman (*liberta*) on an equal footing with marriages between two freeborn partners (an *ingenuus* and an *ingenua*) in a crisis during the Second Punic War. The hybrid union was then newly accepted as a lawful *matrimonium*.¹²⁵ Presumably, this was done in order to increase the reservoir of soldiers and the financial power of the state. In principle, marriage before Augustan times was a completely private legal act (see below), which is shown by the fact that some Roman citizens already had taken freedwomen as wives. The Roman *civitas* therefore exerted its influence on this type of civil union by the only means at its disposal: It granted full civil rights to the sons born in unions between a (male) citizen and a *liberta* (we may conclude that they had previously been barred from citizenship). However, the Romans had two stipulations: the wife had been freed before contracting the marriage, and the child was born after the start of the marriage. Hence, a child a citizen had with a slave did not retroactively gain full citizenship.

However, the quotation from Cicero/Laelius as it stands leaves room for interpretation. It does not mention marriages of freedmen, but it might have implied them. This hypothesis is neither plausible in itself, nor is it suggested by the focus of the text that full equality of marriages of freedmen (*liberti*) had already been achieved by that time. And yet, there is a ‘blank space’ in Cicero/Laelius to be filled at will. And this was done by Verrius, whose opinion is mirrored in the frame sections. Verrius describes what was current law in the Augustan period. At this time, freedmen (*liberti*) as well as freeborn men (*ingenui*) could conclude a *matrimonium*. Sons from marriages of freedmen (*fili libertinorum*) were legally equal to sons from marriages of full citizens and were also considered *ingenui*. The legal status of the mother played no role, as long as she was not a slave.¹²⁶ The change Verrius made to historical facts is then quite significant. It

124 Hence it is not surprising that most researchers have thought that the entire section in Macrobius refers to marriages between freeborn citizens and *libertae*.

125 Mommsen III (n. 120) 430; Watson (n. 121) 35–36; Fabre (n. 120) 176–186; Treggiari (n. 116) 64; Mouritsen (n. 120) 43.

126 If we believe Laelius/Cicero, the *ingenua* and the *liberta* were regarded as legally equal since the ‘liberalization’ of marriage during the Second Punic War.

projects (as it often does) legal conditions from Augustan times back into the time of the Roman Republic, thereby greatly enhancing the status of the *libertus* and his sons. It betrays the self-interest of Verrius, who was himself a freedman.

But there is something else to be learned from this passage. The legal status of the sons of freedmen is connected with a dress privilege. They are allowed to wear the *toga praetexta* and the *bullae*, which is often depicted on sepulchral monuments of freedmen. The *stola* (which is referred to in the passage taken from Cicero/Laelius) seems to be viewed in the same way. It is also a legal privilege. The legal interpretation of dress we find here fits in well with the *ius stolae* that is mentioned in the dictionary of Festus (Verrius). All these dress privileges could be the result of a legislation taking place in the time of Augustus.¹²⁷

As concerns the history of Roman *matrimonium* and civil rights, we may sum up the results as follows: (1) In the period of the Second Punic War, a marriage between a Roman citizen (*civis*) and a freedwoman (*liberta*) was legally equated with the marriage between a citizen and a woman who had been free born (*ingenua*). All descendants of such marriages were recognized as freeborn children (*ingenui*). (2) This rule probably did not apply to the marriages of freedmen (*liberti*) and their descendants; that is to say, the partnership of a *libertus* was not entirely equivalent to the marriage of an *ingenuus*. (3) At the time of Augustus, the legal difference had disappeared. The marriage of a *libertus* was now entirely equal to that of a freeborn citizen (*ingenuus*).

4.5.2 Horace *Satire* 1.6

But when did this revaluation take place? When were *fili libertorum* regarded as freeborn (*ingenui*)? As far as I can see, the first reference to this is in Horace's *satire* 1.6.¹²⁸ Horace is the most famous son of a *libertus* in Roman history; in this poem, which has an autobiographical aspect, he is speaking of himself both as a *libertino patre natus* (son of a freedman) and as *ingenuus* (freeborn). He praises his patron Maecenas for accepting every person as a friend, provided only that the person was born free (*dum ingenuus*). We need not take all that is said in the *satire* at face value. It is possible that Horace's *pater libertinus* was not from Greece or the Orient (as was the case with most *liberti*), but a Roman who regained his citizenship after having lost it by being captured in the Social War. The fact however remains that Horace, a *filius liberti*, was equal to an *ingenuus*. We may therefore take the year 65 BCE, the year of Horace's birth, as *terminus ante quem* as concerns the change of legal status. The reason why Horace expressly stresses his *ingenuitas* (a surprising subject matter for a poem) could be that the 'upgrading' of the status of *fili libertorum* had not taken place long before his birth and was not undisputed. Horace's praise of Maecenas could be interpreted as an

¹²⁷ See below pp. 333–342.

¹²⁸ On Horace's civil status, cf. most recently Mouritsen (n. 120) 265–267 (with further references).

expression of Horace's satisfaction that the new Augustan ruling class was apparently liberal in this respect.

That is all we have on this topic. There are no additional literary sources on the issue of citizenship for the sons of freedmen. Further understanding requires conjecture. A plausible time for when the 'upgrading' of the status of the *matrimonium* of freedmen took place is the upheavals of the Social War (91–88 BCE) or its aftermath. This context seems most suited for political reasons. Augmenting the numbers of soldiers (during the war) or augmenting the numbers of *clientes* in the public assembly (after it) to contrast the new 'foreign' Romans made political sense. Antagonism between Marius and Sulla may also have furthered the case of the freedmen. If this hypothesis is right, it might also explain why sepulchral monuments of freedmen start to appear in Rome at this time. They appear because freedmen could now establish a 'Roman family' by marriage, just like freeborn citizens. That was something to be proud of and to publicly celebrate.

Finally, we can come back to the *stola*. It is clear from the preceding argument that the various insignia of the Roman *matrimonium* are no usurpation, but visually represent the new civil status the class of freedmen had achieved. This is the reason why these symbols are depicted on their tombs. The *stola* is one of the less frequently used insignia. The *dextrarum iunctio* and the sons' *bullae* were far more common. This may also have to do with fashion and policy. If the hypothesis put forward below is correct, the *stola* was 'upgraded' in design and importance with the first statues of the empress Livia.¹²⁹ It is only from that time on that the *stola* with ornamental shoulder straps entered popular representation, such as on tombs.

4.6 The *stola* of the Vestals (pl. 17)

Apart from the Roman *matrona*, we should not forget a second group of women dressed in the *stola*: the Vestal Virgins. Their *stola* served as a religious 'uniform' and may have had some special features we do not know. Perhaps it was white since this colour is sometimes associated with the Vestals.¹³⁰ The colour also denotes virginity.¹³¹ In any case, the *stola* of the Vestals was considered a symbol of their chastity and sacrosanctity. Matrons were likewise seen as embodying these traits. The rhetorician Valerius Maximus puts both groups—*matronae* in *stola* and Vestals in their ritual garb—together while talking about *pudicitia* (chastity).

¹²⁹ Cf. below p. 334.

¹³⁰ Prop. 4.11.54: *exhibuit vivos carbasus alba focos* [the white linen showed living flames]; Ovid. Am. 3.6.56 (Rhea Silvia): *vitta nec evinctas impedit alba comas* [no white *vitta* tied her hairs]; Festus p. 474.3 L.: *suffibulum est vestimentum album ... quod in capite Vestales virgines sacrificantes habebant* [the *suffibulum* is a white garment ... which the Vestal Virgins had on their head when sacrificing].

¹³¹ Cf. B 11 pp. 434–436.

It is likely that the Vestals' *stola* goes back to an early phase of the cult. Archaeological evidence for it only begins in the Imperial period.¹³² The only explicit mention of the Vestals' *stola* is in Pliny the Younger. In one of his letters, Pliny gives a dramatic account of how the Vestal Virgin Cornelia was executed under Domitian:

Plin. epist. 4.11.9

cum in illud subterraneum demitteretur haesissetque descendenti stola, vertit se ac recollegit, cumque ei manum carnifex daret, aversata est et resiliit foedumque contactum quasi plane a casto puroque corpore novissima sanctitate reiecit.

When she was taken to the underground dungeon and her *stola* stuck while she was descending, she turned back and gathered it up. When the executioner wanted to give her his hand, she turned away and recoiled from him in disgust, and in a last act of chastity repelled his loathsome touch from her body since it was absolutely pure and spotless.

The length of the *stola* is also manifest in this scene. The Vestal Cornelia gets stuck on the steps with her robe and has to gather it up. We also have the concept of *sanctitas* (untouchability) also found with the *matrona* (see below). It is visually expressed here by means of a little dramatic scene in which the Vestal rejects the hand of her executioner.

4.7 History

The preceding sections have dealt with the abstract cultural and social premises of the *stola*: with marriage and citizenship. We have seen how wearing the *stola* was influenced indirectly by politics in Republican times (by granting civil rights to freedman). The *stola* subsequently began to appear on their tombs as one of the symbols of their newly gained citizenship. However, the picture of the *stola* has remained quite static so far. It is now time to set it in motion and to see how the history of the *stola* evolved and how the *stola* itself became politicized. It is difficult to write a coherent history of the *stola* before the first century BCE due to a lack of sources. The *stola* was, as we have seen, a common garment of all Roman female citizens.¹³³ Its (social) prerequisite was that the woman in question was married to a Roman citizen (*civis*) in a Roman marriage (*matrimonium*). Its function in Roman society was to indicate this social status. The *stola* was a festive garment that was first put on during the wedding ceremony. Its use in ritual suggests that it was an ancient female costume and had Etruscan or Italian roots. Since impractical and expensive fashion (like the *stola*) is often driven by rich upper-classes (as seen in later times at Rome), we may attribute the origin of

¹³² Cf. p. 687.

¹³³ Against Bieber (n. 1) 58; and most recently GRD (2007) 182.

the *stola*—like that of the *toga*—to the Etruscan elite. Its use then spread to all Roman citizens who could afford it. However, this remains a hypothesis based on later cultural practice. Our oldest available literary evidence on the *stola* is only a secondary source (Macrobius/Cicero) dating from the time of the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE). The historical origins of the garment are lost to us.

The first eyewitness-mention of the *stola*, and not a very specific one (see below), only dates to the second half of the second century BCE. In contrast, we have many texts from the period of the end of the Roman Republic and the early Imperial times. The limitation of the later sources is that the *stola* was slowly going out of fashion by that time.¹³⁴ The following section will focus on this later period of the cultural decline of the *stola*. It will intertwine various social and legal arguments, and it discusses every relevant text. It advances the following hypotheses: (7.1) In the time from ca. 150–50 BCE, the *stola* was still a common garment. (7.2) At the end of the Republic, dress customs changed.¹³⁵ After the Social War (91–88 BCE), Roman citizenship was granted to all inhabitants of Italy. It was extended to many people beyond the city of Rome, even to those who were not native Romans. In consequence, culture (including fashion) in Rome gradually underwent a change and traditional ‘Roman’ dress customs slowly dissolved. The *stola* became a festive dress of Roman upper-class women only. The hypothesis is based on a remark in Horace’s satire 1.2 and later dress practice. (7.3) After the civil wars, Augustus started a ‘restoration policy’ to gloss over his revolution and to stabilize society. He chose the *stola* to propagate an official ‘traditional’ dress paradigm for Roman women, as he also did for Roman men (*toga*). For this purpose, he redesigned the depictions of the *stola* (like the *toga*) on public monuments based on the model of an elegant Hellenistic garment. The statues of the empress Livia were used to promote the new ‘old fashion.’ At the same time, moral legislation (*leges Iuliae*) transformed what had previously only been a dress custom into a legal privilege (*ius stolae*) connected with Roman *matrimonium*. The hypothesis of a *ius stolae* rests on remarks in Festus (Verrius) and Tertullian and some ‘eyewitness-accounts.’ These sources all use legal language when describing the *stola*. There was not a special ‘honorary *stola*’ for mothers with three children besides the common *stola*.¹³⁶ (7.4) Augustus’ successors (14–68 CE) did not change his cultural policy. In the Julio-Claudian period, the *stola* remained a sign of *pudicitia* and a legal privilege. (7.5) The wearing of the *stola* was not enforced by law, although the *leges Iuliae* enforced proper sexual behaviour.¹³⁷ A passage in Tertullian that has been thought to refer to a legal obligation actually refers to a trial

134 The paradoxical situation is easily explained if we keep in mind the fragmentary and derivative character of early Roman literature. Authors also commonly pay attention to unusual garments, while passing over everyday clothing.

135 Against Scholz (1992) 15–16; Alexandridis (2004) 52–53, who think that fashion only changed under the Flavian emperors.

136 Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 575; Bieber (n. 1) 60.

137 Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 581; Scholz (1992) 17, 19, 82; Alexandridis (2004) 52.

that involved an upper-class *matrona*. (7.6) The Flavian dynasty (69–96 CE) also kept to the Julio-Claudian dress custom, the *stola* now being synonymous with ‘upper-class woman.’ This is shown by the usage of the words in Pliny the Elder and the Flavian poets. (7.7) At the end of the first century, despite all political efforts to the contrary, the *stola* became a bloodless pictorial symbol. It disappeared when the Emperor Hadrian (117–138 CE) changed official imperial representation¹³⁸ by introducing Greek elements (most famously, the beard) and by replacing the *stola* by another (Greek) form of long gown.

4.7.1 The time of the Roman Republic – *matrona* and *meretrix*

The *stola* was always a social insignia of the married Roman woman. It distinguished the Roman *matrona* not only from the girl and the unmarried woman, but also from the unfree (*ancilla*) and the non-Roman woman (*peregrina*). In Latin literature, the social difference is usually clad into a moral one. The *matrona* is constantly contrasted with the prostitute (*meretrix*), who is presented as wearing either fancy translucent Greek dresses, or, if unfree, the *toga* (B 6). The moral commonplace going back to Greek literature perfectly fits into Roman social categories insofar as prostitutes were barred from Roman citizenship, either being freed women or slaves.

The antithesis between *matrona* and *meretrix* can already be found in the earliest contemporary texts about the *stola*. These come from Roman comedy (Togata), which—unlike the Palliata—reflects the conditions of Roman life. The first and most important evidence is a passage from the *Exceptus* of Afranius (2nd half of the 2nd century BCE). The passage is about a prostitute who wears a *vestis longa* to protect herself from harassment.¹³⁹ A prostitute in *stola* is something unusual and perhaps even improper. Someone asks in surprise:

(A) *meretrix cum veste longa?* (B) *peregrino in loco
solent tutandi causa sese sumere.*

(A) A prostitute in a *vestis longa*? (B) In foreign lands, they commonly wear such clothes to protect themselves.

The short dialogue rests on a common literary trope. We also find it in the second passage from a Togata. In his comedy *Aquae Caldae* (*Hot Springs*), T. Quinctius Atta († 77 BCE) makes a *matrona* complain that prostitutes are dressing like them:¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Against Scholz (1992) 81.

¹³⁹ Cf. A 7 pp. 156–157.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. A 7 pp. 166–167.

cum meretric^{ul}ae lupantur nostro ornatu per vias

while little strumpets prostitute themselves on the streets in our dress.

Both these sources are very unspecific in their wording. The first explicit contrast between *stola* and *toga* is found in Cicero. In the second Philippic Speech (43 BCE), Cicero brands Marc Antony a passive homosexual and insinuates that Antony first indiscriminately prostituted himself in his youth and then entered into a marriage-like relationship with Curio:

Cic. Phil. 2.44

sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. primo vulgare scortum, certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit.

You put on the ‘men’s *toga*, which you immediately made into a ‘women’s *toga*. At first, you were a public whore (a sure reward for fornication, and not a little), but soon Curio intervened, who took you away from the whore trade and, as if he had given you the *stola*, took you to wife in a firm and lasting marriage (*matrimonium*).

In contrast to the neat picture painted in school-books, Cicero likes obscene jokes and salacious language in his invectives. In the passage at hand, the *toga* and the *stola* serve him to show the different roles of Antony. In a sort of mock-*matrimonium*, Cicero makes Antony wear the *stola*, the garment of a Roman married wife. In the time before his ‘marriage,’ Cicero says that Antony used the (male) *toga* like a ‘low’ prostitute. In this case, it is not the garment defining the person, but the person defining the garment: The passive homosexual Antony transforms the *toga* of the Roman citizen into that of an unfree prostitute. This is a clear indication that women did not wear *togae*, at least not without a heavy stigma.

However, the *matrona* is not always contrasted with a prostitute in Classical texts. Varro shows her at the side of her husband: the Roman citizen. The important texts are dealt with in detail in chapter B 2.¹⁴¹ The present discussion requires only a brief summary. Varro contrasts the garb of the ‘normal’ (= married) woman who wears the *pallium* and the *stola* with the ‘normal’ man who is dressed in the *toga* and the *tunica*. We do not know for certain which social groups Varro has in mind with these remarks. However, it seems that his generalizing relates to a general dress custom. In conclusion, Cicero’s and Varro’s statements on the *stola* thus seem to show that the *stola* was still a ‘normal’ dress of the married Roman woman in their lifetime, i.e. in the first half of the first century BCE.

141 Cf. B 2 pp. 279–281.

4.7.2 The *stola* between Republic and Principate – a period of transition?

In contrast, the *stola* is clearly part of the garb of upper-class matrons by the second half of the first century CE (see below). But when did this change occur? Did the Roman costume still permeate everyday life in Rome at the end of the Republic? As usual, there is no literary evidence as to the clothing of the less well-off classes, but there is some reasons to think that a specifically Roman dress custom declined sharply in Rome after the middle of the first century BCE. Wearing the *stola* and the ornamental cloak (*palla*) would then have become increasingly restricted to the urban Roman elite and its *clientes*.¹⁴² Let us shortly recall what was the social situation in Rome at this time. After the Social War, the influx of new Roman citizens from Italy was enormous. It is likely that in Rome ‘native’ Roman women were far outnumbered by women who had an Italic or Greek cultural background. The far-reaching social changes concerned the Roman elite as well. It was not only exhausted by the civil wars, but was deeply transformed by Augustus. Many *homines novi* from Italy and the provinces replaced the old Roman families. The fact that Augustus propagated the *toga* and the *stola* with so much emphasis as *Roman* garments, perhaps even making them a legal privilege, can be interpreted as an effort to counteract cultural change in everyday life by creating a Roman *Leitkultur* (‘culture of reference’). Since the *stola* was only worn very rarely, it could quite easily be transformed to become an insigne.

Texts documenting the process of cultural transition are few. As is often the case, it is easier to contrast two opposite historical conditions than to track down how one evolved into the other. However, there is one source that may describe the state of the transition. In fact, it seems to anticipate the condition we see later on. It is again Horace’s satire 1.2. The relevant section deals with the rich *matrona* and her entourage. The *matrona* is shown wearing a foot-long *stola* with a border—the *instita*¹⁴³—and an ornamental cloak (*palla*).¹⁴⁴

Hor. sat. 1.2.94–99

*matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,
cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.
si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata—nam te
hoc facit insanum—, multae tibi tum officient res,
custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,
ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla.*

As to the matron, you cannot see anything of her except her face because she covers the rest of the figure, if she is not Catia, with long clothes. If you go for the forbidden, which is surrounded by

¹⁴² Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 581; Scholz (1992) 15–16.

¹⁴³ See above pp. 306–308.

¹⁴⁴ See also Hor. sat. 1.2.70–71.

a wall—for that is what drives you crazy—many things will stand in your way, namely guards, a litter, hairdressers, parasites, a *stola* that reaches down to her feet, and a *palla* that surrounds her.

Horace is clearly not speaking of a common Roman woman, but of a wife from the Roman elite (as seen by her large number of servants). Horace later also mentions Fausta, the daughter of the dictator Sulla, as an example of such a woman. He also contrasts the *matrona* with the unfree prostitute, whom he explicitly assigns to the lowest class of the population.¹⁴⁵ We may therefore assume that he wanted to describe the matron through her robe—the *palla* and the *stola*—as the opposite social extreme. Horace's *matrona* from the elite is no literary exception. To the contrary, she is the first in a line of women from the upper-classes. After her comes Cornelia (Propertius), who belongs to the highest nobility.¹⁴⁶ Then follows Fortunata, who mimics upper-class dress (Petronius).¹⁴⁷ The last woman in line is the noble Marcia (Lucan).¹⁴⁸

4.7.3 Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) – from social emblem to legal privilege (*ius stolae*)

Augustus' reign is to be regarded as a milestone in Roman history in many respects. This statement not only holds true for politics, but also for Roman society as a whole. The 'Roman' culture that Augustus created formed a new common roof for the cultural diversity in a 'multi-ethnic' state during and after the civil wars. He launched his cultural programme in the thirties while still rivalling with Antony and increasingly imposed it on society as his power grew. In his programme, he resorted to the idea of an ideal Roman past, something already found in Varro. This ideal history was then interpreted teleologically, as exemplified by Virgil's *Aeneid*. Augustus' reign was posited as the destination point of Roman history. It was a return to the 'good old times,' a true *aurea aetas*. In order to anchor the 'Roman' cultural matrix in the public sphere, he undertook various propagandistic and legislative measures.

The restoration of ancient Roman customs was not the only factor in Augustan 'propaganda.' The old Roman costume, in particular the *toga* and the *stola*, was also an important visual element. The (now ornamental) *vestis longa* was part of the mimicry of the old mores that became commonplace among the upper classes, and it is paradoxically thanks to this hollow activity that we still talk so much about the Roman costume (and early Roman history) today. The Augustan period produced numerous depictions and texts concerning the *stola*. Influenced by politics, both the visual arts and literature began to develop new formal languages by drawing on old patterns.

¹⁴⁵ Hor. sat. 1.2.30 (above p. 307).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. below pp. 337–339.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. B 1 pp. 268–272.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. B 1 p. 272.

With the exception of Virgil, the *stola* is explicitly mentioned by all Augustan poets.¹⁴⁹ Another insigne of the ‘Roman’ matron that was established during that period was the woollen headband (*vitta*).¹⁵⁰ *Stola* and *vitta*: the signs of old virtue embodied in the married women of a new age.

4.7.4 Livia – *Ulixes stolata* (pls. 8, 12, 14.1–2, 15.3–4)

In the visual arts, portraits and statues of the empress Livia played a major role with regard to promoting this type of woman. Livia, of course, wore a *stola*. Her entire public identity was so strongly connected with it that her great grandson, Caligula, would later call her *Ulixes stolata*, a Ulysses in *stola*, referring to her political astuteness.¹⁵¹ Augustus seems to have created a distinctive new type of the *stola* for this occasion: the type with shoulder straps, which we find from then on up to the time of Trajan (98–117 CE) in archaeological evidence.¹⁵² Statues showing Livia in *stola* were likely already erected in Rome in the year 35 BCE.¹⁵³ The ‘imperial *matrona*’ formed a welcome contrast to the ‘Hellenistic queen’ Cleopatra, the ‘*nefas! Aegyptia coniunx*’ of Antony.¹⁵⁴ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Augustus awarded *sacrosanctitas* to Livia and the statues. This is exactly the idea Ovid and Valerius Maximus associate with the *stola*. As with the *vitta*,¹⁵⁵ both authors very likely mirror concepts developed in early Augustan times. Similarly, Vitruvius seems to have been inspired in his interpretation of the caryatids as matrons in *stola* by portraits of Livia in *stola*.¹⁵⁶

4.7.5 The *leges Iuliae* – *matrimonium* and *ius stolarum*

Augustus was apparently not content with mere ‘propaganda.’ He combined his measures with a legislation that transformed dress custom into legal privilege in some

¹⁴⁹ See below and Tib. 1.6.65–68 (above p. 318); Ovid ars 1.31–32 (above p. 309); 2.599–600: *nihil hic nisi lege remissum || luditur; in nostris instita nulla iocis* [In this book, all jesting keeps within legal limits. There is no *instita* in my jokes]; trist. 2.251–252 (below p. 339); Pont. 3.3.51–52 (above p. 318); Fasti 4.133–134: *rite deam colitis, Latiae matresque nurusque || et vos, quis vittae longaque vestis abest* [you rightly honour the goddess, Roman mothers and young women, and you, who have neither *vitta* nor *stola*].

¹⁵⁰ Cf. above p. 318 and B 16.

¹⁵¹ Suet. Cal. 23.2: *Liviam Augustam proaviam Ulixem stolatam identidem appellans* [he (sc. Caligula) repeatedly called his great grandmother Livia Augusta a Ulysses in *stola*].

¹⁵² Cf. p. 686.

¹⁵³ Cassius Dio 49.38.1 with W. H. Gross, *Iulia Augusta*, Göttingen 1962, 10; Alexandridis (2004) 13. In the year 9 BCE, statues of Livia were again erected, cf. Cass. Dio 55.2.5.

¹⁵⁴ Verg. Aen. 8.688.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. B 16 pp. 477–479.

¹⁵⁶ See above pp. 304–305.

way. We thus have to start another detour into Roman law. After earlier failed attempts, Augustus finally managed to legislate a package of marriage and moral laws in the year 18 BCE: the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and the supplementary *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*.¹⁵⁷ With this legislation, Augustus intervened deeply in the private sphere of Roman citizens, especially that of the elite, against whom the regime created new control mechanisms with its moral laws. Under the pretext of bettering moral standards (too often believed by scholars), snooping around in the elite's bedrooms gave Augustus another instrument (in addition to the *lex maiestatis*) for removing unwelcome critics. The content of the *leges Iuliae*, which touch on the most intimate sphere of the population, was unheard of and truly revolutionary. It is probably for this reason that Augustus strictly adhered to the formal legal procedure of Republican legislation by bringing the law before the people's assembly by means of his *tribunicia potestas*. As to the *matrimonium* (marriage), the impact of Augustus' laws was far reaching. In contrast to modern marriage, Roman *matrimonium* had, in principle, been something like a private affair. The state only intervened when it came to the civil status of offspring. Now, this suddenly changed. Everything done in *matrimonium* suddenly became public. Adultery and extramarital sexual intercourse became serious crimes. We will see later on what this did to society.¹⁵⁸ Here, we should only notice that the *matrimonium* was not any more a 'social' status under Augustus, but a legal status. The *stola* worn by the wife indicated exactly this: It became a legal insigne and a legal privilege for a special legal status subject to new legal rules.

As to the evidence, there is no mention of the *stola* in the various extracts from the *leges Iuliae* handed down to us in the Digests. It is therefore difficult to say by which procedure (if any) this dress privilege was introduced. It may have implicitly come together with the *leges Iuliae* (the *matrimonium* and hence the *stola* now underlying legal restrictions) or with an additional legislation relating to them. However, a separate *ius stolae* could well have followed the laws on marriage in order to supplement them. Such a measure would fit well with some other phenomena we notice as regards dress in early Imperial times. (1) The *vitta*, the matronal hairband (B 16) which served as a similar matronal badge, seems to have been granted by a decree of the senate, which had the force of law. (2) There was also a *ius togae*,¹⁵⁹ to which a *ius stolae* would form a fine parallel. (3) Augustus went so far as to define the width of the stripes on the

¹⁵⁷ On these laws and the *lex Papia Poppaea* (9 CE) which supplemented them, cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig 1899, 691–699; Astolfi (n. 121); Treggiari (n. 116) 277–298; A. Mette-Dittmann, *Die Ehegesetze des Augustus. Eine Untersuchung im Rahmen der Gesellschaftspolitik des Prinzipats*, Stuttgart 1991.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. below pp. 344–349.

¹⁵⁹ The *ius togae* is attested for certain in the times of the Flavian emperors. Pliny the Younger tells us about a senator who was condemned to exile and appeared in Sicily as a declaimer in Greek garb because he lost his civil rights and was no longer allowed to wear the *toga*, cf. Plin. epist. 4.11.3: *idem cum Graeco pallio amictus intrasset (carent enim togae iure, quibus aqua et igni interdictum est)* [when

senatorial and equestrian *tunica*. Regulating public dress would thus not seem strange. (4) The later literary commonplace of condemning adulteresses to wearing the *toga* can be interpreted to mean that such women did not possess the *ius stola*.¹⁶⁰ The dissolution of a woman's marriage and/or the deprivation of her civil rights included the loss of the privilege to wear the *stola*. Many authors exaggerate the implications and suggest that such women had to wear the *toga* of prostitutes instead.

In addition, there are several texts that could support such a hypothesis: (1) Festus (Verrius) mentions a *ius stola* while defining the term *matrona*. (2) Tertullian talks of *leges* pertaining to the garb of *matronae*. (3) Propertius, Ovid, and Valerius seem to consider the *stola* a legal privilege (*honor*).¹⁶¹

Festus/Paulus (Verrius)

The contents of Festus' dictionary date back to that of Verrius Flaccus and the Augustan period.¹⁶² In the case of the definition of the *matrona*, we only have the abridged version of Paulus Diaconus (8th century).¹⁶³ The *matrona* is defined as follows: *matronas appellabant eas fere, quibus stolas habendi ius erat* (As a rule, one called matrons those women who had the right (*ius*) to wear the *stola*). The *stola* is clearly defined as a legal privilege (*ius*) for *all* matrons.¹⁶⁴ According to Festus (Verrius), the *ius stolas habendi* is a characteristic of the Roman *matrimonium*.¹⁶⁵ We thus find a legal notion about the *stola* similar to the one found in Macrobius' remarks about the *toga praetexta* and *bullae*. The similarity is not a coincidence, since Macrobius' text very likely incorporates Verrius.¹⁶⁶ Although the statement of Festus (Verrius) has no historical value as concerns the time of the Roman Republic, it very likely mirrors the conditions of the Augustan period. Hence, there could have been a legal privilege (*ius*) to wear the *stola* in that period.

the same man entered dressed in a Greek *pallium* (for exiled people do not possess the *ius togae*); Digest. 49.14.32 (Marcianus).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. B 6 pp. 371–374.

¹⁶¹ Val. Max. 2.1.4; cf. below p. 340.

¹⁶² On Verrius and Festus, cf. above p. 324 and Introduction D p. 588; D 5 pp. 643–647.

¹⁶³ Festus/Paulus p. 112.26 L.; see also p. 143.12–15 L.; and the latter tradition in Gell. NA 18.6.8: *idonei vocum antiquarum enarratores tradiderunt matronam esse dictam proprie, quae in matrimonium cum viro convenisset, quoad in eo matrimonio maneret, etiamsi liberi nondum nati forent* [competent explainers of old glosses have informed us that a matron in the true sense of the word was a woman who was connected to a man in *matrimonium* as long as she remained in this *matrimonium*, even if children had not yet been born].

¹⁶⁴ Against Scholz (1992) 18.

¹⁶⁵ The plural *stolae* in Festus are due to the fact that he speaks of several women (*matronae*).

¹⁶⁶ See above pp. 322–326.

Tertullian *De cultu feminarum*

Apart from Festus (Verrius), there is a second passage that points to an explicit privilege: a tirade of the Christian author Tertullian (ca. 150–220 CE) in his treatise *De cultu feminarum*. Although Tertullian uses an exalted and unusual diction in his works, he usually draws on legal and antiquarian sources that reveal a broad intellectual background.¹⁶⁷ In the present passage, he rails against the depravity of his own society (as usual). He contrasts it with the supposedly well-behaved past generations. Now, he says, all women behave like prostitutes. In the past, certain laws kept *meretrices* away from the honours of marriage and married life (*leges a maritalibus et matronalibus decoramentis coercebant*).¹⁶⁸ The wording mirroring legal language suggests that Tertullian is referring to the *leges Iuliae*. The word *decoramentum*, here used in plural, is not attested elsewhere in Classical Latin literature. Like *ornamentum*, or rather the plural *ornamenta* (equipment, ornament, insigne), it seems to designate the outward insignia of the matron. If Tertullian's furious ranting about the costume has a true core, women who were not Roman citizens and were not married in a full-fledged *matrimonium* would not have had the legal privilege to wear the matronly costume during the Imperial period.¹⁶⁹ They would not have had the *ius stolae*.

Propertius 4.11

It is now time to turn to eyewitnesses. The increase in importance of the Roman wife and her habitus during the period of marriage legislation can be seen in an elegy of the contemporary Propertius (4.11), which dates to the year 16 BCE. The poet paints the picture of a wife and mother par excellence. His description echoes legal language in many places and evokes the background of the *leges Iuliae*.¹⁷⁰ As in Horace,¹⁷¹ the *stola* is worn by a woman from Rome's highest circles. The garment is mentioned only once in the poem. The statement referring to it has often been thought to mean that there was an extra honorary *stola* besides the ordinary *stola*, or that the award of the *stola* was linked to the *ius trium liberorum* (the right of three children).¹⁷² In contrast, the following argues that no such meaning can be deduced from Propertius' words, nor that it is likely (in light of the remarks above) that the *stola* was associated with an abundance of children. The garment was traditionally a characteristic of marriage

¹⁶⁷ See on him also below pp. 344–347.

¹⁶⁸ Tert. *De cultu feminarum* 2.12; see also the new text of Isetta (2010).

¹⁶⁹ Similarly, McGinn (1998) 160.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. 4.11.47–48: *mi natura dedit leges a sanguine ductas, || nec possis melior iudicis esse metu* [nature gave me laws derived from my descent; you could not be better for fear of a judge]. A woman like Cornelia would not have needed the Augustan marriage laws.

¹⁷¹ See above p. 332.

¹⁷² Marquardt/Mau (1886) 575; Bieber (n. 1) 60; Camps (1965) and Coutelle (2015) in their comments ad loc.

and not of motherhood, and the words of Propertius may instead be interpreted as an allusion to the *ius stolae*.

Elegy 4.11 is a funeral poem on Cornelia that has been adapted to the elegiac genre. It was created on the occasion of Cornelia's death.¹⁷³ Cornelia was a daughter of Scribonia, Augustus' first wife, and thus a member of the imperial family. She was married to L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (cos. suff. 34; cens. 22),¹⁷⁴ who probably requested the poem from Propertius. The elegy is designed as a figurative speech by the late Cornelia. On the one hand, it emphasizes the moral virtues that distinguished her during her marriage. On the other hand, it pays tribute to her husband, Aemilius Paullus, whose censorship is alluded to with a plethora of compliments.¹⁷⁵ In the account Cornelia gives of her life, Propertius makes her consistently stress that she proved herself worthy of the whole family through her behaviour. She says that her marriage to Aemilius Paullus (*coniugium Paulli*), a descendant of the famous victor of the battle of Pydna (168 BCE), was a great honour for her (vv. 11–12).

Propertius mentions clothing twice in the elegy. As is often the case in literature and Roman cultural discourse, the attire of the matron metonymically represents the abstract concept of the *matrimonium iustum*. In vv. 30–31, the beginning of the respective section, Cornelia focuses on her role as a wife. She describes how she laid down the young girl's *praetexta* and put on the matron's woollen *vitta* (headband) in the wedding ceremony.¹⁷⁶ In vv. 60–61, at the end of the section, Cornelia passes from the subject marriage to the subject motherhood. She returns again to her matronly garment, this time mentioning the *stola*. The relevant verses form the transition:¹⁷⁷

Prop. 4.11.60–61
et tamen emerui generosos uestis honores
nec mea de sterili facta rapina domo.

Nevertheless, I have deserved the award of the noble garment, nor has death snatched me from a childless home.

The statement hiding behind the poetic bombast is very simple. Cornelia says that she proved herself worthy of marriage to Aemilius Paullus by bearing him children.¹⁷⁸ Propertius, as is his wont, clads the prosaic facts in metaphorical language. The term *matrimonium* is metonymically expressed by the words *generosos vestis honores*. The word

¹⁷³ PIR II 1475.

¹⁷⁴ PIR I 373.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. vv. 41, 67.

¹⁷⁶ Prop. 4.11.30–31: *mox, ubi iam facibus cessit praetexta maritis, || uinxit et acceptas altera uitta comas* [then, as soon as the *toga praetexta* had given way to the marriage torches and the second *vitta* had tied the hair]; cf. B 5 p. 358; B 16 p. 478.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. ad loc. the commentaries of Rothstein (1924); Camps (1965); Hutchinson (2006); Coutelle (2015).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. also vv. 70–71.

vestis, familiar to readers from the phrase *vestem dare*, is the basis for the metonymy. The wording is nevertheless striking insofar as the term *honores* adds something to the ordinary *vestem dare*, mirroring the language of privilege (*honor = privilegium*). The actual and the figurative sense are thus superimposed on each other. The phrase *vestis honores* can be understood in two ways: literally ‘the privilege of *vestis longa*’ and figuratively ‘the honour of marriage.’ The first meaning is particularly appropriate when we assume that there was a *ius stolae* at this time. The adjective *generosus*, standing in *hypallage*, clearly refers to *vestis*. But what does *generosus* mean here? There are two possible meanings: fertile or noble. Does *generosus* then refer to the *ius trium liberorum*, or does it qualify the *stola* in some other way? Parallels show that the meaning ‘noble’ is probably correct. The word *generosus* is less often used with things than with people. In the case of people, it means ‘of noble birth.’ It is then often associated with marriage and descent.¹⁷⁹ One could therefore understand the *vestis generosa* figuratively in the sense of ‘a marriage with a man from the high nobility.’ The adjective *generosus* is, however, also used to refer to qualities of a thing in the sense of ‘befitting a person who is noble by birth or nature.’ The *vestis generosa* would be a garment that distinguishes a well-born (and hence morally impeccable) woman. Both the figurative sense of marriage and the moral sense of appropriateness are consistent with the definition of the *stola* derived from our other sources. We do not have to think about children and the *ius trium liberorum*. From a factual point of view, this passage could be further evidence that the *stola* became a legal privilege (*honor*) during the reign of Augustus.

Ovid and Valerius Maximus

Apart from Propertius, there are two further eyewitnesses supporting the hypothesis that the *stola* was a legal privilege. Near the end of Augustus’ reign, Ovid writes about the *stola* and the *vitta* in a poem from exile (10 CE). He turns back to his introduction of the *Ars amatoria*, where he had excluded matrons as readers.¹⁸⁰

Ovid. trist. 2.251–252
ecquid ab hac omnes rigide summouimus arte,
quas stola contingi uittaque sumpta uetat?

Did we not strictly remove from the *Ars* all women whose touch is forbidden by the *stola* and *vitta*?

The wording of this passage slightly differs from that of his original ‘disclaimer.’ Ovid is speaking of a prohibition against touching matrons (*contingi vetat*). The language has a legal quality. The prohibition could be a literary exaggeration, but there seems to be a second witness. A remark by the rhetorician Valerius Maximus, who wrote shortly

¹⁷⁹ Verg. Aen. 10.141; Ovid. epist. 15.171, met. 13.148, trist. 4.4.1.

¹⁸⁰ See above p. 309.

after Ovid, supports the hypothesis that there is more behind the prohibition. Valerius is talking of a legal privilege concerning the matron:

Val. Max. 2.1.4

sed quo matronale decus uerecundiae munimento tutius esset, in ius uocanti matronam corpus eius adtingere non permiserunt, ut inuiolata manus alienae tactu stola relinqueretur.

But in order to protect the decorous decency befitting a married woman by means of a safeguard, they did not allow whoever wanted to bring a *matrona* to court to touch her body so that her *stola* would remain unscathed by the touch of a foreign hand.

As with the *vitta*, Valerius pretends to talk about ancient laws made by the Romans in favour of the matrons.¹⁸¹ According to him, in contrast to ordinary citizens, matrons could not be summoned to court by the usual ritual procedure, which involved laying hands on their body (*iniectio manus*).¹⁸² Valerius combines this privilege (of sacrosanctity) in a striking way with the wearing of the *stola*.

As regards ancient Roman times, Valerius' statement has no value at all (being historical fiction). However, Valerius could have transferred imperial legislature to an earlier period into an anachronism, as he seems to have also done in case of the *vitta*. His words therefore indicate that a legal privilege connected with the *stola* (the outward sign of a married woman) existed in his times. This all is suspiciously similar to the sacrosanctity granted to Livia.¹⁸³ The passage also echoes Pliny's account of the execution of the Vestal Virgin Cornelia (not to be confused with the wife of Aemilius Paullus), who refused to let her executioner touch her.¹⁸⁴ Ovid and Valerius Maximus are maybe referring to Livia or a similar decree giving sacrosanctity to all Roman matrons.

In conclusion, we may say the statements of all relevant sources (Festus, Tertullian, Propertius, Ovid, Valerius) would be more meaningful if the *stola* was a legal dress privilege connected with the *leges Iuliae*. In any case, the *stola* became the insigne of a legal status under Augustus. In other words, it was the outward symbol of being married in a Roman *matrimonium*.

181 Val. Max. 5.2.1: *senatus matronarum ordinem benignissimis decretis adornauit: sanxit namque ut feminis semita uiri cederent, confessus plus salutis rei publicae in stola quam in armis fuisse, uetustisque aurium insignibus nouum uittae discrimen adiecit* [The senate honoured the matron's rank with very benevolent resolutions. For it stipulated that men should make way for women on the pavement, thereby acknowledging that the welfare of the state had benefited more from the *stola* (= matrons) than from arms (= soldiers), and it added the new distinction of the hairband to the old earrings]; for an interpretation, see B 16 pp. 481–482.

182 Cf. on it, Kaser (n. 120) 37, 151–152.

183 See above p. 334.

184 See above p. 328.

4.7.6 The *liberta* Horaia (CLE 56) – imitating Roman upper-class dress (1)

Let us now turn back from legal questions to dress costumes and fashion. Although the *stola* was a privilege for all, it was mainly worn by upper-class women. Their culture was in turn imitated by the *liberti*, who gained access to Roman *matrimonium* at some point in the first century BCE. We see this imitation in the sepulchral monuments of freedmen in particular. Following the argument put forward above,¹⁸⁵ this group was allowed to start a ‘real’ Roman family for the first time starting in this period. Hence members of the group presented themselves in the same manner as Roman citizens from the upper-classes would have done either in the *atrium* or on public sepulchral monuments. They showed both their pedigree and their seriousness in a row of stern looking busts.

A fine example of freedmen’s burial culture comes from a verse inscription from a tomb depicting a family of five *liberti*.¹⁸⁶ The *matrimonium* is metaphorically referred to by the word *stola*. The orthography indicates that the inscription should not be dated to before the time of Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE).¹⁸⁷ It would be best to place it in the time of Augustus, when the cult of the *stola* reached its peak. The tomb is lost, but its visual programme can be reconstructed from the *tituli* and the tomb epigram.¹⁸⁸ The inscriptions naming the portraits of the buried persons show that it contained the busts of two women and three men in a row. Going from left to right, their names are:

P. Larcus P. l(ibertus) || Saufeia A. l. || L. Larcus P. f(ilius) || P. Larcus P. f. || Larcia C. l(iberta)
 Neicia Thalea Rufus Brocchus Horaia

The first generation is seen on the left-hand side: a Greek freedmen named Nicias and his freed companion Thaleia. As was usually done, their previous Greek names were transferred to the *cognomen*. The second generation is seen on the right-hand side: the son Brocchus and his wife Horaia, a freed former slave of Nicias and Thaleia (C. [= Gaiae]. l(iberta)).¹⁸⁹ The central bust depicted either a second son of Nicias and Thaleia or, more likely, a son of Brocchus and Horaia, who might have donated the tomb.¹⁹⁰ The epigram under the relief of the tomb is inscribed to Horaia. It is composed in the iambic senarii, a somewhat old-fashioned metre by that time (at least among upper-class poets), but it was still popular among the Roman population.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. pp. 322–326.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. also 1².1570; Nr. 977 Degrassi; CLE 58 (= CIL 1.².1216); Scholz (1992) 14–15; A. M. Morelli, *Le Iscrizioni Metriche del Latium Adiectum*, vol. 1, Edizioni Tored, 63–70 with further bibliography.

¹⁸⁷ See Buechelers comment on CLE 56 (misrepresented by Scholz (1992) 14, 118 n. 63).

¹⁸⁸ The inscriptions are also lost today, but we have early copies of them.

¹⁸⁹ Fabre (n. 120) 168 n. 132; against Scholz (1992) 14. The expression *domini senes* shows that Nicias and Thaleia were the owners of Horaia.

¹⁹⁰ For a similar tomb, cf. the five-figure relief in Copenhagen, NCGI. inv. 2799 (Kockel 182 no. L 9 tab. 95b) (pl. 16.3).

*boneis probata, inveisa sum a nulla proba.
fui parens domineis senibus, huic autem opsequens.
ita leibertate illei me, hic me decoraat stola.
a pupula annos veiginti optinui domum
omnem, suppremus fecit iudicium dies,
mors animam eripuit, non veitae ornatum apstulit.*

Good people approve of me; no good woman dislikes me. I obeyed my old masters, but this one (sc. you see him next to me) I followed. Thus, these adorned me with freedom, this one with the *stola*. From childhood on I ran the entire house for twenty years. The last day has passed its judgement. Death took away my soul, but not what adorned me in my life.

In this epigram, Horaia appears as an ideal matron. In v. 3, we first learn of her release and then of her *matrimonium*. The release by her former masters is emphasized not only out of gratitude, but above all because it is the necessary condition for Horaia to be able to enter into a fully valid marriage under Roman law. The necessary qualifications were thus fulfilled on both sides. Brocchus, the husband (*huic autem obsequens*) of Horaia,¹⁹¹ was already freeborn (*ingenuus*) (hence *Publii filius*), unlike his father, the freedman Nicias (*libertus*). For the Roman *matrimonium*, the poem uses the metaphorical phrase: *hic me decoraat stola* (= *vestem dedit*).¹⁹² It does not use the term *vestis*, but *stola*, which became the popular expression for this garment in the Augustan period. In v. 6, the *stola* is referred to once again. It is seen as an ornament and a privilege (*ornamentum*) and serves to visually indicate the legal status of Horaia. She is married in Roman marriage and has the *ius stolarum*.

As the epigram shows, Horaia would likely have been portrayed dressed in a *stola* (and perhaps a *vitta*), as we see on some other tombs of freedmen. However, if the visual representation was somewhat crude, the word *stola* found in the epigram would have indicated to the viewer that she should be imagined in this way. The emphasis on the *ornamentum* seems to be in favour of the view that she was deliberately depicted in *stola*. It would not have mattered that she probably had not been dressed this way very often in her everyday life. On her tomb, Horaia would have been shown in the full regalia of a Roman *matrona*—including the *stola*—in order to emphasize that she had entered into a *matrimonium*, even as a former slave.

4.7.7 The Julio-Claudian period (14–68 CE) – the *stola* as a symbol of female *pudicitia*

Tiberius, the next emperor, continued Augustus' policy on the *stola*, as he did in most other matters. In general, Tiberius' reign makes a somewhat petrified impression. This

¹⁹¹ For similar expressions, see Fabre (n. 120) 192.

¹⁹² If the orthography *decoraat* is correct, it is probably a lengthened perfect; cf. also CLE 58.2 (*vestem dedit*) and CIL 1².1216 (*ille illam merito missit et vestem dedit*) with Fabre (n. 120) 194.

may be due to his advanced age, lack of new ideas, and the wish to stabilize the regime. The *stola* was further hypostasized as a symbol of the ‘Roman’ wife, as is shown by a hymn on chastity (*pudicitia*) by Valerius Maximus (who also dedicated his work to Tiberius).¹⁹³ The relevant passage is given in full in order to give an impression of what the official cult about *pudicitia* and *stola* might have been. The garment only appears at the end.¹⁹⁴

Val. Max. 6.1.1

unde te, virorum pariter ac feminarum praecipuum firmamentum, Pudicitia, invocem? Tu enim prisca religione consecratos Vestae focos incolis, tu Capitolinae Iunonis pulvinaribus incubas, tu palatii columen, augustos penates sanctissimumque Iuliae genialem torum adsidua statione celebras, tuo praesidio puerilis aetatis insignia munita sunt, tui numinis respectu sincerus iuventae flos permanet, te custode matronalis stola censetur.

Where should my prayer to you, chastity, excellent support for men and women alike, begin? You dwell in the fires of Vesta, consecrated by ancient fear of god; you rest on the couch of Juno Capitolina; you, a pillar of the palace, inhabit the imperial household and the holiest marriage-bed of the empress Livia, being always at your post. Through your protection, the honour of childhood is preserved; through respect for your deity, the bloom of youth is kept pure; through your guard, the *stola matronalis* is valued.

Valerius’ hymn on chastity is rhetorical bombast of a second-rate writer. In contrast to most authors quoted in this part of the book, he does not belong to the upper-classes, but is a typical *cliens*. He is zealously writing to gratify his *patronus* and the public, but he is less talented and less independent in thought than first-rate Latin authors usually are. However, when it comes to social and political history, Valerius (as is often the case with these authors) is most important since he keeps close to the mainstream and transports imperial ‘propaganda’ much more directly. Following Valerius’ style, we might say that authors like him help us to hear the sound of the trumpets and to see the waving of the flags in official representation. Here, Valerius uses the expression *stola matronalis* in a well-known way as a symbol for the blameless marriage and blameless married women. The term *censetur*, also used by Propertius in a similar context, evokes the sphere of law and could also indicate a *ius stolae*, which was cancelled in case a marriage got dissolved. The competent political authority for registering this would then have been the Roman *ensor*. Valerius’ long prayer to the personified *Pudicitia* (chastity) forms the beginning of his sixth book. It is particularly instructive because it shows

¹⁹³ On *pudicitia*, cf. Treggiari (n. 116) 105–107; Alexandridis (2004) 30–31, 37–38.

¹⁹⁴ See also Val. Max. 8.3 init.: *nec de his quidem feminis tacendum est, quas condicio naturae et verecundia stolae, ut in foro et iudiciis tacerent, cohibere non valuit* [we have to speak about those women in particular whom neither the condition of their nature nor the modesty of the *stola* (*verecundia stolae*) could compel to keep silent on the forum and in court]; cf. on it also KS II 260–261.

the intellectual concept that the *stola* was intended to convey in the Julio-Claudian era. At its centre, we find the abstract concept of chastity, which is then combined with various other images. First, we have the Vestal fire and the Vestals, whose garb was the *stola*,¹⁹⁵ then the goddess Juno (the *matrona stolata* par excellence), and finally the empress Livia, who was also shown in *stola* as an impeccable wife. The various images that Valerius conjures up here are all also found in the archaeological evidence. They belong to the established repertoire of the cultural-political ‘propaganda’ of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

4.7.8 *matronae sine stola in publico* – on the burden of privilege

But was all really well under this smooth and polished official surface? In the following section we will see that for the Roman elite privilege became a burden. There was indeed a counterreaction to officially commanded virtue. However, we will start at the opposite end and ask how far Roman emperors went in pressuring the upper-classes. Did they force them to wear ‘Roman’ dress in public? Did Tiberius, as some scholars think, pass a law that enforced wearing the *stola* and that made not wearing it a punishable offence?¹⁹⁶ The hypothesis is based primarily on a remark of Tertullian. We will therefore begin with a short detour into a more complete history of citizenship. We will discover what kind of behaviour the *leges Iuliae* provoked among the upper classes. In the end, it will turn out that Tertullian is not talking about a law that enforced wearing the *stola*, but about a sex-scandal rocking the Roman elite in the year 19 CE at about the same time when Valerius wrote his elaborate hymn on *pudicitia*.

The relevant passage is found in Tertullian’s treatise *De pallio* (205–211 CE). The pamphlet is Tertullian’s attempt to justify his choice to replace his Roman *toga* with a Greek *pallium*. The language and style of *De pallio* make it perhaps the most peculiar work of an author who is generally inclined towards linguistic peculiarities. Tertullian sets up his case by stating that clothes have always undergone change. He finally arrives at the depravity of womankind, which is among the favourite subjects of this zealous church man:

Tert. pall. 4.9

conuerte te ad feminas. Habes spectare, quod Caecina Seuerus grauitur senatui impressit, matronas sine stola in publico. Denique Lentuli auguris consultis, quae ita sese [ex]auctorasset, pro stupro erat poena, quoniam quidem indices custodesque dignitatis habitus, ut lenocinii factitandi impedimenta, sedulo quaedam desuefecerant. At nunc in semetipsas lenocinando, quo planius adeantur, et stolam et sup-

¹⁹⁵ See above pp. 327–328.

¹⁹⁶ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 581; Scholz (1992) 17–18, 82; Thraede (n. 1) 773; McGinn (1998) 161–162.

parum et crepitulum et caliendrum, ipsas quoque iam lecticas et sellas, quis in publico quoque domestice ac secrete habebantur, eierauere.

Focus your attention on the women. You will see what Caecina Severus put before the eyes of the senate with great aplomb: Matrons without a *stola* in public! Finally, on the legislative initiative of Lentulus Augur, a woman who had hired herself out in this way, was punished for fornication. This was done because certain ladies had deliberately renounced their costume, which was the mark and protection of their dignity, since it stood in the way of their brothel-keeping. But now, in order to prostitute themselves and to be accessible more easily, they have renounced *stola* and **supparum*, *crepitulum*, and periwigs, and even litters and ‘sedan chairs,’ which kept them private and secluded in public.

Tertullian is recounting an episode from the time of Tiberius. He does not name his source, but it must have been a contemporary history of the Tiberian period, such as that of Aufidius Bassus, or perhaps a philosophical treatise. In any case, the account Tertullian had at hand was quite detailed. In addition, Tertullian relied on some grammarian writing, heaping up words that were glosses to him: *stola*, **supparus* (D 5), and *crepitulum*. The general dating of the event is clear because the protagonists A. Caecina Severus and Cn. Lentulus Augur¹⁹⁷ are influential senatorial ‘bigwigs’ from the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Tertullian quotes single phrases from two speeches they held in the Roman senate on some occasion. Caecina, he tells us, emphatically (*graviter*) addressed the issue of female misdemeanour. He branded some women as prostitutes because they displayed themselves in public without a *stola* (*sine stola in publico*). Taken for itself, the short phrase Tertullian gives us of Caecina’s speech allows for two interpretations. Either Caecina made it clear to the senate that matrons had behaved like prostitutes in the past or that they would behave like prostitutes in the future if the senate did not take a firm stance.

Tertullian then turns to the remarks of Lentulus Augur. He connects these with Caecina’s words through the conjunction *denique* (finally, and then). This connection suggests that the content and the words of both speakers belong to the same debate. The introducing expression *Lentuli auguris consulta* is abbreviated. It designates a resolution of the senate initiated by the Lentulus Augur (in more formal language a *consultum Lentulianum*). The senate apparently made its ruling in a trial involving a woman from the senatorial class since senators dealt exclusively with their peers when acting as a court of law of first instance.¹⁹⁸ As we will see below, the senate probably pronounced a judgement of principle on this matter, which became general law afterwards.

¹⁹⁷ PIR² II 106; PIR² II 1379.

¹⁹⁸ On the court of the senate, cf. in general J. Bleicken, *Senatsgericht und Kaisergericht*, Göttingen 1962; on the offences the senate dealt with, see there p. 53.

Tertullian gives an indirect quotation of what Lentulus said (according to Tertullian's source): *quae ita sese [ex]auctorasset*. The subjunctive indicates that the relative clause is part of reported speech. The entire sentence was perhaps written in Acl. Lentulus referred to the woman's offence with a technical term. The transmission causes some problems here. All manuscripts have *sese exauctorasset*. The word *exauctorare* belongs to military language and means 'to dismiss from service.'¹⁹⁹ Since Salmasius (1622), it has been thought to signify that the *matrona* renounced her status as if she had previously taken an oath of allegiance to an *ordo matronarum*.²⁰⁰ There is, however, no exact parallel for the metaphor of wives taking a *sacramentum* (which would make wives behave like soldiers). It is therefore better to delete the letters EX and emend the text to *auctorasset*. The verb *auctorare* means 'to engage oneself for money.' Both the verb *auctorare* and the noun *auctoramentum* (salary) often refer to employment contracts of gladiators, who renounced their civil rights in giving up the power of disposal over their bodies and their well-being in return for remuneration.²⁰¹ It also fits with prostitutes, who enter into a hiring relationship and equally renounce their power of disposal over their body. The elementary right of physical well-being is even more pointed in the case of *matronae*, who, according to Ovid and Valerius,²⁰² were even granted untouchability (*sanctitas*) by law. In addition, there is a good parallel for using *auctorare* in relation with prostitution. Apuleius says of a woman prostituting herself: *execrando metallo pudicitiam suam protinus auctorata est* (for the accursed metal (= gold) she put her chastity on hire at once).²⁰³ Finally, the words *auctorare* and *auctoramentum* are also used in two places in the SC *Larinum*, which belongs to the same time and describes a similar action of men renouncing their citizenship.²⁰⁴ For these reasons, it is best to change the text to *auctorasset*. Lentulus is not using a metaphor, but is describing the offence of the woman in legal terminology.

But what did the woman do? As Tertullian tells us, her behaviour was judged to be a *stuprum* (illicit sexual intercourse) and was punished accordingly (*pro stupro erat poena*). The wording indicates that the senate ruled within the framework provided by the *lex Julia de adulteriis*, which dealt with the subject matter *stuprum*. In Tertullian, the term *stuprum* is used catachrestically for the term *adulterium* (adultery). This lack of terminological precision does not matter²⁰⁵ because, much to the chagrin

¹⁹⁹ ThLL V 2 s. v. *exauctorare* col. 1188.50–1189.29.

²⁰⁰ Salmasius (1622) 344 and Gerlo (1940) in their commentaries ad loc.; ThLL V 2 s. v. *exauctorare* col. 1189.25–28.

²⁰¹ ThLL II s. v. *auctoramentum* col. 1213.22–57; s. v. *auctorare* col. 1224.22–1235.12; W. D. Lebek, Standeswürde und Berufsverbot unter Tiberius. Das SC der Tabula Larinas, ZPE 81 (1990), 72–73, 76–77.

²⁰² See above pp. 339–340.

²⁰³ Apul. Met. 9.19.

²⁰⁴ Tab. Lar. 9, 11; see below p. 349.

²⁰⁵ Against Thraede (n. 1) 774.

of the ancient jurists, the terms *stuprum* and *adulterium* were already used without discrimination in the *lex Julia de adulteriis* itself (maybe deliberately, in order to gain freedom of interpretation).²⁰⁶ Tertullian then goes on to describe more precisely what the *stuprum* consisted in. It consisted in being a prostitute, Tertullian (and Caecina) use the expression *lenocinium* (sc. *sui*) *facere*.

Is this taking-off of the *stola* to be understood literally? Or is it rather a chauvinistic visualization of a change of legal status? These questions will be addressed later. First, we will place the passage into the general history of these years, as it is known to us from Tacitus' *Annales*. The incident has been connected with the political events of the year 20 CE,²⁰⁷ where both senators appear. In contrast, the following argues that the incident instead belongs to the process against Vistilia, which Tacitus describes under the year 19 CE.²⁰⁸

Fitting Tertullian's remarks into Tacitus' narrative is like jigsaw puzzling. Tacitus sticks to the general outline of the debate without individuating single senators by name. He narrates how Vistilia, who was married to a senator, was tried in the senate. The trial was triggered by a self-denunciation for *stuprum* filed by Vistilia with the aediles. Tacitus summarizes the events as follows:

Tac. Ann. 2.85.1–3

eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita cautumque ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset. nam Vistilia praetoria familia genita licentiam stupri apud aedilis vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant. exactum et a Titidio Labeone Vistiliae marito cur in uxore delicti manifesta ultionem legis omisisset. atque illo praetendente sexaginta dies ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum de Vistilia statuere; eaque in insulam Seriphon abdita est.

In the same year, the senate passed severe resolutions against female debauchery and decreed that no woman whose grandfather, father, or husband was a Roman knight should make profit with her body. For Vistilia, a woman descended from a praetorian family, had denounced herself to the aediles for having committed *stuprum*, following a practice of the ancient Romans, who thought it to be enough punishment for an unchaste woman to publicly confess her shameful acts. Titidius Labeo, Vistilia's husband, was also questioned as to why he had not sought legal punishment, the offences of his wife being evident. And when he alleged in excuse that the sixty

206 Digest. 48.6.1: *lex stuprum et adulterium promiscue et καταχρηστικώτερον appellat* [the law uses the words *stuprum* and *adulterium* indiscriminately and without due precision].

207 Tac. ann. 3.18; RE 3.1 (1897) s.v. Caecina (24), col. 1243 (E. Groag); McGinn (1998) 161.

208 On this famous trial, cf. Astolfi (n. 121) 30, 144; Mette-Dittmann (n. 157) 101–102; Treggiari (n. 116) 297; W. D. Lebek, Das SC der Tabula Larinas. Rittermusterung und andere Probleme, ZPE 85 (1991), 60; T. A. J. McGinn, The SC from Larinum and the Repression of Adultery at Rome, ZPE 93 (1992), 280–291 and (1998) 216–219.

days given for deliberation had not yet passed, the senate was content to pass a judgement on Vistilia, and she was sent to the island of Seriphos.

Vistilia had praetorian ancestors.²⁰⁹ She was most probably the daughter of Sextus Vistilius and married to Titidius Labeo,²¹⁰ who had also been praetor. She was probably neither a prostitute nor did she keep a brothel. It is rather likely that she was being blackmailed for a love affair. By registering herself as a prostitute with the aediles (*licentiam stupri vulgaverat*), who were in charge of the brothels (*lupanaria*), Vistilia wanted to avoid being denounced by a third party under the rulings of the *lex Iulia de adulteriis*. As we have seen above, prostitution can be expressed in legal language as *sese auctorare*, a voluntary contract of rent that includes the waiving of civil rights.²¹¹

But why did Vistilia register as a *lena*, thus forsaking her status as Roman citizen? The simple answer is: She tried to exploit a loophole in the *lex Iulia*, which had not precisely regulated a case such as hers. She would have wanted to escape the severer punishment with which the *lex Iulia* threatened a Roman matron. However, Vistilia did not get away with this legal trick. The senate, which dealt with the case, ruled against Vistilia. It condemned Vistilia *pro stupro*, as stated by Tertullian, and relegated her to the stony island Seriphos, one of the Cyclades. Titidius Labeo, Vistilia's husband, was also in danger of being convicted because he had not actively denounced his wife. He escaped by pointing out that there had still been time to do this. We will never know what family drama was behind all of this. However, this single incident sheds an interesting light on what was going on in society at that time.

As a consequence of the proceedings against Vistilia, the senate set about closing the loophole in the *lex Iulia*. Caecina, himself a father of six children and a stern old man, vividly showed the senators the consequences of not taking tougher action: *matronae sine stola in publico*. Roman wives behaving like prostitutes, what monstrosity! His euphemistic description using the dress custom made his words all the more impactful. As a euphemism, it would not have referred to a literal act. Due to Caecina's and Lentulus' efforts, the senate then issued a decree (*decretum/consultum*) prohibiting women from the upper classes from running a brothel or practising prostitution. The equestrian rank of the grandfather, father, or husband was sufficient to fall under that rule.²¹²

²⁰⁹ PIR III 490.

²¹⁰ PIR III 489; PIR III 185.

²¹¹ Cf. on it, Suet. Tib. 35.2: *feminae famosae, ut ad evitandas legum poenas iure ac dignitate matronali exsolverentur, lenocinium profiteri coeperant ... easque omnes, ne quod refugium in tali fraude cuiquam esset, exilio adfecit*. [notorious women, in order to free themselves from the rights and dignity of matrons and avoid legal punishment, started to register as brothel operators ... and he punished all of them with exile, so that no one could resort to such fraud]. Suetonius is talking about Vistilia, as often generalizing a single incident.

²¹² Cf. also the traces of this ruling in Digest. 48.5.11.2 (Papinianus): *mulier, quae evitandae poenae adulterii gratia lenocinium fecit aut operas suas in scaenam locavit, adulterii accusari damnarique ex*

But there is still something more behind the senate's ruling. It concerns *infamia* (infamy) and citizenship. Married women of the upper class (the rule applied only to them) could not voluntarily renounce their legal status. They could not renounce their citizenship. The murky scandal thus brings to light the effects that the 'Moral Laws' of Augustus had on the private life of the upper classes. Members of the higher *ordines*, both men and women, were subject to legal restrictions on their freedom, and in some cases, citizenship felt like fetters to them. We know this because the trial of Vistilia is not the only case showing how members of the upper classes tried to evade the moral legislation. In the same year, as the SC *Larinum* shows, the senate had already had to deal with attempts by knights who wanted to renounce their rank in order to appear on stage or at gladiatorial games.²¹³ The scandal involving Vistilia probably only came to an end afterwards.²¹⁴ Both processes show what coercive means were at the emperor's disposal against the senatorial elite through the *Leges Iuliae*. However, emperors stopped short in some respects. In the end, a legal obligation for upper-class women to wear the *stola* in public cannot be deduced from Tertullian's statements. Romans were no Talibans.

The poet Lucan is the last Julio-Claudian author to mention the *stola*. His description of a wedding dress was dealt with above.²¹⁵ It recalls the various statues of Imperial women in *stola* and *subucula* and refers to the clothing of a rich bride (she is wearing a girdle with gemstones and a collier). It is thus in tune with what we hear next of the *stola*—that it was a garment of the upper class.

4.7.9 The Flavian period (69–96 CE)

The Augustan *stola* and its image were also part of the political representation in the times of the Flavian Emperors.²¹⁶ These did not make any changes as to 'Roman' dress. In contrast, it seems likely that they encouraged the use of the *stola* and the *toga*, insofar as they sought to legitimize themselves as an Italian-Roman dynasty, particularly in

senatus consulto potest [a woman who, in order to avoid being punished for adultery, has run a brothel or worked on the stage may be charged with adultery and convicted by a decision of the senate].

213 B. Levick, *The Senatus Consultum from Larinum*, JRS 73 (1983), 97–115; W. D. Lebek, *Standeswürde und Berufsverbot unter Tiberius. Das SC der Tabula Larinas*, ZPE 81 (1990), 37–96 and (1991) (n. 208), 41–70; McGinn (n. 208).

214 Lebek (n. 208) 60 n. 33; McGinn (n. 208).

215 Cf. p. 319.

216 On the *stola* in Flavian times, cf. A. Alexandridis, *The Other Side of the Coin: The Women of the Flavian Imperial Family*, in: N. Kramer/Chr. Reitz (eds.), *Tradition und Erneuerung. Mediale Strategien in der Zeit der Flavii*, Berlin 2010, 214–216.

contrast to Nero's *Graecophilia*.²¹⁷ Domitianus reinstated the *Leges Iuliae*, and 'Roman' dress emblems remained a common literary motif in Flavian authors. The poets Statius, Martial, and the author of the *Carmina Priapea* (see above) mention the *stola* and the *toga*, as does Quintilian. Again, we find the general contrast between the garb of *matrona* (*stola*) and the garb of the prostitute (*toga*) used as a literary stereotype. One literary change from this period is that the dress term *stola* is now metonymically applied to matrons of the upper classes. The garment was regarded as a status symbol of only these women, and it was usually not worn by the Roman plebs. The social dichotomy of the costume already found in Horace²¹⁸ is normal in early Flavian times. The Augustan measures had not eliminated, but even deepened the divide. Martial and Statius align the term *stola* with the terms *purpurea* (clothes with purple stripes) and *eques* (knight).²¹⁹

4.7.10 *stolam plebemque* (Plin. NH 33.41)

The most important source on the social significance of the *stola* comes from a testimony of Pliny the Elder (ca. 23–79 CE). In the pertinent section, Pliny is talking about women's exaggerated use of gold and pearls.²²⁰ He uses the term *stola* as a synonym for the upper-class woman and contrasts it with the term *plebs*:

Plin. NH 33.41

*etiamne pedibus induetur (sc. aurum) atque inter stolam plebemque hunc medium
feminarum equestrem ordinem faciet?*

But are even their legs to be dressed with gold, and shall gold create this female order of knighthood, in the middle between the *stola* and the common people?

Pliny focuses on the fashion of wearing golden anklets. He ironically asks whether they will become the new sign of women of equestrian status by distinguishing equestrian from both senatorial women (*stola*) and the common people (*plebs*). The equestrian

²¹⁷ On Greek fashion at that time, cf. also Tac. ann. 14.21: *Graeci amictus, quis per eos dies plerique incesserant, tum exoleverunt* [the Greek clothes, in which very many people had been walking around in those days, fell out of use].

²¹⁸ Cf. above pp. 332–333.

²¹⁹ Stat. silv. 1.2.235: *hinc eques, hinc ... stola* [on this side knights ... on that side *stolae*]; Mart. 10.5.1: *stolaeve purpureave contemptor* [who despises *stola* and purple]; the word is similarly used in Ioseph. Ant. Iud. 8.266; cf. in general Scholz (1992) 16; A. Starbatty, *Aussehen ist Ansichtssache. Kleidung in der Kommunikation der römischen Antike*, München 2010, 140–141.

²²⁰ Cf. also Quint. 11.1.3: *ut monilibus et margaritis ac veste longa, quae sunt ornamenta feminarum, deformatur viri* [so that men are disfigured through chains and pearls and the *vestis longa*, which belong to the outfit of women].

fashion Pliny is mocking is imitated by Fortunata.²²¹ Pliny has in mind the usual dichotomy between upper classes and common Roman citizens. His ‘concept’ of female fashion is modelled after male fashion. He equates the golden anklet with the golden ring (*anulus*) worn by male knights as an indication of their status. As to distinguishing the two upper classes by dress, Pliny probably had male fashion in mind, too: Since Augustan times, senators and knights were distinguished by the breadth of their purple stripes on the *tunica*.

It should be stressed, however, that the dichotomy between *stola* and common people we find in Pliny and the poets is a social dichotomy and not a legal one. The *stola* was by no means a legal privilege for the Roman *matronae* of the upper classes, but could, in theory, be worn by all wives.

4.7.11 The clothing of Germanic women – imitating Roman upper-class dress (2)

That the *stola* was worn by upper-class women to indicate their status is also shown by an interesting passage in Tacitus’ *Germania*. It is about Germanic clothing. Usually, this book talks about the garments Romans adopted from other dress cultures. This time, however, the influence may have been exerted in the opposite direction, the Germanic tribes taking up Roman dress customs. Tacitus turns to the garb of the elite after a short remark on the primitive clothing of the common Germanic people. First, he speaks about male clothing. Then he goes on to describe the garb of rich Germanic women. If Tacitus’ description relies on autopsy (and there is no reason why it should not), he probably saw these women in the frontier zone near the Rhine. The relevant passage runs as follows:

Tac. Germ. 17.2

nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudaë brachia et lacertos, sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

The women wear the same garments as the men, except that the women more often dress in linen clothes and decorate them with purple. They do not extend the upper part of their dress to form sleeves. Their forearms and upper arms are naked; in fact, even the adjacent part of the breast is visible.

The translation is difficult. We have already seen how epic style forced Lucan to avoid regular dress terms. The same holds true for historiography, which comes close to epic in the form of prose—at least as written by Tacitus. Tacitus shuns everyday words at all costs (which makes writing a bit difficult when it comes to describing everyday articles, like dress). Nevertheless, when we look at the content, Tacitus could be referring to

²²¹ Cf. above p. 311 and B 1 pp. 268–272.

something like a Germanic kind of *stola*. Difficulties already start with the word *amictus*. Some scholars think that Tacitus first speaks of cloaks (*amictus*) and then moves on to another garment. The word *amictus*, if taken in its precise sense, could indeed point to cloaks (*amicire* means to ‘wrap around’). However, in Tacitus’ artificial and high-flown language, it can refer to any item of dress. In Lucan, the word designates a *stola* (see below), and it might do so here. The following then all relates to the *stola*. Tacitus’ change from plural to singular in *partem vestitus* is caused by the change of focus. Otherwise, Tacitus would have likely introduced the second garment more clearly. The description of the garment also fits with the hypothesis that he is referring to a kind of *stola*. The ‘poetical’ expression *partem vestitus superioris* (= *partem superiorem vestitus*) describes its upper part. The garment does not have sleeves of any kind so that the side of the chest under the armpits is visible.²²² It thus looks very similar to a *peplos*. It has also purple ornaments. Tacitus’ mode of expression (*purpura variant*) is again very general. The word ‘hem, border’ would be stylistically too low for historiography. It is therefore likely that we are dealing with a female garment with a purple border (just like the Roman *stola*). If this hypothesis is correct, the Germanic upper-class women are wearing an attire that mimics the dress of Roman equestrian or senatorial women. Roman elite culture had a significant influence on Germanic elite culture. This phenomenon is also seen in other fields.

4.7.12 Hadrian – the end of a ‘Roman’ dress symbol

The attitude of the Flavian era towards ‘Roman dress’ continued well into the time of Trajan. It pervades the works of Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Suetonius, although all of them mention the *stola* only in describing historical incidents. After this, there is no more evidence on the *stola* until Tertullian tells us that it was not worn anymore in his own times.²²³ We now have to ask when fashion and symbol came to an end. When did the *stola* actually disappear? We should look to elite culture and to the imperial court as the driving forces in setting the tone in fashion. The fact that both literary and archaeological evidence on the *stola* lags in the time of Hadrian (117–138 CE) suggests that it fell out of use during that period.²²⁴ The decline of the *stola* under this emperor is hardly surprising. The Augustan *stola* was a decidedly *Roman* dress code and a decidedly *Roman* symbol. But Hadrian came from Spain. He had little connection with ancient Roman dress customs. The monuments show that his ideas of imperial representation and of a common culture unifying the empire were different. He found his inspiration in the Greek culture of the East, which he encountered over the course of his extensive travels. The *stola* finally had no place in public life anymore, not even

²²² See also C 1 p. 246.

²²³ Cf. above p. 337.

²²⁴ Alexandridis (2004) 54 against Scholz (1992) 81; cf. also Archaeological Evidence p. 686.

in visual depictions. Hence it disappeared without much further ado. It was out of fashion, this time for ever. Augustus had only protracted its death for more than a century. In the Severan period, the intellectual (but not sartorial) concept of a *femina stolata* was revived.²²⁵ It was a purely honorary title designating women of equestrian rank. The *stola* was no longer depicted on monuments. By this time, it had long ago begun to be part of history. Much like our modern relationship with the *stola*, it became a garment of the ‘good’ ancient Roman past, a garment people read about in texts and saw on old monuments.

4.8 Conclusion – *stola* and *toga*

This concludes the complex history of the *stola*. It corresponds in large parts to that of the male *toga* (which has been kept in the background as to not overshadow its female counterpart). However, since we have more direct information on the *toga*, it might be useful to take a final look at this garment to stress the parallels. There are two famous literary ‘milestones’ on the usage of the *toga* in Imperial times. In his *Life of Augustus*, Suetonius tells us that already Augustus had to enforce wearing the *toga* in public assemblies:

Suet. Aug. 40.5

etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit, ac visa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba indignabundus et clamitans: ‘en Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!’ negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.

He also devoted himself to reviving ancient fashion and clothing. Once, when he saw many people wearing dark clothes in the public assembly, he became furious and cried out: ‘Behold them Romans, lords of the world, the nation clad in the *toga*!’ He then ordered the aediles to never again let anyone appear in the forum or the circus except in the *toga* and without cloak.

Augustus’ efforts show that the *toga* was already out of fashion among the common citizens in his times. All Roman citizens were allowed to wear the *toga*, but only few were actually wearing it. Augustus acted against current fashion trends by allowing admission to public assemblies only to those dressed in a *toga*, thus politicizing a ‘Roman’ dress costume.²²⁶ His method was quite effective in Rome, where the *toga* was later worn by rich aristocratic *patroni* and their *clientes* when making visits. However, the *toga* did not gain much sympathy from the common Roman citizens. At the beginning of the second century, Juvenal tells us about a deplorable lack of dress discipline in

²²⁵ B. Holtheide, *Matrona stolata – femina stolata*, ZPE 38 (1980), 127–134.

²²⁶ The expression *in foro* does not designate the place (McGinn (1998) 154; Alexandridis (2004) 52), but in metonymy refers to the assembly of the people.

Roman Italy. Not even magistrates wore the *toga* while sitting in theatre. In summary, Juvenal says:

Iuven. 3.171–172

*pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.*

To tell the truth, there is a large part of Italy where only a dead man dresses in the *toga*.

Juvenal is probably exaggerating a bit in order to bring out more clearly that the *toga* was still worn in Rome. However, his words show that there was strong trend to forgo the *toga* even before Tertullian ‘officially’ renounced it (an out-of-fashion garment) in his treatise *De pallio* at the end of the second century CE.

It is likely that the history of the *stola* was even more complex than that of the *toga*. Unfortunately, we have far fewer sources on it. While the *toga* was worn by a relatively large group of men, the women wearing the Augustan *stola* in everyday life were few from the beginning. The *stola* was perhaps worn only on festive occasions and only by wives of the (small) elite wanting to dress in a traditional Roman manner. In contrast to the *toga*, there were no regular public situations when wearing the *stola* might have been enforced. It had no firm place and no political function. In fact, the only means to augment its attractiveness was to make it a privilege. Augustus did all he could by attaching *sacrosanctitas* to it, for which Livia was a visual example. However, the trial of Vistilia showed that despite all political and legislative efforts Roman upper-class women did not necessarily care for the hollow privileges of *stola* and public *pudicitia*. By the end of the first century CE, the *stola* was worn by only a very small number of individuals. It had become more of a pictorial symbol than an actual garb. In contrast to the *toga*, the life of the *stola* came to an end because emperors did not even use the pictorial symbol any more.

The history of the *stola* and the *toga* are also a tale about the mechanisms of cultural evolution and the power (or rather the limited power) of politics. It shows how society and politics are interrelated and yet simultaneously form separate realms. Policy can decree a dress norm, but this will not last if it is against current cultural trends. It can only block cultural evolution for a time. In this sense, Augustus only protracted the life of Roman *stola* and *toga*, but he did not prevent them from falling out of use. He was, however, successful in one respect: The *stola* and the *toga* were forever inscribed in European cultural memory as the quintessential tokens of ‘Romanness.’

5 *praetexta* – a dress of young Roman girls (pls. 1.1, 18)

1. Introduction
2. Appearance
3. *Ornamentum ingenuitatis* – the *praetexta*, a sign of free birth
4. Childhood and marriage – the *praetexta* and the wedding ritual
5. History

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter is about the *toga praetexta*, the last major traditional ‘Roman’ garment to be treated in this book.¹ Like the female *toga*, the *praetexta* is a complement to the *stola*, but in a different way. Whereas the female *toga* (B 6) and the *stola* form a social contrast (being worn by opposite social classes), the *praetexta* and the *stola* form a contrast as to the age of the wearer. The girl exchanged the *toga praetexta* for the *stola* when marrying. At least this was so in theory. As we will see, the ornamental garment may have been used much less in everyday life. In its usage and social function, the *praetexta* must be kept clearly distinguished from the female *toga* which is only worn by unfree prostitutes. For this reason, it is called *praetexta* in this chapter in order to mark the difference.

Modern research has long been hampered by omission. In older literature, the *praetexta* is considered a privilege of freeborn boys only. First Wilson (1938) and then Gabelmann (1985) have shown that it was also worn by freeborn girls. This is clear from the archaeological and the literary evidence,² and it is surprising that the numerous sources attesting the *praetexta* for girls have been overlooked for so long. It may have to do with the fact that research focused more on male than on the female dress for a long time.

The following chapter collects and discusses all relevant texts in detail. It offers the following narrative, which is partly based on preceding research: The *praetexta*

¹ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 124, 545; Blümner (1911) 221, 336; Wilson (1938) 37, 130–131, 137; H. Gabelmann, *Römische Kinder in Toga Praetexta*, *JDAI* 100 (1985), 517–522; Goette (1990) 80–82, 158–159; Sebesta (1994) 46–47; Alexandridis (2004) 57; J. Sebesta, *The toga praetexta of Roman Children and Praetextate Garments*, in: L. Cleland et al. (eds.), *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, Oxford 2005, 113–120; A. Backe-Dahmen, *Innocentissima Aetas*, Mainz 2006, 82–83; GRD (2007) 151; Olson (2008) 15, 17 and K. Olson, *The Appearance of the Young Roman Girl*, in: Edmondson/Keith (2008), 142; Croom (2010) 145; L. Caldwell, *Roman Girlhood and the Fashioning of Femininity*, Cambridge 2015, 57; see also ThLL X 2 s. v. *praetexta* col. 1047.23–1049.72; s. v. *praetextatus* col. 1049.73–1051.67.

² On the archaeological evidence, cf. p. 688.

was a garment reserved for Roman female and male children. It was a sign of their free birth (*ingenuitas*). Girls solemnly put it off shortly before or during the wedding ritual. From the beginning, the *praetexta* belonged to elite dress culture. At the end of the Roman Republic, it was more of an insigne and a ceremonial dress than an everyday garment. The story of its daily use is similar to that of the *stola* and the men's *toga*. Due to legislation on marriage, it probably became a legal privilege under Augustus. The legal questions relating to the *stola* are similar in the case of the *praetexta*. They are discussed in detail in chapter B 4.³ This chapter will only briefly touch upon them because there is also less evidence.

5.2 Appearance

The appearance of the girl's *praetexta* is rarely described in text, but it is well documented in archaeological evidence (**pls. 1.1, 18**).⁴ Its historical development likely followed that of the normal *toga*.⁵ This means that the child's *praetexta* would have become larger in Imperial times. It had a purple border, which was adapted from the *toga praetexta* of magistrates, and it was a very festive and expensive cloak (nothing to be worn when playing in the fields). That the border was its most important characteristic is already implied in the garment's name *toga praetexta* (= a *toga* with a woven border).⁶

The only evidence for the colour of the border is found in Livy.⁷ Dealing with the events of the year 195 BCE, Livy inserts a fictitious debate about the *lex Oppia*, a luxury law.⁸ The consul Valerius Flaccus is arguing for revoking the prohibition of purple. His argumentation includes a long rhetorical question:

Liv. 34.7.2

purpura viri utemur, praetextati in magistratibus, in sacerdotiis, liberi nostri praetextis purpura togis utentur; magistratibus in coloniis municipiisque ... togae praetextae habendae ius permittemus, nec id ut vivi solum habeant [tantum] insigne sed etiam ut cum eo crementur mortui: feminis dumtaxat purpurae usu interdicemus?

Will we men use purple wearing the *praetexta* as officials and priests? Will our children wear a *toga praetexta* with purple borders? Will we give the right (*ius*) to wear the *praetexta* to officials in colonies and communities ... so that they have this insigne not only during their lifetime, but also that they are burnt in it when dead, and at the same time forbid the women alone to use purple?

³ Cf. especially pp. 322–326.

⁴ Goette (1990) 80–82, 158–159.

⁵ On its appearance, cf. Archaeological evidence p. 688.

⁶ On the grammar, cf. B 4 p. 308.

⁷ Gabelmann (n. 1) 519–521.

⁸ Cf. A 2 p. 53; A 4 p. 88.

The text tells us more about Livy's literary art than about historical facts. It reflects Augustan thought. It is not an eyewitness account about dress culture of the Middle Roman Republic, but about that during the Imperial period. As usual, the masculine plural *liberi* (= children) includes girls as well as boys. Adult women (*feminae*) are singled out afterwards as the only group (*dumtaxat*) not allowed to wear purple. Livy stresses the significance of the purple border by explicitly drawing attention to it. He also augments the importance of the children's *praetexta* by placing it next to the identical attire of magistrates. Livy uses the term *insigne* here. In a strict sense, the term only pertains to the *praetexta* of the magistrates, but it 'rubs off' on the children's *praetexta* as well, which may have had a similar function in the Augustan period.

5.3 *Ornamentum ingenuitatis* – the *praetexta*, a sign of free birth

By the end of the Roman Republic, the *praetexta* of the Roman girl had become more of an *insigne* than a garment worn in everyday life (see below). This period gives us the first primary evidence on the garment. Cicero's *Speeches against Verres* (70 BCE) are an invective in which Cicero brands Verres for alleged assaults against Roman citizens. Verres is even maltreating innocent Roman girls:

Cic. Verr. 2.1.113

eripies igitur pupillae togam praetextam, detrahes ornamenta non solum fortunae sed etiam ingenuitatis?

Will you snatch away the *praetexta* from your ward? Will you strip her of the *insigne* not only of her social position but also of her free birth (*ingenuitas*)?

Cicero is talking about the last will and testament of the Roman citizen Annius, who had wanted to bequeath his property to his daughter. In his function as Roman praetor, Verres had decided against the daughter in a law case. For this, he is rebuked by Cicero, who makes Verres' decision look a bit like the rape of an innocent Roman girl. Cicero uses the *praetexta* as a symbol to mark the social as well as the legal position of Annius' daughter. The garment indicates that she came from a wealthy family (*fortuna*) and that her civil status was that of a freeborn (*ingenua*) Roman citizen. She possessed, as Cicero stresses, *ingenuitas*. The *praetexta* served as the social *insigne* of this status.

5.4 Childhood and marriage – the *praetexta* and the wedding ritual

The *praetexta* was an expensive ornamental cloak. It seems unlikely that it was ever used very much by children in daily life. It was probably mainly used on festive occasions. The most important (and only) situation we hear of is at weddings. The *praetexta* (the *insigne* of the unmarried girl) performed its function as the counter-part of the

stola (the insigne of a married Roman woman). In theory, the *stola* was put on after the *praetexta* had been taken off. A stereotyped version of this dress change is found in an elegy of Propertius about the deceased Cornelia. She was a close member of the imperial household and died in the year 16 BCE.⁹ In the relevant verses, Cornelia herself is reminiscing about the time of her marriage:¹⁰

Prop. 4.11.13

*mox, ubi iam facibus cessit praetexta maritis,
uinxit et acceptas altera uitta comas*

then, as soon as the *toga praetexta* had given way to the marriage torches, and the second *vitta* had bound and tied her hair

The different garments indicate Cornelia's different civil statuses. Through her marriage (*faces*), she is transformed from Roman girl to Roman matron. She passes from the *patria potestas* to the *potestas* of her husband (*maritus*). Her change of status is expressed by the change of clothes: The *praetexta* is replaced by the *stola* and the *vitta*. Propertius' description of the dress change is probably more than a mere poetic metaphor. It may reflect a dress ritual that took place shortly before or at the beginning of the proper wedding ritual.

There seem to be traces of the role of *praetexta* in Roman weddings in a remark of Festus (Verrius). On the expression *praetextatus sermo* (youthful, unseemly speech), his dictionary offers the following explanations:

Festus pp. 282.30–284.2 L.

praetextatum sermonem quidam putant dici, quod praetextatis nefas sit obsceno verbo uti, alii quod nubentibus depositis praetextis a multitudine puerorum obscena clamentur.

Some think that the *sermo praetextatus* takes its name from the fact that people in *praetexta* are not allowed to use obscene words. Others think it is because when brides have taken off their *praetexta*, the crowd of boys shouts obscene words.

The contents of Festus' dictionary go back to Augustan times.¹¹ It tells us nothing about the time of Republic, much less Roman prehistory. It is not of interest here which of the two linguistic explanations is correct (maybe it is neither of them). However, the second one clearly refers to some existing wedding ritual in which the bride took off her *praetexta*. Dress, dress change, and difference of dress will have played a role in wedding ritual in any case. There were *pueri* and *virgines* present at the ceremony,

⁹ On this poem, cf. also B 4 pp. 279–281; B 16 p.478; the poem plays an important role as regards the *stola* and *vitta*.

¹⁰ Gabelmann (n. 1) 518–519.

¹¹ On Festus and Verrius, cf. Introduction D p. 588; D 5 pp. 589–647.

certainly dressed in *togae praetextae*. The bride was led, as Catullus tells us in a famous marriage poem, by a *puer praetextatus*.¹² On a symbolic level, the contrast between the bride—now wearing a red *flammeum* (scarf) (B 18), later a *stola* (B 4)—and unmarried girls still wearing *praetexta* will have been quite important for the symbolism used in the rite of passage. The accompanying *praetextati* and *praetextatae* represented the social group the bride left when entering the bridal chamber; the *flammeum* and later the *stola* represented the new status she took on by crossing the literal threshold.

Another third oblique hint at the ceremonial function of the *praetexta* may be found in a remark of the Late Antique author Arnobius (3rd to 4th century CE). It is possible that the remark actually goes back further to Varro. Arnobius says that the discarded *praetexta* was offered to the statue of Fortuna Virginalis:

Arnob. ad gentes 2.67

puellarum togulas Fortunam defertis ad Virginalem?

Do you bring the little *togae* of the girls to the Fortuna Virginalis?

In this passage, Arnobius draws on the Antique grammarian tradition, as he does elsewhere. The subject matter (wedding ritual and dress offering¹³) and the mention of the temple of Fortuna¹⁴ recall Varro's treatise *De vita populi Romani*, in which Varro discusses these matters. Arnobius' words may at least indirectly go back to him. We thus find ourselves in Roman prehistory where (pious) young girls went to the temple of Fortuna and made a dress offering. The lore about good old Roman times is probably nothing more than a nostalgic invention, although it may contain a grain of truth. The *praetexta* may have been removed immediately before the wedding and then deposited in some temple.

¹² Cat. 61.182; cf. also Festus p. 282.22–24.

¹³ Varro Men. (Sequeulixes) 463: *suspendit Laribus manias mollis pilas || reticula ac strophia* [she hung up figurines, soft balls, hairnets, and hair circlets on the *lares*]; cf. A 9 p. 193; B 15 p. 472.

¹⁴ Varro F 444 Salvadore (= Plin. NH 8.194): *lanam in colu et fuso Tanaquilis, quae eadem Gaia Caecilia vocata est, in templo Sancus durasse prodente se auctor est M. Varro factamque ab ea togam regiam undulatam in aede Fortunae, qua Ser. Tullius fuerat usus. ... ea prima texuit rectam tunicam, quales cum toga pura tirones induuntur novaeque nuptae*. [Varro himself witnesses that wool on the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil, also called Gaia Caecilia, was preserved in the Temple of Sancus until his own times, and that the royal *tunica undulata* in the temple of Fortuna, used by Servius Tullius, was made from it. ... Tanaquil was (also) the first woman to weave the *tunica recta* put on by young men together with the *toga pura* and by new brides]; cf. C 1 p. 570 and Gabelmann (n. 1) 520.

5.5 History

5.5.1 The time of the Roman Republic

In broad outlines, the history of the *praetexta* is very similar to that of the *stola*. Both ‘traditional’ Roman garments shared the same fate in Imperial times. For earlier times, we must rely on cultural inference since Pre-Classical Latin literature does not mention the children’s *praetexta*. The fact that it had a purple ornament and was used as an insigne later on suggests that it was an element of Etruscan costume (the Etruscans were the ruling class in Rome for some time). The ornament would have then been extended to the entire (wealthy) population.¹⁵ However, this is only a cultural hypothesis based on the nature of the garment and on analogy with the male *toga* (and *stola*). Gabelmann assumes that the use of the *praetexta* originally applied only to boys and was extended to girls only afterwards,¹⁶ but there is no reason why the elite should have discriminated against its female offspring in this manner.

In the time of the Roman Republic, children wore the *praetexta* as a social custom in order to show both family wealth and free birth (*ingenuitas*). Hence the history of the *praetexta* is—like that of the *stola*—connected with the history of Roman citizenship and its expansion. We should keep this fluctuation in mind when talking about those who wore the *praetexta*. The most important text is a complicated passage in Macrobius’ *Saturnalia* (see below).¹⁷ It tells us that the status of *ingenuitas* was already given to the offspring of mixed marriages—unions between a Roman citizen and a freedwoman (*liberta*)—during the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE). The children of freedmen were probably only granted full civil rights after the Social War (91–88 BCE). At the same time, Roman citizenship was also granted to all inhabitants of Italy up to the Po valley. For this reason, the social group that could, in theory, wear the *praetexta* was expanded up until the first century BCE. At the same time, there was an increase in the number of Roman citizens who had no emotional connection whatsoever with traditional Roman dress. It may be partly for this reason that the traditional Roman garments went out of fashion in this century. Greek influence on Roman culture had always been strong, and there is reason to think that this was also the case with clothes. Greek culture offered several dress alternatives which were more attractive than what was perceived as quaint Roman tradition.

We have literary evidence that the *toga* and the *stola* (B 4) were displaced by Greek fashion, and there is some evidence for this as regards the *praetexta* as well. It is found in a fragment of Varro’s treatise *Catus* (or *Cato*) *de liberis educandis* (*Catus/o* on the upbringing of children). The work belongs to a literary genre Varro himself called *Logistoricus*. It was a philosophical dialogue, similar to those of Cicero, in which

¹⁵ Olson (2008) 15 regards the *praetexta* as an apotropaic sign.

¹⁶ Gabelmann (n. 1) 520–521.

¹⁷ For a full discussion, cf. also B 4 pp. 322–326.

famous historical Romans appear as interlocutors. If the younger Cato (95–46 BCE) was the main character, the *Logistoricus* probably dates to after his death. The text of the short fragment, which is adduced by Nonius, is discussed in detail in chapter A 9.¹⁸ The fragment is of great cultural and historical importance because it shows how little the *praetexta* was used in everyday life:

Varro F 32 Riese

ut puellae habeant potius in vestitu chlanidas, encombomata ac peronatidas quam togas.

so that the girls wear *chlanides*, *encombomata*, and *peronatides* rather than *togae* for dress.

The fragment is partly corrupt and has to be emended, but the general meaning of the statement is clear. The speaker is complaining that young Roman girls prefer various Greek garments (*potius*) to the Roman *toga praetexta*. It fits the figure of Cato, who upheld Roman tradition, and it reflects Varro's criticism of the fashion of his time. It shows that Greek fashion prevailed in Rome by the end of the Roman Republic and that the girl's *praetexta* was a traditional insigne (for those who wanted to wear it) rather than a garment in everyday use.

5.5.2 The Imperial period

In the time of the Roman Republic, wearing the *praetexta* was a social practice. This is still shown by our first eyewitness account in Cicero (see above). The tradition was probably strengthened by the fact that the *praetexta* was worn by a small group of the population (those who could afford it and who wanted to appear as 'real' Romans) and then only on festive occasions. Non-citizens and the Roman underclass were unlikely to dress their daughters in a *praetexta*, if only because of the cost and the lack of functionality. Chapter B 4 argues that the social custom of the *stola* was transformed into a legal privilege under Augustus and that there was a *ius stolae* connected in some way with the *leges Iuliae* and a new legal definition of *matrimonium*.¹⁹ We may therefore ask whether something similar happened with the *praetexta* as well. Did it also become an exclusive dress privilege for young female and male Roman citizens? There may indeed be some evidence for this hypothesis. It is found in the passage in Macrobius already referred to above. Like Festus' dictionary, the contents of the *Saturnalia* go back to Verrius Flaccus, an important intellectual in Augustan times and the first chief librarian of Augustus' new public library on the Palatine hill. Verrius was a freedman himself. It is not surprising that he deals with the civil status of this social group and

¹⁸ Cf. A 9 pp. 195–199.

¹⁹ Cf. B 4 pp. 334–340.

(most importantly) their offspring (*fili*). This time we will not focus on *what* Verrius is telling us, but on *how* he is describing his group's new-won status:

Macrob. 1.6.13

sed postea libertinorum quoque filiis praetexta concessa est ex causa tali ... ex quo concessum ut libertinorum quoque filii, qui ex iusta dumtaxat matrefamilias nati fuissent, togam praetextam et lorum in collo pro bullae decore gestarent.

But later the *toga praetexta* was also granted to the sons of freedmen for the following reason ... As a result, it was allowed that sons of freedmen, provided they were born by a regular wife, also wore the *toga praetexta* and a leather necklet serving as an amulet (*bullae*).

It is uncertain whether Verrius (Macrobius) is only referring to freedmen's sons or to their daughters as well. The masculine plural *fili* or *liberi* (see above) can include both genders. Since the *bullae* is not attested with girls, one might opt for the first solution. However, the question of the exact translation of *fili* is not important here because the same civil status will have equally pertained to both genders, male and female, and the passages from Propertius and Arnobius demonstrate beyond a doubt that girls also wore the *praetexta*. All legal and social privileges for boys would thus have applied to them as well. More important than the interpretation of *fili* is the way in which Verrius describes the entire process. For he says that wearing the *praetexta* and the *bullae* was granted (*concessum*) to the children of freedmen. This expression suggests that the articles of clothing were legal privileges conferred onto the new Roman citizens and that they symbolized *ingenuitas*, the civil status of a freeborn citizen. Verrius' words hence convey the notion that the *praetexta* was stipulated *by law* and automatically came with citizenship. It thus seems to have been preconditioned by citizenship, being a *legal* dress privilege of citizens.

As always, Verrius' explanations have to be interpreted with much caution. They are certainly anachronistic and do not allow us to make a determination on the Roman laws and customs before Augustus. Verrius is very likely engaging in revisionist history and imperial 'propaganda' on behalf of his patron, Augustus. It seems that he is attempting to legitimize new legal provisions by projecting them back into Roman history. As mentioned above, the use of the *praetexta* during the Republic was probably constrained by social custom and cost. The legal privilege of the children of Roman citizens suggested here by the use of *concessum* would have only come into effect through Augustan marriage laws and civil rights provisions (18 BCE).

This concludes all available literary evidence of the Roman female *praetexta*. The sources cluster in Late Republican and in Augustan times. This roughly squares with the archaeological evidence, in which girls in *praetexta* appear only until Julio-Claudian times (pls. 1.1, 18).²⁰ In contrast to the boy's *praetexta*, which is well attested among

²⁰ Cf. Archaeological Evidence p. 689.

Imperial authors until Tacitus, sources are few as regards the female variant. The lack of literary evidence may be due to the fact that there were fewer occasions to speak about the female garment, given that Roman girls were less involved in public life. The scarcity may, however, also reflect a social reality. Considering the Roman patriarchal society, it is easier to imagine a *cliens* clad (exceptionally) in *toga* leading his *puer praetextatus* to his patron than him doing so with his daughter. This would also explain why the *praetexta* of girls is only referred to once after Augustan times and only in a literary genre that is void of historical life, namely in a declamation of Pseudo-Quintilian (ca. 2nd century CE).²¹ In a fictive case, a father accuses his son of having torn up the *praetexta* of a virgin. The short sentence sheds no light on the *praetexta* itself or its social or legal use. The passage is pure literary fiction taking up a literary motif already found in Cicero: the garment as a symbol of virginity.²² There is no historical information to be gained from this.

Since the evidence for the *praetexta* in the first and second centuries CE is so poor, we have to rely on historical analogy. Like the *stola* (and the male *toga*), the *praetexta* was part of traditional Roman elite culture. Hence, it may have fallen out of use during the first century CE when the other traditional garments also started to disappear. Like its better known adult counter-parts, the *praetexta* became at best a pictorial symbol of a bygone era of ‘Romanness.’ This is all the silence of our sources may teach us.

²¹ Ps.-Quint. decl. 349: *virginis praetextam scidisti* [you have torn the *praetexta* of a virgin].

²² See above p. 357. It is notable that, in contrast to the *stola*, the author does not connect the *praetexta* with the concept of sacrosanctity; cf. on this concept B 4 p. 340.

6 *toga* – an attire of unfree prostitutes

1. Introduction
2. *toga* vs. *stola* – a social contrast
3. The *ancilla togata* – her appearance and social status
4. The *moecha damnata* (convicted adulteress) in *toga* – a literary commonplace in Imperial literature

6.1 Introduction

The preceding three chapters considered garments which were part of the traditional Roman elite culture. The guiding social perspective was mainly top down, focusing first on exceptional clothing and then turning to the average. We now turn from the upper classes to the exact opposite: to the social bottom of Roman society. The following chapter concerns the *toga* worn by women. It is like an appendix to the chapter on the *stola* (B 4). Both garments are often contrasted in Latin literature, being dress symbols of women coming from opposite social classes: the (rich) Roman *matrona* and the (poor) prostitute. Literary stereotype, however, should not mislead us. We should not forget that literature examines dress culture from its extreme ends. Cultural reality was very different in the multi-cultural metropolis Rome. The *stola* was worn only by a small minority of women since the end of the Roman Republic. The same holds true for the female *toga*. It was a very unusual form of dress when considering the entire female population in Rome. The *toga* is the characteristic outer garment of the male Roman citizen.¹ Women usually wore the *pallium* (B 2). Only one exceptional group of women dressed in the *toga*.² These were unfree prostitutes, who wore it when going about their work.

The attire of prostitutes shows the extent to which the scholarly assessment of historical facts is subject to changing moral values and constructions of gender roles prevalent among scholars of a given period.³ This chapter takes a non-moralizing view and argues that the *toga* was nothing more than the clothing typical of one particular group of prostitutes. It focuses on social distinctions between different kinds of women called *meretrices* in Latin literature: the *liberta*, who chose prostitution as a profession of her own free will, and the *serva/ancilla*, who was forced to do so by a pimp or madam.

1 For a description of its cut, see Archaeological evidence p. 688. This chapter only deals with women's *toga* in historical times. On the (mistaken) hypothesis that in early times the *toga* was the garment of all Romans (both men and women), see Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44 n. 1; L. M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga*, Baltimore 1924, 27; RE 6.2 A (1937) s.v. *toga*, col. 1652 (F. W. Goethert); Wilson (1938) 36; Goette (1989) 2; and most recently Olson (2008) 127; in contrast, cf. C 2 pp. 577–584. The assumption is mainly based on a remark of the Late Antique writer Nonius, which so far has been wrongly attributed to Varro.

2 On the *toga praetexta* of Roman girls, cf. B 5.

3 Cf. most recently GRD (2007) 154–155; Olson (2008) 47–49.

From Heinicke (1731) onwards, the *toga* has often been made a more or less obligatory dress code for every kind of prostitute.⁴ The tendency to consider the *toga* a dress norm culminates in the hypothesis that, during the Imperial period at least, prostitutes and women convicted of adultery *had* to wear the *toga* by law (*leges Iuliae*). This hypothesis sees the *toga* as something like a Roman version of Hawthorne's famous 'scarlet letter,' visually branding such women in public life. Despite the opposition of Gardner (1986),⁵ this view has recently been emphatically reiterated by McGinn (1998).⁶ It is found in many of the commentaries on the various passages discussed in this chapter.

However, this generalizing view rests on rather shaky evidence. Contrary to the usual procedure in this book, which relegates non-eyewitness statements to footnotes in order to not promulgate them further, we will start with a look at the prime witness for this common opinion: the Late Antique Scholia of Pseudo-Acro on Horace's satire 1.2. They express the thought in the following stereotyped manner:⁷

Schol. IV in Hor. sat. 1.2.63 p. 24.3–12 Keller⁸

§ *peccesse togata] matronae, quae ob adulterium a maritis repudiabantur, togam accipiebant sublata stola propter ignominiam.*

§ *toga autem meretrici apta. ita enim solebant prostare cum solis pullis togis, ut discernerentur a matronis; et ideo quae adulterii damnatae fuerant, hac veste utebantur. aliter togatae dicebantur in publicum procedere feminae adulterii admissi <convictae>. alii togatam dicunt libertinam, quia antea libertinae toga utebantur, stola vero matronae.*

§ or that you have sexual intercourse with a woman in *toga*] Matrons divorced by their husbands because of adultery regularly put on the *toga* when the *stola* had been taken away from them because of their disgrace.

§ but the (word) *toga* fits the prostitute. For they were accustomed to prostitute themselves in this way, dressed only in dark *togae* so that they could be distinguished from matrons. And that is why the women who had been convicted of adultery wore this robe. On the other hand, they said that women who were convicted of adultery appeared in public dressed in *toga*.⁹ Others say that

4 J. G. Heinecke, *Ad legem Iuliam et Papiam Poppaeam commentarius*, Amsterdam 1726, 131; Bekker/Göll (1882) III 100; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44 n. 1; Goethert (n. 1) 1652–1653.

5 J. F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society*, London 1986 (germ. transl. [1995]) 255–256; following her, Olson (2008) 49; GRD (2007) 154–155.

6 McGinn (1998) 156–171; A. Starbatty, *Aussehen ist Ansichtssache. Kleidung in der Kommunikation der römischen Antike*, München 2010, 124–125.

7 Cf. most recently Olson (2008) 48; Starbatty (n. 6) 125.

8 *convictae* post *admissi* suppl. Keller ex Porphy. comm. in Hor. sat. 1.2.62 p. 194.25–26 Meyer: *togatae autem in publicum procedere cogebantur feminae adulterii admissi convictae* (women convicted of having committed adultery were forced to appear in public dressed in a *toga*).

9 On the difficulties of translation, see n. 11.

the word *togata* designates a freedwoman, because, in the past, freedwomen wore the *toga*, but matrons the *stola*.

According to the edition of Keller (1902/4), the Scholia of Pseudo-Acro (called thus because they were falsely attributed to the Antonine grammarian Helenius Acron) date to the second half of the fifth century CE.¹⁰ and they assemble heterogeneous material. In this passage, the oldest identifiable layer goes back to the grammarian Porphyrio, who taught in Rome in the late second or early third century CE.¹¹ The scholia were not written by people who witnessed the described dress customs, but by scholars living much later. The later authors did not know how the *toga* was used by women in Rome from personal experience. Instead, they discussed what Horace *could have* meant when speaking of a *togata* and proposed various translations. Their remarks do not offer factual knowledge, but contain hypotheses of various scholars. To put the chronology into perspective: The scholia are as close in time to old Roman costume as we are to the fashion at the court of the French king Louis XIV.

The following will leave the guesswork of the grammarians aside. Instead, the ancient primary evidence will be discussed in chronological order. The chapter puts forward the following hypotheses: (1) The *toga* was the ‘work wear’ of prostitutes. It was used by prostitutes of the lowest social status—unfree prostitutes (*ancillae*)—who plied their trade on the streets or in brothels. They were forced to do so by the pimp (*leno*) who owned them. (2) The *toga* of the *servae* did not look like the wide and long *toga* of the Imperial period, but like the Republican *toga exigua*, which is rather short and needs far less fabric. It was probably worn without a *tunica*, thus showing much of the legs and buttocks. (3) In contrast, convicted adulteresses did not have to wear the *toga*. They are only denigrated by being called *togatae*, which compares them to common prostitutes. (4) The passages in Imperial literature in which the *toga* is mentioned in connection with women branded *togatae* are to be interpreted as alluding to *the lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*. The loss of legal status and dress privilege (*stola*) would have been transformed into a figurative obligation to wear the *toga*.

6.2 *toga* vs. *stola* – a social contrast

The stereotypical contrast between the clothing of the *matrona* and that of the *meretrix* is already referred to in early Roman literature, specifically in the *Togata*.¹² The contrast is not explicitly associated with the *toga*, but generally with the idea that the matron

¹⁰ Keller I Praef. p. XIII, II Praef. p. IV and Addenda p. 508.

¹¹ The quotation taken from Porphyrio shows the loose grammatical structure scholia often have. Instead of Porphyrio’s *cogebantur* (they were forced), they give us *dicebantur* (they are said to). In this way, the meaning of the sentence is slightly changed.

¹² Cf. A 7 p. 130.

is veiled by a long robe (*vestis longa*), while the prostitute openly shows her charms by wearing a tighter fitting, translucent, and often short garment. An invective of Cicero against Antony in the Philippics shows for the first time¹³ that the *toga* was a common garment among a certain group of prostitutes.¹⁴ The respective passage has already been discussed in detail with regard to the *stola*.¹⁵ Cicero uses several clothing metaphors to impute passive homosexuality and prostitution to Antony. To be clear: The charge is not that Antony had a homosexual relationship, only that he was the passive partner. Only this position was regarded as ignominious by the Romans. The relevant passage from the invective is as follows:

Cic. Phil. 2.44

sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum, certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit.

You put on the men's *toga*, which you immediately made into a women's *toga*. At first you were a public whore (a sure reward for fornication, and not a little), but soon Curio intervened, who took you away from the whore trade and, as if he had given you the *stola*, took you to wife in a firm and lasting marriage (*matrimonium*).

Cicero contrasts the *toga* of the prostitute (*toga muliebris*) with both the *toga* of the Roman man (*toga virilis*) and the *stola* of the married Roman woman. By allegedly prostituting himself as a passive homosexual, Antony turns his citizen's *toga* into a prostitute's dress.¹⁶ He is only redeemed from prostitution through a 'marriage' with Curio, for which Cicero uses the image of the matron's *stola*. Cicero is clearly not speaking of prostitutes in general, but of prostitutes of the most destitute kind. They are not hetaerae and freedwomen (*libertinae*) as celebrated by the Roman poets, but unfree prostitutes who had to sell their services in the streets or in brothels.

6.3 *ancilla togata* – appearance and social status

The *toga* also marks the low social status of the woman in contrast to the woman in *stola* in two passages in Horace's satire 1.2. The passages have often been misunderstood. A matron of the upper class and an unfree prostitute who sells herself in brothels form two extremes. Satire 1.2 and its content are dealt with in detail in several other

¹³ Afranius Fratriae F 15 (B 6 pp. 161–165), which is often adduced as the first source, does not refer to a woman, but to a man.

¹⁴ Cf. also McGinn (1998) 159–160.

¹⁵ Cf. B 4 p. 331.

¹⁶ Against Starbatty (n. 6) 124.

chapters.¹⁷ The first passage, which is referenced by the Scholia of Pseudo-Acro, is about the fact that a man can ruin his fortune and reputation just as much with frequenting prostitutes as by adultery with Roman matrons:

Hor. Sat. 1.2.61b–64

*bonam deperdere famam,
rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicumque. quid inter-
est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?*

To ruin your good reputation, to devalue your heritage, is an evil in any place whatsoever. What difference does it make whether you sin with a *matrona* or a maid in a *toga*?

Horace calls the prostitute an *ancilla togata*—the adjective *togata* only refers to her¹⁸—because she belongs to the lowest social class. She is not a freedwoman (*liberta*), but a slave (*ancilla*) whose sexual services are sold by her master, a pimp (*leno*).¹⁹ In satire 1.2, Horace consistently distinguishes this type of prostitute from the freedwoman, who has a higher social status and who offers her sexual services independently and autonomously.

In the second passage, Horace again contrasts this kind of lowly prostitute (and not the freedwoman) with the *matrona*.²⁰ He argues that a rich married woman does not necessarily look more beautiful than a street prostitute, whose physical qualities can be seen immediately:

Hor. Sat. 1.2.80–85

*nec magis huic, inter niveos viridisque lapillos
sit licet, hoc, Cerinthe, tuum tenerum est femur aut crus
rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae.
adde huc, quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte
quod venale habet ostendit nec, siquid honesti est,
iactat habetque palam, quaerit, quo turpia celet.*

She (sc. the matron) does not have the more your delicate thigh, Cerinthus, because it appears between white and green gems, nor does she have a straighter leg. In fact, very often a woman in *toga* (= prostitute) has also a better one. In addition, she displays her merchandise without

¹⁷ Cf. B 3 pp. 287–288; B 4 pp. 306–308, 313–316, 332–333.

¹⁸ The Scholia of Pseudo-Acro have completely misunderstood the grammar, as has Gower (2012) ad loc.

¹⁹ Brown (1993) ad loc.: “a slave girl owned by a leno or a pimp”; against Heindorf (1815); Kießling (1886); Mueller (1891); Heinze (1959) ad loc., who all erroneously think that Horace is talking about a freedwoman (*liberta*).

²⁰ Brown (1992) ad loc.; against Kießling (1886); Mueller (1891); Heinze (1959). The text of vv. 80–83 is difficult and has been edited variously.

disguise, openly showing what she has to sell. She does not parade and expose her beautiful features while trying to hide her ugly sides.

The quoted passage and a subsequent comparison with the purchase of horses (85–89) show that Horace is referring to street prostitution, the prostitutes trying to attract clients by showing parts of their naked body (*quod venale habet ostendit*). He is not talking about *meretrices libertae* like the mistresses in Latin Love Elegy. His remarks are important in regard to the prostitutes' *toga* and its draping. The verses suggest that this type of *toga* was neither long nor rich in fabric, but short. It was instead of the type of the Republican male *toga exigua* and left the women's thighs (*femur*) and legs (*crus*) visible. In other words, it exposed the merchandise (*merx*) they offered to their clients. According to Horace's description, no *tunica* (presumably only a *subligar*) was worn under the *toga* to cover these parts of the body. Apart from the open view, the prostitutes probably chose the *toga* for practical reasons. In contrast to the *tunica*, it could be easily opened, taken off for intercourse, and put on after.

The *toga* as a typical garment of prostitutes of the lowest social class is also mentioned in a third place in Augustan literature. The reference is found in an elegy by Sulpicia, who jealously accuses her lover Cerinthus of having sex with such prostitutes:

Ps.-Tib. 3.16.3–4 (= 4.10.3–4)

*sit tibi cura togae potior pressumque quasillo
scortum quam Servi filia Sulpicia.*

Better take care of a woman in a *toga* and a whore loaded with a basket of wool than of Sulpicia, the daughter of Servius.

Sulpicia's furious insult reflects the same social contrast that underlies Horace's satire 1.2. A Roman woman from the upper class (though not a matron) is contrasted with an unfree prostitute.²¹ This is a slave and a servant maid (*quasillaria*) who has to do hard wool work (*pressum quasillo*) like a day labourer.²² In addition, she prostitutes herself, which is expressed directly (*scortum*) and in metonymy, the *toga* being the typical garment for this type of prostitute.

All of these passages show that not all *meretrices* (which would include the *libertae*) wore the *toga* as a garment in public, but only non-free and dependent prostitutes. This garb was a social custom and a pragmatic choice. It was not regulated by law.

²¹ Against Smith (1941) and Tränkle (1990) ad loc.

²² A basket of wool that has to be spun during the day is called *quasillum*. The women who did this had the lowest status in the *familia*; cf. Petron. 132: *mulier ... convocavit omnes quasillarias familiaeque sordidissimam partem* (the woman called together all *quasillariae* and the lowest part of the *familia*); cf. also Smith (1913) and Tränkle (1990) ad loc.

6.4 The *moecha damnata* in *toga* – a literary common place

The literary commonplace continues in the Imperial period. Martial, for example, denigrates a critic as a ‘son of a whore’ (*matris togatae filius*). The mother’s supposed status is implied with the *toga*.²³ In three poetical texts, the adulteress (*moecha*) now takes the place of the prostitute or is compared to her.²⁴ There also seems to be a legal undertone. Could something have changed through the *leges Iuliae*? McGinn thinks so. He contends that convicted adulteresses (and prostitutes) *had* to wear the *toga* because of the new laws.²⁵ The *leges Iuliae* certainly left an imprint on the texts available to us, but the following will show that McGinn’s far-reaching statement cannot be derived from the texts.²⁶ The first text is a short scoptic epigram by Martial:

Mart. 2.39

*coccina famosae donas et ianthina moechae:
vis dare, quae meruit munera? mitte togam.*

You give purple and violet robes as presents to a notorious adulteress. Do you want to give her the gifts she deserves? Send her a *toga*!

The situation described by Martial in this epigram evokes Love Elegy. A lover presents a lady with elegant purple and violet robes of the kind usually worn by the *hetaera* in Love Elegy.²⁷ Martial denigrates this woman as an adulteress (*moecha*)²⁸ and a low-level prostitute through the punchline. He recommends that the lover send his mistress a *toga* instead of the expensive and socially appropriate garments he had previously gifted her.²⁹ The epigram does not contain any legal provision or dress code,³⁰ although there might be an oblique reference to the *leges Iuliae*.³¹ Like that law, Martial equates the *moecha* (adulteress) and the prostitute (a woman in *toga*) with each other.

²³ Martial 6.64.4–5a and Grewing (1997) ad loc.

²⁴ The texts seem to have been known to the authors of the Scholia of Pseudo-Acro, cf. Schol. Γ’ V in Hor. Sat. 1.2.63 p. 24.8–10 Keller (see above).

²⁵ In addition to the poets, McGinn (1998) 160–162 quotes two passages in Tertullian (De cultu fem. 2.12; De pallio 4.9) for his view that Augustus passed a law requiring prostitutes to wear the *toga*. Both texts are discussed in detail in chapter B 4 pp. 337, 344–349. However, they prove a *ius stolae* at best.

²⁶ Against McGinn (1998) 163–164.

²⁷ On purple and fashion, cf. B 11 pp. 445–449.

²⁸ On the word *moecha*, which is not a technical term, cf. Grewing (1997) on Mart. 6.2.5.

²⁹ Gardner (n. 5) 255–256.

³⁰ Against Williams (2004) ad loc.: “The joke . . . is based on the traditional [!] practice of compelling women condemned of adultery to exchange the characteristic garb of matrons, the *stola*, for the *toga* worn by prostitutes.”

³¹ McGinn (1998) 163.

The same thought also underlies the next text from Martial. The epigram in question is about a eunuch called Thelys. He provokes the mockery of a man characterized as a traditional Roman by the name Numa:

Mart. 10.52

*Thelyn viderat in toga spadonem.
damnata Numa dixit esse moecham.*

Numa had seen Thelys, the eunuch, in a *toga*. He said that he was a convicted adulteress.

The eunuch who is the subject of the joke is a freedman (*libertus*). As a citizen, he is now wearing a *toga*. The joke has its basis in gender roles. Thelys is characterized by his name (Θῆλυς = female) as an effeminate male and a passive homosexual partner. Martial's epigram draws on the same social coding used by Cicero in his mockery of Antony (see above).³² The *toga* of the 'female' eunuch, like that of Antony, is by definition not a male *toga*, but a female *toga*—the *toga* of the prostitute. Martial does not simply refer to the eunuch as a prostitute (unlike Cicero's invective against Antony), but calls him a convicted adulteress (*moecha damnata*). This usage again equates both types of women. In this way, he succeeds in weaving in the second thought that Cicero had used in his invective, namely that the eunuch was previously permanently connected with a male sexual partner in a 'marriage' (eunuchs and young slaves often served as *pueri delicati* to their masters or mistresses). The contrasting two female roles—*matrona* and *meretrix*—coincide in the figure of Thelys just as they did in Antony. However, Thelys' 'career trajectory' is exactly the opposite of Antony's. While Antony rises from the status of a street prostitute to become the *uxor* (wife) of Curio, Thelys is degraded from wife to *moecha*. Martial seems to presuppose that a *moecha damnata* commonly wore or had to wear a *toga*. However, a law in the strict sense (one which would have obliged the convicted woman to wear a *toga* under some form of legal penalty) cannot be deduced from Martial's text.³³

A similar construction of gender roles is also found in the second satire of Juvenal, in which the poet denigrates the lawyer Creticus as a passive homosexual (*pathicus*) because of his clothing. Creticus is wearing an eye-catching translucent *toga* at the trials of accused adulteresses. According to Juvenal, he is undermining public morals by doing so. He expresses his criticism by a rhetorical question.

Iuven. 2.65b–70

*sed quid
non facient alii, cum tu multicia sumas,
Cretice, et hanc uestem populo mirante perores*

³² Cf. p. 368.

³³ Against Shackleton Bailey (1993) ad loc.: "Women convicted of adultery had to wear the toga like prostitutes."

*in Proculus et Pollittas? est moecha Fabulla.
damnetur, si uis, etiam Carfinia: talem
non sumet damnata togam.*

What things other people will not commit when you wear a translucent *toga*, Creticus, and, while the people are staring in amazement at this garment, wind up the case against women like Procula and Pollitta? Fabulla is an adulteress. Carfinia may be condemned (for adultery) as well if you wish: She will not put on such a *toga* after her conviction.

The trials of the two women are based on the *lex Iulia de adulteriis*. Creticus is the prosecutor and gives the final plea (*perores*) against the adulteresses dressed in his unusual *toga*. Juvenal uses the clothing of these women as a disparaging comparison. Not even a *moecha damnata* like Fabulla and Carfinia would wear a translucent *toga* like that worn by Creticus.³⁴ The adulteress is again equated with the street prostitute, but a legal obligation to wear a *toga* cannot be deduced from this passage either.³⁵

Nevertheless, a new legal undertone modifying the literary commonplace is clearly discernible in all these texts. They all equate the convicted adulteress (a legal charge) with the prostitute in *toga* (a social custom). The change is very likely due to the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*, whose consequences are mentioned in passing in Juvenal. As seen in chapter B 4,³⁶ this law concerned those Roman women who were married in a Roman marriage (*matrimonium*). If they were convicted for adultery (*adulterium*), their marriage was dissolved and their Roman citizenship was revoked. A convicted adulteress (*adultera damnata*) fell victim to *infamia* (infamy). Her legal status was equal to that of a prostitute,³⁷ alongside whom she is mentioned in the respective legal texts. The satirical Roman authors hence exaggeratingly equated the *meretrix* and the adulteress with each other. It is also no coincidence that the *lex Iulia* is alluded to in texts from the late Flavian period since it was the emperor Domitian who reestablished the Augustan marriage laws in 89 CE.³⁸

But why is the *toga* always mentioned in this comparison? Why is this dress symbol used? To answer these questions, we have to look back to the *stola*, whose story is deeply intertwined with that of the *toga*. Following the arguments in chapter B 4, the Roman *matrimonium* was associated with a legal dress privilege (*ius*) for the wife since

³⁴ Against McGinn (1998) 164.

³⁵ Against Courtney (1980) ad loc.: “These are adulteresses, who when condemned would leave off the *stola* and wear the *toga* like *meretrices*.”

³⁶ Cf., for example, p. 348.

³⁷ A. Mette-Dittmann, *Die Ehegesetze des Augustus. Eine Untersuchung im Rahmen der Gesellschaftspolitik des Prinzipats*, Stuttgart 1991, 67–73; McGinn (1998) 65–69.

³⁸ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig 1899, 691 n. 2; S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, Oxford 1991, 296. In particular, Martial’s sixth book contains numerous poems celebrating the ‘revival’ of the *lex Iulia* (*Iulia lex populis ... renata est*); cf. the commentary of Grewing (1997) on Martial 6.2 and 6.7.

Augustan times. When a woman married, she was given the honour of wearing the *stola*. A dishonourable dissolution of the marriage because of adultery resulted in the loss of the honorable garment. Translated into the figurative language of literature, the loss of the dress privilege meant that the condemned woman had to take off her *stola* and put on another garment. The Flavian authors found this replacement in the prostitute's *toga*. The figurative change of garment followed the well-known opposition of *matrona* and *meretrix*, whom the *adultera damnata* corresponded to in her legal status. Saying that an adulteress had to wear a *toga* is not a legal punishment, but a roundabout way of calling her a whore.

The reality was, of course, different: A convicted adulteress did not have to sell herself on the streets like a slave prostitute, nor did she have to wear the *toga*. The oblique nature of the comparison rests precisely on the fact that she was not *required* to do so. The convicted woman simply wore tunics like the majority of women, the *stola* being a festive dress of only the upper classes at that time. The change in the convicted woman's dress alluded to by Martial and Juvenal should not be confused with a legal constraint or penalty. The figurative branding of the woman only takes place in the literary texts. It is a symbolic degradation, expressed by dress symbols. In real life, Romans left it at the withdrawal of citizenship without visually degrading the woman. They did not have a scarlet letter for a 'fallen' women, as there was in store for Hester Prynne.

7 *paenula* – ‘poncho’

1. Introduction
2. Terminology and appearance
3. Social usage
4. History

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns the *paenula*,¹ a coat that was a dress alternative to the *pallium*.² In its origin, the *paenula* is not an elegant luxury garment. The jurist Ulpianus (ca. 170 – 223/228 CE) lists it among the *vestis familiarica*, the clothing worn by the entire *familia* (= slaves).³ The *paenula* is functional and robust and became a fashionable garment in Imperial times when it was worn in all parts of the Roman Empire. The perspective of this chapter is bottom up.⁴ It first describes the use by ordinary people before making its way up to the wealthy classes.

The *paenula* has been discussed in detail in a magisterial article by Kolb (1973). The following remarks are based on his results and restrict themselves to the essentials. The *paenula* is well attested in archaeological evidence as part of male Roman dress culture.⁵ We do not have a depiction of a woman wearing it, although together with the *pallium* and the *tunica*, it was probably the most popular female garment in the period covered by this book. The *paenula* seems to have made its way from Italy to Rome, following the gradual expansion of the Roman Empire. We thus see with it the beginnings of the evolution of Roman dress. Although it can still not be discerned in detail at this stage, this evolution finally led to a complete change in Roman dress culture. The *paenula*, for example, replaced the *toga* as the usual male outer garment during the Imperial period at the latest.⁶ We will follow this process more closely in

¹ F. Kolb, *Römische Mäntel. Paenula, Lacerna, Mandye*, MDAI 80 (1973), 69–167; Potthoff (1994) 141–145; Croom (2000) 59 (without reference to Kolb); GRD (2007) 135–136.

² The *lacerna* and the *laena* have been excluded in this book. A joke in Iuven. 1.60–61 shows that the *lacerna* was regarded as male dress, cf. Kolb (n. 1) 125 n. 442; Courtney (1980) in his commentary ad loc. The *laena*, referred to in Mart. 14.138, is a historical double *toga*. Both garments were thick cloaks that could be used as overcoats in addition to the *toga* and the *pallium* in Imperial times.

³ Digest. 34.2.23.2: *familiarica sunt, quae ad familiam vestiendam parata sunt, sicuti saga tunicae paenulae lintea vestimenta stragula et consimilia* [‘family’ clothing is clothing bought for the use of the *familia*, like *saga*, tunics, *paenulae*, linen coverings, blankets and similar things].

⁴ For a similar approach concerning the *lacerna*, see V. J. Willi, *Kulturgeschichte der Mode*, pp. 9–102 in R. König/P. W. Schuppisser (eds.), *Die Mode in der menschlichen Gesellschaft*, Zurich 1958, 23.

⁵ See Kolb (n. 1).

⁶ Kolb (n. 1) 93–94.

chapter B 9, where acculturation will come into view more clearly. This section may be read in part as a prelude.

7.2 Terminology and appearance

The Latin word *paenula* (= φαινόλης) may be a Greek loanword.⁷ It first appears in a Greek text. The *paenula* was a closed cloak without sleeves,⁸ which was worn over the *tunica*. It had a neck hole in the middle through which the head was inserted, and it came close in appearance to a modern poncho. Vitruvius compares its shape to that of an inverted funnel, when describing the famous water machine of the Greek inventor Ctesibius (3rd century BCE):⁹ *supra catinum paenula ut infundibulum inversum est attemperata* (above the kettle, a *paenula* like an inverted funnel is fitted). This allows us to identify the *paenula* without doubt on archaeological sources.

The *paenula* was usually made of wool and was of somewhat thicker fabric. Pliny tells us that Apulian wool was used for it.¹⁰ We also hear of *paenulae* made of *gausapum*¹¹ and of leather.¹² Its usual function was to protect against cold and especially rain, which is mentioned several times in literary sources.¹³ It is possible that the plain garment was somewhat ‘upgraded’ in Imperial times. There were also finer and more luxurious versions (see below).¹⁴

7.3 Social usage

In principle, the *paenula* was a rather rustic garment used by all social classes and by both genders. It is well attested with men. In contrast, there are only few texts concerning women wearing a *paenula*.¹⁵ This paucity of information on the female *paenula* is due to the limited perspective of the texts. The *paenula* was a plain everyday garment, and it belonged to normal life and did not fit into the literary stereotype (*matrona* or *meretrix*) to which the representation of women is usually subject in Latin

⁷ Potthoff (1992) 143–145.

⁸ Kolb (n. 1) 76–77.

⁹ Vitruv. 10.7.2–3.

¹⁰ Plin. NH 8.190: *Apulae breves villo nec nisi paenulis celebres* [Apulian fleeces are short in the hair and not of great repute except for *paenulae*].

¹¹ Mart. 14.145: *paenula gausapina* [a *paenula* made of *gausapum*]; on the material, cf. B 9 pp. 394–395.

¹² Mart. 14.130: *paenula scortea* [a *paenula* made of hide], but cf. Sen. NQ 4.6.2, who distinguishes both garments: *ut homines ad paenulas discurrerent aut ad scortear* [in consequence, all persons ran off to their *paenulae* or *scortear*].

¹³ Mart. 14.130; Sen. 4.6.2; Iuven. 5.79.

¹⁴ Kolb (n. 1) 77–78.

¹⁵ Kolb (n. 1) 107–109.

texts. For this reason, authors rarely found occasion to mention it. The first text we have is from the Greek comic playwright Rhinton (see below). In Latin literature, we find the woman's *paenula* only in the jurist Ulpianus (2nd century CE), who is concerned with daily life. In the relevant passage, Ulpianus is dealing with testaments and their wording. The *paenula* is mentioned among several other female garments.

Digest. 34.2.23.2 (Ulpianus)

muliebria (sc. vestimenta) sunt, quae matris familiae causa sunt comparata, quibus vir non facile uti potest sine vituperatione, veluti ... paenulae.

Female garments are the garments which are provided for the *mater familiae* and which an adult male person cannot use without being criticized, like ... *paenulae*.

Ulpianus is carefully defining the garments included in the expression 'female garments.' He first defines them by their purpose, and then negatively by gender. Female garments are the garments a man cannot wear (in a socially acceptable manner). However, we should not misunderstand his definition. Ulpianus is not saying that the *paenula* is *exclusively* a woman's garment, but only that it is a garment worn by women. His remarks thus only show that male and female *paenulae* could differ in appearance, although they were called by the same name. In addition, other authors and Ulpianus himself clearly demonstrate elsewhere that *paenulae* were likewise worn by men.¹⁶ We should keep this in mind for other garments as well. An item of clothing is not unisex in appearance just because it is designated by the same term. As we have seen in the chapter on the *tunica*, the male *tunica* differed significantly from the female one.

The third female *paenula* is also found in a text relating to daily life. In an Egyptian papyrus dating to second century BCE, we hear about a white *paenula* of the finest quality with a 'Laconic stripe.'¹⁷ This interesting text is examined more closely in chapter B 11.¹⁸ The papyrus contains a list of garments that were stolen from a woman's house. For this reason, it is very likely that the *paenula* that is mentioned in it was a female garment as well. The text also shows that we should not imagine every *paenula* to be rustic and plain.

7.4 History

The *paenula* (φαινόλας) is first mentioned in Greek literature by the Sicilian comic playwright Rhinton (320 BCE):¹⁹ ἔχουσα καινὰν φαινόλαν ἠκαρπατίω (a woman with

¹⁶ Digest. 34.2.23.2 with Kolb (n. 1) 108.

¹⁷ PHamb. I 10.19–20: φαινόλην λευκοσπανὸν τέλειον λακωνόσημον αἰ [and one first-class *paenula* in white-grey with Spartan stripes].

¹⁸ Cf. pp. 420–424.

¹⁹ Rhinton F 6 K.-A.

a new *paenula* made of leather/cotton?). The fragment, which is quoted by Pollux, does not give us much information. Unfortunately, the last word is corrupt. It may hide one of two forms: The form καρπάτινος/καρβάτινος (made of leather) fits well with what else we know about the material of the *paenula*; a form of καρπάσινος (made of cotton/linen) would come close to the comic stereotype of a young, beautiful *puella* alluring an *adulescens* with her outfit. Whatever we make of it, Rhinton of Syracuse shows that the *paenula* was well known in southern Italy (i.e. in the region of the Magna Graecia) and may have originated there.²⁰ Pollux’s quotation of Rhinton and not of Attic comedy (which Pollux usually quotes) might also point *e silentio* to the fact that the *paenula* was not worn in central Greece, but only in southern Italy. It may also be no coincidence that Apulian wool in particular was thought to be best with it.

In Rome, it perhaps came into use during or after the first Punic War in the third century BCE,²¹ following Roman expansion to the south. In Roman literature, it is first found in Plautus.²² It is then well attested in authors both of the Republican and Imperial periods. As the papyrus referred to above shows, it was a common garment not only in Rome, but also in the entire Mediterranean world.

²⁰ Kolb (n. 1) 73–75.

²¹ Kolb (n. 1) 90, 93.

²² Plaut. Most. 991: *libertas paenulast tergo tuo* [freedom is a *paenula* for your back].

8 *abolla* – rough woollen cloak

1. Terminology and appearance
2. Social usage
3. History

The *abolla* is the most elementary and plain garment that is treated in this book.¹ However, in Imperial times, there were also more expensive versions and it became a Roman export to all parts of the Roman world.

8.1 Terminology and appearance

The etymology of the word *abolla* is a matter of debate. The Latin term *abol(l)a* is temptingly similar to Greek ἀμβολή or ἀμβολά (if we assume that the nasal M fell out). Although the terms are equal in meaning, we should refrain from postulating that it has been directly imported from the Greek language.² In any case, *abolla* is not a ‘regular’ Greek loanword (like for example the terms *strophium*, *mitra*, or *synthesis*, which came to Rome in Hellenistic times) and it may even be of Italian or Etruscan provenience. Perhaps it was the word’s archaic Italian ring that attracted Varro in his efforts as collector of old Roman terms (see below).

In general, an *abolla* is a square piece of thick, woollen cloth used as a cloak. It has the same cut as the *pallium* (and *palla*) and is similar to what is called a τριβών in Greek.³ It is difficult to determine the exact differences between a *pallium* and an *abolla*, but one may assume that the *abolla* normally was not manufactured by a *fullo* (fuller), that it was thicker than a *pallium*, and that there were no ornaments. Since the term *abolla* also designates the Cynic double cloak,⁴ it might have been worn double as well. However, one might perhaps simply say that the *pallium* denoted a finer cloak and the *abolla* a more rustic one (at least in principle). That being said, the term *abolla* later came to designate luxury products, too (see below).

1 Marquardt/Mau (1886) 570; RE 1.1 (1893) s.v. *abolla* (2), col. 105–106 (A. Mau); Blümner (1911) 217–218; Wilson (1938) 84–86; R. Murri, *Ricerche sugli abiti menzionati nei papiri greco-egizii I*, Aegyptus 23 (1943), 106–110; Potthoff (1994) 62–65; Croom (2000) 55; GRD (2007) 1.

2 Walde/Hofmann s.v. *abolla*; Potthoff (1994) 62–65.

3 LSJ s.v. τριβών.

4 LSJ s.v. δίπλαξ, διπλοίς; Diog. Laert. 6.22; Hor. epist. 1.17.25.

8.2 Social usage

The *abolla* was not suitable for showing off wealth and status. In contrast to the *palla* and the *toga*, it was clothing for the poor classes. We do not have an explicit description of ‘real’ poor people in *abolla*, but only of the Cynic philosophers mimicking them.⁵ This is also how we can identify it in the archaeological material.⁶ Roman men wore it as a functional military garb. In fact, Varro uses the word *abolla* synonymously for *sagum*, a thick woollen military cloak:

Varro Men. 223
toga tracta est
et abolla data mihi
fera militiai munera belli
ut praestarem.

The *toga* was stripped from me, and I was given the *abolla* in order to perform the grim military service.

In later times, the appearance of what was called an *abolla* (see below) was more luxurious. In two cases, we even hear of a crimson version. Our few Latin sources attribute the *abolla* exclusively to men. In fact, the rustic version may have been a predominantly male garment. However, Greek papyri from the second century CE onwards show us that the *abolla* was a common garment⁷ and that it was also worn by women in Imperial times.⁸ In one case, two *abollae*—a white one (λευκός) and a brown one (καρύινος)—form part of a dowry; in another, a *matrona* has been robbed of two valuable *abollae* among other coats.⁹ Unlike the *abolla* worn by Varro during military service, the four female garments mentioned in the two texts are elegant clothing.

8.3 History

It is difficult to write an early history of the *abolla* since Varro’s *Menippean Satires* are the first to mention it. The character of this work suggests that *abolla* was an old word

⁵ Mart. 4.53.5: *cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati* [a threadbare *abolla*, spouse to his bare camp-bed, covers him]; Iuven. 3.115–116: *audi facinus maioris abollae*. || *Stoicus occidit Barea[m] delator amicum* [Hear now the misdeed of a major *abolla*. A Stoic informant killed his friend Barea].

⁶ Cf. the depiction of a Cynic philosopher in the Villa Farnesina. See on it I. Bragantini/M. de Vos, Museo Nazionale Romano: Le pitture vol. 2.1, Rome 1982, 93–94 pl. 29.

⁷ POsl. III 150.17; POxy. VIII 1153.18; CPR I 279 (Stud. Pal. XX 15.9); PHamb. 10.31 (see below); CPR I 125 (Stud. Pal. XX 46.20), cf. Murri (1943) 106; and SB 9834; POxy. XXIV 2424.40; XXXI 2593.24.

⁸ Murri (1943) 108–109.

⁹ PHamb. 10.31-32: ἀβόλλας τελείους β̄, ἐν οἷς ἄγναφο[ς] ... [two *abollae* of best quality, one of them not fulled]; cf. B 11 pp. 420–424.

or even a gloss. Varro was very fond of these things in general and even liked to use them in his Menippean satires (A 9). They allowed him to show off his antiquarian erudition. The functional nature of the *abolla* suggests that it may well belong to the earliest stratum of Roman dress. It also looks a bit like the *sagum* Tacitus attributes to the average Germanic people, whom he portrays as living in a happy 'state of nature.'¹⁰ And finally, the term *abolla* itself points in the same direction since it is not a regular Greek loanword. For these reasons, one might assume the *abolla* to be the rustic foil to the *toga* and the *palla*, which were the dress of the urban elite. However, it should be noted that this hypothesis is not based on sources, but on mere cultural inference.

After Varro, there is a long interval in which we hear nothing of the *abolla*. The term is not used in Augustan literature. It crops up next in late Flavian times (in Martial, Juvenal, and Suetonius) and is common from then on. Flavian usage still designated functional cloaks worn by men. In Juvenal, for example, the Roman urban prefect dresses in it when running to service;¹¹ a Stoic philosopher is also characterized by his *abolla*.¹² However, the meaning of the term is now extended by the inclusion of elegant and ornamental cloaks. Suetonius tells us that Caligula had King Ptolemy of Mauretania killed because he envied him for his purple *abolla*.¹³ In an inscription dating to the year 202 CE, we even learn of an *abolla cenatoria* (an *abolla* for dinner).¹⁴ We might attribute this not so much to a change of dress as to a slight semantic shift of the term *abolla*, similar to the one seen with the words *palla* and *pallium*. The word *abolla* perhaps came to designate cloaks previously called *pallium* or *amictus*. This hypothesis is also suggested by an interesting parallel between Ovid and Martial. Enumerating the various garments of his mistress, Ovid mentions her *Tyrii amictus*.¹⁵ The expression must refer to an elegant crimson cloak, which Ovid contrasts with a thin *Coa vestis*.¹⁶ Similarly, Martial tells us of the dandy Crispinus, who also wore a crimson *abolla*:

Mart. 8.48.1–2

*nescit cui dederit Tyriam Crispinus abollam
dum mutat cultus induiturque togam*

Crispinus does not know to whom he gave his Tyrian *abolla* when he was changing his clothes and putting on a *toga*.

¹⁰ Tac. Germ. 17.1: *tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum* [their common dress is a *sagum* fixed by a pin, or if that is missing, a spine].

¹¹ Iuven. 4.76: *rapta properabat abolla || Pegasus* [Pegasus picked up his *abolla* and hurried].

¹² Iuven. 3.115–116 (see n. 5).

¹³ Suet. Cal. 35.1.

¹⁴ CIL 8.4508.12–13 (customs tariffs of the *colonia Julia Zarai*).

¹⁵ Ovid. ars 2.297: *sive erit in Tyriis, Tyrios laudabis amictus* [if she is wearing a Tyrian cloak, praise Tyrian cloaks].

¹⁶ On the entire passage, cf. B 9 p. 396.

Crispinus, a comic stock figure Martial adopted from Horace's satires, is an example for inconsiderate wastefulness. He is a caricature, and Martial may be exaggerating here. Several Greek papyri from Egypt show us that Crispinus' expensive *abolla* is probably rather the exception from the rule.¹⁷ However, the *abolla* (ἀβόλλης) is a valuable item of clothing in them as well. The papyri also indicate that by the second century CE it was not only worn in Rome, but in the entire Mediterranean world. It had become part of an 'international' dress custom, like the *tunica* (B1), the *pallium* (B 2), and the *synthesis* (B 10).

¹⁷ LSJ suppl. s.v. ἀβόλλης.

9 *vestes Melitenses, vestes Coae, cyclas, gausapum* – fashion and the Empire

1. Introduction
2. *vestes Melitenses*
3. *vestes Coae*
4. *cyclas*
5. *gausapum*

9.1 Introduction

Up to this point, part B has dealt with what might more or less be called traditional Roman dress. Some chapters have focused on Roman citizenship and its evolution in order to show that dress culture is not a static entity, but forms part of a dynamic social process. The main driver of this process was that the Roman society wearing ‘Roman’ dress changed drastically during these centuries. Roman culture spread from only those living in a single city to ultimately the entire Mediterranean region through the expansion of the Roman Empire. This military expansion brought with it increased contact with non-Roman (especially Greek) culture. With the exception of the *tunica* (B 2), the outer evolution of the Empire has only shortly been touched upon so far. It is, however, important for understanding Roman culture as a whole.

It was these centuries that saw Rome’s rise to become the foremost power of the entire Mediterranean basin, culminating in the conquest of Ptolemaic Egypt (30 BCE). The cultural impact of Greek culture was already felt and noticed by the Romans themselves. Horace coined the proverbial phrase *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes* || *intulit agresti Latium* (conquered Greece in turn defeated its savage conqueror and brought cultural pursuits to Latium).¹ Greece and the Hellenistic east did not only influence the arts, but also brought decisive changes to Roman culture and fashion. In fact, in the period covered by part B, Roman fashion is in reality Graeco-Roman fashion, both elements already being fused by then. As with the other *artes*, most of the technical sartorial terms (which we do not find in high literature) will have been Greek. They existed alongside Roman (Latin) terminology and even superseded Latin terms in many instances. In some cases, we still see Greek loanwords and Latin words designating the same garments, as for example *stola/vestis longa, zona/cingillum*; in some cases, the same Latin words designate Greek or both Greek and Roman garments. The reason for postponing the issue of the evolution of Roman fashion due to external influences until this chapter is that we cannot tell at what time exactly the Greek elements and

¹ Hor. epist. 2.1.156–157.

Greek terminology became integrated into Roman fashion. The issue is that we can only see the results, but not the process of acculturation. By the period from which we have literary sources, the process had already been completed or at least was well under way.

This is different with most clothes and clothing terms treated in this chapter: the *vestes Melitenses*, the *Coae vestes*, and the *gausapum*. These terms do not refer to specially cut garments, but to new materials (cotton, silk, shaggy woollen cloth). Romans encountered them (or found them to be fashionable) with the increasing expansion of the Roman Empire into the former Carthaginian zone of influence, the Near East, and the Celtic region. They appear in different phases of the first century BCE. Our sources clearly show them to be a ‘new’ fashion in Rome. After some time, the words all disappear from literature, perhaps because the respective materials became more normal and the garments were hence called by more common names.

9.2 *vestes Melitenses*

9.2.1 Terminology and appearance

The first ‘foreign’ luxury fashion mentioned in Latin literature are garments from the island of Malta.² The historian Diodorus tells us “that Malta, a Phoenician colony, had craftsmen manufacturing all sorts of things. The best of them were those producing ὀθόνια, which was considered excellent in fineness and softness.”³ The expression ‘Maltese clothes’ hence does not mean a specifically tailored garment, but refers to the material of the fabric. The word ὀθόνια can designate either a linen or a cotton cloth. As our Latin sources show, Maltese weavers indeed manufactured various garments. We explicitly hear of a **supparus* and a *mitra*,⁴ but it is certain that tunics and coats will have been produced as well.⁵

9.2.2 Social usage

Maltese garments were used in Rome by the financially well-off. They were associated with luxury. The Roman magistrate Verres, for example, had garments made at Malta for

² Marquardt/Mau (1886) 490; RE 15.1 (1931) s.v. Melita (11), col. 544 (J. Weiss).

³ Diod. 5.12.2: τεχνίτας τε γὰρ ἔχει παντοδαπούς ταῖς ἐργασίαις, κρατίστους δὲ τοὺς ὀθόνια ποιοῦντας τῇ λεπτότητι καὶ τῇ μαλακότητι διαπρεπῆ. ἔστι δὲ ἡ νῆσος αὕτη Φοινίκων ἄποιος.

⁴ Novius Paedium F 3: *supparum purum Melitensem*. (B) *interii, escam meram!* [a *supparus*, pure Maltese stuff. (B) I am doomed, a true bait!]; cf. A 7 p. 171; Varro Men. F 333: *aliae [mitrant] reticulum aut mitram Melitensem* [other women a hairnet or Maltese *mitra*]; cf. A 9 p. 193.

⁵ Cic. Verr. 2.4.103 (see n. 7); Isid. Etym. 19.22.21 (*Velenensis tunica*); cf. on him A 6 p. 172.

his wife because he appreciated the quality of *Melitensia* very much.⁶ Cicero criticizes his behaviour in his speeches against Verres (70 BCE). He obviously thought that this kind of slander would influence the judges.⁷ In Lucretius, Maltese clothing is also mentioned among the female garments that cost a fortune.⁸ A *puella* in Novius, who is called ‘a true bait,’ also wears a **supparus* of this material.⁹

9.2.3 History

Cotton from India likely reached Egypt and Greece in higher quantities with the expeditions of Alexander the Great. Malta was a Phoenician colony, which later came under the influence of the Carthaginians, and it was the very end of a long trade route. Manufacturing cotton may have started in Malta in the third century BCE. However, Maltese textile products are first referred to by Latin authors in the first half of the first century BCE. Novius, Cicero, Varro, and Lucretius are the first to mention them. The sudden appearance of Maltese luxury dress probably has to do with the expansion of the Roman Empire. After the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE, Romans came to control the southern part of the Mediterranean Sea as well. For this reason, Maltese textiles will have gained easier access to Roman markets. Cotton dress, still a new and expensive product in Rome, will have attracted the rich (such as Verres) in order to demonstrate their wealth and social position. However, Maltese garments were only a single dress option in the great multi-cultural imperial capital Rome. After the first half of the first century BCE, reference to Maltese garments in Latin literature disappears. They are not mentioned anymore by Augustan authors. The reason for this is probably that they were not ‘fashionable’ any more. They were too ‘normal’ to either be mentioned by the authors or to be worn by trendy people (Malta perhaps falling behind other producers). The new material may also have simply lost its attractiveness as time went on, and it may have been called by its ‘material’ name *carbasus* instead of by its origin.

⁶ Cf. also Cic. Verr. 2.2.176, 183.

⁷ Cic. Verr. 2.4.103: *insula est Melite ... in qua est eodem nomine oppidum ... quod isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem vestem conficiendam fuit* [There is an island called Malta ... on it there is a city with the same name ... Three years, it served as textile factory for this person (= Verres) to produce female clothing].

⁸ Lucr. 4.1130: *interdum in pallam ac Melitensia Cique vertunt* [Occasionally, they convert it (sc. their heritage) into a splendid cloak and into robes of Malta and Kea]; cf. A 11 pp. 213–214.

⁹ Cf. n. 4.

9.3 *Coae vestes*

In fashion (and literature), the place of the Maltese clothing is taken over in part by the *Coae vestes*.¹⁰ These were elegant garments (tunics) made of silk and arrived in Rome when the empire expanded further towards the east. *Coae vestes* were already known in Greece since early Hellenistic times. They entered Rome with the conquest of the Seleucid (63 BCE) and Ptolemaic (30 BCE) empires. They were first fashionable with the Augustan *jeunesse dorée*. Maybe, an old Greek dress name was even reinvented. Afterwards, *Coae vestes* seem to have become the new normal over time and lost something of their lustre.

9.3.1 Terminology and appearance

The term Coan dress (*Coae vestes*) could be taken to indicate that these textiles were originally produced on the island of Kos. However, this assumption is not compelling even though ancient authors try to establish this connection, too. It is not even certain whether *Coae vestes* had anything to do with the island. There is no epigraphical evidence for the production of luxury clothing on Kos. On the basis of chronological considerations, it is highly unlikely that silk was produced in Europe.¹¹ Silk cloth was a produce of China, the land of the *Seres*, which entered into the Mediterranean world via Arabia and was called *Serica* afterwards.

The first one to speculate about the name of the *Coae vestes* is Aristotle. All later Latin evidence on their origin—directly or indirectly—go back to him.¹² In his *Historia animalium*, Aristotle seems to attribute the invention of the *Coae vestes* to a Coan woman. His aetiological remarks have been often taken too seriously. In fact, if we read them closely, they indicate to the contrary that *Coae vestes* were *not* produced at Cos in Aristotle's times. In the relevant section, Aristotle is talking about silk worms and silk production:

¹⁰ Becker/Göll III (1882) 284–286; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 493–494; RE 4.1 (1900) s.v. Coa vestis, col. 127–128 (W. Amelung); Blümner (1911) 244 and Blümner I (1912) 202; Wilson (1938) 4; S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos. An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period*, Göttingen 1978, 82, 378–383; Sebesta (1994) 69; GRD (2007) 37; A. Keith, *Satorial Elegance and Poetic Finesse in the Sulpician Corpus*, in: Edmondson/Keith (eds.) (2008), 194; B. Hildebrandt, *Silk production and trade in the Roman Empire*, in: B. Hildebrandt/C. Gillis, *Silk. Trade and Exchange along the Silk Roads between Rome and China in Antiquity*, Ancient Textile Series 29, Oxford 2017, 35–36. On their archaeological identification, cf. H. Weber, *Coae vestes*, *IstMitt* 19/20 (1969/70), 249–253; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 318.

¹¹ On silk and its production, see the study of Hildebrandt (n. 10) especially p. 35.

¹² Tib. 2.3.53–54 (n. 19); Plin. NH 11.76–77 (see below p. 389.)

Aristot. hist. anim. 5.19 p. 551b13–16¹³

From these animals (sc. the silk worms), some women also unwrap the cocoons, dissolve them, and weave them into a fabric. Pamphile, the daughter of Plates, is said to have been the first to weave such things on Kos.

It is evident that Aristotle knew something about the production of silk. This should not come as a surprise given the historical context of the Greeks' contact with the Persian Empire, which intensified during the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Silk textiles were probably still quite a novel product for Greeks at this time. Aristotle knew that such silk dresses were called *Coae vestes*, and he asked himself why. His question implies that they did *not* come from Kos (at least anymore). Otherwise, the answer would have been obvious. For this reason, Aristotle offers the story of the *prima inventrix* Pamphile, saying that the first woman producing silk dresses lived on Kos. His assumption, carefully marked as such by the addition of λέγεται (it is said), is obviously not based on autopsy of any Coan production sites, but on some other literary source.

That a single Coan woman invented silk dresses is implausible. The story is clearly an aetiological ad hoc explanation for the brand name *Coae vestes*. It may derive from some other foreign word we do not know. That the island Kos was no production site is also suggested by our first Latin sources, which distorted the designation and said that the dress they called *Kean* dress was produced at the island of *Keos*.¹⁴ This shows that all this is antiquarian 'knowledge' and not reality. Otherwise, the name of the island could not have been changed ad libitum.

Like *vestes Melitenses*, *Coae vestes* are not defined by their cut, but by their material. They were made of silk. However, they were worn directly on the skin and must have been tailored like a Greek tunic (*chiton*). The term *tunica* is not applied to them because it implies other notions as to the material.¹⁵ *Coae vestes* were rather wide and flowing garments. Their main characteristic was that they were very thin (*tenuis*) and translucent, almost transparent. They thus revealed the outlines of the female body.¹⁶ In satire 1.2, Horace is explicit about the revealing character of the fabric. He compares the typical (concealing) attire of a rich Roman *matrona* with the (revealing) attire of a *liberta*.¹⁷

¹³ ἔκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ζώου καὶ τὰ βομβύκια ἀναλύουσι τῶν γυναικῶν τινὲς ἀναπηνιζόμενα κάπειτα ὑφαίνουσιν· πρώτη δὲ λέγεται ὑφῆναι ἐν Κῶι Παμφίλη Πλάτew θυγάτηρ.

¹⁴ See below p. 390.

¹⁵ Ovid. ars 2.297–302.

¹⁶ Prop. 1.2.1–2: *Quid iuvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo || et tenuis Coa veste movere sinus?* [Why, my darling, do you like appearing with richly-adorned hair swinging a thin Coan garment full of folds?]; Tib. 2.3.53–54 (n. 19).

¹⁷ Cf. also B 3 p. 288.

Hor. sat. 1.2.101–102

*altera, nil obstat: Cois tibi paene videre est
ut nudam.*

In case of the other (sc. the *liberta*), there is nothing in your way. In her Coan dress, you can see her like naked.

That *Coae vestes* make a woman appear like naked is a thought that also attracted Roman moralists (see below). As to their colour, modern imagination might prefer seeing *Coae vestes* as pink (this combination of colour and translucency is like the robe of the cocotte in Proust's *Du côté de chez Swann*). While not quite pink, ancient sources repeatedly associate *Coae vestes* with shades of purple. The colours rose and violet were likely typical for them.¹⁸ In addition, *Coae vestes* could be decorated with ornaments. The fabric may have been interwoven with gold threads or have golden stripes.¹⁹

9.3.2 Social usage

In general, Coan garments were luxury products and very expensive. For this reason, they were sought after by the mistresses of Roman Love Elegy.²⁰ Because of their nature and costs, *Coae vestes* are consistently associated with freedwomen (*libertae*) and beautiful hetaeras by Augustan authors.²¹ Lyce (Horace), Cynthia (Propertius), Nemesis (Tibullus), and Corinna (Ovid), all these women wear *Coae vestes* at some point. The garment is most notable in Propertius, who ironically combines Cynthia's dress with his poetic programme:²²

Prop. 2.1.5–6

*sive illam Cois fulgentem incedere vidi
hac totum e Coa veste volumen erit*

18 Cf. Hor. c. 4.13.13–14: *nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae || nec cari lapides tempora* [neither purple Coan robes nor valuable stones will bring back your time of life]; Iuven. 8.101: *conchyliis ... Coa* [purple Coan robes]; Tib. 2.4.27–30; Prop. 4.5.22–23; Ovid. Ars 2.297–298.

19 Tib. 2.3.53–54: *illa gerat vestes tenues, quas femina Coa || texuit, auratas disposuitque vias* [she may wear fine clothes, whom a Coan woman has woven and decorated with golden stripes]; cf. Sherwin-White (n. 10) 383.

20 Tib. 2.4.29–30: *addit avaritiae causas et Coa puellis || vestis* [the Coan dress also causes girls to be greedy]; Prop. 4.5.57–58: *qui uersus Coae dederit nec munera uestis, || istius tibi sit surda sine arte lyra* [the poetry of who gave only verses to you and no Coan dress as a gift shall be muted and without art]; Hor. c. 4.13.13 (see n. 18).

21 Hor. sat. 1.2.101–102; Prop. 1.2.12 (*Cynthia*); 4.2.23 (*puella*); 4.5.23, 58 (*puella*); Tib. 2.3.53–54 (*Nemesis*); 2.4.29–30 (*puella*); Hor. c. 4.13 (*Lyce*); Ovid. Ars 2.297–298 (*puellae*).

22 Cf. also Prop. 1.2.12, 3.10.15.

If I have seen Cynthia walk dazzling in a Coan robe, an entire book will emerge from this Coan fabric.

We see that the *Coae vestes* are the robe of the beautiful libertine women of the *demi-monde*. New fashion was driven very much by this social group. And as always, new fashion was an offence to the traditionalist. In the stereotypical moralistic contrast between *matrona* and *meretrix*, *Coae vestes* are a prostitute's dress and *matronae* wearing them are prostitutes. In his treatise *De beneficiis* (On benefits), Seneca gets furious about such transparent silk dresses. They are highly impractical, extremely expensive, extremely foreign, and simply scandalous:

Sen. de ben. 7.9.5

video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandae sunt, in quibus nihil est, quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit, quibus sumptis parum liquido nudam se non esse iurabit; hae ingenti summa ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accersuntur, ut matronae nostrae ne adulteris quidem plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendant.

I see silk dresses, if one may call them dresses, where there is nothing to protect either the body or, ultimately, the shame, dresses in which no woman will swear with a clear conscience that she is not naked. These are imported at the highest cost, even from peoples with whom we do not have trade, so that our matrons show more of themselves in public than they would do to their adulterers in the bedchamber.

Seneca's harangue proves that not only meretrices, but also rich *matronae* wore such garments in the first half of the first century CE. If we believe Pliny the Elder, even 'degenerate' Roman men came to use Coan garments in Flavian times:

Plin. NH 11.76–78

telas araneorum modo texunt ad vestem luxumque feminarum, quae bombycina appellatur. prima eas redordiri rursusque texere invenit in Coo mulier Pamphile, Platae filia, non fraudanda gloria excogitatae rationis, ut denudet feminas vestis. bombycas et in Coo insula nasci tradunt ... nec puduit has vestes usurpare etiam viros levitatem propter aestivam: in tantum a lorica gerenda discessere mores, ut oneri sit etiam vestis.

They weave cloths like cobwebs for a luxurious women's garment called *bombycina*. A woman called Pamphile, daughter of Plates, living on Kos was the first to invent how to dissolve the threads and to weave them again. We should not deprive her of the fame of having invented a method how a garment can make women appear naked. It is reported that silkworms also grow on Kos. ... Even men have not been ashamed of putting on these clothes as a light summer wear. Our customs have moved so far away from wearing a cuirass that even a garment is considered a burden.

It is very remarkable that Pliny does not use the term *Coae vestes* anymore, but refers to them as *bombycina* (silk dresses) called thus after the silk-worm (*bombyx*). As the double reference to Kos shows, however, the *Coae vestes* are still at stake. At the same time, Pliny mixes up Aristotle's aetiological story about the Coan *inventrix* with Roman moralism. Traditional social code is confronted with 'modern' social behaviour. The stereotypes Pliny uses are quite common. They are very similar to those we find in Seneca on men wearing coloured garments.²³ In Pliny, it is men wearing silk dresses instead of the uniform who are the symbol of ultimate Roman degeneracy.

9.3.3 History

The *Coae vestes* are first attested in Greece in the fourth century CE. They are mentioned by Aristotle (see above) and by Epicurus (the source of Lucretius). After a long time-gap, the term reappears in Latin literature in late Republican times. The first authors to mention it are Varro and Lucretius.²⁴ They wrote before the Coan robes became popular in Rome, and neither knew much more about them than their name. They only read about them in Greek literature. They even misspelled the name. They instead speak of Kean or Kian clothes and relate them to the Cyclades island of Kea.

About twenty years later, the situation had completely changed. *Coae vestes* were all the rage in Rome. Now everyone knew that it was Coan and not Kean dress. Coan dress was a new fashion worn by women appertaining to the new leisure classes.²⁵ Silk had arrived in the capital. Maybe, an old Greek name had been reinvented expressly for that purpose: Coan dress. Afterwards, the rage subsided. Silk dress got more 'normal.' For this reason, literary evidence, which is always about the new and the spectacular, on *Coae vestes* becomes slim again.²⁶ In the Flavian period, Pliny refers to *Coae vestes* twice as an item of historical knowledge.²⁷ The term does not appear in Martial, who gives us a lot of information about fashionable dress articles and their names in the late Flavian period. The term's absence is particularly striking in Martial's 14th book, which contains many poems on specific garments. At the beginning of the second century CE,

²³ Cf. B 11 p. 428.

²⁴ Lucr. 4.1130: *interdum in pallam ac Melitensia Ciaeque vertunt* [They convert it (sc. their fortune) into a splendid *palla* and into robes of Malta and Keos], cf. A 11 p. 214; Plin. NH 4.62: *ex hac* (sc. *Cea*) *profectam delictiorem feminis vestem auctor est Varro* [Varro says that very exquisite women's clothing came from this island].

²⁵ Hor. sat. 1.2.101–102 (see above p. 387); Tib. 2.3.53–54 (see n. 19); 2.4.29–30; Prop. 4.2.23 (Vertumnus): *indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella* [dress me in a Coan robe, and I will be a tender girl]; 4.5.23: *Eurypylique placet Coae textura Mineruae* [the Eurypylean weave of Coan dress pleases you], 57–58; Hor. c. 4.13; Ovid. Ars 2.297–298; cf. also Sherwin-White (n. 10) 383; Hildebrandt (n. 10) 36.

²⁶ Contrary to OLD s.v. *Cous* 2c, Persius 5.135 (*lubrica Coa*) refers to Coan vine.

²⁷ Plin. NH. 4.42, 11.76–77.

Juvenal still mentions *Coa*, but only when referring to Greek dress luxury in a historical context.²⁸ He does so in a general manner and does not describe a specific situation.

At this time, what was extravagant dress a century ago had evolved into something normal and had lost its unusual name. The acculturation of the new material silk had been accomplished. For this reason, the nomenclature changed. The primary words denoting the material (*bombycina*) or the origin (*Serica*) were used instead.²⁹ In Antiquity, silk remained a luxury product to survive all political changes. It remained so even beyond. In Diocletian's famous price edict, we find a variety of silken cloth registered. The name Coan dress then had long since disappeared.

9.4 *cyclas*

Like the *Coae vestis*, the *cyclas* is a Hellenistic luxury garment³⁰ that became fashionable anew or was reinvented in Imperial Rome.³¹ In contrast to the other dress terms mentioned in this chapter, the word *cyclas* implies a specific cut, and not a material. It is attested only four times. However, the evidence allows us to form some notion about its nature.

9.4.1 Terminology and appearance

The *cyclas* was worn directly on the body and was put on over the head. The dress term is derived from κύκλος (any circular body) and refers to the circular cut of the garment. Unlike the '*peplos*,'³² the *cyclas* was a piece of circular-shaped cloth, which from above will have looked like a plate.³³ Like the '*peplos*,' the *cyclas* was foot-long and even touched the ground (see below). It needed a great amount of (thin) fabric and that probably was what made its lustre. As to its upper opening, we have no

28 Juven. 8.101: *conchyliā Coa* [purple dress from Kos].

29 Chapter A 7 (p. 141) argues a similar phenomenon had already occurred with a word for cotton (*molochinus*).

30 RE Suppl. 4 (1924), s.v. *Kyklas*, col. 1125–1126 (R. Hartmann); Potthoff (1992) 106–107; Sebesta (1994) 51 n. 9; GRD (2007) 45; Olson (2008) 51; ThLL IV s. v. *cyclas* col. 1583.60–77.

31 The *cyclas* is very likely not identical with the ἔγκυκλον, which is mentioned several times in Attic comedy and in the inventory of the treasury of the temple of Artemis at Brauron. The preposition ἐν in ἔγκυκλον suggests that the word does not primarily refer to the form of the garment, but rather to how it was wrapped around the body; cf. Aristoph. Lys. 114, 1162, Thesm. 261, 499, Equ. 536, F 332.8 K.-A.; IG² 1514.48: ἔγκυκλον ποικίλον [a many-coloured *enkyklon*]; 1527: ἔγκυκλον λευκ(όν): [a white *enkyklon*]; 1529.6-7: ἔγκυκλον περιποί(χυλον) [a *enkyklon* with a many-coloured border]; cf. Cleland (2005) 67, 113.

32 For a definition see B 3 p. 292.

33 The shape of the cloth was the same as that of a *toga*, cf. already Serv. ad Aen. 1.282 p. 104.16–17 Thilo/Hagen (C 2 p. 583; D 1 p. 593).

precise information. It could have looked either like a *tunica (chiton)* or like a ‘*peplos*’ (with shoulder-straps and without sleeves). The latter hypothesis fits in well with a passage in Juvenal. In his sixth satire, the most misogynic poem in Latin literature, Juvenal is mocking athletic women and says they sweat a lot even in the airiest luxury robes. In order to illustrate these garments, he chooses a *tenuis cyclas* (thin *cyclas*) and *bombycinus panniculus* (small ‘scrap’ of silken cloth).³⁴ The first expression emphasizes the cut, the second the material. The *cyclas* is long; the *panniculus* (‘scrap of cloth’) is in any case small. The fabric of the *cyclas* is only said to be thin; the fabric of the ‘*panniculus*’ is expressly said to be of silk. The meaning of the passage requires that both garments are very airy and that might point to that the *cyclas* had shoulder-straps at its upper end.

The material of a *cyclas* is never specified, though we once hear of a *cyclas aurata* (gilded). This probably means that the fabric was interwoven with golden threads.³⁵ Moreover, the *cyclas* is twice mentioned alongside silken dresses.³⁶ This shows that the material of a *cyclas* was not an important characteristic (perhaps it differed) and that it usually was *not* silk. Otherwise, the juxtaposition with silken dress would not make much sense. In any case, the cloth must have been thin, fine, and, above all, much, and this is what made the *cyclas* an expensive garment.

9.4.2 Social usage

In Rome, the *cyclas* was worn by the new (and old) rich female consumer classes. Like the *Coae vestes*, the dress was coveted and worn by aspiring *puellae*. Nevertheless, it must have been very extravagant. The famous mistresses of the Augustan poets do not wear it. It is mentioned only once, in Propertius, and the passage shows it to be a rare show-piece. In elegy 4.7, the ghost of the deceased Cynthia turns against a female rival comparing her to a queen:

Prop. 4.7.40–41

*quae modo per uilis inspecta est publica noctes,
haec nunc aurata cyclade signat humum.*

She, who a moment ago was seen offering herself publicly for cheap nights, now leaves a mark on the ground with her golden *cyclas*.

³⁴ Iuven. 6.259–260: *hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum || delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit* [It is this type of woman that is sweating in a thin *cyclas*, for whose delicacy even a small silken dress is too warm].

³⁵ Prop. 4.7.41.

³⁶ Iuven. 2.260; Suet. Cal. 52.1.

In her invective, Propertius makes Cynthia use the social opposites we often find in Latin literature. She says that her rival was once a public prostitute of the lowest social status. We may imagine her to have been clad in a short *toga* (B 6). Now, in contrast, the ex-prostitute struts around like a queen. She is dressed in a most extravagant way. She does not only wear a fabric-rich *cyclas* with a kind of train, but even one that is embroidered with golden threads. The passage shows that the *cyclas* was worn by the Roman *jeunesse dorée*—the *puella* described in it belongs to the class of freedmen—which was probably driving Roman fashion at that time. We do not hear of rich *matronae*, but we may safely assume that they did not stay behind. In any case, the *cyclas* was a pure female dress. As often, we know this from a male transgression. Suetonius tells us that Emperor Caligula (37–41 CE) occasionally appeared dressed in a *cyclas* and in silken garments (*sericatus et cycladatus*),³⁷ but Caligula was crazy and effeminate, or better, Suetonius wants to portray him as that. It is the same trope Cicero used in the case of Catilina in a more modest way more than a century earlier.³⁸ In the case of Catilina, it was a long (linen) *chiton* with sleeves; now it is a *cyclas* and silk.

9.4.3 History

The history of the *cyclas* is similar to that of the *Coae vestes*. It seems first alluded to in a Greek comedy of Anaxilas (latter 4th century BCE).³⁹ It is done by means of a riddle, but there is no solution that fits in as well as the word *cyclas*.⁴⁰ In the relevant fragment, some unknown speaker asks: “And how can a woman wear, like the sea, an island?” The joke is very similar to those we find in Plautus’ *Epidicus*.⁴¹ A man, maybe a *senex*, is misunderstanding an unusual term for a new female garment. The word *cyclas* makes him think of the Cyclades. He therefore asks (rather stupidly) how a woman can dress in an entire island.

The comic playwright Anaxilas roughly dates to the same time as Aristotle when cultural refinement began to spread over the Greek Mediterranean world. The *cyclas* was obviously a new type of dress that came into fashion and for this reason found its way into Greek literature. After this, there is a long time-gap. In the first century BCE, Hellenistic fashion, the *cyclas* and the *Coae vestes*, moved on to Italy when Rome came to conquer the entire Mediterranean world. In Augustan times, Roman society was rich and willing to enjoy Greek dress luxury. For this reason, the *cyclas* suddenly reappears in Latin literature and life after having disappeared in Greek literature three centuries earlier. Anaxilas’ *cyclas* might well have looked different from the one mentioned by

³⁷ Suet. Cal. 52.1.

³⁸ Cf. B 1 p. 260.

³⁹ Anaxilas F 34 K.-A. (Pollux 753): καὶ πῶς γυνή, ὥσπερ θάλαττα, νῆσον ἀμφιέννυται.

⁴⁰ Meineke FCG III (1840) 354.

⁴¹ Cf. A 4 p. 68.

Propertius. Not every *cyclas* had to be interwoven with golden threads. In Imperial Rome, however, the *cyclas* was—as the juxtaposition of it with other valuable garments shows—an expensive and extravagant dress that became more normal among the rich as time went on. As in the case of the *Coae vestes*, it is not altogether clear whether only fashion subsided or the *cyclas* got lost. There is no word of it in Martial.

9.5 *gausapum*

Like the expressions *vestes Melitenses* and *vestes Coae*, the term *gausapum* refers to a type of cloth that became fashionable with garments in Imperial times.⁴² This time it is a northern region that contributes to Roman dress culture.

9.5.1 Terminology and appearance

The etymology of the word *gausapum* is uncertain. Ancient and modern discussions are impeded by confusion with an Assyrian garment called γάυναα.⁴³ Beyond linguistics, the nature of the garment (thick wool) and the production in the Celtic area suggest that it, like other dress designations (see below), could be a Celtic word. In Latin, the word ending and gender vary. We find both the neuter *gausapum/gausape* and the feminine *gausapa/gausapes*.⁴⁴ In Late Antiquity, scholars debated about the correct ending.⁴⁵ The different Latin forms for the Celtic garment were likely a result of several factors: adapting a foreign word to the Latin language,⁴⁶ or *gausapum* referring to the material in general (wool), and *gausapa* referring to a specific garment. In the following, the forms *gausapum* and *gausapa* will be used accordingly.

The cloth, called *gausapum*, is well attested in both Greek and Latin sources. It was a thick woollen material which was woven and then felted by fulling. The resulting fabric was not shorn or only partially shorn so that either one or both surfaces remained

⁴² H. Blümner, *Die gewerbliche Thätigkeit der Völker des klassischen Alterthums*, Leipzig 1869, 101–102; Becker/Göll (1882) 217, 388–389; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 477, 528; RE 7.1 (1910) s.v. *gausape*, col. 878–879 (R. Zahn); Blümner (1911) 216, 238–239 and (1912) 182; Wilson (1938) 66; Potthoff (1992) 116–120; Sebesta (1994) 70, 72; GRD (2007) 79; ThLL VI s. v. *gausape* col. 1729.62–1721.26. We should exclude Messala F 18 ORF² p. 532: *Armeniae regis spolia, gausapae* [the spoils of the Armenian king, *gausapae*]. The word *gausapa* is very likely confused with *caunaca*, which designates a Persian garment.

⁴³ Potthoff (1992) 116–120.

⁴⁴ In Strabo (see n. 60), we also find the masculine γάυσαιοι. The transmission may be corrupt. Casaubonus hence emended it to the feminine γάύσαπαι.

⁴⁵ Charisius inst. 1.27 p. 132.19–133.6 Barwick (= GL I 104 Keil).

⁴⁶ This problem is still encountered today, for example, when introducing English loanwords into German. The German grammatical gender of the genderless English words can lead to multiple forms existing in parallel (at least for a period of time).

a shaggy fleece.⁴⁷ The fabric is mentioned by Strabo⁴⁸ and by Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia*. Pliny covers it in an interesting though somewhat meandering section on wool production:

Plin. NH 8.191–193

est et hirtae pilo crasso in tapetis antiquissima gratia ... gausapae patris mei memoria coepere, amphimallia nostra, sicut villosa etiam ventralia; nam tunica lati clavi in modum gausapae texi nunc primum incipit.

Rough wool with a thick fleece has been popular as regards carpets from the earliest times on. ... *gausapae* (only) began to appear within my father's memory, *amphimallia* within my own, as also shaggy belts; for weaving a *tunica* with broad stripes after the manner of a *gausapa* is starting for the first time now.

Starting with woollen carpets, Pliny ends with three garments that were made of cloth of woollen fleece: the *gausapa*, the *amphimallium*, and the *ventrale*. All these have shaggy hairs (*villi*). The *gausapa* proper had them only on one side; the *amphimallium* (μαλλός = flock of wool), a later invention and subspecies of the *gausapa*, had them on both. The *villi* were the defining criterion for this type of woollen fabric.⁴⁹ We also see this in the metaphorical use of the word: Persius uses it to designate a shaggy beard, and Petronius uses it to describe a wild boar baked in pastry.⁵⁰

9.5.2 Social usage

The *gausapum* was used for blankets and coats of all sorts.⁵¹ In his *Apophoreta*, Martial tells us of a square cut *gausapum quadratum* and a *paenula gausapina*;⁵² in his *Epigrams*, he also mentions a *lacerna gausapina*.⁵³ There must have also been *gausapae* in the form of a *tunica*, although our evidence on them is very slim. Seneca describes himself as *gausapatus* when jumping into the cold sea water.⁵⁴ The context suggests that he was

⁴⁷ Blümner I (1912) 182.

⁴⁸ See below p. 397.

⁴⁹ On the *villi*, cf. Mart. 14.145, 14.147.

⁵⁰ Pers. 4.37: *maxillis balanatum gausape pectas* [you shall comb your perfumed *gausape* on your jaws]; Petron. 38.5: *apros gausapatos* [wild boars in *gausapa*]; on Trimalchio's culinary exaggerations, cf. O. Immisch, *Aus antiken Küchen*, RhM 77 (1928), 329–330.

⁵¹ Augustus (a fragment of his last will) apud Charisium inst. 1.27 p. 132.22–23 Barwick: *gausapes, lodices purpureas et colorias meas* [my *gausapes*, my purple and my multi-coloured *lodices*]; Pers. 6.46: *lutea gausapa* [yellow *gausapa*]; Petron. 28.2: *involutus coccina gausapa* [wrapped in a crimson *gausapa*]; Mart. 14.147: *cubicularia gausapina* [blankets made of *gausapum*]; 14.152.

⁵² Mart. 14.145, 14.152 (see below p. 398).

⁵³ Mart. 6.59.5.

⁵⁴ Sen. epist. 53.3.

dressed in a *tunica*. The same goes for the *cinaedus* coming to an orgy in Petronius.⁵⁵ Both men are shown in circumstances in which a cloak does not seem expedient. Moreover, Pliny's use of a *tunica lati clavi in modum gausapae texta* when referring to the new invention of the specific *tunica* with broad stripes seems to imply that there was already a normal *tunica* of that material. We also learn that the *gausapum* could have various colours. We hear of purple, light red, dark green, and white.⁵⁶

Garments called *gausapa* were worn by both men and women, although there is only one passage in Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (2 BCE) referring to a woman. It is the first eyewitness evidence we have of this type of fabric used for a garment. Love teacher Ovid is instructing his pupil to compliment his mistress on whatever garment she is wearing during a given rendezvous. In an interesting catalogue, he enumerates five dress options an elegant *puella* has in Augustan times:

Ovid. ars 2.297–302
sive erit in Tyriis, Tyrios laudabis amictus:
sive erit in Cois, Coa decere puta.
aurata est, ipso tibi sit pretiosior auro;
gausapa si sumpsit, gausapa sumpta proba.
astiterit tunicata, 'moves incendia' clama,
sed timida, caveat frigora, voce roga.

If she is wearing a Tyrian cloak, praise Tyrian cloaks; if she wearing a Coan robe, think that Coan robes adorn her; if she is wearing golden robes, let her be more precious to thee than gold; if she has put on a *gausapum*, approve that she has put on a *gausapum*. When she comes in the *tunica*, call out 'you are setting me in flames,' but ask her in a fearful voice to avoid the cold.

In the list, Ovid is more concerned with the material of the garments than with their cut. The terms *amictus* and *tunica* are mentioned, but no further details are given in three of the cases. The expression *Tyrius amictus* refers to cloaks made of Tyrian (crimson) purple. It might also suggest that the garment was somewhat thicker.⁵⁷ In contrast, the *Coae vestes* were thin clothes made of silk (see above). A garment with golden embroideries concludes the series of exotic luxury garments. It is also placed in the middle of the list. Then follow the *gausapum* and the *tunica*, which form a second pair of opposites. This time, Ovid is concerned with the thickness of the material and the function of the fabric. The thick woollen *gausapum*—very likely a *pallium* (B 2) that was worn over the *tunica*—protects the woman against the cold. The *tunica*, designating a

⁵⁵ Petron. 21.2: *ultimo cinaedus supervenit myrtea subornatus gausapa cinguloque succinctus* <...> [finally a *cinaedus* arrived dressed in a green *gausapa* and belted with a <...> belt]; in the fragmentary text, the colour of the *cingillum* seems to have fallen out. Maybe it was red. On the colour green, which might have been a feminine colour, cf. B 11 p. 429.

⁵⁶ Petron. 21.2, 28.2; Pers. 6.46; Mart. 14.145 (see below p. 398).

⁵⁷ Cf. also B 8 p. 381.

Greek *chiton* here, is a light linen garment worn without an outer garment. The meaning of the antithesis is made clear by Ovid at the end when he has the lover ask his beloved to beware of the cold.

This is the only passage in Latin literature relating to women wearing a *gausapum*. We know more about men using it. However, due to its warming function, the *gausapum* was perhaps regarded as more suitable for women than for men. The literary stereotype found in connection with the *gausapum* is similar to that of the Greek *χλαμύς*, a female coat. The four men (Trimalchio, the *cinaedus* in Petronius, Seneca, and Augustus) who use a *gausapum* as a garment or blanket are all old men (*senes*).⁵⁸ In addition, Trimalchio and the *cinaedus* are described as effeminate. They are all sensitive to cold. The defining feature of the *gausapum* seems to be that it was suitable for the cold. This in connection with the effeminate men suggests that it was deemed a female luxury. Perhaps it is no coincidence that our first text in which the word *gausapum* relates to a garment is about a female dress. The new fashion could have started with women, and men followed suit later on. As Seneca and Martial show, this kind of luxury was common for both genders in Imperial times.

9.5.3 History

The *gausapum* is a Celtic ‘invention’ and shows the cultural influence of the Gallia Cisalpina in Rome. Our sources consistently connect it with the Celtic cultural area in northern Italy. Pliny devotes some remarks to Celtic inventions in his short history of wool production.⁵⁹ The first author to describe the region and its wool manufacturers more precisely is the geographer Strabo in his *Geographica* (ca. 20 CE). He might have done so because Celtic wool products had just become in vogue in Rome at that time. Giving us the names of several production sites, Strabo associates the *gausapum* with the region of Padua:

Strabo 5.1.12 p. 218 C.⁶⁰

The region around Modena and the river Scultana produces the soft wool that is by far the best of all, Liguria and the land of the Insubres the prickly wool, which is worn by most Italian slaves, the region around Padua the medium one, of which consist the expensive carpets and the *gausapae* and the entirety of this kind that is shaggy on both sides or on one side.

⁵⁸ On Augustus, see n. 52 and B 1 p. 247.

⁵⁹ Plin. NH 8.191–193. Pliny also talks about the Celtic terminology.

⁶⁰ ἐρέαν δὲ τὴν μὲν μαλακὴν οἱ περὶ Μουτίνην τόποι καὶ τὸν Σκουλτάναν πόταμον φέρουσι πολὺ πασῶν καλλίστην, τὴν δὲ τραχεῖαν ἢ Λιγυστικὴ καὶ τῶν Ἰνσούβρων, ἐξ ἧς τὸ πλεόν τῆς οἰκετείας τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀμπέχεται, τὴν δὲ μέσσην οἱ περὶ Πατάουιον, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τάπητες οἱ πολυτελεῖς καὶ γαύσαποι καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος πᾶν ἀμφίμαλλον τε καὶ ἑτερόμαλλον.

Strabo's remarks are very interesting for several reasons. They do not only show that the *amphimallum* is a species of the *gausapum*, but also call to mind that it was mainly the quality of the material, and not the cut of a garment, that made the social difference. According to Strabo, the tunics of Italian *familiae* of slaves were made of cheap, rough wool, whereas the wool used for the *gausapum* had a higher quality. Garments of that material were hence more expensive and would not be worn by the poor population. Strabo's explanations are a reminder of the bias of our sources, which mainly talk about the well-off classes.

The *gausapum* is also assigned to Padua by Martial, in contrast to the *lodices* (loden cloth), which is said to come from Verona:

Mart. 14.152

gausapum quadratum

lodices mittet docti tibi terra Catulli:

nos Helicaonia de regione sumus.

Square *gausapum*: The land of the learned Catullus (= Verona) will send you *lodices* (loden cloth). We are from the region of Helicaon (= Padua).

The production of thick woollen fabrics will have had a long tradition in the Celtic areas in northern Italy and beyond the Alps. Romans will have known it for some time. The first Latin author to speak of the material *gausapum* is Lucilius (2nd half of the 2nd century BCE). In his *Satires*, he describes how a slave wiped a table with a purple *gausape*.⁶¹ It seems that the *gausapum* was initially used for towels and rags. It is then Varro who first applies the term to a blanket or a cloak. In an intriguing 'footnote,' Varro lists it among the foreign names for *operimenta* (covers).

Varro LL 5.167⁶²

in his multa peregrina ut sagum, reno Gallica, gausapum et amphimallum Graeca.

Among these, you will find many foreign words/things, like *sagum* and *reno*, which are Celtic, *gausapum* and *amphimallum*, which are Greek.

⁶¹ Lucilius F 568 M. (= 566 Chr./Garb.): *purpureo tersit tum late gausape mensas* [he widely wiped the tables with a purple *gausape*]; imitated by Hor. sat. 2.8.10–11.

⁶² *gausapum* Groth: *gaunacuma* codd.: *gaunacum* Scaliger. The manuscripts offer the senseless *gaunacuma*. Editors usually prefer Scaliger's emendation *gaunacum*, but the form is a hapax. It should then rather be *gaunaca* (γαυνάκα) or *gaunaces* (γαυνάκες). Groth's *gausapum* is preferable since the *gausapum* is twice mentioned elsewhere together with the *amphimallum* (its subspecies). As Priscianus tells us, Varro thought *gausapum* to be a Greek word, cf. Priscian. inst. 7.76 (GL 2 p. 333.22–24) = Varro LL F *15 p. 194.1–5 Goetz/Schoell: *Varro vero De lingua Latina ait talia ex Graeco sumpta ex masculino in femininum transire et A littera finiri: ... ὁ γαυσάπης haec gausapa* [Varro says in *De lingua Latina* that such words that are derived from Greek pass from the masculine to the feminine gender and end in the letter A, like ... ὁ γαυσάπης haec gausapa].

The passage shows without doubt how Celtic garments (*sagum, reno*) became integrated into Roman dress. It is striking that Varro regarded the *gausapum* as a Greek word even though the product came from Celtic producers. Maybe he did not know much about it. In the next few years, Roman interest in these woollen garments from the Po valley increased. This probably had to do with Caesar's conquest of Celtic France and the proceeding integration of the *provincia* Gallia Citerior (~ Transpadana) into the Roman state. After some debate, its inhabitants got Roman citizenship in 49 BCE (the area became part of Italia in 41 BCE). It is likely that the political union further promoted trade since there were also senators in Rome with Celtic roots.

For the Imperial period, we are lucky to have Pliny, who gives us a little history of the woollen cloth. He tells us that garments called *gausapa* first appeared in Augustan times. Ovid's *puella* (see above) thus wears a fashionable dress. Nothing less would have been expected of her. In Julio-Claudian times, as we see from our sources, the *gausapa* already was a quite normal dress, which could have natural and artificial colours. It is again Pliny who tells us that sartorial inventiveness proceeded to use the woollen cloth for ever more types of differently tailored garments in the Flavian period. Martial gives us several examples of them in his epigrams. One concerns a *paenula*:

Mart. 14.145

paenula gausapina
is mihi candor inest, villorum gratia tanta est,
ut me vel media sumere messe velis

A *paenula* from *gausapum*: My colour is so white, so beautiful is my woollen fleece that you would like to carry me even in midsummer.

It is most interesting to see in Martial how a simple hooded coat, which originally was developed for practical purposes, can metamorphose into a luxurious 'designer' garment in Imperial times. The epigram also gives us a glimpse of the diversity of dress culture lost to us. In Martial's times, Rome had been the centre of the Mediterranean world for more than a century and the place where all cultural influences met and merged. It was a cosmopolitan city with cosmopolitan dress. It adopted and subsequently spread foreign fashion, such as the *Coa vestis* and the *cyclas*. And yet Roman cultural adoption not only occurred with eastern *haute couture*. Even a humble Celtic cloth, *gausapum*, was able to weave itself into the amalgamation of influences that was this empire-spanning syncretic 'Romanness.'

10 *synthesis* – a cosmopolitan dinner dress

Around the year 85 CE, Martial composed his *Apophoreta* ('Presents to take away'), a book of 223 two-line epigrams, each pretending to be written on greater and smaller gifts made on the occasion of the Saturnalia. About forty of these poems concern garments, textiles, or different types of wool. Starting from the Roman *toga*, the list reads like a catalogue of an international (though somewhat disorderly) warehouse company selling expensive and cheap products coming from all over the Roman Mediterranean world: south and north Italy, Illyria, Greece, Lebanon, Egypt, Libya, southern Spain, and Gaul. Martial obviously does this on purpose, wanting to show the expansion of the *imperium Romanum*. As to dress, however, we see the diffusion of different foreign cultures and the cosmopolitan character that Roman dress had taken on, or—as Roman traditionalists would have said—the deplorable extent to which Roman dress had dissolved into a Mediterranean *koine* at the beginning of the second century CE, shortly before Emperor Hadrian wiped out the last remnant of traditional female Roman dress culture—the *stola*—on the imperial monuments. All of the garments listed by Martial are Roman dress, but they would hardly be called Roman if we look at their provenience.

The last major female garment treated in this book is among the garments mentioned by Martial. It is called—suitable for this chapter—a *synthesis* (combination).¹ It is probably a Greek invention. Its name is also found in many papyri in Roman Egypt, showing that it was also worn in that part of the Roman Empire. However, it comes only last in a long line. Roman fashion at this time is 'international' fashion.

10.1 Appearance and social use

The Greek loanword *synthesis* primarily means set or combination. It can also be used in this sense for other objects.² The name suggests that a *synthesis* consisted of more than one garment. As a *vestis cenatoria* (see below), it initially comprised at least one *tunica* as a basis. The *tunica* was probably usually combined with a scarf (*palliolum*) (B 17).³ This is shown by legal advice given by the jurist Scaevola (2nd century CE). It concerns a testament, the question being whether the value of *syntheseis* was allowed to be impaired by taking single garments from them:

¹ Becker/Göll I (1880) 15–16; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 322, 570–571; Blümner (1911) 219–220; RE 4.2 A (1932) s.v. *Synthesis*, col. 1459–1461 (E. Schuppe); Potthoff (1992) 191–192; Goldman (1994) 235; Croom (2000) 42–43; GRD (2007) 85; Olson (2008) 51.

² Stat. silv. 4.9.44; Mart. 4.46.15.

³ Croom (2000) 42.

Digest. 34.2.38⁴

“*Semproniae ... tunicas tres cum pallioli quae elegerit dari volo*”: *quaero an ex uniuersa veste, id est an ex synthesisi tunicas singulas et palliola Sempronia eligere possit. respondit, si essent tunicae singulares cum pallioli relictiae, ex his dumtaxat eligi posse: quod si non est, heredem vel tunicas et palliola tres ex synthesisi praestaturum vel veram aestimationem earum.*

“I want Sempronia ... to be given three tunics including *palliola* of her own choice.” I ask whether Sempronia can choose the individual tunics and *palliola* from *all* clothing, i.e. whether she also can choose from the *syntheseis*. He replied: If single tunics and *palliola* are left, she can of course choose from them, but if not, the heir must provide the three tunics and *palliola* from the *syntheseis*, or else their real estimated value.

The term *synthesis* always designates the individual dress combination and not a set of equal garments for several persons. The singular *ex synthesisi* in the passage is to be understood as a collective singular (= *ex synthesibus*) or to be corrected to the plural.⁵ The question and Scaevola’s answer show that a *synthesis* usually consisted of a *tunica* and *palliolum*.⁶ One of the essential characteristics of the garment was that it had artificial colours. Martial, for example, tells us of a rich man’s wardrobe containing many coloured *syntheseis*. He compares the collection to a flowery meadow in spring:

Mart. 2.46.1–4
florida per uarios ut pingitur Hybla colores,
 ...
sic micat innumeris arcu la synthesibus

As flowery mount Hybla is adorned with various colours ... so your chest flashes with countless *syntheseis*.

In Martial, we also hear of a green *synthesis*; in the papyrus referred to above, we find purple, crimson, red, pink, white garments, and even one with stripes.⁷ All our sources indicate that a *synthesis* was elegant informal clothing, worn almost exclusively at banquets.

It is hence contrasted with the official *toga* used for government and legal business:⁸

⁴ *tres* Radicke: *set* codd.: *sex* Mommsen.

⁵ Against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 571; Blümner (1911) 219.

⁶ It was probably not the only combination. This is suggested by a papyrus from Egypt in which various *syntheseis* are described, PHamb. 10. In this, we hear of a *synthesis* that included a belt and a cloak (*pallium*) (ἐν αἷς ἄ μετὰ ὑποζώνης καὶ παλλίου). On the text, cf. B 11 p. 421.

⁷ PHamb. 10 cf. B 11 pp. 420–424; Mart. 10.29.4: *prasina ... synthesis* [a green *synthesis*]; POxy. 1153.22–23: τῆς γινομέ(νης) συνθέσεως πρόσχρωμον [a colour sample of the *synthesis* which is about to be manufactured].

⁸ Mart. 14.142.

Mart. 14.142

synthesis

*dum toga per quinas gaudet requiescere luces,
hos poteris cultus sumere iure tuo*

synthesis: While the *toga* is glad to rest for five days, you can put on this garment with good conscience.

In its function as private dinner dress, it features prominently as the first word in Martial's *Apophoreta* pertaining to the celebration of Saturnalia:⁹ *synthesibus dum gaudet eques dominusque senator* (while the knights and the ruling senators rejoice in *syntheseis*). Since Martial connects his epigrams with banquets and their private atmosphere, it is no surprise that the *synthesis* is often mentioned by him. In a scoptic epigram, he mocks someone for having changed his *synthesis* during the banquet eleven times because he was afraid of sweating through it.¹⁰ For this reason, wearing it outside and in public was probably thought improper behaviour. It was at least considered unseemly for the emperor Nero to show himself in public dressed in one.¹¹

The *synthesis* was worn by both genders. Most testimonies from literature concern men, but Martial also speaks of a woman's *synthesis* in one place:

Mart. 10.29.1–4

*quam mihi mittebas Saturni tempore lancem,
misisti dominae, Sextiliane, tuae;
et quam donabas dictis a Marte Kalendis,
de nostra prasina est synthesis empta toga.*

The dish you used to send me at the Saturnalia, Sextilianus, you sent to your mistress. And the green *synthesis* you gave her on the Kalends of March was bought out of my *toga*.

The *synthesis* is an elegant, but otherwise perfectly normal female clothing. Again, the name should not mislead us to think that it was a unisex dress. There were different male and female versions of it to be specified if necessary. Accordingly, a σύνθεσις γυναικεία

⁹ Mart. 14.1.1.

¹⁰ Mart. 5.79.1–2: *undecies una surrexti, Zoile, cena, || et mutata tibi est synthesis undecies* [eleven times, Zoilus, you rose from table during one single dinner, and eleven times you changed your *synthesis*]; cf. also Mart. 2.46.1–4, 4.66.1–4: *egisti uitam semper, Line, municipalem, || qua nihil omnino uilius esse potest. || Idibus et raris togula est excussa Kalendis, || duxit et aestates synthesis una decem* [Linus, you have always led the life of an inhabitant of a small city, which is cheaper than all others. On the Ides and the Kalends, you have sometimes shaken out your *toga*, and one *synthesis* lasted for ten summers]; 10.29.4.

¹¹ Suet. Nero 51: *plerumque synthesinam indutus ligato circum collum sudario in publicum sine cinctu et discalciatus* [very often, he (sc. Nero) appeared in public dressed in a *tunica synthesina* and with a *sudarium* bound around his neck, without belt and without shoes].

(female *synthesis*) is distinguished from a σύνθεις παιδική (children's *synthesis*) in the formal list of the papyrus mentioned above.

10.2 History

The *synthesis* is the last garment to appear in Latin Classical literature. It is first attested in Martial.¹² It is also found in the inscription of the Arval brotherhood¹³ and in Greek papyri dating to the first or second century CE.¹⁴ All in all, the evidence indicates that the term and the associated custom of combining several garments only emerged in the second half of the first century CE, establishing a new fashion. The Greek loanword may show that it originated in the Hellenized east. If we take the Egyptian papyri as a basis, many of the women we see on the mummy portraits could be wearing garments called *synthesis* in Antiquity. The *synthesis* was a cosmopolitan garment in an 'international' world, at least for those who could afford this kind of luxury. Its name and composition mirror the syncretic 'Roman' culture produced through military expansion.

¹² Mart. 2.46.1–4, 4.66.1–4, 5.79.1–4, 10.29.4, 14.1.1, 14.14.2.

¹³ CIL 6.2068.8 (59.2.8 Scheid; 91 CE): *cum sintesibus epulati sunt* [they have dined in *synthesis*].

¹⁴ LSJ s.v. σύνθεις IV; in addition, cf. PMert. 13.12, 71.12; PMich. 465.34, 603.15; PMil. 248.4; POxy. 3060.3; SB XVI 12314.71; PWisc. 73.21.

11 *colores* – colour, dress style, and fashion

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11.1 Introduction

The following chapter covers artificial dress colours (as opposed to colours in general).¹ It was the last to be conceived, and it turned out to be the most interesting to write. More so than all other chapters in this book, the chapter on colours touches on questions of social code and behaviour. Dress colour takes us closest to fashion and social trends in the Roman world. In contrast, we know next to nothing about the specific versions of garments, nor do we have much on ornaments beyond the basic defining criteria that often make the fashionable difference (as, for example, the shoulder strap of the Augustan *stola*).

¹ On colour and Latin colour terms in general, cf. H. Blümner, *Philologus* 47 (1889), 142–167, 706–722 and id., *Die Farbbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern* (Berliner Studien 13), Leipzig 1892; André (1949) and, more recently, M. Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 2009; R. B. Goldman, *Color-terms in Social and Cultural Context in Ancient Rome*, Piscataway, NJ 2013.

Work on this chapter showed that there is much work to be done on the subject, which was very surprising. There are no detailed studies on social preferences concerning dress colour for either the Roman or the Greek world. In some cases, even the basic definition of certain colours seems to lack the necessary precision. Readers might feel that there is some similarity between ancient and modern European social colour norms. However, the results of this chapter are not won by cultural inference, but by studying patterns in the ancient evidence. The lack of precision comes from the usual problem of textual access. The historical pegs we can drive into the material world to fasten our theory on are few; as usual, the sources are presented in full. In a way, this chapter serves as a summary of the social history of dress sketched throughout part B.

To set the scene, let us turn to German ‘*Sturm und Drang*’-literature. Young Werther was impressively dressed when he was on his way to shoot himself. His fancy dress consisted of a blue tailcoat, a yellow waistcoat, yellow breeches, and brown cuffed boots. The behaviour of Goethe’s hero and his fashion choices were not lost on the reading public. Many young men deliberately dressed like Werther; some of them also shot themselves. Goethe’s emphasis on the colours of Werther’s (dyed) clothing carried great literary and social significance. The ability to choose the colour of dress should not be underestimated. Colour choices usually carry meaning in real life. They can serve as personal and social distinction; they can be used to impress others.

In literature, the colour of clothing is always significant. In contrast to fashion magazines, like those analyzed by Roland Barthes,² fictional literature does not aim to ignite personal wishes in order to transform technical objects into desirable merchandise. Literature wants to tell readers something about the characters being described: Colour can make them appear young or old, trendy or old-fashioned, rich or poor, elegant or boorish, beautiful or filthy, attractive or repellent. It also tells the reader what impression the characters want to make or how they want to act in their environment. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, garments by themselves define individuals and groups, as do the garments’ other traits (for example, holes indicate poverty). In Latin literature, colour is the attribute most connected with dress. It is a primary trait of garments. If it is mentioned in literature, it always contains the primary information. Sometimes our Latin texts even mention the garment’s colour only and leave the cut to the imagination of the readers. Above all, colour is important when it comes to social codes and behaviour. In this respect, ancient and modern literature function alike. The only difference is that, in the case of our own times, we understand implicit hints because it is our own culture, whereas times not our own cause us to often miss such clues since we lack direct cultural knowledge.

In the case of Roman culture, the blank spaces are more aggravating than we usually like to admit. As to colours, we sometimes have to find out what a Latin colour term even denotes. Which colour, for example, does *croceus* (saffron-coloured) refer to?

² On his study, cf. the epilogue p. 706

Does it refer to the yellow colour added to food (as our dictionaries seem to suggest), or does the adjective refer to the red of the threads? And which colour is called *galbinus*? Is it green or yellow? And which colour does ‘purple’ refer to? Is it violet, or is it red? The translation into modern languages also faces problems if an ancient colour term is ambiguous, or our own word does not exactly apply to the same range as the Latin one. Things get even worse when it comes to social colour perception and behaviour. We have no way of directly knowing what Romans thought when seeing a certain dress colour, much less what a given individual associated with it. All we have is Latin literature and its stereotypes.

In the light of these difficulties, the following chapter has the following aims: It lists all artificial (as opposed to natural) dress colours used by Roman women along with their respective colour terms in neutral language, excluding poetical language and glosses.³ It defines all shades as precisely as possible with reference to natural objects such as animals or plants.⁴ Apart from this, the chapter also describes social colour codes and social behaviour.

Its order is as follows: The narrative starts with a general overview (1) and then offers two case studies: Ovid’s colour catalogue in the *Ars amatoria* (2.1) and the letter of a wealthy Egyptian woman named Herais (2.2). They are meant to introduce the following section on the social perception of colours (3). This in turn suggests several categories that may be useful for future analysis. The respective categories are each illustrated by examples of single colours. Discussion of social codes leads to the last section on social behaviour and fashion (4).⁵

As all other chapters, this one needed a drastic reduction of contingencies and relies on generalization. It may therefore be expedient to know what the following is *not* about. It is neither about the physical production of (artificially) coloured dress nor about the physical perception of colours. It is not concerned with individual preferences, but rather with general preferences of individuals appertaining to certain social classes. Since much talk will be about social code, we should also keep in mind that all Latin literature used in this chapter is written by male members of the educated elite and that we are viewing colour preferences from their perspective. In the face of the lack of other sources, this method is in place as long as we remain aware of this fact. In the view of Petronius and his readers, for example, Fortunata’s dress, which combines striking colours, is perfectly tasteless (and unprejudiced modern readers may legitimately share

³ These are discussed elsewhere, cf. **caesicius*: A 4 p. 76; **cumatile*: A 4 p. 80; **caltula*: A 4 p. 78; **molochinus*: A 7 p. 139; **rusceus*: A 2 p. 430. The lack of linguistic discrimination mars many of the older studies.

⁴ If a colour definition diverges from the traditional one, the evidence is assembled in full in order to prove the diverging assumption.

⁵ The final discussion is the most hypothetical, as to be expected from our lack of sources on everyday life. However, the evolution of colour preferences and their corresponding behaviour is congruent with what we learn elsewhere about Roman dress and the social evolution of Roman society in general.

this Roman upper-class amusement). From a neutral sociological standpoint, however, Fortunata's dress rather shows (a) that members of the Roman upper-class preferred clothing with less vibrant and less contrasting colours and (b) that freed persons and lower classes preferred stronger and more contrasting ones. A further difficulty for the following discussion is also that the term 'class' is somewhat imprecise (the composition of the 'classes' changed significantly in the late Republic). The chapter therefore sometimes uses the more abstract expressions 'low-status' and 'high-status' for a more accurate definition.

11.2 Colours of female dress – an overview

The following 'artificial' shades of colour are attested with female garments in Latin literature.⁶ In general, the range of female dress colours comprises the entire electromagnetic spectrum:

azure ⁷	<i>caeruleus</i> [<i>venetus</i>]
turquoise ⁸	<i>color aquae marinae</i> [<i>callainus</i>]
leek-green ⁹	<i>prasinus</i>
myrtle-green ¹⁰	<i>myrteus</i>
'lime'-green ¹¹	<i>galbinus</i>
green (unspecified) ¹²	<i>viridis</i>
yellow ¹³	<i>luteus</i>

6 In addition to the works mentioned in n. 1, see Blümner (1912) 257–259; Wilson (1938) 6–13; Sebesta (1994) 65–76; Olson (2008) 11–14; Croom (2010) 24–28. – The term 'artificial' requires definition. I do not use it in the modern sense of a synthetic dye or a colour that does not exist in nature or cannot be produced using natural components or processes. In ancient times, colouring treatments were inevitably 'natural' in the strict sense of 'derived from nature.' The predicate 'artificial' is used here in the sense of 'as the product of artifice.' It refers to dyes and other treatments used to modify the neutral, pre-existing colour of cloth, leather, or other materials used in making clothing. The term 'dyed' is insufficient since the colour of a material can be changed with processes other than only adding pigments (such as bleaching with sunlight).

7 Ovid. *ars* 3.173 (see below p. 414).

8 Ovid. *ars* 3.176 (see below p. 416); *callainus* Mart. 14.140.

9 On the shade, see below p. 430; Petron. 27.2, 28.8, 64.4; Mart. 3.82.11, 10.29.4.

10 On the shade, see below p. 430; Ovid. *ars* 3.179, Petron. 21.2.

11 On the shade *galbinus*, see below pp. 430–433; Cato F 113 P. (A 2 p. 51); Petron. 67.4; Mart. 1.96.10, 3.82.5–7; Iuven. 2.97.

12 Iuven. 5.14, 9.50.

13 On female garments this colour is attested only with the bridal scarf (*flammeum*), see below p. 427 and B 18; Plin. NH 21.46: *lutei video honorem antiquissimum, in nuptialibus flammeis totum feminis concessum* [I see that the honour of the colour *luteum* is most ancient, which in bridal scarfs is perfectly permitted to women]; Lucan. 2.361 (B 1 p. 272); on the meaning of *luteus*, in general cf. Blümner (1892)

'orange' ¹⁴	<i>croceus</i>
plain red (general) ¹⁵	<i>russus, russeus</i> (artificial); <i>rufus, ruber</i> (natural)
crimson ¹⁶	<i>coccineus</i>
dried wine-leaf red ¹⁷	<i>(xer)ampelinus</i>
cherry red ¹⁸ (dark)	<i>cerasinus</i>
purple ¹⁹	<i>purpureus</i>
purple red ²⁰	<i>puniceus, Tyrius, ostrinus</i>
violet ²¹	<i>amethystinus, ianthinus, violaceus</i>
rose ²²	<i>roseus</i>
wax-coloured, yellow-brown ²³	<i>cereus</i>
almond brown ²⁴	<i>amygdalinus</i>
chestnut brown ²⁵	<i>caryinus</i>
white ²⁶	<i>albus, candidus</i>
snow-white	<i>niveus</i>
black ²⁷	<i>niger, ater</i>
coal-black	<i>anthracinus</i>

In addition to these terms referring to artificial colours, there are the terms *fuscus* and *pullus*, which denote a natural (i.e. non-manipulated) dark grey or dark brown hue. There are also adjectives derived from the words for gold and silver that refer to the

(n. 1) 125–129; André (1949) 151–153. As to male garments, the colour is only attested with Dionysus; cf. Tib. 1.746; Sen. Oed. 427; Varro Men. 314.

14 Ovid. ars 3.179; on the shade, see below p. 416.

15 On the shade, see below pp. 440–443.

16 On the shade *coccineus*, see below p. 440.

17 Iuven. 6.519; PHamb 33.8, see below p. 439.

18 Petron. 28.8, 67.4, see below p. 439.

19 On purple, see below pp. 445–447.

20 On the shade of Tyrian purple, see below p. 440

21 On the shade violet, see below pp. 418, 448; Plaut. Aul. 510 (A 5 p. 110); Ovid. ars 3.181; Mart. 2.39 (B 6 p. 371); Suet. Nero 32.2 (p. 452); PHamb. 33; of men's garments: Mart. 2.57.2, 14.15.4; Iuven. 7.137; Plin. NH 21.45: *amethystinum* (sc. *colorem*) ... *quem ianthinum appellavimus* [The colour of the amethyst... which we have called *ianthinus* (violet)].

22 On the shade *roseus*, see below p. 418; Cat. 64.47–49,309 (cf. n. 153); Ovid. ars 3.182; Apul. Met. 11.3; PHamb. 33.9; for further evidence, cf. I. Bogensperger, Purple and its Various Kinds in Documentary Papyri, in: S. Gaspa/C. Michel/M.-L. Nosch, Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD, Lincoln, NE 2017, 240–242.

23 On the shade *cerinus*, see below p. 420; Plaut. Epid. 233 (A 4 p. 83); Ovid. ars 3.184.

24 Ovid. ars 3.183.

25 On chestnut brown, see below p. 419; Plaut. Epid. 233 (A 4 p. 82); Ovid. ars 3.183.

26 On white, see below pp. 434–436.

27 On black, see below p. 426; ThLL II s. v. *ater* col. 1019.58–64; OLD s. v. *niger* 7b; Varro De vita populi Romani F 412 Salvatore (see below p. 426 and C 1 p. 567).

colours of the metals. Some colours are also designated by denoting the origin or the natural colour of the wool.²⁸ Turning to the level of linguistics, there is a wide range of word formations among the various colour adjectives. The elementary unspecified colours white (*albus*), black (*niger*), red (*russeus*), green (*viridis*), and blue (*caeruleus*) are all designated by Latin words that exist in the general sphere of Indo-European language. The majority of the other adjectives refers to natural objects of reference, mainly plants. Many of them are Greek loanwords. The adjectives *coccineus* and *purpureus* are derived from their dye, the kermes (*coccum*), which was believed to be a plant, and various sorts of purple snails (*purpura*). The adjectives *Puniceus*, *Tyrius*, and *Venetus* refer to the places of production. The etymology of the adjective *galbinus* is uncertain.²⁹

11.3 Case studies

The following two social case studies may help to differentiate the general picture. They have in common that they represent the cultural preferences of the educated elite in Imperial times. They differ from each other in that they date to different epochs (to the time of Augustus and the Antonine emperors) and that one of them concerns urban Roman, the other Roman-Egyptian fashion. Moreover, one is about the dress of an ideal young *puella*, the other about the dress of a real rich *matrona* living in the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, there is a general convergence in social preferences (upper-class taste), although we can also discern individual differences in selection. The range of clothing in a given woman's possession will be referred to as her 'wardrobe' for the sake of brevity. In the wardrobe of the *puella*, we find far more shades than in that of the *matrona*, who mainly keeps to shades of purple.

11.3.1 Roman maidens' colourful dress – Ovidius *Ars amatoria* 3.169–192

Ovid's *Ars amatoria* was published in about 2 CE. In his didactic poem, Ovid takes on the ironic stance of an experienced love teacher counselling young lovers. In the third book (169–192), he advises young fashionable women on what colours to choose for their garments. The work is written in a youthful spirit, although the narrator is looking backward rather than forward to new adventures. Its contents were judged as 'politically incorrect' by Augustus, who did not draw the subtle distinction between real author and textual narrator, and indeed, the narrator certainly mirrors Ovid's own experiences and preferences. What we get is the opinion of a middle-aged man on fashion (Ovid himself is about 45 years old at the time of writing the *Ars*). However,

²⁸ Cf., for example, *leucophaeus*, *baeticatus*, *spanus*.

²⁹ Cf. below p. 430

his views will not have been too far off from those of his readers and the *puellae* he purports to counsel.

In addition, there are some social restrictions on the intended and actual readership. The (Graeco-Roman) *puellae* whose culture Ovid is celebrating in his poems all belong to the class of freedmen; Ovid himself was a member of the Roman upper classes with close contacts to the imperial court; his readers were all at least part of the urban elite, ranging from the old aristocracy to social upstarts and new money. Although the composition of this group is to some extent heterogenous, the social and cultural mores Ovid describes nevertheless derive from what we might call ‘new’ upper classes. We may generalize Ovid’s cultural preferences, but we should not forget that these are only the preferences of a restricted, albeit very influential number of people. All colours mentioned by Ovid are those worn by well-off young women in the capital (the leisure class). A commoner will have rarely dressed in artificially coloured clothing, and if so, her preferences may have been different (see below). Ovid’s production and reception context can then be summed up as high-status social discourse.

Ovid’s catalogue of dress colours is a *locus classicus*. No other passage in Latin literature assembles such a variety of shades. It has recently been commented on by Gibson (2003).³⁰ The present analysis mainly focuses on colour terms. Readers are referred to Gibson’s commentary for further information. The following section disagrees with Gibson and the traditional interpretation on Ovid’s catalogue in several points.

In general, the *Ars amatoria* is concerned with physical beauty (*forma*), and this also pertains to the use of colour. At first glance, the catalogue of dress colours looks like a digression inserted between remarks on hairstyle and facial care. And yet, artificial colours play a role in those sections as well, since they enhance attractiveness and hide ‘physical defects.’ Hair dye or a wig hide grey hairs; brushing teeth makes them shine brightly; and white or red make-up models the face as needed. In this respect, the catalogue of coloured dresses comes in quite smoothly. Like cosmetics, coloured dress is not an end in itself, but serves to underline or heighten *forma*. The cut and the colour of the garments must be in keeping with the woman’s physique. Not every dress colour suits every complexion (188). The woman has to make the right choice and avoid offensive taste. In the framing sections, Ovid emphasizes that individual *forma* is the objective by renouncing expensive clothing (169–170) and by stressing that colour should always suit complexion as well as situation (189–192). The criterion of the *aptum* (appropriateness), a rhetorical category, plays an important role in the catalogue as well, in which most colours are assigned to a female goddess or heroine for whom they are most appropriate.

As to formal poetic art, the catalogue of colours forms a self-contained unit and can be read on its own. The catalogue of colours proper (173–184) is framed by two

³⁰ See also Sebesta (1994) 68–69; Olson (2008) 11–12; Bradley (n. 1) 181–187; Goldman (n. 1) 25–26.

sections (169–172, 185–192) serving as introduction and conclusion. Ovid also aims at internal proportion, but he does not meticulously maintain formal exactness by counting verses (as minor poets might have done). The core of the catalogue—a hidden allusion to the love goddess Venus—is found near the middle (181).

Three general ideas may help to find the way through this piece of complex poetry. (1) Ovid is creating a cosmology of colours. The entire world offers a variety of colours that young women can wear: the sky (*aer*), the sea (*undae*), the land (*terra*), animate and inanimate nature, the animals (*grus*), the plants (bushes, fruits, flowers), and stones. The natural world is governed by cyclical movement: weather (rain and sunshine), the time of day (day and night), and the seasons (spring, summer, autumn, winter). (2) The cosmos is almost exclusively populated by female beings: (a) goddesses, such as Venus, Nephele, Eos, and the nymphs, (b) heroines, such as Ino, Helle, Briseis, and Andromeda, and (c) Amaryllis, the shepherd’s mistress. All these are implicitly compared to Ovid’s mortal female readers. (3) Numerous poetic models are evoked or quoted by Ovid, such as Homer, Catullus, Vergil, and Propertius. Some myths offered in unusual versions suggest that Ovid also used Hellenistic authors (Antimachos and Kallimachos) and pieces of art that are no longer recognizable to us. The whole catalogue, including its framing sections, runs as follows:

*quid de veste loquar? Nec vos, segmenta, requiro
nec te, quae Tyrio murice, lana, rubes.* 170

*cum tot prodierint pretio leviores colores,
quis furor est census corpore ferre suos!
aeris, ecce, color, tum cum sine nubibus aer,
nec tepidus pluvias concitat auster aquas,
ecce, tibi similis, quae quondam Phrixon et Hellen
diceris Inois eripuisse dolis.* 175

*hic undas imitatur, habet quoque nomen ab undis:
crediderim nymphas hac ego veste tegi.
ille crocum simulat: croceo velatur amictu,
roscida luciferos cum dea iungit equos.* 180

*hic Paphias myrtos, hic purpureas amethystos,
albetesve rosas, Threiciamve gruem;
nec glandes, Amarylli, tuae, nec amygdala desunt;
et sua velleribus nomina cera dedit.*

*quot nova terra parit flores, cum vere tepenti
vitis agit gemmas pigraque fugit hiemps,
lana tot aut plures sucos bibit; elige certos:
nam non conveniens omnibus omnis erit.* 185

*pulla decent niveas: Briseida pulla decebant:
cum rapta est, pulla tum quoque veste fuit.* 190
alba decent fuscas: albis, Cephei, placebas:

sic tibi vestitae pressa Seriphos erat.

What shall I say about clothing? I do not need metal ornaments nor wool dyed with Tyrian purple. Since so many colours are on the market for less money, it is madness to wear your fortune on your body. [azure] Behold the colour of the sky when it is without clouds, and no warm south wind is stirring up rain. Behold the colour, which resembles you (= *Nephele*), who once, as the story goes, saved Phrixus and Helle from the malice of Ino. [turquoise] This colour imitates the waves and also takes its name from them. The nymphs, I think, wear such a garment. [saffron red] This colour imitates saffron. Aurora, wet with dew, dresses herself in saffron-coloured cloak when she harnesses the light-bringing horses. [dark green] This colour imitates the myrtle of Venus; [violet/rose] this one imitates the purple amethysts or the whitish rose-coloured roses or the Thracian *grus* (flamingo). [brown] Neither thy chestnut, *Amaryllis*, nor the almond are lacking, and even beeswax has given its name to the fleece. How many flowers the earth brings forth anew when, in the balmy spring, the vine buds and the sluggish winter flees. So many and more dyes the wool drinks. Choose certain colours because not every colour suits every woman. Dark clothes adorn women with a white complexion. Dark clothes adorned *Briseis*. When she was being abducted, she was also wearing a dark robe. White clothes adorn women with a dark complexion. Thou, *Andromeda*, didst please in a white dress. That is how you were dressed when you stayed on *Seriphos*.

The first framing section (169–172) alludes to a diatribe of *Propertius* (3.13) on female luxury. In his poem, *Propertius* mentions imported luxury goods, such as gold and Tyrian purple, and complains that many Roman wives carry the fortune of their grandchildren on their body.³¹ *Ovid* similarly renounces *segmenta* (ornaments) and wool dyed with Tyrian purple.³² *Segmenta* and purple are often associated with the costume of the rich *matrona*,³³ but *Ovid* shows that dresses with gold and purple cloaks also belonged to the wardrobe of young *hetaerae*.³⁴ *Ovid*'s advice may thus be hiding some self-interest of the male lover, who—in the poetic stereotype—is always made to pay for female dress luxury.³⁵ However, it is also a common trope in Latin Literature that young

³¹ Prop. 3.13.1–12.

³² The form and the material of a *segmentum* is not described explicitly in any Classical text. It is some kind of valuable trimming very likely made of metal (gold or silver). *Sidonius Apollinaris*, epithal. *Polemii* 158; epist. 8.8.6 (5th century CE) uses the word to denote the square or rectangular ornaments on the garments of consuls, which we can identify from consular diptychs; cf. *Marquardt/Mau* (1886) 548; *Blümner* (1911) 255; *Blümner I* (1912) 212; *Gibson* (2003) ad loc.

³³ Val. Max. 5.2.1: *permisit quoque his purpurea veste et aureis uti segmentis* [he allowed them (i.e. the *matronae*) to use a purple robe and *segmenta*]; CIL 14.2215: *zona I cum segmentis argenteis* [one belt with silver *segmenta*] (cf. also B 4 p. 340). *Iuven.* 2.124 (mocking a passive homosexual): *segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit* [he puts on *segmenta*, a long robe, and a bridal scarf]; 6.89 (of the *matrona* *Eppia*): *quamquam segmentatis dormisset parvula cunis* [although she has slept already as a little girl in a cradle with *segmenta*].

³⁴ *Ovid.* ars 2.297–299; cf. B 9 p. 373.

³⁵ Cf., for example, A 5 p. 89; A 11 p. 213.

women do not need expensive clothing to appear beautiful. Tasteful dress suffices. Although the focus is on value in this section, dress colour comes in with Tyrian purple. This type of purple was still very expensive in Ovid's times (it lost value later).³⁶ It had a reddish purple colour (*rubet*). Tyrian red (alongside gold) thus forms an implicit supplement to the catalogue of colours that follows, which lists several violet shades, but omits dark red.

The catalogue of colours proper comprises the verses 173–184. The identification of the various hues and their designations present several difficulties. These arise from the fact that Ovid does not use the regular word for the colours in question, but only ever gives the natural object it 'imitates.' Some designations are easy to determine because the regular colour adjective is derived from the natural object (for example: *myrtus* = *myrteus*). Others are more opaque. The enigmatic nature of the terms contributes to the charm of the passage, but it has led scholars astray in some points. In total, the catalogue enumerates ten (and not eleven) shades.³⁷ The suggested identifications differ in several points from the traditional interpretation as represented by the commentary of Gibson. The left-hand column lists the Latin natural object from which the shade is derived. The central column lists modern English equivalents. The right-hand column then gives the designation in neutral language.

Natural object	Colour	Designation
<i>aer</i> = <i>caelum</i>	sky blue, azure	<i>caeruleus</i>
<i>undae</i> = <i>mare</i>	aquamarine, turquoise	<i>color aquae marinae</i>
<i>crocum</i>	saffron red, orange red	<i>croceus</i>
<i>myrtus</i>	myrtle green, dark green	<i>myrteus</i>
<i>amethystus</i>	amethyst-coloured, violet	<i>amethystinus</i>
<i>rosa</i>	rose-coloured	<i>roseus</i>
<i>grus</i>	rose-white	–
<i>nux castanea</i>	chestnut brown	<i>caryinus</i>
<i>amygdalum</i>	almond brown	<i>amygdalinus</i>
<i>cera</i>	wax-coloured, yellow-brown	<i>cereus</i>

173–176: *caeruleus* (azure)

The first colour is presented in the form of a riddle: "The colour of the sky when it is without clouds, and no warm south wind is stirring up rain." The obvious answer is 'blue.' However, it is not the pale sky blue known to the inhabitants of northern Europe,

³⁶ See below p. 449.

³⁷ Against Gibson (2003).

but a darker, more intense shade called azure.³⁸ Following Servius,³⁹ modern scholars usually associate Ovid's statement with the adjectives *aerius* or *aerinus* (ἀέρινος),⁴⁰ but both words are attested as colour designations only in Tertullian and then in Late Antiquity.⁴¹ It is therefore advisable to solve Ovid's riddle in a different way and to replace the Greek loanword *aer* with the Latin noun *caelum* (sky). The adjective form *caerulus/caeruleus*, which is derived from *caelum* by dissimilation, is a perfect fit. From Ennius onwards, it often denotes the colour of the sky.⁴² The sky also gave its name to the azurite (*caeruleum*).⁴³ The adjective *caeruleus* is also used by Juvenal to designate a female dress colour.⁴⁴

The subject paraphrased in the relative clause of the riddle (175) is the sky goddess Nephele. Usually vv. 175–176 are thought to refer to a second colour (white or even grey), which contrasts to the before-mentioned colour of the sky.⁴⁵ There are, however, some difficulties with this view: All other colours in the catalogue are defined with reference to an object of nature and are identified as artificial colours. In addition, grey-white (white is mentioned below) or grey do not suit a beautiful girl. The traditional view is also not compelling as to grammar. The sentence structure can be interpreted in another way. The explanation runs as follows: The vv. 173–174 and 175–176 should not to be kept apart. They instead form a single unit. The word *ecce* (behold) in verse 175 does not introduce a new item but simply repeats the preceding *ecce* (173) in a kind of rhetorical repetition (*geminatio*). This creates the same structure found in vv. 177–178 and vv. 179–180, where a colour is first introduced by reference to a natural object and then assigned to a goddess. The doubling of *ecce* then means that we no longer need to look for an additional colour for Nephele's dress. Her robe is azure, symbolizing the sky. Perhaps Ovid even had a specific depiction in mind. The blue colour is appropriate for a beautiful goddess living in the sky. It also suits a Roman *puella*. Blue is further related to the colour of the sea described in the next distich.

³⁸ Against Sebesta (1994) 68.

³⁹ Serv. ad Verg. Ecl. 3.69 p. 28.19 Thilo: *aeriae* (sc. *palumbes*): *aerii coloris*. Servius' comment on Vergil is mistaken. The doves are said to be *aeriae* because they fly in the air (*aer*), not because of their colour.

⁴⁰ Blümner (1912) 258; André (1947) 182; Gibson (2003) 165 ad loc.

⁴¹ Tertull. cult. fem. 1.8: *non potuit* (sc. *deus*) *purpureas nasci iubere neque aerinas oves* [god could not let grow purple or blue sheep]; de anim. 9: (sc. *anima*) *tenera et lucida et aerii coloris* [the soul is tender and bright and has a blue colour]; ThLL I s. v. *aerinus* col. 1061.67–70; s. v. *aerius* col. 1062.75–81.

⁴² ThLL III s. v. *caeruleus* col. 104.18–23; s. v. *caerula* col.107.24–27; OLD s. v. *caerula* 1.

⁴³ André (1947) 164–166.

⁴⁴ Iuven. 2.97, who mocks a homosexual for wearing a feminine blue-checked dress (*caerulea scutulata*).

⁴⁵ T. Leary, The Sky is overcast. Ovid, ars 3.173–6, AC 34 (1991), 151–152; Gibson (2003) ad loc.; Bradley (n. 1) 183.

177–178: *color aquae marinae* (turquoise)

The colour of the sea lies between blue and green. We call it blue-green, sea-green, turquoise, or aquamarine. Because of the ambiguous position in the colour spectrum, Latin literature elsewhere denotes sea water through the adjectives *caeruleus* (dark blue) or *viridis* (green). Ovid, however, does not allude to either of these adjectives. His statement that the colour received its name from the waves (*ab undis*) has led scholars to think that Ovid is referring to the Greek loanword **cumatilis* (κύμα = *unda*).⁴⁶ However, this hypothesis is not viable. The adjective **cumatilis* is only attested in this form in the catalogue of garments in Plautus' *Epidicus*. It is not a regular word, but a hapax (maybe coined by Plautus ad hoc). It is a gloss that does not denote a colour.⁴⁷ A wave (*unda*, κύμα) is not a colour, but a form, and **cumatilis*, like its Latin counterpart **undulatus*, must refer to an ornament with a wave pattern (as there are in archaeological evidence). For these reasons, the explanation of Ovid's description must take another starting point. The noun *undae* (waves, plural) is simply a metonymy for the sea, which is called *mare* in Latin. The adjective *marinus* is not attested as a colour term in Classical literature,⁴⁸ but *color aquae marinae* is mentioned by Celsus in his treatise on medicine.⁴⁹ In the respective passage, Celsus is describing the blue colour of various eye injuries, distinguishing—like Ovid—this type of blue from the dark blue called *caeruleus*. On the basis of this close parallel, it seems very likely that Ovid is also referring to *color aquae marinae* (aquamarine) in his catalogue. In later times, this colour is denoted by the Greek loanword *callainus* (καλλάινος) after the stone turquoise (*callais*).⁵⁰ The inadequacy felt in the short designation of shades of blue may have led to the adoption of the Greek adjective, as well as to the adoption of the adjective *Venetus* (= azure). Both azure and turquoise were presumably regarded as more 'neutral' female artificial dress colours. For this reason, there are only few references to it in Roman literature, which mostly notes the devious and hence focuses on the more striking colours.

vv. 179–180: *croceus* ('orange')

The third colour contrasts strongly with turquoise. It is usually identified as yellow (OLD s. v. *croceus*: saffron-coloured, yellow),⁵¹ but we should instead opt for another colour. Yellow (*luteus*) is the wedding colour (see below), and it does not fit this passage.

⁴⁶ Blümner (1912) 258; André (1949) 193–194, 234; Sebesta (1994) 68; Gibson (2003) 166; GRD (2007) 45; Olson (2008) 11; Bradley (n. 1) 183.

⁴⁷ Cf. A 4 p. 80.

⁴⁸ It is first attested in Nonius p. 879.10 L.: *cumatilis aut marinus aut caeruleus*.

⁴⁹ Celsus 7.7.14: *si exigua suffusio est, si ... colorem ... habet marinae aquae ... , spes superest* [there is hope if the cataract in the eye is only small and has the colour *aquae marinae*].

⁵⁰ Mart. 14.140.

⁵¹ Blümner (1892) (n. 1) 130–132; Sebesta (1994) 68; Gibson (2003) 167 ad loc.; Bradley (n. 1) 184; Goldman (n. 1) 26.

Ovid will hardly have suggested that the *puellae* seeking to impress a lover wear the colour of a wedding dress. Like its counterpart from the yellow to green side (*galbinus*), the term *croceus* is difficult to define. Its semantic place in the line of Latin colour terms is between *luteus* (yellow) and *russeus* (plain red). In modern terms, it can denote shades ranging from scarlet to bright orange. If we aim for the medium, we may thus simply call it ‘orange.’ Since the denoted shades rarely occur in natural objects (the word mostly refers to the rising of the sun), there is some ambiguity in usage. Some authors interpret *croceus* as a kind of yellow,⁵² other authors (the majority) as a kind of red. The difficulty of the ancient authors may be felt when trying to describe the colour of a sunrise without reference to the fruit orange. Is orange a yellowish red or a reddish yellow?⁵³ In modern scholarship, the word *croceus* is often thought to refer to the yellow colour produced by saffron. Gibson, for example, interprets Ovid’s expression *crocum simulat* to mean that the colour imitates the yellow hue obtained from saffron dyeing.⁵⁴ However, the phrase *crocum simulat* rather refers to threads of the crocus—the saffron (*crocum*)— which have exactly this colour. Ovid says that saffron has a red shade,⁵⁵ and *croceus* is predominantly regarded as a sort of radiant red.⁵⁶ The goddess of dawn is thus dressed in the colour of dawn, whose colour is orange tending towards red.⁵⁷ The colour *croceus* also gave rise to the dress name *crocota*.⁵⁸

181a: *myrteus* – dark green

The fourth colour again forms a contrast to the preceding colour. It is the green of the evergreen myrtle (*myrtus communis*).⁵⁹ The point of reference is clearly the green of the leaves and not the brown of the bark.⁶⁰ It was evidently perceived as a dark green, since Ovid calls the myrtle black (*nigra*).⁶¹ It is the darkest of the three green shades⁶² and is the least attested, presumably because, being the darkest one, it is the least ‘controversial’ and therefore the least worthy of mention in a scandalizing text.

⁵² Mart. 15.40.1: *croceos vitellos* [yellow yolks]; Iuven. 7.23 (of parchment).

⁵³ On the same ambiguity in case of hair colours of women in Classical Greece, cf. S. Grundmann, *Haut und Haar. Politische und soziale Bedeutungen des Körpers im klassischen Griechenland*, Wiesbaden 2019 (Philippika 133), 375–377, 442–451.

⁵⁴ Gibson (2003) ad loc. 167; Bradley (n. 1) 184.

⁵⁵ Ovid. ars 1.104, am. 2.6.22, fast. 1.342.

⁵⁶ André (1949) 154.

⁵⁷ Blümner (1892) (n. 1) 130–132; André (1949) 153–155.

⁵⁸ Cf., for example, p. A 3 58; A 10 pp. 205–206; B 1 p. 259.

⁵⁹ André (1949) 190; Sebesta (1994) 68.

⁶⁰ Against OLD s. v. *myrteus*.

⁶¹ Ovid. ars 3.690.

⁶² See below p. 430.

181b–182: *amethystinus* and *roseus* (violet, rose)

The grammatical form of the enumeration changes in v. 181b. Instead of a strict equivalence, the subject (*hic*) now refers not only to one ($x = a$), but alternatively (*ve*) to three accusatives ($x = a$ or b or c). The questions arise: (A) Do the three natural things expressed by the object all have the same colour? Are the amethyst, the roses, and the bird called *grus* all violet? (B) Or do they have slightly different shades? Are amethysts violet, the roses rose-coloured, and the *grus* white rose? (C) Or (assuming a grammatical ellipsis) do they have three different colours? Are amethysts violet, roses white, and the *grus* grey?⁶³ The grammar seems most natural if we opt for solution A (same colour) or B (similar shades). The hypothesis is also supported by the subsequent distich (183–184), which gives us three different shades of one colour—the colour brown. However, there is the word *grus*, which usually refers to the grey crane. This would favour solution C. In the end, we have to make a choice. In contrast to Gibson, the following argues that we should opt for solution B (three similar shades) and explain the word *grus* as a reference to a flamingo.

The colour of the first two natural objects is clear. The gemstone called *amethystus* is violet. Ovid says that it is *purpureus*. In addition, Pliny the Elder defines the colour *amethystinus* as *ianthinus* (violet).⁶⁴ The *albentes rosae* have a similar hue, though not exactly the same. The term rose (*rosa*, ῥόδον) in Antiquity, if not further defined, referred to a pale, rose-coloured flower (not a deep red one we commonly associate with roses today).⁶⁵ The appearance of the wild dog rose (*rosa canina*), the most common species of the genus growing wild in Europe, shows what kind of roses Ovid and his readers had in mind. Its petals are rose-coloured and grow a bit whiter (*albentes*) towards the middle. The colour adjective *roseus* hence describes a range of rose or pink shades.⁶⁶ In the list of Heras, ⁶⁷ the shade ῥόδινοϋ (*roseus*) figures besides *ianthinus*. After the darker violet of the amethyst, we thus have a second, very similar shade.

For these reasons, it seems likely that the third item in line—the *grus*—would have a similar shade. But what kind of bird is Ovid referring to? First of all, his *grues Thraciae* recall the mythical *grues* of Virgil (and Homer), which settled in the estuary of the Thracian river Strymon. In a strictly neutral sense, the Latin term *grus* (= γέρανος) designates a crane. However, this bird is dark grey and does not match the catalogue at all.⁶⁸ Its colour is neither attractive nor is it artificial for clothing. It would have been called *pullus* in Latin. On the other hand, the delicate rose-white plumage of the flamingo (*phoenicopterus*) perfectly fits into the line of violet colours. The flamingo lived in the coastal area of the Mediterranean and was well known in Rome. In numerous

⁶³ Sebesta (1994) 68; Gibson (2003) 168 ad loc.; Goldman (n. 1) 26; Bradley (n. 1) 185.

⁶⁴ Plin. NH 21.45 (see n. 21).

⁶⁵ D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, Oxford 1936, 69–75.

⁶⁶ André (1949) 111–113; Bogensperger (n. 22) 240–242.

⁶⁷ See below p. 423.

⁶⁸ For the aporia, cf. Gibson (2003) ad loc. and Bradley (n. 1) 185.

texts of the later Imperial period, it appears among other pet birds.⁶⁹ Ovid might have called the flamingo a *grus* in poetic language. After all, his poem is not a scientific treatise. In the next verse, for example, chestnuts are mixed up with acorns (*glandes*). It was also metrically difficult and inelegant to include the unwieldy neutral term *phoenicopterus* in the verse. In a similar manner, Martial circumscribes the word as a bird with reddish plumage. Juvenal uses *phoenicopterus* in an artistic manner (to designate an overloaded dinner table).⁷⁰ However, these were not viable solutions for Ovid here. For this reason, the simple term *grus* may have served as a metonymy for a bird that was similar to the flamingo in its over-all physique.⁷¹ If the poetical expression *Thracian grues* thus conceals the rose-coloured flamingo, Ovid is referring to a third, similar shade of violet. It seems a better solution than to force grammar or to include a grey shade in the line of bright colours.

183–184: *caryinus*, **amygdalinus*, *cereus* — three shades of brown

The last distich offers three different shades of brown. The first is chestnut brown. Ovid is clearly alluding to Vergil's second *Eclogue*, in which the shepherd Corydon regales his pastoral mistress Amaryllis with chestnuts (*castaneae nuces*) and wax coloured plums (*cerea pruna*).⁷² The Latin term denoting this sort of brown is difficult to determine. The adjective **castaneus* is not attested in Latin.⁷³ We might hence look for a Greek loanword hiding behind the Latin word *nux*. In Greek, the chestnut (κάρυον κασταναῖχόν) was counted among the nuts (κάρυα). Ovid may be alluding to the adjective *caryinus* (καρύϊνος). The dress catalogue in Plautus' *Epidicus* shows that the adjective also referred to a dress colour.⁷⁴ The second brown—the brown of the almond (*amygdala*)—is slightly lighter than the brown of the chestnut. The respective adjective is *amygdalinus* (ἀμυγδάλινος). In analogy to *caryinus*, it may have served as a colour indication, although we do not find it used in this way anywhere else. The final shade of brown is wax brown, which is slightly yellowish. Ovid's imitation again takes its starting point from the above-mentioned passage from Vergil's *Eclogue*. The term that

⁶⁹ Sen. epist. 110.12; Plin. NH 10.133; Suet. Cal. 22, Vit. 13.2.

⁷⁰ Mart. 3.58.13–14: *pauones* || *nomenque debet quae rubentibus pinnis* [peacocks and the bird which owes its name to its reddish plumage]; 13.71: [*phoenicopterus*]: *dat mihi pinna rubens nomen* [flamingo (= 'bird with red wing'): my reddish plumage gives the name to me]; Iuven. 11.139: *et Scythicae uolucres et phoenicopterus ingens* (Scythian birds and a flamingo hue).

⁷¹ It is interesting to note that the constellation *grus* was called *phoenicopterus* in Early Modern times.

⁷² Verg. ecl. 2.51–53a: *ipse ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala* || *castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat*; || *addam cerea pruna* [I myself will gather grey quinces with tender down and chestnuts, which my Amaryllis loved. I will add wax-coloured plums.].

⁷³ Vergil and the ps.-Vergilian *Copa* 19, which seems to imitate him, speak of the *nux castanea*, but use the noun *castanea* as an adjective.

⁷⁴ Cf. A 4 p. 82.

covers the particular brown is *creus* or *cerinus* (χήρινος). In the *Epidicus*, this adjective also denotes a dress colour.⁷⁵

The strict enumeration begins to fade in the last four distichs, which serve as the second frame part and form a kind general conclusion (185–192). According to Ovid, there are infinitely many colours. Referring to flowers and wine, Ovid may have had further colours in mind, which would all derive their names from these natural objects. His advice to his female readership: You must choose from among the colours and shades that suit you. Having dealt with the costs (*pretium*) at the beginning, Ovid now mentions two further factors that should determine the woman's choice: complexion and (indirectly) the particular occasion. In vv. 189–192, he illustrates this with the extreme 'colours' white (*albus*) and black (*pullus*).⁷⁶ The Homeric heroine Briseis, when abducted from her father, is shown in a dark mourning robe that goes well with her white complexion; Andromeda, when rescued by Perseus from the sea monster—she celebrates her rescue as a kind of birthday—, is wearing a white festive robe that makes her dark skin stand out advantageously. It also signals that she is still a virgin.⁷⁷

Comparing Ovid's list to the general overview of colours, it appears that it contains the most important shades. However, there are some notable gaps. Yellow (*luteus*), the wedding colour, is missing, and apart from *croceus*, Ovid only refers to the less striking shades, focusing on blue, violet, and brown. In the case of green, he mentions dark green, but neither medium green (*prasinus*) nor 'lime'-green (*galbinus*). In the case of red, we only find purple Tyrian red, but not plain red (*russeus*). We should also note that Ovid converges with what we find in Herais' catalogue in his preference for violet (purple-related shades) and that the colours missing in Ovid are exactly those which appear on the clothing of the freed slaves Trimalchio and Fortunata. As we will see later on,⁷⁸ this omission may not be pure coincidence. It may point to the restriction that these colours were not fit for the educated upper classes. We should keep in mind that despite the irreverent tone there is a social bias in the *Ars amatoria*. It is poetry for and about the urban Roman jeunesse dorée. As much as Ovid is seemingly giving 'new' advice, he derives his suggestions from the established codes of his clientele. His advice cannot stray too far from the fashionable norm.

11.3.2 The colours of an Egyptian *matrona* – PHamb. 33

The second case study shows the diversity Graeco-Roman dress culture had achieved by the second century CE so that it comprised Greek, Roman, and even Celtic dress terms (*lodix*). The text we are going to analyse now is of an unique cultural importance.

⁷⁵ Cf. A p. 83.

⁷⁶ Against Gibson (2003) 170 ad loc.; on *pullus* (~ *niger*), cf. André (1949) 71–72.

⁷⁷ Cf. below p. 434.

⁷⁸ Cf. below pp. 438–443.

It is not a literary Latin text, but a Greek everyday text, a letter written on papyrus. It does not pertain to Italy, but to Egypt, which was part of the southern border of the Roman world, and unlike most of the texts examined in this book, it does not date to the beginning of the Imperial period, but to the latter half of the second century CE. Finally, the text is not written by a man, but by a mature woman, an Egyptian *matrona*.⁷⁹ That makes it one of only two texts in this book not written by men!

The woman refers to herself as Herais, and she lived in a village in the Fayum Oasis. In her letter she reports a burglary of her estate to the local magistrate (δεκαδάρχης). After briefly describing the crime (which includes a murder), she enumerates the stolen objects, first and foremost the clothing.⁸⁰

[1] ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐβάσταζάν μου συνθέσεις τελείας λευκάς δεκατρεῖς,
 ἐν αἷς πλατύσημοι γυναικεῖαι δέκα, καὶ παιδικὰς δύο, καὶ ἑτέρας χρωματίνας· λευ-
 κόσπανον ᾗ καὶ σπανὴν ἑτέραν ᾗ, ῥοδίνην ᾗ καὶ γαλακτίνην ᾗ·
 καὶ φαινόλην λευκόσπανον τέλειον λακωνόσημον ᾗ·
 [5] καὶ γυναικείας συνθέσεις· πορφυρῶν μὲν β̄, ἐν αἷς ᾗ <μετὰ> ὑποζώνης καὶ
 παλλίου, καὶ τυριαντίνην ᾗ καὶ κροκωτίνην ᾗ καὶ κοκκίνην ᾗ·
 [7] καὶ σμαραγδίνον ὑπόζωνον καὶ πάλλιον·
 καὶ ἱμάτιον μόναχον ἀμπέλινον·
 καὶ ἕτερον ἱμάτιον ῥόδινον·
 καὶ πάλλια μὲν ἄλλα δ̄ λευκά μὲν β̄, κροκώτινον ᾗ, τυριάντινον ᾗ καὶ <...> μόναχον
 πορφυροῦν·
 καὶ ἀβόλλας τελείους β̄, ἐν οἷς ἄγναφος ᾗ·
 καὶ λωδίους λευκάς β̄.

They also stole from me 13 first-class *syntheseis* in white colour, 10 of which are for women and have broad stripes, and 2 more for children; and other coloured ones, 1 ‘white Spanish’ and 1 ‘Spanish,’ 1 rose-coloured and 1 milk white; and 1 first-class *paemula* in ‘white Spanish’ with Spartan stripes; and female *syntheseis*, 2 purple, including 1 <with> belt and *pallium*, 1 purple, 1 saffron, 1 crimson; and 1 emerald belt with *pallium*; and 1 wineleaf-coloured *himation*, a single piece; and 1 other rose-coloured *himation*; and 4 more *pallia*, 2 white, 1 saffron-red, 1 violet; <...> a single purple; and 2 first-class *abollae*, 1 of which is not fulled; and 2 white *lodices*.

⁷⁹ Cf. the first edition of Meyer (1924); C. Römer, Was so in einem reichen Haus zu finden war, in: M. Tellenbach et al. (eds.), Die Macht der Toga. Dresscode im Römischen Weltreich, Hildesheim 2013, 161–163; for photography, see <https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de>. The text is so far omitted in all dress histories.

⁸⁰ The condition of the papyrus offers no difficulties. For this reason, a diplomatic transcription has been omitted here, for which Meyer (1924) may be consulted. However, the writer himself seems to have made some mistakes. In contrast to former editions, μετὰ is added in line 5 in front of ὑποζώνης (= belt, cf. LSJ s.v. and l. 7 ὑπόζωνον). In line 6, πάλλιον is emended to παλλίου and included into the relative clause. In this way, the enumeration of the *syntheseis* runs without interruption.

The catalogue is not completely systematic. It can be roughly divided into two large sections. First, several white and coloured *syntheseis* are listed. The ten striped white *syntheseis* for women with broad stripes are especially noteworthy. The usual number of participants of a *triclinium* was about nine to twelve,⁸¹ and the *syntheseis* perhaps formed a set. After the reference to an exquisite *paenula* in line 4, the list seems to reach a first stop. In line 5, there is a new start, which lists further female *syntheseis*. Then come further individual pieces. The coats again stand at the end of the enumeration. If Herais' extensive list was based on the contents of her wardrobes and chests, at least two storage containers were involved in the burglary. Herais' robes were precious (that is why they were stolen). They obviously derived their value partly from the fabric, partly from its colour and ornaments.

All of the Greek garment terms used by Herais are attested elsewhere in Latin literature in the Imperial period. Particularly prominent in her letter is the *synthesis*. It is noticeable that there is no mention of single valuable tunics (*chitones*), perhaps because all of them formed part of Herais' *syntheseis*. For a *synthesis* (B 10) usually consisted in one tunic (specifically an undertunic) and a scarf (*palliolum*). Furthermore, the enumeration mentions several other types of coats or cloth: the Greek ἱμάτιον, the *paenula* (B 7), the *abolla* (B 8), the *lodix* (a loden cloth), and the πάλλιον. The Latin loanword πάλλιον, which is formally equivalent to Latin *pallium*, causes some difficulties. It occurs alongside the term ἱμάτιον and indicates that Herais uses the two Greek terms to refer to two distinct garments. However, this stands in contrast to normal usage because Latin literature always translates the Greek term ἱμάτιον with the Latin word *pallium*. There are two different ways of solving this question: We could either equate the Greek word πάλλιον to the Latin word *palliolum* (scarf),⁸² or we could assume that the Roman *pallium* could be distinguished in Greek (as opposed to in Latin). Perhaps a Roman *pallium* differed slightly from a Greek ἱμάτιον, but the Romans, in contrast to the Greeks, did not differentiate between both garments linguistically, as was the case with the Roman tunic and Greek *chiton* (both being called *tunica* by the Romans).

Now to the colours, first to the natural ones. The word λευκός (white) is sometimes used to specifically denote the natural white of wool or linen. Since other whites are mentioned in the text, it might do so here. The adjectives λευκόσπανος, σπανός, and γαλάκτινος mark a deviation from the normal and refer to other, more notable shades of white of fine wool (the quality and cost of the garment is implied by the special colour). The word γαλάκτινος (= *lacteus*) is self-explanatory. It denotes the radiant white of milk (τὸ γάλα), which was artificially achieved in clothing by bleaching. Distinction between the terms 'Spanish' (σπανός) and 'white Spanish' (λευκόσπανος)

⁸¹ Cf. A 1 p. 40.

⁸² Meyer (1924) 40.

is difficult since the colour *spanus* is otherwise only mentioned in Late Antiquity.⁸³ The term is probably derived from the fact that the Iberian Peninsula, especially the province Baetica, produced wool with a very typical colour.⁸⁴ Martial associates it several times with the colour of gold.⁸⁵ We might thus infer that this special Spanish wool had a golden or golden-brown tinge.⁸⁶ The adjective λευκόσπανος, attested only in Greek, is sometimes associated with the adjective λευκόφαιος (*leucophaeus*) and is thought to denote a natural grey colour.⁸⁷ The connection of both terms also goes back to Martial, who refers to a man who liked to appear *baeticatus* (= *spanus*) *atque leucophaeatus*.⁸⁸ However, this assumption is not necessary. The designation ‘white-Spanish’ (λευκόσπανος) could just as well point to a light golden colour (σπανός).

As to artificial colours, the legal complaint mentions six shades of red and purple that are likewise hard to distinguish: rose-coloured (ρόδινος = *roseus*),⁸⁹ purple red (πορφυροῦς = *purpureus*), Tyrian-violet (τυριάνθινος = *tyrianthinus*),⁹⁰ crimson (κόκκινος = *coccineus*), orange red (χροκώτινος = *croceus*), and wineleaf-red (ἀμπέλινος = *ampelinus*).⁹¹ In Imperial times, the term *purpureus* refers to a reddish purple (often called Tyrian red), as opposed to more violet shades of purple. The term *tyrianthinus*⁹² either designates a special kind of violet called after its production site (Tyre), or it is simply synonymous with *ianthinus* (violet). The adjective *ianthinus* is found elsewhere and may be an abridged version of the longer word *Tyrianthinus*. A similar explanation is plausible for the term ἀμπέλινος, which is attested with a colour only in Herais’ letter.⁹³ It is very likely a shortening of the adjective ξηραμπέλινος (*xeramelinus*), which we find first in Juvenal and subsequently in Late Antique Greek authors.⁹⁴ According to its name, it denotes the colour of dry (ξηρός) wine leaves. We might call it ‘Bordeaux red’ today. In addition, we find two dark green garments: a belt (ὑπόζωνον) and a scarf (πάλλιον) in emerald (σμαράγδινος) green. The word σμαράγδινος as an adjective describing the colour of a garment is found only once more in an Egyptian papyrus from the same period.⁹⁵ It does not occur with dress in

83 Nonius p. 882.30–31 L.: *pullus color est, quem nunc Spanum vel nativum dicimus* [*pullus* is the colour we now call Spanish or natural].

84 Marquardt/Mau (1886) 478.

85 Mart. 9.61.3, 5.37.2, 12.98.2.

86 Marquardt/Mau (1886) 478; Meyer (1924) 39; against LSJ s. v. σπανός 2: ‘grey.’

87 Marquardt/Mau (1886) 478–479; Meyer (1924) 39; LSJ s. v. λευκόσπανος: ‘pale-grey.’

88 Mart. 1.96; cf. below p. 428.

89 See above p. 418.

90 On the different shades of purple, see below pp. 445–447.

91 On the different shades of red, see below pp. 439–443.

92 Mart. 1.53.3.

93 On Caecilius Pausimachus F 3, where it has been restored mistakenly, cf. A 7 p. 140.

94 Iuven. 6.519 and LSJ s.v. ξηραμπέλινος.

95 CPR I 27.8: χιτών σμαράγδινος (an emerald *chiton*).

Latin.⁹⁶ This may be incidental, but local conditions should be kept in mind when considering colour terms. Emeralds were mined in Egypt, and their green was a ready reference point, especially for a wealthy woman living in the region. The same applies to milk white, which was more common in Egypt than the snow white found in the north of the empire.

In general, there are twelve dark red or violet garments on Herais' list. All of them have a shade that is related to purple and may be produced by purple dye. The selection shows the unique social prestige attached to purple in Roman dress culture.⁹⁷ This prestige led to the invention of ever-more colour terms denoting special dark-red or violet shades, whereas other colours, like green, saw far less technical and linguistic innovation. In Herais' list, there is no yellow (the wedding colour), but there is also no true red and no blue. Green is only found twice and only with accessories. Beyond the purple and crimson shades, there are thus none of the striking colours (*russeus*, *galbinus*) worn by Trimalchio and Fortunata. However, many of the colours recommended by Ovid are also missing. This discrepancy could be caused by the fact that Ovid is listing ideal options, whereas Herais' list describes the contents of a real wardrobe and her own preferences. It may also mirror a general difference between the garb of young *puellae* (Ovid's target audience) and that of *matronae*. The latter social group probably preferred a reduced colour palette and focused on (expensive) shades of purple. At least, Herais' preferences fit in with tendencies we find in other literary sources.

11.4 Social codes of dress colour

An old German proverb says that 'the wife of punch (*Kasper*) wears green and blue, punch himself a yellow hue.' It shows that in Germany social colour codes once even pertained as far as punches' clothing,⁹⁸ but there are still some colour codes left in modern European societies (such as wearing black at funerals or a bride wearing white). The ancient Romans likewise had many more or less strict codes for which colours were worn on which occasions and by which social class, and this section develops a brief sociology of Roman dress colour.⁹⁹

In Antiquity, informal social rules structured society by distinction and restraint far beyond written law. The chapters on the *stola* (B 4) and the *praetexta* (B 5) have already touched on social norms and privileges that were converted into legal ones in Augustan times. The informal social norms, as it seems, usually take their origin

⁹⁶ It is used by Celsus 5.19.4 to denote a plaster.

⁹⁷ See below pp. 447–449.

⁹⁸ German: Grün und blau geht Kaspers Frau, noch ein bisschen gelber geht der Kasper selber.

⁹⁹ For the categories, cf. M. E. Roach/J. B. Eicher, *Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order*, Madison 1965.

with the (rich) ruling classes and then diffuse into all social groups. For order and hierarchy are always in the interest of those who stand at the top. Distinction shows that you are in a place in the sun, and restraint keeps others' hands off your legal and financial privileges. Roman (mostly unwritten) social rules are as well hidden as modern ones. They only become noticeable to us in ancient sources when they clashed with transgressive behaviour, but we might assume that the rules pervaded life to the highest degree.

In Rome, artificial dress colour and garments served to fix an individual's place in society, at least to some degree. There was no permanent (as opposed to temporary) legal prohibition of anyone wearing any dress colour of his or her own choice. There was also no regular item of female clothing that had a fixed colour (the yellow wedding dress was an exceptional garment). However, dress colour showed who you were. This is most obvious in the colours of the insignia—purple, crimson, and white—which distinguished the upper classes, but the same distinguishing function pertains more or less to all artificial colours. An individual living in Roman society had to know how to use colours in an appropriate and advantageous manner. There was, of course, always the (legal) freedom to *not* use colours in a socially approved manner, but this only indicated a lack of education (or simply lunacy). Wearing black, for example, except as a sign of grief, would have been seen as incongruous by Romans. In this sense, the history of artificial colour is not only one of distinction, but also one of restraint.

The following describes the general categories that gave specific social functions to certain colours. They are similar to those whose residues we still find in the modern European world: situation, gender, age, and social class. The criteria often overlap, and there is often more than one in use at a time. Since social norms are mainly implicit, explicit evidence on the social perception of dress colour is slim. Colour codes are rarely expressed directly in the texts available to us, and they have to mostly be inferred from the type of individuals described. For this reason, literary stereotypes help us to infer some notions about social codes in general and colour codes in particular.

Before starting, however, it is best to once again delineate what the following section and its sub-sections are about and what they are *not* about. (1) The section focuses primarily on social norms and not on actual social behaviour and fashion. This is examined more closely in the last of the chapter's section. In contrast, the present section is about what dress colour certain people *should* have worn (if following social rules), and not about the inappropriate colour they were actually wearing. In fact, many of our texts explicitly mention that someone did not conform to the social guidelines established by the educated upper class. (2) The following discussion is about literary stereotypes and their abstract implications, and not about actual *individual* choices. It is about the social notions conveyed by a certain dress colour, and not about the personal reasons a woman might have had for choosing it. To give an example: The colour red is generally associated with eroticism, but this does not imply that an individual woman chose a given dress for that reason. Her personal interest and motivation might well have been different. Instead of thinking 'I will take my red dress because red is the

colour of love,' the reasons may have been: 'My red dress is the best I have; it makes me appear beautiful (*formosa*) and suits the occasion; and it has just come back from the laundry.' Reducing contingencies, the following is thus only about the main, normative, abstract notions that could connect a person wearing a certain colour and his or her social environment.

11.4.1 Social context

In general, any 'normal' Roman women (as opposed to priestesses) could use any artificial colour on more or less any garment. However, there are some situations that required certain colours (while forbidding others) and at the same time restricted their use in daily life. Above all, this concerns the colours black, yellow, and (though less strictly) pure white. To illustrate this, the colours black and yellow may serve as case studies. There was only one occasion for each of the colours that was acceptable: funerals (and grief in general) and weddings.

11.4.1.1 Black

Women wearing black or dark garments at funerals are well attested in Latin literature.¹⁰⁰ We even have one example showing that there was also a gradation in black dress colours and that the type of the garment and the material also mattered in combination with colour.¹⁰¹ The relevant passage is found in Varro's cultural history *De vita populi Romani*. Varro is speculating about primeval Roman dress customs:¹⁰²

Varro VPR F 411 Salvadore (= 105 Riposati) + F 412 S. (106 R.)
ut, dum supra terram esset, riciniis lugerent funere ipso ut pullis pall<i>is amictae, || propinquae adulescentulae etiam anthracinis, proxumae amiculo nigello, capillo demisso sequerentur luctum.

so that, while it (sc. the dead person) was still above the earth, the women mourned at the burial dressed in **ricinia* like in dark *pallia*, || the young female relatives followed the funeral procession dressed even in coal-black, the nearest female relatives dressed in a black cloak and with hanging hair.

Varro's remarks, though purportedly referring to ancient dress culture, very likely mirror an upper-class funeral of his own time. His description is a valuable source in two respects. On the one hand, it shows us that black was presumably restricted to the outer garment (there was probably nothing like an artificially black tunic). On the other hand,

¹⁰⁰ For references, see n. 27.

¹⁰¹ The complexity and meaning of the permutations are not considered in this chapter.

¹⁰² Cf. also C 1 p. 567

it gives us three strictly neutral colour terms relating to dark shades of dress: *pullus* (dark), *nigellus* (black, blackish), and *anthracinus* (coal-black). In addition, there are also the words *niger* and *ater* (dark and black), which often denote not only the colour, but also imply a symbolic sense of evil and doom (perhaps strongest in *ater*). The colour black is an exception among artificial colours in so far as it is usually not thought to enhance women's beauty (*forma*) (although Ovid suggests it for fair-skinned women¹⁰³). Black and dark shades were generally seen as diminishing beauty in conjunction with other funeral rites, like scraping the cheeks and destroying the coiffure.

11.4.1.2 Yellow (*luteus*)

The colour called *luteus* is even more restricted in use than the colour black.¹⁰⁴ The adjective *luteus* is derived from *lutum* (weld, *Reseda luteola*), which has a yellow flower and also yields a yellow dye. In the list of Latin colour terms, *luteus* stands between *galbinus* ('lime'-green) and *croceus* (orange). It can occasionally verge slightly towards orange. In Antiquity, for example, *luteus* denotes the colour of the bird called golden oriole (*Oriolus oriolus*), the colour of a yolk, and the yellow eyes of a person suffering from jaundice; in modern terms, it is the colour of American yellow school busses and German post boxes.

In Roman dress custom, yellow is only used with a single specific garment. As in Northern India, it is used with the bride's dress:¹⁰⁵ The scarf worn by the bride during the wedding ceremony had this colour, which is why it was called *flammeum* (B 18). The use of yellow can thus be counted among the ritualistic patterns.¹⁰⁶ The colour *luteus* is not found in the *puella's* nor in Hera's wardrobe (see above), nor is it attested with any other type of normal female garment. The silence of our sources mirrors reality in this respect since no reasonable Roman woman would have worn a wedding colour in daily life. It is difficult to see why the Romans chose yellow in particular to symbolize wedding (in India, it is used to keep evil ghosts away). On a practical basis, they might have done so because yellow was the only signal colour not used with other dresses. It was thus normatively 'free.' Since even funeral garments had a range of appropriate colours, the brilliantly yellow *flammeum* is the only item of female Roman clothing that had a single normative colour.

¹⁰³ See above p. 420.

¹⁰⁴ ThLL VII s.v. *luteus* col. 1896.70–1897.15.

¹⁰⁵ E. Crawley, *Wedding Garments*, in: Roach/Eicher (n. 99), 53.

¹⁰⁶ In this ritualistic sense, yellow is also found with the dress of Osiris/Dionysus, cf. Tib. 1.746 (Osiris/Dionysus): *fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes* [but a long yellow *peplos* reaching down to the tender feet]; on the poetical meaning of *palla* (= *peplos*), cf. B 3 pp. 292–297; Sen. Oed. 427 (Dionysus): *lutea vestem retinente zona* [a yellow girdle fastening the garment]; Varro Men. 314: *Cynicis involucrium et pallium luteum non est* [Cynic philosophers do not have a cover or a yellow cloak].

11.4.2 Gender

In the Republican Period, all artificial dress colours (apart from purple, crimson, white, and black) were a social privilege of women. Section 4 examines how male attitude towards colour gradually changed in the Imperial period. This section only focuses on how this gender difference was perceived by the Romans themselves and which colours were regarded as especially feminine. The two most important general testimonies to gender differences in colour are found in Seneca and Martial.¹⁰⁷ In his *Quaestiones Naturales*, Seneca complains that in his time (in contrast to the glorious past) men were dressed in colours that would befit prostitutes (*meretricii colores*):

Sen. NQ 7.3.2

levitate et politura corporum muliebres munditias antecessimus, colores meretricios matronis quidem non induendos uiri sumimus, tenero et molli ingressu suspendimus gradum (non ambulamus sed incedimus), exornamus anulis digitos, in omni articulo gemma disponitur.

By smoothing and cleansing the body, we have surpassed female body care. We dress in colours of prostitutes, which matrons in fact are not allowed to wear. We delay the step in a delicate and soft style of walking (we do not walk, but we strut along); we adorn our fingers with rings; on each limb there is a pearl.

In his *Naturales quaestiones*, Seneca wastes a significant amount of time on castigating Roman depravity, and he relishes parading all sorts of sexual perversions. This time he focuses on dress and physical appearance. It is not a new topic. Effeminate male dress forms part of the discourse on Roman decadence that we find in Roman literature from Cicero onwards. The question arises of which colours were considered *meretricii colores* by Seneca. He is using a double gradation to make the common topic even more pointed. Men are not only wearing female dress colours, but also those of the lowest type of women possible: unfree prostitutes (*meretrices*). But which are their colours? We come closer to the answer by looking at an epigram of Martial, who uses a similar two-step gradation of colours implying the same contrast between *matrona* and *meretrix*. Mocking a hidden passive homosexual who wants to appear particularly masculine, Martial describes him as wearing expensive clothes in natural shades of wool (*nativus color*) and as censuring other men's coloured dress as effeminate:

Mart. 1.96.4–9

*amator ille tristium lacernarum
et baeticatus atque leucophaeatus,
qui coccinatos non putat uiros esse
amethystinasque mulierum uocat uestes,*

¹⁰⁷ Cf. also Mart. 11.39.11–12.

*natiua laudet, habeat et licet semper
fuscus colores, galbinos habet mores.*

May that lover of dark coats be dressed in the wool of Baetica and in grey robes; may he judge men in crimson robes as unmanly and call violet dress female dress; may he praise natural-wool clothes and always wear dark colours. Nevertheless, he has light-green manners.

In a first step, Martial contrasts the natural shades of wool—white-yellow (*baeticatus* = *flavus*), white-grey (*leucophaeatus*),¹⁰⁸ and dark (*fuscus*)—with the artificial colours crimson (*coccinus*), violet (*amethystinus*), and green (*galbinus*). The natural shades are identified as masculine colours (which is why the hidden homosexual is wearing them). The artificial colours are considered feminine ones. In a second step, there is also a social hierarchy between the three artificial colours:¹⁰⁹ Crimson and violet are elegant high-status colours (the colours of the *matronae* also found in Herais' wardrobe);¹¹⁰ in contrast, 'lime'-green was probably perceived as a low-status colour worn by *meretrices*. Martial's joke thus culminates in the insinuation that the unnamed fan of dark clothing is inferior to the men whose conspicuous dress he criticizes. In fact, his *mores* are those of a prostitute.

Seneca and Martial show that not all artificially coloured garments were considered suited to men. However, some colours befit them even less than others because they are judged to be especially feminine and therefore effeminate when worn by a man. We have only a few explicit remarks on individual colours, but the social significance of colours can be inferred from two broad sources: (1) from texts like Martial's epigram, which disparage passive homosexuals and (2) from the frequency with which artificial colours are mentioned on women's but not on men's clothing. As to be expected, most evidence concerns the colours red and green, which can be worn by 'normal' men only in special functions or as a fan jersey (there was a red and later on also a green circus faction). The same holds true to a lesser degree for blue. The next sub-section focuses on the example of green, especially on the green shade called *galbinus* in our sources.

11.4.2.1 Green

Green is not attested with ordinary adult men, but only with other males deviating from the ideal, either by age or behaviour. In Petronius, a *cinaedus* (a passive homosexual) is wearing a green woollen dress (*myrtea gausapa*);¹¹¹ Trimalchio has a green ball (*pila prasina*),¹¹² and his porter is dressed in a green uniform (*ostiarus prasinatus*);¹¹³ Juvenal

108 On the shades, see above p. 423.

109 See below section 3.4.

110 See above p. 424.

111 Petron. 21.1.

112 Petron. 27.7.

113 Petron. 28.8.

tells us of a boy in a green fan jersey (*viridis thorax*);¹¹⁴ and finally, green is the signal colour of a circus faction,¹¹⁵ of which the boy was perhaps a supporter (*prasinianus*).¹¹⁶ Since the *cinaedus* is already shown in the darkest shade of green (*myteus*), we may conclude that the brighter shades were also regarded as feminine colours, which an adult man would only wear in exceptional circumstances (as a servant in uniform or as a fan). We should also note that Trimalchio, who is prone to social mistakes, does not wear green on his body (although the ball is a kind of accessory).

Altogether, there are four words denoting green dress colour. The most general is the old Latin word *viridis*, which can denote any (mostly natural) green colour in literature. There are then three Greek loanwords which refer to artificial dress colour: *myrteus*, *prasinus*, and *galbinus*. Moreover, we find the Greek word *σμαράγδινος* (*smaragdinus*), which is not attested in Latin with garments.¹¹⁷ The colour *myrteus* (myrtle-green) is the darkest shade. Ovid recommends it to his elegant *puella* readership,¹¹⁸ which means that *myrteus* should be considered a normal and elegant female colour. Next in shade comes *prasinus* (πράσινοσ), which is first attested in Petronius and may hence be a more ‘modern’ shade. The term derives from the plant called *prason* (πράσον; *Allium porrum*).¹¹⁹ A precious stone bore the same name. The plant indicates that *prasinus* denoted a leek-green, which is a slightly bluish green close to the colour of an emerald. The green of *prasinus* is more striking than that of *myrteus*. As to women, it is first attested in Martial on the dinner dress (*synthesis*) of a *puella*¹²⁰ and on the fan of a *concupina*.¹²¹ The two examples show that *prasinus* was not beyond the wardrobe of the elegant mistresses in Flavian times, though perhaps a serious *matrona* would not have dressed in it. However, Herais employs emerald green with her accessories.

The brightest green shade is without doubt *galbinus*. The word itself and the colour it denotes need a more detailed discussion. The origin of the word has not yet been fully explained. It is likely a Greek loanword, and perhaps it has something to do with *galbanum* (γαλβάνη), the plant with the botanical name *Ferula gummosa*.¹²² This natural object roughly squares with what else we know about the colour *galbinus*. To define the shade more precisely: *galbinus* stands between *prasinus* (medium green) and *luteus* (yellow). As to its definition, it presents similar difficulties as *croceus* (orange),

114 Iuven. 5.143.

115 OLD s.v. *prasinus* 2b; LSJ s.v. πράσινοσ 2.

116 Petron. 70.10.

117 Cf. above p. 423.

118 Cf. above p. 417.

119 LSJ s.v. πράσον.

120 Mart. 10.29.4.

121 Mart. 3.82.11; for a parasol (*umbrella*), see Iuven. 9.50.

122 The term *galbanum* usually designates the gum resin, but cf. Plin. NH 12.126: *dat et galbanum Syria ... e ferula, quae eiusdem nominis* [Syria gives us also *galbanum* from a giant fennel which has the same name].

which is also defined as existing somewhere between two colours. The colour *galbinus* is often thought to be a type of greenish yellow in modern scholarship.¹²³ In contrast, the following argues that it was regarded as a shade of green in Antiquity. Admittedly, the distance between a greenish yellow (the common interpretation) and a yellowish green (my proposal) is not very far, but there is at least some. In modern terms, we may think of the colour of a lime or the snake called green mamba. Altogether, there are four arguments for the assumption that *galbinus* was regarded as a shade of green: (1) The natural object which is said to have this colour is unambiguously green. (2) The word *galbinus* is listed next to *prasinus* in a papyrus which gives a recipe for producing greens. (3) It is consistently contrasted with red. It is very likely that *galbinus* and plain red (*russeus*) were considered complementary colours. (4) The colour *galbinus* is found in Trimalchio's household, which is otherwise dressed in red and green.¹²⁴

There is only one natural object that is expressly said to have the colour *galbinus*. It is the bird called *galbulus* (with a B) or, in assimilation, *galgulus* (with a G), which Martial says to be *galbinus*.¹²⁵ The bird is usually identified in modern research (albeit with slight reservation) with the golden oriole (*Oriolus oriolus*), which is yellow.¹²⁶ However, the following remarks argue that this hypothesis is clearly wrong. The starting point of the entire discussion is a remark in Pliny. In an offhand remark in a section on jaundice, Pliny identifies the *galgulus* with a bird called *icterus* in Greek:

Plin. NH 30.94

avis icterus vocatur a colore; quae si spectetur, sanari id malum tradunt et avem mori. hanc puto Latine vocari galgulum.

The bird is called *icterus* after its colour. If the patient (sc. who suffers from jaundice) sees it, he is, as they say, cured of this disease, and the bird dies. I think this is the bird we call *galgulus* in Latin.

The issue with Pliny's explanation is that the *icterus* is not the golden oriole. The oriole is named *χλωρίων* in Greek,¹²⁷ and it is also called that elsewhere by Pliny. According to him, the colour of the golden oriole is *luteus* (yellow) and not *galbinus*.¹²⁸ For this reason, the golden oriole cannot be the natural reference hiding behind the *galgulus*. We must therefore look for another bird that has a colour similar to that of jaundice. It must be a small bird since, according to Martial, it is caught with nets and limed canes. This also speaks against the larger golden oriole. A bird that fits both criteria is

123 OLD s.v. *galbinus*.

124 See section 4.4.

125 Mart. 13.68: *galbuli: galbina decipitur calamis et retibus ales* [the *galbulus*: the green bird is deceived by limed canes and nets].

126 OLD s.v. *galgulus*: perh. golden oriole; Georges s.v. *galbulus*; Thompson (n. 65) 150; André (1949) 148–150; Sebesta (1994) 70; Goldman (n. 1) 70.

127 LSJ s.v. *χλωρίων*.

128 Plin. NH 10.87: *chlorion ... totus est luteus* [the chlorion is completely yellow].

the greenfinch (*Chloris chloris*). It has the correct colour (its plumes have a yellowish green),¹²⁹ and it is the correct size (similar to that of a sparrow). The word *galbinus* hence denotes a very bright green. In addition, an alchemical papyrus tells us that the shade *galbinus* is produced when cooking the plant *euphorbia* (spurge in English). The alchemist explains that adding a shot of verdigris (the green patina of oxidized copper) turns the whole mixture *prasinus*.¹³⁰ The alchemy itself borders on nonsense. The mixture has the desired colour, but it is of no practical use, especially not as a dye. However, the colour of the ingredients (similar to that of the results) and the listing of another green shade suggest that *galbinus* was considered a bright green shade.

When referring to dress, *galbinus* is (with one exception) contrasted with shades of red. This suggests that it was seen as complementary. The evidence is as follows: Based on my emendation, Cato the Elder criticizes Roman *matronae* for wearing improper red *fasciae* and green *pallae*;¹³¹ Petronius' vulgar upstart Fortunata parades a red undertunic and a green belt;¹³² Martial contrasts red and violet clothes with the green *mores* of a passive homosexual¹³³ and shows an effeminate debauchee dressed in green lying on a crimson couch;¹³⁴ Juvenal, in describing a male transvestite orgy (*orgia*), has the participants wear blue-black chequered or thin green robes.¹³⁵

All of these texts show that *galbinus* was felt to be a feminine colour. Moreover, all of the texts are exclusively negative in tone (hence it is used to disparage passive homosexuals as effeminate). Not one person wearing *galbinus*, not even a woman, is portrayed in a positive light in the texts. This may indicate that *galbinus* was a shade of green that the cultured classes regarded as particularly vulgar when used for clothing.¹³⁶ It is a colour that a decent and educated Roman *matrona* should not wear, let alone combine with red. It is a colour of social newcomers and probably belongs to what Seneca calls *meretricii colores*. Restrictions and preferences due to class are more closely examined below¹³⁷ when analyzing the different shades of red. However, the

129 The tale that the *galgulus* sleeps upside down hanging with its feet from the tree told by Plin. NH 10.96 also fits this bird.

130 P^Holmiensis (ca. 300 CE), κε (25) p. 38.1–3 Lagercrantz: καὶ ὁ τιθύμαλλος ξηραθεὶς καὶ ζεσθεὶς γάλβινα ποιεῖ, ὀλίγου δὲ εἰοῦ δὲ μιν γέντος πράσινα ποιεῖ.

131 Cato Origines F 113 P., cf. A 2 p. 51.

132 Petron. 67.4: *venit ergo* (sc. Fortunata) *galbino succincta cingillo, ita ut infra cerasina appareret tunica* [so there came Fortunata, who had gathered up her garment with a light green belt, so that underneath appeared a cherry-red tunic]; cf. B 1 p. 269.

133 Mart. 1.96.10, cf. above p. 428.

134 Mart. 3.82.5–7: *iacit occupato galbinatus in lecto ... effultus ostro Sericisque pulvillis* [clothed in green, he lies on the couch and fills it up ... propped up on crimson and silk cushions]. His *concupina* has a green (*prasinus*) fan.

135 Iuven. 2.97: *caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa*.

136 Sebesta (1994) 70; Goldman (n. 1) 77.

137 Cf. pp. 439–443

observations made in the case of plain red (*russeus*) apply to the different shades of green as well.

11.4.3 Age and gender roles

The third category used by the Romans to judge dress colour was a combination of age and gender roles. Chapters B 1–5 demonstrated that these criteria also applied to garments.¹³⁸ As regards colours, social codes were similar to those prevalent in 20th-century Europe for a long time. In Rome, old people and young people were expected to wear different colours. Old people had to show restraint: Wearing ‘young’ colours was a social faux pas. Younger Romans could use more colours than were socially acceptable for the older generation. Children were allowed every colour.¹³⁹ Although these rules are often implied, Latin texts explicitly stating them are rare. A single instance concerning the colour plain red (*rufus*) is found in Martial. He remarks that cloaks in this colour are something that boys and soldiers like. Soldiers presumably wished to accentuate the aggressive masculinity of their uniform and gear, and boys presumably sought to imitate the soldiers.¹⁴⁰

The ‘anthropological’ reason behind all of this probably lies in pure bodily physique. Signal colours distinguish the wearer and attract the eyes. The Romans deemed it unsuitable for the elderly to direct attention to their ‘unattractive’ body. In general, physical love was something for the young women, although extra-marital *castitas* was required of women of all ages. Via sexuality, artificial colours are then related to the three roles Roman women could have in relation to a man (other than being a member of the family): *virgo* (unmarried woman), *matrona* (married woman), and *meretrix* (prostitute). The social code in connection with these roles more or less includes all artificial colours, but it is most evident with the signal colours red and white, which acquired a symbolic value. They are firmly bound to sexual activity and non-activity and express normative sexual notions in a symbolic manner.¹⁴¹ The colour white symbolizes virginity, and the colour red symbolizes love and sexual intercourse.

¹³⁸ E. Crawley, *The Sexual Background of Dress*, in: Roach/Eicher (n. 99), 72–81.

¹³⁹ On neutral child-fashion, cf. Crawley (n. 138) 72.

¹⁴⁰ Mart. 13.129: *placet hic pueris militibusque color* [boys and soldiers are fond of this colour].

¹⁴¹ Red also keeps its erotic significance with male clothing, as the invectives against homosexuals show (see above).

11.4.3.1 White (*albus, candidus, niveus*)

There are three common terms denoting white dress colour: *albus*, *candidus*, and *niveus* (snow white).¹⁴² As to *albus*, it is not always clear whether it denotes an artificial white resulting from bleaching or the natural white of wool. In most cases, however, it seems to refer to clothes distinguished by their artificial ‘whiteness.’ In Rome, artificially white wool also played a prominent role as a male signal colour, distinguishing citizens from non-citizens (i.e. the higher social strata from the lower ones). The use of bleached white was restricted to the male citizens’ dress insigne: the *toga*.¹⁴³ In Imperial times, rich Romans wore the *toga* when receiving their *clientes*, who in turn had to dress in it (at least when visiting their *patroni*).¹⁴⁴ Political candidates were clad in a special garment called *toga candida*, perhaps because its cloth was bleached. The white *toga* as a political insigne probably symbolized ‘purity.’ Citizens are purer than non-citizens, and candidates are (or at least should be) uncorrupted.¹⁴⁵ The same notion is prevalent with female dress. In contrast to male dress, however, the idea of purity unfolds itself on the ‘private’ side of morality and sexuality.

White female dress symbolized moral integrity. The allegorical state goddesses Fides, Pietas, and Virtus are depicted in white clothes by Roman poets.¹⁴⁶ In the case of Roman women, moral integrity and virtue also implied sexual integrity (i.e. marital fidelity or even abstinence). In this sense, white clothing could be worn by all sorts of women. However, there is almost no evidence on mature women explicitly wearing white. Our sources show Roman *matronae* only dressed in some form of white clothing when taking off their usual darker garb while celebrating the festival of Ceres (which included sexual abstinence).¹⁴⁷ In contrast, white dress is consistently shown with virgins and young women. More so than with marital chastity, white is the colour of virgins.¹⁴⁸ According to Festus, Roman brides dressed in a white *tunica* in the night

142 Cf. in general Blümner (n. 1) (1889) 144–167, 706–712 (~ [1892] 3–41); André (1949) 25–40; on white colour used in ritual, see G. Radke, *Die Bedeutung der weißen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer*, Jena 1936.

143 Two examples show that white could cause offence when used elsewhere or mistakenly on male dress. That Pompeius wore white *fasciae* on his shoes aroused Cicero’s displeasure, cf. Cic. ad Att. 2.3.1 with B 29 p. 546. The flute player Princeps was laughed at for being dressed in white, cf. Phaedrus 5.7.36–39.

144 Mart. 4.34.2, 9.49.8; Iuven. 10.36–46.

145 Radke (n. 142) 57–67.

146 Hor. c. 1.35.21–22 (Fides); Stat. Silv. 3.3.3 (Pietas); Sil. It. 15.31 (Virtus).

147 Ovid. Fasti 4.619–620: *alba decent Cererem: vestes Cerialibus albas || sumite; nunc pulli velleris usus abest* [White things suit Ceres. Put on white clothes at the festival of Ceres! Do not use a dark-coloured wool dress!]; 5.355–356; Met. 10.432 (of married women): *festa pia Cereris celebrabant annua matres || illa, quibus nivea velatae corpora veste* [the matrons were piously celebrating the annual festival of Ceres, during which they wear snow-white dresses]; epist. 4.71.

148 As seen in chapter B 4 p. 315, even the expression *cunnius albus* denotes virginity.

before their deflowering.¹⁴⁹ Young *virgines* are shown in white robes at a festival of Juno in Falerii.¹⁵⁰ The Vestal Virgins wore a white costume;¹⁵¹ Isis' priestesses also dressed in white;¹⁵² in mythology, the Parcae and the Muses, who also have no husband, are clad in white attire;¹⁵³ the huntress Atalante has a white hairband;¹⁵⁴ and finally, Andromeda wears a white dress in Ovid's *Ars amatoria* after her rescue from the sea-monster, which symbolizes that she is still a virgin.¹⁵⁵ Literary symbolism was probably still felt in everyday life, as Ovid and other examples show. The notion of purity and the colour white could also be exploited in an erotic sense. However, literary usage suggests that artificial white was regarded as something very special and that it was reserved for special occasions. Ovid implicitly recommends its use for birthday celebrations (the rescue of Andromeda symbolized a new birth). Herais' wardrobe contains several white (though natural white) *syntheseis* with purple stripes reserved for dinner parties and similar occasions.¹⁵⁶

In its symbolic function (non-sexuality), white is opposed to red, the sexual colour par excellence. In an abstract form, the two-sided symbolism appears in Silius Italicus, who presents the allegorical female figures of Virtue (*virtus*) and Pleasure (*voluptas*) dressed in white and crimson robes respectively.¹⁵⁷ In its fashionable function, we find the opposite in an elegy of Pseudo-Tibullus describing the various robes and attraction of his mistress Sulpicia. Both red and white are arousing in different ways:

149 Festus p. 364.21 L.

150 Ovid. Am. 3.13.27.

151 Prop. 4.11.54: *exhibuit vivos carbasus alba focos* [the white robe showed that the fire was still alive]; Ovid. Am. 3.6.56 (Rhea Silvia): *vitta nec evinctas impedit alba comas* [she did not have a white *vitta* in her hairs]; Festus p. 474.3 L: *suffibulum est vestimentum album . . . , quod in capite Vestales virgines sacrificantes habebant* [the *suffibulum* is a white piece of clothing that the Vestals wear on their heads in sacrifice], cf. also B 4 p. 327.

152 Cf., for example, Plutarch. De Is. et Os. 4 p. 352 D with the commentary of Hopfner pp. 5f, 60f; R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, Leipzig 1927, 263f; R. Merkelbach, Isis Regina – Zeus Sarapis, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1995, 162.

153 Cat. 64.307–309 (Parcae): *his corpus tremulum complectens undique vestis || candida purpurea talos incinberat ora, || at roseae niveo residebant vertice vittae* [White dress covered their trembling body and surrounded their ankles with a crimson border. On their snow-white heads rested rose-coloured (purple) bands]; Stat. Silv. 2.79–11 (Muses): *laetae purpureas novate vittas, || crinem comite, candidamque vestem || perfundant hederæ recentiores* [Be happy and renew the purple headbands. Do your hair! Fresh ivy shall spread over your white robes].

154 Ovid. Met. 2.413.

155 See above p. 420.

156 See above p. 422.

157 Sil. It. 15.23–25,31.

Ps.-Tib. 3.8.11–12

urit, seu Tyria voluit procedere palla,

urit, seu nivea candida veste venit.

She inflames me with desire if she appears in a crimson *palla*. She inflames me if she comes in a snow-white tunic.

The verses of this minor poet are clearly inspired by Propertius and Ovid.¹⁵⁸ The narrator-lover expresses his ardent desire for Sulpicia in whatever colour she might be dressed. In order to visualize the general thought, he uses a bipolar expression, a rhetorical device splitting an entity into opposite parts (for example: the entire world = land and sea). In this case, the pair of opposites is formed by two extreme dress options—crimson and white clothing—which explore the range of notions connected with both colours. As to sexuality, the implicit sense of the passage is: ‘I like Sulpicia whether she be dressed like an innocent girl (white) or like a vamp (red).’¹⁵⁹ However, there is also a second, maybe even prevalent sense in this passage. Crimson (as opposed to plain red) is a precious red shade (see below). It is expensive and hence symbolizes luxury (Silius’ goddess *Voluptas* is also dressed in a robe of this shade). The *Tyria palla* (be it a *pallium* or a ‘*peplos*’) is thus a luxurious dress, whereas the white *vestis* (very likely a white *tunica*) is very plain apparel. The second sense implied is therefore: ‘I like Sulpicia whether she be dressed in a simple or in a luxurious dress.’

11.4.3.2 Red (1) – eroticism

Red is as an erotic colour and a colour for young women.¹⁶⁰ This applies to all shades of red, although these bear different associations, being either low-status or high-status.¹⁶¹ Women in red garments are very common in Latin literature. Second to purple, it is the dress colour most frequently mentioned. In Titinius, a *puella* is wearing a purple-red **supparus*;¹⁶² in Turpilius, a *puella* clad in purple red inflames an *adulescens*;¹⁶³ Cynthia, Propertius’ mistress, is dressed in rose-coloured Coan garments and in a

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Prop. 2.1.5–6 (B 9 p. 388), 2.25.45 (n. 164); Ovid. ars 2.297–302 (B 9 p. 396). The language of this undated author (maybe he belongs to Late Antiquity) is difficult to interpret. His Classical models suggest that the term *palla* designates a *pallium*.

¹⁵⁹ Sometimes attire, combining red, seems to play with both notions at the same time. For example, Photis, the *ancilla* seducing the *adulescens* in Apuleius, is wearing a linen (= white) *tunica*, but shows parts of her red ‘brassiere.’

¹⁶⁰ On red, cf. Blümner (1892) (n. 1) 159–183; André (1949) 80–85; Bradley (n. 1) 150–159; Goldman (n. 1) 11–13, 111–115.

¹⁶¹ On low-status red, cf. below pp. 439–443.

¹⁶² Titinius, Fullonia F 14: <sup>parum puni<ceum> [a **supparus* in crimson]; cf. A 7 p. 148.

¹⁶³ Sextus Turpilius, Hetaera F 1: *iniectam in capite reticulum indutam ostrina* [a girl who had put a hairnet on her head and was dressed in a crimson *tunica*]; cf. A 7 144.

purple-red *tunica*;¹⁶⁴ in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, the *puellae* also wear purple red cloaks,¹⁶⁵ as does Sulpicia in Pseudo-Tibullus (see above); in the epyllion *Ciris*, the heroine *Ciris* has crimson shoes;¹⁶⁶ in Martial, a lover gives violet and purple red cloaks to this mistress;¹⁶⁷ in Apuleius, *Photis* features a red 'brassiere'.¹⁶⁸ There are even more examples if *croceus* ('orange'), the colour of the *crocata*, is considered a shade of red. All of these women share one characteristic: They are young and physically beautiful; they are viewed with great sympathy, and all but *Photis* are clad in an expensive shade of red. Nevertheless, with the exception of the mythological *Ciris*, all of the women come close to what Roman moralists would have called *puellae* or *meretrices*.

A notable shift occurs when mature married women are portrayed in red garments. In Cato, *matronae* wear red 'brassieres';¹⁶⁹ *Fortunata* openly shows her cherry-red undertunic;¹⁷⁰ the libidinous old woman (*anus*) in *Carmen Priapeum* 12 (CP) is clad in a plain red *stola*.¹⁷¹ Besides all being *matronae*, all of these women are viewed negatively. Cato criticizes the Roman matrons for wearing *fasciae* in such a lascivious colour. *Fortunata* and the *anus* are characterized as elderly, ugly, and vulgar. Twice, in Cato and in the CP, the women are shown as wearing a cheap and 'vulgar' type of red.¹⁷²

The stereotypes are striking, and they convey a clear social code. *Puellae* (of course not the daughters of the Roman educated classes) may wear red garments, whereas serious *matronae* may not. The same even holds true for men wearing entirely red garments (crimson and purple red are only allowed on the insigne). Both the men and women and girls who are not *puellae* might also incur overt criticism. In contrast to white, which pertains to the sexually inexperienced *virgo*, red is the colour of the sexually open-minded woman (something a 'good' Roman girl and woman should not be). Martial perfectly sums up the Roman notion associated with red: It suits only mistresses (*nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color*).¹⁷³

¹⁶⁴ Prop. 2.1.5; 2.25.45 (*sandycis amictus*); 2.29.26 (*ostrina tunica*).

¹⁶⁵ Ovid. ars 3.170 (above p. 412), 2.297 (B 9 p. 396).

¹⁶⁶ [Verg.] *Ciris* 169: *coccina non teneris pedibus Sicyonia servans* [she has lost her crimson Sicyonian shoes from her tender feet]. On the entire passage, cf. also A 11 p. 211 and B 30 p. 551.

¹⁶⁷ Mart. 2.39.1: *coccina famosae donas et ianthina moechae* [you give purple and violet robes as presents to a notorious adulteress]; cf. B 6 p. 371; and Mart. 9.62.

¹⁶⁸ Apul. Met. 2.7; cf. B 1 p. 274.

¹⁶⁹ Cato F 113 P.; cf. A 2 p. 50.

¹⁷⁰ Petron. 67.4 (n. 131).

¹⁷¹ CP 12.11 (see below p. 442); in general, cf. B 4 pp. 316–318.

¹⁷² See below pp. 439–443.

¹⁷³ Mart. 8.48.6; cf. Goldman (n. 1) 47–48.

11.4.4 Class

In addition to the restrictions of gender, age, and civil status, the Romans had clothing codes based on social classes.¹⁷⁴ This also holds true for (artificial) dress colour. The general contrast between social groups is well-attested.¹⁷⁵ The colours of the common (working) people were dark (*pullus*), meaning they wore the natural brown or grey colours of wool and linen.¹⁷⁶ In contrast, at least the male members of the Roman upper class and their *clientes* wore a white or off-white *toga* when they appeared in public.¹⁷⁷ The upper classes (*equites*) distinguished themselves further by wearing purple insignia on their tunics. For parades they sometimes went as far as wearing a uniform (*trabea*) in crimson and purple. There is substantial evidence relating to the general dichotomy of colour vs. non-colour used to distinguish between social groups. In Imperial times, the colour distinction was deliberately used by Augustus in order to visually underline social distinction. In the theatre and in assemblies, those dressed in dark garments were banned to the margin,¹⁷⁸ an effect not lost on Latin authors. Evidence becomes less when it comes to examples of individuals. Cicero says that Piso's dark purple insigne looked 'plebeian'.¹⁷⁹ Propertius informs us that Cynthia occasionally wore a 'plebeian' robe (*plebeius amictus*), contrasting it with her expensive purple dress.¹⁸⁰ But what about specific colours? Were there differences in attitude towards specific colours between social classes? Were there 'low-status' colours? As already suggested above, there were indeed distinctions and some individual colours, and especially mixtures, were regarded as 'vulgar' by the cultured elite.

174 On this category, cf. the various sections in Roach/Eicher (n. 99), especially J. Gillin, *Clothing and Ornament*, 174–184.

175 For this well-known fact, cf. Blümner (1911) 248.

176 Cf. also section 4; Mart. 10.76.8–9 (underlining the social contrast): *pullo Mevius atget in cucullo*, || *cocco mulio fulget Incitatus* [Mevius is shivering in his dark *cucullus*. Incitatus, the muleteer, is wearing a conspicuous crimson cloak]; Quint. inst. or. 2.12.10: ... *mire ad pullatum circulum facit* [it (sc. gesticulating) makes an extraordinary impression on the dark-dressed part of the audience]; 6.4.6; Plin. epist. 7.79: *nam illos quoque sordidos pullatosque reveremur* [for we also feel uneasy in the presence of the people in mean and dark clothes]; Suet. Aug. 40.5 (cf. B 4 p. 353).

177 See above p. 434.

178 Suet. Aug. 40.5, 44: *sanxitque ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet* [and he legislated that no one of the dark dressed crowd should sit in the middle tiers; Calpurn. Sic. 6.26–29: *uenimus ad sedes, ubi pulla sordida ueste* || *inter femineas spectabat turba cathedras*. || *nam quaecumque patent sub aperto libera caelo*, || *aut eques aut niuei loca densauere tribuni* [We came to our seats where the mean and dark dressed crowd and the women used to sit. For the free space under the open sky was all occupied by knights or tribunes in snow-white garments (i.e. the *toga*).]; 7.81; On the organization of the theatre in Augustan times and the *lex Iulia theatralis*, cf. E. Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society*, *Collected Papers*, Oxford 1991 [1987], 508–545.

179 Cic. Sest. 19; cf. also below p. 447.

180 Prop. 2.25.45.

As regards low-status artificial colours, the most explicit Latin evidence is found in Seneca, who complains about degenerate Roman men wearing *meretricii colores*¹⁸¹ and *colores improbi*.¹⁸² In a sociological sense, Seneca's statement is not only about sexual norms, but also about social status. Unfree *meretrices* belonged to the lower classes of Roman society and wore clothes in signal colours which Seneca's wife, Paulina, would have never touched. Beyond Seneca, we have only Lucianus (see below). Otherwise, explicit evidence on differences in social colour preferences is rare. As to green, we have already seen that dark green (*myrteus*) may have been preferred by the elite, whereas the brighter shades—*prasinus* and especially lime-green (*galbinus*)—were rather considered low-status colours. As to red, the social distribution of shades (high status vs. low status) is even more pointed.

11.4.4.1 Red (2) – high-status and low-status shades

In general, red is mentioned far more often in Latin literature than is green. There are also more shades of red, which has to do with fashion. New dark red shades were always in high demand because they were close to purple. The many shades of red were not only defined by their chromatic colour, but by their cost. Some reds were produced with purple dye and were much more expensive than others. Thus it was not only the issue of whether a colour (in a strict chromatic sense) was appropriate. Its cost was also a factor in determining suitability.

But let us first review the individual terms for red. Starting on the dark side, we find six terms denoting about four dark shades of red: cherry-red (*cerasinus*), wine-leaf red (*xerampelinus*), purple red (*puniceus*, *Tyrius*, *ostrinus*), and crimson (*coccin(e)us*). The adjective *cerasinus* (χεράσινος) derives from the noun *cerasus* (cherry) and is only attested in Latin in Petronius' *Satyrica*. Trimalchio's doorkeeper and his wife Fortunata are shown as wearing a belt (*cingillum*) and undertunic (*tunica*) in that colour.¹⁸³ We also find the Greek word in an alchemical Greek papyrus dating to the late Imperial period.¹⁸⁴ The evidence may suggest that *cerasinus* first came up in the Imperial period because the upstart Trimalchio always kept up with the latest fashion. The term very likely denotes the colour of the wild cherry (*Prunus avium*), a dark red bordering on dark violet. Since Trimalchio and Fortunata both try to imitate the purple insignia of the upper classes, it must belong to this part of the purple colour spectrum. The same holds true for the term *xerampelinus* (wine-leaf red), which we only find in Juvenal¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Sen. NQ 7.3.2, cf. below p. 428.

¹⁸² Sen. epist. 114.21 (of men): *qui lacernas coloris improbi sumunt, qui perlucentem togam* [who dress in cloaks of an immoral colour, who dress in a translucent *toga*]; on a transparent *toga*, cf. also Iuven. 2.65b–70 (B 6 p. 372).

¹⁸³ Petron. 28.8, 674.

¹⁸⁴ P_{Holmiensis} (ca. 300 CE), κα (25) p. 33.31 Lagercrantz, cf. also above p. 432.

¹⁸⁵ Iuven. 6.519.

and in papyri from Egypt and was probably a fashionable shade as well. *puniceus* (φοινίκεος, Phoenician) and *Tyrius* (of Tyre) are common words. They apply to a reddish purple called Phoenician red or Tyrian purple that received its name from the original production site in Tyre (Lebanon) with a pigment won from various sea snails.¹⁸⁶ The adjective *ostrinus* is again much rarer. It is only found in Latin poets (the Greek term is used in papyri),¹⁸⁷ and it is only used with cloth. The evidence shows that it must refer to the same reddish purple shade.¹⁸⁸ Finally, the adjective *coccin(e)us* (κόκκινος) derives from the *coccum* (*Coccus ilicis*) and is also quite common. It denotes a crimson red that is produced by the pigment won from the insect called kermes.

In general, all these dark shades of red bear a positive connotation. From the beginning, they were associated with the dress of the upper class, which wore red as dress insigne. The high estimation of these shades clearly came from their price and rarity (the production of purple and crimson was laborious and costly). Being shades of red, they nonetheless also retained an erotic connotation. Garments in reddish purple and crimson were worn by beautiful young *puellae* without causing offence,¹⁸⁹ but men had to be careful when using shades of any red beyond the insigne. Entire garments in that colour could provoke criticism from moralists and satirists, though they became fashionable among men in Imperial Rome and the Roman world in general.

The nature of our evidence changes completely when it comes to clothing in the brighter shades of red. The term *croceus* (orange) has been discussed above.¹⁹⁰ The bright *crocota* is an exceptional festive Greek-inspired garment reserved for young women at banquets. Next to *croceus* comes a colour that we might call medium red. In general, there are four words denoting this shade. It seems expedient to shortly review them, although not all apply to dress colour, since the dictionaries do not distinguish sufficiently between their usage. The terms in question are: *russus* and *russeus* (the artificial dress colour), *rufus* (the natural colour), and *ruber*. The broadest spectrum is covered by *ruber*. The adjective can refer both to the entire genus and to the species of an average bright red, but is (in contrast to the verb) never used in connection with

186 See below p. 446.

187 Turp. Hetaera F 1 (A 7 p. 144); Varro Men. F 121 (A 8 p. 185); Prop. 1.14.20, 2.29.26, 3.13.7.

188 On the colour, see André (1949) 102–103; Bogensperger (n. 22) 246. The adjective is derived from the Latin noun *ostrum*, which denotes the purple pigment or a purple robe, cf. ThLL IX s.v. *ostrum* col. 1161.27–1163.16; OLD s.v. *ostrum*. It was thus called after the sea snails which produced the pigment, cf. Vitruv. 7.5.8: *quod ex concharum marinarum testis eximitur, ideo ostrum est vocitatum* [because it is extracted from the shells of sea shells, it is commonly called *ostrum*]; on the terminology, cf. also Blümner I (1912) 233–248. The sea snail itself is called *ostrea* or *ostreum* (ὄστρεον), cf. ThLL IX s.v. *ostrea* col. 1159.2–1160.45. The word *ostrum* clearly designates a red purple, since our sources connect it with the adjectives denoting dark red shades, like *rubens* (reddish), *sanguineus* (blood-red) and *coccineus* (crimson), and with Tyrian (= reddish) purple. Gellius NA 2.26.2 also reckons *ostrinus* among the red shades.

189 See above p. 436.

190 See p. 416.

dress colour. The word *rufus* is an Oscan loanword.¹⁹¹ It doubles Latin *ruber* to some extent, but is only used for the natural red colour of objects.¹⁹² Pliny, for example, tells us that the flower of the common poppy (*Papaver rhoeas*) is *rufus*.¹⁹³ It also denotes the natural red colour of certain Italian types of wool, and this is how it applies to dress. We will also leave it aside in this chapter, which is only concerned with artificial colours. In contrast to *ruber* and *rufus*, the adjectives *russus* and *russeus* only pertain to cloth and only to artificial colour, mirroring the adjective *rufus* on the artificial side. As to the form *russeus* (with an E), its meaning has always been clear since all instances concern dress. As to the variant *russus* (without an E), the restriction to artificial dress colour has been blurred because there appear to be two exceptions. However, both texts in which the exceptions are found suffer from corruption and are not reliable evidence.¹⁹⁴

Unlike many of shades of red, plain red is actually a very old dress colour.¹⁹⁵ It was produced by a red pigment won from a plant called rose madder (*Rubia tinctorum*). The Italian and Roman varieties of the pigment were particularly prized.¹⁹⁶ The production of plain red was comparatively cheap, and it is not associated with any notion of value

191 J. Untermann, Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen, Heidelberg 2000, 637–638.

192 Cf. Plin. NH 31.86 (on different red colours of salt): *sal rubet Memphi, rufus est circa Oxum, Centuripis purpureus* [In Memphis, the salt is red. Around the Oxus river, it is bright red. In Centuripae, it is purple red.]. In Pliny's coordinate system, *ruber* denotes the middle, while *rufus* slightly diverges to orange, *purpureus* to the violet side. The adjective *rufus* is also used to describe the red shade of hairs (distinguished from a darker red shade called *rutilus*), cf. Varro LL 7.83. Some type of cattle in Asia Minor is said to have had this colour, see Vitruv. 8.3.14.

193 Pliny NH 19.169.

194 The first is a poem of Catullus (39) in which Catullus mocks his peer Egnatius for his excessive tooth care (including the use of urine). According to the editions, Catullus says that the gums (*gingiva*) resulting from this care are *russa* (19). However, *russa* (with double S) is only a modern emendation. The transmission has the form *rusa* (with a single S), which leads to the form *rufa*. In the Carolingian minuscule and related scripts, the letters S and F are similar and often cause this type of error in our manuscripts (see also below). Restoring *rufa* (in accordance with what we else know about the use of this word) is the best solution. Problems also exist in the second testimony in Ennius scaen. 219 (Cic. Div. 2.54) concerning a rooster's throat. The statement that a rooster sings with his red throat (*faucibus russia*) is somewhat odd. The colour red is more readily associated with the bird's comb). When it comes to crowing, the rooster can do so with a hoarse throat (*faucibus raucis*), as was suggested by Hottinger (1793) in his edition of Cicero. Referring to a rooster's signature cry makes perfect sense. At the same time, it has many parallels, cf. OLD s.v. *raucus*. If we solve both problems in the suggested way, both purported exceptions disappear. The adjective *russus* is then used exactly like its variant *russeus*, equally pertaining only to cloth and artificial red colour.

195 In Europe, the first mention is in a text written in Linear-B, cf. M.-L. Nosch, Red Coloured Textiles in the Linear B Inscriptions, in: L. Cleland/K. Stears (eds.), Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Oxford 2004, 32–40, but use of the colour goes back much earlier.

196 Plin. NH 19.47: *rubia tinguendis lanis et coriis necessaria. laudatissima Italica et maxime suburbana, et omnes paene provinciae scatent ea* [Madder is necessary for dyeing wool and leather. The most appreciated is the Italian and especially the local Roman one, and nearly all provinces abound of it]; 24.94.

(unlike crimson and the darker shades of red). The same picture emerges when we look at red-coloured garments and cloth. Although plain red is a signal colour, it is never found with clothing or insignia of the upper classes. On the contrary, red-coloured textiles are mostly inexpensive articles of everyday use. We find, for example, theatrical awnings and wound dressings in red.¹⁹⁷ It is the colour of one of the circus factions,¹⁹⁸ and it is also used by soldiers and by boys for cloaks.¹⁹⁹ There is only one man who is shown wearing it. It is Trimalchio doing some exercises before dinner in a plain red tunic as a sports dress. As to women, the colour plain red also appears very rarely. A garment in this colour is neither found in Herais' wardrobe nor in that of Ovid's *puella*. We only find it twice with accessories. Cato the Elder criticizes upper-class *matronae* for wearing plain red *fasciae*;²⁰⁰ in Apuleius, the *ancilla* Photis uses a plain red *fascia* to attract a man's gaze.²⁰¹

The only female (young or old) to be wholly dressed in plain red is the old woman mocked in the *Carmen Priapeum* (CP 12), who we have already encountered in the chapter on the *stola*.²⁰² The poem, probably dating to the second half of the first century CE, is as stereotypical as Latin poetry can be. Like Photis, the caricatured woman is of a low status. But to make matters worse, she is unlike the young and sexually attractive Photis: The woman is old, ugly, poor, and vulgar, and she is trying to commit an obscene act with the phallic god Priapus. In full tune with her overall appearance and behaviour, the author shows her wearing a *tunica scissa* (a tattered tunic) and a *stola russa*.²⁰³ The poem is completely unrealistic, but it mirrors the social code in a pointed form. Using the red *stola* as a symbol, the author wants to convey the message that the old woman does not dress as she should. She commits two intertwined social mistakes: She is wearing a colour that suits only young mistresses; in addition, the red is only a cheap *russus*. We find an exact parallel when looking at the upstart Trimalchio, the only man in Latin literature wearing a *tunica russea*. He is also old (*senex*) and ugly, and he is a lower-status individual (a former slave) who has managed to acquire incredible wealth. Although he only dresses in plain red as a sports jersey,²⁰⁴ the social mistakes he commits are even worse than those of the *anus*. His 'social crimes' are three in one: A plain red garment does not suit a man; it does not suit a *senex*; and, above all, it does not suit an educated person (like Petronius and his readers). Both the *anus* and

197 Lucr. 4.75: *lutea russaque vela* [yellow and red awnings]; Plin. NH 21.166, 28.261, 29.64.

198 Plin. NH 7.186; and OLD s.v. *russatus*.

199 See above and Mart. 14.129, 121; Varro Men. 170.

200 Cf. A 2 p. 430.

201 Cf. B 1 p. 275.

202 Cf. B 4 pp. 316–318.

203 CP 12.11. The manuscripts offer the orthographical variants *russa* and *ruffa* (evidencing the common confusion between the letters S and F).

204 Petron. 27.1.

Trimalchio thus implicitly mirror the same social code: Plain red (*russus*, *russeus*) is a low-status colour.

11.4.4.2 Mixing signal colours

Social faux pas are not limited to wearing inappropriate or overly striking colours. Different colours can also be combined in socially inappropriate ways. The most important text, which may serve as a starting point, is written in Greek and dates to the second century CE. Lucianus, in his *Wisdom of Nigrinos*, tells us how an upstart millionaire wearing colourful clothes and committing other faux pas was ‘educated’ by the urban Athenians:

Lucian. Nigr. [8] 13

A millionaire . . . came to Athens, a very conspicuous and vulgar person with his crowd of attendants and his clothes in various colours and jewellery, and expected to be envied by all the Athenians and to be looked up to as a happy man. But they thought the creature unfortunate, and undertook to educate him, not in a harsh way, however, nor yet by directly forbidding him to live as he would in a free city. . . . His gay clothes and his purple tunics they stripped from him very neatly by making fun of his flowery colours, saying, “Spring already?” “How did that peacock get here?” “Perhaps it’s his mother’s robe” and the like. His other vulgarities they turned into jest in the same way—the number of his rings, the over-niceness of his hair, the extravagance of his life. So, he was disciplined little by little, and went away much improved by the public education he had received. [Loeb transl. with slight modification].

It must be noted that the story is situated in Athens and not in Rome. However, the attitude towards colour of the educated urban elite seems to have been similar in the entire Roman Empire during this time. Lucianus’ millionaire, recently arrived in Athens, dresses himself in colourful clothes in a show of ostentatious wealth. He is wearing purple tunics and coloured cloaks. He also mixes different contrasting shades so that he is compared to a peacock. We have already seen that coloured dress was seen as unbecoming of a man, more so than of a woman. The same thought also appears here: The millionaire’s critics compare his attire to that of his mother. The main point is that the attitude of the nouveau riche concerning colours is implicitly contrasted with that of the old urban Athenian elite. The upstart likes striking colours, whereas the Athenians do not. He likes mixing colours, whereas the Athenians prefer harmonious and matching ones.

Turning from Greek to Latin, there is no Latin text concerning ‘class’ attitude towards colours as explicit as Lucianus’ description of the young millionaire. The tendency of the educated to wear matching colours is indirectly shown by the Graeco-Roman fashion of wearing *syntheseis* (dress combinations) in a single or at least in matching shades (B 10). Trimalchio and his wife Fortunata are again the Latin source most similar to the millionaire in their behaviour. They both wear red and green items

of clothing, golden jewellery, and golden rings, and they look a bit like peacocks. In the *cena Trimalchionis*, Petronius simply describes them and relies on his readers to recognize the ‘horrible social mistakes’ (*vitia*) committed by the upstart couple. The *vitia* are the basis for the author’s humour, which will have appealed to his readers’ sense of propriety. As to social codes, Petronius’ subtle narrative conveys the same information as Lucianus’ much blunter anecdote.

Fortunata’s and Trimalchio’s attire has been described in detail in chapters B 1 and B 4. The motto of their household seems to be: ‘A bit too much of everything.’ It not only applies to food and music, but also to colour. Both Trimalchio and Fortunata prefer striking reds and greens (the colours of the circus factions), and they like to combine them. We have already seen Trimalchio earlier in this chapter, in the public bath wearing a red (*russeus*) sport tunic and playing with a green (*prasinus*) ball.²⁰⁵ Afterwards, he is carried away in his litter wrapped in a crimson (*coccinus*) blanket.²⁰⁶ A well-clad doorkeeper receives Trimalchio’s guests. He is sporting a green tunic (*prasinatus*) with a cherry-red (*cerasinus*) belt.²⁰⁷ At dinner, Trimalchio is wearing a crimson (*coccineus*) coat and a purple-striped (*laticlavius*) napkin;²⁰⁸ Fortunata is dressed in a red undertunic (*cerasinus*) and a ‘lime’-green (*galbinus*) belt, in addition to a lot of gold jewellery and maybe white shoes.²⁰⁹ The faux pas of the freed couple Petronius wants his readers to laugh at are the following: (1) They use too much colour; (2) they fail to distinguish between low-status and high-status colours; (3) they mix striking complementary colours; and (4) they wear the same colours as their servants. Petronius’ descriptions are always based on realistic details (most of them have parallels in archaeological material). It is therefore very likely that he portrays Trimalchio and Fortunata in a stereotyped manner that he and his readers considered very typical for the social class of the freedmen.

If we believe Petronius, the new leisure class (in contrast to the ‘old’ Roman elite) liked dress colour, imitating (as with other luxury articles) the social elite and being proud that they could now afford expensive clothing. However, they often lacked cultural education and therefore blundered. They often used too much dress colour in order to distinguish themselves, and they used it indiscriminately, mixing contrasting colours and using vulgar ones. At the same time, the nouveau riche were fond of new fashionable shades which the cultured elite would not have worn. The *arbiter elegantiarum* Petronius and his male readers in the first century CE dressed much differently (see below). In the new Roman world of first century CE, now full of colours, the true distinction was to use dress colour with restraint. Properly cultured Romans

205 Petron. 27.1–2.

206 Petron. 28.4.

207 Petron. 28.8.

208 Petron. 32.2.

209 Petron. 67.4.

avoided shades worn by the *vulgus* and only used those signal colours that underlined their upper-class status.

11.5 History

The preceding discussion focused on social codes and to some extent on social behaviour without regard for historical changes. The following section describes the evolution which social behaviour underwent concerning dress colour. Men and women are bunched at the beginning; gender differences are only explored in more detail towards the end. In general, social code and behaviour regarding colour differed considerably between genders. As a general rule, social restrictions for men were more pronounced than those for women. Roman men used fewer shades and less colour overall compared to Roman women. We should also keep in mind that the history of artificial colours is, like that of garments, in large parts a history of the upper and the leisure classes. In consequence, this section starts top down with first reviewing the preferences of high-status individuals and then switching to a bottom-up perspective. In contrast to natural colour (i.e. the colour of the untreated material), any artificial dress colour is a luxury product, even though some colours lost their social prestige over time (see below). A natural colour can, in turn, take on social value when it derives from a limited source, such as an exotic breed of sheep. Even though there was no Roman fashion industry in the modern sense, there are some similarities to ours in the sense of the *longue durée*. Change became faster in Imperial times when consumer demand for new clothing and new colours grew in conjunction with the production capacity of such luxury products.

11.5.1 Purple

The late Karl Lagerfeld, the German fashion designer based in Paris, once said that you can sell any dress colour to the inhabitants of Hamburg, provided this colour was dark blue. Transferring this witticism to the Romans, one might say you could sell any colour to the ancient Romans provided that it was purple (or crimson). The Roman (Etruscan) purple-craze, or rather that of the Roman elite, is well known. The technical purple production in particular has attracted a considerable amount of scholarship.²¹⁰ It will therefore suffice to stress only a few main points.

²¹⁰ Blümner (1912) 233–248; M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity*, Brussels 1970 with the review of F. Kolb, *Gnomon* 45 (1973), 50–58; G. Steigerwald, *Die Purpursorten im Preisedikt Diokletians vom Jahre 301*, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 219–276; Bradley (n. 1) 189–211; Goldman (n. 1) 28–31, 40–52; M. Guckelsberger, *Purple Dye in Antiquity*, Diss. Univ. of Island 2013; Bogensperger (n. 22) 235–249.

Purple on dress is already referred to in the first ‘longer’ Latin text we know of: the Law of the Twelve Tables (450 BCE). In the tenth table, containing a burial law, purple stripes (*clavi*) are mentioned on the tunics of upper-class men (A 1).²¹¹ Upper-class wives very likely equaled their husbands as to luxury dress at that time, but we have to wait for more than two centuries before we are told explicitly that the women wore purple or purple-bordered garments. The female *purpura* is mentioned as a perfectly natural dress by both Plautus²¹² and Cato Censorius (A 2). Cato rejects the abolition of a luxury law concerning female gold jewellery and purple dress. We may hence assert with confidence that purple was a popular dress colour among Roman upper-class *matronae* in the third century BCE.

But what shade does the term *purpura* refer to? What colour is in turn called *purpureus*? The word *purpura* and *purpureus* are used ambiguously and can denote both a colour or a pigment. When referring to colour, they can refer to different shades from violet to reddish purple.²¹³ The violet hue was the older one (see below), and it was manufactured in Italy. In contrast, reddish purple was a later invention. In Latin, this type of purple was called Tyrian (*Tyrius*) or Phoenician (*punicus*) because it was produced by the Phoenicians and not in Italy. It became most popular in about the second half of the first century BCE (see below). We must bear this colour shift in mind when reading our available texts. As a general rule, texts from the Republican Period use the word *purpureus* to refer to a violet purple shade (at least when it comes to ornaments). Texts of the Imperial period use *purpureus* to denote a reddish purple shade. Imperial authors seem to have felt this ambiguity. Hence, they use *violaceus*,²¹⁴ *Tyrius*, *punicus*, or (somewhat later) the words *ianthinus* (viola-coloured),²¹⁵ *amethystinus* (amethyst-coloured),²¹⁶ or even *tyrianthinus* (Tyrian viola-coloured)²¹⁷ when they wanted to denote a precise shade. Beyond this general division, there were even more gradations of ‘purple.’ As Ovid’s enumeration of violet natural objects shows, there

211 Cf. especially p. 34.

212 Plaut. Poen: 304: *meretricem pudorem gerere magis decet quam purpuram* [a prostitute should rather have good character than a purple dress]; cf. A 7 p. 137; Aul. 168: *eburata vehicula, pallas, purpuram* [carts adorned with ivory, *pallae*, a purple dress]; 500: *enim mihi quidem aequomst purpuram atque aurum dari* [I should be given purple and gold]; cf. A 5 p. 88; Plaut. Stich. 376: *lanam purpuramque multam* [much wool and purple]; Men. 121: *lanam, aurum, vestem, purpuram* [wool, gold, dress, purple]; Most. 286–290; cf. also Afranius, Fratriae (Fratres?) F 13: *mea nutrix, surge si vis, profer purpuram* [my nurse, please get up, bring me the *tunica* with purple ornaments]; cf. A 7 p. 157.

213 For further information, cf. the books and articles referred to in n. 210.

214 Plin. NH 9.137 (see below); Plaut. Aul. 510 (*violarii*) cf. A 5 p. 110.

215 Mart. 2.39 (B 6 p. 371); Plin. NH 21.45 (see n. 21).

216 Ovid. ars 3.181; Mart. 1.96.7 (above p. 428), 14.154: *lanae amethystinae: ebria Sidoniae cum sim de sanguine conchae*, || *non video quare sobria lana vocer* [amethystine wool: since I am drunk with the blood of a Sidonian murex, I do not see a reason why I am called sober wool]. Plin. NH 21.45 (see n. 21).

217 Mart. 1.53.3; PHamb. 33 (above p. 421).

were various shades of violet and rose (see above). A full variety of them is also found in the edict of Diocletian (301 CE).

11.5.2 Colour and fashion

In the case of purple, we have something that we lack with all other colours. There are several statements on how the different shades of purple were socially perceived and used. For this reason, we can prove something with purple that we can only infer for other colours: There were fashion changes when it came to dress colour in Rome. Our first three Latin texts concern upper-class men—Roman senators and knights. The texts are all from court speeches given by Cicero and date to the fifties of the first century BCE. They all form part of invectives or rejecting reproaches of opponents, in which Cicero uses common tropes. It should be noted that when Cicero mentions colours in connection with clothing he is not referring to completely dyed garments, but only to the colour of ornaments. In one passage, Cicero mocks his archenemy Piso as posing as a populist by dressing in a common Italian and very dark purple (*vestitus aspere hac nostra purpura plebeia ac paene fusca*).²¹⁸ The word *plebeius* also implies that this type of purple was rather cheap. Cicero's slander may well be based on a real fact. It seems that some senators wanted to make a political statement by wearing traditional dark Italian purple. In a similar manner, Cato the Younger is said to have worn dark purple insignia.²¹⁹ Piso (like Cato) wanted to appear, to use Cicero's words, as an example of the old Roman rule (*exemplum imperi veteris*) and as a picture of 'the good old times' (*imago antiquitatis*). However, as Cicero goes on, Piso only does this for show. In reality, he is a wealthy passive homosexual debauchee. Cicero's political heckling of his opponent is not to be taken too seriously when it comes to an individual's actual behaviour. Cicero is having rhetorical fun with slanderous *ad hominem* attacks of his political or legal opponents. The heckling was mostly meant to entertain the audience. This is shown by the next example. Here, Cicero says that no one should begrudge Caelius his fashionable *purpurae genus* (again used on an insigne) and his somewhat flamboyant lifestyle, both being signs of youth and refinement.²²⁰ In contrast, an opponent of Cicero wearing the same clothing and insignia as Caelius supposedly shows a lack of character and decadence. The *equus* Decianus, in his expensive and trendy *Tyria purpura*, is not a serious plaintiff.²²¹ The basis for these attacks is always that there were old and new shades of purple, each with different social connotations.

The slow changing of purple fashion, expressing itself in the opposition of 'traditional/old-fashioned' and 'new/extravagant,' is also mentioned by Pliny the Elder

²¹⁸ Cic. Sest. 19.

²¹⁹ Plutarch. Cato Min. 6.3.

²²⁰ Cic. Cael. 77.

²²¹ Cic. Flacc. 70.

in his long chapter on purple. Pliny's testimony is most important for cultural history, since it explicitly refers to the behaviour of social groups (in contrast to individual behaviour). Pliny's account broadens our perspective by describing the evolution of purple and its production for more than a century. As so often in Pliny, we have a two-layered text. In the relevant section, Pliny first quotes the *Chronica* of Cornelius Nepos (ca. 100–28 BCE) as a source. In contrast to historical annals, this work contained remarks on social history. Pliny then proceeds to comment on the *Chronica* and to add something of his own.

Plin. NH 9.137

Nepos Cornelius, qui Divi Augusti principatu obiit: "me," inquit, "iuvene violacea purpura vigebat, cuius libra denariis centum venibat, nec multo post rubra Tarentina. huic successit dibapha Tyria, quae in libras denariis mille non poterat emi. hac P. Lentulus Spinther aedilis curulis primus in praetexta usus inprobabatur. qua purpura quis non iam," inquit, "tricliniaria facit?" Spinther aedilis fuit urbis conditae anno DCXCI Cicerone consule. dibapha tunc dicebatur quae bis tinctorum esset, veluti magnifico impendio, qualiter nunc omnes paene commodiores purpurae tinguuntur.

Cornelius Nepos, who died in the reign of the divine Augustus, says: "When I was young, the violet purple dye was in vogue, a pound of which sold at 100 denarii; and not much later, the red purple dye of Tarentum. This was replaced by the double-dyed (*dibapha*) Tyrian purple, which cost more than a 1000 denarii per pound. Publius Lentulus Spinther, as curule aedile, was the first to use this on his *toga praetexta*, and he was criticized for it. However, who does not use this kind of purple for covers of dining-couches now-a-days?" Spinther was aedile in the year 631 a.u.c. when Cicero was consul (63 BCE). At that time, the word *dibapha* referred to a purple cloth said to have been dyed twice, as if it were a great extravagance. Now, however, almost all standard (less expensive) purple cloth is dyed in this way.

Nepos is referring to the same fashion trend as Cicero. In his youth, 'cheap' violet purple was 'normal,' and then a red southern Italian shade came into use.²²² Finally, there was the expensive reddish Tyrian *dibapha*. Nepos marks the difference between violet and Tyrian purple by the cost. He says that the violet purple was selling at a hundred, while the Tyrian one at a thousand denarii per pound.²²³ He then turns to the *primus inventor* of Tyrian purple in Rome. Since it is difficult to date the exact start of a trend, Nepos ties it to the person who first used a Tyrian purple insigne in a political office. This was supposedly the curule aedile Lentulus Spinther, whose office dates to Cicero's

²²² F. Meiers, Historical outline and chromatic properties of *purpura rubra Tarentina* and its potential identification with purple dye extracted from *Bolinus brandaris*, in: H. L. Enegren/F. Meo (eds.), *Treasures from the sea. Sea silk and shellfish purple dye in Antiquity*, Oxford 2017, 138–144.

²²³ Since inflation was high in the first century BCE, price differences were perhaps not so as great as Nepos makes them appear.

consulate in the year 63 BCE.²²⁴ The biographical details of Spinther do not need to interest us here; his office suggests that he was relatively young and belonged to the most upper-class stratum of Roman society. The office of the curule aedile was reserved for patrician, as opposed to plebeian, aristocrats. Spinther thus falls into a similar category as Caelius, who also wore Tyrian purple (see above). Nepos will have learned about Spinther from an unknown political or court speech. Criticizing the opponent for wearing extravagant purple was a common trope at that time, as Cicero's invectives show. An adversary will have turned on Spinther in a similar way.

After quoting Nepos, Pliny pursues the history of Tyrian purple up to his own time. The word *commodiores* also refers to the price. Something is called *commodior* when you do not have to pay too much for it, if it is convenient. We have thus the same antithesis between 'cheap' and 'expensive' purple as before. According to Pliny, Tyrian purple was once very expensive, which restricted its use to insignia. By the time of Pliny (ca. 70 CE), however, about a hundred years after Nepos, Tyrian purple was already considered cheap and was used for 'normal' bed and couch covers. In conclusion, Pliny's social history shows us two important things: (1) What was once a luxury fashion became a common affordable good and was used in an inflationary manner, and (2) the different shades of purple underwent a slight devaluation as time went on. In modern terms, we might say that a 'democratization' of the colour purple occurred.

Postponing the end of the purple story for a while, let us now consider whether something similar happened with other artificial colours. Of particular interest are those colours standing at the opposite end of the social spectrum: the 'low-status' colours plain red (*russeus*) and bright green (*galbinus*, *prasinus*). There is no written evidence on historical changes of these two 'low' colours so that their original status is beyond certain proof. However, taking the history of purple as an example, we may assume that a similar devaluation of these colours took place over the long course of Roman history and that colour production and social views on colour changed over the course of multiple centuries. Our argument might be as follows: A society's general view on colours can be summed up as 'any artificial colour is preferable to using none.' Red (as opposed to purple) is a very old European colour,²²⁵ and its dye was produced near Rome. Hence it seems quite natural that it was (together with natural white) among the first positive signal colours known to the Romans.²²⁶ In the beginning, red (like white) would have been the colour of wealth (requiring the purchase of dye). After some time, however, red lost its lustre. The invention of purple dye may have been a subsequent effort of the members of the elite to emancipate themselves from a signal colour that had become all too common. Red then remained a colour of the *plebs* (those who could

²²⁴ RE 4.1 (1900) s.v. Cornelius (238), col. 1392–1398 (F. Münzer).

²²⁵ Cf. the various articles in H. Meller/C.-H. Wunderlich/F. Knoll (eds.), *Rot – Die Archäologie bekennt Farbe*, Halle 2013.

²²⁶ Crimson, a dark shade of it, still remains at the cloak (*trabea*) of the *equites* in historical times.

not afford the more expensive purple). The elementary nature of red and white is still mirrored in historical times by the fact that they are used by the first circus factions.²²⁷

However, this is merely a hypothesis based on analogy. It is only at about the turn from the third to the second century BCE that an evidence-based social history of red and other artificial colours can be undertaken. It is then that we find Plautus joking about various new colour terms (A 4). Although the basis of his jokes is partly Greek, the puns must have appealed to his audience. A little later, Cato the Elder complains about rich *matronae* wearing striking red *fasciae* and ‘lime’-green cloaks (A 2). He obviously deemed these colours unfit for upper-class women, but his criticism shows that these colours were fashionable and were worn by the elite. After this, plain red (*russeus*) and bright green (*galbinus*) eventually made their way further down the social strata. In contrast to other shades, they do not appear in the wardrobes of the educated population. They are missing in Ovid and in Herais’ police report. Instead, they figure in the wardrobe of people like Trimalchio and his wife Fortunata, the old woman prostituting herself to Priapus, and other debauched social upstarts. In addition, they appear on various trivial items and are used by the circus factions. In conclusion, the evolution seen in the case of purple probably also involved other signal colours (though to a lesser degree), while the social prestige of less striking colours (for example, blue and dark green) seems to have been relatively stable. At least, these colours are never connotated in a negative way.

11.5.3 Colour and society

In general, a change of dress style and colour preferences is connected to and caused by social change. Up to now, our view on dress colours has been largely top down. Now we will broaden the perspective and look from the bottom up. In the period considered in this book, Roman society underwent dramatic political and social changes. As already seen in preceding chapters (especially in connection with the *stola*), the composition of Rome’s ruling class changed significantly during the Republic. This disrupted the traditional cohesion of status and code that held together the old ruling class. Ancient Roman historians like Sallust and Livy (mirroring the ideology of the upper classes) thought that the fall of Carthage (146 BCE) triggered a negative social process that finally led to the dissolution of the old Roman society, the dwindling of unity among the members of the upper class, and (most dangerously) the creeping in of *luxuria* (decadence) into hitherto simple Roman hearts. Inverting the historians’ assessment, we might describe the same epoch as a time of great upward mobility and new social chances (something frowned upon by any ruling class). Upward mobility had already been strong after the Social Wars (87 BCE). After the end of the civil wars (30 BCE),

²²⁷ On the *russati* (the red faction), cf. above p. 442.

however, social progress and life in the capital accelerated. The new rule of law and order (albeit a tyrannical one) and high government spending created a market boom. Luxury goods were imported. Emperor Augustus (exploiting the provinces) built a marble city (including the Campus Martius), and large sums of money were turned over in the capital. The upper classes had been always rich in Rome, but now wealth trickled down to the other strata of society. Producers and merchants, in large part belonging to the freedmen-class, acquired wealth, and they (like Trimalchio) aspired to new status, eventually rivalling the old elites. In a sense, dishwashers could become millionaires, or (in ancient terms) a muleteer could aspire to a crimson dress.²²⁸ Roman society as a whole became richer; a new broad leisure class came to the fore and enjoyed the advantages of urban life. The satirists (Horace, Martial, and Juvenal) viewed the pastimes of this sort of people with some amount of skepticism, although they very likely profited from them.

Turning back to dress and dress colours, the immense social change had the same consequences as for other luxury merchandise: More people and more diverse people could afford them. It is during this time that the old Roman elite began to lose control on dress and on fashion. Despite the laws of Augustus, which declared some ‘traditional’ garments to be privileges, the maelstrom engulfing all Roman garments (at least in the eyes of traditionalists) went on. Roman elite culture was still shown on the official monuments in Imperial times. However, as to social reality, the cultured freed Greek hetaera (like Cynthia, Delia, and Corinna) and the young Roman dandy set the agenda of urban fashion. It is not without reason that most of the literary evidence we have in this time concerns the dress of such liberal individuals.

The preceding chapters also showed what this social (r)evolution meant for dress forms. ‘Traditional’ Roman garment forms like the *stola* (B 4) and *praetexta* (B 5) gradually disappeared; others, like the *tunica*, acquired ever more variety (B 1); and altogether new dress options like the *synthesis* emerged (B 10). Rome experienced veritable fashion trends—the Coan dress (B 9), and low-status clothing like the *abolla* and the *paenula* (B 7–8)—received a social upgrade. As to material, the options gradually increased: from wool, to linen, to cotton, and finally to silk.

As regards dress colours and their use, Roman dress in general became more coloured in Imperial times. Traditional colours lost attraction and value, and new ones came up. Under the influence of Greek culture, every perceivable shade was probably more or less available in Rome already by about 200 BCE. In Imperial times, however, previously unheard of colour terms crop up—like ‘cherry-red’ (*cerasinus*), ‘wine-leaf red’ (*xerampelinus*), and Tyrian violet (*Tyrianthinus*). Rather than truly new colours, these terms most likely denote new fashionable shades of existing ones. The spectrum of dress colours seems to have been quite stable in this period. There is only one exception,

²²⁸ Mart. 10.76.8–9 (see above).

and this is ‘purple’ and its shades. All new designations refer to either dark red or violet.

But why did only purple see new shades and terms, even after the other colours had more or less stabilized? The change of purple shades probably has to do with a loss of distinction and the increasing numbers of people wearing purple. Since Roman society was growing richer and production became cheaper in the first century BCE, ever more people could afford to buy purple garments. The new leisure class, which could now afford something previously restricted to knights and senators, turned to purple for its social prestige.²²⁹ Purple thus became part of a mass market. It probably did not matter too much whether the shade was achieved by real purple dye or by imitation. To use a modern example, real Gucci handbags can only be discerned by a specialist. Ovid and Pliny indicate what this wider access to violet purple had already occurred by the first century BCE (see above). Ovid lists several violet shades among the not-overly-expensive dress colours a *puella* could wear; Pliny (Nepos) says that purple was cheap. The result was that, by about 60 BCE, the bottom-up influence in fashion led the urban elite (now a mixture of new and old wealth) to invent new (foreign) purple colours for themselves, for example Tyrian red. High costs first helped to make this shade rare and distinctive. Tyrian purple was therefore still something extravagant fifty years later. But the same misfortune of democratization happened again. The value of reddish purple also quickly degraded through bottom-up influence. By the time of Nero (54–68 CE), a garment in Tyrian purple or crimson was losing its social distinction and, in order to stop this, Nero took a drastic measure. He simply forbade the colours violet and Tyrian purple. As Suetonius tells us:

Suet. Nero 32.3

et cum interdixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris summississetque qui nundinarum die pauculas uncias venderet, praeclusit cunctos negotiatores. quin etiam inter canendum animadversam matronam in spectaculis vetita purpura cultam demonstrasse procuratoribus suis dicitur detractamque ilico non veste modo sed et bonis exuit.

Having forbidden the use of amethyst-coloured or Tyrian purple dyes, he secretly sent a man to sell a few ounces on a market day and then closed the shops of all the dealers. It is even said that when he saw a matron in the audience at one of his recitals clad in the forbidden colour he pointed her out to his agents, who dragged her out and stripped her on the spot, not only of her garment, but also of her property. [Loeb transl.]

In contrast to the Twelve Tables, Nero’s luxury law aimed less at keeping up morality and the unity of the Roman elite than at manipulating markets (and prices) in order

²²⁹ On leisure class compartment, cf. the classic study of Th. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class. An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions*, New York/London 1899.

to reserve these (expensive) colours for imperial distinction. However, arresting bold *matronae* was finally to no avail, and violet and crimson garments remained popular. In Petronius, Trimalchio and his wife Fortunata do not only wear crimson and purple garments themselves, but they even dress their slaves in them; in Martial and Juvenal, crimson and purple are common dress colours for the dandy and his mistress alike;²³⁰ Herais' luxurious wardrobe contains major garments (tunics, coats) in six different shades of violet, dark red, and purple, but it only contains two pieces in green, both of which are accessories.

The final question is: What did the 'old' elite do when large parts of society could afford anything and when taking refuge in special natural colours and special material (silk) was of no avail either? The answer is simple. The elite instead turned to 'simplicity' and to 'taste.' In Imperial times, the 'true' elite evinced itself by judging and reducing colours in a colourful word. Elite fashion moved from ostentatious wealth to subdued dignity. The credo became: 'You do not have to be rich like a Trimalchio, but you should at least have taste.' The right 'attitude' counted, and it could not be bought with all the money in the world. The view of the elite is mirrored by Ovid, who rejects wealth as a criterion for distinction and instead stresses knowledge and individual choice. Instead of purchasing advice, he offers an explicit style guide for *puellae*. About fifty years later, Petronius, as *arbiter elegantiarum*, implicitly tells us what a cultured member of the leisure class should *not* do by mocking the (uncultured) nouveau rich. A person of culture should *not* combine tasteless colours and should *not* exaggerate using colours. In the Flavian period, Martial and Juvenal follow up in this vein, ridiculing the uneducated members of the Roman leisure class. Their criticism of extravagant behaviour implicitly shows what was 'normal' behaviour.²³¹ And finally, we also have Herais' wardrobe to give us an example of cultured taste.

11.5.4 Colour and gender

Having examined the influence of class from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives, a final factor needs to be brought back into focus when it comes to Roman colour fashion: gender. In Roman literature on women, the male moralists prevail. It is therefore difficult to judge real female behaviour based on the texts. As Cato's invective shows, women were very likely dressed in all sorts of colours during his lifetime, and similar attitudes likely remained in Imperial times. Although they were subject to the same general historical trends and social codes as men, women had complete freedom to choose the dress colours they liked and (as the example of Fortunata shows) seem to have made good use of this prerogative. Looking at the centuries of Roman history, the

²³⁰ Mart. 1.96.6–7 (above p. 428), 2.39 (B 6 p. 371), 8.48.1; Iuven. 7.136.

²³¹ Satire needs an accepted social code as a backdrop against which deviation can be highlighted. There is no deviance without a thing to deviate from!

use of colour by Roman women did not significantly change in terms of the existence of dyed female clothing (dyed clothing had been used by women for as long as the technology existed). In contrast, the (acceptable) use of dress colour by Roman men changed and expanded considerably over time.

Until the end of the Roman Republic, men only used artificial colours sparingly. Signal colours appear to have been limited to the natural white *toga* and to the crimson and purple of upper-class insignia. We do not hear of any man wearing any other colour on any other part of dress. In Cicero, colour on men's clothing only exists in the form of insignia. There is no literary invective concerning an inappropriate colour of an *entire* male garment (only an *insigne's* colour is criticized). Assuming that the invectives mirror real behaviour, male dress in artificial colours was highly unusual, if not completely unheard of, during the Republic (otherwise there would be a rhetorical trope concerning it). This all changes in Imperial times. Now, several men are attested as wearing coloured garments in literature: Petronius' Trimalchio, Martial's dandies wearing violet and crimson cloaks, Seneca's men wearing prostitutes' colours, Juvenal's transvestites in blue and 'lime'-green, and Lucianus' nouveau rich in coloured dress. When we reduce hyperbole, these Imperial texts show that fashionable men could (and did) wear complete garments in artificial colours from at least the first century CE onwards.

Our evidence thus shows that gender norms concerning dyed clothing became more egalitarian, at least up to a point. The ruling elite probably kept to 'traditional,' relatively colourless dress. A member of the *jeunesse dorée* was still restricted to dark purple shades in public (if he did not wish to incur reproach). If he was wearing a green or blue garment, he still crossed the gender boundaries and was defined as effeminate (= passive male homosexual). Nevertheless, gender roles got closer in Imperial times, at least in the field of dress style and fashion.

12 *reticulum* – hairnet (pl. 19)

1. Introduction
2. Terminology and appearance
3. Social usage
4. History

12.1 Introduction

The present chapter concerns the *reticulum*.¹ It is the first on accessories, which are ordered from head to toe (B 12–30). Roman female accessories differed significantly from those we have today. Roman women had fewer options. They could use various pieces of headwear, scarves, belts, and shoes to individualize and colour their attire. Once in a while, they could take a fan or a sun shade. But there were no hats, no eye-glasses, no shawls, no furs, no gloves, and no handbags. In short, there were none of the things that make up much of the modern fashion accessories. In compensation, there was golden jewellery on the head, upper arms (*armillae*), and legs (*periscelides*) for the well-off.

In general, there are five types of female headwear: the *reticulum*, the *mitra*, the *anadema*, the *strophium*, and the *vitta*. The first four items are normal pieces of headwear, whereas the *vitta* was turned into an insigne by Augustus and thus gained importance in literature. The *reticulum* and the *vitta* are designated by Latin words which describe their structure. The other pieces of headwear are referred to by Greek loanwords and thus seem to have come to Rome through the influence of Greek culture. The linguistic and historical evolution is also mirrored by Varro's short history of female headwear:

Varro LL 5.130

quod capillum contineret, dictum a rete reticulum; rete ab raritudine; item texta fasciola, qua capillum in capite alligarent, dictum capital a capite, quod sacerdotulae in capite etiam nunc solent habere. sic rica ab ritu, quod Romano ritu sacrificium

¹ Becker/Göll III (1882) 274; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 702; Blümner (1911) 263; RE 1.1 A (1914) s.v. *reticulum*, col. 694–695 (A. Hug); L. Sensi, *Ornatus e status sociale delle donne Romane*, in: *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 18 (1980), 57–58; E. Mottahedeh, *The Princeton Bronze Portrait of a Woman with Reticulum*, in: A. Houghton (ed.), *Studies in honour of L. Mildenberg*, Wetteren 1984, 193–210; L. La Follette, *The Costume of the Roman Bride*, in: *Sebesta/Bonfante* (1994), 55; GRD (2007) 160; Olson (2008) 76; K. H. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding*, Cambridge 2010, 106–108.

feminae cum faciunt, capita velant. mitra et reliqua fere in capite postea addita cum vocabulis Graecis.

Because it held the hair, the *reticulum* was named after the net (*rete*). The term *rete* is derived from *raritudo* (looseness). Likewise, the small strip of cloth with which they tied the hair to the head (*caput*) was called **capital* after the word *caput*. Priestesses still usually wear it on their heads. Thus **rica* is derived from the word *ritus* because women veil their heads when they perform a sacrifice in the Roman manner (*Romano ritu*). The *mitra* and almost all other headdresses were added later along with their Greek names.

After the word *reticulum*, Varro offers two Latin glosses—**capital* (D 6) and **rica* (D 4)—which he relates to ritual dress. Both words do not belong to neutral language and probably do not designate headwear at all. They are part of Varro’s pseudo-history of early Roman dress (C 1). The next neutral dress term in Varro’s list is the Greek loanword *mitra*. Varro’s explanation shows that Roman women had no regular headwear (as opposed to jewellery) except the *reticulum* before the arrival of Greek dress style in the third century BCE. Instead, they used a cloak (*pallium*) or a scarf (*palliolum*) to cover their heads when necessary (similar to how a South Asian *sari* can also be pulled over the head and face). It is also remarkable that the term *vitta* is missing from Varro’s text. This is perhaps because the term does not exclusively apply to a female piece of headwear but to a plaited band.

The Imperial jurists Ulpianus (ca. 170–223/228 CE) and Paulus (2nd–3rd century CE) already debated about which dress items were a type of garment (*vestimentum*) and which were a type of ornament (*ornamentum*). As to the head, (rich) Roman women had many dress options that fall under the category of ornaments: the golden crown (*corona*), the diadem (στεφάνη),² the comb (*pecten*), the hair clasp (*fibula*), and the hair pin (*acus*). All these items are left out of this book because they were not made of textiles or leather (even though such items were not necessarily made of precious metals). The book makes an exception in the case of the hairnet (*reticulum*) because of its dual character and because Varro lists it among the pieces of headwear.

12.2 Terminology and appearance

The term *reticulum* is a diminutive of *rete* (net).³ It is an old Latin word and designates a fine (and often elastic) web covering the hair. A normal *reticulum* consisted of textile threads and could have different colours (like nowadays). In Festus (Verrius), we hear of a special bridal hairnet that was yellow (*luteus*);⁴ Ulpianus mentions *reticula cro-*

² We do not have a Latin word for this type of crown or hair circlet, which is called στεφάνη or (in literary language) ἄμπυξ in Greek. Maybe, it was simply called *corona* in Latin.

³ See already Varro LL 5.130.

⁴ Festus p. 364.21–25 L.

cyphantia.⁵ The adjective *crocyphantia* is usually thought to be used as a noun and to designate a second piece of headwear (OLD),⁶ but it may well qualify the preceding *reticula*. The expression *reticula crocyphantia*, if we understand it in this way, may thus also refer to an orange-coloured (*croceus*) hairnet. However, the *reticulum* was not only made of textiles. It could also consist of golden (or silver) filaments. It was then produced by the *aurifex*.⁷

As archaeological evidence shows, the Roman *reticulum* was worn on the dome of the head (pl. 19).⁸ It is an alternative to a *mitra* (headscarf).⁹ Its usage thus differed from that of the similar hairnet called *κεκρύφαλος* (*kekryphalos*) in Greek Classical literature.¹⁰ This was a kind of hair bag that was worn on the back of the head.

12.3 Social usage

In general, we should distinguish two types of hairnets and their function. There was a normal hairnet to protect your hair and to possibly adorn you, and there was an expensive one *only* to adorn you and show your status. The normal *reticulum* belonged to the boudoir and average people. The other one (as golden jewellery) belonged in public and to the rich classes. The normal hairnet is a trivial accessory, and we therefore only hear about it incidentally. It is not as prominent as the *kekryphalos* in Attic comedy. Hence, we may conclude that it was more functional than fashionable. It was probably worn by all women alike. In Turpilius¹¹ and Novius,¹² young unmarried girls wear a *reticulum*. However, these comedies (a Palliata and an Atellan farce) might mirror Greek custom by translating the Greek word *κεκρύφαλος* (*kekryphalos*).¹³ A passage in Varro

5 Digest. 34.2.25.10: *ornamentorum haec: vittae mitrae semimitrae calautica acus cum margarita ... reticula crocyphantia*.

6 Cf. OLD s.v. *crocyphantia*.

7 Blümner (1911) 263.

8 Cf. p. 690; and M. Harlow, in: M. Carroll/J. P. Wild (eds.), *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity*, Stroud 2012, 151–152, 155 colour ill. 24.

9 Varro Men. 433: *aliae [mitrant] reticulum aut mitram Melitensem* [other women ... a hairnet or Maltese *mitra*], cf. A 9 p. 192; D 4 pp. 637–638.

10 Homer. Il. 22.469; Aristoph. Thesm. 138 (with Austin/Olson ad loc.), 257; F 332.6 K.-A.; Eupolis F 170 K.-A.; Antiphanes F 115, 187 K.-A. Menander wrote a comedy intitled *κεκρύφαλος*, cf. Men. F 208–217 K.-A.; IG II² 1525.4: *κεκρύφαλον λευκόν πεζίδα ἔχοντα* [a hairnet with a white border]; 1522.18 with Cleland (2005) 118. On the appearance of the *κεκρύφαλος* in general, see M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin 1928, 26; Stone (1981) 203.

11 Sextus Turpilius, Hetaera F 1: ... *interea aspexit virginem || iniectam in capite reticulum indutam ostrina* [while doing so, he saw a young girl who had put a hairnet on her head and was dressed in a crimson *tunica*]; on the text, see A 7 pp. 144–146.

12 Novius, Paedium F 4: *molliculam crocotam chiridotam reticulum* [a soft *crocota* with long sleeves, a hairnet]; on the text, see A 7 p. 169

13 On the character of Roman Palliata, see A 7 p. 134.

is more to the point. It presents a homely genre scene in which a girl is offering hair circlets (*strophia*) and *reticula* as modest gifts to the household gods (*lares*).¹⁴ In Festus (Verrius), a Roman bride is wearing a yellow *reticulum* the night before her wedding. The remarks also show that a *reticulum* was used for hair protection at night, (which was probably its main function). In Ulpianus, there is only general talk of *mulieres* (women) wearing *reticula* without specifying social status.¹⁵

In contrast, the golden *reticulum* clearly belongs to the costume of rich Roman *matronae*. In Plautus, gold (*aurum*) is a privilege of this social group.¹⁶ In Cato, rich upper-class women wear expensive, maybe silver hairnets and other precious headwear (A 2).¹⁷ In Imperial times, Petronius depicts the rich up-start Fortunata in a golden *reticulum*. She moves about the dinner party and boasts that her hairnet was made of fine gold.¹⁸ In Juvenal, a passive homosexual upper-class man dresses up as a *matrona* with a golden hairnet.¹⁹ In contrast, we do not find a hairnet of any kind with the mistresses of Latin Love Elegy.²⁰ Like the *mitra*, the *reticulum* (of any kind) was probably not fashionable dress for these beautiful women (who impressed by their hair). The literary stereotypes mirror the social code as concerns luxury hairnets: They are items that show matronal wealth and status and not accessories to accentuate the beauty of a woman.

Both the everyday and the luxury *reticulum* are ‘regular’ items of dress. They are *not*—as has been claimed—specific pieces for the marriage ritual, i.e. for a rite of passage.²¹ According to Festus (Verrius), on whose remarks this hypothesis has been based, Roman brides put on a plain white tunic and a yellow *reticulum* in the night before the wedding ceremony.²² In the relevant passage, Festus (Verrius) is speculating about primeval Roman marriage customs. His guesses may originate in a marriage

14 Varro Men. 463: *suspendit Laribus manias mollis pilas* || *reticula ac strophia* [she hung up figurines, soft balls, hairnets, and hair circlets on the *lares*], cf. A 9 p. 193.

15 See above n. 5.

16 Cf. B 6.

17 Cato F 113 P.: *mulieres opertae auro purpuraque ... argentea ret<icula>, diadema<ta>, coronas aureas* [women covered over and over with gold and purple ... hairnets of silver, diadems, wreaths of gold].

18 Petron. 67.6: *reticulum aureum, quem ex obrussa esse dicebat* [a golden *reticulum*, which, she said, was of fine gold].

19 Juvenal. 2.96: *reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet* [and he fills a gilded *reticulum* with his big mop of hairs], cf. also 6.022: *reticulatus adulter* [an adulterer with *reticulum*].

20 Cf. On hair in Latin Love Elegy in general, I. Hohenwallner, *Venit odoratos elegia nexa capillos. Haar und Frisur in der römischen Liebeselegie*, Möhnese 2001.

21 Against Hug (n. 1) 695; Sensi (n. 1) 57–58; La Folette (n. 1) 55; GRD (2007) 160, Hersch (n. 1) 106–108.

22 Festus p. 364.21–25 L.: *regillis tunicis albis et reticulis luteis utrisque rectis, textis susum versum a stantibus, pridie nuptiarum diem virgines indutae cubitum ibant ominis causa, ut etiam in togis virilibus dandis observari solet* [The day before the wedding, the virgins went to bed dressed in white *tunicae regillae* and yellow hairnets, both *rectae*, i.e. woven from bottom to top in standing position, for the sake of a good omen. The same custom is also (still) observed when giving the *toga virilis*]; for further discussion, see D 3 pp. 602–604.

custom current at his own time, although this is far from certain. In any case, it is not the *reticulum* but its yellow colour that is important because yellow is the traditional wedding colour.²³ Yellow is consistently used in this rite of passage, and it is the colour of the bridal scarf (*flammeum*, B 18). Like the scarf, the hairnet is a common garment which is only adapted to the specific purpose through a specific colour. It is not bound to ritual usage.

12.4 History

According to Varro,²⁴ the hairnet was the oldest type of Roman headwear, predating Greek influence on Roman dress style and dress terms. The word *reticulum* is indeed not a Greek loanword, and Varro may thus be right. It is likely that a trivial normal hairnet was in use among women from the earliest times onward, although its history is beyond proof. It was demonstrably used in late Republican and in Imperial times. In contrast, golden hairnets and illustrations of them have been preserved in early archaeological evidence.²⁵ Etruscan-Roman upper-class women may have used them, since they used golden crowns. However, our literary evidence dates much later. In Cato's *Origines*, precious *reticula* are listed as articles of matronal luxury. After a long gap in time, we find them again in Petronius and Juvenal. Fortunata and Juvenal's homosexual imitate the dress customs of 'normal' rich *matrona*. We may therefore infer that this type of jewellery was still in use among upper-class *matronae* in the first century CE. It was maybe even regarded as an old 'traditional' Roman dress style by that time, and traditionalist women may have used it—much like the *stola*—as a deliberate fashion choice to underscore their political and social views.

²³ Cf. B 11 p. 427.

²⁴ See above p. 455.

²⁵ Cf. p. 690.

13 *mitra* – headscarf (pls. 20–22)

1. Terminology and appearance
2. Social usage
3. History

The word *mitra* has various meanings depending on the different registers of language. In the case of women, the term designates a kind of headscarf without chin straps.¹ The linguistic problem is similar to what we face with the term *palla*. The word *mitra* takes on different meanings in literary and neutral language.² Although the *mitra* has attracted much attention in archaeological research (and even received a monograph³), a correct linguistic definition and social description is still missing in dictionaries and research. For this reason, the following discussion will also include the Greek sources and Greek fashion.

13.1 Terminology and appearance

The Latin term *mitra* (μίτρα) is a Greek loanword. In Greek poetry, the word μίτρα is sometimes used metaphorically to describe various garments which have the appearance of a broad band.⁴ This is an exclusively literary usage and hence excluded from the following discussion. In neutral language, the term μίτρα is confined to the headwear of men and women. In the case of men, it refers to a headband. However, this is not a normal headband, and those who wear it are not normal men. It takes on the quality of a crown since we are dealing with the god Dionysus⁵ (above all), victors in competitions, and rulers. In the case of women, the term μίτρα (*mitra*) primarily denotes a kind of headscarf and not a headband. Usage of the Latin loanword *mitra* roughly corresponds

¹ Against ThLL VIII s.v. *mitra* col. 1160.25: “*pilleolus incurvatus et in angustum desinens, qui redimiculis a mento alligatur*”; and OLD s. v. *mitra*: “an oriental headdress fastened with ribbons under the chin.”

² For a definition of the terms ‘neutral’ and ‘literary,’ see Introduction to part B p. 227.

³ H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*, Münster 1966; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Zur Mitra in klassischer Zeit*, *Revue archéologique* 1977, 23–36; M. Papadopoulou, *Headdress for success. Cultic uses of the Hellenistic mitra*, in: C. Brøns/M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textiles and Cult in the Mediterranean Area in the first Millennium BC*, Oxford 2017, 65–74.

⁴ In general, the usage of Homer and the Hellenistic poets is to be separated from the other evidence, cf. LSJ s.v. μίτρα I. The latter apply the term metaphorically to the girdle and the breast-band of women and wrestlers.

⁵ Strab. 15.1.58 p. 711 C.: Διονυσιακὸν ... τὸ μιτροῦσθαι.

to that of the Greek term. In Latin sources, we hear many times of (1) Dionysus' *mitra*,⁶ (2) the *mitra* worn by women,⁷ and (3) exotically or femininely dressed men.⁸

The jurist Ulpianus (ca. 170–223/8 CE) tells us that at least three types of *mitra* were distinguished in Latin:⁹ the *mitra*, the *semimitra*, and the *mitra calautica* or (if the emendation is correct) rather *calvatica*. Much like with different types of *tunica*, all of these types could be referred to with the same generic word: *mitra*. The first term—simply *mitra*—clearly refers to the headband because this is the basis of all other types. The second—*semimitra* (half-*mitra*)—is only attested in Ulpianus. It probably designated a headband that only had the full breadth of a *mitra* at the front, whereas the rest consisted of a thin band that served as a fastening at the back of the head. The third—*mitra calautica* (*calvatica*)—is also attested with young women in Afranius¹⁰ and in Cicero.¹¹ It designates the female headscarf and is the type usually referred to in our Latin (and Greek) sources by the simple generic name *mitra*.

A detailed description of the female headscarf (from now on *mitra*) is rare, but we can identify it without doubt through the archaeological evidence.¹² It consists of a large headband wound around the occiput (*calva*) and functions as a sort of cap. There is only one text which is more explicit as to its form. It is a short passage in Vergil and has caused considerable problems in research. In the fourth book of the *Aeneid* (the 'Dido-tragedy'), the Numidian king Jarbas mocks his Trojan rival Aeneas out of disappointed love, and he calls him an effeminate Oriental:

Verg. Aen. 4.215–217
et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
subnexus, rapto potitur.

And now that Paris with his eunuch followers, his chin and perfumed hair bound with a Lydian *mitra*, grasps the spoil.

⁶ Prop. 3.17.30: *cinget Bassaricas Lydia mitra comas* [a Lydian *mitra* will gird Dionysus' hairs]; 4.2.31 (Vertumnus): *cinge caput mitra, speciem furabor Iacchi* [Gird my head with a *mitra*, and I will look like Dionysus], Sen. Oed. 413, Phaed. 756, Herc. F. 471; Val. Fl. 2.271; Stat. Ach. 1.715.

⁷ For parallels, see below.

⁸ Lucilius F 71 M. (= 71 Christ./Garb.): *cheridotae auratae [cice] thoracia mitrae* [tunics with long sleeves and adorned with gold, decorative cuirasses, *mitrae*]; cf. D 4 pp. 630–634.

⁹ Digest. 34.2.25.10.

¹⁰ Afranius, Consobrini F 4: *cum mitris calvaticis* [with headscarves], cf. A 7 pp. 154–155.

¹¹ In travesty, Cic. in Clod. et Cur. F 23: *cum ... calvatica* (T; *calautica* Nonius p. 861.3–4 L.) *capiti accommodaretur* [when a *mitra calvatica* was put on your head]; cf. A 10 p. 203. Servius ad Verg. Aen. 9.613 p. 363.1–2 Thilo/Hagen: *mitrae feminarum, quas calauticas dicunt* [*mitrae*, which are called *calauticae*, belong to female dress].

¹² Cf. p. 690.

Jarbas refers not to a *mitra*, but to a *tiara*, the familiar Phrygian cap.¹³ He catachrestically calls this a *mitra* and thereby insinuates that Aeneas is dressed in female headwear. Jarbas uses a feature of anti-Trojan polemic found elsewhere in the Aeneid.¹⁴ However, Jarbas does not use the ‘correct’ word. In neutral language, a *mitra* is not a *tiara*, and we should be careful not to identify them (as has been done in past research).¹⁵ There is some similarity. Both *tiara* and *mitra* are a kind of cap, but there are also differences. The main one is that the *tiara* is (as in Vergil) fastened to the chin by a strap, whereas the *mitra* is not. It has no fastening straps at all. The archaeological evidence is clear on this. We should also refrain from adopting Jarbas’ polemic concerning the *tiara*. The historical, non-literary *mitra* was not an ‘orientalizing’ garment, but a thoroughly Hellenistic-Roman article of clothing.

The material of the *mitra* was linen or cotton.¹⁶ In Varro, we hear of a fine *mitra Melitensis*. More important was its artificial colour, which is often noted in Greek and Latin sources. It is a usual characteristic of this garment. A *mitra* could have different colours, among them purple and gold. It was often multi-coloured.¹⁷ Like other accessories, we should not forget that the *mitra* did not only fulfill a dress function, but it was also used to add a touch of colour to female attire, which was usually dark (*pullus*) and only showed the natural colours of the material.

13.1.1 Social usage

In Imperial times, Roman jurists debated in the context of last wills whether a *mitra* was an item of clothing or an ornament. In contrast to his colleague Julius Paulus (1st half 3rd century CE),¹⁸ Ulpianus numbered the *mitra* amongst the garments because it was produced in order to cover the head rather than adorn it (*magis capitis tegendi quam ornandi causa comparata*).¹⁹ The truth probably lies in the middle, and a *mitra* likely had functions of both a garment and an ornament. Ulpianus ultimately comes

13 Vergil himself knew the difference and that the Trojan cap was a *tiara*, cf. Verg. Aen. 7.246–247: *hoc Priami gestamen erat ... sceptrumque sacerque tiaras* [this was Priam’ dress ... a scepter and a sacred tiara]; cf. Brandenburg (n. 1) 63–64.

14 The actual term *tiara* or *pilleus* is also replaced by the polemical *mitra* in Verg. Aen. 9.616: *et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae* [their tunics have sleeves and their *mitrae* a band].

15 Against ThLL and OLD s.v. *mitra* (see n. 1).

16 Varro Men. 433: *aliae [mitrant] reticulum aut mitram Melitensem* [other women a hairnet or Maltese *mitra*]; cf. A 9 p. 192; Brandenburg (n. 1) 55–56; Tölle-Kastenbein (n. 1) 28.

17 Sappho F 98.10–11 Lobel/Page (ποικίλος); Pherecrates F 106 K.-A; Menander Peric. 823 (χρῦσεος); Prop. 2.29.15 (*Sidonius = purpureus*); Ovid. Met. 14.654 (*pictus*); Iuven. 3.66 (*pictus*); Plin. NH 35.58 (*versicolor*); Pollux 4.151, 154 (ποικίλος). See also Prop. 4.5.73 where a *mitra* is said to have lost its colour.

18 Digest. 34.26.2.

19 Digest. 34.23.2.

back to social codes, and he defines the *mitra* as a typical female garment that cannot be used by men without breaking with gender norms:²⁰

muliebria (sc. *vestimenta*) *sunt, quae matris familiae causa parata sunt, quibus vir non facile uti potest sine vituperatione, velut ... mitrae.*

Female garments are those provided on behalf of the *mater familiae*, which a man cannot use without blame, like ... *mitrae*.

As our other sources show, the social code expressed by Ulpianus is valid for the Graeco-Roman *mitra* in general. The *mitra* was a female headscarf, and it was worn by all sorts of women.²¹ This holds especially true for our Greek sources. In his definition, however, Ulpianus focuses more closely on *matres familiae*. He seems to mirror Roman social behaviour in Imperial times when the *mitra* evolved into an item of clothing that was worn above all by elderly *matronae*. Our other evidence implicitly supports this supposition. The elegant mistresses of Latin Love elegy do not wear a *mitra*, but show their hair in public; Ovid gives no tips for arranging the *mitra* or any other headwear, but only for styling hair. There is only one exception to this general rule in Love Elegy. In Propertius, Cynthia wears as *mitra*, but in special circumstances. It is a private situation in Cynthia's boudoir. She is wearing a purple *mitra* in bed as a night cap in order to protect her coiffure.²² She removes it at once when she is disturbed by her lover, Propertius, and gets up. This shows that a mistress can wear a *mitra* in a functional manner, but she will not wear it in front of her lover.

The nature of our evidence changes when an old woman (*anus*) is concerned. In Ovid, the *mitra* figures three times as headwear typical of old women. Ceres and Vertumnus both put it on when disguising as an *anus*; the old prostitute Anna wears a *mitra* on her gray hair; in Propertius, an old procuress (*lena*) receives her old *mitra* as a grave gift.²³ For this reason, we may assume that a *mitra* was worn in public by older 'normal' *matronae*. This also perfectly squares with the Roman archaeological

²⁰ Digest. 34.23.1.

²¹ See below, and ThLL VIII s.v. *mitra*, col. 1160.10–1161.36.

²² Prop. 2.29.15–16: *quae cum Sidoniae nocturna ligamina mitrae || solverit* [when she had loosened the straps of her purple *mitra*]; for a similar usage, cf. Aristoph. Thesm. 257–258 (n. 31); Plin. NH 35.140 (n. 33).

²³ Ovid. fasti 4.517–518 (Ceres): *similarat anum mitraque capillos || presserat* [she had imitated an old woman and put a *mitra* on her hair]; Met. 14.654–656 (Vertumnus): *picta redimitus tempora mitra || ... adsimulavit anum* [he had put on a coloured *mitra* and imitated an old woman]; fasti 3.669 (Anna): *illa levi mitra canos redimita capillos* [she had wrapped her grey hairs with a light *mitra*]; Prop. 4.5.71–72: *exsequiae fuerant rari furtiva capilli || vincula et immundo pallida mitra situ* [for funeral gifts she had the stolen bands that bound her scanty hair and a *mitra* that had lost its colour through foul neglect]. See already in the 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE the poet Antipater of Sidon (Anth. Pal. 7.423.4): ἄνδρα δ' αὖ μίτρας τὰν πολιορκόταφον [but the *mitra* in turn the woman with grey hairs on the temples].

evidence, where we do not find the *mitra* outside of this social group. For example, it is not attested with the elegant women of the imperial household.

13.2 History

The regular female headscarf called *mitra* originated in Lydia (μίτρα Λυδία). It is attested first in archaic Greek poetry.²⁴ In Classical Athens (5th century BCE), the *mitra* was a fashionable garment among all sorts of young and fashion-conscious women. We see it on red-figure vase paintings, and it is a commonplace female garment in Old Greek Comedy.²⁵ The painter Polygnotus painted hetaeras in diaphanous robes with colourful *mitrae* on their heads.²⁶ In New Comedy, there was even the standard mask of the διάμιτρος ἑταίρα (*diamitros hetaira*) with a coloured *mitra*.²⁷ It was already an exclusively female garment in Hellenistic times. Men using *mitrae* are wearing Oriental clothes²⁸ or (in the majority of cases) are disguising themselves as women.²⁹ Pentheus has a *mitra* in Euripides,³⁰ Mnesilochos in Aristophanes,³¹ Hercules when serving Omphale,³² and Jupiter in a birth travesty.³³ Men in *mitra* are either effeminate or mocked as such.³⁴ Republican Roman literary sources relying on Greek literature mirror Greek cultural behaviour: In Catullus, the beautiful heroine Ariadne is wearing a

²⁴ Alcman F 1.67 Page/Davies; Sappho F 98.10–11 Lobel/Page; cf. Brandenburg (n. 1) 53–56.

²⁵ Aristoph. Thesm. 163, 257–258 (n. 31); F 332.2 K.-A. (p. 467 n. 3); Pherecrates F 106 K.-A. Menander Peric. 823: χρυσή τε μίτρα [a golden *mitra*].

²⁶ Plin. NH 35.58: *Polygnotus . . . , qui primus mulieres translucida veste pinxit, capita earum mitris versicoloribus operuit* [Polygnotus, who was the first to paint women in a translucent garment, covered their heads with *mitrae* in variegated colours].

²⁷ Pollux 4.151, 154.

²⁸ Hdt. 1.195, 790.

²⁹ Brandenburg (n. 1) 63.

³⁰ Euripides, Bacch. 833: ἐπὶ κάρα δ' ἔσται μίτρα [on your head will be a *mitra*].

³¹ Vgl. Aristoph. Thesm. 257–258: (Eur.): κεκρυφάλου δεῖ καὶ μίτρας. (Ag.): ἡδὲ μὲν οὖν || κεφαλή περίθετος, ἣν ἐγὼ νύκτωρ φορῶ. [(Eur.): We need a *kekryphalon* and a *mitra*. (Ag.): Here you have a cap that I wear at night]; 941–942: ἴνα μὴ ἐν κροκώτοις καὶ μίτραις γέρων ἀνὴρ γέλωπα παρέχω [in order not to be mocked as an old man wearing *crocotae* and *mitrae*]. The κεφαλή περίθετος is presumably a night cap worn by Agathon to protect his coiffure (against Austin/Olson ad loc.). On a similar use of a *mitra*, see also Prop. 2.29.15; Plin. NH 35.140.

³² On the archaeological evidence, see LIMC VII s.v. Omphale 23, 33; St. Oehmke, Entwaffnende Liebe. Zur Ikonologie von Herakles/Omphale-Bildern anhand der Gruppe Neapel-Kopenhagen, JdAI 115 (2000), 147–157.

³³ Plin. NH 35.140: *Iove Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebriter ingemescente* [Jupiter in child bed with Dionysus, depicted as wearing a *mitra* and moaning like a woman].

³⁴ RAC 4 (1950) s.v. effeminatus, col. 631 (H. Herter); Brandenburg (n. 1) 56; on Priapus: LIMC VIII s. v. Priapus 69, 76, 85, 86, 89, 118, 172–178); on Hermaphroditus: LIMC V s.v. Hermaphrodit 5; St. Oehmke, Das Weib im Manne, Berlin 2004, 68–69; on Eros: S. Mollard-Besques, Musée Nationale du Louvre, vol. II (1963), pls. 61, 210.

mitra when she is left on Naxos by Dionysus (A 11);³⁵ in Lucretius, the beautiful mistress requires it (A 10);³⁶ in Cicero (A 10), Clodius equips himself with a *mitra* when disguising as a female musician.³⁷

As to real life, the fashion of wearing a *mitra* migrated to Rome in the third or second century BCE. It is among the first Greek garments grafted onto Roman dress culture, predating the second wave of Greek luxury clothing in Imperial times. In his short history of headwear terms, Varro explicitly attributes the *mitra* to this earlier period.³⁸ Other literary evidence also suggests that the *mitra* was adopted early on in Hellenization. The term *mitra* is missing in Plautus and Cato, but it occurs as a fashionable garment in a Togata of Afranius. It is mentioned by Cicero, Catullus, and Lucretius. Cicero's description of Clodius' dressing in it at a female dinner party (though influenced by Greek literature) shows that it was considered an elegant article of clothing by young women. In early Imperial times, it was a 'normal' dress item, and it was by no means a special Oriental fashion. Inflation, however, caused devaluation. Our sources show that widespread use caused the *mitra* to no longer be fashionable in Imperial times. After all, Imperial Rome is not Classical Athens. In contrast to Athens, a *mitra* in Rome became the dress of mature women, who were the only ones to still wear the *mitra* in public. Young and elegant Roman women used it only in private. In this sense, the *mitra* had transformed from Greek fashion into common Roman female headwear by the end of the second century CE.

³⁵ Cat. 64.63: *non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram* [she did not keep on her blond head the fine *mitra*].

³⁶ Lucr. 4.1129: *et bene parta patrum fiunt anademata, mitrae* [the wealth of the fathers won by honest means becomes hairbands and headscarves].

³⁷ Cic. in Cur. et Clod. F 22–24; de harusp. resp. 44.

³⁸ Varro LL 5.130: *mitra et reliqua fere in capite postea addita cum vocabulis Graecis* [the *mitra* and nearly all other headwear was added later together with the Greek terms].

14 *anadema* – headband (pl. 23.1)

1. Terminology and appearance
2. Social usage and history

The *anadema* is one of three different kinds of headband. Its function is basically the same as that of the *strophium* (B 14) and the *vitta* (B 15), but it differs in appearance. Although it ties up the hair, it is mainly ornamental.

14.1 Terminology and appearance

The term *anadema* is a Greek loanword. The abstract Greek noun ἀνάδημα (*anadema*) is derived from the verb ἀναδέω (to bind up). In general, an *anadema* is something that binds the hair upwards (ἀνά). In literary usage, the Greek word can designate various objects that fulfill that function.¹ In neutral usage, it designates a woven stripe of cloth (*vestis*) (as opposed to a plaited headband)² that is wrapped around the head to hold back hair.³ In short, it was a headband similar to what tennis players wear nowadays. As to shape and function, we may call it the poor sister of the royal διάδημα (*diadema*).⁴ Our Greek literary sources show that the *anadema* was a common dress offering at temples and—like the *mitra* (B 13)—a multi-coloured (ποικίλος) garment that served to add a touch of colour to a woman's garb. The archaeological sources allow us to identify it on statues and pictures.⁵

1 A (golden) crown (στέφανος): Euripid. *Hipp.* 73–74, 82–83, *El.* 871–872, 882, 887, *Med.* 786, 949, 960–961, 978; Plato *Com.* F 191 K.-A. (a parody of tragic style); a *mitra*: Anth. Pal. 7.423 (Antipater); a headband of a victor in Olympic games: Pindar F 179 Snell/Mähler.

2 Pindar F 179 Snell/Mähler: ὑφαίνω δ' Ἀμυθαονίδαισιν ποικίλον ἄνδημα [I weave a multi-coloured *anadema* for the descendants of Amythaon]. The *anadema* is used as a metaphor for poetry.

3 Aristoph. F 332.2 K.-A.: προκόμιον, ὄχθοίβους, μίτρας, ἀναδήματα; IG II² 758 col. 2.12–14: Καλλιστράτου ... γυνὴ ἀνάδημα ποικίλον, ζῶμα λευκὸν ἢ αὐτὴ [the wife of Kallistratos ... a multi-coloured *anadema*, the same a white belt]; IG² II 1523.15–16: ἀνάδημα ποικίλον [a multi-coloured *anadema*]; IG V 1.1390 (Syll.³ 736): μὴ ἔχέτω μηδεμία χρυσία μηδὲ φῦκος μηδὲ ψμίθιον μηδὲ ἀνάδεμα μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀνπεπλεγμένας [no women shall have golden jewellery, rouge, white make-up, an *anadema*, braided up hairs].

4 On the royal *diadema*, cf. A. Lichtenberger et al. (eds.), *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*. Kolloquium Münster 2009, Bonn 2012.

5 Cf. p. 691.

14.2 Social usage and history

It seems likely that the *anadema* was used by all kinds of women in Greece and Rome. Our few sources do not allow us to make any social distinctions. The ‘fashion’ of wearing a multi-coloured *anadema* probably arrived at Rome with the first wave of Greek clothing in the second half of the second century BCE, when Greek dress style became more popular among Roman women. The *anadema* is first obliquely referred to by Cato (A 2), who criticizes Roman *matronae* for wearing golden crowns and *diademata*.⁶ Cato’s expression is unique insofar as the term *diadema* always refers to the royal headband. However, it is well suited for Cato’s polemic that Roman women dress like queens. Their (maybe purple) *anademata* were an expensive piece of headwear and could thus be compared to the *diademata* of a queen.⁷

The term *anadema* first appears in Lucretius (A 11).⁸ The *anadema* is listed alongside the *mitra* as an example of luxurious, though somewhat flimsy Greek garments women demand from their lovers or husbands. Lucretius’ description is very likely based on a Greek source (Epicurus), but it seems to mirror Roman fashion as well. Like in Cato, the *anadema* is again headwear of the well-off. After Lucretius, the term *anadema* disappears from Roman literature for a long time. It is probably beyond the radar of authors for two reasons, one of them linguistic, the other cultural: (1) Greek loanwords begin to disappear from Roman high literature in Imperial times, which also happens with the term *strophium* (B 21). (2) Like the *mitra*, the *anadema* probably turned from a fashionable into a normal item of female Roman dress culture. At least, it is not a garment an elegant *puella* in Latin Love Elegy would use for showing off, or rather the author would not depict her with an *anadema*. In Imperial times, the simple headband was something unexciting and inexpensive. Hence, it did not receive cultural attention in Latin literature, which does not mean that the *anadema* fell out of normal use. To the contrary, it was probably still widely worn throughout the Roman world, even if the term was not used in literary texts. It is then no wonder that the term *anadema* then crops up again in a factual text at the end of the second century CE. We find it in the legal debate that we have already followed in case of the *mitra*.⁹ The jurist Paulus

⁶ Cato Origines F 113 P.: *mulieres opertae auro ... purpuraque argentea ret<icula>, diadema<ta>, coronas aureas*, [women covered over and over with gold and purple ... hairnets of silver, diadems, wreaths of gold].

⁷ On the appearance of the Persian royal *diadema*, cf., for example, Curt. Rufus 6.6.4 (Alexander): *itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Dareus habuerat, capiti circumdedit vestemque Persicam sumpsit* [Thus he put on his head a purple *diadema* embellished with a white spot like the one Dareus had worn and dressed in a Persian robe].

⁸ Lucr. 4.1129: *et bene parta patrum fiunt anademata, mitrae* [The wealth of the fathers won by honest means becomes headbands and headscarves].

⁹ Cf. B 13 p. 463.

discusses whether an *anadema* is an ornament or a garment. He concludes that an *anadema* is ultimately an ornament, even if it can serve some type of covering function:

Digest. 34.2.26

ornamentorum esse constat, quibus uti mulieres venustatis et ornatus causa coeperunt, neque referre, si quaedam eorum alium quoque usum praebeant, sicuti mitrae et anademata: quamvis enim corpus tegant, tamen ornamentorum, non vestis esse.

The (dress) items women began to use in order to adorn and embellish themselves certainly belong to the ornaments, and it does not matter if some of them can also be used in another way, like *mitrae* and *anademata*. Although they cover the body, they belong to the ornaments and not to dress.

Paulus uses the *mitra* and the *anadema* as two examples for ornamental accessories, which is the same combination we find in Aristophanes and Lucretius. The social status of both garments is alike: both are normal ornamental items of headwear.

15 *strophium* I – hair circlet (pls. 15.1, 23.2)

1. Terminology and appearance

2. Social usage and history

The *strophium* (στρόφιον) is a trivial accessory: a hair circlet with a twisted structure. The evidence on the headdress is altogether slim. Discussion is also impeded by the fact that the *strophium* can designate different accessories—it often refers to a belt (B 21)—and that some dictionaries omit the female headdress.¹ For this reason, the following discussion also shortly reviews the Greek evidence. It should be read in conjunction with B 21 (*strophium* II).

15.1 Terminology and appearance

The word *strophium* (στρόφιον) is a Greek loanword. The Greek word στρόφιον is a diminutive of στρόφος (cord, rope) and derives from στρέφω (to twist). The meaning is therefore self-explanatory: In neutral language, the Greek term designates something that is twisted. The Latin loanword *strophium* is used in the same sense. Descriptions of the *strophium* as headwear are rare. Because of its twisted nature, the *strophium* is twice compared to a wreath (*corona*).² It thus probably had the shape of a closed or nearly closed circlet that was put on the head, and it consisted of a solid material.

15.2 Social usage and history

The headdress called *strophium* was used by various social groups in different functions. In the case of men, it was an exceptional headdress, and it was an insigne of various Greek priests or magistrates.³ In the case of women, it was only a profane ornamental accessory. It probably served to add colour to a woman's attire and keep her hair in

¹ LSJ only gives the meaning 'headband worn by priests.' In GRD (2007) there is no reference to the meaning 'headband' at all.

² Festus p. 410.6–12 L. (n. 8); Ps-Verg. Copa 31–32 (n. 9); Plin. NH 21.3 (n. 10).

³ Philochoros FGtHist 328 F 64 b: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχοντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἑστεφανωμένοι, οἱ δὲ νομοφύλακες στρόφια λευκὰ ἔχοντες [the *archontes* went up to the Areopagus wreathed with crowns, the *nomophylakes* having white *strophia*]; IG V 1390 (= Syll.³ 736).179 (Andania): φορούντων δὲ οἱ δέκα ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις στρόφιον πορφύριον [the ten men shall wear a purple *strophium* during the mysteries]; Syll.³ 869.21–22 (Eleusis): τὸ στρόφιον παρὰ τῷ Αὐτοκράτορι θεῶι Ἀντωνεῖνῳ λαβόντα [receiving the *strophium* from the emperor and god Antoninus]; Arrian. Epict. 3.21.16 (on the Eleusinian mysteries): οὐκ ἐσθῆτα ἔχεις ἦν δεῖ τὸν ἱεροφάντην, οὐ κόμην, οὐ στρόφιον οἷον δεῖ [you do not have the garb a *hierophantes* should have; you do not have the haircut and the *strophium* it needs]; POxy. 33.3.5–7 (about the insignia of a magistrate in Alexandria): Ἀππιανὸς λαβῶν τὸ τροφεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς

place, depending on her hairstyle.⁴ The term *strophium* allows for a certain breadth of meaning. Hence we do not know whether all *strophia* looked alike. The female headdress was maybe smaller. The priests' *strophium* had artificial colours (we hear of white and purple), and we may assume the same for the female variant.

The *strophion* appears twice in Attic Old comedy among other accessories pertaining to the head. It is a common misogynistic trope in comedy to decry the supposed female propensity to luxury that, according to the male critics, manifests itself in various trivial articles of female beauty care. In Pherecrates, a character lists a headscarf (*mitra*), a *strophium*, an *ochtoibos* (an obscure headwear), and a comb;⁵ in Aristophanes, a character lists perfume, a pumice-stone, a *strophium*, and an *opisthosphendone* (another type of obscure headwear) as items that women vainly obsess over.⁶ The catalogue in Aristophanes is very long, and it also contains *mitrae* and *anademata*. In both fragments, the term *strophium* with all probability designates a type of female headwear, and not a belt. The distinction between headwear and belt is necessary because a belt (*zona*) is often a *strophium* (i.e. a twisted cord). We may hence assume that a *strophium* as headwear was in fashion in fifth century Athens.

The first Latin author to mention a *strophium* as female headwear in connection with Roman culture is Varro. In his *Menippean Satires*, a girl offers figurines, balls, hairnets (*reticula*), and *strophia* to the household gods (*lares*).⁷ The scene is probably not representative of Roman life during Varro's lifetime, and it is instead an idyllic picture of good old Roman times. In the OLD, the passage is rubricated under the female belt, but hair circlets fit in well alongside hairnets in the list of a girl's small innocent offerings.

After Varro, there is a long gap in time before we hear of *strophia* again. They are just too trivial to be mentioned in literature. In Festus (Verrius), they are included in an aside when discussing the gloss *struppis*;⁸ in Ps-Virgilian *Copa*, a *strophium roseum* (a

κεφαλῆς ἔθηκε, καὶ τὸ φακασίον ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας θείς [Appianus took the *strophium* and put it on his head, and putting on the *phaecasiun* on his feet ...]; Plutarch. Arat. 53.6 (about a priest): στρόφιον οὐ ὀλόλευκον, ἀλλὰ μεσοπόρυρον ἔχων [having a *strophium* that was not all white, but had some purple in the middle]; Festus p. 410.6–12 L. (n. 6).

4 In Rome, it is the *vitta* (much like the *stola*) that is charged with symbolism (B 16).

5 Pherecrates F 106 K.-A.: μίτραν ἀλουργῆ, στρόφιον, ὄχθοιβον, κτένα.

6 Aristoph. F 332.4 K.-A.: μύρον, κίσηριν, στρόφιον, ὀπισθοσφενδόνην.

7 Varro Men. 463: *suspendit Laribus manias mollis pilas* || *reticula ac strophia* [she hung up figurines, soft balls, hairnets, and *strophia* on the *lares*]; cf. A 9 p. 193; B 12 p. 691.

8 Festus p. 410.6–12 L.: *struppis est, ut Ateius Philologus existimat, quod Graece στρόφιον vocatur, et quod sacerdotes pro insigni habent in capite. quidam coronam esse dicunt, aut quod pro corona insigne in caput inponatur, quale sit strophium* [According to Ateius Philologus, a *struppis* is what is called στρόφιον in Greek and which the priests have as an insigne on their heads. According to some, it is a wreath or the insigne that is put on the head in place of a wreath, like the *strophium*].

hair circlet of roses) is mentioned.⁹ As is often the case, it is Pliny the Elder who again comes closest to Roman everyday culture. In his *Natural History*, he discusses flowers suited for making garlands and wreaths (*coronamenta*) and the related terminology. Like Festus, he mixes scholarly pseudo-knowledge with actual facts. According to Pliny, ancient Romans used smaller wreaths they called **struppi* or *stropi* (a gloss), and this is supposedly how the dress tradition of wearing a smaller *strophium* and the diminutive *strophiolum* took their origin.¹⁰ Pliny's etymological theory is likely wrong, and the word *strophium* is simply a Greek loanword. However, it shows us that small *strophia* were still used in Rome.

This is all of the Latin evidence we have on this fashion accessory. The word's scarcity stands in contrast to the 'holy' matronal *vitta* discussed in the following chapter. Much like how the rare matronal *stola* has an outsize presence in Latin literature compared to the common *tunica*, the matronal *vitta* is much more prominent than the common *strophium*.

⁹ Ps-Verg. *Copa* 31–32: *hic age pampinea fessus requiesce sub umbra || et gravidum roseo necte caput strophio* [come on, rest from your labours here, in the shadow of the vine foliage, and wrap your heavy head with a *strophium* of roses].

¹⁰ Plin. *NH* 21.3: *tenuioribus* (sc. *coronis*) *utebantur antiqui stroppos appellantes, unde nata strophiola* [the ancients used thinner crowns and called them **stropi*, from which is derived the *strophiolum*].

16 *vitta* – a plaited headband and a matronal badge (pls. 23.3–4, 28)

1. Introduction
2. Terminology and appearance
3. Social usage
4. History

16.1 Introduction

The *vitta* has received the most attention of all headdresses.¹ As in other cases, research has been hampered by believing too much in Augustan stereotypes of Roman culture and by starting analysis from the wrong direction. The appearance the *vitta* takes on in research is influenced by guesses made by Servius (4th–5th cent. CE) and Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636 CE) about the *infula*. However, both authors did not have any first-hand-knowledge of the subject matter.² Since the modern discussion about the *vitta* and the *infula* are closely intertwined, it seems best to start with some remarks on the *infula*, although it is not a specific female headwear.

The word *infula* generally designates any ritual band (often a headband) without further specifying its structure. In contrast to the word *vitta*, *infula* is not a technical term. An *infula* belongs to the religious sphere and religious practice and is simply a band used in cult to mark holy things. OLD defines it as ‘a woollen headband knotted at intervals with ribbons,’ but this definition is not correct. It goes back to Servius’ misunderstanding of the following line in Vergil: *infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta*.³ Vergil’s expression, which refers the headwear of a priest, is indeed very striking. For this reason, it was imitated by Lucan when describing the headwear worn by the Delphic Pythia: *crinesque in terga solutos || candida Phocaica complectitur infula lauro*.⁴ In both cases, the ablative (*vitta*, *lauro*) is difficult to explain, but it is best taken as an ablativus qualitatis; hence we should translate the expression as ‘an

¹ Becker/Göll II (1881) 31; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 46; Blümner (1911) 273–274, 353; Wilson (1938) 139; L. Sensi, *Ornatus e status sociale delle donne Romane*, in: *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 18 (1980), 60–64; Kockel (1993) 52–53; Sebesta (1994a) 48–49; Alexandridis (2004) 75–77; GMD (2007) 207; Olson (2008) 36–39; E. Fantham, *Covering the Head at Rome. Ritual and Gender*, in: Edmondson/Keith (2008), 158–171; K. K. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding, Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010, 84–89.

² Serv. ad Aen. 10.538 p. 446.17–19 Thilo/Hagen; Isid. etym. 19.30.6.

³ Verg. Aen. 10.538: an *infula* consisting in a holy *vitta* encircled his temples.

⁴ Lucan. 5.143–144: and a white *infulla* consisting in the laurel of Phocis bound her hair that streamed down her neck.

infula consisting in a woollen plaited band’ and as ‘an *infula* consisting in a laurel crown’ respectively. In Lucan, the laurels are serving as a sanctifying wreath. Vergil and Lucan combine the religious and the technical aspect in their descriptions. As in other cases, they show that they are *poetae docti* by using and defining difficult words. Their learned and playful definitions suggest that there was a grammarians’ dispute about the exact meaning of the word *infula*, which was considered a gloss. Most ancient authors (including Cicero and Varro) considered the *infula* to be a ritual woollen *vitta*. Since this book is not concerned with ritual dress, the *infula* is not discussed further. It is only mentioned here to explain how both ancient and modern research has been led astray by misunderstanding poetic language.

This chapter starts the discussion of the *vitta* from the primary sources and discusses all primary evidence for the term in order to clarify its meaning. It argues that the word *vitta* initially designated a simple plaited band. Like the *stola* (B 4), it was later turned into a matronal and legal privilege by Augustus, and this is the reason why Latin literature is full of *vittae* in Imperial times.

16.2 Terminology and appearance

The Latin noun *vitta* derives, like *vimen* (article of wickerwork), from the verb *viere* (= to twist, to plait). According to its etymology, the *vitta* is a plaited band that is then wreathed or bound around something.⁵ It will have often consisted of wool,⁶ but we also hear of leather.⁷ The word *vitta* is a technical term, and though bands are often used in cult, it is not bound to the religious sphere. It is an old Latin word, but we have to wait for some time until it appears in literature because the *vitta* was originally a trivial item. It is first attested in Catullus, where it refers to the purple headband of the *Parcae*.⁸ Varro (see below) uses it to describe ancient female Roman headbands. From Vergil’s *Aeneid* onwards, the word is used much more frequently. The reason for this was probably that the word—like the term *stola* (B 4)—and the dress item were taken on by imperial representation (see below). In Augustan poetry and later literature, the word *vitta* is often used in a mythological or a religious context in order to designate various bands. It can refer to (1) the woollen bands wrapped around the altar or sacrificial offerings,⁹ (2) the headband of suppliants,¹⁰ (3) the headband of Graeco-Roman cult

⁵ On its purely functional use, cf., for example, Plin. NH 18.6: *spicea corona, quae vitta alba colligaretur* [a garland of spikes that was bound together by a white *vitta*]; 28.317.

⁶ Cf., for example, Verg. Georg. 3.487; Ovid. fasti 3.30.

⁷ Plin. NH 28.317.

⁸ Cat. 64.309.

⁹ Verg. Ecl. 8.64, Georg. 3.487, Aen. 2.133,156, 5.366; Ovid. Met. 7.429, 8.744, 15.13; fasti 3.861; Val. Flacc. 1.189,287,775.

¹⁰ Verg. Aen. 7.237, 8.128; Val. Flacc. 1.776, 3.424.

personnel,¹¹ or (4) the headband of minor goddesses or heroines.¹² All these examples pertain to cult and mythology. In this context, the *vitta* is very often associated with a virgin goddess and virginity. It is worn by the young virginal adherents of Diana (in their otherwise flowing hairs)¹³ and by the goddess Vesta and the Vestal Virgins.¹⁴ When the virginal *vitta* is described, it consists of wool. Its colour is white, which is the virginal colour.¹⁵

There is a second strand of the literary tradition in which the term *vitta* primarily refers to the headband of the Roman *matrona*. This is the focus for the rest of the chapter. Apart from one instance in Vergil,¹⁶ all examples of this usage belong to ‘realistic’ poetry. There is no detailed description of this type of *vitta*, but it was probably similar to the ritual headwear we hear of. Ovid says that it was a narrow band (*tenuis*).¹⁷ We can also identify it in the archaeological evidence, such as on several statues (pls. 23.3–4; 28). In general, it was a woollen plaited headband with conspicuous knots. Its colour probably varied (see below). There were also more ornamental versions that came up in Imperial times. Ulpianus talks about *vittae* made of pearls.¹⁸ Like in the case of other headwear—the crown, the *reticulum*, and the hairpin—the structure of the base material was imitated in a precious material, and the trivial item was transformed into piece of jewellery.

16.3 Social usage

In Imperial times, the *vitta* was not a simple ornamental accessory but a maternal insigne. Like other (artificial) insignia, the *vitta* will not have been in much everyday use.¹⁹ In its ritual function, the *vitta* is mentioned in Horace’s c. 3.14, which was written to celebrate Augustus’ return from his military expedition to Spain in the year 24 BCE. Horace describes Augustus’ wife Livia and his sister Octavia leading a religious procession of Roman *matres* in order to thank the gods and to sacrifice to them for Augustus’ safe homecoming (*supplicatio*). Both imperial women are decorated by a

¹¹ Verg. Aen. 2.221, 3.180, 370, 4.637, 6.665 (*niveus*); 7.418, 10.538 (*niveus*); Ovid. Met. 5.110 (*albens*), 13.633, 15.676 (*albens*), am. 1.7.17; ars 2.401, Pont. 3.2.75; Lucan. 5.142; Val. Flacc. 1.207, 385, 839. On the headband of priestesses, cf. Siebert (1995) 77–92, and (1999).

¹² Verg. Aen. 6.281 (*Discordia*); Verg. Aen. 7.352 (*Allecto*).

¹³ Ovid. Met. 1.477 (*Daphne*), 2.413 (*albus*), 5.617 (*Arethusa*).

¹⁴ Verg. Aen. 2.168, 2.296; Ovid. am. 3.6.56 (*albus*), fasti 3.30 (*laneus*), 6.457; Lucan. 1.597; Sil. It. 13.62.

¹⁵ Cf. B 11 pp. 434–436.

¹⁶ Verg. Aen. 7.403.

¹⁷ Ovid. ars 1.31.

¹⁸ Digest. 34.2.25.2: *vittae margaritarum, item fibulae ornamentorum magis quam vestis sunt* [vittae consisting of pearls as well as clasps are to be classified as jewellery rather than as garments].

¹⁹ The adjective ‘artificial’ should be understood as ‘deliberately chosen for political ends’ as opposed to the product of gradual cultural evolution.

vitta (*decorae supplice vitta*).²⁰ Livia and Octavia are exemplary matrons, and we may hence assume that all upper-class matrons (this is the social group Augustus' reforms concerned most) wore it on similar occasions. We may also assume that Horace's poem mirrors official imperial language, since Horace was a poet close to the court.

In Augustan times, the *vitta* was (at least in theory) not restricted to ritual and cult. Like the *stola* (B 4), it was a general insigne of the *matrona*. Both the *stola* and the *vitta* are referred to as matron's attire in Tibullus. He is the first of the poets to use the *vitta* as a matronal dress symbol. In elegy 1.6, a poem published in 27 BCE, he contrasts his mistress Delia, who is a Greek freedwoman, to a Roman matron. He asks Delia's 'mother' to teach her to be chaste and behave like a *matrona* even though Delia wears neither *vitta* nor long *stola*.²¹ The *vitta* is a privilege of a wife married in lawful Roman marriage (*matrimonium*), and Delia does not belong to that class. An elegy of Propertius, written about a decade later, takes us a step further. It is a funerary poem about Cornelia, the daughter of Augustus' first wife Scribonia.²² Propertius is as close to the imperial court as a poet can be, and Cornelia and her husband (who very likely commissioned the poem) belonged to the regime's inner circles. It is safe to assume that Propertius mirrored official language in such an official text. Propertius uses several dress symbols (the *toga praetexta*, the *stola*, and the *vitta*) to distinguish the different phases in Cornelia's life. In the relevant passage, Propertius—or rather the *persona* of Cornelia, who is speaking herself—describes how Cornelia's youth ended with a good marriage:

Prop. 4.11.33–34
mox, ubi iam facibus cessit praetexta maritis
vinxit et acceptas altera vitta comas

Then, as soon as the *toga praetexta* had given way to the marriage torches and the second *vitta* had received and tied the hair...

The dress change described by Propertius is a symbolic act. Cornelia put off her children's *toga praetexta* (B 5) and took on a matron's *vitta* and *stola* (referred to shortly afterwards) when marrying. Propertius also refers to a similar act in elegy 4.3.²³ This use of dress symbols is unlikely to be pure literary fantasy. A ritual change of clothing was probably part of the wedding ceremony. If my argument is correct (see B 4 and below), the social act was even upheld by legal measures. But let us first remain with

²⁰ Hor. c. 3.14.8.

²¹ Tib. 1.6.67–68: *sit modo casta, doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos || impediatur crines nec stola longa pedes* [teach her to be chaste although no *vitta* keeps her hair bound and no long *stola* impedes her steps], cf. also B 4 p. 318.

²² On the poem, cf. also B 4 pp. 279–281; B 5 p. 358.

²³ Prop. 4.3.15–16: *nec recta capillis || vitta data est: nupsi non comitante deo* [The *vitta* has been put lopsidedly on my hair. I have married without the help of the god].

Propertius. He talks of a second (*altera*) headband, meaning that there must have also been a first one: the *vitta* of the *virgo*. Propertius' statement is unique. It is the only evidence that there was 'regular' girl's *vitta* apart from the matronal one in Rome; all other examples are about mythical or proto-Roman *virgines*. The curious distinction between a virginal and a matronal *vitta* may also be mirrored on a mythical scale in a passage of the *Metamorphoses* where Ovid meticulously tells his readers that the *matrona* Telethusa removed her own *vitta* and that of her daughter.²⁴

But what did those *vittae* look like? Since explicit evidence is lacking, we cannot make a final determination on the differences between the various classes. Perhaps they had different colours as we know it from other insignia. The colour of the *virgo* is white (B 11), which could be extended to her headband. Mythical *virgines* also wear *vittae* in this colour. If this hypothesis is correct, purple is the only positive signal colour that remains for a *matrona*. Parallels in other Latin texts support this conclusion. In Catullus, the *vittae* of the honourable *Parcae* have this colour.²⁵ In Propertius, the door of the goddess Bona Dea, a sort of mother goddess, features purple *vittae*.²⁶ According to Festus (Verrius), the *flaminica*, the wife of the flamen Dialis, used a purple *vitta*.²⁷ Like the women of Augustus' court, the *flaminica* is the archetype of a Roman *matrona*. For these reasons, the matron's *vitta* may have been a purple insigne, and it thus had the same colour as the hem of her *stola* (if my argument in B 4 is correct).²⁸ This may all sound very artificial and even petty. However, we should not forget that Augustus went so far as to define the breadth the purple stripe on the *toga* of the knights and the senators. In addition, the *vitta* is part of a very artificial dress code and a pseudo-traditional Roman dress style that mainly pertained to the upper classes. In everyday life, a *vitta* and a *stola* were exceedingly rare. It seems that Ovid even made a bit fun of them by meticulously mentioning them in the disclaimer of his *Ars amatoria*.

16.4 History

The history of the *vitta* in Republican times remains in the dark because we do not have any primary evidence.²⁹ Varro omits the *vitta* in his history of early Latin terms

²⁴ Ovid. *Met.* 9.770–772: *at illa || crinalem capiti vittam nataeque sibi || detrahit.*

²⁵ *Cat.* 64.309: *at roseae niveo residebant vertice vittae* [on their snow-white heads rested rose-coloured (purple) *vittae*]; cf. also B 11 p. 435.

²⁶ *Prop.* 4.9.27.

²⁷ Festus 484.32–486.1 L.: *tutulium vocari aiunt flaminicarum capitis ornamentum, quod fiat vitta purpurea innexa crinibus* [they say that the headdress of the *flaminicae* is called *tutulium*, which is produced by fastening the hair with a purple *vitta*]; cf. also D 4 pp. 620–622.

²⁸ Cf. B 4 p. 310.

²⁹ The dictionaries usually adduce Plautus *Miles* 792 as the first evidence. The text is discussed in chapter A 7 pp. 135–137. The transmitted *vittas* is very likely due to textual corruption and should be

for headwear,³⁰ but he mentions it in his cultural history *De vita populi Romani* and elsewhere in his *De lingua Latina*.³¹ If we believe him, the *vitta* was a regular part of the girls' and the matrons' coiffure in early Roman times. However, Varro's history of proto-Roman dress is very dubious, and his cultural theory is better interpreted in a contrafactual way. We may therefore infer that the *vitta* was not a regular, but an exceptional dress item in Varro's own lifetime. He very likely found the *vitta* used in some religious ceremony and for this reason assumed (as he did in the case of other garments) that it was a residue of a primeval common dress style that only continued to exist in religious cult.

Augustus later revived or invented the *vitta* as 'traditional' female Roman dress style on the basis of scholarly discussion, and this is the point where its recorded history truly begins. From Augustus onward, the *vitta* was an artificial insigne, and its history is in large parts parallel to that of the *stola*. Like the *stola*, the *vitta* experienced a renaissance with Augustan poets. The first to mention it is Tibullus in 27 BCE, but we do not find it in Horace's satire 1.2 (35 BCE), where Horace portrays the ideal traditional attire of a Roman matron. It is also missing from the first books of Livy. This difference could indicate that official pictorial presentation had only evolved after 35 BCE. After Tibullus, all other poets—Horace,³² Vergil,³³ Propertius,³⁴ and Ovid³⁵—mention the *vitta* as an insigne of matronal status (in contrast to the status of a *meretrix*). It also appears on archaeological monuments.³⁶

Chapter B 4 argued that Augustus converted the *stola* into a legal privilege, and it seems very likely that he did the same with the *vitta*. Its use in ritual conveyed an impression of sacredness that suited the idea of matronal sacrosanctity espoused by

corrected to *vinctas*. The world of the Palliata is Greek, and what we read in it about female hairstyle is very likely Greek and not Roman.

30 Varro LL 5.130; cf. B 12 p. 455.

31 Varro VPR F 336 Salvatore: *minores natu capite aperto erant, capillo pexo, vit<ta>que innox crinibus* [the younger women wore their heads uncovered, had combed their hair and fastened their hair with a *vitta*]; Varro LL 7.44: *tutulati dicti hi, qui in sacris in capitibus habere solent ut metam; id tutulus appellatus ab eo quod matres familias crines convolutos ad verticem capitis quos habe<ba>nt vit<ta> velatos dicebantur tutuli* [those were called *tutulati* who, when performing sacrifices, commonly wear a cone, as it were, on their heads. This was called *tutulus* because the hair brought together on the crown of the head, which the mothers had wrapped with a *vitta*, was called *tutulus*]. The transmission seems to be corrupted.

32 Hor. c. 3.14.8.

33 Verg. Aen. 7.403 (*Latiae matres*), 417 (Allecto dressing as an old woman).

34 Prop. 4.3.15–16, 11.30–31.

35 Ovid. ars 1.31–32, 3.483–484; rem. 386: *nil mihi cum vitta; Thais in arte mea est* [I have nothing to do with the *vitta*. Thais is in my art], trist. 2.252–253; Pont. 3.3.51–52; fasti 4.133–134: *rite deam colitis, Latiae matresque nurusque || et vos, quis vittae longaue vestis abest* [you, Roman matrons, wives, and you who do not have a *vitta* and a long *stola*, rightly honour the goddess].

36 Cf. p. 692.

Augustus' regime. Ovid calls the *vitta* a privilege (*honor*)³⁷—as Propertius called the *stola*³⁸—, which is reminiscent of legal language. In his *Ars amatoria*, Ovid uses the *vitta* and the *stola* together as a sort of audience disclaimer. He informs his readers that matrons, here in metonymy through the dress symbols *vitta* and *stola* (*instita*), should keep away from his erotic guidebook: “Keep away, small *vittae*, insigne of chastity, and you, long *stola*, who covers the middle of the feet.”³⁹ Ovid's witty disclaimer failed. Like many modern disclaimers, it was intended to raise attention by scandalizing the public. It gave the emperor welcome evidence against the poet when it came to banning him for instigating immoral behaviour. In the following years, Ovid complained several times about his fate (referring to his remarks that matrons in *vitta* and *stola* should not touch his book⁴⁰), stressing that he did not promote illegitimate love that violated the *leges Iuliae*. In the *Tristia*, Ovid goes a bit further than in the *Amores* and defines matrons as women protected from touch by the *vitta* and the *stola* when they have taken them on (*sumpta*).⁴¹ The expression is slightly ambiguous. It could simply refer to marriage, but it more likely refers to that matrons were sacrosanct (= untouchable) in public when they were identifiable as such through their clothing. We know that Augustus granted this right to Livia, and it may have included other matrons as well.⁴² The *stola* and the *vitta* were the outward signs that identified a matron and her legal status, so there must have been some legal stipulations on their use.

A passage in Valerius Maximus also points in that direction. It purports to concern the time of the mythical Roman general Coriolanus (5th century BCE) and to report an honour the senate gave to the *ordo matronarum*. In reality, it is historical fiction, and it very likely mirrors some legal procedure of the Augustan-Tiberian period:

Val. Max. 5.2.1

in quarum honorem senatus matronarum ordinem benignissimis decretis adornavit: sanxit namque ut feminis semita viri cederent, confessus plus salutis rei publicae in

³⁷ Ovid. ars 3.483–484: *quamvis vittae careatis honore, || est vobis vestros fallere cura viros* [although you lack the honour of a *vitta* (= you are not married in a Roman *matrimonium*) and like to cheat on your men].

³⁸ Prop. 4.11.60–61, cf. B 4 p. 338.

³⁹ Ovid ars 1.31–32: *este procul, vittae tenues, insigne pudoris, || quaeque tegis medios instita longa pedes*; cf. B 4 p. 309.

⁴⁰ Ovid. trist. 2.246–252; Pont. 3.3.51–52: *scripsimus haec illis, quarum nec vitta pudicos || contingunt crines nec stola longa pedes* [I have written these poems for those whose modest locks does not touch a *vitta* nor whose feet a long *stola*].

⁴¹ Ovid. trist. 2.247–248 (= Ars 1.31–32), 249–252: *nil nisi legitimum concessaque furta canemus, || inque meo nullum carmine crimen erit. || ecquid ab hac omnes rigide summovimus Arte, || quas stola contingi vittaque sumpta vetat?* [I shall sing of nothing but of what is lawful and of secret love that is allowed. There shall be no crime in my song. Did I not exclude rigorously from reading my *Ars amatoria* all women whom the wearing of *stola* and *vitta* protects from touch?].

⁴² Cf. B 4 p. 334.

stola quam in armis fuisse, vetustisque aurium insignibus novum vittae discrimen adiecit.

In order to honour them (sc. the matrons Veturia and Volumnia), the senate decorated the order of the matrons with very benevolent resolutions. For it stipulated that men should make way for women on the pavement, thereby acknowledging that the welfare of the state had benefited more from the *stola* (= matrons) than from arms (= soldiers), and it (sc. the senate) added the new distinction of *vitta* to the old earrings.

Among the various honours that the senate supposedly bestowed on matrons is the *novum vittae discrimen*. The headband was a new badge awarded to them. This is of course pseudo-history. The account of Valerius Maximus has no historical value for the time of Coriolanus at all. Nevertheless, it contains several remarkable thoughts which fit the time of Augustus: (1) The Roman matrons are a clearly defined class of women (*ordo*); (2) the *vitta* is a privilege and an award; (3) it is conferred by a decree of the senate, which functions as law; and (4) the matrons also enjoy sacrosanctity. All of this suits the policy of Augustus, who bestowed sacrosanctity on the imperial matron Livia and perhaps instituted a *ius stolae*.

But when did such a legislation come about? The *vitta* (and its legal nature) is prominent in Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (2 CE), but it is not even hinted at in his *Amores*, which were written from about 25 BCE onwards and first published in 16 BCE, fourteen years before the *Ars*. This suggests that the *vitta* only acquired a strong legal meaning after the bulk of Ovid's *Amores* had been written. A suitable occasion for legally defining the *vitta* would be the marriage laws in 18 BCE which included a regulation of civil status.⁴³ Valerius says that the senate awarded the *vitta* as a special honour. If this is true, the privilege was perhaps not included in the *leges Iuliae* itself, but came as an additional decision of the senate. In Valerius, the *vitta* is separated from the *stola* and is said to be a *novum discrimen* (a new insigne). So it might have been awarded by an extra legislation. If we date the legal procedure to about the time of the *leges Iuliae*, this would also explain why Propertius, in the year 16 BCE, speaks in so much detail of the various dress changes in his official poem on Cornelia. It is all a bit exaggerated and looks as if Propertius did not want to forget any of the garments. The meticulous attention he directs to the matter seems to indicate that the new articles of clothing and their new legal status were quite fresh at that time.

After the 'media-hype' in Augustan times, interest for the matronal *vitta* soon faded. There is no mention of the *vitta* after Valerius Maximus. The Flavian poets omit it altogether. However, it still existed as an ornament beyond politics. Like other headwear, it reappears in Ulpianus at the end of the second century CE.⁴⁴ By that time, the *vitta* was no longer an insigne, but it was part of the regular female ornaments instead. It

⁴³ Cf. B 4 pp. 334–340.

⁴⁴ Digest. 34.2.25.2, 10.

thus outlasted the *stola* in terms of actual use among Roman women. Whereas the *stola* disappeared almost completely by the beginning of second century CE, the *vitta* remained in use for many more years, even if its unique social and legal status had been lost. It was just what it had been at the beginning: a functional and ornamental accessory.

17 *palliolum* – scarf

The accessory called *palliolum* suffers from severe neglect in scholarly attention. It is even denied a name of its own in ancient literature and modern dictionaries.¹ The following short chapter seeks to make up for this shortcoming and to honour an article of dress that was worn far more than a *stola*, a *praetexta*, and all the other elegant garments in everyday life.

The term *palliolum* ('mini-cloak') is the diminutive of *pallium* (cloak) and designates a scarf. Like its larger sister, the *palliolum* is a common garment, and it is therefore rarely mentioned in higher literature.² Like the *pallium*, a *palliolum* was usually made of wool³ and had a rectangular shape. Its common nature appears when it comes to definitions. The term *palliolum* is used by grammarians as a commonly known reference to define glosses that they thought designated scarves. Varro, for example, says that the **capitula* is a female *palliolum* for the breast,⁴ and Festus (Verrius) tells us that the **rica* is a female *palliolum* made to cover the head.⁵

A *palliolum* was usually wrapped around the shoulders and served, like the *pallium*, to cover the head. The way in which Varro uses the word shows that the meaning of the term is not restricted to 'headscarf,' though in most cases a *palliolum* functions like one. A *palliolum* could be worn by women and men alike, but it was primarily regarded as a female garment. Men could (or at least did) wear it, but doing so pushed the bounds of socially acceptable male behaviour. We may conclude this from what we learn about men dressed in *palliola*. Still in Imperial times, men using a *palliolum* are considered either delicate (it is something for dandies)⁶ or decadent,⁷ depending on the point of view. According to Quintilian, orators are only allowed to wear a *palliolum* in the case of illness.⁸ Claudius committed a social mistake in his youth for this reason. During an illness, he presided at a gladiatorial show in honour of his father dressed in a *palliolum* (he was *palliolatus*).⁹ The faux pas was probably not so much the *palliolum*

1 OLD s.v. *palliolum*: "Colloq. or fam. dim. of next (sc. *pallium*)". The definition of OLD is not correct as to linguistic register. Although the term *palliolum* may be used colloquially for a *pallium* in Roman comedy (cf. Plaut. Cas. 246, Epid. 194), it is used in a neutral way to denote a scarf in nearly all other instances.

2 For the evidence, cf. ThLL X s. v. *palliolum* col. 132.55–133.48.

3 Mart. 11.27.8.

4 Varro F 330 Salvadore; for a discussion of the text, cf. D 6 p. 663.

5 Festus p. 342.27–30, 368.3–11; for a discussion of the text, cf. D 4 p. 622.

6 Ovid counsels a lover to show that he is suffering from love. Ovid. ars 1.733–734: *arguat et macies animum: nec turpe putaris || palliolum nitidis inposuisse comis* [let leanness also prove your feelings, nor consider it disgraceful to put on a *palliolum* on your bright locks].

7 Sen. nat. quaest. 4.13.10: *videbis ... palliolo focalique circumdatos* [you will see men ... wrapped in a *palliolum* and a *focale*].

8 Quint. inst. or. 11.3.144 (see B 19 p. 491).

9 Suet. Claud. 2.2: *ob hanc eandem valitudinem et gladiatorio munere ... palliolatus novo more praesedit*.

itself but that the prince appeared informally dressed in public at an event that would have required full imperial regalia. Claudius' choice of clothing may have only followed the fashion of the day, and he simply disregarded the decorum expected of an imperial heir due to feeling unwell. Thus, Claudius' choice of clothing proves, at a minimum, that a *palliolum* was not part of formal clothing for men.

It is beyond our sources to write a full history of *palliolum*, but one may say that women wore a plain version all the time. The old fashion of the exceptionally coloured bridal scarf, the *flammeum* (B 18), seems to imply this. However, fashion surrounding the scarf evolved over time. By the second part of the first century CE, the *palliolum* started to become a regular part of what was called a 'combination' (*synthesis*).¹⁰ Martial, who closely mirrors social mores of his time, shows that wearing a *palliolum* was something completely normal for women at the end of the first century CE.¹¹ After this, primary evidence is lacking. However, a *palliolum* is such a basic garment that its existence is all but certain.

¹⁰ Digest. 34.2.38, cf. B 10 p. 401.

¹¹ Mart. 9.32.1: *hanc volo quae facilis, quae palliolata vagatur* [I want an easy girl that walks around in a *palliolum*]; 11.27.8: *sucida palliolo vellera quinque petit* [she wants to have five greasy fleeces for a *palliolum*]. In both cases, low-status women are described. In epigr. 11, the shabby *palliolum* is contrasted with a silk robe.

18 *flammeum* – bridal scarf (pls. 24.1, 25.1–2)

1. Terminology and appearance
2. Social usage
3. History

In contrast to regular accessories, the *flammeum* (like the *vitta*) has found much attention among ancient grammarians and in modern research.¹ This has to do with its function in the Roman marriage ritual. The following remarks stress that the *flammeum* is a scarf (and not a veil) and argue that the custom of wearing a *flammeum* faded out in Imperial times.

18.1 Terminology and appearance

The *flammeum* is the only Roman garment that has a determined colour. Its name tells us that it was ‘flame-coloured’ (*flammeus*). In neutral language, its colour is defined as *luteus*. This is a yellow tending towards orange.² As to its shape, the *flammeum* is what the Romans would have called a *palliolum*, a scarf (B 17).³ In contrast to a headscarf (*mitra*), it lies on the shoulders and is then used to cover the head.⁴ We should not call it a veil in order to avoid confusion with modern veils like the diaphanous bridal veil or the niqab. The *flammeum* was not specifically designed to shield the face from view.

1 Becker/Göll II (1881) 28–29; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 45; Blümner (1911) 352; Wilson (1938) 141–142; L. Sensi, *Ornatus e status sociale delle donne Romane*, in: *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 18 (1980), 59, 73–74; S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, Oxford 1991, 163; Sebesta (1994a) 48; L. La Follette, *The Costume of the Roman Bride*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 55–56; GRD (2007) 71–72; Edmondson (2008) 27; Olson (2008) 21–22, 24; Goldman (2013) 57–58; K. K. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding. Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010, 94–106. For the literary evidence, cf. ThLL VI s.v. *flammeum* col. 872.1–46; on the archaeological evidence, cf. p. 693.

2 Lucan. 2.361; Plin. NH 21.41; Mart. 12.42.3; cf. also B 11 p. 427.

3 ThLL VI s.v. *flammeum* col. 872.1–2: *amiculum, quo nubentes vel sacrificantes feminae caput tegebant*. The second part of the definition (*vel sacrificantes*) is not correct. The *flammeum* was not used in sacrifice.

4 Cat. 61.6–8 (see below), where it is worn together with a wreath; Festus p. 79.23 L.: *flammeo amicitur nubens* [the marrying woman is clothed in a *flammeum*]; Lucan. 2.361: *non timidum nuptae leviter tectura pudorem || lutea demissos velarunt flammea voltus* [no *flammeum*, intended to lightly screen the bride’s blushes, covered the downcast face]; Petron. 26.1: *puellae caput involverat flammeo* [she had wrapped the girl’s head with a *flammeum*]; Mart. 12.42.3: *velarunt flammea voltus* [a *flammeum* covered his face].

18.2 Social usage

The *flammeum* is an extraordinary garment, and it was only worn during the wedding ceremony. The colour *luteus* is the Roman wedding colour, and it was only used for this purpose. In Caecilius, we hear that the *flammeum* was spread out in the house of the bride before the ceremony started.⁵ It is possible that this act was already part of the ritual. The bride wore the *flammeum* as part of her dress when she was led from her own house to that of her future husband (*deductio*).

The *flammeum* is a central ingredient in Catullus' wedding poem for his friend Torquatus. The poem starts with evoking the marriage god Hymenaeus:

Cat. 61.6–10
cinge tempora floribus
suave olentis amaraci,
flammeum cape laetus, huc
huc veni, niveo gerens
luteum pede soccum.

Bind your forehead with flowers of sweet-scenting marjoram; take on merrily the *flammeum*; come hither wearing yellow-orange (*luteus*) shoes on your snow-white feet.

It is very likely that Hymenaeus, who symbolizes marriage in this context, is dressed very similarly to a Roman bride. The god is wearing a wreath around his forehead and temples (which shows that the *flammeum* was not a veil); then the *flammeum* is alluded to; and finally, he is wearing yellow shoes. The wedding colour thus appears twice in his attire. We do not have any further evidence on specific bridal shoes, but they perhaps also had a yellow colour. Then the bride is called forth from her house:

Cat. 61.120–122
prodeas nova nupta.
tollite <o> pueri faces:
flammeum video venire.

Come forth, new bride. You, young boys, raise the torches. I see the *flammeum* coming.

The simplicity of the garment suggests that the ritual initially pertained to all female citizens who wanted to marry and not only to the upper classes.⁶ The reason for why brides wore a *flammeum* was already debated in Antiquity. For example, Festus (Verrius) tries to etymologically tie the *flammeum* back to the *flaminica*, the wife of the high priest. He also suggests that the two terms are related because the *flaminica* acted as

⁵ Caecilius Synaristosae F 1,2: *flammeum expassum domi* [a *flammeum* is spread out in the house], cf. A 7 pp. 143–144.

⁶ Against Olson (2008) 21–22.

the prototypical Roman wife.⁷ We should not take this explanation too seriously. The *flammeum* may indeed have been, as ancient scholars say, used *boni ominis causa*, and it likely had an apotropaic function. In Indian wedding ritual, a similar colour is used even nowadays for much the same purpose.

18.3 History

The *flammeum* was very likely, as Roman grammarians and Pliny believed, a very old (*antiquissimum*) ritual dress custom.⁸ Our primary sources start with the beginning of Latin literature. The *flammeum* is mentioned in Plautus and Caecilius,⁹ and it is still prominent in Catullus' marriage poem (see above). Although the basis of the poem is Greek (Sappho), it is about a real Roman wedding, and we may safely assume that Catullus had a real ritual in mind when writing it and that the *flammeum* was still in use during Catullus' lifetime. In the Augustan period, primary evidence is lacking.¹⁰ The *flammeum* is only mentioned by scholars (Verrius) discussing ancient marriage customs and glosses.¹¹ The word reappears in Neronian times in literature. From then on, there is recurrent reference to the *flammeum* by nearly all authors in Imperial times up to Suetonius. The *flammeum* is the symbol of the Roman *matrimonium*, and the word can be metaphorically used to designate a Roman wedding as a whole.¹²

⁷ Festus p. 79.23–25 L.: *flammeo amicitur nubens ominis boni causa, quod eo adsidue utebatur flaminica, id est flaminis uxor, cui non licebat facere divortium* [the bride is dressed in the *flammeum* for the sake of a good omen because the *flaminica*, i.e. the wife of the flamen (sc. Dialis, the priest of Jupiter), used it, who was not allowed to divorce herself].

⁸ Plin. NH 21.46: *lutei video honorem antiquissimum, in nuptialibus flammeis totum feminis concessum, et fortassis ideo non numerari inter principales, hoc est communes maribus ac feminis, quoniam societas principatum dedit*. [I understand that yellow was the earliest colour to be highly esteemed, granted as an exclusive privilege to women for their bridal veils; and this is perhaps the reason why it is not included among the principal colours, i.e. the colours common to men and women, since it is joint use that has given the principal colours their dignity].

⁹ Plaut. Aul. 510: *flammearii* [producers of the *flammeum*], a comical profession; cf. A 5 p. 110; Caecilius Synaristosae F 1 (see above).

¹⁰ It may be hinted at in Verg. Aen. 1.649. In Ps.-Verg. Ciris 317, the *flammeum* is transferred to Greek mythology.

¹¹ Festus p. 79.23–25 L. (see above), 174.24–25 L. (discussing the meaning of the word *nuptiae* [= marriage]): *Aelius et Cincius, quia flammeo caput nubentis obvolvatur, quod antiqui obnubere vocarint* [Aelius and Cincius say the reason was that the head of the bride was covered (*obvolvare*) by a *flammeum*, an act the ancients called *obnubere*]. According to Festus p. 364.21–22 L., the bride also covered her hair with a yellow *reticulum* in the night before wedding, cf. B 12 p. 110. This is very likely a scholarly yarn spun out of the *flammeum*, against Marquardt/Mau (1886) 43, 45; Sebesta (1994a) 48; GRD (2007) 160; Olson (2008) 21.

¹² Stat. Theb. 2.341; Iuven. 6.225.

But literature is not life, and we should note a striking fact: There is no description of a real contemporary wedding in Imperial times which features the *flammeum*. Lucan describes the apparel of a traditional bride in the times of the Roman Republic and not the Roman Empire.¹³ We only have five further descriptions of marriages that include a *flammeum*, but these are all mock marriages. The participants try to evoke the image of a traditional *matrimonium* by imitating its most distinct feature: the *flammeum*. Again, it is the imperial household that causes the most scandal. Messalina, first wife of Emperor Claudius, is described as awaiting her secret lover dressed like a bride in a *flammeolum*.¹⁴ In Petronius, the *flammeum* is used in a perverted child ‘marriage.’¹⁵ All other ‘marriages’ are between two men.¹⁶ Twice, it is Nero ‘marrying’ one of his eunuchs.¹⁷ The lopsidedness of our sources may be incidental because literature goes for the exceptional. That would explain why we mainly hear of it in the context of sexual scandals and not the commonplace of legal marriage. However, we also do not find the *flammeum* where we would most expect it. We have already seen how prominent the *flammeum* is in Catullus’ marriage poem (c. 61) (1st half 1st cent. BCE). In contrast, the bridal *flammeum* is conspicuously missing from Statius’ marriage poem (*epithalamion*) for his friend Stella (silv. 1.2) that was published in the eighties of the first century CE. If we take these things together, this may indicate that this Roman marriage costume faded out in the first century CE (like other old Roman traditions) and that the *flammeum* was only used by those who wanted to appear (or to pose) as a Roman traditionalist. This would be in tune with what we see in case of the *stola*, the *praetexta*, and the *vitta*. In a changing Roman society, traditional ‘Roman’ garments and mores slowly got lost and metamorphosed into purely social signifiers. It seems that the *flammeum* was among the elements of old ‘Romanness’ that fell out of social use and only continued to exist as literary symbol.

¹³ Lucan. 2.361, cf. on the entire passage B 1 pp. 272–273.

¹⁴ Iuven. 10.334.

¹⁵ Petron. 26.1

¹⁶ Mart. 12.42.3; Iuven. 2.124.

¹⁷ Tac. ann. 15.37 (Pythagoras); Suet. Nero 28.1 (Sporus).

19 *focale* – neckerchief

The *focale* is attested only four times in Latin literature, and always with men.¹ Because of its function, it seems likely that it was also worn by women. For this reason, it is included in this book. The etymology of the word *focale* indicates how the garment was used. It was a (woollen) textile that was wrapped around the neck to protect the throat (*faux*) from cold. We do not have a description of its exact form. Since it is twice listed in our sources alongside the *palliolum*, it may have looked different. It was smaller and perhaps similar in form to a neckerchief or a modern stole (not to be confused with the Roman *stola*). In contrast to the *palliolum*, the *focale* is only said to be for the sick (*insigne morbi*).² We learn that it was wrapped around the throat and perhaps ears for helping with an earache.³ In concordance with the misogynous trope of sick being equated with effeminate, we may assume that Roman women wore *focalia* as well.

A sore throat affects both genders and wrapping it is useful no matter the time period or the culture. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that the neckerchief only crops up in Imperial literature. How did the *focale* become so remarkable that Quintilian saw the need to say that orators should not use it except in the case of illness?⁴ Perhaps the reason for this was that the *focale* had become more refined and widely used in the first century CE,⁵ and types of neckerchief might have been on the way to fashion in a rich Roman society that was more individualistic than ever. Two literary figures often adduced in this book may also point to this: In Petronius, Trimalchio is wearing an elaborate purple-striped *mappa* with fringes around his neck;⁶ Fortunata features a *sudarium* in the same position.⁷ Their garments are not called *focalia*, but they function much like neckerchiefs. Since both Trimalchio and Fortunata are examples for what a refined Roman should not do (but people nevertheless liked to do), they might express a trend in fashion that more serious men like Seneca⁸ and Quintilian criticized. If this hypothesis is correct, in Imperial times, Roman men and women started to wear textiles

1 ThLL VI s.v. *focale* col. 986.14–20; Hor. sat. 2.3.254–255; Sen. NQ 4b.13.10; Mart. 14.137.2; Quint. inst. or. 11.3.144.

2 Hor. sat. 2.3.254–255: *insignia morbi*, || *fasciolas, cubital, focalia* [emblems of sickness: straps, elbow-cushions, neckerchiefs]

3 Mart. 14.137: *si recitaturus dedero tibi forte libellum*, || *hoc focale tuas adserat auriculas* [if I should perchance recite and send you an invitation, this *focale* shall set your ears at liberty]. As a sign of illness, the *focale* served as an excuse for not attending a recitation.

4 Quint. inst. or. 11.3.144: *palliolum sicut fascias, quibus crura vestiuntur, et focalia et aurium ligamenta, sola excusare potest valetudo* [only illness can excuse a *palliolum*, wraps around the legs, *focalia*, and ear bandages].

5 In Martial, a *focale* can already serve as a (albeit trivial) dress gift.

6 Petron. 32.2.

7 Petron. 67.5; cf. B 1 p. 269.

8 Sen. NQ 4b.13.10: *videbis ... palliolo focalique circumdatos* [you will see men ... wrapped in a *palliolum* and a *focale*].

around their necks like many of us do today—and not only for medicinal purposes. The ascots worn by men and the French scarves worn by women are not that different from the Roman *focale*. It seems that people of all ages find ways to turn even the simplest garment (a small piece of fabric) into a fashion statement.

20 *cingillum, zona* – belt (pl. 26)

1. Terminology and appearance
2. Social usage
3. Symbolism

In ancient Rome, the belt was part of the everyday female costume. It was standard with the *tunica*, and it was worn with the *stola*. In general, there were two different kinds of belts: the ‘ordinary’ belt and the *strophium* (B 21). The history of the female belt is neither eventful, nor are we able to see whether its usage changed. The belt appears in our texts with the beginning of Latin literature, and it is also found in the last primary sources considered in this book.¹ Modern research on terminology is quasi non-existent. In most articles, the names for everyday belts even drop out completely. Instead, the focus is on ancient grammarians’ lore on the bridal belt. The following remarks try to correct this lop-sided view.

20.1 Terminology and appearance

In neutral language, Latin had two terms for a woman’s belt: *cingillum* and *zona*. In contrast, a man’s belt was called a *cinctus*.² The words *cinctus* and *cingillum* derive from the Latin verb *cingere* (to gird, belt). The word *zona* (ζώνη) is a Greek loanword, which derives from the verb ζώννυμι (to gird belt).³ Both words for the female belt have no apparent difference in meaning. The form *cingillum* is the diminutive of *cingulum*. As a diminutive, it is metrically unwieldy and looks trivial. It then comes as no surprise that *cingillum* is mainly used in prose⁴ and that poets prefer *zona* (See below). In everyday language, the usage may have been different.⁵ In literary language and epic bombast, an innocent bridal *cingillum* can even become a *balteus*.⁶ Mythical heroines, goddesses, and Amazons usually wear a *cingulum* and a *balteus*.⁷ But that is not everyday life. As

¹ Plaut. *Aul.* 516; Digest. (Ulpian) 34.2.23.2.

² Varro *LL* 5.114: *cinctus et cingillum a cingendo, alterum viris, alterum mulieribus attributum* [*cinctus* and *cingillum* derive from *cingere*. The one is assigned to the men, the other to the women]. *cingillum* has correctly been restored by Laetus (1471) out of the transmitted *cingulum*, in accordance with the usage of both words.

³ Cf. LSJ s.v. ζώνη (with N) is to be kept apart from ζώνια (with M). The latter word designates no belt, but an underwear.

⁴ Varro *Men.* 187 (see n. 35); cf. *A* 9 p. 187; *LL* 5.114; Festus (Verrius) p. 55.13–18 L. (see n. 36); Petron. 674 (see n. 10).

⁵ *Cingillum* is in any case no word that designates an exceptional belt or an exceptional act, against OLD.

⁶ Lucan. 2.362 (see n. 11); cf. *B* 1 p. 272.

⁷ *ThLL* 3. s.v. *cingulum* col. 1068.6–1069.50; Verg. *Aen.* 1.492, 5.313, 12.942; against GRD (2007) 35.

to the material, our evidence is slim. Like a man's belt, a woman's belt will usually have consisted of leather or a strong textile.⁸ Presumably, a belt was broader and flatter than the *strophium* (B 21). It could serve as an ornament, like the other accessories. In Petronius, Fortunata features a mamba-green (*galbinus*) belt;⁹ in Lucan, an upper-class bridal belt is decorated with precious stones (*gemmae*).¹⁰ Furies can also use snakes as belts!¹¹ The 'regular' position of a woman's belt was perhaps somewhat lower than that of the *strophium*. A belt was worn on or above the hips, whereas a *strophium* was worn around the waist or under the bust. The belt thus bisected the body much like a modern one. Ovid tells us that a *zona* would have stopped the wild undressing of his lover:

Ovid. Am. 1.747–48

*aut tunicam <a> summa diducere turpiter ora
ad mediam (mediae zona tulisset opem)?*

(Was it not enough) to pull apart her *tunica* from the upper border to its middle in order to shame her? The girdle would have supported the middle part of it.

Corinna's *zona* must have been of a strong material because it prevents her *tunica* (*chiton*) from being torn further down by her lover. The belt's position on the belly (*venter*) is also stressed by Martial in an *Apophoretum*, where he remarks that the *zona* becomes short on a woman's belly when she is pregnant.¹² In general, however, the position of the belt could vary according to individual preference. It could be worn somewhat higher or, if loosened, also lower on the hips, as we see on statues.

20.2 Social usage

Every 'normal' girl and woman used a belt, except for prostitutes, who wore a loose *toga* as their working clothes (B 6). The significance of the belt derived less from what it looked like and more from how it was worn. In some cases, it would even disappear under the folds of the garment. The use of belts was more important in Antiquity than it is for us since garments were minimally tailored and—in comparison to modern

⁸ Ovid. Met. 10.379.

⁹ Petron. 67.4 (*galbinum cingillum*).

¹⁰ Lucan. 2.362: *balteus aut fluxos gemmis astrinxit amictus* [or a belt with gemstones fastened the flowing robe].

¹¹ Ennius scen. 30.

¹² Mart. 14.151: *zona: longa satis nunc sum; dulci sed pondere venter || si tumeat, fiam tunc tibi zona brevis*. [girdle: now I am long enough. But if your belly should swell with a sweet burden, I will then be a too short girdle for you]. For the connection of the belt and pregnancy in epigrams, cf. also Anth. Pal. 6.201,202.

ones—did not cling closely to the body. For this reason, belts and cords were the only means of fixing the *tunica* (or *stola*) in place, regulating its length, and draping it. Given the looseness of Roman garments, affixing the garments was the only means of accentuating the feminine shape of the body and delineating the breasts, waist, and hips. Belting could create folds to make a garment more interesting and to give a vertical structure to what otherwise would have been a piece of even and plain cloth. Belting could also structure a dress horizontally, creating a double fold—a *sinus*—over a woman's chest. Although the belt might be ornamental on its own, the act of girding was more important than the girdle. In consequence, we hear far more about the act of belting than about the belt itself in ancient literature.

The Latin language describes the manifold usage of the belt with the various composites of the verb *cingere* (to gird).¹³ You could take on a belt (*cingere* or *incingere*)¹⁴ and affix your garment with a belt at the front (*praecingere*);¹⁵ you could 'undergird' (*succingere*) and thus gather up your dress with it.¹⁶ You could untighten (*recingere*)¹⁷ or loosen (*solvere*) your belt while still leaving it on, and you could omit it completely (*discingere*).¹⁸ How you used your belt and drape depended on how you wanted to appear, what you wanted to do, and what situation you were in. Usually, you put it on during the day; you affixed it when you walked around in public; you gathered your dress with it to get your *tunica* out of the way (for example, when you wanted to run or work); you loosened it in a private situation when you were indoors and when you were at rest. The way a belt was worn thus showed what an individual was up to. Sometimes the way a belt was worn caused offence because it was contrary to social norms. The following tries to describe some of the implicit social rules and upper-class standards that are not necessarily congruent with actual social behaviour.

According to such rules and standards, a Roman woman should not appear *succincta* in public. Shortening the *tunica* in this way was something only for men. In the case of women, it was regarded as menial¹⁹ and tasteless. It indicated that the woman had to work and that she did not belong to the leisure class. What is worse for moralists, being *succincta* makes the woman's thighs or her undertunic (*subucula*) appear. In Apuleius, the maidservant Photis, whose garment is girded a bit higher (*altius succincta*), seems to deliberately use this for erotic effect. In Petronius, it is one of the multiple mistakes committed by Fortunata. Coming (purportedly) from the kitchen, she puts her valuable undertunic and afterwards even her legs on show by

¹³ Cf., for example, Ovid. *fasti* 2.320.

¹⁴ Ovid. *epist.* 9.66.

¹⁵ ThLL X 2 s.v. *praecingo* col. 435.63–438.80; OLD s.v. *praecingo* and, for example, Cic. *Clod.* F 23; cf. A 10 p. 203; Hor. *sat.* 1.5.6, 2.8.70; Digest. (Ulpian) 34.2.23.2.

¹⁶ OLD s.v. *succingo* and *succinctus*.

¹⁷ OLD s.v. *recingere*.

¹⁸ OLD s.v. *discinctus*.

¹⁹ Ovid. *Met.* 8.660; Hor. *sat.* 2.6.107; Mart. 7.35.1; Apul. *Met.* 2.7, cf. B 1 pp. 271, 276.

appearing *succincta*.²⁰ But there may also be another connotation with being *succincta*: The shortened tunic is also men's dress. Juvenal mocks an active homosexual female intellectual by telling her to behave like a man and gird up her dress.²¹ In Graeco-Roman mythology, things are different. Diana, for example, usually appears in a short tunic (*chiton*) that is gathered up by means of a belt while hunting or fighting.²² In contrast, social norms dictated that well-behaved Roman women should not 'gird up her loins.'

The same rule seems to apply when a woman appears in public in a tunic with a loose belt. In this case, the belt sits very low on the hips or hangs down. The garment therefore expands and flows down to the ground. This type of drapery indicates leisure (*otium*) and is an emblem of the Graces and other goddesses. In Horace, for example, the Graces have loose girdles (*zonae solutae*);²³ Seneca, on the other hand, mocks that silly poets will even show the Graces in formal dress (*praecinctae*).²⁴ In everyday life, however, men and women had to use their belt on their tunics properly if they did not want to incur criticism (at least outside of the informal situation of a banquet). Roman society was perhaps somewhat more severe with (upper-class) men. As Suetonius reports, Sulla mocked Julius Caesar as a spoiled (passive homosexual) dandy because of his loose tunic (*male praecinctum puerum*);²⁵ Seneca criticizes the Epicurean Maecenas for appearing *discinctus* in public.²⁶ As to women, most of them whom we see in a loose *tunica* or with a missing belt are portrayed in one of two ways: practising magic rites²⁷ or running about disheveled (either because she just got out of bed, or she is in a panic, or both). The trope is often exploited for erotic effect. In Catullus, for example, Ariadne has no belt when she is deserted by Jason in the night;²⁸ in Ovid's *Fasti*, Anna rises from bed in a panic dressed in a *tunica recincta*;²⁹ in Propertius, some hetaeras run away hastily without fixing their tunics (*tunicis solutis*).³⁰ In the case of young women, untightening the belt at the 'wrong' time indicates sexual willingness. In Ovid, the fact that Corinna comes to him dressed in a tunic with a loose girdle (*tunica velata recincta*) is the start of a lovers' tryst at lunch time.³¹ This brings us to perhaps the most important social code surrounding women's belts: the specific symbolism connected with loosening a virgin's belt.

20 Petron. 674.

21 Iuven. 6.446, cf. B 1 p. 251.

22 Ovid. am. 3.2.31, ars 3.143, Met. 3.156, 9.89, 10.536; Verg. Aen. 1.323 (Venus, dressed as a huntress).

23 Hor. c. 1.30.6.

24 Sen. ben. 1.3.7.

25 Suet. Div. Iul. 45.3.

26 Sen. epist. 114.4.

27 Verg. Aen. 4.518; Ovid. Met. 1.382, 398; 7.182; Plin. NH 17.266.

28 Cat. 64.65, cf. A 12 p. 217.

29 Ovid. fasti 3.645.

30 Prop. 4.61.

31 Ovid. am. 1.5.9, cf. B 1 p. 266.

20.3 Symbolism

The removal of the virgin's belt by her husband as a symbol for her first sexual intercourse and her loss of virginity (*virginitas*) is already found in Greek literature.³² The literary stereotype also fascinated Roman authors.³³ Roman scholars like Varro and Festus (Verrius) even transferred it to old Roman times and marriage customs. Varro, in his *Menippean Satires*, describes how the husband (*novus maritus*) undid the belt of his new wife;³⁴ Festus (Verrius) claims that, back then, the old Roman wedding ceremony involved a belt made of white sheep's wool that was tied by a specific kind of knot.³⁵ Both authors use the Latin word *cingillum* because the Greek loanword *zona* does not fit a primeval Roman ritual. However, we should not take Festus' claim too seriously.³⁶ It is nothing more than another scholar's yarn about an ideal past that never existed.

In the end, we can say that a woman's use of a belt carried a significant amount of social meaning. What a woman's *tunica* indicated derived less from the garment itself, but more from how it was affixed with the help of a belt. Not wearing a belt with a *tunica* was perhaps the most consequential choice of all, codifying the distinction between public and private, formal and intimate. Given this social significance, it is unfortunate that we have so few sources on this humble but meaningful accessory.

³² For parallels, cf. LSJ s.v. ζώνη 1.

³³ Cat. 2.13, 67.28; Ovid. Pont. 2.116, Met. 5.470.

³⁴ Varro. Men. 187: *novos maritus tacitulus taxim uxoris solvebat cingillum* [the new husband would quietly and carefully loosen the wife's belt].

³⁵ Festus (Verrius) p. 55.13–18 L.: *cingillo nova nupta praecingebatur, quod vir in lecto solvebat, factum ex lana ovis ... hoc Herculeano nodo vinctum vir solvit ominis causa...* [The new bride usually wore a *cingillum* made of sheep wool that was undone by her husband in bed. ... It was tied by a Herculean knot and the husband untied it for the sake of a good omen ...].

³⁶ Against OLD s.v. *cingillum* and GRD (2007) 35.

21 *strophium* II – cord (pl. 26)

1. Terminology and appearance
2. Social usage
3. History
4. Excursus: *strophium* and *fascia pectoralis*

The word *strophium* designates a cord that is either used as headwear or a belt.¹ The various other usages of a *strophium* have been dealt with in B 15 (*strophium* I), this chapter only considers the female belt. In modern research, the *strophium* is often mistakenly identified with the *fascia pectoralis*, which is a type of underwear (in the sense of lingerie) (B 22). The following chapter discusses the relevant evidence and argues against this hypothesis.

21.1 Terminology and appearance

The term *strophium* derives from the Greek word στρέφειν (to twist). It does not designate the function, but the structure of the dress item. The *strophium* is therefore a twisted cord. Catullus and perhaps Ovid allude to this etymology by calling it *teres* (twisted).² The *strophium* differs from a *cingillum/zona* (belt) discussed in the previous chapter, but it has a similar function. In Catullus and possibly in Aristophanes,³ it is explicitly associated with the female breast. The archaeological evidence also shows that it was commonly worn in a higher position than the *zona*. It created a high waist line and made the female breasts appear more clearly under the garment (a style that was later copied in European fashion in the form of the Empire waist). In shaping the fabric, the *strophium* had the same function as the belt (see B 20), but it seems to have underlined female physique more strongly. In our sources, it is always mentioned with the single Greek tunic (*chiton*). In contrast to the *fascia pectoralis* (B 22), the *strophium* is worn on top of the main garment (see below) and is a dress alternative to a *fascia*.

1 Becker/Göll III (1882) 252–253; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 484; RE 6.2 (1909) s.v. fasciae, col. 2006–2007 (A. Mau); Blümner (1911) 230; RE 4.1 A (1931) s.v. strophium, col. 378–381 (M. Bieber); Wilson (1938) 164; N. Goldman, Reconstructing Roman Clothing, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 233–235; DNP 11 (2001) s.v. Strophium, 1056–1057; DNP 4 (1998) s.v. Fasciae, 433–434; Olson (2003) 201–210; E. J. Stafford, Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast. Glimpses on the Ancient Bra, in: L. Cleland et al. (eds.), *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, Oxford 2005, 96–110; GRD (2007) 183; Olson (2008) 52–53.

2 Cat. 64.65: *non terete strophio lactentes vinctae papillae* [her milk-white breasts were not wrapped with a twisted *strophium*]; cf. A 12 p. 217; Ovid. *fasti* 2.320 (see n. 10).

3 Aristoph. F 664 K.-A.: ἀλλὰ τὸ στρόφιον λυθὲν τὰ χάρυά μου ἔξεπιπτεν [the *strophium* was unfastened and my 'nuts' fell out]. The term nuts may metaphorically designate the female breast. They appear after the *chiton* hangs loosely down.

21.2 Social usage

The *strophium* is a decidedly Greek fashion. Unlike the ‘normal’ belt, the cord is a woman’s accessory, and men did not wear it. This is shown by three male travesties. In Aristophanes (see below), Mnesilochos receives a *strophium* to affix his female *chiton*; in Cicero, Clodius girds his *crocota* with a *strophium*;⁴ in Ovid, Hercules very likely wears a *strophium* when dressing in a long tunic as a servant of Omphale.⁵ The comical effect of all three scenes relies on subverting gender codes: A male figure takes on a female garment. The *strophium* can be worn by all types of women—it is twice mentioned among a wife’s luxury in Plautus—, but it is strongly associated with young women’s dress. This can be seen in Cicero, where Clodius dresses as a young female lyre player, and in Catullus, who refers to *lactentes papillae* in conjunction with a *strophium*. Its use often carries an erotic connotation, since a *strophium* accentuates a woman’s breasts.

21.3 History

The *strophium* is first mentioned in Ancient comedy, and it was popular in Athens in the fifth century BCE.⁶ In accordance with this, it features several times in Latin *Palliata*. Plautus mentions it as part of the *sumptus uxorius*;⁷ in Turpilius, a servant affixes a letter to her tunic with it;⁸ in Catullus, the mythical Ariadne wears one; and in Cicero, Clodius uses a *strophium*. Even though the texts are all in Latin, the examples should be considered Greek and not Roman.

However, Varro’s cultural history *De vita populi Romani* shows that the *strophium* was also worn by Roman women dressing in Greek fashion. Varro tells us that the *capitium* (B 22), the *strophium*, and the *zona* (B 20) were not worn in primeval Roman times.⁹ Although this is pure guesswork on the part of Varro, we may conclude from his remarks that these accessories were used in Varro’s own lifetime. We also find the *strophium* with Roman women in our archaeological evidence. It was probably

⁴ Cic. Clod. et Cur. F 23: *cum vix manicatam tunicam in lacertos induceres, cum strophio accurate praecingerere* [when you pulled your tunic with sleeves over your upper arms with difficulty, when you carefully girded yourself with a *strophium*]; cf. A 10 p. 203.

⁵ Ovid. fasti 2.320.

⁶ Aristoph. Thesm. 251. 638, Lys. 931: τὸ στρόφιον ἤδη λύομαι [I unfasten my *strophium* now], F 664 K.-A. On Aristoph. F 332.4 K.-A. and Pherecrat. F 106 K.-A., cf. B 15 p. 472.

⁷ Plaut. Aul. 516: *strophiarum* [merchants of *strophia*]; F1: *pro illis crocotis, strophiiis, sumptu uxorio* [my god, all these *crocotae*, *strophia*, and expenses for the wife].

⁸ Turpilius Philopator F 13: *me miseram! quid agam? inter vias epistula excidit mi: || infelix inter tuniculam ac strophium conlocaram* [oh, poor me! What can I do? On the way, I dropped the letter. || Unlucky me, I had stuck it between my *tunica* and my belt]; cf. A 7 p. 147.

⁹ Varro VPR F 331 S. (47 R.): *tunicas neque capitia neque strophia neque zonas* [<They only had> tunics, but neither breastband nor cord nor belt]; cf. C 1 p. 573. On Varro Men. F 463, cf. B 15 p. 472.

introduced in Rome together with the Greek *chiton* in the third century BCE. Varro is also the last primary source to mention a *strophium*. Afterwards, it disappears from Latin literature, and it is difficult to tell whether a dress custom faded out or whether it was only the word *strophium* that became too ‘low’ for Imperial poets when poetic language got ever more restricted to Latin terms. There are two instances that concern Hercules’ travesty in which the word *zona* may have replaced the word *strophium*. In Ovid’s *Fasti*, Hercules is said to wear a twisted belt (*zona teres*);¹⁰ in Ovid’s *Heroides*, Deianira complains to Hercules that he suffered being girded in a Lydian belt (*zona*) like a lewd girl when serving Omphale.¹¹ In both cases, Hercules must wear a typical female Greek belt. The word *teres* also evokes the etymology of *strophium* (see above), and it makes it clear that Hercules uses a female and not a typically male *zona*. However, Ovid also says that Hercules is wearing the belt on his belly, and there might be a poetic fusion of ideas. Whatever we may think about these parallels, the interest of Latin authors (and perhaps fashion) moved on to another, more intimate breast wear—the *fascia pectoralis* (B 22). In the discussion of jurists assembled in book 34 of the Digests, the *strophium* is no longer mentioned.

21.4 Excursus: *strophium* and *fascia pectoralis*

The nature of a cord, which is stable but uncomfortable, makes it very unlikely that it was worn on the skin and, above all, on the sensitive breast. Mau (1909) in his RE-article thus (correctly) interpreted the *strophium* as an outer girdle and distinguished it from the *fascia pectoralis* (B 22).¹² In contrast, Bieber (1931) identified both garments with each other and assumed that the *strophium* had been worn directly on the naked breast.¹³ Her hypothesis met with great acclaim in the following period so that today the terms *fascia* and *strophium* are often taken as synonyms for the breast wrap.¹⁴ However, it is based on a mistaken interpretation of Mnesilochos’ travesty in Aristophanes’ comedy *Thesmophoriazusai*, which served Cicero as a model when describing Clodius’ travesty.¹⁵ Two scenes in particular are misinterpreted, which are discussed here. The question concerning the nature of the *strophium* may seem trivial. And yet, it is more far-reaching than one would think, since it touches on how the *chiton* was put on and

¹⁰ Ovid. *fasti* 2.320–321: *dat teretem zonam, qua modo cincta fuit. || ventre minor zona est* [she gives him the twisted *zona* she had worn a short time ago. The *zona* is to short for his belly].

¹¹ Ovid. *epist.* 9.66: *nec te Maeonia lascivae more puellae || incingi zona dedecuisse pudet?* [Do you not feel ashamed for having dishonorably been dressed in a Lydian belt like a lewd girl?].

¹² Cf. n. 1.

¹³ Bieber (n. 1) 378.

¹⁴ Cf., for example, L. M. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, New York 1981, 184; Stafford (n. 1) 110–116; GRD (2007) 183.

¹⁵ Cf. A 10 p. 203.

off. The following argues that (1) both the dressing and the undressing start from above and that (2) both scenes fit the hypothesis that the *strophium* is not underwear, but a belt.

Let us first recall some important evidence. The Greek word *strophium* is attested several times in Classical times in the temple archives of Athena Parthenos.¹⁶ It appears there next to *thorax* and must designate the outer girdle because donations to the virgin goddess Athena are unlikely to have consisted in female (possibly erotic) underwear. We should hence presuppose that the word is used in this sense in Aristophanes as well. If the reading of the passage passes the test, we should therefore not postulate a new meaning for the word *strophium*. The *onus probandi* is hence on the side of those who identify it with the *fascia*.

In Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusai*, Mnesilochos, a relative of Euripides, is disguised as a woman in order to smuggle himself into a company of women. The *strophium* comes in at two important points of the travesty, namely when Mnesilochos puts on his disguise and when he is unmasked. In the first scene, we see three characters: Mnesilochos, who is being dressed, the (effeminate) poet Agathon, who gives him the female clothes, and Euripides, who helps him put them on. The dressing happens slowly and with care (249–266):¹⁷

Euripides: Agathon, since you don't want to take part yourself, at least lend us a robe of yours and a *strophium* for Mnesilochos. For you will not say that you do not have it.

Agathon: Take it and use it! You are welcome.

Mnesilochos: What should I take?

Euripides: What you should take? First take the *crocata* and put it on.

Mnesilochos: By Aphrodite, it smells good of penis. Come on, gird it up.

Euripides: Give me the *strophium*!

Agathon: Here you go!

Mnesilochos: Now go on. Arrange the part around my legs.

Mnesilochos begins to dress with the *crocata*, i.e. a long orange-red Greek tunic (*chiton*). Then follows the *strophium*. The commentators on Aristophanes explain this process by saying that the actor portraying Mnesilochos first got into the *crocata* and gradually pulled it up from *below*. In addition to another belt that is not mentioned, the *strophium*

¹⁶ IG II² 1383.8, 1388.9, 1400.9–10, 1407.9, 1428.1.30.

¹⁷ E: Ἀγάθων, ἐπειδὴ σαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι φθονεῖς, || ἀλλ' ἰμάτιον γοῦν χρῆσον ἡμῖν τουτ' ἢ || καὶ στρόφιον. οὐ γὰρ ταῦτά γ' ὡς οὐκ ἔστ' ἔρεῖς. || A: λαμβάνετε καὶ χρησθ'· οὐ φθονῶ. M: τί οὖν λάβω; || E: ὅ τι; τὸν κροκωτὸν πρῶτον ἐνδύου λαβών. || M: νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἡδύ γ' ἔχει ποσθίου. || σύζωσον ἄνυσας. E: αἶρε νῦν στρόφιον. A: ἰδοῦ. || M: ἴθι νῦν, καταστεῖλόν με τὰ περὶ τῷ σκέλει. The attribution to the speakers is contested in these lines. I follow Sommerstein.

was then put on.¹⁸ However, the assumption that Mnesilochos puts on his tunic from above is much easier. We see this method depicted on an Attic vase.¹⁹ This would also explain Mnesilochos' statement that the *crocota* smelled of penis. The lower part of the tunic that covers the crotch had just passed by his nose.²⁰ Once he has put the tunic on, Mnesilochos asks Euripides to help him gird it up (i.e. fix it in place). Euripides then turns to Agathon and asks him for the *strophium*. This can easily be understood in its ordinary meaning 'belt.' It is not necessary to postulate a second belt that is not explicitly mentioned. After the upper part of the tunic is taken care of, Mnesilochos asks Euripides to turn to the legs.

The alternative assumption that the *strophium* was worn *under* the main garment would mean that those dressing Mnesilochos have to again remove or push aside the tunic that had just been put on by hiking up the bottom or lowering the bodice to expose the chest. Another option for reading *strophium* as underwear is that the tunic could be put on in two steps: It is pulled up to just below the chest, at which point Mnesilochos' chest is wrapped, and then the tunic is pulled up the rest of the way. In either case, the tunic would only be fully put on once the *strophium* is affixed around his chest. However, either process (putting on and then pushing aside or putting on part way) is much more complicated than simply putting on a breast wrap *before* putting on the tunic. The text also does not indicate that putting on the tunic required two steps. Hence it seems more logical that the *strophium* put on by Mnesilochos is a type of belt placed under the chest *on top of* the main garment after the tunic has been put on. As seen in the previous chapter on the Roman belt, a tunic was draped in different ways by being held in place with a belt or cord. This seems to be the case here. The drape is established starting at the chest, and how the garment falls down towards the feet can then be adjusted (which is why Euripides is asked to turn his attention to the legs). The term *strophium* can therefore be understood in its everyday meaning (belt) as attested by the inscriptions.

The subsequent undressing of Mnesilochos does not contradict the view that the *strophium* is a kind of girdle. Again, three characters are involved. Besides Mnesilochos, we have Mika, who gives the orders, and Kleisthenes, who carries out the disrobing (636–640):²¹

18 Sommerstein ad v. 255: “the sequence of dressing assumed in my stage directions (step into garment, belt it at waist; put on breastband; bring the garment up over upper body and fasten at shoulders)”; Austin/Olson ad v. 255: “After Eur. ties the belt about Inlaw’s waist and the breastband about his chest (below), the old man pulls the upper half of the garment up over his shoulders and fastens it there.”

19 For a photograph, see Stafford (n. 1) 103.

20 For a similar joke, cf. A 6 p. 121.

21 Μι. ἀπόδυσσον αὐτόν· οὐδὲν ὑγιές γὰρ λέγει. || Μ: κάπειτ' ἀπόδυσσετ' ἑννέα παιδῶν μητέρα; || ΚΙ: χάλα ταχέως τὸ στρόφιον ὤναίσχυντε σύ. || Μ: ὡς καὶ στιβαρά τις φαίνεται καὶ καρτερά, καὶ νῆ Δία τιτθούς γ' ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχει.

Mika: Strip him! For he is talking nonsense.

Mnesilochos: Do you really want to undress a mother of nine children?

Kleisthenes: Get rid of your *strophium* quickly, impertinent person!

Mika: A stout and strong woman she seems, and by Zeus, she does not have breasts as we do.

In contrast to the dressing, the undressing happens quickly and with some violence. It therefore does not begin bottom up (which would be the reverse of the dressing process), but also top down. The *strophium* is removed so that the tunic gets loose and can be torn down, or it already begins to slip (we must remember that a *chiton* was a loose and flowing garment that required a belt or cord to be held in place). Mnesilochos ‘missing breasts’ then suddenly come into view while the rest of his body is still hidden. The tunic falls down freely (and therefore flatly) against his chest, indicating that he does not have a bust. Had the whole tunic been removed along with a breast wrap, his phallus (worn by comic actors) would have unmasked him as a man. The undressing scene therefore does not need to interpret the *strophium* as underwear or to suppose a second unmentioned belt that is removed first. Moreover, the act described in Aristophanes has a close parallel in Ovid’s *Amores*, where the tunic is also violently torn down from above by an all-too-greedy lover. In both cases, the stage action thus follows ‘normal’ possibilities of dressing and undressing a *chiton* fastened by a belt or *strophium*. We should thus refrain from identifying the *strophium* with the *fascia pectoralis*. A *strophium* is not underwear, whereas a *fascia pectoralis* clearly is (B 22).

22 *fascia pectoralis, capitium* – the breast wrap, an erotic piece of underwear (pls. 24.2, 25.3)

1. Introduction
2. Terminology and appearance
3. Social usage
4. History

This chapter is the first in line of articles of bodywear. B 22–25 all consider items of tight-fitting clothing worn directly on the skin. The term ‘bodywear’ is chosen deliberately because not all of the following garments are or can be proven to be underwear. The *amictorium* (B 23), for example, is a kind of visible ‘top,’ and the social function of the *subligaculum/subligar* (B 24) is open to debate. Apart from the *fascia pectoralis*, literary and pictorial evidence on *dessous* is rare since intimate or trivial garments are usually beyond the scope of art. In some cases, as with ‘socks’ (B 25), remnants of textiles help fill in gaps. Most modern research is also flawed in that it mixes everyday terms with numerous ancient scholarly glosses that have nothing to do with body linen. This sometimes results in a pseudo-historical narrative that is difficult to penetrate for non-experts.¹ The following chapters therefore only include those words that belong to neutral language and have a real historical meaning.

22.1 Introduction

In the year 65 CE, Nero found out that a group of senators and knights had conspired against him, and he initiated ‘purges’ among the upper classes. Tacitus tells us a sad story full of meanness, treachery, and cowardice. An unexpected heroic deed by one woman stands out in the account. Unlike many a senator, the Greek freedwoman (*libertina*) Epicharis resisted Nero’s torturers and finally killed herself with her own *fascia*. Tacitus recounts the brutal torture and the woman’s fortitude:²

at illam non verbera, non ignes, non ira eo acrius torquentium, ne a femina spernerentur, pervicere, quin obiecta denegaret. sic primus quaestionis dies contemptus. postero cum ad eosdem cruciatus retraheretur gestamine sellae (nam dissolutis membris insistere nequibat), vinclo fasciae, quam pectori detraxerat, in modum laquei ad arcum sellae restricto indidit cervicem et corporis pondere conisa tenuem iam spiritum expressit, clariore exemplo libertina mulier in tanta necessitate alienos

1 Cf. most recently N. Goldman, *Reconstructing Roman Clothing*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 233–235; Olson (2003) 201–210; GRD (2007) 203.

2 Tac. ann. 15.57.2–3.

ac prope ignotos protegendo, cum ingenui et viri et equites Romani senatoresque intacti tormentis carissima suorum quisque pignorum proderent.

Neither whipping, nor fire, nor the wrath of the torturers—they tortured her all the more violently in order not to be mocked by a woman—could induce her to admit to what she was accused of. The first day of interrogation thus remained ineffective. The following day, when she was dragged away to the same torture in a chair—for her limbs were dislocated, and she was unable to stand—, she fastened the *fascia* she had torn from her bosom like a noose to the back of the chair, put it around her neck and, putting all her body's weight on it, pressed out the little breath that was left.

In what is a short obituary, Tacitus goes on to compare Epicharis' behaviour with that of upper-class men (like the poet Lucan), who, in the face of death, even went so far as to denounce their own mothers. In contrast, Epicharis, a (beautiful) mistress and a freedwoman, shows loyalty and strength. Like the emancipated mistresses we know from Love Elegy, she does not give in to male violence. She dies by strangling herself, as a mythical heroine would have done. However, this is real life, and a proper heroic tool is not at hand. For this reason, Epicharis uses her *fascia*, her 'bra.' This 'bra' is probably the point in Tacitus' entire *Annals* where great history gets closest to ordinary life. He even uses—something he hardly ever does—the neutral word for the article of clothing, only slightly upgrading it by adding the noun *vinculum* since a *fascia* does not suit the stylistic conventions of historiography and epic poetry. Tacitus deliberately introduces the *fascia* to sharpen the contrast between social classes, the fortitude of those being tortured, and the tool for committing suicide. A woman of a social status Tacitus does not deign to mention elsewhere, who uses an ordinary object to kill herself, is compared with the senators and knights, who do not dare to end their lives with a sword (*ensis*), as would befit a noble Roman. In Nero's times, a *vinculum fasciae* becomes the symbol for a heroic death. The message is this: It is a perverted age when heroism is needed in the face of government torture and selfish denunciation of others. However, there is always a way to end your life to preserve your honour, no matter how commonplace the means.

This chapter explores the *fascia*, the 'brassiere' of the Roman woman.³ It should, however, be kept in mind that the structure and appearance of the ancient *fascia* differed from those of a modern bra even if the two articles perform a similar function.

³ Becker/Göll III (1882) 252–253; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 484; RE 6.2 (1909) s.v. fasciae, col. 2006–2007 (A. Mau); Blümner (1911) 230; RE 4.1 A (1931) s.v. strophium, col. 378–380 (M. Bieber); Wilson (1938) 164; Goldman (n. 1) 233–235; DNP 4 (1998) s.v. Fasciae, 433–434; DNP 11 (2001) s.v. Strophium, 1056–1057; Olson (2003) 201–210; E. J. Stafford, Viewing and Obscuring the Female Breast. Glimpses on the Ancient Bra, in: L. Cleland et al. (eds.), *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, Oxford 2005, 96–110; GRD (2007) 23, 183.

22.2 Terminology and appearance

In neutral language, there are two Latin terms that designate a woman's bra: *capitium* and *fascia pectoralis* (or simply *fascia*). In literary language, we also find the word *taenia*, a Greek loanword, that is equivalent in meaning to *fascia*.⁴ In Greek, the same item is called στηθοδεσμός (chest wrap).⁵ Modern research on the word *capitium* has been hampered because the evidence is difficult and several very similar glosses—*caltula*, *castula*, *capital*, and *capitula*—are mixed up with it. OLD and GRD (2007), for example, give false or misleading definitions of the word.⁶ In order to clear the field, the following remarks will only focus on the term *capitium*, postponing the discussion of the cluster of glosses to chapter D 6.

The word *capitium* is very likely the Latin everyday word for a bra. Nevertheless, scholars should leave it aside because of its mixed history and should use *fascia* (*pectoralis*) instead, which is its exact equivalent. The etymology of *capitium* is under dispute. Varro, the first to mention it in connection with ancient tradition, associated it with the verb *capere* (hold).⁷ Modern discussion usually relates it to *caput* (head).⁸ This time, ancient scholars (often accused of ignorance in this book) may have gotten the better explanation. Dress terms usually refer to the structure or to the function of a garment. It is hard to see how the head should combine with a bra, whereas the notion that a bra holds (*capere*) the breasts, as Varro thought, is quite straightforward. It seems preferable to relate *capitium*—like *capistrum*—to *capere* despite the slightly odd word formation. That the word *capitium* designates a woman's chest wrap is quite certain, even without etymological support.

Laberius (1st century BCE) very likely shows us a woman affixing a letter in her tunic with the help of a *capitium*. This technique is also found in Ovid, where a *puella* is told to do the same with her *fascia* (see below).⁹ Varro mentions the *capitium* three times and expressly states that it was a woman's bra.¹⁰ In Imperial times, direct evidence on the term fails, and we only find the term *fascia*. However, this may simply have to do

4 Apul. Met. 10.21: *ipsa cuncto prorsus spoliata tegmine, taenia quoque, qua decoras devinxerat papillas, lumen propter adsistens* ... [after she herself had completely put off all clothing, including the *fascia* with which she had constricted her beautiful breasts, she took a position next to the lamp].

5 Pollux 7.66 and LSJ s.v. The ending of the word varies.

6 OLD s.v. *capitium*: "a kind of tunic worn by women"; GRD (2007) 30: "possibly a hood (e.g. of the *paenula*), the neck-hole of a tunic, or a garment worn round the chest, either for warmth or as a breastband."

7 Varro LL 5.130: *capitium ab eo quod capit pectus, ut antiqui dicebant, id est comprehendit* [*capitium*, because it holds (*capit*) the chest, as the ancients used to say, i.e. it encloses it]; cf. also C 1 p. 573.

8 Potthoff (1992) 81–83.

9 Laberius Natalicius F 2: *induis capitium, tunicae pittacium* <...> [You put on a *capitium* (around the chest); <you tuck> the note into the tunic]; cf. A 7 pp. 175–178.

10 Varro VPR F 331 S.: *tunicas neque capitia neque strophia neque zonas* [tunics, but neither *capitium*, nor cord, nor belt]; Varro VPR F 332 S. (cf. n. 24), cf. also n. 7.

with the fact that the word *capitium* with its three short syllables does not fit into the hexameter used for Roman erotic elegy and epigram. Since these genres are the only ones that were concerned with female dross, the word *capitium* fell out of use in Imperial literature in favour of the more metrically suitable *fascia*. We have no direct way of knowing whether everyday usage of the word also ended in the same period, but the word *capitium* seems to be hinted at by Propertius and Martial in two passages on the *fascia pectoralis*.¹¹ The *fascia* is said to hold (*capit*) the breast, which looks like punning on the accepted etymology of *capitium*. In accordance with this hypothesis, the word *capitium* also crops up again among other terms for accessories in Ulpianus.¹² In its function, the *capitium* seems to be completely equivalent to the *fascia pectoralis*, and it very likely had exactly the same shape. For this reason, we may consider both words synonyms.

The etymology of the word *fascia* is much clearer. In contrast to that of *capitium*, it points to the form of the garment. The word *fascia* is connected with *fascis* (bundle) and designates any item or surface that looks similar to a flat stick. It is a general term that is also used in definitions.¹³ As to clothing, it can designate various strips of cloth or leather.¹⁴ We will look at what the term means in connection with shoes later on in this book, while this chapter focuses on textiles.¹⁵ In contrast to a *strophium* and a *vitta*, the term *fascia* refers to a woven textile. If the function of the strip needs specifying, the noun *fascia* takes on an adjective, hence *fascia pectoralis* (for the breast), *cruralis* (for the leg), or *pedulis* (for the foot) (B 25). The present chapter only considers the *fascia pectoralis*, which, in contrast to the other *fasciae*, is a commonly worn garment and is mostly called simply *fascia*.

The structure and function of the *fascia pectoralis* are simple. It is a woven strip of cloth that could have different colours. In Apuleius, Photis makes the *adulescens* see parts of her red bra (an erotic colour).¹⁶ You neither belt (*cingere*) nor loosen it (*recingere, solvere*), but you wrap it (*vincire, devincire*) and pull it off (*detrahere*) because it is a closed ring without an opening or a knot. Different *fasciae pectoralis* could vary in breadth. In Ovid, a maidservant takes a broad (*lata*) *fascia* in order to smuggle a love letter.¹⁷

¹¹ Prop. 4.9.49: *mollis et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus* [and a soft *fascia* held my shaggy breast]; Mart. 14.134 (see below).

¹² Digest. 34.2.23.2: *stolae, pallia, tunicae, capitia, zonae*.

¹³ Varro LL 5.130.

¹⁴ ThLL VI s.v. *fascia*, col. 296.45–297.64.

¹⁵ Cf. B 26 p. 526; B 29 p. 546.

¹⁶ Apul. Met. 2.7, cf. B 1 pp. 275–276. See also Cato *Origines* F 133, if the emendation is correct, cf. A 2 p. 430.

¹⁷ Ovid. ars 3.621–622: *conscia cum possit scriptas portare tabellas, || quas tegat in tepido fascia lata sinu* [although a female accomplice could bring letters, which a broad *fascia* might hide in her warm bosom].

As to the position, the *fascia* is wrapped around the female breasts on the nipples (*papillae*). In contrast to modern brassieres, it has no shoulder straps (similar to a modern bandeau-style bikini top), and it is not fitted to adapt to the individual breasts. A *fascia* nevertheless stabilizes and shapes the breasts. Terence, Ovid, and Martial talk about this function. In Terence, girls use it to reduce the size of their busts.¹⁸ Ovid counsels one *puella* with small breasts to use a *fascia* to raise and accentuate her bust,¹⁹ and he tells another one with somewhat larger breasts to omit her *fascia* in order to make her appear less attractive and free himself from his love towards her.²⁰ The function of the *fascia* is hence quite similar to that of the *strophium*, which is positioned somewhat lower on the outside of the tunic (B 21). Both items are dress alternatives for the same function.

In contrast to the *strophium*, however, the *fascia* is a form of underwear. It is usually not (or only partly) visible. Our texts usually focus on it alone, but Martial lists the full attire of a young wife (*uxor*) only to complain that she does not sleep naked (*nuda*):²¹

Mart. 11.104.7–8

*fascia te tunicaeque obscuraque pallia celant:
at mihi nulla satis nuda puella iacet.*

You are covered by a *fascia*, tunics, and dark cloaks. But no girl lies in bed naked enough for me.

The woman is wearing tunics and cloaks. In addition, she uses a *fascia*, which serves as underwear. There is no hint of a *subligar* ('panties, briefs') (B 24). This is also never shown in erotic scenes on Pompeian frescoes, whereas the *fascia* is most often shown.

22.3 Social usage

The *fascia pectoralis* was worn by any kind of woman. Martial talks of an *uxor*,²² Ovid and Apuleius of a maidservant.²³ However, a *fascia pectoralis* is always connected with young women. Most of them are *puellae* and libertine freedwomen. There is no mature Roman matron presented as wearing a *fascia* since we hardly see one naked in Roman

¹⁸ Ter. Eun. 313–314: *haud similis virgost virginum nostrarum, quas matres student* || *demissis umeris esse, vincto pectore, ut gracilae sient* [the girl is not like our girls, whom the mothers want to have their shoulders bent and their chests wrapped so that they are tender].

¹⁹ Ovid, ars 3.274: *angustum circa fascia pectus eat* [if your breast is small, let a *fascia* surround it].

²⁰ Ovid. rem. 337–338: *omne papillae* || *pectus habent, vitium fascia nulla tegat* [when her breasts take up the whole torso, no *fascia* shall cover the flaw].

²¹ Cf. also Apul. Met. 2.7; Anth. Pal. 6.210.3–4 (Argentarius). A woman is offering her garments after giving birth: *καὶ ζώνην καὶ λεπτὸν ὑπένδυμα τοῦτο χιτῶνος* || *καὶ τὰ περὶ στέρνοις ἀγλαὰ μαστόδετα (fascia) [a zona, and this fine subucula, and the beautiful fascia pectoralis]*.

²² Mart. 11.104.11.

²³ Ovid. ars 3.621–622.

literature. Literary stereotype may nevertheless reflect social usage to a certain degree. In addition, Varro says that the bra was not invented in the circle of Roman matrons (*orbita matrum familiarum*).²⁴ His theory about primeval female dress is, as always, guesswork, but his remarks might mirror social customs of Varro's own lifetime. That would mean that the matrons of his time did not use *fasciae pectorales*, or at least used them less frequently than the young women.

Unlike all other Roman bodywear, the *fascia* is not only made for comfort. It is a fashionable and erotic article of dress. And that is the reason why we hear so much about it and about young women wearing it. If it is mentioned, female breasts and sultry eroticism are never far away. In Apuleius, Photis is wearing a red bra *sub ipsis papillis*.²⁵ Ovid imagines a letter being transported under the *fascia* in the warm cleavage (*tepidus sinus*) of the bosom, and he alludes to female nipples (*papillae*).²⁶ The quintessence of the literary use of the *fascia pectoralis* is summed up in a two-line epigram of Martial in which he addresses the *fascia*:

Mart. 14.134

*fascia, crescentes dominae compesce papillas,
ut sit quod capiat nostra tegatque manus.*

fascia, restrain my girlfriend's swelling bosom so that there is something for my hand to grasp and cover.

The bra is supposed to give form (*compesce papillas*) to the swelling breasts. By using the term *domina* (mistress), Martial hints at Love Elegy as his literary model. There are also allusions to Ovid's elegies (*fascia, papillae, tegat*). The Varronian etymology of *capitium* seems to also be implied.²⁷ The most important aspect of the *fascia* addressed by Martial is not the object itself, but the well-formed breasts the lover wants to cup with his hands. Readers are probably meant to imagine an erotic scene with the man standing behind the woman, something we see on Pompeian murals.

22.4 History

Writing a proper history of the *fascia* is impossible. A chest wrap is something normal and will have been used throughout Roman history. But the way in which a woman

²⁴ Varro VPR F 332 S.: *neque id ab orbita matrum familias instituti, quod eae pectore ac lacertis erant apertis nec capitia habebant* [and this invention did not originate from the circle of mothers, because these were naked on the chest and on the upper arms and did not wear a *capitium*], cf. also C 1 p. 573.

²⁵ Apul. Met. 2.7.

²⁶ Ovid. ars 3.622; rem. 337.

²⁷ Varro LL 5.130 (n. 7).

presented her breasts and décolleté may have changed in Antiquity, as it did in modern times.²⁸ Hence, a *fascia* may have been more fashionable at some time than at another.

In contrast to the *strophium*, the *fascia* is not much attested in literary sources from Classical fifth-century Athens. It may hide behind the ἀπόδεσμοί (*apodesmoi*) referred to in a fragment of Aristophanes' second *Thesmophoriazusai*.²⁹ The fashion of directly wrapping the breasts is then mentioned in the *Eunuchus* of Terence, which is based on a play of Menander (ca. 342/1–290 BCE) by the same name. A character tells us that mothers tie the breasts of their young daughters to make them appear smaller (and more beautiful).³⁰ This is the only evidence in Hellenistic Greek literature. We then find a ταινία μαστῶν (= *fascia pectoralis*) in Imperial literature, in the *Anacreontea*, which are poems written in the vein of Anacreon,³¹ and in the epigrammatist Argentarius.³²

The Latin etymologies of the words *capitium* and *fascia* show that the dress item was probably not a Greek import. If the emendation is correct, we first find *fasciae* (even red ones) in Cato (A 2). Our next sources, Varro and Laberius, date to the second half of first century BCE. The mention of the *fascia* then clusters in Imperial times. We have many Latin testimonies from this period showing us that it was an everyday garment of young women. The *fascia* is referred to by Propertius, Ovid, Martial, and Apuleius,³³ and it even finds its way, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, into grand history, Tacitus' *Annals*. It is also often shown on frescoes in Pompeii and represented on statues (pl. 24.2).³⁴ Literary evidence is therefore congruent with archaeological sources. Considering the Greek evidence, one gets the impression that the *fascia* became a fashionable dress style in Imperial times. However, this may be misleading because literary conventions changed, and we simply hear more about naked women in Imperial authors. In general, one might say that Latin literature gets ever closer to the naked body over time. The *fascia* may thus owe its multiple appearances to the fact that eroticism changed form and increased in 'high' literature (in contrast to vulgar pornography). However, that is not the story of this book.

²⁸ For modern taste and visualization, cf. A. Hollander, *Fabric of Vision. Dress and Drapery in Painting*, London 2002, 153–163.

²⁹ Aristoph. F 338 K.-A., cf. Pollux 7.66. The transmission of the text is difficult.

³⁰ Ter. Eun. 313–314 (n. 18).

³¹ Ancreont. 22.13.

³² Anth. Pal. 6.210.3–4.

³³ Prop. 4.9.49; Ovid. ars 3.274, 622, rem. 338; Mart. 11.104.7, 14.134; Apul. Met. 2.7, 10.21.

³⁴ Cf. p. 695.

23 *amictorium* and *mamillare* – ‘top’ and breast-band (pl. 25.4)

1. *amictorium*

2. *mamillare*

The following two garments are only known to us thanks to Martial. Martial liked writing about the female breast, and he expected that his male readers enjoyed hearing about it. For this reason, he included three different dress items for the bosom in his *Apophoreta*: the *fascia pectoralis* (B 22), the *amictorium*, and the *mamillare*. He simultaneously used these words to show his poetic craftsmanship by talking about the same subject in various ways. As in the case of the *fascia pectoralis*, the eroticism of the descriptions is more important than the dress items themselves as material objects.

Even though we have very little on these articles of clothing, their mention by Martial (who generally writes about realistic scenes) shows that Roman women had several options for covering and shaping their breasts. The dichotomy between large and petite breasts and the appropriateness of different articles found in Martial also shows that cup size and how to manage different busts in a practical or erotic context was a concern in Antiquity. Large breasts required a more sturdy material, and small breasts could be accentuated by how they were wrapped.

23.1 *amictorium*

The *amictorium* is perhaps more prominent than the meagre evidence would make us think. It could be the ‘bikini’ worn by the young women depicted in the Piazza Armerina, who appear in many travel catalogues advertising the beauty of Sicily.¹ In one of Martial’s epigrams, an *amictorium* speaks and expresses its fears, giving the poet occasion to explore different forms of the female breast:

Mart. 14.149

*mammosas metuo, tenerae me trade puellae,
ut possint niveo pectore lina frui.*

I am afraid of women with big bosoms. Hand me over to a tender girl so that my linen may enjoy a snow-white breast.

The poem shows that the *amictorium* was made of linen. Like the *fascia*, it was worn directly on the skin. The function of both garments is thus similar, but there must have been a difference between them. This could have been the cut or the usage. The

¹ Cf. p. 695.

fascia was just a strip of cloth wrapped around the breasts. The *amictorium* may have been somewhat broader and a slightly fitted garment. Moreover, it may have had a different social usage: the *fascia* was an undergarment, whereas the *amictorium* may have been a visible garment. The word could have designated a garment similar in form and function to what is called a bikini top today, as worn by the women of Piazza Armerina as sportswear. However, we have no way of settling the issue, since we only have the short epigram by Martial as a literary source.

23.2 *mamillare*

The *mamillare* is not made of cloth, but of soft leather. For this reason, the epigram in Martial’s *Apophoreta* that mentions the article does not stand next to poems on other garments, but on sandals (*soleae*). Like in the case of the *amictorium*, Martial focuses on the different sizes of female breasts:

Mart. 14.66

*taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo:
nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas.*

You could have constricted your bosom with an ox-hide. For this leather can’t hold your breasts.

Martial emphasizes the material of the *mamillare* with an allusion to Virgil’s *Aeneid*.² Like Dido, who marked the space of future Carthage with an ox-hide, the female addressee of the poem should wear a stable bra and not a *mamillare* because she has large breasts. It is difficult to see what the *mamillare* looked like. It may have been a leather brassiere worn as a special garment and not as underwear. But as with the *amictorium*, we have too little literary evidence to make a determination.

² Verg. *Aen.* 1.368: *taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.*

24 *subligar, subligaculum* – ‘loin-cloth’ (pl. 25.4)

1. Introduction
2. Terminology and appearance
3. Social usage

24.1 Introduction

Nature (*natura*), as Cicero argues, has deliberately hidden the ugly parts of the human body that fulfill the necessary natural functions (*ad naturae necessitatem datae*), and our sense of shame imitates this design:

All those who are not out of mind hide from view what nature has hidden, do what they have to do as secretly as possible, and do not call the part which fulfills that function nor the function itself by their proper names.

It is obscene (*obscenum*), Cicero goes on, to talk about these things.¹ This law of decorum also included the garments covering the private parts. Unlike the female breast, the genitals and the anus fall under the rule of *verecundia* (decency). In contrast to the *fascia*, the female *subligar* is not erotic bodywear, but only a functional dress item.² You may safely mention it in your shopping list, as the Vindolanda Tablets show,³ and when talking about your sportswear (see below). However, it is not an item for high literature. In consequence, evidence on it is quite rare. The most important witness is again Martial who relishes being obscene and describing the female private parts and their various functions. This chapter discusses the instances that might pertain to

1 Cic. off. 1.126–127: *Principio corporis nostri magnam natura ipsa videatur habuisse rationem, quae formam nostram reliquamque figuram, in qua esset species honesta, eam posuit in promptu, quae partes autem corporis ad naturae necessitatem datae aspectum essent deformem habiturae atque foedum, eas contextit atque abdidit. (127) hanc naturae tam diligentem fabricam imitata est hominum verecundia. quae enim natura occultavit, eadem omnes, qui sana mente sunt, remonent ab oculis ipsique necessitati dant operam ut quam occultissime pareant; quarumque partium corporis usus sunt necessarii, eas neque partes neque earum usus suis nominibus appellant, quodque facere turpe non est, modo occulte, id dicere obscenum est.*

2 Becker/Göll III (1882) 212–213; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 484; Blümner (1911) 205–206; RE 4.1 A (1931) s.v. subligaculum, col. 481–482 and s.v. subligar, col. 482 (E. Schuppe); Wilson (1938) 72–73; Potthoff (1992) 181–184; N. Goldman, *Reconstructing Roman Clothing*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 233–235; Croom (2000) 111–112; Olson (2003) 205–210; GRD (2007) 183.

3 Tab. Vind. 346.2–5 Bowman/Thomas: *paria udonum . . . solearum <paria> duo et subligariorum <paria> duo*. R. Birley, *Vindolanda. A Roman Frontier Post on Hadrian's Wall*, London 1977, 153; J. P. Wild, *Vindolanda. Zu den Textilien und der sozialen Hierarchie in einem Kastell*, in: M. Tellenbach et al. (eds.), *Die Macht der Toga*, Hildesheim 2013, 240.

the *subligar*, though they make for a quite disgusting reading. Modern research has been vexed by the question of whether Romans regularly wore underwear around their buttocks and groin as we do. The chapter argues that they wore it only when needed.

24.2 Terminology and appearance

Romans did not wear briefs or panties of the modern type, i.e. a fitted garment with two leg holes through which the legs are placed in order to pull the garment up to cover the genitals and buttocks. The Romans only had what is called *subligaculum* or *subligar* in neutral language. The same (or at least similar) garment is also referred to by the term *campestre* in Latin literature, which Augustine defines as *succinctoria genitalium*.⁴ The Classical Latin evidence on the Roman loin-cloth only pertains to men’s dress.⁵ The words *subligaculum* and *subligar* both go back to the verb *subligare*, although with a different ending.⁶ Cicero and Juvenal use them synonymously when describing an actor’s garb.⁷ The shorter form *subligar* is used more often.⁸ The etymology points to how the garment was worn: It was fastened (*ligare*) under (*sub*) the body or from below. It was a strip of cloth or leather worn between the legs and over the genitals that was fastened at the sides, similar to a diaper or certain types of bikini bottoms.⁹ This form is also shown by the archaeological evidence.¹⁰ The girls from the Piazza Armerina very likely feature a *subligar* in conjunction with the *amictorium* that covers their chests.¹¹ The way of wearing a *subligar* is described in an obscene epigram by Martial. He mocks an active homosexual woman by using vulgar language:

Mart. 3.87
narrat te rumor, Chione, numquam esse fututam
atque nihil cunno purius esse tuo.
tecta tamen non hac, qua debes, parte lauaris:
si pudor est, transfer subligar in faciem.

⁴ Augustin. Civ. Dei 14.17. The fig-leaf coverings made by Adam and Eve could be called a *subligar*. The Vulgate refers to them as *perizomata* (from the Greek περιζώμα, loin-cloth).

⁵ Hor. epist. 1.11.18; Asc. in Cic. Scaur. 25. Ancient grammarians assumed it to be the first Roman dress and speculated about the meaning of the term.

⁶ On word formation, cf. Potthoff (1992) 183.

⁷ Cic. off. 1.128 (see below); Iuven. 6.69–70.

⁸ For the form *subligaculum*, see Cic. off. 1.128; Varro LL 6.21 (the text may be corrupt).

⁹ Schuppe (n. 2) 481–482; Goldman (n. 2) 234 (with reconstructions).

¹⁰ Cf. p. 695.

¹¹ Cf. p. 695, and Olson (2003) 208; U. Pappalardo/R. Ciardello, Die Pracht römischer Mosaiken, Darmstadt 2018, 174–179.

Rumour has it, Chione, that you have never been fucked and that nothing is purer than your cunt. Yet you do not cover the part you should in the bath. If you have any feeling of shame, transfer your *subligar* to your face.

The scene takes place in the public (female) baths. Women (and men) wore a *subligar* to cover their private parts when taking a bath together. In Latin Literature, there is no further evidence, but we hear of swim dresses in Greek authors.¹² Martial inverts the normal situation.¹³ Since he wants to brand Chione as given to oral sex, he declares her face (*facies*) to be her private parts. Accordingly, she should cover this and not her hitherto ‘unused’ genitals with a *subligar*. Martial has chosen the *thermae* because his joke is based on the fact that the woman is dressed in a scanty garment, but otherwise naked.

24.3 Social usage

The social usage of the *subligar* is difficult to define due to the lack of precise evidence. It is clear that it was worn in public when without a tunic. As quoted at the start of the chapter, Cicero tells us that everyone who is not mad covers his private parts in some manner.¹⁴ Accordingly, we find the *subligar* worn by men who are otherwise naked while working¹⁵ or doing sports.¹⁶ The *campestre*, a sportswear, will probably have been a kind of *subligar*, and we may safely assume that the consul Antony was not all naked (*nudus*) when running around the Palatine in the games. In two of Martial’s epigrams, slaves accompany their female masters in the bath, one clad with a black leather strap around his loins,¹⁷ and the other with a brass ‘codpiece.’¹⁸

Women used the *subligar* in a similar way. They also wore it in public when they had no tunic. In Martial, Chione wears it in the public bath. In another of Martial’s epigrams, he mocks a woman as homosexual,¹⁹ because she plays handball, a man’s sport, dressed in a *subligar*. Archaeological evidence—like the famous Bikini-girls of Piazza Armerina—is in consonance with this.

¹² LSJ s.v. ὄτια, cf. Pherecrat. F 62 K.-A; Theopomp. com. F 27 K.-A.

¹³ Against Olson (2003) 208.

¹⁴ Cic. off. 1.127.

¹⁵ Plin. NH 12.19.

¹⁶ Hor. epist. 1.11.18; on the περίζωμα of athletes, cf. LSJ s.v.

¹⁷ Mart. 7.35.

¹⁸ Mart. 11.75.1.

¹⁹ Mart. 7.674: *harpasto quoque subligata ludit* [she also plays handball dressed in a *subligar*].

But was a *subligar* just bodywear or was it also a type of *underwear*?²⁰ And if it was worn under other garments, was it worn regularly? The evidence for this is very rare. We only hear about the *subligar* as underwear once and in an oblique way. In the section of Cicero’s *De officiis* that started the chapter, Cicero argues that one should not fall behind orators and actors in comportment. He then adduces an example from stage costume. According to Cicero, the actors’ sense of shame was paramount in traditional stagecraft:²¹

No actor would appear on stage without a *subligaculum*. For they are afraid to make an improper exhibition, if by some accident certain parts of his body should happen to become exposed.

Cicero follows the rules he has just established for decent speech, since he does not use plain language (thus ‘covering’ the vulgar meaning). According to him, traditional actors (probably in contrast to actors of mimes) always wore a *subligar* under their tunic for fear that they might per chance denude their private parts while performing on stage. Cicero does not mention normal men, but his implicit argument seems to be that they should follow the caution exhibited by actors and not forgo a *subligar*. If even actors wear a *subligar* to prevent accidental exposure, normal people should wear it all the more. However, Cicero’s position shows that not all men actually wore it (otherwise he would not need to raise the issue). In contrast to modern European custom, it seems that the Romans (like the Scots with their kilt) did not regularly wear a garment around their groin and buttocks.

As to women, our sources on the *subligar* are even fewer. The following remarks are about where we would expect a *subligar* to be mentioned, but it is not. Again, we have to turn to Martial. In one epigram, he complains about his wife’s sexual restraint.²² Instead of lying naked with him in bed, his *uxor* is wearing lots of clothes: several tunics, coats, and a *fascia*. There is no mention of underwear around the groin, even though this would suit Martial’s purpose of criticizing the woman for her sexual restraint. The *subligar* is also missing in the many pornographic copulating scenes on Pompeian wall painting, where we also see prostitutes dressed in tunics and *fasciae* without a *subligar*. Another epigram of Martial is even more crude. Martial is probably the Latin author getting closest to the female body, and he explores all its openings as far as possible. The poem is about a woman with a large backside:

²⁰ Cf. on the question, Blümner (1911) 205; Wilson (1938) 72–73; Goldman (n. 2); N. Adkin, Did the Romans Keep Their Underwear on in Bed?, *Classical World* 93 (2000), 619–620; Olson (2003); GRD (2007) 183.

²¹ Cic. off. 1.129: *scaenitorum quidem mos tantam habet vetere disciplina verecundiam, ut in scaenam sine subligaculo prodeat nemo; verentur enim, ne, si quo casu evenerit, ut corporis partes quaedam aperiantur, aspiciantur non decore.*

²² Mart. 11.104.7–8, cf. B 22 p. 509.

Mart. 11.99.1–6

*de cathedra quotiens surgis (iam saepe notavi),
 pedicant miserae, Lesbia, te tunicae.
 quas cum conata es dextra, conata sinistra
 vellere, cum lacrimis eximis et gemitu:
 sic constringuntur gemina Symplegade culi
 et nimias intrant Cyaneasque natis.*

Whenever you get up from your chair (I have noticed it again and again), your unfortunate tunics sodomize you, Lesbia. You try and try to pluck them with your left hand and your right, till you extract them with tears and groans. So firmly are they constrained by the twin Symplegades of your arse as they enter your oversized, Cyanean buttocks (Loeb transl. with slight modification).

Martial contends that Lesbia's tunics enter her anus when she is getting up. This seems to indicate that he imagines her without a *subligar* because it would have prevented penetration. If the *subligar* were regular underwear, its omission would be striking. We might try to explain it in the way that Martial focuses more on sex than on trivial dress items. However, when we look back to Cicero's argument about men, we might conclude that the situation was similar with women. Not every woman wore a *subligar*, and they did not wear it on all occasions. It was not regular underwear in the sense we know it, but it was taken on only when needed.

25 *fascia cruralis*, *fascia pedulis*, *impilia* – ‘puttees,’ ‘socks,’ and felt inner shoes

1. Introduction
2. *fascia cruralis* – ‘puttee’
3. *fascia pedulis* – ‘sock’
4. *impilia* – ‘felt inner shoes’

25.1 Introduction

Emperor Augustus became very frost sensitive in his old age. For this reason, he dressed not only in a thick *toga* in winter, but also in four tunics, an undertunic, a woollen ‘waistcoat’ (*thorax*), and wraps around the upper and the lower part of his legs.¹ Thanks to his biographer Suetonius, Augustus became the person to assemble the most garments on his body in the entire corpus of extant Latin literature. Ancient biography likes clothes, since it shows the true character (*ethos*) of a person. It is an outward expression of the rulers’ vices and weaknesses, unmasking them as passive homosexuals (Julius Caesar), as madmen (Caligula), or—as in case of Augustus—simply as an old bore. The level of truth of these remarks is similar to that of modern tabloids, authors at best generalizing exceptional garb and transforming it into habitual individual preferences. In our case, Suetonius’ description serves to contrast imperial self-representation that showed Augustus as a radiant young man (*iuvenis*) even at the age of seventy. Like the official image of Augustus, it is a caricature that goes back to post-Augustan historiography and anti-imperial pamphlets or jokes about the emperor. As to literature, it shows us that there was a sort of ‘underground’ literature besides the polished pro-Augustan authors. As to dress, the text is interesting because it informs us about some garments worn in everyday life and the social codes pertaining to them.

The following chapter is about Roman bodywear pertaining to the leg and foot.² Most of the articles are not explicitly attested with women, but there is no reason why they should not have used these types of bodywear when needed. Modern research on the diverse *fasciae* is somewhat muddled. Most confusion goes back to an article by Mau (1909) in the *Realencyclopädie* and the entries in the dictionaries. These incorrectly equate the straps of sandals or shoes with the bodywear of the leg since both are called

¹ Suet. Aug. 82.1: *hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subucula et thorace laneo et feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur*; cf. B 1 p. 254.

² Becker/Göll III (1882) 225–226; Blümner (1911) 220–221; RE 6.2 (1909) s.v. *fasciae*, col. 2008–2009 (A. Mau); Wilson (1938) 73–74; N. Goldman, *Reconstructing Roman Clothing*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 233; DNP 4 (1998) s.v. *Fasciae*, 433–434; Croom (2000) 113; Olson (2003) 209; GRD (2007) 67.

fasciae in Latin literature.³ In contrast, we will turn to the shoe straps (*fasciae*) in the chapters B 26 and B 29 and will only discuss the evidence here that unequivocally refers to the bodywear of the leg. The individuals wearing it in our texts are all men, and we hear nothing about leg wraps worn by women. However, we may assume that their clothing was no different from that of men at this point.

25.2 *fascia cruralis* – ‘puttee’

The terminology concerning the different leg wraps varies slightly. We either get the noun *fascia* with an attribute that designates the specific part of the leg that is concerned (e.g. *fascia cruralis*),⁴ or a nominalized adjective (e.g. *feminale*). The noun *fascia* indicates the form of the garment. It is discussed in the chapter on the *fascia pectoralis* (B 22). The term *fascia* designates a strip of cloth (or leather, hence it is also applied to shoe straps) that is wrapped about the respective part of the body. The *fascia cruralis* is wrapped around the leg (*crus*). The Latin term *crus* can designate the entire leg.⁵ However, it often refers only to the lower leg and the shin, and we can individuate the *fasciae crurales* as wraps for the lower leg. We could call them puttees (the leg wraps worn by many soldiers in World War I).⁶ The garment is also attested in the archaeological evidence.⁷ In the case of Augustus (see above), we hear more specifically of wraps around the upper leg (*feminalia*, *femur* = thigh)⁸ and the lower leg (*tibialia*, *tibia* = shin-bone). The author may have done this in order to create the impression that the emperor was wrapped ‘everywhere’ on the body. The passage shows that *fasciae* could be worn around the thighs as well.

The *fascia cruralis* is an exceptional garment that is not normally used. Quintilian tells us that it is on the same level as scarves and earmuffs. Men can only wear it in public when they feel sick, making it *insignia morbi*. As Quintilian explains: “Only illness can excuse it.”⁹ Otherwise, it is a sign of delicacy and weakness, which is why Augustus is shown wearing it. In one passage, a flute-player has a *fascia cruralis* on his broken shin-bone for protection.¹⁰ In this function, it is also used in hunting.¹¹ The puttee is the typical special attire of the hunter, and this is also the reason we find

³ See on this, Blümner (1911) 220–221.

⁴ Digest. (Ulpianus) 34.2.25.4.

⁵ OLD s.v. *crus*.

⁶ Phaedr. 5.7.36.

⁷ See n. 12.

⁸ Cf. in Late Antiquity, Hieronym. epist. 61.1: *feminalia linea*.

⁹ Quint. inst. or. 11.144: *fascias, quibus crura vestiuntur, et focalia et aurium ligamenta sola excusare potest valetudo*; cf. also Hor. sat. 2.3.254 (*insignia morbi*).

¹⁰ Phaedr. 5.7.6.36.

¹¹ Grattius 338: *tegat imas fascia suras* [a *fascia* shall cover your calves]; Petron. 40.5 (a mock hunt).

it represented in art.¹² Beyond hunting, a *fascia cruralis* is not respectable attire you would be want to be depicted in. We may assume that the usage in the case of women might have been even more reduced than in the case of men both for reasons of fashion and functionality. In contrast to men, the longer female tunic could provide a level of protection and warmth for the wearer’s legs. The need for an extra garment for the legs was therefore not as great.

25.3 *fascia pedulis* – ‘sock’

There term *fascia pedulis* is only attested in Ulpianus. There is no other reference to this garment in all other Latin literature. In a definition, Ulpianus tells us that the *fasciae cruales pedulesque* should be reckoned among the garments (and not among the ornaments) because they cover a part of the body. The term *fascia pedulis* implies that the garment concerned the foot (*pes*). It could refer to a strip of cloth that is wrapped around the foot or what we would call a ‘sock’ (as opposed to the seemingly obvious *soccus*). It thus designates a garment that modern scholars seem to have been desperately looking for. A foot wrap easily takes on the shape of a sock if it is sewn together at the ends (like the *fascia pectoralis*) to form a ring. There is material archaeological evidence on socks,¹³ and we also see some on the shroud of an Egyptian women dating to the third century CE. In contrast to modern Europe, socks were certainly not a regular dress item in Rome, and they were as exceptional as *fasciae cruales*.

25.4 *impilia* – ‘inner shoes’

L. Cornelius Eros, a Greek freedman, was a specialist craftsman living in the *Subura* of Rome. He was an *impiliarius*, i.e he made *impilia*, and found this profession important enough to put it on his grave stone.¹⁴ Latin literature, however, was less benign towards Lucius Cornelius’ craft. The term *impilia* (neuter plural) is mentioned only twice, and its exact meaning is difficult to determine.¹⁵ Ulpianus lists *impilia* next to the *fasciae pedules* and defines both as garments. Pliny uses the word, translating by it the Greek

¹² B. Andreae, *Die römischen Jagdsarkophage*, ASR 1,2, Berlin 1980, 164 n. 112, pl. 112.1; U. Pappalardo/R. Ciardello, *Die Pracht römischer Mosaiken*, Darmstadt 2018, p. 20, 30, 120, 121, 122, 125, 133.

¹³ See C. Fluck, *Von Haute Couture bis Pret-à-porter. Damenmode im römischen Ägypten*, M. Tellenbach et al. (eds.) (2013), 148 n. 15.

¹⁴ CIL 6.33862: *L. Cornel[ius] Eros impiliar[ius] de Subur[a]*.

¹⁵ Plin. NH 19.32; Digest. (Ulpian.) 34.2.25.4; cf. also Charisius vol. I p. 552.34–35 Keil, who does not seem to know the meaning of the word.

term πόδεια.¹⁶ This is all the literary evidence we have. The etymology shows that *impilia* were made of felt (*pilus*).¹⁷ It is also clear that they must have something to do with the foot. But are they felt slippers (OLD) or rather inner shoes, as used in Europe with rubber boots? The Greek term *podeia* does not help because its meaning offers the same problems.¹⁸ The prefix *in-* in *impilia* suggests that we should distinguish it from a simple felt slipper for which we have no Latin word, but which is called πῖλος in Greek.¹⁹ The prefix seems to denote that *impilia* are worn *in* something else, in this case in another shoe or sandal. We should hence assume that they were inner shoes or insoles consisting of felt, and they may have been more common than we think. While they are not a suitable subject matter for high literature, the existence of specialized craftsmen like the freedman Eros suggests that *impilia* were widely used in Rome and beyond. They were probably part of the normal life that is so difficult for us to track.

16 Pliny NH 19.32: *Theophrastus auctor est esse bulbi genus circa ripas amnium nascens, cuius inter summum corticem eamque partem, qua vescuntur, esse laneam naturam, ex qua impilia vestesque quaedam conficiantur* [Theophrastus writes that there is a kind of onion that grows on riverbanks. Between its outermost skin and the part that is eaten, there is a woollen mass, from which *impilia* and some garments are made]; Theophr. Hist. Plant. 7.13.18: ὑφαίνεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πόδεια καὶ ἄλλα ἱμάτια· δι’ ὃ καὶ ἐριώδες τοῦτο [but *podeia* and other garments are woven from it, for it is also woolly].

17 On felting, cf. Marquardt/Mau (1886) 502; Blümner I (1912) 222–224.

18 Kritias VS 88 B 65 D.-K.; Crates com. F 41 K.-A. Both parallels are adduced by Pollux 7.91. He did not know the exact meaning of the term *podeia*, but posed the same question as we do.

19 LSJ s.v.

26 *calceus* – the quintessential Roman shoe (pls. 8.3, 11.3, 12.3, 27.3–4, 28.3)

1. Introduction
2. Terminology and appearance
3. Social usage and history

26.1 Introduction

This is the first of five chapters on Roman footwear (B 26–30).¹ These deal with the two main types of closed shoes (*calceus*, *soccus*), the two main types of sandals (*solea*, *crepida*), and several individual shoes that belonged to these types. They include only shoes that are mentioned in connection with women and for this reason omit some very simple or rustic types of footwear like the *baxea* (a kind of sandal) and the *pero* (a rustic *calceus*). The last chapter on footwear gets close to what one might call ‘shoe fashion.’ The division according to terms is not as easy as it might appear on first view. This has to do with the fact that the Latin words *calceus* and *solea* are more general than the Latin term *soccus* and the Greek loanword *crepida* and that they can relate to these types of footwear as well. The chapters on the *soccus* and the *crepida* will therefore focus more on the respective shoe-type than on the term.

Greek and Roman footwear and its terminology have been dealt with by modern research many times.² In contrast to textile dress items, there are also many physical remains.³ However, there are still prevalent notions concerning the terms *calceus* and *soccus* that seem to be mistaken. As usual, the following chapters will discuss the evidence rather than painstakingly refuting other scholars’ opinions. The discussion starts with the term *calceus* because it designates the most important ‘Roman’ shoe worn by both women and men.⁴

1 For a general survey of the terminology, cf. Lau (n. 2) 145–149.

2 Becker/Göll III (1882) 227–237, 265–266; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 588–597; A. A. Bryant, Greek Shoes in the Classical Period, HSCPh 10 (1899), 57–102; Blümner (1911) 222–228; K. Erbacher, Griechisches Schuhwerk, Würzburg 1914; RE 2.1 A (1921) s.v. Schuh, col. 741–758 (A. Hug); O. Lau, Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst, Bonn 1967; N. Goldman, Roman Footwear, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 101–129; Croom (2000) 68–74, 128–132; GRD (2007) 73–74; Knötzele (2007); Olson (2008) 55–57.

3 Cf. on them, Knötzele (2007).

4 Cf. on it RE 3.1 (1897) s.v. *calceus*, col. 1340–1345 (A. Mau); Lau (n. 2) 116–119.

26.2 Terminology and appearance

The term *calceus* is the most basic term Romans had for a shoe.⁵ In fact, the word *calceus* was the Roman equivalent of the English word ‘shoe.’ The Latin general terms for ‘footwear’ (*calceamentum* and *calceatus*) originate from it,⁶ and the term refers to both female and male shoes.⁷ The etymology of the word is clear: *calceus* derives from *calx* (heel). The etymology also shows what a *calceus* is. In contrast to the sandal (*solea*), which only covers the sole (*solum*), a *calceus* is a closed shoe that protects the entire foot. Within this range, the term can designate different types of closed shoes (which sometimes makes it difficult to find out which kind of shoe is worn in a given passage). For the purpose of a general division, it is useful to distinguish between the original Roman shoe and what is usually called a ‘Greek’ shoe, a type of shoe which was somewhat smaller and is called *calceolus* (small shoe) or *soccus* in our sources (B 27). We will consider later whether the Greek hypothesis is correct. This chapter deals only with the Roman *calceus*, although some of the remarks also pertain to the *soccus*.

The Roman *calceus* is a high closed shoe that covers the foot and ankles and reaches up to the calves (*surae*). In contrast to the ‘Greek’ shoe, the Roman *calceus* had no lacing as we now know it, no shoe tongue, and no eyelets. Its form can be described as a rather primitive looking leather sack with a sole that was pulled over the foot. It could be fastened at the end with flat leather straps that were wrapped around it on the outside. These were called *corrigiae*⁸ (from *corrigerere*, to correct). They could also be called *fasciae* (straps) due to their form.⁹

In the archaeological sources, the *calcei* of knights and senators, whose strapping took on an extraordinary appearance and served as an insigne of political status, are often shown (pl. 27.1).¹⁰ There is much less evidence for normal men’s *calcei*.¹¹ As to women, the lower part and the tip of the *calceus* are often represented on monuments (pl. 27.3–4). Archaeological sources showing the upper part are missing because it is always hidden under the long female robe. Explicit literary descriptions of the form of the *calceus* are also lacking, but two passages in Ovid’s *Ars amatoria* may refer to it. In one of the passages, Ovid says that a woman with lean shin bones (*crus*) should

5 ThLL III s.v. *calceus* col. 132.6–133.17; Lau (n. 2) 115.

6 ThLL III s.v. *calceamentum* col. 129.28–130.52; s.v. *calceatus* col. 130.72–83.

7 Varro LL 9.29, Men. 155 (see below); Apul. Met. 7.8.

8 Varro Men. 180, 267; Cic. div. 2.84.

9 Varro Catus/Cato vel de liberis educandis F 19 Riese (= Nonius p. 155.24–26 L.): *mihi puero modica una fuit tunica et toga, sine fasceis calceamenta, equus sine ephippio; balneum non cotidianum, alveus rarus* [when I was a boy, I had only one modest tunic and *toga*, footwear without *fasciae*, a horse without a saddle, a bath not daily, food rarely]; cf. on this treatise also A 9 p. 195.

10 Lau (1967) 117–119; H. R. Goette, *Mulleus – Embas – Calceus*. Ikonographische Studien zu römischen Schuhwerk, JDAI 103 (1988), 449–451.

11 On the *calceus*, cf. also the archaeological contribution p. 696.

hide them in her shoes while in public.¹² In the other passage, he gives the advice to smuggle out love letters tied (*ligatae*) to the calves (*surae*).¹³ In both texts, a *calceus* enclosing parts of the lower leg seems to be the basis of the advice.¹⁴

In general, we can identify the female *calceus* in analogy to the male one, but there is also one text relating to it that guarantees the identification. It has been overlooked so far, but it proves without doubt that all shoes we see peeking out from under the long dresses of Roman *matronae* are *calcei*. The evidence is found in an unexpected place: a passage from Vitruvius' *De architectura* that speaks about the invention of the Doric and the Ionic columns. Vitruvius compares the columns to the nude unadorned male and the dressed female body. He claims that people first modelled the stout and plain Doric column after the image of the naked male body. Afterwards, when building a temple of Diana, they wished to have a new type of column that suited the slender feminine body. Vitruvius is not explicit about the reason for this, but it is implied by the story: A virgin goddess should not have a temple with columns in the form of naked male bodies that convey an altogether masculine air. For this reason, the builders modified the proportions of the Doric column and made some other changes, leading to the form of the Ionic column. Vitruvius describes this process in the following way:

Vitruv. 4.1.6–7

basi spiram subposuerunt pro calceo, capitulo volutas uti capillamento concrispatos cincinnos praependentes dextra ac sinistra conlocaverunt et cymatiis et encarpis pro crinibus dispositis frontes ornaverunt truncoque toto strias uti stolarum rugas matronali more dimiserunt.

At the end of the shaft, they placed a coiled base like a *calceus*. At the capital, they put on volutes to the right and to the left like curling locks that hang down from the hair. They arranged cymatia and festoons in the way of hair and in this way ornamented the front, and, over all the shaft, they let fall fluting, like the folds of a matron's *stola*.

As always, Vitruvius wishes to show off his erudition. In his story, he mixes up Roman and Greek elements (and not for the better).¹⁵ He ends up creating a funny metamorphosis: The naked male body is slowly converted into a dressed female one, and the Doric column transitions into the Ionic. The man gets *calcei*, curls hanging to the sides, hairs in front, and a *stola*, and the column gets a base, volutes, cymatia, and flutes. The Greek story adapted by Vitruvius very likely was about the robe of young unmarried women because they would suit a virgin goddess. Romanizing the story, Vitruvius somewhat awkwardly transformed the girls into married Roman women (who do not exactly suit the temple of a virgin goddess). His point of reference is the statues of

¹² Ovid. ars 3.272: *arida nec vinclis crura resolve suis* [do not release lean shin bones from their bonds].

¹³ Ovid. ars 3.623: *cum possit sura chartas celare ligatas* [though your thigh can hide letters tied to it].

¹⁴ Cf., however, Gibson (2003) in his commentary on ars 3.623.

¹⁵ Cf. on Vitruvius also B 4 pp. 304–305.

Roman *matronae* that he saw in public and also mentions elsewhere. The illogical nature of the architectural story is blatant (even if the imagery is striking), but it helps us identify the *calceus*. Vitruvius assimilates the base of the Ionic column to the *calceus* that indeed has a similar form. The identification of the female *calceus* with the shoes we see on the respective monuments of *matronae* wearing *stolae* is therefore certain.

The material of the *calceus* was leather. The quality of the shoes obviously depended on the quality of the material. Normal leather shoes are not explicitly mentioned in our sources,¹⁶ but they probably had a natural colour. In the case of women and magistrates, we hear of a fine soft leather called *aluta*¹⁷ because its tanning was done with the help of potash alum (*alumen*).¹⁸ It was used with elegant *calcei* and was coloured. Ovid and Apuleius mention white *aluta* with female shoes,¹⁹ but we also hear of black and crimson *aluta* with male shoes.²⁰

26.3 Social usage and history

Although called by the same name and similar in form, female and male *calcei* differed as to their appearance, and they were not a unisex dress style. The type of *calceus* worn depended on the person's gender, but there were times when something got in the way of dressing properly. In a linguistic sophism, Varro says that we speak of a man's and a woman's *calceus*, even though a man sometimes wears a woman's *calceus* and a woman a man's *calceus*.²¹ Again in Varro, we hear of a man who accidentally put on *calcei muliebres* (the shoes of his wife or mistress) in the night;²² in Apuleius, a man disguising himself as a woman is wearing *calcei feminini*.²³

In comparison to the *soccus* and the *solea*, the *calceus* was a more formal footwear. We do not usually find it mentioned in scenes of private life (Varro is an exception, and his *calceus muliebris* may well be a *soccus*). We never find it with banquets, where the *soccus* and the *solea* prevail. It was probably only put on when leaving the house or, in the case of men, when receiving guests in a formal manner. For this reason, the

¹⁶ *Calcei* with a less costly tanning were perhaps called *perones*; cf. OLD s.v. and Cato Origines F 111 P. (= Festus p. 128.6–8 L.). The term *mulleus* is a gloss.

¹⁷ Ovid. ars 3.271; Mart. 12.29.9.; Iuven. 7.192.

¹⁸ Plin. NH 35.190; Blümner (1912) 268–269.

¹⁹ Ovid. ars 3.771; Apul. Met. 7.8; and B 30 p. 553.

²⁰ Mart. 12.29.9; Iuven. 7.192.

²¹ Varro LL 9.29: *calcei muliebres sint an viriles dicimus ad similitudinem figurae, cum tamen sciamus nonnunquam et mulierem habere calceos viriles et virum muliebris*.

²² Varro Men. F 154–155 *ego autem qui essem plenus vini et Veneris || stolam calceosque muliebris propter positos capio* [but I, being full of wine and love, grasp the *stola* and the women's shoes that were placed beside it]; cf. A 9 p. 187.

²³ Apul. Met. 7.8: *calceis femininis albis illis et tenuibus indutus* [dressed in the typical small white female shoes].

social rules we find with all sorts of shoes apply most to the *calceus*, and they are similar in Greek and Latin literature. We hear only about men in connection with such codes, probably because men were thought most liable to sin against them, but the norms will have pertained to women as well. Most importantly: You should not wear oversized shoes. Your feet should not ‘swim’ in them,²⁴ for nothing showed sloth and lack of education like loose-fitting footwear. Doing so was considered ‘rustic.’²⁵ On the other hand, men should not show too much care when it comes to their footwear. As Quintilian says: “As to your *toga*, your *calceus*, and your hair, both excessive care and neglect are reprehensible.”²⁶ Quintilian gives no reason for this restraint, but it is implied that men minding their dress too much are considered effeminate. We can then invert the rule in order to find what was thought appropriate for women: They *should* care about their dress and shoes.

In summary, we can say that all Roman citizens wore *calcei*. However, as we have already seen, there were differences according to the social classes. The Roman male aristocrats used a special strapping in order to show their status. As to women, the evidence for social differences is slim, but there seems to be some hint that they existed. The *calceus* is a distinct feature on the monuments showing *matronae*, whereas there is no explicit evidence for this type of shoe or the term *calceus* in Roman Love Elegy. The poets’ elegant mistresses are usually featured with a *soccus* or a sandal,²⁷ but since the *calceus* was plainer in structure than the *soccus*, it was perhaps less fashionable and therefore less worthy of attention in literature. As a result, we can no longer write a reliable history of the female *calceus*. As to the lower classes, we never hear about them wearing *calcei*.²⁸ In conclusion we may say that it is possible that in Imperial times the Roman *calceus* was the footwear of traditionally minded and well-off women, whereas the *soccus* and the *solea* were the preferred common female footwear. We have no way of making a final determination, but this hypothesis squares with the trend we also notice with other items of Roman dress.

²⁴ Aristoph. equ. 320; Ovid. ars 1.516: *nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet* [your foot should not move freely and swim in your loose shoe].

²⁵ Theophrast. Char. 4.2; Hor. sat. 1.3.30–32: *rideri possit eo quod || rusticus tonso toga defluit et male laxus || in pede calceus haeret* [he could be laughed at because his hair cut is all too much like that of a peasant, his *toga* hangs down, and his *calceus* sits awfully loose on his foot].

²⁶ Quint. inst. or. 11.3.137: *nam et toga et calceus et capillus tam nimia cura quam neglegentia sunt reprehendenda*.

²⁷ However, some passages in Ovid (see above) could indirectly refer to the *calceus*.

²⁸ In Propertius, a common freedwoman is shown in a dirty *soccus*; in Petronius, a poor woman is even wearing wooden sandals.

27 *soccus* – the laced shoe (pl. 27.2)

1. Introduction
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27.1 Introduction

If we believe his biographer Suetonius, Emperor Caligula had a liking for fancy footwear. Instead of wearing the senatorial *calceus* as he should have done, he showed himself “sometimes in Greek sandals or buskins, sometimes in bodyguard boots, at times even in female *socci*.”¹ His contemporaries therefore thought him to be mad. The list of footwear goes from bad to worse. Greek sandals or buskins at the feet of a Roman emperor are only a minor offence against etiquette; wearing the same boots as your subalterns is already degrading, but putting on a woman’s *soccus* as a man unmasks you—in the eyes of the Roman public—as an effeminate homosexual.

But what is a *soccus*? It is difficult to define. In modern explanations, the *soccus* has suffered from a kind of consumption. It is variously thought to be a loafer, a light and low shoe,² a slipper,³ or more recently, even some type of sock.⁴ Putting the cart before the horse, research has been influenced by a hypothesis put forward by Isidore of Seville (6th to 7th century CE!),⁵ which contradicts the primary evidence. It also seems to have been attracted by the similarity of the Latin word *soccus* and the modern word ‘sock.’ The following chapter therefore starts from a fresh source analysis, which leads to results that are partially in contradiction to the *opinio communis*.

1 Suet. Cal. 52: *modo in crepidis vel coturnis, modo in speculatoria caliga, nonnumquam socco muliebri.*

2 RE 3.1 A (1927) s.v. *soccus*, col. 771–772 (A. Hug).

3 Becker/Göll (1882) III 229; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 595; Blümner (1911) 223; O. Lau, Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst, Bonn 1967, 124; N. Goldman, Roman Footwear, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 125; Knötzele (2007) 59–61.

4 Croom (2000) 113; GRD (2007) 173; Olson (2008) 57: “The *soccus* was a soft indoor slipper; perhaps even a true sock.”

5 Isidor. 19.34.12: *socci non ligantur, sed tantum intromittuntur <pedes>* [*socci* are not tied, but the feet are only inserted into them]. The Latin text suffers from corruption or abridgment. I have supplied *pedes* for the sake of clarity.

27.2 Terminology and appearance

The term *soccus* is a generic term that designates a certain type of closed shoe in neutral language. In high-flown literary language, the same type of shoe is sometimes called a *vinculum pedis*.⁶ As to its etymology, the word *soccus* is usually connected with the Greek term *συχχάς* or *συγχίς*.⁷ Evidence for these words is rare. The term *συχχάς* is first mentioned by Pollux (and then in later Byzantine tradition).⁸ The term *συγχίς* (or *συχχίς*)⁹ is mentioned in an epigram by Phaniás (whose date cannot be fixed). Although the etymological link between the word *soccus* and the Greek terms seems likely, it is not a ‘regular’ Greek loanword and belongs to an early stratum of the Latin language almost impenetrable to us.

In contrast to this, Plautus and Cicero already use *soccus* like a genuine Latin term to translate the Greek word *ἐμβάς* (*embas*).¹⁰ The (rough) equivalence of the words is beyond doubt because both designate the shoe that was typically worn in Greek comedy and Roman *Palliata*¹¹—in Roman plays, *soccus* takes the semantic place the *embas* has in Greek comedy¹²—, and it even came to symbolize the genre as a whole.¹³ The early evidence on the word *soccus* is somewhat of a riddle¹⁴ insofar as Plautus applies the word only to the male *embas*, calling the female one a *calceolus* (‘little *calceus*’). It is first in Propertius that the term *soccus* is found to refer both to the female and the male shoe.

The appearance of a *soccus* is easy to identify on the basis of the archaeological and literary sources.¹⁵ It was less heavy and less high than a *calceus*. The etymology of the Greek word *embas* already points to this type of shoe. In contrast to a proper *ὑπόδημα* that you ‘bind under’ (*ὑποδέω*) your foot, the *embas* (*soccus*) is a shoe you ‘step in’

⁶ Tib. 1.5.66 (see below); Ovid. *fasti* 1.410 (cf. B 1 p. 248), 2.324 (cf. B 1 p. 249).

⁷ Cf. Walde/Hofmann and OLD s.v.

⁸ Pollux identifies it as a Greek type of sandal (*crepida*, C 29), but he may be wrong.

⁹ As emended by Casaubonus.

¹⁰ On the *embas*, cf. A. A. Bryant, *Greek Shoes in the Classical Period*, HSCPh 10 (1899) 73, 81–83; RE 5.2 (1905) s.v. *ἐμβάς*, col. 2482–2485 (W. Amelung); K. Erbacher, *Griechisches Schuhwerk*, Würzburg 1914, 6–7, 45–53; L. M. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy*, New York 1981, 223–229. The lemma in the LSJ needs complete reworking.

¹¹ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 103, 275, 341, 447, 1157–1171; *Equ.* 868–870, *Nub.* 719, 858; *Eccl.* 47, 314–315, 342, 507–508, 633, 850; *Plut.* 847; *Alexis* F 32 K.-A.; *Eubulus* F 29 K.-A.; *Menander* F 106 K.-A.; *Theopomp.* com. F 58 K.-A.; cf. also *Isaios* 5.11 (with the commentary of Wyse ad loc.).

¹² *Plaut.* *Bacch.* 332, *Trin.* 720, *Cist.* 698, *Pers.* 124, *Epid.* 725, *Ter. Haut.* 124; *Cic.* *de or.* 3.127.

¹³ *Hor.* *AP* 80, 90; *Ovid.* *rem.* 376; *Pont.* 4.16.29; *Plin.* *NH* 7.111; *Quint.* *inst. or.* 10.2.22; *Mart.* 8.3.13; *Plin.* *epist.* 9.7.2.

¹⁴ For a possible explanation, see below.

¹⁵ On the archaeological evidence, cf. p. 697.

(ἐμβαίνω). You would pull (*detrahere*)¹⁶ or take it off (*demere*).¹⁷ Research seems to have been misled by etymology and by Isidore of Seville to assume that the *embas/soccus* was a loafer or a slipper. However, it was not. Our sources show that lacing was typical for it. Unlike the *calceus*, which was tied by external straps, the *soccus* was fixed with the help of shoe laces. We have no evidence whatsoever for the hypothesis that it could take on the form of a loafer. Quite to the contrary, we repeatedly hear about laces of the *embas/soccus* in Greek comedy¹⁸ and also in some Latin sources. Horace, for example, talking about the nature of early Roman comedy, says that Plautus was running over the stage without having tied his shoe (*aspice, quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco*).¹⁹ Using the *soccus* as a metaphor, Horace expresses that Plautus' comedies had much energy, but looked unfinished and hastily written as to their form. Plautus was in such a hurry when he started writing that he had not found time to lace his shoes properly. In Ovid and Tibull, dandies apply much care to lacing their shoes.²⁰ They tie their laces tightly and see to it that the shoe tongue has an exact fit. In addition, the literary expression *vinculum pedis* ('fetter of the foot') designating the *soccus* points to the idea that its binding was an important aspect.²¹

The Latin term for the shoe tongue is *lingula* (with N, small tongue),²² in Greek (γλώσσα).²³ The Latin word for the lace is uncertain.²⁴ Maybe it was called *ligula* (without N), from *ligare* (to lace), because lacing (*colligare*) is what you did with it.²⁵ There are two texts in favour of this assumption.²⁶ They have disappeared in the dictionaries, which subsume them under the references for *lingula* (with N) and explain it as an orthographic variant.²⁷ Scribonius Largus, talking about an ancient type of black shoe polish (*melanterias*), says it was used to give black colour to the *ligulae*.²⁸ There is no

¹⁶ Ter. Haut. 124; Tib. 1.5.66.

¹⁷ Lucilius F 1161 M. (see n. 42 and A 8 p. 181).

¹⁸ Cf., for example, Alexis F 32 K.-A.; Menander F 106 K.-A.; Aristoph. Eccl. 508.

¹⁹ Hor. epist. 2.1.174.

²⁰ Tib. 1.8.14; Ovid. ars 3.444.

²¹ See above n. 6.

²² Ovid. ars 3.444: *et brevis in rugas lingula pressa suas* [and the *lingula* that is pressed to create folds]; Mart. 2.29.7; Festus (Paulus) p. 103.21–23 L.: *lingula per deminutionem linguae dicta; alias a similitudine exertae, ut in calceis* [*lingula* is said as a diminutive of *lingua*, sometimes because it looks like a tongue sticking out, as in the case of shoes].

²³ Platon Com. F 51 K.-A.; on further Greek terminology, cf. Pollux 7.80–81: μέρη δὲ ὑποδημάτων γλώτται καὶ καρτύματα καὶ ὄσχοι [tongues, soles, eyelets are part of shoes].

²⁴ It was neither *fascia* that refers to the straps of sandals nor *corrugia* that refers to the straps of the Roman *calceus*.

²⁵ Tib. 1.8.14.

²⁶ For the hypothesis, cf. Charisius inst. p. 132.14–15 Barwick (= GL I 104): *in calceis vero ligula a ligando* [on shoes a *ligula* from *ligare*]; Becker/Göll III (1882) 230; Lau (n. 3) 112–113.

²⁷ ThLL VII s. v. *lingula* col. 1453.39–1454.13.

²⁸ Scrib. Largus 208: *melanterias, quae creta sutoria dicitur, qua ligulae calceolorum denigrantur* [*melanterias*, as is called the shoe polish with which the *ligulae* of *calceoli* are dyed black].

reason to see why a shoe tongue should be especially coloured in this way whereas colouring shoe laces makes perfect sense. We also know that the Romans used coloured straps to tie their shoes, so coloured laces seems quite plausible.²⁹ In Juvenal, someone has to rush and must ‘disregard’ (*dimittere*) his *ligulae* (without N).³⁰ This can only mean that he has no time to fasten his laces. Accordingly, we have two similar looking words with a different meaning, *lingula* (shoe tongue) and *ligula* (laces). The Latin word for the eyelet for the shoe lace was probably *ansa*.³¹

Within this general formal framework, the *embas/soccus* comprised a variety of types. In Greek texts, mainly in Attic comedy, we hear of several *embades* named, for example, after their origin (Spartan, Persian, and Boeotian).³² In Latin texts, we hear only of two Greek sub-species: the *Sicyonia* (B 30) and the *phaecasia* (B 30). The *soccus/embas* could also have different colours. It probably often had the natural colour of the leather, but we only have evidence on the signal colours white, crimson, and yellow.³³ There were even luxury versions ornamented with gold and pearls.³⁴

27.3 Social usage

The *soccus* was a normal shoe that could be worn by both women and men in public. It is not worn exclusively by women. Au contraire, all persons said to wear it in Roman comedy are men (see below). For this reason, the attribute *muliebris* (female) is added, if specifying is needed.³⁵ A *soccus* is not an indoor shoe, but it is worn outside the house. In comedy, it is used on stage (= outside the house). In Plautus’ *Cistellaria*, a person detects the footprints of a *soccus* in the dust;³⁶ In Terence, a *senex* comes home, and the slaves hurry to pull his *socci* off;³⁷ and in Propertius, a freedwoman walks with it on the *Via Sacra* (see below).³⁸ However, it was less formal than the Roman *calceus*. Cicero

²⁹ Cf. B 26 p. 526.

³⁰ Iuven. 5.19–20: *habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum || debeat et ligulas dimittere* [Trebius has a reason to interrupt his sleep and to dismiss his *ligulae*].

³¹ Tib. 1.8.14. It is also used with sandals, cf. B 29 p. 545.

³² Boeotian *embades*: Herodot. 1.195.1; Spartan *embades*: Aristoph. Eccl. 74, 269, 345, 507–508, 542, Vesp. 1157–1158; cf. Stone (1981) 225–227; (white) female Persian *embades*: Aristoph. Eccl. 314–319, Lys. 229, Thesm. 734; cf. Pollux 7.92 and Stone (1981) 227–229.

³³ White: Ovid. ars 3.271; Apul. Met. 7.8; on Greek evidence, cf. B 30 p. 552; crimson: Ps.-Verg. Ciris 169; Mart. 2.29.9; yellow: Cat. 61.9–10 (the marriage god Hymenaios, cf. B 18 p. 488).

³⁴ Petron. 674 (cf. B 30 p. 553); Plin. NH 9.114, 37.17.

³⁵ Suet. Cal. 52 (Caligula): *nonnumquam socco muliebri* (sometimes in a female *soccus*); Plin. NH 37.17.

³⁶ Plaut. Cist. 698: *is hac iit, hac socci video vestigium in pulvere* [he went here, here I see a mark of his shoe in the dust].

³⁷ Ter. Haut. 122–124: *domum revortor ... adsido. adcurrunt servi, soccos detrahunt* [I come back home ... I sit down. The slaves run up; they pull off my *socci*].

³⁸ Prop. 2.23.21–22.

tells us that P. Rutilius Rufus, a *vir consularis* (cos. 105 BCE) wore *socci* together with a *pallium* while in exile in Greece (92 BCE).³⁹ He had deliberately put on this (unofficial) ‘Greek’ dress in public to demonstrate that he lived the life of a private person now. Cicero says no one would object to it considering the circumstances. It was not personal sloth that caused the former consul Rutilius to not wear his *calceus senatorius*. The fact that the Greek *soccus* was considered an informal private shoe by the Romans also explains why Emperor Caligula, who even wore female *socci*, was thought to be a lunatic.⁴⁰ It also accounts for the fact that we do not find the *soccus* on ‘official’ archaeological monuments depicting Roman *matronae*, but only on Greek-inspired statues of Muses or personified provinces (27.2).⁴¹ For the Romans, the *soccus* was just too ‘unofficial’ for high art. It would have been like posing on your wedding photograph in sneakers. We find it, however, in private wall decorations showing everyday scenes.

However, the *soccus* was also worn (in whatever quality) by all kinds of women in public life, although we only get an occasional glimpse of it (like of the female feet). Our evidence is mostly about *puellae* and women who have a less austere character than the stereotyped Roman *matrona*. In Lucilius, a woman talks of her *Sicyonia* (a type of *soccus*);⁴² in Lucretius, these shoes likewise feature on female feet at an elegant dinner.⁴³ In Imperial times, literature shows us that it was fashionable with the *puellae* of the demi-monde. Propertius, the first to apply the term *soccus* to a female shoe, describes a young woman roaming about in *socci* in the city centre of Rome. Unlike a Roman *matrona*, she is neither carried in a litter nor surrounded by servants.

Prop. 2.23.13–16

*contra, reiecto quae libera vadit amictu,
custodum et nullo saepta timore, placet,
cui saepe immundo Sacra conteritur Via socco,
nec sinit esse moram, si quis adire velit.*

In contrast, I like the woman who walks freely with her cloak thrown back and without being surrounded by deterring guards, who often walks on the Via Sacra with unclean *socci* and does not hesitate when someone wants to approach her.

³⁹ Cic. Pro Rab. Postum. 27: *ille P. Rutilius, qui documentum fuit hominibus nostris virtutis, antiquitatis, prudentiae, consularis homo soccos habuit et pallium; nec vero id homini quisquam sed tempori adsignandum putavit* [that famous P. Rutilius, who was an example of virtue, ancient wisdom, and prudence to our people, wore *socci* and a *pallium* as a consular, and no one thought to blame the man, but everyone attributed it to the situation].

⁴⁰ Plin. NH 37.17: *qui super cetera muliebria soccos induebat e margaritis* [Caligula, who, among other women’s things, used to wear *socci* made of pearls].

⁴¹ Cf. p. 697.

⁴² On the shoe, cf. C 30; Lucilius F 1161 M. (= 1263 Christ./Garb.): *et pedibus laeva Sicyonia demit honesta* [and she is pulling off the pretty Sikyonian shoes from her feet with her left hand], cf. A 8 p. 181

⁴³ Lucr. 4.1125: *et pulchra in pedibus Sicyonia rident* [and beautiful Sikyonian shoes laugh at their feet]; cf. A 11 p. 211.

Propertius' poem is inspired by Horace's satire 1.2, which is about 'open-minded' freedwomen and Roman *matronae*. The section at hand shows that the *soccus* was part of everyday urban Roman life and was worn by freedwomen, in this case by a prostitute. She is walking alone on the *Via sacra* to attract clients. Her walking on dirty streets is the reason why her *socci* are dirty (those of a *matrona* should and would not get sullied). Her social status is not high, but she is neither a slave nor does she work in a brothel. She is just average. She shares her civil status with the elegant mistresses of Roman Love Elegy, who are, however, more successful financially and have climbed up the social ladder. These mistresses did not publish their services on Roman streets, and their *socci* will not have been dirty. In Augustan Love Elegy, the neutral word *soccus* is not mentioned elsewhere. Perhaps the term was regarded as somewhat low for literature and that is why Propertius used it with an average prostitute. And yet the *soccus* is present with the elegant mistresses as well. In an erotic submission dream, Tibullus imagines how he is removing—like a slave—the *vincla pedum* from the white feet of his mistress Delia at a dinner to which he has accompanied her.⁴⁴ Ovid's shoes of white leather may have been *socci* as well.⁴⁵ Later on, we find expensive female *socci* with Caligula;⁴⁶ in Petronius, Fortunata wears *phaecasiae* (a *soccus*-type, B 30);⁴⁷ and Pliny tells us that female luxury *socculi* with peals were very fashionable at his time.⁴⁸ It is difficult to look beyond the literary stereotype, but we may conclude that the female *soccus* was quite popular in Roman society from at least the first century BCE onward. The expensive *socci muliebres* suggest that we should also include Roman upper-class women into the group of *soccus*-wearers. In summary, a *soccus* was worn by all kinds of women. It was less formal than a *calceus*, but probably it was more commonly used.

27.4 History

The history of the *embas/soccus*-type of shoe is difficult to write. It is rather putting together bits and pieces of the evidence—starting with the Greek *embas*—and trying to explain the oddities in the transmission of the term *soccus*. In Attic comedy, the *embas* (which is equivalent to the Latin *soccus*) is mentioned very often, designating

⁴⁴ Tib. 1.5.65–66: *pauper ad occultos furtim deducet amicos || vinclaque de niveo detrahet ipse pede* [a poor lover will stealthily lead you to secret friends and will even pull your shoes off your snow-white feet]. It is the situation we found in Terence (see above) just turned on its head. A freeborn male Roman citizen is imagined as serving a (former) slave girl. On slaves taking off their masters' shoes, cf. Plaut. Truc. 367, 479; Hor. 2.8.77; Sen. contr. 9.2.25; Sen. dial. 5.18.4; Mart. 3.50.3.

⁴⁵ Ovid.ars 3.271.

⁴⁶ Suet. Cal. 52; Plin. NH 37.17.

⁴⁷ Petron. 674.

⁴⁸ Pliny NH 9.114.

both female and male closed shoes.⁴⁹ In Roman *Palliata*, the term *soccus* is used to translate the Greek term. However, there is a surprising fact: It is only applied to the male *embas*, but not to the female one. The female *embas* is mentioned only rarely, and it is always called *calceolus*. Plautus wrote a play called *Calceolus*,⁵⁰ perhaps a kind of Latin *Cinderella*; we also find comical *calceolarii* in the catalogue of dress merchants in the Plautus' *Aulularia* (A 5).⁵¹ In both cases, the term *calceolus* (small shoe) must designate an *embas/soccus*-type, as it does in Cicero, who tells us of the *calceoli repandi* of the goddess Sospita,⁵² and in Scribonius Largus.⁵³ The fact that the term *soccus* for the female shoe is missing in Latin comedy may be incidental. However, it is strange that it does not appear in the long catalogue in Plautus' *Aulularia*, in which every possible Latin dress term is exploited for comic effect. Apart from *calceolarii*, the catalogue contains comical *sedentarii sutores*, obscure *diabathrarii*, *solearii*, but no '*socciarii*.' Since the female *embas*-type of shoe was well known in the Graeco-Roman world, it seems that the absence of the female *soccus* from early Roman literature could rather have something to do with the usage of the term.

Let us first recall the origins of the *soccus* and its terminology. It is usually thought to be a Greek type of shoe, and this may well be true as to how it was used in the ancient world. However, the word *soccus* is not a 'regular' Greek loanword. Even if we connect it with the Greek word σὺγχάς,⁵⁴ there remains the fact that Roman authors used it to translate the Greek word *embas*. They thus used it like a word of their own tongue to refer to a foreign dress item.⁵⁵ Usually, they did this kind of replacement if the foreign item was (roughly) equivalent to one they knew themselves. We may hence assume that there was a type of shoe (called *soccus*) known in Italy that was similar to the Greek shoe called *embas*, and that the *soccus* was an old element of Italian culture preceding the expansion of the Roman Empire in the third century BCE. Since the word *soccus* has no detectable Latin etymology, we can further assume that the *soccus* originally was not part of Roman, but of Italian culture.

But why did the Romans not use the word *soccus* for the female *embas*? The easiest solution is that the term originally only designated a male type of shoe. With the spreading of Greek-inspired fashion in the first century BCE, the term *soccus* then gathered strength. Perhaps it was also upgraded as to the register of language. For this reason, it became generalized, and it afterwards designated both the female and the

⁴⁹ On female *embades*, cf., for example, Aristoph. *Eccl.* 314–319 (a man cannot find his shoes and takes those of his wife); *Lys.* 229; *Thesm.* 734;

⁵⁰ *Macrob. sat.* 3.18.9.

⁵¹ *Plaut. Aul.* 512–513: *calceolarii, sedentarii sutores, diabath<r>arii*,

⁵² *Cic. nat. deor.* 1.82.

⁵³ *Scrib. Largus* 208.

⁵⁴ See above p. 532.

⁵⁵ Much like how they employed the terms *tunica* (= *chiton*), *pallium* (= *himation*), and *reticulum* (= *kekryphalos*); see also the introduction to part B pp. 228–229.

male closed shoe with laces, as we first see in Propertius. As with other articles of daily use, the literary and archaeological evidence is very slim. For these articles of clothing are just too normal to attract artistic attention. However, we can feel quite confident that the female *soccus* was a normal part of Roman culture for many centuries. In the Edict of Diocletian (301 CE), we still find specified prices for luxury *socci*, *socci purpurei*, *phoenicei*, and *albi* and for *socci viriles* (for men) and *socci muliebres* (for women).⁵⁶ The edict thus makes up somewhat for what we lack in our earlier literary sources.

⁵⁶ Edict. Dioclet. 9.17–21.

28 *solea, sandalium* – sandal (pl. 27.5–6)

1. Introduction
2. Terminology
3. Social usage

28.1 Introduction

Titus Castricius, *rhetoricae disciplinae doctor* (a teacher of rhetoric) at the time of Hadrian, rebuked some of his senator pupils for wearing sandals (*soleae*).¹ They asked him why he used the word ‘sandals’ (*soleae*), their footwear being *Gallicae* (a type of high sandal). Castricius answers this question with a lengthy explanation of Latin words for sandals: “Almost all footwear that covers only the lowest part of the feet, leaving the rest all but naked and tied with twisted straps, was called *soleae*, sometimes with the Greek word *crepidula*.”² Castricius then goes on to illustrate that the term *Gallicae* was only a quite recent word. The anecdote told or made up by Gellius in his *Noctes Atticae* is somewhat dry scholarly stuff. The definition is also, as we will see, only partly correct. However, it reminds us that the meaning of words is not fixed *a priori*, but depends on social agreement and, above all, is liable to change. This pertains even to trivial words like terms for sandals. In this case, Castricius/Gellius, who is fond of old words, is pitting ‘tradition’ against current usage.

In the epoch dealt with in this book, there are three generic words for sandals in neutral language: the Latin term *solea* and the loanwords *sandalium* and *crepida* (B 29), which designate the two main sub-species of the Greek sandal.³ We may add the term *Gallica* (B 30), which seems to replace the term *crepida* in later Imperial times. The term *solea*, if used precisely, is equivalent to *sandalium*, but its extension is larger since it can also refer to the *crepida*.⁴ All terms belong to Roman everyday life and have left an imprint in Latin inscriptions. Thus, we hear not only of a *sandalarius*

1 Gell. NA 13.22

2 Gell. NA 13.22.5: *omnia enim ferme id genus, quibus plantarum calces tantum infimae teguntur, cetera prope nuda et teretibus habenis vincta sunt, soleas dixerunt, nonnumquam voce Graeca crepidulas. eiusque calciamenti sutores crepidarios dixerunt.*

3 On sandals in general, see Marquardt/Mau (1886) 595–596; A. A. Bryant, Greek Shoes in the Classical Period, HSCPh 10 (1899), 76–81; K. Erbacher, Griechisches Schuhwerk, Würzburg 1914, 18–19, 25–45; RE 1.2 A (1920) s.v. sandalia, col. 2257–2261 and RE 2.1 A (1921) s.v. Schuh, col. 754–755 (A. Hug); O. Lau, Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst, Bonn 1967, 113–115; L. M. Stone, Costume in Aristophanic Comedy, New York 1981, 234–235; N. Goldman, Roman Footwear, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 105–111; DNP 11 (2001) s.v. Sandale, 33–34; GRD (2007) 165; Olson (2008) 55–56.

4 Cf. also B 29 p. 543.

(sandal-maker),⁵ who gave the name to an entire district (*vicus sandaliarius*) in Rome, but also of a *solarius*⁶ and *crepidarius*.⁷ The present chapter deals with only the most basic form of sandal called *solea* or *sandalium*.

28.2 Terminology and appearance

The etymology of the Latin term *solea* shows what it is: a simple sole (*solum*) that is put under the foot to protect it. This could consist not only of leather, but also of wood,⁸ cork, and other materials. We also have material remains that help us understand the role the sandal played in everyday life, especially that of women.⁹ The sole could be simple or double. The Latin terms for ‘single-sole’ (*monosoles*) and ‘double-sole’ (*bisoles*) are first attested in the edict of Diocletian.¹⁰ The corresponding Greek terms are μονόπελμος and δίπελμος.¹¹ As we see in the archaeological evidence, the most elementary form of the sandal is fastened by a thong that passes between the toes. There are also sandals with an additional heel strap (see below). Within this range, there was room for less and more luxurious versions. In Greek literature, we hear of sandals with golden ornaments;¹² Pliny mentions *crepidae* with pearls;¹³ and we may assume that there were ornamented versions of simpler sandals as well.

The word *solea* is attested in Latin literature from the beginning for both the female and the male sandal, although the evidence mainly concerns the male type.¹⁴ The Greek diminutive σανδάλιον is first attested in Greek comedy¹⁵ and hence also appears in the Roman *Palliata*. In Turpilius and Terentius, a *sandalium* is mentioned,¹⁶ which is used

5 ILS 7549 (= CIL 10.3982): *M. Sexti Diogenis* | *Felix lib. sandaliarius*; CIL 6.761: *mag(ister) vici sandaliarii*; Suet. Aug. 57.1; Gell. NA 18.4.1; Galen. praenot. ad Postumum vol. 14 pp. 620.1, 625.3 Kühn; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 597; Blümner (1912) 277.

6 CIL 6.9404 (= ILS 7249).

7 Cf. B 29 p. 543.

8 Petron. 95.8.

9 Cf. the archaeological contribution p. 697.

10 Edict. Decl. 9.13–16.

11 LSJ s.v.

12 Kephisodoros F 4: σανδάλια τε τῶν λεπτοσχιδῶν, ἐφ’ οἷς τὰ χρυσᾶ ταῦτ’ ἔπεισιν ἄνθεμα K.-A. [sandals of the type with narrow slit that have these golden flowers on them]. They are perhaps identical with the Tyrrhenian sandals, cf. Kratinos F 139 K.-A.: σανδάλια Τυρρηνικά [Tyrrhenian sandals]; Pollux 7.92: Τυρρηνικά· τὸ κάττυμα ξύλινον τετραδάκτυλον, οἱ ἰμάντες ἐπίχρυσοι· σανδάλιον γὰρ ἦν, ὑπέδησε δ’ αὐτὸ Φειδίας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν [Tyrrhenika: The sole is of wood and four fingers thick; the straps are golden because it was a sandal. Phidias dressed the statue of Athena in it]; Vergil. Aen. 8.458.

13 Plin. NH 9.114 (cf. B 29 p. 547).

14 OLD s.v. *solea*, which lacks distinction as to types.

15 Kephisodoros F 4 K.-A.; Kratinos F 139 K.-A.; σανδαλίσοχος; Aristoph. Lys. 406.

16 Turpilius, *Lindia* F 7 R.: *misero mihi mitigabat sandalio caput* [he/she hit me, poor me, on the head with a sandal]; Ter. Eun. 1028: *utinam tibi committigari videam sandalio caput!* [I hope to see one hit you

as a weapon to beat someone up. In Plautus, comical *sandaligerulae* (female sandal-bearers) belong to the servants of a rich *matrona*.¹⁷ The Greek loanword *sandalium* is not used in Classical Latin literature, which preferred ‘Latin’ terms. Classical and Imperial literature used the term *solea* instead. Beyond the sole (*solum*), we know some more terminology. The thong, for which we have no Latin term, is called ζυγόν (yoke) in Greek.¹⁸ The heel strap had the name *am(m)entum*.¹⁹ For further straps, see on the *crepida*.²⁰ If you wanted to remove your sandal, you simply took it off (*demere*).²¹

28.3 Social usage

The simple *solea* was normal (and informal) female and male footwear, which means that we have only little literary and pictorial evidence with ‘normal’ individuals. A *solea* was worn by all sorts of women, inside and outside the house, although it is most frequently mentioned in more intimate situations (see below). As always with informal dress, the evidence on *matronae* is rare. In Plautus’ *Aulularia*, sandal-makers (*solearii*) are among the many dress merchants cueing in front of the matron’s door;²² his *Trinummus* mentions *sandaligerulae*, female sandal-bearers, among a matron’s attendants.²³ The *Trinummus* is a Graeco-Roman Palliata, which is why it draws on the Greek loanword *sandalium*.

A true Roman example is mentioned by Pliny, who tells us that a statue of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, featured sandals without heel straps (*soleae sine amento*).²⁴ In light of the archaeological evidence, we should not misinterpret this to mean that Cornelia is wearing casual footwear. To the contrary, she is idealized and portrayed like a Greek goddess (who usually wore sandals).²⁵ The paradox is a bit like with the naked feet we see on the statues of Augustus. Something that would have been considered informal or even poor dress in everyday life becomes not only perfectly tolerable, but

on your head with a sandal!]. For a similar use of a sandal (*solea*), cf. also Plaut. *Most.* 384; Persius 5.169; Iuven. 6.612.

¹⁷ Plaut. *Trin.* 253.

¹⁸ Aristoph. *Lys.* 416–417; Pollux 7.81.

¹⁹ Plin. *NH* 34.31 (statue of Cornelia): *soleisque sine amento* [sandals without *amentum*]; Festus p. 11.3–4 L.: *ammenta, quibus, ut mitti possint, vinciuntur iacula, sive solearum lora* [the straps with which the javelins are wrapped so that they can be thrown or the leather straps of the sandals are called *ammenta*].

²⁰ B 29 p. 545.

²¹ Ovid. *ars* 2.212.

²² Plaut. *Aul.* 514 (A 5 p. 103).

²³ Plaut. *Trin.* 253: *vestiplica unctor auri custos flabelliferae sandaligerulae* [female ironer, masseuse, jewellery attendant, female fan bearers, female sandal bearers].

²⁴ Plin. *NH* 34.31.

²⁵ Cf. also Cat. 68.70–72 (B 29 p. 545).

even a symbol of the divine when put into the context of Greek mythology and art. Cornelia is at the top of the social ladder; she is the famous mother of the Gracchi and an *exemplum* of a Roman *matrona*. But sandals also appear in literature on the other end of the Roman social scale. We find the caricature of a shabby old woman (*anus*) in Petronius. The woman is also wearing sandals, but these are rather primitive. They have wooden soles and do not belong to a pair.²⁶ In both cases (Cornelia and the *anus*), the sandals convey the different social status of the wearers: nearly divine as opposed to destitute.

However, practical considerations and social status is not all that determined the usage of sandals. Like other accessories, they could be worn for the sake of ornamentation and fashion. For this reason, they are always associated with the eroticism of the beautiful female foot in Roman Love poetry and elegy. The foot is more important than the sandal, even though it is the sandal which allows us to see it. Literary stereotype focuses on the feet of young mistresses in particular. In Catullus, Lesbia has *crepidae* (B 29) on her tender feet.²⁷ In Propertius, Cynthia ‘escapes’ from her lover without tying her sandals: *prosilit in laxa nixa pedem solea*. The delicate movement of the foot is what is important.²⁸ Ovid recommends that lovers behave like slaves by removing or putting on the sandals on the tender feet of their mistresses (*tenero soleam vel adde pedi*) when these are reclining for dinner or are wanting to leave it.²⁹ The act of submission gives occasion to contemplate and to caress their feet. It is the foot of the elegant mistress that has secured a place for the humble female *solea* in literature. If it were not for the foot fetish of Roman authors like Ovid, the common female Roman sandal would—like the common *tunica*—almost disappear entirely from the world of high literary art. This again shows that we cannot judge the prevalence of articles of clothing based on their appearance in texts.

²⁶ Petron. 95.8: *anus praecipue lippa, sordidissimo praecineta linteo, soleis ligneis imparibus imposita, canem ... instigat ... in Eumolpon* [in particular, a bleary-eyed old woman, dressed in a very dirty linen apron and wearing mismatched wooden sandals, set her dog ... on Eumolpus].

²⁷ Cat. 68.70–72.

²⁸ Prop. 2.29.40.

²⁹ Ovid. ars 2.211; and Mart. 14.65.

29 *crepida* – Greek Sandal

1. Terminology and appearance
2. Social usage and history

On the eve of the *bellum sociale*, which was going to forever change the political landscape of Roman Italy, the tribune M. Livius Drusus fell victim to an assassination (91 BCE). As the historian Sempronius Asellio tells us, the murderer stormed into the shop of a sandal maker (*crepidarius sutor*), asked him for the cutting knife he used for making sandals (*crepidarius cultellus*), took it away, and stabbed Drusus to death with it.¹ This is how daily life gets involved in Roman high politics, a daily life whose colour and smell is lost to us and has to be revived from the bits and pieces time has left. The incident shows that the sandal called *crepida* was something normal in Rome in the first century BCE. In addition, in Imperial times, we have the tombstone of the freedmen Q. Gavius, which tells us that he was a *crepidarius* who lived in the Roman Subura and who died at the age of twenty-five.² Asellio's history and the inscription on the tomb firmly establish the existence of specialist craftsmen who produced the *crepida*, although the available evidence on the *crepida* itself consists of only a handful of texts.

29.1 Terminology and appearance

The term *crepida* designates a special type of Greek sandal.³ It is a Greek loanword that derives from the accusative of the Greek word κρηπίς (*krepis*).⁴ In Latin literature, which avoids being over-precise, the more general term *solea* is also used for this type of footwear (see below). Cicero and other authors use both words indiscriminately when describing the 'Greek' outfit of a 'Roman' magistrate.⁵ In the literary trope, which is often employed to denigrate Roman officials for wearing private (= Greek) dress, the

¹ Sempronius Asellio F 11 Peter (= Gell. NA 13.22.4); Appian. b.c. 1.164.

² CIL 6.9284 (= ILS 7547): Q. Gavius Q. l(ibertus) Primus | *crepidarius de Subura* | vixit annos XXV.

³ On the *crepida*, cf. in general K. Erbacher, Griechisches Schuhwerk, Würzburg 1914, 12–14; RE 11.2 (1922) s.v. Krepis, col. 1710–1714 (M. Bieber); O. Lau, Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst, Bonn 1967, 121–124; N. Goldman, Roman Footwear, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 114.

⁴ LHS I 76.

⁵ Cf. *crepida*: Cic. Rab. Post. 27 (L. Scipio): *non modo cum chlamyde, sed etiam cum crepidis*; Pis. 93 (Piso): *crepidatus veste servili*; Liv. 29.19.11 (Scipio Africanus): *cum pallio et crepidis*; Val. Max. 3.6.1 (Scipio): *pallioque et crepidis usus*; Suet. Tib. 13.1 (Tiberius): *pallium et crepidas*; Cal. 52, Dom. 4.4, cf. also Mommsen III (1899) 220 n. 1: *solea*; Cic. Pis. 92 (Piso); Verr. 5.86 (Verres): *soleatus praetor p. R. cum pallio purpureo*; on Verres' attire, cf. also B 1 p. 256. As usual, Tacitus' language is more high-flown, cf. Tac. ann. 2.59.1 (of Germanicus): *pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione*,

term *solea* used in connection with the Greek sandal comes in handy because it also designates the simple Roman sandal (*solea*). Thus the Greek *crepida* worn by Roman magistrates or senators instead of their *calceus* makes an even more casual impression. That there was a clear distinction between both terms—*solea* and *crepida*—and the types of footwear they referred to is proven by a passage in Horace. In his *Satires*, he quotes the following logical fallacy: “The wise man (*sapiens*),” he says, “has never made for himself a *solea* or a *crepida*. And yet, the wise man is a cobbler. How so?”⁶ The terms *solea* and *crepida* clearly designate two distinct types of sandals, and the terms could be used to specify which type is being referred to. The conflation of the two terms for political purposes should not detract from the fact that everyday language (and craftsman’s language in particular) did not use the terms interchangeably.

In contrast to the simple *solea* (B 28), the *crepida* had several straps that fastened it to the foot. In general, it looked like what we call a ‘Greek sandal.’ An anecdote told by Valerius Maximus and by Pliny helps us identify it on the monuments.⁷ This illustrates the advice to ‘let a cobbler stick to his last.’ The anecdote is about the Athenian painter Apelles (4th century BCE) who strove for realism in his pictures. For this reason, it was his wont to exhibit them while hiding behind them in order to listen to critical remarks. One day, a cobbler criticized him for misrepresenting a *crepida*:

Plin. NH 35.84 (= Neuer Overbeck 2872)

feruntque reprehensum a sutore, quod in crepidis una pauciores intus fecisset ansas, eodem postero die superbo emendatione pristinae admonitionis cavillante circa crus, indignatum prospexisse denuntiantem, ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret, quod et ipsum in proverbium abiit.

A cobbler, they tell us, blamed Apelles because he had represented the loops on the inner sides of the *crepidae* as one too few. The next day, the same critic was proud that the artist had corrected the fault he had indicated the day before and found fault with the lower leg. However, Apelles indignantly looked out from behind the picture and declared that a cobbler in his criticism must not go beyond the *crepida*, a remark that even became a proverb.

The story implies that a *crepida* did not surpass the ankle. Otherwise, Apelles’ indignant response would have been meaningless. It implies that cobblers knew something of feet and their form, but that they were not authorities on the calf (*crus*). The anecdote also

quem eadem factitasse apud Siciliam . . . accepimus [with uncovered feet (i.e. in sandals) and in a robe that was equal to that of the Greeks (i.e. in a *pallium*), in order to imitate P. Scipio, who, as we are told, often did the same in Sicily].

⁶ Hor. sat. 1.3.127b–128: *sapiens crepidas sibi || numquam nec soleas fecit. sutor tamen est sapiens. qui?*

⁷ Val. Max. 8.12 ext. 3: *mirifice et ille artifex, qui in opere suo moneri se a sutore de crepida et ansulis passus, de crure etiam disputare incipientem supra plantam ascendere uetuit* [the well-known artist also acted in a remarkable manner, who endured when a cobbler corrected him in his work concerning a *crepida* and its eyelets, but forbade him to rise above the foot when he also began to discuss the calf].

tells us that the *crepida* had loops on which the leather straps were fastened. The loops were called *ansae* or *ansulae* in Latin⁸ and ὕσγλοί in Greek.⁹ The straps were called *obstragula* (fastening straps),¹⁰ likely connected with the verb *obstringere* (to tie firmly). They could also be referred to as *fasciae*.¹¹ Within this framework, the appearance of the *crepida* could differ. For example, the number of loops and straps could vary. In a Greek source, we hear of a *crepida* that had seven loops (ἑπτυσχλός).¹² The specification only makes sense if there were sandals that had a different number. At the same time, the anecdote concerning the artist Apelles shows that there was room for mistakes in artistic representation. There were also female *crepidae* that had strings only at the back. These were called ὀπισθοκρηπίδες (ὀπισθεν = at the back) in Greek.¹³ Men's and soldiers' *crepidae* even had nails and were often quite rustic. In Catullus, we find the obscene insult that someone has a tongue with which to lick 'assholes' and *crepidae carpatinae* (made of strong leather).¹⁴

29.2 Social usage and history

The *crepida* was considered a Greek type of sandal. It was worn inside and outside the house, and it was used by women and men. Distinction as to female types is missing in Latin authors, but there are some Greek sources.¹⁵ The *crepida* will have served as an ornament even more so than the simple Roman *solea*. In Imperial times, there were even *crepidae* that had pearls on their straps.¹⁶ As to social strata, it is likely that all social groups of women wore it, but we only hear of young and fashionable mistresses. And even that is not much. The term *crepida* is not used in Latin love poetry. However, there are some instances where the word *solea* seems to designate the female *crepida*. Remembering his erotic meetings with Lesbia, Catullus describes how she came to him. He focuses on her gait and her feet. It is a short scene that bristles with latent 'Hellenistic' eroticism:

⁸ Plin. NH 35.84; Val. Max. 8.12 ext. 3.

⁹ Pollux 7.80; Phrynich. praep. soph. p. 25.21–23 de Borries.

¹⁰ Plin. NH 9.114.

¹¹ See below n. 21.

¹² Hermippos com. F 67 K.-A. (= Pollux 7.90); Hesych. ε 5571; Phrynich. praep. soph. p. 25.20 de Borries.

¹³ IG II² 1424a337 (Addenda); Pollux 7.94.

¹⁴ Cat. 98.3–4: *ista cum lingua, si usus veniat tibi, possis || culos et crepidas lingere carpatinas.*

¹⁵ See above n. 2.

¹⁶ Plin. NH 9.114: *cupiuntque iam et pauperes ... quin et pedibus, nec crepidarum tantum obstragulis set totis socculis addunt. neque enim gestare iam margaritas nisi calcent ac per uniones etiam ambulent, satis est* [And even people of modest means wish them (sc. expensive pearls) ... they also use them (sc. pearls) with their feet and not only add them to the straps of their *crepidae* but also to their entire small *socci*. For they are not content anymore with wearing pearls unless they tread on them and even walk on large pearls].

Cat. 68.70–72

*quo mea se molli candida diva pede
intulit et trito fulgentem in limine plantam
innixa arguta constituit solea*

My beautiful goddess (= Lesbia) came hither with gentle steps and put her shining foot on the well-trodden threshold, resting on the creaking sandal.

The poetic background of the passage is Greek. Catullus compares Lesbia to a Greek goddess, who are also often depicted in sandals. Her sandal is called a *solea* and somewhat surprisingly qualified as *arguta* (creaky). Catullus thus seems to play with the etymology of *crepida*, which he derives from the verb *crepere* (to creak). Similar etymological punning is found elsewhere in connection with dress terms in Catullus and Propertius.¹⁷ By expanding on her sandal, Catullus draws to Lesbia's beautiful foot (*fulgens planta*) and her gait. He seems to have inspired Propertius, who, in contrast, makes Cynthia evade her lover with her foot resting in a loose sandal (*in laxa nixa pedem solea*).¹⁸ The erotic context focusing on beauty suggests that the term *solea* in these passages refers to the elegant Greek type of sandal and not the more pragmatic Roman form.

The eroticism of the sandal and the female foot is also exploited by Cicero in a travesty scene portraying Clodius in his boudoir dressing up as a female Greek flute player for the festival of the goddess Bona Dea (A 10).¹⁹ Clodius dresses daintily, as a woman would do. Apart from other female attire, he features female sandals with purple straps (*muliebres soleae cum purpureis fasciis*).²⁰ Cicero even tells us how the sandals are put on Clodius' feet: They are wrapped around with straps (*cum vincirentur pedes fasciis*).²¹ The description is often thought to refer to leg wrappings or 'socks,'²² but it can only concern Clodius' sandals since the word *fasciae* always designates shoe straps in connection with shoes.²³ Even though Cicero uses the Latin term *solea*, Clodius' sandals were actually Greek *crepidae*, as befits this 'Greek' comedy scene.

Literary evidence on other social groups of women is completely missing. All we can be sure of is that elegant *crepidae* were fashionable with trendy young women in Rome dressing in Greek fashion (in other words, the type of women who are mistresses

¹⁷ Cat. 64.65 (cf. B 21 p. 499); Prop. 4.9.49; Mart. 14.134 (B 22 p. 508).

¹⁸ Prop. 2.29.40.

¹⁹ Cic. in Cur. et Clod. [14] 22: *manicatam tunicam et mitram et purpureas fascias* [tunic with sleeves, a headscarf, and purple sandal straps].

²⁰ Cic. de harusp. resp. 44.

²¹ Cic. in Cur. et Clod. [14] 23.

²² RE 6.2 (1909) s.v. fasciae, col. 2008 (A. Mau); K. A. Geffcken, *Comedy in the Pro Caelio*, Leiden 1973, 84; Croom (2000) 113; Olson (2003) 209.

²³ Blümner (1911) 220 n. 15; *caligae*: Cic. Att. 2.3.1; Val. Max. 6.2.7; Amm. Marc. 17.11.4; *calcei*: Varro Catus/Cato vel de liberis educandis F 19 Riese; Plin. NH 8.221.

in Latin texts). However, normal *crepidae* may have been in common use with all women given that there were cobblers specializing in this type of footwear.

29.3 History

The history of the *crepida/krepis* starts in Greece. In Greek literature, we hear of both female and male versions.²⁴ The female *krepis* is first attested in Attic comedy and then in Hellenistic literature.²⁵ It is difficult to tell when it came to Rome, but it is a fair guess that it became fashionable with the expansion of the Roman Empire in the third century BCE. At least some Roman magistrates began to use it at that time as less official footwear (see above). Cicero tells us that a Greek-inspired statue of L. Scipio dressed in a Greek coat (*chlamys*) and in *crepidae* could be seen on Capitol Hill.²⁶ The profession of the *sutor crepidarius* shows that it was a common shoe in Rome for several centuries, although it is rarely mentioned in literary texts. This may have to do with the word and the article being perhaps considered a little too ‘low’ for poetry.

As to the female *crepida*, we first find it in Plautus, following the example of Greek comedy. In his *Persae*, a female slave dressed up as a stranger is shown wearing elegant *crepidulae*.²⁷ Then follow the instances we have already noted in the preceding section.²⁸ The last author to mention the use of a *crepida* in daily life is Pliny the Elder, who informs us of expensive versions with pearls on their straps.²⁹ Our evidence ends with Gellius in the midst of the second century CE. He describes a discussion the rhetor Castricius had with his pupil about Latin terms for sandals.³⁰ As to the *crepida*, Gellius’ ‘knowledge’ is probably based on Plautus’ *Persae* since both Castricius/Gellius and Plautus use the diminutive *crepidula* that is found nowhere else. Plautus’ plays are also a common source for the gloss-hunter Gellius. However, it is striking that the definition of Castricius/Gellius for the term *crepidula* is somewhat faulty. He treats it as a synonym of *solea* without regard for the fact that its meaning has less extension than the Latin word (which could refer to both types, as seen above). This may show that he no longer had firsthand knowledge of the term *crepida*. In the same passage, the sandal worn by the senators is called *Gallica* in neutral language. In the literary trope concerning informal footwear, the *Gallica* also replaced the *crepida* as the potentially offensive

²⁴ On male *krepides*, cf. Xenophon equ. 12.10; Theocr. 15.6; Plutarch. Alex. 40, Arat. 21.3, Ant. 54.8, amat. 16 p. 720 B; Pollux 7.85; Athen. 12.55 p. 539c.

²⁵ Plato Com. F 46.7–10 K.-A.; Theophrast. char. 2.7 (on the difficult text see Diggle ad loc).

²⁶ Cic. Rab. Post. 27.

²⁷ Plaut. Pers. 464: *hanc hospitam autem crepidula ut graphice decet* [how well the *crepidula* suits this female stranger!].

²⁸ Cat. 68.70–72; Cic. in Cur. et Clod. [14] 22.

²⁹ Pliny NH 9.114 (cf. n. 16).

³⁰ Gell. NA 13.22; cf. B 28 p. 539.

footwear of foreign origin. For this reason, we may assume that the term *crepida* (and the type of sandal it referred to) fell out of fashion during the second century CE. In Late Antiquity, the edict of Diocletian (301 CE) does not list the *crepida* among the sandals anymore. It is the term *Gallica* that has taken its place.

30 *diabathra*, *Sicyonia*, *phaecasia*, *Gallica* – shoes and fashion

1. Introduction
2. *diabathra*
3. *Sicyonia*
4. *phaecasia*
5. *Gallica*

30.1 Introduction

“Bring me all shoe-boxes, Helping-Hand! Ladies, you ought not go back home dissatisfied. See for yourselves all these various new shoes: *Sicyonia*, little *Ambracia*, smooth *nossides*, pistachios, cannabises, *baucides*, laced Ionics, night-walkers, buskins, crabs, Argive sandals, scarlets, ‘young men,’ *diabathra*. Say what each of your hearts desires.”¹ The Greek passage is a funny glimpse into everyday life in Greece that is provided by the Greek poet Herondas (3rd century BCE) in his *Mimes*. In the seventh piece, called ‘The Cobbler,’ Herondas makes us enter the shop of the shoemaker Kerdon together with some ladies who want to buy shoes. We see Kerdon bustling, bringing ever more boxes of shoes to please his female costumers. It is a realistic or at least pseudo-realist scene. Herondas is a Hellenistic *poeta doctus* just like Theocritus. He likes to parade his literary learning and show his knowledge of Classical Greek authors. At the climax of the piece, he makes Kerdon go wild with all his different shoes. This allows him to insert the long artistic catalogue of designations for shoes. He mingles real names with poetic and invented ones, and he inserts puns and other jokes (something we also find in comedy, especially Plautus). Scholars discussing the catalogue in Antiquity and in the Byzantine period were already at a loss for what to do with this wealth of real and fictional shoe names. They mostly do not tell us more than ‘X is a female sandal’ or ‘X is a female shoe.’ Their opinions are just about what might be sensibly inferred from Herondas himself.² Our chance to solve all the riddles is even smaller. However, the catalogue shows us that there was something like shoe fashion in the ancient world, even if we cannot get a closer view of it.

1 Herond. mim. 753–61: τάς μοι σαμβλουχίδας πάσας || ἔνεγκε Πίστε. δεῖ γ’ ἄλις νοῦν ἠσθείσας || ὑμέας ἀπελθεῖν, ὧ γυναῖκες, εἰς οἶκον. || θήσεσθε δ’ ὑμεῖς τὰ νέα ταῦτα παντοῖα· || Σικυώνια, Ἀμβρακίδια, νοσσίδες λείαι, || ψιττάκια, κανναβισκία, βαυκίδες, βλαυτία, || Ἴωνίξ’ ἀμφίσφαιρα, νυκτιπήδηκες, || ἀκροσφύρια, καρκίνια, σάμβαλ’ Ἀργεῖα, || κοκκίδες, ἔφηβοι, διάβαθρα. || ὧν ἐρᾷ θυμὸς ὑμέων ἐκάστης εἶπατ’.

2 Cf., for example, Pollux 793–94.

There is no equally comprehensive list of terms for shoes in Roman literature. Beyond the general terms treated in the preceding chapters, there are but the following four specific names: *diabathra*, *Sicyonia*, *phaecasia*, and *Gallica*. The first two—*diabathra* and *Sicyonia*—are also found in Herondas, but it is unclear whether the Romans perceived the terms to be more than Greek literature and culture translated into Latin. In contrast, the second pair—*phaecasia* and *Gallica*—formed part of real Roman fashion. As mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, the *Gallica* even converted into a lasting Roman dress style.

This chapter is roughly structured chronologically. It first considers the Greek contributions to Roman footwear (and literature) and then turns to the Celtic one. As to the appearance of the shoes, we can do no more than ancient scholars. The best we can do is try to find out which species of footwear each belonged to. It seems likely that the first three were closed Greek shoes (*embades/socci*) while the *Gallica* were a type of sandal. It should come as no surprise that the history of shoe fashion is similar to that of dress fashion (B 9), since the second half of the first century BCE was the time when multiple influences changed Roman dress style forever.

30.2 *diabathra* (n. pl.)

The *diabathra* are the last shoes mentioned by Herondas (line 61), but they lead an altogether shadowy existence.³ It is even difficult to tell which type of footwear they were. They appear only once in Classical Greek literature (in Alexis⁴), and they are referred to by Naevius and Plautus.⁵ The Latin term is a Greek loanword (διάβαθρον), which is connected with the verb διαβαίνειν (to stride, to pass over),⁶ but etymology leads to nothing in this case. Festus (Verrius) thought that the *diabathra* was a type of Greek-style sandal (*solea Graecanica*),⁷ but this is probably only a scholarly guess. Our sources might instead point to an *embas/soccus* (B 27). This hypothesis would at least fit better with Alexis' remark that the women wore light *diabathra*, which seems quite redundant in case of sandals. However, the fact that the word is only attested in

³ A. A. Bryant, *Greek Shoes in the Classical Period*, HSCPh 10 (1899), 89; K. Erbacher, *Griechisches Schuhwerk*, Würzburg 1914, 5–6.

⁴ Alexis F 103.8–9 K.-A.: μακρά τις· διάβαθρον λεπτόν φορεῖ || τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὤμιον καταβαλοῦσ' ἐξέρχεται [when a woman is tall, she wears a light *diabathron* and lowers her head onto her shoulder before going out]; Hesych. δ 941: διάβαθρα· εἶδος ὑποδήματος γυναικείου [*diabathra*: a type of female shoe].

⁵ Naev. trag. 54: *diabathra in pedibus habebat* [she had *diabathra* on her feet]; Plaut. Aul. 512b–514b: *calceolarii, sedentarii sutores, diabath<r>arii, solearii* [producers of *calceoli*, sitting shoemakers, producers of *diabathra*, producers of sandals]; cf. A 5 p. 102.

⁶ LSJ s.v.

⁷ Festus p. 65.13: *diabathra genus solearum Graecanicarum* [the *diabathra* are a type of Grecian sandals]; cf. also Photios δ 290: σανδαλίων εἶδος [a type of sandal].

archaic Latin literature and that it was already a gloss for Festus (Verrius) suggest that the word *diabathra* belongs to the world of Graeco-Latin literature and not to everyday life.

30.3 *Sicyonia* (n. pl.)

The *Sicyonia*, which prominently feature at the beginning of Herondas' catalogue (57), are also known to us from Latin literature.⁸ They were closed Hellenistic luxury shoes (*socci*)⁹ that got their name from the city of Sikyon, which lies close to Corinth.¹⁰ They belong to the many species of Hellenistic shoes we know only superficially. If Lucian is right, they (or some versions of them) were produced of white felt.¹¹ *Sicyonia* could be worn by women and men alike,¹² but they were regarded as feminine footwear. Cicero says that they are unmanly (*non viriles*).¹³ In accordance with this, we otherwise see only young women wearing them in erotic contexts. In Lucilius, a woman pulls her *Sicyonia* off her foot with her left hand in what is probably a love scene;¹⁴ in Lucretius, they are worn at an erotic encounter;¹⁵ and the beautiful heroine Ciris loses her purple *Sicyonia* in flight;¹⁶ in Lucian, they are given as a gift to a hetaera.¹⁷

The *Sicyonia* are first mentioned by Herondas and Duris, and they then make their way into Roman literature. As to the nature of the evidence, they were an item of literature rather than of fashion. All four Latin sources (Lucilius, Cicero, Lucretius,

8 Marquardt/Mau (1886) 594; Erbacher (n. 3) 19; RE 2.2 A (1923) s.v. Sikyon, col. 2531 (G. Lippold); O. Lau, *Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst*, Bonn 1967, 133; K. Dohan Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, Wisconsin 1985, 82.

9 They are called *calcei* by Cicero (cf. n. 13) and ἐμβάδες (= *socci*) by Lucian (cf. n. 11).

10 Pollux 7.93: τὰ δὲ Σικυώνια τὸ ὄνομα δηλοῖ τίνων τὸ εὔρημα [as to the *Sicyonia*, their name shows who invented them]; Lau (n. 8) 133.

11 Lucian. rhet. praec. [41] 15: καὶ ἡ κρηπὶς Ἀττικὴ γυναικεία, τὸ πολυσχιδές, ἢ ἐμβὰς Σικυωνία πῖλοις τοῖς λευκοῖς ἐπιπρέπουσα [and either a female Attic *crepida* or Sikyonian *socci* that catch the eye with their white felt]. The entire passage looks like scholarly play with obsolete words. It smells more of books than of life.

12 Duris FGrHist 76 F 12 (Polysperchon drunken at a dinner party); Lucian. Rhet. Praec. [41] 15 (a young dandy).

13 Cic. de or. 1.231: *si mihi calceos Sicyonios attulisses, non uterer, quamvis essent habiles atque apti ad pedem, quia non essent viriles* [If you had brought me *Sicyonia*, I would not use them, even though they would be comfortable and fitted to the foot. For they are unmanly]. Duris FGrHist 76 F 12 and Lucian. rhet. praec. [41] 15 also show that they are not normal male footwear.

14 Lucilius F 1161 (= 1263 Christ./Garb): *et pedibus laeva Sicyonia demit honesta* [and she is pulling off the pretty *Sicyonia* from her feet with her left hand]; cf. A 8 p. 181.

15 Lucr. 4.1125: *pulchra in pedibus Sicyonia rident* [beautiful *Sicyonia* laugh at their feet]; cf. A 11 p. 211.

16 Ps.-Verg. Ciris 169: *coccina non teneris pedibus Sicyonia servans* [she has lost her scarlet *Sicyonia* from her tender feet]; cf. A 11 p. 211.

17 Lucian. dial. meretr. [80] 14.2.

and Ps.-Vergil), are based on Greek models from Hellenistic times and reflect a ‘Greek’ world. Moreover, the fact that the term *Sicyonia* was considered a gloss by the Atticistic authors (Pollux and Lucian) suggests that the shoe was already obsolete in the second century CE.¹⁸ For this reason, Lucian’s description of them should be read with caution. It might rely on some knowledge, but it might be pure scholarly fiction as well. In the end, the *Sicyonia* are shoes of which we know very little.

30.4 *phaecasia* (n. pl. or nom. fem. sg.)

The messenger god Hermes is the first we see in *phaecasia*.¹⁹ The Alexandrian poet and scholar Eratosthenes (ca. 276/3–194 BCE) calls his winged shoes by this name.²⁰ The *phaecasia* are missing in the long list of female shoes given by Herondas. However, Fortunata wears them in Petronius, and so we may be quite confident that they were part of fashion in Imperial times.

The Latin term *phaecassium* (φαικάσιον) is a Greek loanword. The word φαικάσιον is a diminutive of the hapax φαικάς (also designating a shoe),²¹ which in turn is connected with the hapax φαιρός (bright)²² and φαίνειν (to shine).²³ The Greek word φαικάσιον is always used as a neuter. The Latin loanword varies in gender. It is either treated as a neuter (*phaecassium*) or—only once, in Petronius—as a feminine (*phaecasia*).²⁴ This change has to do with the fact that the nom./acc. neutral plural (*phaecasia*) and nom. feminine singular (*phaecasia*) are identical in orthography. For this reason, words sometimes shift from neuter to feminine.

It seems that the *phaecasia* were a type of *socci*, closed Greek shoes (B 27). They are said to be white.²⁵ If the word *phaecassium* really has something to do with the verb φαίνειν (to shine), the footwear got its name from its bright colour, which fits with shoes more than with sandals. Moreover, our sources sometimes connect *phaecasia* with the Greek philosophers’ garb, to which the *embas/soccus* also belonged.

¹⁸ See also Clemens Alex. Paed. 2.11 (περί ὑποδέσεως) p. 226.24–26 Stähelin.

¹⁹ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 594; RE 19.2 (1938) s.v. φαικάσιον, col. 1561–1562 (E. Schuppe).

²⁰ Eratosthenes F 9 Powell: πέλημα ποτιφράπτεισεν ἐλαφροῦ φαικάσιου [he sewed on the sole on his swift *phaecassium*].

²¹ LSJ s.v.

²² Soph. F 1107 Radt.

²³ Hesychios φ 51: ἀπό τοῦ φαίνειν, οἷον λαμπρόν [*phaikos* is derived from *phainein*. It has the same meaning as *lampros* (= bright)].

²⁴ Petron. 674.

²⁵ Appian. b.c. 5.11: καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου (sc. Ἀντώνιος) καὶ ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον [and he (sc. Antony) wore the rectangular coat (sc. the *pallium*) instead of the Roman one (= the *toga*), and his footwear was the white Attic shoe that is worn by priests in Athens and in Alexandria and is called *phaecassium*]. It is a literary trope that a magistrate dressed in an un-Roman manner in the provinces.

The *phaecasia* could be worn by men and women. In Athens and Alexandria, they were part of an official's garb. In Athens, they were worn by priests;²⁶ in Alexandria, they were worn by the magistrates,²⁷ who were imitated by Antony while staying there.²⁸ In Imperial Roman Italy, *phaecasia* were part of Greek fashion. We first hear of them explicitly in Claudian-Neronian times. Seneca talks about Greek philosophers wearing them as part of their garb.²⁹ In Petronius, Encolpius (the bisexual hero of the novel) walks around in them as well. When he tries to dupe a soldier concerning his identity by claiming that he is a soldier himself, the soldier uncovers his fraud by simply referring to his *phaecasia*.³⁰ It is hence clear that these were comfortable *socci* worn by fashionable dandies and not military footwear. In Petronius, we also encounter the only woman we know of in *phaecasia*. It is, as has already been mentioned, Fortunata. The wife of Trimalchio features a luxury version with gold (*phaecasiae inauratae*).³¹ She also wears golden ankle bracelets (*periscelides*), which also shows that the *phaecasia* was of the low *soccus*-type. Since Fortunata imitates the upper classes, this might be the social group which wore expensive *phaecasia*: the trendy and rich and those who wanted to be like them.

In general, Greek and Latin sources on the *phaecasia* are few. They suggest that the *phaecasia* could have started as an official insigne that turned into general fashion afterwards. The Latin term is first attested in Julio-Claudian times. It is not found in Roman Love Elegy, but the white female leather shoes Ovid refers to in his *Ars amatoria* may well be of the *phaecasia*-type.³² Afterwards, Latin evidence is missing, and there is no hint of them in Martial and Juvenal. In analogy to the history of some garments considered in chapter B 9, we may assume that *phaecasia* were introduced in Rome after the fall of Alexandria (30 BCE) and became popular in the first century CE. It was probably a rather short-lived Hellenistic fashion.

26 Appian. b.c. 5.11.

27 Appian b.c. 5.11; POxy. 33.3.5–7: Ἀππιανὸς λαβὼν τὸ στροφεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔθηκε, καὶ τὸ φαϊκάσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας θείς [Appianos took the *strophium* (B 15) and put it on his head and put the *phaecasion* on his feet].

28 Plutarch. Ant. 33; Appian b.c. 5.11.

29 Sen. ben. 7.21.1: *Pythagoricus quidam emerat a sutore phaecasia, rem magnam* [a Pythagorean had bought from the cobbler *phaecasia*, a big thing]; Sen. epist. 113.1: *puto quaedam esse, quae deceant phaecasiatium palliatumque* [I think there are some things that suit a man that wears *phaecasia* and a *pallium* (= a Greek philosopher)].

30 Petron. 82.3: *age ergo ... in exercitu vestro phaecasiati milites ambulant?* [Well then ... in your army the soldiers walk around in *phaecasia*?].

31 Petron. 67.4, cf. B 1 p. 269.

32 Ovid. ars 3.271; Apul. Met. 7.8; cf. also B 26 p. 528.

30.5 *Gallica* (n. pl.)

Unlike the other footwear, the *Gallica* did not come to Rome from the Greek east, but, as its name tells us, from the Celtic area (*Gallia*).³³ In contrast to the *phaecasia*, the *Gallica* became an enduring Roman fashion in the centuries to come. As to their appearance, we lack a precise description but must infer it from the few sources we have. Juvenal tells us that they left the ankle (*talus*) visible.³⁴ In the anecdote by Gellius about shoe terms,³⁵ they are called sandals (*solea*) by the rhetor Castricius, much to the astonishment of his listeners.³⁶ They were thus neither a closed shoe nor a typical sandal (*solea*). They were something between both categories. Like the *crepida*, whose space the *Gallica* later occupied in Roman dress style, they were probably a semi-open footwear of the type we see on some Roman-Celtic monuments and find among the material remains.

The use of *Gallica* is explicitly attested only with men, but our sources are so few and the type of shoe so common that we may assume that it was female footwear as well. There were several subspecies of it. In Diocletian's edict,³⁷ specifically male (*viriles*) versions are listed, which implies that there were also female ones. Usual *Gallica* must have been of leather and quite robust since we learn that they were worn together with a thick woollen coat.³⁸

The fashion started in the first half of the first century BCE when Gaul had been conquered by Caesar and the Celts in northern Italy became Roman citizens. Like the *gausapum* (B 9) and the *lodix*, the *Gallica* became a long-lasting Celtic contribution to Roman dress style. We first hear of them in Cicero's *Philippics*, where Cicero rebukes Marc Antony for wearing them together with a *lacerna* (instead of *calcei* and a *toga*) while acting as governor of Gaul.³⁹ It is part of the oratorical trope of how a Roman magistrate degraded himself by using local dress that is more commonly applied to Greek dress. After Cicero, the term *Gallica* disappears from our view for about one and a half centuries only to reappear in the second century CE. In Juvenal, up-start

³³ Becker/Göll (1882) 229; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 595; Blümner (1911) 223; N. Goldman, Roman Footwear, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 109–110; GRD (2007) 79.

³⁴ Iuven. 7.14–16.

³⁵ Gell. NA 13.12; cf. B 28 p. 539; B 29 p. 547.

³⁶ Gell. NA 13.22.3: *plerique autem ex his, qui audierant, requirebant, cur soleatos dixisset, qui Gallica, non soleas haberent* [but most of his audience asked him why he had called them *soleati* even though they wore *Gallica* and not *soleae*].

³⁷ Edict. Dioclet. 9.12–16.

³⁸ Cic. Phil. 2.76.

³⁹ Cic. Phil. 2.76: *cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna* [with *calcei* and *toga*, not with *Gallica* and *lacerna*]; *per municipia coloniasque Galliae ... cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi* [dressed in *Gallica* and a *lacerna*, you rushed through the towns and colonies of Gaul].

equites (knights) are said to wear them (they also leave the ankle *nudus*);⁴⁰ in Gellius, the *Gallica* are still informal dress when used by senators in the eyes of a rhetor styling himself as a traditional Roman.⁴¹ They nevertheless seem to have become a common item of Roman dress style. These three sources are all the evidence we have from Classical Antiquity, but the *Gallica* had a career even after Gellius. Several types of them (with single and double soles) are mentioned in Diocletian's edict (301 CE) under the header of *soleae*.⁴² In Late Antiquity, the word *Gallica* had obviously become a generic term and the Celtic footwear a common item replacing Greek sandals. But this is part of another story.

40 Iuven. 7.14–16: *faciant equites Asiani*, || [v. 15 del. Guyet] || *altera quos nudo traducit gallica talo* [let knights from Asia do this who are betrayed (sc. to have been slaves) when one of their *Gallica* shows a bare ankle].

41 Gell. NA 13.22.1: *cum ... discipulos quosdam suos senatores vidisset die feriato tunicis et lacernis indutos et Gallicis calciatos* [when he had seen some pupils of his who were senators wearing tunics and *lacernae* on a holiday and with *Gallica* on their feet].

42 Edict. Dioclet. 9.12–16.



Part C: **Ancient Theory**

Introduction to part C

We are now leaving the real world and entering the world of the ancient scholars. Both worlds have often been mixed in modern research, though they are better kept apart. For the Roman scholars' world is not a real, but a literary and derivative one. It is a world of fantasy and miracle, which is full of strange garments and odd dress rituals. It is a phantom world. The reason for this quite disillusioning diagnosis is as follows: In principle, Roman grammarians did the same things as Classicists do now. They explained old and difficult texts. They tried to elucidate bygone times from them and to recover a world that no longer existed. In comparison to modern scholars, they had some advantages. They were closer in time to their field of study (living 'only' about 400–500 years later) and they had some more literary and other artistic evidence, which they fortunately shared with us to large parts. However, there was one important thing that served to their detriment: The ancient scholars lacked methodological skills and hermeneutical distance and therefore often drew the wrong conclusions. Sometimes they seem to have done this even deliberately in order to outdo a scholarly rival. All this caused much harm to truth.

In Rome, literary studies started about the middle of the second century BCE. The practice of editing texts and commenting on them was already well established in the Greek world (Alexandria, Pergamon) by that time and now also took root in Rome through the influence of Greek culture. It formed part of the great cultural transfer we have watched in part B of this book. Roman scholars took up methods from their Greek predecessors and applied them to Latin (high) literature that itself had only started about a century earlier. The Romans themselves dated the official start to the year 240 BCE, when Livius Andronicus brought a drama to stage that was written in Latin.

Dress culture was no separate subject at the beginning. Roman grammarians did not expressly set out to study it, but they hit on it incidentally when reading ancient Latin texts—just like it happened again in the age of Humanism. The topic dress just came up when scholars edited and explained the oldest Latin texts available to them (and in part still to us): (1) the Law of the Twelve Tables (A 1; D 1), the first Latin text in book form, and (2) early Roman plays, especially the comedies of Plautus (A 4–5; D 3–4). The first author we know to have explained the meaning of a dress term is the jurist Sextus Aelius. He already lived at the beginning of the second century BCE and commented on an obscure passage of the Twelve Tables. In the row of names that are going to follow in parts C and D, Sextus is an exception since he precedes the rest of the scholars by half a century and was a jurist. All other scholars are either professional *grammatici* (schoolmen) or, later on, well-off pastime *literati* who cared for the editing and explanation of the old classics. The second author on dress we hear of is a prototype of this class of men. It is the *grammaticus* L. Aelius Stilo, whose *floruit* dates to the second half of the same century. Like Sextus, Stilo did not write systematically about dress, but gave short comments on a particular item of clothing when it was

necessary to explain the meaning of some incomprehensible word in the texts. Ancient grammarians called these words γλῶσσαι (*glossae*), and they are at the bottom of all that is going to follow. At a later stage, these glosses were separated from their texts and were combined to form dictionaries or individual treatises on the respective topics.

But this is already the end of the story that will be told in part D. Let us proceed in due order and turn back once again to the origins. It cannot be stressed enough that the scholarly discourse about early Roman dress arose out of the explanation of glosses. This is the reason why our extant scholarly texts mention many strange dress terms while they omit the normal ones which did not need explanation for Roman native speakers, and why instead of ordinary and dull tunics they talk of *ricae*, *ricinia*, and other obscure mumbo-jumbo. Focusing on the exceptional, the grammarians give us a distorted view of the Latin language, and what is more, of Roman dress culture. Guided by analogy, by comparison with the fashion of their own times, and, above all, by etymology and inventiveness (which in Antiquity are one and the same thing), they created a world that has no foundation in historical reality. It is a result not of firm knowledge, but of pure exuberant guesswork.

It took some time, however, before the dress glosses emancipated themselves from the original texts and before the grammarians' guesswork about early Roman dress culture became integrated into Roman cultural history. The first author we know to have made an important and lasting contribution in that sense was the senator and polymath M. Terentius Varro (117–26 BCE). Varro was a student of Aelius Stilo and—maybe because of his social standing—helped popularize cultural and linguistic studies within the Roman elite. This part reconstructs Varro's theory about early Roman dress because it is the earliest coherent representation of the subject matter. Unfortunately, Varro's hypotheses are all mistaken. Refuting them is all the more necessary because they were very influential in Antiquity and still have some impact on modern research. It has to be stated clearly: Varro is an important author in this book for good and for ill. Without him, our knowledge of Roman women's dress would be much less. On the other hand, he commits all the grammarians' errors one should always be aware of.

Chapter A 9 and several chapters of part B deal with Varro's positive contribution to Roman dress history, considering all instances where he provides valuable eye-witness evidence on the Roman dress worn in his own time.¹ In contrast, part C is all about Varro's problematic side, dealing with his statements on dress which have the status of secondary evidence and describe women's clothing of which Varro did not have any first-hand knowledge. C 1 shows how Varro developed a theory of primeval Roman dress that was both simple and coherent, but nevertheless mistaken. C 2 then turns to the influential hypothesis that in early times Roman women also wore the *toga*, which has been attributed to Varro by modern research, but in reality only dates to Late Antiquity.

¹ For an overview, cf. A 9 p. 183.

1 Varro and the Early History of Female Roman Dress

1. Introduction
2. *laena* – the Varronian proto-*toga* of the Roman man
3. **ricinium* – the Varronian proto-*pallium* of the Roman woman
4. *palla* and **intusium* – outdoor and indoor cloaks
5. *tunica*
- 5.1 *tunica recta* (**regilla*)– an original form of the tunic?
- 5.2 **inducula* and *subucula* – on the origin of two tunics
- 5.3 *subucula* and **supparus*
6. *capitium*, *strophium*, and *zona*
7. *reticulum*, **capital*, **rica* – archaic headwear
8. Conclusion

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is about reconstructing and deconstructing Varro's theory of early female (and male) Roman dress. It is about which methods Varro used and how he failed to produce results that come close to historical reality to any extent. Varro's biography is well known from the history of literature so that only a few words are needed here.¹ His literary oeuvre was very extensive. According to Jerome, who gives us a long list of the titles of Varro's works, it was only surpassed in extent by that of the Christian scholar Origen. Varro wrote numerous books of antiquarian content using the form of the philosophical dialogue. In his high social status, Varro clearly stood out from other antiquarian authors such as his teacher, Aelius Stilo. Being an *equus Romanus*, he belonged to the Roman upper class. He became a senator and eventually reached the praetorship. His further career was prevented by the civil war. From today's perspective, his assessment as an author fluctuates between the positive label of polymath and the negative label of scientific amateur. His intellectual merits certainly lie less in any scientific achievement than in the fact that he 'literarized' all specialist knowledge available at his time and 'ennobled' antiquarian study that had hitherto belonged only to specialized grammarians, so as to make it appear a valuable pastime for the Roman elite. Due to Varro's social status and the scope of his work, he exerted great influence on the following generations of writers and displaced the work of his predecessors. Although only two of his works have survived in handwriting, the impact of his books

¹ For an introduction, see for example RE Suppl. 6 (1935), s.v. M. Terentius Varro, col. 1172–1277 (H. Dahlmann); and more recently B. Cardauns, Marcus Terentius Varro, Einführung in sein Werk, Heidelberg 2001; W. Ax (ed.), Lateinische Lehrer Europas, Cologne 2005, 1–21; for an overview of research B. Cardauns, Stand und Aufgaben der Varroforschung, Mainz 1982.

can be traced until the Late Antique educational canon. Varro formulated, with recourse to his predecessors, many of the views that are still with us today. He established, for example, the year 753 BCE as the founding date of Rome.

Varro spoke about the early Roman costume in at least two works. The first is a cultural history, written about 43 BCE, bearing the title *De vita populi Romani* [VPR].² Numerous fragments of it are preserved in the encyclopaedia of Nonius. Varro's remarks about clothing are taken from the first and third book of the four-volume work. They show that Varro did not offer a proper history of early Roman dress, but that he only included explanations of garments in his cultural history of Roman customs when it seemed appropriate to him. His famous remark about the usage of the Roman *toga*, for example, which led to much misunderstanding (A 2), is embedded in a passage in which Varro talked about the bedroom of the married couple and about the wedding ceremony. This could also have been the occasion when Varro made a small digression about early Roman linen and underwear. In contrast, the passage concerning the dubious **ricinium*, a female proto-cloak, formed part of Varro's comments on burial customs. Thus, it should be generally noted that early Roman customs, not dress, are the main subject of the narrative in Varro's VPR and that dress and its history are only of secondary importance.

The same must also be said about the second work to which we owe our knowledge of Varro's views on Roman dress in early times. This is the 'linguistic' work entitled *De lingua Latina* [LL] (43 BCE), parts of which have survived in direct transmission.³ Two passages in it (5.113–114, 129–133) explicitly refer to early Roman clothing. Again, Varro is not primarily interested in dress itself, but rather in the etymology of Roman dress terms and in 'linguistic' theory. It is rather dry stuff that we get to read in LL, which often looks like a draft rather than a polished literary treatise.

Varro's literary intentions are different in VPR and LL. Hence, his remarks on dress do not form a systematic history of early Roman costume, but approach it from various angles. However, his statements in both works essentially agree and complement each other without contradiction, and they show that Varro had more or less coherent views on the clothing of early Romans. In contrast to less intelligent fellow scholars, Varro avoided being over-precise. His chronology, which can be seen most clearly in LL, is very simple. Varro does not give exact dates, but only distinguishes generally between *antiquus* and *antiquissimus*, i.e. between ancient times and very ancient times. His historical distinction between present and past remains relatively vague. According to

² Cf. Dahlmann (n. 1) 1243–1246; B. Reischl, *Reflexe griechischer Kulturentstehungslehren bei augusteischen Dichtern*, Diss. München 1976, 80–142; W. Ax, *Dikaiarchs Bios Hellados und Varros De vita populi Romani*, RhM 143 (2000) 337–369 (= id., *Text und Stil*, Wiesbaden 2006, 153–178) especially on the dependence on the βίος Ἑλλάδος of Dikaiarchos; Cardauns (n. 1) 61–62; editions of the fragments by Ripošati (1939 [21972]) with commentary; Salvatore (2004); Pittà (2015) with commentary.

³ Dahlmann (n. 1) 1202–1214; Cardauns (n. 1) 30–38.

him, a garment is usually *antiquissimus*—belonging to prehistory (the period of the Roman *reges*)—when its term was not in use in his own lifetime.

In LL, Varro roughly distinguishes between two general layers of language. All words with Latin etymology belong either to the early or the earliest past, all words with Greek etymology to more recent times. Up to now, etymological analysis (Latin/Greek) is a useful tool when it comes to defining the age of dress terms or an article of clothing, but it has certain dangers when used inconsiderately. So it was by Varro. He misunderstood many words in early Roman authors and by this gave rise to early Roman garments that in reality never existed. In addition, the past in Varro becomes long and loses its shape, since he uses texts from the time of the second century BCE to illustrate which garments were worn five centuries earlier. However, despite all his blunders, Varro shows an intellectual integrity not equalled by his successors. He must have been aware of the difficulties of early cultural history where, unlike in political history, no exact dates could be determined.

Varro's sources for terms of early Roman dress were the Pre-Classical authors handed down to us today either by direct transmission or through quotations in Varro and other antiquarians. Varro himself gives the names of his sources only sometimes, but it is almost always possible to identify the texts that formed the starting point for his thoughts. These are the Twelve Tables (A 1; D 1) and the comedies of Plautus, especially the catalogue of clothes in the *Epidicus* (A 4; D 3–4).

In addition to the usual neutral dress terminology, Varro used the following seven glosses (*) in reconstructing the early Roman costume: **ricinium*, **capital*, **rica*, **regilla*, **intusium*, **supparus*, and **inducula*. He 'discovered' the garments designated by these terms by looking at existing ritual and ceremonial garments that were seemingly ancient. So he thought that the dark, unadorned cloak worn at funerals went back to the original women's cloak, the so-called **ricinium*; that the **capital* was similar to a headscarf some priestesses still wore in his times; that the **rica* was still mirrored in the custom of covering the head while sacrificing; and that the *tunica *regilla* was identical with the *tunica recta* still ritually worn by women during the night before their wedding.

The following chapter tries to present Varro's views systematically. It should be remembered once again that a coherent theory has not been put forward in this form by Varro himself in his surviving works and has only been handed down to us in bits and pieces. Varro's thought can sometimes only be deduced from statements of later scholars with great reservation. A detailed interpretation of the sources used by Varro is undertaken in part A. The question of what the glosses really meant is dealt with in part D. The results of these discussions are taken for granted here. The following will treat the early Roman female and male costume in conjunction because Varro himself did the same and his views on women's dress can be understood better when the male garment is also considered. The order of the chapter is based on the shape of the historical dress (see introduction to part B), which also formed the starting point of Varro's thoughts.

1.2 *laena* – the Varronian proto-*toga* of the Roman man

Varro thought that the *laena* was among the oldest garments of the Roman man. He regarded it as a kind of proto-*toga*. We do not have any fragment from Varro's VPR concerning this matter, but his views emerge most clearly from LL. There, Varro takes a short glance at men's clothing while discussing the female costume. He compares the male *laena* to the oldest female garment, the **ricinium* (see below):

Varro LL 5.133⁴

laena, quod de lana multa, duarum enim togarum instar; ut antiquissimum mulierum ricinium, sic hoc duplex virorum.

The *laena* is called *laena* because it is made of much *lana* (wool). For it resembles two *togae*. Like the *ricinium*, the oldest female garment, this male garment is also double.

As is usual in LL (which may have lacked final revision), Varro's style is very terse, but the sense of his words is clear. Varro talks about the etymology of the word *laena*, which he thinks to be derived from the word *lana* (wool). The long vowel AE, according to his logic, results from the heavy weight of the double cloak. Varro states explicitly that the **ricinium* is a very old garment (*antiquissimum*), and the same is implied in case of the *laena*, too. In Varro's theory the double *laena* and the double **ricinium* represent the preliminary stage of the historical garment (*toga* and *pallium*), which consisted of only a simple layer of cloth.

Varro's Latin etymology of the word *laena* is plainly mistaken,⁵ but his description of the garment is correct. This is shown by various archaeological monuments portraying men in *laena* which have come down to us from Augustan times onwards.⁶ There,

⁴ *enim* (L. Spengel in app.): *etiam* codd.; Spengel's emendation *enim* seems to be right because the meaning of *etiam* in this context is unclear. De Melo (2019) tries to retain *etiam* ("equivalent even to two togas"), but this hypothesis is not tenable. The expression *sic hoc duplex virorum* shows that the *laena* was normally regarded as a double *toga*. So a reinforcement (*etiam*) is out of place. Against Kent (Loeb transl.), *duplex* is predicate to both parts of the sentence.

⁵ On the etymology, see Potthoff (1992) 131–135.

⁶ The *flamines Diales*, whose priesthood was newly constituted by Augustus, received a new ritual garb consisting of a *toga duplex* wrapped around the body. This dress can be identified with the *laena*. On the south frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae (cf. E. Simon, Ara Pacis Augustae [Tübingen 1967] 17 pl. 12–13; G. M. Koeppel, BJB 187 (1987), 121–122 fig. 20–24, illustr. 10, 11), we find *flamines* depicted with an *apex* and a *laena*. This is the first piece of evidence we have for their ritual clothing, which has to be interpreted within the context of Augustus's policy of religious restoration. Further statues of men dressed in *laena* dating to the 1st and the 2nd centuries CE may have been honorary statues of *flamines*, see Th. Schäfer, Zur Ikonographie der Salier, JdI 95 (1980), 351 n. 36; H. R. Goette, Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen, Mainz 1989, 7, Beilage 5–7. In addition, W. Trillmich, Gestalt und Ausstattung des 'Marmorforums' in Mérida, MM 36 (1995), 282–288, has demonstrated that early Roman kings could also be depicted in this garb in Augustan imagery (statue of an 'Agrippa' from the Augustus Forum in Merida).

the *laena* is presented as a double folded, thick cloak made of wool. According to the Roman grammarians, the *laena* was a ritual garment of priests (*flamines*).⁷ In the time of the Late Roman Republic, it was perhaps still used in religious practice and could be encountered there. In summary, the following three reasons may have induced Varro to regard the *laena* as a kind of proto-*toga* of the Roman man: the (mistaken) Latin etymology (*lana*), the altogether rustic appearance of the thick and heavy woollen garment and its circular cut, and the use of the *laena* in ritual, which Varro considered a remnant from ancient times.

1.3 *ricinium – the Varronian proto-pallium of the Roman woman

According to Varro, the original upper cloak of the Roman woman was the **ricinium*. He took this to be a kind of proto-*pallium*. Varro found the word **ricinium* in the oldest Latin text he knew, namely the Law of the Twelve Tables. Regulating sepulchral luxury, the law mentions three **ricinia*. This chapter will only deal with the false meaning of **ricinium* which Varro attributed to the word. Chapter A 1 has discussed what might really lie at the bottom of the obscure gloss **ricinium*, namely a textual corruption of *triclinium*. D 3 will describe the long history the term had in ancient scholarship. Varro comments on the **ricinium* in LL as follows:

Varro LL 5.132–133⁸

antiquissimum amictui ricinium. id, quod eo utebantur duplici, ab eo quod dimidiam partem retrorsum iaciebant, ab reiciendo ricinium dictum. hinc, quod facta duo simplicia paria, parilia primo dicta, <deinde pallia>, R exclusum propter levitatem. parapechia, chlanides, sic multa Graeca. laena, quod de lana multa, duarum enim togarum instar; ut antiquissimum mulierum ricinium, sic hoc duplex virorum.

The oldest cloak (wrap) is the **ricinium*. Because this was used double folded, it was called **ricinium* from *reicere* (= to throw back), because half of it was thrown backwards. Hence, because two simple pairs (*paria*) were made of it, they were first called *parilia*, <then *pallia*>, the R being

⁷ Cic. Brutus 56: *sacrificium publicum cum laena faceret, quod erat flamen Carmentalis* [he sacrificed dressed in a *laena* because he was a priest of Carmenta]; Paulus/Festus p. 104.18–19 L.: *laena vestimenti genis habitu duplicis. quidam appellatam existimant Tusce, quidam Graece, quam χλανίδα vocant* [*laena*: a type of garment that is double folded. Some think its name is Etruscan, some that it is identical with the Greek χλανίς]; Suet. F 167 p. 267 Reiff.: *laena amictus rotundus duplex, ut ait Iulius †Suavis. Suetonius vero ait: toga duplex, qua infibulati flamines sacrificant. huius vestis inventor Laenas appellatus* [Iulius †Suavis says that the *laena* is a circular double cloak, but Suetonius says that it is a double *toga*, dressed in which the *flamines* sacrifice. The inventor of this garment is called Laenas]; Servius auct. ad Verg. Aen. 4.262, I p. 512 sq. Thilo/Hagen.

⁸ *antiquissimum* L. Spengel in app. (1885): *antiquissimi codd.; deinde pallia* add. Riesenweber; *chlanides* Radicke: *clamides* codd.

excluded because of the smoothness of sound. *parapechia*, *chlanides* are, like many others words, Greek. (for the following text, see above)

The transmission and the very condensed expression of the text offer some difficulties, but the general meaning of the words is clear enough.⁹ In this section, Varro talks about garments wrapped around the body (*amictui*), i.e. various mantels, in contrast to garments put on by pulling them over the head (*indutui*). He maintains the hypothesis that the **ricinium* was the oldest female cloak. According to him, it was wrapped around the body (*amictui*) and consisted of a double layer of cloth (*duplex*). It preceded the *pallium* in time, differing from it only in so far that the *pallium* had only one layer of cloth (*simplex*). Varro thought the *pallium* to have originated from the **ricinium* when this was divided into a pair of *pallia*. As in the case of the *laena*, Varro based his theory on etymological guesswork, deriving the word **ricinium* (with I) from the verb *reicere* (with E) and connecting the word *pallium* through its plural *pallia* (*parilia*) with *paria*. An etymological tour de force! It is obvious that Varro wanted to create an analogy between the history of the female garments, the **ricinium* and the *pallium*, and that of the male garments, the *laena* and the *toga*. Just as the primeval *laena* was a kind of double *toga*, the primeval **ricinium* would then be a kind of double *pallium*.

But how did Varro get this idea? First of all, Varro probably did not know more about the **ricinium* than we do. The word was already an obscure hapax—a word attested only once—of the Twelve Tables in his times (A 1; D 1). Hence it had to refer to something very old (*antiquissimum*). Furthermore, Varro could read in previous commentators on the law that the **ricinium* was supposed to designate a *vestimentum quadratum* (square-shaped cloth).¹⁰ The analogy to the historical male *laena* and *toga* was then the starting point of his own speculation about the nature of the female garment. Like the *laena*, the primeval **ricinium* had to be a heavy and rustic dress, only slightly different from its supposed successor, the *pallium*. Thus, like the *laena*, it had to consist of a double layer of cloth. A fine theory, but no more than that!

How Varro further elaborated his thought can be seen from some remarks quoted by Nonius from Varro's VPR. In the respective fragments, Varro talks about burial customs. They show how Varro tried to link the fanciful **ricinium* with a real female

⁹ (1) Spengel's emendation *antiquissimum* (for *antiquissimi*) seems to be necessary. The transmitted *antiquissimi* (sc. *dicebant*) would imply the thought that the garment was called **ricinium* in former times and is now called by another name, but this is not at issue. The dative *amictui* also needs a word on which it can depend. Moreover, the expression is repeated at the end with the words *antiquissimum mulierum ricinium*. (2) The word *pallia* is missing somewhere in the text. Riesenweber's emendation provides the necessary sense. (3) The transmitted *clamides* is usually restored to *chlamydes*, but a *chlamys* is no female article of clothing. It is better to correct it to *chlanides*. A similar mistake occurs in Varro F 32 Riese (= Nonius p. 870.30–2 L.), cf. A 9 p. 196.

¹⁰ Festus p. 342.20–21 L.: *recinium omne vestimentum quadratum ii qui XII interpretati sunt, esse dixerunt* [The commentators of the Twelve Table laws said that the **recinium* is every square cloth]; for a more detailed interpretation of the text, see D 1 p. 592.

cloak, although, unlike the male *laena*, a heavy female garment that consisted of a double layer of cloth did not exist. Varro explains:

Varro VPR F 411 Salvadore (= 105 Riposati) + F 412 S. (106 R.)¹¹
ut, dum supra terram esset, riciniis lugerent funere ipso ut pullis pall<i>is amictae, (412) propinqua adulescentulae etiam anthracinis, proxumae amiculo nigello, capillo demisso sequerentur luctum.

so that, while it (sc. the dead person) was still above the earth, they mourned at the burial dressed in *ricinia like in dark pallia, || the young female relatives even in coal-black; the nearest female relatives followed the funeral procession dressed in a black cloak and with hanging hair.

The fragments follow directly after each other in Nonius; F 412 seems to be an immediate continuation of F 411.¹² The basis of the Varronian description were again the Twelve Tables.¹³ The law dealt with burial customs and thus suggested the framework to Varro. He then imagined how a funeral could have taken place in early times: All mourning women were dressed in dark *ricinia, the young female relatives even in deep black (*anthracina*) *ricinia. Since the rare word *ricinium might not have been known to all his readers, Varro explains it by a comparison with the burial dress of his times ('dressed in ricinia like in dark pallia'), thus also showing his own erudition.¹⁴ In another description, Varro uses the word *ricinium even in connection with contemporary burial rites:

Varro VPR F 333 S. (= 49 R.)¹⁵
ex quo mulieres in adversis rebus ac luctibus, cum omnem vestitum delicatorem ac luxuriosum postea institutum ponunt, ricinia sumunt.

¹¹ Nonius p. 882.30–34; 882.3–4 L. *esset* Scaliger: *essent* codd.; *palliis* Lindsay: *pallis* codd. In general, cf. the commentaries of Riposati (1939) 221–224 and Pittà (2015) 399–407.

¹² As to the grammar, the first *ut* in F 411 is taken up by the conjunctive of *lugerent* and probably also by that of *sequerentur* in F 412. The expression *propinqua adulescentulae etiam anthracinis* is very likely to modify what has been said before, i.e. that all women were dressed in dark clothes (*riciniis ut pullis palliis amictae). The first part of F 412 probably still belongs to *lugerent*. The adjective *anthracinis* should not be taken as a noun, but, as is natural, as an adjective referring to the preceding nouns in the ablative (*riciniis or palliis). The preceding *amictae* should still be understood with *anthracinis*, which has been left out in this part of the sentence by a grammatical ellipsis. Otherwise, the pure ablative of the isolated adjective would appear a bit odd. In this case, one would expect a preposition. Only the second part of F 412 (*proxumae...*) goes with *sequerentur luctum*. Contrary to the modern commentators, Varro describes not two but only one situation, the *pompa funebris*.

¹³ Already Popma (1601) in his commentary on Varro (Notae p. 313) uses the passage from the Twelve Tables to explain the fragment.

¹⁴ Contrary to modern commentators, the expression *ut pullis palliis* is best understood as a comparison.

¹⁵ Nonius p. 869.1–7 L.; Pittà (2015) 228–229; cf. also D 1 p. 594.

Therefore, in cases of misfortune and mourning, women take off all more refined and luxurious garments, which were adopted in later times, and instead put on **ricinia*.

According to Varro, women at funerals returned to their original costume, their dark *pallium* being a **ricinium*, and renounced all the luxury of dress, which supposedly was a later invention. His attempt is to create a progressive history looking from the past to the present, but his method began with the present and looked backwards to the past. In the case of the **ricinium*, he acted just as he had done in the case of the *laena*. He drew conclusions from a contemporary dress custom about a supposedly very old garment he thought to be attested in the Law of the Twelve Tables. Varro's logic ultimately was: Women in his time usually wore unadorned dark coats at the funeral, therefore the familiar female funeral attire had to have the **ricinium* as its ancient ancestor.

1.4 *palla* and **intusium* – outdoor and indoor cloaks

We do not know how, in Varro's theory, the *laena* developed and when it became a *toga*. It is different with the **ricinium*. Using another etymological trick, Varro makes two other female cloaks appear: the *palla* and the **intusium*. He found the latter article by reading the dress catalogue in Plautus' *Epidicus* (A 4), changing the original D in the Plautine *indusium* to a T:

Varro LL 5.131

alterius generis [i.e. amictus] item duo, unum quod foris ac palam, palla; alterum quod intus, a quo intusium, id quod Plautus (Epid. 231) dicit: intusiatam [!], patagiata, caltulam ac crocotulam.

There are also two of the second type of dress [i.e. the wraps], one worn outside and in public, the *palla*; another worn inside, from which the term **intusium* derives. This is the garment Plautus is talking about in the following verse: *intusiatam [!], patagiata, caltulam ac crocotulam*.

In contrast to his etymological speculation in LL 5.132 (see above), which starts from the diminutive form *pallium*, this time Varro uses the normal form *palla*. The reason for this is obvious. It was easy to connect *palla* and *palam*, whereas it was not equally possible to do this with the diminutive *pallium*. The contrast between *palam* (outside the house) and *intus* (inside the house) was very important because Varro's reasoning about the different garments hinged on it. The *palla* (B 3), a cloak worn in public (*palam*) by rich Roman matrons in Republican times, created a wonderful opposition to the gloss **intusium*,¹⁶ which could thus be explained as a cloak worn inside the

¹⁶ Cf. D 3 p. 608.

house (*intus*). However, it should be noted that both Varronian etymologies are not only plainly wrong, but that, even worse, the indoor dress called **intusium* is also a complete chimaera.

As regards primary evidence, the word **intusium* is a hapax. The noun is not found before Varro and seems to have been formed by him. As the quotation from Plautus shows, Varro derived all his ‘knowledge’ about the **intusium* from the dress catalogue in the Plautine *Epidicus*. However, Plautus does not use the noun, but only the participle **indusiata*. At this point, as to orthography, a slight divergence is to be noted in our textual tradition. In contrast to our codices of the play, Varro’s text of Plautus seems to have offered the form *intusiata*m for it (if Varro did not make it up himself), whereas the reading of our Plautus manuscripts is *indusiata*m. The orthography with the letter D is proven to be correct by a parallel in the Plautine *Aululari* where *indusiarii* are mentioned (509). Unfortunately for Varro, it is not possible to connect the word with the adverb *intus*. Whatever a *tunica* or *vestis *indusiata* may have been in reality,¹⁷ it is certain that Plautus did not speak about any cloak nor about a garment called **intusium*. This primeval indoor dress is all Varro’s own work. By way of a mistaken etymology and a false orthography (perhaps made up deliberately to adapt it to his etymological purposes¹⁸), he created a completely fictitious garment that has, nevertheless, found its way into modern histories of Roman dress for far too long.

1.5 *tunica*

We can turn now to the actual basic Roman dress in historical times: the *tunica*. Because of its etymology, Varro considered it to be an ancient Roman garment. He erroneously derived the noun *tunica* from the Latin verb *tueri* (to protect): *tunica a tuendo corpore* (LL 5.114).¹⁹ A fine invention, because the word *tunica* could, in the Varronian system, thus be correlated with the word *toga*, derived from *tegere* (to cover), the two terms together describing the two primary functions of dress. According to Varro, these simple dress functions are primevally Roman, while ornament (*ornari*) only entered Roman culture at a later stage, together with Greek garments and Greek words.

¹⁷ Cf. D 3 p. 611.

¹⁸ A similar process may have created the orthographical variants **ricinium* and **recinium*, cf. D 1 p. 592.

¹⁹ The text of LL 5.114 suffers from corruption. The tradition offers: *tunica a tuendo corpore*, *tunica ut indica*, *toga a tegendo*, *cinctus et cingillum a cingendo*. Spengel’s suggestion in the apparatus to delete the words *tunica ut indica* as a later intrusion is attractive regarding the conciseness of the following etymologies.

1.5.1 *tunica recta* (**regilla*) – an original form of the tunic?

It is now to be considered what this archaic tunic, according to Varro, looked like. Our evidence is slim, but there is reason to believe that Varro (like later grammarians) identified the original tunic with the so-called *tunica* **regilla*.²⁰ On the one hand, the word **regilla* is a Plautine gloss from the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus* from which Varro took four further terms for early Roman garments—it is found there next to the word **inducula*, which Varro included in F 329. On the other hand, a passage in Pliny referring to the *tunica recta*/**regilla* seems to be based on Varro:

Plin. NH 8.194 (lanam ... usus = Varro F 444 S. [dubium])
lanam in colu et fuso Tanaquilis, quae eadem Gaia Caecilia vocata est, in templo Sancus durasse prodente se auctor est M. Varro factamque ab ea togam regiam undulata in aede Fortunae, qua Ser. Tullius fuerat usus. inde factum ut nubentes virgines comitaretur colus compta et fusus cum stamine. ea prima texuit rectam tunicam, quales cum toga pura tirones induuntur novaeque nuptae. undulata vestis prima e laudatissimis fuit. inde sororicula defluxit. togas rasas Phryxianasque divi Augusti novissimis temporibus coepisse scribit Fenestella.

Varro himself witnesses that wool on the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil, also called Gaia Caecilia, was preserved in the Temple of Sancus until his own times and that the royal *tunica undulata* in the temple of Fortuna, used by Servius Tullius, was made from it. Hence the practice that young girls when marrying were accompanied by a decorated distaff and a spindle with a thread. Tanaquil was (also) the first woman to weave the *tunica recta* put on by young men together with the *toga pura* and by new brides. The *undulata vestis* was the first garment to be very appreciated. That is whence the *vestis sororicula* originated. The *toga rasa* and *toga Phryxiana*, Fenestella writes, did not come up until the end of the reign of Emperor Augustus.

As regards the sources, the text offers some problems since Pliny somehow amalgamated his material. He probably took most of it from the *Annales* of Fenestella, who is mentioned at the end of the section as the most recent source and is also listed by Pliny among the sources of the eighth book. Fenestella in turn transmitted to Pliny the quotation from Varro, which extends from *lanam* to *fusus cum stamine*. The following sentence (*ea prima texuit*) shows a syntactic break and starts a new topic, indicating that what is said belongs either to Fenestella or to Pliny himself. Nevertheless, its content may go back in part to Varro, because it takes up the topic of wedding and wedding dress (*quales cum toga pura tirones induuntur novaeque nuptae*).

The *tunica* **regilla* is not explicitly mentioned, but it is hidden behind the *tunica recta*. For the pseudo-etymology of the *tunica* **regilla* is the reason why the invention of the *tunica recta* is attributed to queen Tanaquil: A regal dress had to be first produced by a regal woman. In a second step, the primeval garment is identified—erroneously,

²⁰ On the *tunica regilla*, cf. also A 4 p. 67; D 3 pp. 602–606.

see chapter D 3—with an unadorned ritual garment still in use in a given author’s times—be it Varro or a later *antiquarius*. We thus find a reasoning similar to that used by Varro in the case of the *laena*, the **ricinium*, and the **rica*. The explanation that the primeval *tunica recta* is mirrored by the wedding dress of the new brides (*novae nuptae*) also fits in well with Varro’s description of early Roman marriage.²¹

To sum up, there are four points of contact with Varro: the gloss taken from the *Epidicus*, the etymological speculation, the identification with a historical garment, and the topic of marriage. All this seems to link the **regilla* to the Varronian theory of the simple primordial Roman garments. He may have presented it either in the VPR or in his *Antiquitates*.²² However, a gap of certain knowledge remains at this point, and we will never know for sure what Varro’s primeval Roman tunic looked like.

1.5.2 **inducula* and *subucula* – on the origin of two tunics

In contrast to this, we possess Varro’s own remarks on how the custom of wearing only one *tunica* changed in later times and two *tunicae* came into use. According to him, this change—like that of the cloak—still took place at an early stage of the history of Roman dress. Varro briefly talks about this process in his VPR. His remarks have been preserved in mutilated form by Nonius:²³

Varro VPR F 329 S. (45 R.)²⁴

posteaquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et induculam.

when they began to have two tunics each, they started to call them *subucula* and **inducula*.

Varro called the undertunic a *subucula*, and, if my correction is right, he called the regular tunic an **inducula*. He knew the combination of tunic and undertunic from personal experience, since it was common practice for men and women of his time to dress in two tunics.²⁵ The word *subucula* is the regular term for the undertunic. As regards the **inducula*, Varro drew his ‘knowledge’ of early times again from the Plautine *Epidicus* (A 4). The respective verse (233) belongs to the introduction of the dress catalogue—the gloss **regilla* is also found there—and is the only instance where the gloss **inducula* is used in a primary source. The word is also a hapax and should not be considered a technical term. It is very likely that it was coined by Plautus himself

²¹ Cf. C 2 p. 580.

²² Pittà (2015) 122–123.

²³ Nonius p. 870.20–22 L.; cf. the comm. of Ripsati (1939) 161 and Pittà (2015) 222–224.

²⁴ *induculam* Radicke: *indussam* codd.: *indusiam* index marg. B^A: *indusium* editores post Aldinam. The text of the fragment is corrupt. The meaningless *indussa* has to be altered to *inducula*. For discussion of the transmission, see D 3 p. 609.

²⁵ On the undertunic, cf. B 1 pp. 261–264.

in a wordplay, following the example of the existing term *subucula*.²⁶ Varro, however, found in it another old Latin word, attesting to him that the differentiation of Roman dress characteristic of his own time had already occurred at an early stage.

1.5.3 *subucula* and **supparus*

In LL, Varro offers a further glimpse into his views on the *tunica* and its various forms. He talks about the *subucula* and the **supparus*:

Varro LL 5.131

indutui alterum quod subtus, a quo subucula, alterum quod supra, a quo supparus, nisi id quod item dicunt Osce.

As to garments pulled over the head, there is one that is worn underneath, whence *subucula*, another that is worn over (the dress), whence **supparus*, if it is not what is called by the same name in Oscan language.

In the respective section, Varro is speaking about garments that, like the *tunica*, were put on by pulling them over the head (*indutui*), in contrast to garments wrapped around the body (*amictui*). As with the *palla* and the **intusium* (*palam* – *intus*), the starting point for his reasoning is again the contrasting etymology of two words: the undertunic was called *subucula* because it was worn under (*subtus*) the tunic, the **supparus* was called so because it was worn above (*supra*) the tunic as an outer garment. In his explanation, Varro is again mingling regular words and glosses. The commonly used term *subucula* (see above) referred to the undertunic, whereas **supparus* is no term from Roman everyday language, but an obscure word from literature. As to the etymology of **supparus* and its connection with *supra*, it is difficult to judge whether Varro's explanation has any merit. The exact meaning of the word **supparus* and all evidence for it will be discussed in detail in chapter D 5. It is found in Pre-Classical literature, inter alia in the dress catalogue of the Plautine *Epidicus* (A 4). Because of the nature of the archaic evidence, Varro probably thought that it might also be an Oscan word. He arrived at this conclusion, which may be the correct one, because the word was used by authors like Naevius, Plautus, and the playwrights of the Atellan farce, who were all connected with Oscan tradition and culture. In any case, the caution with which Varro formulates his remarks shows that the word was no longer part of his active vocabulary and that he was looking for its correct meaning.

The **supparus* may indeed have been a kind of tunic, but it has to be stressed that none of our sources refers to the regular dress of the Roman woman. We are dealing rather with a Greek or Italic costume transferred into Roman literature by means of a loanword. In no way does the term **supparus* witness a respective differentiation of

²⁶ Cf. A 4 p. 67.

the Roman costume that took place in early times. This should be regarded as another historical fiction of Varro, and the **supparus* should therefore be banned from the history of real Roman dress.

1.6 *capitium, strophium, and zona*

According to Varro, some accessories were added to the tunics in early times. As far as these garments are concerned, Varro's theory is again based on what the clothing in his own time looked like. Again, our source is Varro's cultural history.²⁷

Varro VPR F 331 S. (47 R.)²⁸

tunicas neque capitia neque strophia neque zonas

tunics, and neither breastbands nor cords nor belts

F 331, quoted by Nonius after F 329,²⁹ is closely related in content to it. It clearly refers to *female* dress. Varro says that Roman women once wore no accessories with the tunic, neither a breastband (*capitium* = *fascia pectoralis*) (B 22)³⁰ nor a cord (*strophium*) (B 21), nor a belt (*zona*) (B 20). The beginning of Varro's sentence has been omitted by Nonius, but perhaps there was a contrast between the *tunicae* and the three following garments. It is difficult to decide whether the plural form means that several tunics (*tunicae*) were worn by one and the same woman. If this should be the case, the plural could take up the expression *binas tunicas* from F 329.

At what time did the invention of the various garments then occur? In Varro's theory, the *strophium* and the *zona* cannot belong to the early period because of their Greek etymology. But what about the *capitium*? Another quotation from Varro's VPR sheds some light on this question:

Varro VPR F 332 S. (48 R.)³¹

neque id ab orbita matrum familias institutum, quod eae pectore ac lacertis erant apertis nec capitia habebant.

and this invention did not originate from the circle of mothers because these were naked on the chest and on the upper arms and did not wear a *capitium*.

²⁷ The relevant evidence is provided by Varro's VPR F 331 and F 332, while F 330, which has been previously attributed to Varro, should be excluded (D 6 p. 663).

²⁸ Nonius p. 870.23–28 L.; Pittà (2015) 225–226.

²⁹ See above p. 571.

³⁰ Cf. p. 507.

³¹ Nonius p. 870.25–27 L.: *institutum* L. Müller (1888): *instituti* codd.; on the text, see also Pittà (2015) 226–227, who argues for *institutum*. The fragment is quoted by Nonius under the same lemma as F 331.

Varro must be speaking of a primitive early period here. Although the question of what precisely is meant by *id* must remain open, it is clear that Varro spoke about lingerie or something related to it. He ascribed its invention to young women because, according to him, Roman matrons originally walked around with a free décolleté (*pectus*) and free upper arms. Varro also dates the invention of the *capitium* to the early times in LL. He obviously did this because, in his eyes, the word *capitium* had a genuine Latin etymology:

Varro LL 5.131

capitium ab eo quod capit pectus, ut antiqui solebant, id est comprehendit.

capitium, because it holds (*capit*) the chest, as the ancients used to say, i.e. it encloses it.

Because of its Latin etymology,³² the **capitium* had to precede the time when Greek clothes with Greek names were adopted by the Romans. According to Varro, it therefore had to belong to an early, though not the earliest, stage of Roman cultural history. It was a *vestimentum antiquum* but not *antiquissimum*.

1.7 *reticulum*, **capital*, **rica* – archaic headwear

Even though Varro believed that early Roman women wore simple, unadorned clothing, he thought that numerous types of headwear were also already invented in early times. In LL, he gives three Latin names for various early garments of the head (*reticulum*, **capital*, **rica*):³³

Varro LL 5.130

quod capillum contineret, dictum a rete reticulum; rete ab raritudine; item texta fasciola, qua capillum in capite alligarent, dictum capital a capite, quod sacerdotulae in capite nunc etiam solent habere. sic rica ab ritu, quod Romano ritu sacrificium cum faciunt, capita velant. mitra et reliqua fere in capite postea addita cum vocabulis Graecis.

Because it held the hair, the *reticulum* was named after the net (*rete*). The term *rete* is derived from *raritudo* (looseness). Likewise, the small strip of woven cloth with which they tied the hair to the head (*caput*) was called **capital* after the word *caput*. Priestesses still usually wear it on their heads. Thus **rica* is derived from the word *ritus* because people veil their heads when they perform a sacrifice in the Roman manner (*Romano ritu*). The *mitra* and almost all other headdresses were added later along with their Greek names.

³² The Varronian etymology seems to be mirrored by some poets, see Prop. 4.9.49; Mart. 14.134; B 22 p. 508.

³³ Cf. also B 12 p. 455.

Varro again indiscriminately uses glosses and regular terms for dress. The *reticulum* (hairnet) (B 12) is well attested to us in literature since Cato and much earlier by archaeological findings. In contrast, the situation is completely different with the glosses **rica* (D 4) and **capital* (D 6). The word **rica* is attested only once in primary literary sources—in the catalogue of dress of the Plautine *Epidicus* (232)—a fact that is obscured by the extensive discussion the ancient grammarians led about it. In the *Epidicus*, the **rica* follows immediately after the **supparus*. Varro derived the word **rica* etymologically from *ritus* and saw in it a primitive headwear worn by women when sacrificing according to Roman ritual.

Trying to define the **rica*, Varro probably proceeded as follows: The mention of the **rica* in the *Epidicus* suggested to him that the **rica* was a female garment. He then related it to some ‘archaic’ contemporary garment. The false etymology helped him do this. The word *ritus* pointed to the religious sphere where Varro had also found the **ricinium*. Hence, he arrived at a special scarf worn by women when sacrificing. Varro’s explanation of the term **rica* is obviously preposterous. Above all else, his etymological reasoning lacks any basis whatsoever. The meaning of the word **rica*—it could have originated by a misreading of the word *tricae* in a manuscript of Plautus—and its long history in antique scholarship are dealt with in detail in the chapters A 4 and D 4. Here it may suffice to note that Varro’s factual definition of the **rica* as a sort of primeval Roman headscarf is already refuted by the nature of the Plautine reference. The comic catalogue of dress in the *Palliata Epidicus* is based on a Greek catalogue of women’s garments and does not refer to Roman dress.

The existence of the second archaic headdress with the name **capital* is also very dubious. The word **capital* used in this sense is also a hapax. It is found only here, in Varro. All primary evidence is lacking so that it is impossible to track its origin, but it must come from some ancient Latin text. If Varro proceeded as he did in other cases, we can assume that he tried to find a contemporary garment he could declare to be identical with the archaic **capital*. He again chose the sphere of Roman religion as the area to search for such a garment, where, as he rightly suspected, old practices and garments were in fact preserved. He finally found the **capital* in the headdress of some priestess, which he referred to with the diminutive *sacerdotula* (‘minor priestess’). The expression seems a bit disparaging. In any case, it remains somewhat vague because Varro does not name any specific cult. Furthermore, it is noticeable that he does not refer to the Vestal Virgins, whose headdress comes very close to his **capital*. Thus, Varro’s explanation bears all signs of being mere guesswork and shows that he had difficulty finding a suitable contemporary garment. This all suggests that **capital* should also be regarded as a word without a real-world article of clothing to which it might refer. In any case, we should refrain from using it.

1.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, Varro's 'theory' of early Roman costume was as follows: Roman men originally wore the *laena*, Roman women the **ricinium*. Both garments were later replaced by the *toga* and the *pallium/palla* and the **intusium*. Initially, both genders put on only a single *tunica*. Later, but still in early times, they wore two tunics, the normal tunic (**inducula*) and the undertunic (*subucula*). There was also an ancient garment which could be worn over the tunic, the **supparus*. In addition, there was a breastband (*capitium*) and a belt (*cingillum*). On the head, the women wore a hairnet (*reticulum*) and various forms of scarves (**capital*, **rica*).

Varro based his theory on the oldest Latin textual evidence available to him, from which he took the various dress glosses. These were the Law of the Twelve Tables and the *Epidicus* of Plautus, whose oeuvre Varro was very familiar with from his other research on that author. One must also reckon with the fact that Varro drew on the glosses of his teacher, Aelius Stilo. The high age of these texts and the Latin etymology of the words led Varro to infer that the garments mentioned in them belonged to a very early period of Roman culture. The etymology of the terms and the interpretation of the texts were the starting point for all his further reasonings. In a second step, he looked to odd articles of clothing of his own times, which could still be found in religious cult and ritual, and interpreted them as remnants of the ancient Roman costume because of their simplicity or heaviness.

As to the modern historical reconstruction of Roman dress, Varro's theory has to be regarded as mistaken in the following respect: As can be demonstrated, the glosses **ricinium* (D 1), **intusium* (D 3), and **rica* (D 4) did not designate the garments Varro thought they did. The same might hold true for the gloss **capital* (D 6). All these clothes are chimaeras born out of misinterpretations of incomprehensible words in texts. Even the words with a real meaning, adduced by Varro as evidence for early dress, do not refer to the garments which Varro thought they did. The word **inducula* is probably not a *terminus technicus*, but a comic invention of Plautus that refers to the regular *tunica* (A 4). The gloss **regilla* (D 3) seems to have a similar origin. In contrast to all these pseudo-terms, at least the word **supparus* (D 5) may be an Oscan loanword for a real article of clothing and perhaps denoted a long robe. However, it did not refer to an ancient Roman garment. In the end we can say that out of many names for early female Roman garments given by Varro only those known to us in historical times refer to actual historical reality: the *pallium* (B 2) and the *palla* (B 3), the *tunica* and the *subucula* (B 1), the *cingillum* (B 20), the *reticulum* (B 12), and, with some reservation, the *capitium* (B 22). This means that a serious history of early Roman costume can no longer be written, especially not based on Varro, since practically all terms which supposedly go beyond recorded history are either opaque corruptions or complete fabrications.

2 Varro (VPR 306) – the *toga*: a Primeval Unisex Garment?

1. Introduction
2. Varro on the *toga*, VPR 305 and 306
3. Nonius and the authorship of the second part of Varro VPR 306
4. The **ricinium* – a female *toga praetexta*
5. The ‘theory’ of the *toga* in Late Antiquity

2.1 Introduction

It is a commonplace that the Romans were a *gens togata*. The thought is already found in sources dating to the time of the Roman Republic and has been deeply impressed on the European cultural memory by Augustan and imperial propaganda: *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam* (Romans, world rulers and nation in *toga*).¹ And indeed, this is (partly) true. It was the circular-shaped *toga* that distinguished Roman citizens from other inhabitants of the Graeco-Roman world. Numerous archaeological monuments and texts show us Roman men wearing the *toga*.

But what about the Roman women? It is certain that ordinary adult women did not dress in the *toga* in the time of Roman Republic, although young girls might wear the *toga praetexta* as an insigne (C 6), and unfree prostitutes might use the normal *toga* as a kind of ‘work dress’ (C 5). However, modern research still maintains that primeval Roman fashion (i.e. fashion in a time for which we do not have any historical sources) was different and that both Roman women and men originally wore the *toga*, the dress custom changing only afterwards.²

The basis for this hypothesis is the second part of a fragment from Varro’s treatise *De vita populi Romani* (VPR 306) that is quoted by Nonius (4th century CE) and says that the *toga* was a unisex garment in primeval times. Yet even this evidence is very doubtful. In fact, as will be shown, it is not evidence at all. This chapter argues that the respective remarks about the general use of the *toga* do not belong to Varro, but are

¹ Verg. Aen. 1.282 (prophecy of Jupiter).

² Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44 n. 1; Blümner (1911) 231; RE 6.2 A (1937) s.v. *toga*, col. 1652 (F. W. Goethert); L. M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga*, Baltimore 1924, 27 and id., (1938) 36; V. J. Willi, *Kulturgeschichte der Mode*, in: R. König/P. W. Schuppisser, *Die Mode in der menschlichen Gesellschaft*, Zürich 1958, 23; H. R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen*, Mainz 1989, 2; S. Stone, *The Toga. From National to Ceremonial Costume*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 13; McGinn (1998) 157–158; K. Olson, *Matrona and Whore. The Clothing of Women in Antiquity*, in: *Fashion Theory* 6 (2002), 409 n. 36 and id. (2008) 49 n. 125; GRD (2007) 190: “It was at first a very simple, all-purpose draped garment worn by both men and women.”

already part of Nonius' comment on him. It will prove that the division of Varro VPR F 306 that dates back to the edition of Popma (1601) is incorrect. The view that the *toga* was originally a unisex garment should thus be attributed to Nonius.

The opinion that ordinary women (like men) wore a *toga praetexta* at the beginning is first found in Festus (Verrius) discussing the meaning of the gloss **ricinium*, and it became only generalized in later times. It has no historical foundation whatsoever, but is pure guesswork of scholars in Late Antiquity exaggerating the importance of the *toga* as dress symbol of a time that was for them already a 'mythical past.' The unisex hypothesis should therefore be banned from any serious historical study of the *toga*.

2.2 Varro on the *toga*, VPR 305 and VPR 306

Varro mentions the *toga* three times in his work *De lingua Latina* (LL), referring two times³ to the male and the female fashion of his own time (these two passages can be left aside for the purposes of this chapter) and only once to prehistorical Roman dress. In the relevant section, Varro deals with the Latin etymology of everyday terms.⁴ He gives a catalogue of terms from the realm of wool processing and clothing. He begins with wool (*lana*) and purple (*purpura*) and continues with the terms for threads and cloth until he comes to the first garments:

Varro LL 5.114⁵

tunica ab tuendo corpore, [tunica ut indica], toga a tegendo, cinctus et cingillum a cingendo, alterum viris, alterum mulieribus attributum.

tunica from protecting (*tueri*) the body, *toga* from covering (*tegere*) it, belt and girdle from girding (*cingere*) it, the one assigned to men, the other to women.

Varro talks about the three basic components of the Roman (male) costume, the *tunica*, the *toga*, and the belt, and gives what he believes to be the etymology of the respective terms. He derives the terms *tunica* and *toga* from the two elementary functions of clothing: protecting and covering the body (*tueri*, *tegere*). Varro thought these etymologies to be of Latin origin and thus attributed the words to the oldest stratum of the Latin language, which he connects elsewhere with the time of the Roman kings. That he championed a theory of a uniform primeval male and female garment cannot be deduced from his remarks.

³ Varro LL 8.13, 9.48; cf. B 2 pp. 280–281.

⁴ LL 5.105: *quae manu facta sunt dicam, de victu, de vestitu, de instrumento, et siquid aliud videbitur his aptum* [I shall talk about things produced by human hands, namely food, clothing, tools, and the things associated with them].

⁵ *tunica ut indica* del. A. Spengel (1885) in app.: *tuendica* Goetz/Schoell (1910): *tuica* A. Spengel.

Varro also speaks about the *toga* in the first book of his cultural history *De vita populi Romani* (VPR). Apart from the passage quoted above from LL, this is the only instance known to us where Varro mentions the *toga* in a prehistorical context. His remarks are adduced by Nonius to illustrate the use of the word *toga*. It is remarkable that Nonius quotes Varro on the *toga* only once, because he appears to have very carefully excerpted Varro's VPR with regard to clothing. We may thus assume that Varro did not write very much about the *toga* in his cultural history. Otherwise, Nonius would not have passed up the opportunity to quote from it. The entry in the dictionary of Nonius in its full length reads as follows:

Nonius pp. 867.33–868.3 L. (= VPR F 306 S. [= 44 R.])⁶
toga non solum viri, sed etiam feminae utebantur. Afranius Fratriis (182): *equidem prandere stantem nobiscum incinctam toga. Varro de vita populi Romani lib. I: praeterea quod in lecto togas ante habebant. ante enim olim [toga D^A eds.] fuit commune vestimentum et diurnum et nocturnum et muliebre et virile.*

The *toga* was worn not only by men but also by women. Afranius in the *Fratriae*: 'of course, having breakfast with us standing, dressed in the *toga*.' Varro in the first book VPR: 'apart from the fact that people formerly used to wear a *toga* in bed.' For formerly, once upon a time, it was the common garment, both day and night, of both women and men.

After his own introduction (*toga ... utebantur*), Nonius first quotes a verse from a Togata of Afranius, which apparently served him as proof that women also wore the *toga*. The fragment of Afranius (second half of 2nd century BCE) is discussed in detail in chapter A 7.⁷ If the feminine form *incinctam* is correct, Afranius did not speak about a free Roman woman, but about a *meretrix*, a prostitute of the lowest social standing, because it was only those women that wore the *toga* in the times of the Roman Republic.⁸ However, the literary topic suggests that Nonius' version of Afranius is incorrect and the passage employed the masculine form *incinctum* instead of the feminine *incinctam*. Afranius probably spoke about a man.

The quotation from Afranius is followed by one from Varro's VPR. In the editions from Popma (1601)⁹ onwards, Varro's remarks are usually thought to extend from the word *praeterea* until the end of the entire section and are interpreted accordingly. However, the attribution of both sentences to Varro is by no means necessary. On the contrary, there are several reasons for assigning the last generalizing remarks (*ante enim olim ...*) not to Varro, but to Nonius himself.

⁶ *incinctam* codd.: *incinctum* Radicke; *toga* Bothe (1824): *togam* codd. (1824); *olim fuit* LA^AB^ACA^A: *olim toga fuit* D^A (edd.).

⁷ See pp. 161–165.

⁸ Cf. B 6 pp. 368–370.

⁹ Popma (1601), reprinted in the *editio Bipontiana* (1788) 237; most recently Pittà (2015) 219–222.

Let us turn first to the beginning of the fragment. The words undoubtedly belonging to Varro (*praeterea quod in lecto togas ante habuerunt*) did not form part of a general discourse on the *toga*, but belonged to an account of what happened in the Roman bed or bedchamber (*in lecto*) in primeval times. By their content, they are closely linked to that of F 305, which must also originate from the first book of VPR.¹⁰ There Varro speaks about the pillows and blankets with which the husband furnished the wedding bed. As the *primus-inventor*-motif in this fragment shows, Varro dealt with the invention of a wedding custom. The verbatim quotation from Varro is also transmitted by Nonius, who, as elsewhere, exploits one and the same place of a source for several entries of his dictionary:

Varro VPR F 305 S. (26 R.)¹¹

qui primus uxorem ducebat, duabus culcitis ac duabus torum plagulis cum strasset
the one who was the first to marry, after covering the bed with two pillows and two sheets

Varro talks about the bridal couple's marriage bed. Taken together with F 305, the meaning of F 306 becomes very clear. Varro maintained that the Romans did not have any special blankets in bed, but simply covered themselves with the *toga*. He may have come about this idea by drawing an analogy with the term of the Greek cloak, the word *himation* (= *pallium*), which can also designate either a cloak or alternatively a blanket. The sense of the whole section then was as follows: 'The new husband provided a pair of mattresses and blankets. Apart from that, they covered themselves with *togae*.' If this reconstruction is correct, the expression *praeterea quod* (apart from the fact that) at the beginning of F 306 can also be easily understood in its restrictive sense.

It should be noted that up to this point neither fragment mentions a female *toga*, although Nonius obviously thought the expression *habebant* to include both genders. There is only talk about the custom that Romans, as Varro supposed, used the *toga* to cover themselves in bed in primeval times. It is only in the second sentence of F 306 that the *toga* becomes the universal garment (*vestimentum commune*) of both genders in prehistorical times. Furthermore, the general expression seems to suggest—although it is not explicitly stated—that the *toga* was not only the universal, but also sole Roman garment.¹² This single sentence is the only evidence from Classical Antiquity for the

¹⁰ F 306 and F 305 have already been put together by Popma (1601 [1788]) and most recently by Salvadore (2004), while they have been separated by Kettner (F 24 and F 36), Riposati (F 26 and F 44), Pittà (2015) 110–112.

¹¹ Nonius pp. 121.4–122.6 L. *primus* codd.: *primum* L. Mueller (1888); *torum* Radicke: *toris* B^A: *oris* L: *toribus* F^{3C}A^DA: *toros* Popma (1601); *tribus* Lindsay. The transmission suffers from some corruption, but it can easily be healed by changing the transmitted *toris* to the accusative *torum* or *toros* (Popma [1601]). Lindsay's conjecture *tribus* makes little sense, because there are only two persons involved. Pittà (2015) 110–112 thinks that the corruption of the text went further, but his arguments do not evince this.

¹² See Riposati (1939) 160.

modern hypothesis that originally Roman women also wore *togas* in daily life. Our discussion will therefore focus on it now.

2.3 Nonius and the authorship of the second part of Varro VPR 306

For several reasons, it is very likely that the last sentence of F 306 does not belong to Varro, but to Nonius, writing about four centuries later. Since the text has been variously altered by editors, it is necessary to discuss the wording first. In contrast to present editions, the text of Nonius should be printed without the word *toga*, because this is omitted in the better manuscripts and seems to be a later addition to the archetype. The switch from the plural *togas* in the preceding quotation of Varro to the singular is no problem. The wording is smooth enough, if we take the last sentence to be part of Nonius' own explanation: *toga non solum viri, sed etiam feminae utebantur ... ante enim olim fuit commune vestimentum etc.* (Not only men, but also women used the *toga* ... for once it was a unisex garment). The same holds true for the first words of the sentence *ante enim olim*, which editors have also variously altered.¹³ The repetition of the preceding *ante* in *ante enim* makes perfect sense when we assume that Nonius took up the word *ante* from Varro, given that it was important for his unisex hypothesis. He then explains and modifies it by the following *olim* (once upon a time), thus creating the slightly abundant expression *ante enim olim* (in former times once) that has puzzled modern scholars.

Apart from the fact that the oddities of the transmission can be easily justified with the assumption that the words belong to Nonius, there are also several other reasons for attributing the final general statement of the section not to Varro, but to Nonius. First, it is very similar to generalizing remarks Nonius makes in other entries. He often uses the term *vestimentum* and then defines it by some addition.¹⁴ This is often expressed by an adjective, whereby the adjective *muliebre* (female) is used twice.¹⁵ Nonius' style is normally quite clumsy and sequential, as seen in the sentence above. The generalizing explanation also reads like a summary resulting from the preceding quotations taken from Afranius and Varro. Afranius, at least according to the clearly mistaken opinion of Nonius, referred to Roman women in general and not to prostitutes (see above). By misunderstanding Afranius, Nonius seems to have drawn the generalizing conclusions.

However, it is not only the content and the form of the sentence itself that suggest that it was not written by Varro. Most importantly, the statement that all Romans were initially dressed in the *toga* is also in partial contradiction to Varro's views on primeval

¹³ Most recently Pittà (2015) 2019.

¹⁴ Nonius p. 860.15 L.: *tunica ... vestimentum sine manicis*; 862.32 L.: *palla ... honestae mulieris vestimentum*; 863.22 L.: *sagum vestimentum militare*; 866.35 L.: *indusium est vestimentum quod*; 868.4 L.: *laena vestimentum militare*; 869.25 L.: *limbum, ut adnotatum invenimus, muliebre vestimentum*.

¹⁵ Nonius p. 869.25 L. (see above); 869.8 L.: *reticulum tegmen capitis muliebre*.

Roman dress expressed elsewhere. As we have seen in chapter C 1, he distinguished between the *laena*, the male proto-*toga*, and the **ricinium*, the female proto-*pallium*. A female *toga* does not easily fit into this theory, unless we think that, in case of the women, another proto-*toga* preceded the proto-*pallium*.

For these reasons, it is very likely that the remark that all women at the beginning wore the *toga* is not attributable to Varro, but to Nonius, and thus should be dated to Late Antiquity and not to Republican times. In any case, such a statement would have been very astonishing in the mouth of Varro because the *toga* was considered the garb of unfree prostitutes in Classical Antiquity, a group of women Varro would hardly have wanted to associate with the early Roman women.

2.4 The **ricinium* – a female *toga praetexta*

Let us now see how the opinion of ordinary adult women wearing a *toga* could have arisen. We first find a possible reference to it in a lemma of Festus (Verrius) which concerns the gloss **ricinium*. Festus' remarks only concern the *toga praetexta*, but they had some influence on later grammarians and seem to be a step on the way of transforming the *toga* into a unisex garment. The entire text is discussed in chapter D 1.¹⁶ It suffers from textual corruption at the decisive point. In its emended form, it runs as follows:

Festus p. 342.20–22 L.¹⁷

recinium omne vestimentum quadratum ii qui XII interpretati sunt esse dixerunt. Verrius toga<m>, <qua> mulieres utebantur, praetextam clavo purpureo.

The interpreters of the Laws of the Twelve Tables said that the **recinium* is any square cloth. According to Verrius, it is a *toga* worn by women and had a purple border.

If Lipsius' conjecture is correct, it was the Augustan scholar Verrius, whose dictionary formed the basis of Festus' work, who put forward the opinion that women wore a kind of *toga praetexta* (= **ricinium*) in early times, and thus became a forerunner of the Late Antique grammarians. At least, Servius' comments on the female *toga* (see below) show some affinity with his remarks. Verrius' contentions are pure guesswork and have no foundation in reality whatsoever. The **ricinium* (D 1) is a dress chimaera that tempted scholars to develop exciting theories and to show their cleverness. Whoever first contended that it was a *toga*, he probably only did it to contrast the opinion of preceding grammarians that it was a kind of *pallium*. This is the only evidence we have from Classical Antiquity.

¹⁶ Cf. pp. 592–592.

¹⁷ *Verrius togam qua Lipsius: vir toga F; praetextam Lipsius: praetextum F.*

2.5 The ‘theory’ of the *toga* in Late Antiquity

The full-fledged ‘theory’ that ordinary women wore a *toga* in primeval times is first found in Nonius and other Late Antique authors. It is best understood as evidence of the increasing generalization the *toga* underwent not in its usage, but in its historical reception. In Late Antiquity, the *toga* had long been obsolete as a garment. The complete universalization as a male and female garment worn day and night fits very well into a time when the *toga* was ever more ‘hypostasized’ into a dress symbol of the glorious Roman past. We have already seen what Nonius had to say about it. A similar view is put forward by Servius commenting on the famous verse of the *Aeneid* already quoted in the introduction of this chapter:

Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 1.282

gentemque togatam] bene ‘gentem,’ quia et sexus omnis et condicio toga utebatur, sed servi nec colobia nec calceos habebant. togas autem etiam feminas habuisse cycladum et recini usus ostendit. recinus autem dicitur ab eo, quod post tergum reicitur, quod vulgo maforte dicunt.

gentemque togatam: rightly ‘gentem,’ because all genders and all social classes wore the *toga*. Slaves, however, had neither *colobia* nor shoes. The use of the *cyclas* and the **recinus* shows that women also wore the *toga*. The **recinus* is called thus because it is thrown back behind the back (*reicitur*). This is now usually called *maforte*.

The meaning of the whole section is discussed in chapter D 1.¹⁸ Vergil’s words *gens togata* provided Servius with an opportunity to show his entire (pseudo-)knowledge about early Roman dress (*togas autem etiam feminas habuisse*) and its supposed terminology (**recinus/*ricinium*). Servius’ comments to some extent reflect Festus’ remarks, but seem to have been enriched by some other unknown author.

Finally, a third source has proved influential among modern scholars. It is even less reliable than Servius and consists of a comment of a Pseudo-Asconius on a passage in Cicero’s *Speeches against Verres*.

Ps.-Asconius ad Cic. Verr. 2.1.113

eripies pupillae togam praetextam] toga communis habitus fuit et marium et feminarum, sed praetexta honestorum, toga viliorum, quod etiam circa mulieres servabatur.

Will you snatch away the *praetexta* from your ward?] The *toga* was a common dress with men and women. However, the higher class wore the *praetexta*, the lower class the *toga*, a principle that also held with women.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 593.

The reference was used by Ottavio Ferrari (1654) to prove that the *toga* was worn by men and by women in ancient Roman times.¹⁹ Mirroring a belief of the scholarship of the 17th century, Ferrari thought the scholia to be written by the scholar Asconius Pedianus (9 BCE–76 CE) who had specialized in Cicero, and thus dated it to the first half of the first century CE. However, in the year 1828, the great Danish scholar Nicolai Madvig proved this belief to be false.²⁰ He showed that the scholia are not the valuable early source scholars mistook them for, but a compilation written by some unknown *grammaticus*, hence called Pseudo-Asconius, who lived in the fifth century CE and often relied on Servius.²¹ His comments have no historical value at all apart from showing the low level that scholarship had fallen to at this time, and they fit perfectly with what we read in Nonius and Servius.

It is clear that in Late Antiquity the Roman *toga* was nothing more than a myth. That it was a unisex garment in early times is a fantasy of Late Antique scholars amplifying what they thought to be *the* Roman garment par excellence. It is a historical fiction and should not be repeated anymore in modern scholarship.

¹⁹ Ferrari (1654) 76: “*toga antiquis temporibus commune viris ac mulieribus vestimentum fuit.*” Ferrari refers to it as Asconius *Pro Scauro*, probably quoting by heart.

²⁰ J.N. Madvig, *De Q. Asconii Pediani et aliorum veterum interpretum in Ciceronis orationes commentariis disputatio critica*, Hauniae 1828.

²¹ Cf. on it A. Gessner, *Servius und Pseudo-Asconius*, Diss. Zurich 1888.

Part D: **Glosses**

Introduction to part D

1 Method and scope

Part D would have been much to the heart of Flaubert's heroes Bouvard and Pécuchet. It is more about words and less about life and tells the end of the story begun in part C. It considers the meaning of several dress glosses which—in contrast to neutral dress terms—all exclusively belong to the scholars' world.¹

In general, what is called a gloss in this book is simply a word whose meaning is difficult to understand and therefore needs explanation. This is what ancient scholars called a γλῶσσα (gloss). A word can be incomprehensible for various reasons. (1) It may refer to a cultural practice that is foreign or has fallen out of use;² (2) it may be technical and appertain to the language of specialists;³ (3) or it may be altogether a 'non-word' (= a string of phonemes or letters without any or at least permanent meaning). Comical word plays or idiosyncratic translations from Greek (like in Plautus) can create words that are formed only ad-hoc.⁴ On the other hand, textual corruption (like mishearing) can transform a meaningful regular word into a meaningless new one.⁵ Part D uses all possible explanations to elucidate the nature of the various glosses. In some cases, a chapter argues that textual corruption caused obscurity.

The analysis of the chapters in part D usually comprises three steps. First is finding the place where the gloss originated. In several cases, it is possible to trace it back to a definite passage in a Pre-Classical author. Then follows the gloss' history in ancient scholarship, i.e. its shifts of meaning. The various opinions are then refuted. Finally, the analysis of each gloss tentatively advances a hypothesis of its own. As in part A, the methods used are mainly that of textual criticism and traditional hermeneutics. In many cases, a meticulous discussion of textual matters is needed since the quality of the textual transmission of Festus (Verrius) and Nonius, our main sources, is very poor.

The study could have been given a more sensational title like 'Blood for the Ghosts.' For what it wants is exactly this: give a final intellectual offering to some obscure words that have haunted scholarship for ages so that they may henceforth rest in peace. At the same time, part D wants to shake old beliefs in the explanatory skills of ancient (and modern) scholars and to exclude these incomprehensible or completely fictitious terms from all future discourse about real garments.

1 In order to stress the 'ontological' difference, these are always marked with an asterisk (*) in this book.

2 Cf. C 5 **supparus*.

3 Cf. C 3 **patagium*; **indusium*; **regilla*.

4 Cf. C 6 **caltula*. For further examples, cf. A 4–5.

5 Cf. C 1 **ricinium* (*triclimum*); C 2 **rusceus* (*russeus*); **galbeus* (*galbinus*); **arsineus* (*argenteus*); C 4 **rica* (*trica*); C 6 **calasis* (*calasiris*); C 7 **stica* (*spica*).

2 Sources

Part D is based on all secondary (scholarly) evidence on the respective glosses up to early Carolingian times. There is hardly any primary evidence. Apart from **supparus* (D 5), all glosses—purportedly very old Latin words—are attested only once in Republican literature and are thus *hapax legomena*.⁶ However, this fact is obscured by ancient scholars, who sometimes adduce made-up pseudo-parallels and by later authors of fictional texts (Germanicus, Lucan, Apuleius) who wanted to show off with their education. Their mention of glosses is not primary evidence, but shows the influence of scholarly discourse on Imperial literature. In addition, the **recinium* (D 1) was ‘re-invented’ as a priests’ garb by the Augustan dress reform. Hence, we find it in inscriptions. Nevertheless, the garment is only pure scholarship raised to life.

3 Ancient scholarship

Although this part is primarily concerned with words and not with the scholars, readers will get some impression of what ancient scholarship looked like and how it developed through the ages. Most scholars were *grammatici*, i.e. school teachers by profession, who explained texts to their pupils. Explaining obscure words gave them pride and pleasure because it showed their erudition. There was even a certain rivalry among them about who was best at explaining old words in a new way or at discovering unknown old words altogether (which all too often ended up as inventing ‘old’ words). One should not underestimate these personal motives when looking at the different explanations we are given for many obscure words.

Readers will repeatedly find the names of seven scholars on the following pages. These were influential in their own times and even now because their texts are still extant. Each of them personifies the nature of the scholarship of his times—its strengths as well as its deficiencies. At the same time, they form an intellectual chain through the ages, which is linked by the same subject matter and by factual scholarly succession (*diadoche*).⁷

All of the scholars are well known from general literary history. The following short remarks only serve to recall them to mind. The first two are Aelius Stilo (2nd century BCE) and Varro (117–26 BCE), whom we have already met in part C. The next is M. Verrius Flaccus, who lived in Augustan times (ca. 55 BCE–12 CE) and who was the first librarian of the public library established by Augustus. Verrius wrote a comprehensive

⁶ Some are not attested at all when closely re-examining the manuscripts.

⁷ However, there it is not one, but two traditions we will see: first, the Antique one, which gets ever more diluted until Carolingian times; then, the Late Antique one, which walks on its own for the most part.

twenty-volume dictionary called *De significatu verborum*, in which he assembled all knowledge available to him. It is lost in its original form. We know about it only through a short version of the grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus, who epitomized it in a work that he called by the same name.

Festus cannot be dated exactly, but he lived in the age of the Antonine Emperors in the second half of the second century CE. The scholarship of this time (Gellius, Fronto) is characterized by a fondness for early Roman literature and by a renewed interest in lexicography. Festus did what is very typical for scholars in this period: He copied and abridged Classical works. For his dictionary, he relied on Verrius—to such an extent that he is often quoted as Festus (Verrius) (as in this book)—and only sometimes upgraded him by making minor additions of his own. However, large parts of Festus' work have been lost in its original form as well. Its remnants are mainly preserved in a mutilated codex, the Farnesianus (F), and in a further epitome written by the Langobard Paulus Diaconus. Considerable effort and discussion are therefore needed to restore what Festus (Verrius) said in the first place. In this, the work of Paulus, who lived at the court of Charlemagne, is of much help, but it offers only a small part of what there was in Festus. He focuses on Festus's definitions and cuts out most quotations and names of other authors. Sometimes he adds a short remark of his own. In general, it is so close to Festus that the text cannot be counted as an independent work.

Scholarship in Classical Antiquity ends with Festus. In Late Antiquity, after a considerable gap in time, we find Nonius Marcellus. He probably lived in the fifth century CE⁸ and wrote a twenty-volume lexicographical work called *Compendiosa doctrina*. It is left to us almost entirely and contains two books on dress terms. As to its character, it is a kind of glossary consisting of Nonius' own definitions and excerpts of the Classical authors, which are invaluable to us. In his books on dress, Nonius does not refer to Antique scholarship, and there is no connection between him and Festus (Verrius). This makes him an independent source with new material and explanations we do not find elsewhere. However, the transmission of his text poses many problems of its own. Many of the following chapters could have just as easily been called *Studia Noniana* since it often requires a lot of patience to find out what Nonius could have meant. In the books on dress, Nonius' work has the appearance of notes rather than of a proper dictionary.

Last in line is Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636 CE), who wrote a twenty-volume encyclopaedia called *Etymologiae* containing several chapters on dress terms. Isidore's opinions are highly influential among modern scholars. However, most of what he tells us is an odd mixture of ancient scholarship, Christian belief, and early medieval fantasy, resulting in nonsense. His *Etymologiae* are of interest as to the state of mind

⁸ Cf. M. Deufert, Zur Datierung des Nonius, *Philologus* 145 (2001), 137–149; Gatti (2014) XII–XIII in the introduction to the edition.

prevalent in his times, but they are not a serious source as regards historical ancient dress.

Apart from these authors, there are some others who will occasionally appear in the following pages. The history of scholarship is also a history of the loss of knowledge. It is a history of blank spaces. We know that Suetonius wrote a treatise about dress, but his work has left no noticeable impact in our tradition. Remarks in Gellius and Tertullian show that both men also used a learned source on ancient dress. In Late Antiquity, there are explanations of glosses in Servius' comment on Vergil. However, all this does not make up for our lack of a coherent account.

4 Structure of part D

The first five chapters are ordered in the same way as the first chapters of part A. This creates connections between chapters in the same position of the order. First comes the Law of the Twelve Tables, then follow the *Origines* of Cato, then the *Epidicus* of Plautus, and finally the Roman comedies. The long chapters on the **rica* (D 4) and the **supparus* (D 5) form a contrastive climax. They describe the ancient scholars' efforts lost on explaining a non-word (**rica*) and show their failure at explaining a real, though unfamiliar dress term. At the same time, the two chapters illustrate how even most of the recent scholarship keeps too close to the false premises established by Humanist scholars. After the **supparus*, there follows a chapter on the glosses only found in the secondary sources of the grammarians (D 6). The finale is a short 'cautionary tale' about the gloss **stica* (D 7), which provides a modern example of how a fictitious word for dress can originate and come into general use. Readers looking for a distillation of this part of the book are invited to enjoy that short case study.

1 **ricinium* (*triclinium*) – the Law of the Twelve Tables

1. Introduction
2. From the beginnings to the Imperial Period (Festus)
3. Late Antiquity (Servius, Nonius)
4. The Migration Period (Isidore of Seville)

The Law of the Twelve Tables is the origin of the two dress glosses **ricinium* and **lessus*. The definition of the **lessus* as a garment given by Sextus Aelius, the earliest commentator of the laws, was already disputed in antiquity. Stilo, who was the teacher of Varro and an authority in this field, disagreed with Sextus Aelius and defined the **lessus* as a wailing cry. This became the prevailing interpretation. The postulated archaic garment called **lessus* thus disappeared very early on, and it therefore need not be discussed here.¹ The following chapter only deals with the obscure word **ricinium*. As is often the case, the texts which (seemingly) contain it pose difficult problems. In some cases, the transmission is corrupt and needs emendation. Readers will therefore find a significant amount of painstaking discussion of textual matters, hopefully clearing the field for future scholars.

1.1 Introduction

The gloss **ricinium* has always been much appreciated by scholars.² A garment called by this name was even detected in the archaeological evidence.³ The various guesses ancient grammarians up to Varro made about its meaning have already been dealt with in two other chapters.⁴ These argue for the hypothesis that the obscure hapax **ricinium* hides nothing more than a historical *triclinium* (couch for three persons), which had fallen victim to textual corruption very early in the text of the law. This chapter presents the explanations given by Imperial and Late Antique grammarians in order to illustrate how the gloss (ever more detached from its origin, the text of the Law of the Twelve Tables, and reality) lived on purely in the grammarians' discourse. The aim is to show the weak foundation on which modern speculation about its meaning is based.

¹ It is examined in detail in chapter A pp. 35–37.

² Becker/Göll III (1882) 264–265; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 575; Blümner (1911) 233; RE 1.1 A (1914) s.v. *ricinium*, col. 799–800 (A. Hug); Wilson (1938) 150–151; L. Sensi, *Ornatus e status sociale delle donne Romane*, in: *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 18 (1980), 64–65; Potthoff (1992) 163–167; Sebesta (1994a) 50; GRD (2007) 161; Edmondson (2008) 13, 27; Olson (2008) 42; Croom (2010) 108.

³ Kockel (1993) 52.

⁴ Cf. A 1 pp. 37–40; C 1 pp. 565–568.

1.2 From the beginnings to the Imperial Period (Verrius/Festus)

The earliest commentators of the Law of the Twelve Tables regarded the **ricinium* as a *vestimentum quadratum* (square garment). Varro defined it more closely as a primeval square-shaped female cloak. Our next source offers a new explanation. It is the dictionary of Festus which is based on the work of the Augustan scholar Verrius. As usual, it combines several scholarly opinions:

Festus p. 342.20–22 L.⁵

recinium omne vestimentum quadratum ii qui XII interpretati sunt esse dixerunt, Verrius toga<m>, <qua> mulieres utebantur, praetextam clavo purpureo. unde reciniati mimi planipedes. quam rem diligenter exsequitur Santra lib. II de antiquitate verborum.

The interpreters of the Laws of the Twelve Tables said that the **recinium* is any square cloth. According to Verrius it is a *toga* worn by women and had a purple border. Hence the actors wearing no shoes are called *reciniati*. This matter is carefully explained by Santra in the second book *De antiquitate verborum*.

It is noticeable that Festus offers the form **recinium* (not with RI, but with RE at the beginning). This change in orthography could mirror Varro's etymology, who derived the word from *reicere* (to throw back). Festus' lemma starts with the oldest explanation, which was expressed in the early commentaries on the Law of the Twelve (now lost). After the first sentence, the text is defective. The transmitted *vir toga* cannot stand.

Justus Lipsius, the famous scholar philosopher of the 16th century, therefore proposed writing *Verrius togam qua* and changing *praetextum* to *praetextam*.⁶ Verrius thus contended that the **ricinium* was a *toga* with a purple border that was worn by women in early times. Lipsius' emendation is very attractive because Festus often quotes Verrius as an authority in second place. It also helps to explain how Servius (see below) came about identifying the **recinus* (sic) as a kind of female *toga*.

If Lipsius' hypothesis is correct, Verrius departed from the interpreters of the Law of the Twelve Tables and from Varro who regarded the **ricinium* as a kind of primeval *pallium*. Maybe, Verrius relied for his opinion on Santra, who is quoted next by Festus and probably lived after Varro but before Verrius, who quotes him elsewhere as if he were a recent source. In his chronicle, Jerome also puts Santra between Varro (117–26 BCE) and Nepos (ca. 95–30 BCE).⁷

⁵ *Verrius togam qua* Lipsius: *vir toga* F; *praetextam* Lipsius: *praetextum* F.

⁶ Justus Lipsius, *Epistolicarum Quaestionum libri quinque*, Antwerp 1577, I 7 (a letter to the scholar Ludwig Carrion) pp. 16–17.

⁷ Cf. Hieron. de vir. ill. praef.: *apud Latinos Varro Santra Nepos Hyginus et Suetonius*.

The last texts from Classical Antiquity that mention the **ricinium* come from the ceremonial protocols of the so-called Arval brethren (*acta Arvalia*).⁸ This is a ‘restored’ priesthood closely connected with the imperial cult. The texts range from the time of Nero up to Elagabalus.⁹ In the aftermath of intensive scholarly debate, the by then obscure **ricinium* was actually brought back to life (or rather born) in Augustan times. The original meaning (a type of female garment) had been lost, and the term was reinvented not as a female but as a male garment purportedly worn by Arval brethren as part of their ceremonial costume. Obviously, this kind of Imperial **ricinium* differed significantly from what Varro and the early commentators of the Twelve Tables thought this garment to be. The difference shows how easily a word of unknown meaning can lend itself to various interpretations. It also shows that even a small number of texts spread across a few centuries can result in widely diverging interpretations of a single word. These only proliferated as the centuries went on.

1.3 Late Antiquity (Servius, Nonius)

The meaning of the gloss was still a matter of interest for scholars in Late Antiquity, though they discussed the word without any reference to the Twelve Tables or the imperial cult. The textual umbilical cord was now cut, and the word took on a life of its own. The high age of the gloss is felt in the comment made by Servius (5th century CE) on Vergil’s famous verse *Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam*.¹⁰ Servius gives us a lot of heterogeneous material on the **ricinium* (which had morphed into the **recinus* in his text). This results in a tertiary pseudo-historical combination:

gentemque togatam] bene “gentem,” quia et sexus omnis et condicio toga utebatur, sed servi nec colobia nec calceos habebant. togas autem etiam feminas habuisse cycladum et recini usus ostendit. recinus autem dicitur ab eo, quod post tergum reicitur, quod vulgo maforte dicunt.

and the *gens togata*] (sc. Vergil uses) the term *gens* in an apt manner, since every gender as well as every class wore the *toga*. The slaves however had neither *colobia* nor shoes. That the women wore the *toga* as well is shown by the fact that they used the *cyclas* and the **recinus* [!]. The **recinus* is

⁸ For the evidence, the index of the edition of Scheid (1998) s.v. *riciniatus* and *ricinium*.

⁹ See on them in general Scheid (1998) in his commentary on the Arval inscriptions; ThesCRA V (2005) 92–93 no. 79–83; and J. Scheid, Gli arvali e il sito ad Deam Diam, in: R. Friggeri et al. (eds.), Terme di Diocleziano. Il Chiostro piccolo della Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli, Rome 2014, 49–59; C. Caruso, I rendiconti degli Arvali. Le iscrizioni e l’allestimenti, in: R. Friggeri et al. (loc. cit.) (2014), 61–64; on a possible depiction of their sacrifice I. Scott Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, MemAmAc 22 (1955), 115–117 with pl. 60.

¹⁰ Verg. Aen. 1.282.

called thus because it is thrown back behind the back (*reicitur*). The garment is commonly called *maforte*.

Servius begins by stating that all Romans, men and women alike, wore the *toga*. If my reasoning in chapter D 2 is correct, this thought does not go back as far as Varro, but started in Imperial times and only took its final form in Late Antiquity. In order to support his hypothesis, Servius then adduces two garments: the *cyclas* and the **recinus*/**ricinium*. The term *cyclas* designates a luxury garment that had long since disappeared in Servius' times.¹¹ Servius (or his source) probably derived the word from *cyclus* and assumed that it had to designate a round garment, i.e. a *toga*. In contrast, the **recinus* had always been a dress chimaera. For Servius, however, the status of both 'garments' was identical. They were both pure words he only knew from his books. As to the word **recinus*, Servius offers the 'Varronian' etymology, but thinks it to designate a kind of *toga*. In this, he follows Festus (Verrius), though the garbled nature of his account suggests that he did not use Festus' dictionary directly. On top of that, Servius gives us something of his own, comparing the **recinus* to a garment of his own time, the *maforte*.

In contrast to Servius, Nonius' entry on the **ricinium* does not mirror the *toga*-theory. It is obviously partly based on Varro, and this is probably the reason why the 'correct' orthography **ricinium* has been preserved:

Nonius p. 869.1–7 L.

ricinium, quod nunc mafurtium dicitur, palliolum femineum breve. Varro Ταφή Μενίππου (F 538) nihil[o] magis di<cit de>cere mulierem quam [de muliebri ricinio] pallium simplex; idem De vita populi Romani lib. I (F 333 S.): ex quo mulieres in adversis rebus ac luctibus, cum omnem vestitum delicatiorem ac luxuriosum postea institutum ponunt, ricinia sumunt.

The **ricinium*, now called *mafurtium*, is a short female cloak. Varro says in *Menippos' tomb* that nothing adorns women more than [on the female *ricinium*] a simple *pallium*. The same in the first book *On the Life of the Roman People*: "Therefore, in cases of misfortune and mourning, women take off all more refined and luxurious garments, which were adopted in later times, and instead put on **ricinia*."

As usual, Nonius first gives his own definition, comparing (like Servius) the **ricinium* to a garment he knew from use: the *mafurtium*. Although he relies on Varro in the following, Nonius regards the **ricinium* as a short cloak or shawl (*palliolum breve*) and thus differs noticeably from Varro's opinion.¹² Nonius' guess is based on either the appearance of the historical *mafurtium* or on the orthographic similarity of the

¹¹ Cf. B 9 pp. 391–394.

¹² According to Varro, the **ricinium* was a heavy double *pallium*, cf. C 1 pp. 565–568.

glosses **ricinium* and **rica* (D 4).¹³ Nonius' own definition (like Servius') is only pseudo-knowledge. It is of historical interest only for the clothing worn in Late Antiquity. At best, it can be used as a basis for understanding the later *mafurtium* or *maforte*.

After his own explanation, Nonius adds two quotations from Varro to prove his statement. The second one is taken from Varro's *De vita populi Romani*. It forms the basis of Nonius' lemma and has been discussed in detail in chapter C 1.¹⁴ The following therefore focuses only on the first quotation that Nonius drew from a Varronian satire. Its text offers considerable problems. A lot of effort and patience will be needed to extract a clear sense from it. As usual, the discussion will start with considering other scholars' solutions before proposing a new one.

The text as found in Gatti/Salvadore (2014), who keep to the transmission, has several hurdles to overcome before we can develop a clear sense. The text is Latin words, but not proper Latin! The main difficulty is that the words *quam de muliebri ricinio pallium simplex* do not yield any meaningful sense, and the expression *de muliebri ricinio* (about the female **ricinium*) disrupts the rest of the phrase. For this reason, Lucian Müller (1888) in his edition emended *ricinio* to *ricinium*, deleted the preceding *de muliebri*, and restored the following version: *magis ... quam [de muliebri] ricinium, pallium simplex* (more than a **ricinium*, a *pallium simplex*). It is a quite common phenomenon in Nonius that remarks or annotations (which were initially written over the text or in the margins) intrude into the main text.¹⁵ However, Müller's solution is not as simple as it seems. It presupposes two different kinds of mistakes: First, that the annotation *de muliebri* had been erroneously taken into the text; and second, that *ricinium* had been misspelled as *ricinio*. Moreover, it is difficult to see what the remark *de muliebri* (about a female) should mean. It is therefore better to take the entire expression *de muliebri ricinio* (about the female **ricinium*) out of the main text. In this way, we have to assume only one error (a misplaced annotation), and we get both a meaningful sentence ('more than a *pallium simplex*') and a meaningful additional remark ('about the female **ricinium*'). This construction would have Nonius making the connection between the two terms and telling us that Varro's words were about the female **ricinium*. If this hypothesis is correct, Varro himself did not expressly talk about the **ricinium*, but only about a *pallium simplex* (a simple cloak).

But we are still not at the end. We must now turn to the first part of the quotation, which is also far from clear. So far, all solutions assume that Nonius quoted Varro literally. However, this premise is not necessary, since Nonius occasionally paraphrases Varro.¹⁶ In a verbatim quotation, the transmitted infinitive *dicere* (to say) is hard to accommodate. Some scholars therefore emend *dicere* to *decere* and change the following *muliebre* to *mulierem*, hence restoring *nihil magis decere mulierem quam* (that nothing

¹³ Some ancient scholars also believed the **rica* to be a *palliolum*, cf. p. 620.

¹⁴ Cf. p. 567.

¹⁵ See, for example, D 4 p. 629.

¹⁶ Cf. D 6 pp. 663–665.

adorns a woman more than a ...). The meaning of the words is now clear, but we are left with an isolated fragment that is hard to fit in grammatically. It therefore seems better to understand the sentence as a paraphrase that Nonius gives of Varro's words and to emend the transmission to *di<cit de>cere* (= he, i.e. Varro, says that it adorns). Taking all this together, Nonius wrote: *Varro ... nihil magis dicit decere mulierem quam pallium simplex* (Varro says ... that nothing adorns a woman more than a simple *pallium*). This sentence is finally proper Latin and a quite simple statement indeed.

The solution implies that Varro did not mention the **ricinium* in his satire. He only talked about a *pallium simplex*. It was Nonius who identified it with the **ricinium*. It was then the negligence of a scribe, as can be observed in other entries of Nonius, that added it to the large bulk of pseudo-evidence modern scholarship has been haunted by since.

1.4 The Migration Period (Isidore of Seville)

The last scholar talking about the gloss **ricinium* is Isidore of Seville (ca 560–636 CE). He does this in the 19th book of his *Etymologiae* (Etymologies).¹⁷ This copious work, which seeks to unite all 'knowledge' of Antiquity, contains a separate section on female clothing (*de palliis feminarum*). This section contains the following remarks about the **ricinium*:

Isid. Etym. 19.25.3–4

stola matronale operimentum, quod cooperto capite et scapula a dextro latere in laevum humerum mittitur. stola autem Graece vocatur quod superemittatur. idem et ricinium Latino nomine appellatum eo quod dimidia eius pars retro reicitur; quod vulgo mavortem dicunt. vocatum autem mavortem quasi Martem; signum enim maritalis dignitatis et potestatis in eo est. caput enim mulieris vir est; inde et super caput mulieris est.

The *stola* is a garment of a matrona. It covers head and shoulder-blades and is drawn up from the right side to the left shoulder. It is called by the Greek word *stola* because it is let down from above. The same is also designated by the Latin name **ricinium*, because half of it is thrown backwards. It is commonly called *mavors*. It is called *mavors* like Mars; for it is a sign of the dignity and power of the husband. For the man is the head of the woman; therefore, it is also on the head of the woman.

As the title of his work (*Etymologiae*) indicates, Isidore is not primarily concerned with dress, but with the etymology of dress terms. This intent governs the entire account. To start with, it is safe to say that Isidore probably did not know any of the garments

¹⁷ On Isidore's account about garments, cf. most recently M. Müller, *Das Thema Kleidung in den Etymologien Isidors von Sevilla*, Berlin/New York 2013.

he described in real life. His knowledge of the historical garments was just as limited as ours, being restricted to a few manuscripts of dubious authority and quality. He is a Spanish grammarian talking about literary ghosts from an ancient (and long lost) past. Accordingly, Isidore begins with the *stola* of the *matrona* (B 4)—the most famous female garment in Latin literature. He mistakenly describes this as a kind of cloak (equating it with a *pallium*). He therefore believed that it covered the woman's head. He had perhaps seen statues showing women with a *pallium* worn in that way (*capite velato*). The term *stola* leads him to a first etymology, which is based on the supposed way of draping the garment by letting it fall over the head (*superemittere* ~ στέλλειν). In the second step, the term **ricinium* comes in as a Latin word for the same garment. Again, we are given an etymology, this time based on Varro's *De lingua Latina*.¹⁸ After that, Isidore introduces a third alternative dress term, *mafurtium* or *maforte*. This is a garment worn in Late Antiquity, which we know through Servius and Nonius (see above). Isidore changes its orthography to *mavors*, maybe because the word was no longer in use by his time. In this way, he can establish an etymological link with the god Mars (Mavors). He then adds, following Paul the Apostle,¹⁹ a few paternalistic remarks about the dominant role of the husband (Mars and Venus are a famous couple). According to him, this is expressed in the custom that the female cloak is worn over the head.

From a historical point of view, Isidore's remarks are completely worthless as to the real, historical meaning of dress terms. They only show the kind of pseudo-historical erudition abundantly offered by this author. The sloppiness of his etymology combined with his paternalistic attitude demonstrates a deplorable lack of scholarly judgement. At best, Isidore can be adduced as a witness for the culture of his own times. Modern scholars should no longer use his statements to prop up their own views.

The continuous history of the gloss **ricinium* ends at this point. It is only taken up again in the Early Modern Period. In general, the assumptions of modern scholars about the **ricinium* are not better than those of Isidore. Hopefully this chapter demonstrated the pitfalls of trying to decipher such old, short, and oftentimes corrupted texts. This may help to slightly restrain scholarly fantasy. We will never know what a **ricinium* was. This assumes that some such garment existed at all, which might not have been the case. In fact, if my hypothesis on its origin in chapter A 1 is correct, it never existed outside of scholars' imagination.

¹⁸ Varro LL 5.132; cf. C 1 p. 565.

¹⁹ Paul. ad Eph. 5. 22–24.

2 **arsineum, *galbeum, *rusceus* – Cato *Origines* F 113 P.

The three glosses **arsineum*, **rusceus*, and **galbeum* all derive from a single fragment from Cato's *Origines*, which is quoted by Festus (Verrius) in the lemma **ruscum*.¹ They are taken up only to a limited extent in modern research.² The content of the text—it is the first in the Latin language to describe the garment of a Roman woman—has been discussed in detail in A 2. That chapter argues that all three incomprehensible words originated from a corruption of the text (*arsineum* = *argenteum*; *rusceus* = *russeus*; *galbeum* = *galbinum*). Therefore, this section only adds something about their history and their origin.

The history of the glosses is relatively short. There is no trace of them in Varro. This is easy to explain: Cato's *Origines* were not ancient enough when scholarly 'glossography' started with Varro's teacher Sextus Aelius Stilo in the latter part of the second century BCE. Cato's literary fame and interest in his work probably only began at the end of the Roman Republic. At that time, the historian Sallustius (86–35 BCE) maintained (mocking contemporary authors) that Cato was the most accomplished Roman author and used him as a paradigm of style. The first point to which we can trace back the origin of the three glosses in question is Verrius as epitomized by Festus.³ For **arsineum* and **galbeum*,⁴ we have only the very short and not very informative version of Festus (Verrius) given by Paulus Diaconus. In the case of **ruscum*, however, we have the full version of Festus himself (a version of Paulus being missing this time). Festus begins with a reference to Verrius, and the quotation contains all three glosses. This suggests that Verrius' quotation of the *Origines* is their origin. If my argument in chapter A 2 is correct, all glosses are due to textual corruptions in Verrius' copy of Cato.

1 Festus p. 320.21–23 L.

2 Cf. on the **arsineum* GRD (2007) 12.

3 Cf. on them the Introduction to part D pp. 588–589 and D 5 p. 643.

4 Paulus/Festus p. 19.7: *arsineum ornamentum capitis muliebris* [the **arsineum* is an ornament of the female head]; p. 85.12 L.: *galbeum ornamenti genus* [the **galbeum* is a kind of ornament].

3 **regilla*, **patagiata*, **indusiata* – Plautus *Epidicus* I

1. **regilla* (sc. *tunica*)

1.1 The Imperial Period (Festus/Verrius, Pliny)

1.2 Late Antiquity (Nonius)

1.3 The Migration Period (Isidore)

1.4 Conclusion

2. **indusiata* (sc. *tunica*) – **indusium*

2.1 Varro

2.2 The Imperial Period (Apuleius)

2.3 Late Antiquity (Nonius)

2.4 Conclusion

3. **patagiata* (sc. *tunica*) – **patagium*

3.1 The Imperial Period (Festus/Verrius, Apuleius)

3.2 Late Antiquity (Nonius)

3.3 Conclusion

The dress catalogue in Plautus' *Epidicus* contains many difficult dress words. Most of them are discussed in the chapter on the *Epidicus* itself (A 4). Altogether, technical terms, poetic translations, and malapropisms make for a colourful and confusing mixture. Early textual corruption has sometimes been another impediment to later, and especially to modern, understanding.

The difficult words of the *Epidicus* have left a deep impact in the ancient scholarly tradition.¹ Some of them were already a mystery to grammarians in Antiquity because they were *hapax legomena*; some only became difficult in Late Antiquity in Nonius.² An extensive discussion developed around the Plautine glosses **regillus*, **patagiatus*, **indusiatus*, **supparus*, and **rica* ever since their origin in the second century BCE. The beginnings of this process have been described in chapter C 1. This chapter pursues the history of the first three glosses, excluding the **rica* (D 4) and the **supparus* (D 5). It aims to (1) illustrate the uncertainty of all Antique and Late Antique explanations, (2) describe the difficulties resulting from them, and (3) advance alternative solutions as far as possible. It thus leaves out all words that only became glosses in Nonius, even though some of Nonius' explanations have found occasional favour in research.

1 In contrast, the catalogue of the *Aulularia* (A 5) has left only few traces in writings of the ancient grammarians, although it also contains some difficult words. The entries **patagium* and **flammearii* in Festus, however, show that it was discussed among ancient scholars. On the *patagium*, see below p. 613; on the *flammearii/violarii*, see Festus p. 79.19–20: *flammearii infectores flammei coloris. violarii violacii dicuntur* [*flammearii* are dyers of red colour; *violarii* are dyers of violet colour]; cf. on it A 5 p. 110.

2 Apart from the terms mentioned above, Nonius explains the words **rallus*, **caesicius*, **caltula*, **cumatilis*, **exoticum*, and **plumatile*. Plautus' *Epidicus* is the basis of Nonius' book on dress.

3.1 *regilla (sc. tunica)

The term *regilla is primarily used in Plautus in the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus* (v. 223).³ There, the word is part of a pun. Plautus interprets the adjective *regillus as a diminutive of the adjective *regius* (royal), contrasting a ‘royal robe’ (*inducula regilla*) with a ‘beggar’s robe’ (*inducula mendicula*). Apart from this, the *regilla appears only in scholarly discussion up to Isidore of Seville, which glosses over the fact that it is actually a hapax in terms of primary sources. Plautus’ pun and Varro’s explanation of the gloss are examined in detail in the chapters B 4 and C 1.⁴ This chapter will mainly concern the later ancient scholarly tradition. Modern dictionaries follow the old interpretation and define the word as “mit senkrechten Kettenfäden gewebt” (woven with longitudinal warp threads) or “(app.) vertical, upright (... referring to the weave of tunics).”⁵ This chapter argues that these definitions are false and that the adjective *regilla refers to the appearance of the tunic, the Plautine *inducula *regilla* being a translation of the Greek expression χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος. This Greek term presumably designates a foot-long, fabric-rich tunic which was worn without a belt and therefore fell down to the feet. In contrast to the ancient grammarians’ views, a *tunica regilla was not a primeval female garment nor did it belong at any time to Roman everyday life.

3.1.1 The Imperial Period (Festus/Verrius, Pliny)

We can grasp the Imperial tradition of explanation in two places in the dictionary of Festus (Verrius):

Festus p. 364.21–25 L.

regillis tunicis albis et reticulis luteis utrisque rectis, textis susum versum a stantibus, pridie nuptiarum diem virgines indutae cubitum ibant ominis causa, ut etiam in togis virilibus dandis observari solet.

The day before the wedding, the virgins went to bed dressed, for the sake of a good omen, in white *tunicae regillae* and red hairnets, both *rectae*, i.e. woven from bottom to top in standing position. The same custom is also (still) observed when giving the *toga virilis*.

Festus p. 342.30–33 L.

rectae appellantur vestimenta virilia, quae patres liberis suis conficienda curant ominis causa: ita usurpata quod a stantibus et in altitudinem texuntur.

³ On the *tunica *regilla* and *recta*, cf. Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44; Blümner (1911) 350–351; RE 1.1 A (1914) s.v. *recta*, col. 446–447 (A. Hug); Wilson (1938) 57–58; Sebesta (1994a) 48; DNP 10 (2001) s.v. *Recta*, 820; Pausch (2003) 191–192; GRD (2007) 202; Olson (2008) 21–22.

⁴ Cf. pp. 67, 570–571.

⁵ Cf. Georges and OLD s.v.

The male garments that fathers have made for their sons for the sake of a good omen are called *rectae*. They are called by this name because they are woven from bottom to top in standing position.

Festus (Verrius) identifies the *tunica *regilla* with the *tunica recta*. This identification is mostly accepted in research, but it is actually doubtful (see below).⁶ He relates the adjectives to the weaving technique and offers two different explanations for this. On the one hand, he derives the term *rectus* from the position of the weaver. According to him, they wove the garment in a standing (*stantibus*), i.e. *erectus*, and not in a sitting position. On the other hand, he derives it from the type of fabric. This was woven, he says, from bottom to top (*susum versum/in altitudinem*) and not, as is usual, crosswise. He further contends that the **regilla* was a ritual garment worn by young women in the night before their wedding (*pridie nuptiarum dierum virgines*). The past tense *ibant* (they used to go) shows that this ritual was not part of Festus' (Verrius') own experience, but that he is talking about supposed early Roman customs.

The technical explanations that the **regilla* was so called because it was woven in a standing position or from bottom to top on the loom does not inspire much confidence. The technique does not result in a particular type of garment that would somehow be different from the usual weaving technique. This type of weaving is also not attested elsewhere for the Romans.⁷ Furthermore, adjectives designating garments usually refer to the garment itself, i.e. to its colour, weave, or cut, not to the loom and the position of the weaver.⁸ The situation is just as bad with the historical information about the female dress ritual, since it is no longer verifiable through contemporary primary sources. However, it is often uncritically taken up in research, forming part of a homely picture of early Roman wedding customs.⁹

It is very likely that Festus (Verrius) or his source only postulated a change of dress among early Roman brides in order to etymologically explain the Plautine gloss **regilla* and to use it in cultural history. As in other cases, the starting point was a ritual that could still be observed in historical times, albeit as a rite of passage that did not concern young women, but young men. In the text, the transition from historical lore to an actual custom is marked by a change from past tense (*ibant*) to the present tense: *ut etiam observari solet* (as they still observe). As it seems, on occasion of the feast that celebrated their 'maturation,' young men were given a plain garment called *tunica recta* together with the white *toga virilis* (man's *toga*). By analogy, Festus (Verrius)

⁶ Cf. most recently DNP 10 (2001) s.v. *Recta*, 820; Pausch (2003) 191–192. See against this already A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, Stuttgart 1853, 277; Mau in Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44 n. 2.

⁷ The technical description in Blümner I (1912) 138–139 is based solely on Festus' remarks.

⁸ Mau in Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44 n. 2.

⁹ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44–45; Blümner I (1912) 139; Hug (n. 3) 446; Wilson (1938) 57; DNP (2001) 820; Pausch (2003) 192; GRD (2007) 202.

connects the end of virginity with the gloss *regilla, which he interprets as a *tunica recta*, forming a new ancient female dress ritual after a male dress ritual that was still in use.

The same theory is also found, somewhat later, in Pliny the Elder. Pliny speaks of the *tunica recta*, giving us a brief cultural history of weaving:

Plin. NH 8.194

ea (sc. *Tanaquil regina*) *prima texuit rectam tunicam, quales cum toga pura tirones induuntur novaeque nuptae.*

She (i.e. queen Tanaquil) was the first to weave a *tunica recta*. It is this kind of garment which the ‘novices’ put on, together with the *toga pura* (= *virilis*), and the new brides.

Pliny’s version is very short. The phrase *cum toga pura* refers only to the young men who have just come of age (*tirones*) and denotes the *toga virilis*, which, unlike the children’s toga, had no purple border. The statement about the *tirones* is followed by a statement about the young brides (*novaeque nuptae*). Pliny makes it seem as if the female wedding custom still survived to his times (which was not the case). The parallel report in Festus (Verrius) shows that Pliny is not misrepresenting Roman cultural history, but that this inaccuracy is due to the abridgement. Although Pliny does not use the term *regilla, his reference to the early Roman queen (*regina*) Tanaquil is made before the background of the popular etymology of *regilla (= *regia*), which we already find in Plautus. Pliny presumably uses the grammarian Fenestella (1st century BCE) as a source, given that he quotes him by name immediately afterwards. However, the section may also contain some Varronian thought.¹⁰

3.1.2 Late Antiquity (Nonius)

A Late Antique interpretation of the gloss *regilla is found in Nonius. The relevant passage on the term *regilla is as follows:

Nonius pp. 864.9–865.14 L.

regilla vestis diminutive a regia dicta, ut et basilica. <Plautus Epidico (223)>: an regillam induculam an mendiculam? Varro Papia Papae περι ἔγκωμίων (372): collum procerum fictum levi marmore, regillam tunicam. distinguitur purpura.

the *regilla vestis* is diminutively named after the *vestis regia*, just like the *basilica*: <Plautus in the *Epidicus*> ‘The dress of a queen (*regilla*) or of a beggar woman?’ Varro in his satire *Papia Papae*, on the eulogies: ‘a long neck formed of smooth marble, a *tunica *regilla*.’ It is decorated by a purple stripe.

¹⁰ Cf. chapter C 1 pp. 570–571 for a detailed discussion of the entire section.

The passage offers some textual problems. These are discussed in detail in chapter A 9.¹¹ The version presented here diverges from that of the last edition. Nonius' definition is based on the dress catalogue of Plautus' *Epidicus*, which he also exploits in the next nine entries. Nonius thought the 'royal tunic' to be distinguished by a purple stripe (*distinguitur purpura*). It should be noted that Plautus is the only primary source. Varro's satires were already a grammarian's work, and Nonius is therefore 'reviving' words that were not in use anymore.

3.1.3 The Migration Period (Isidore)

The continuous tradition of explanation of the word *regilla ends like that of other glosses in the Migration Period with the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville.¹² Isidore makes the *regillum the favourite cloak of queens (*praelatum reginarum amiculum*), further simplifying Late Antique theories. Not even a grain of historical truth is to be found in this explanation. In this way, a pun of Plautus is transformed into a pseudo-historical picture of ancient reality.

3.1.4 Conclusion

The various theories on the word *regilla only show that unrestrained scholarly fantasy was capable of not only warping actual history, but of even creating new 'historical' elements. It is therefore advisable to free future scholarship from this exuberance. We should instead impartially look for a Greek word Plautus could have translated with this gloss. This emancipation is also advisable because, in the *Epidicus*, the term can by no means designate an actual primeval garment of a Roman woman. Our gaze should instead move across the Ionian Sea to Greece, since the term must refer to the elegant garment of a young Greek woman.

A Greek adjective fitting the Latin word *regilla is ὀρθοστάδιος (with straight folds).¹³ It exactly corresponds in meaning to the sense one might postulate for the Latin *regilla according to its etymology, if we connect it through the normal form *regulus with the word *regula* (measuring stick, scale).¹⁴ The χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος also fits well when we look to who wore it. In Aristophanes, a young woman wears it as a festive female garment.¹⁵ The nature of the parallel fits well with the assumption that

¹¹ Cf. pp. 190–192.

¹² Isid. *Etym.* 19.25.1.

¹³ A similar hypothesis has already been put forward by Rossbach (1853) 277. However, he considered the Greek adjective to be the equivalent of *tunica recta* and separated it from *regilla. Against this assumption, see Blümner I (1912) 139 n. 4.

¹⁴ Walde/Hofmann s.v.; OLD s.v. *regillus*. See, however, against it LHS 306 (relating it to *regina*).

¹⁵ Aristoph. *Lys.* 45.

Plautus, as in other places, was inspired by the terminology of his literary model—a Greek comedy. A second parallel for the χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος is found in Callimachus' *Hecale*.¹⁶ There, it is also worn by a young woman. The ancient grammarians explaining the passage say that this type of *tunica* was long and rich in fabric.¹⁷ It had no belt¹⁸ and therefore hung straight down to the feet.¹⁹ In later times, the term ὀρθοστάδιος is attested for the clothing of the *citharoedus*. Hence, we can clearly identify it in the archaeological material.²⁰

Let us turn back to Plautus now. He translated a Greek word either by a regular Latin technical term or by inventing a similar Latin word.²¹ Deciding which approach he took in this particular case is not easy. All in all, Plautus' linguistic pun on the *regilla and the *mendicula* speaks for the assumption that it was a real dress term. The pun requires an anchor in reality, and the beggar's garment (*mendicula*) is clearly a comical formation.²² The anchor would then have to be provided by the term *regilla, which may have indeed been a Latin technical term, only to be lost later on.

Finally, the question that remains to be answered is whether the ancient scholars were right in identifying the Plautine *tunica* *regilla with the historical *tunica recta*. The fact that there are two Latin terms suggests that they each designate a different garment.²³ It is also very unlikely that a female Greek *tunica* (*chiton*), which consisted of a large amount of cloth, corresponded to a male Roman *tunica recta*, which was probably rather plain and close-fitting. For these reasons, we should separate the gloss *regilla from the normal term *recta* and the historical garment ritual of the young man from the hypothetical garment ritual of the early Roman bride. Even though some bridal ritual involving clothing existed in Republican times,²⁴ we should refrain from assigning the *regilla to this rite of passage.

¹⁶ Call. F 293 Pf. (= F 43 Hollis; F 220 Asper); cf. LSJ s.v. στάδιος.

¹⁷ Cf. Pfeiffer's comment on the fragment.

¹⁸ Pollux 7.49: χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος ὁ μὴ ζωννύμενος [*chiton orthostadios* = an ungirded *chiton*].

¹⁹ M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin 1928, 21 (about the costume of priests); most recently GRD (2007) 33.

²⁰ Cass. Dio 62.175, 63.22.4 [of Nero]. In Neronian times, the garment is often depicted on coins. The *citharoedus* represented there has often been mistakenly identified with Nero himself, cf. J.P.C. Kent/B. Overbeck/A. U. Stylow, *Die Römische Münze*, Munich 1973, 102 pl. 51; M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher*, Mainz 1998, 185–189. On the iconography of Apollo *citharoedus*, see M. Flashar, *Apollon Kitharodos*, Cologne 1992.

²¹ LHS 306 ("Scherzbildung").

²² Cf. A 4 p. 67.

²³ On the difference between the χιτῶν ὀρθοστάδιος and the *tunica recta*, see Marquardt/Mau (1886) 44 n. 2; Blümner I (1912) 139 n. 4. However, these scholars identify the *regilla and the *tunica recta*.

²⁴ Cf. B 4 p. 320.

3.2 *indusiata (sc. tunica) – *indusium

The *indusium is the only word out of the odd bunch of words treated in part D that has found entry in classic English literature.²⁵ It is used in a work whose deliberate strangeness fits the character of the *indusium: the 18th century nine-volume ‘autobiographic’ novel *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* written by Lawrence Sterne. In the fourth volume, the author is making fun of similar literary products of the age. He has the narrator, Tristram, insert a Latin novel purportedly written by a Humanist scholar (Hafen Slawkenbergius), who was “distinguished by the length of his nose.” The narrator then adds his own English translation to this fabricated Latin text. At the beginning, we see an unknown man riding into the town of Strasburg in the following apparel:

vespera quadam frigidula, posteriori in parte mensis Augusti, peregrinus, mulo fusco colore insidens, mantica a tergo, paucis indusiis, binis calceis, braccisque sericis coccineis repleta Argentoratum ingressus est.

It was one cool refreshing evening, at the close of a very sultry day, in the latter end of the month of August, when a stranger, mounted upon a dark mule, with a small cloak-bag behind him, containing a few shirts, a pair of shoes, and a crimson-satin pair of breeches, entered the town of Strasburg.

Tristram translates the phrase *paucis indusiis* as ‘with a few shirts.’ The fact that the ‘translation’ does not feel the need to further explain the term suggests that it is relying on the scholarship of Sterne’s own times. The readership from the educated English upper class could therefore be expected to understand the term, at least according to 18th century scholarship. However, contrary to the impression made by the seeming ease with which the word *indusium is used by the fictitious Humanist Hafen Slawkenbergius, real evidence of the word is very slim. Despite the extensive ancient and modern discussion,²⁶ we are dealing with an obscure hapax. Moreover, the word *indusium is not even attested in primary texts, but only in grammarians explaining Plautus. Plautus himself in his *Epidicus* mentions a *tunica *indusiata* (231); in his *Aulularia*, we find comical *caupones *indusiarum* in a verse that may be based on

²⁵ Becker/Göll (1882) 210–211; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 485; Blümner (1911) 231; Wilson (1938) 165–166; N. Goldman, *Reconstructing Roman Clothing*, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 233–235; Potthoff (1994) 123–124; Pausch (2003) 146–147; Olson (2003) 202; GRD (2007) 96; Olson (2008) 52.

²⁶ ThLL VII s.v. *indusium* col. 1273.35–45; Georges s.v. “die obere Tunika, Übertunika”; OLD “[prob.] an outer garment”; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 485: “im Hause trug ... die Frau ... über der *subucula* ebenfalls eine Tunika, welche *indusium* oder *tunica indusiata* heißt”; Wilson (1938) 165–166: “under tunic”; Goldman (n. 25) 235: “the sliplike garment equivalent to the *supparum* or *subucula* for a matron seems to have been called by another name, *indusium*”; GRD (2007) 96: “underwear, probably a tunic, usually worn by women.” See, however, the more cautious remarks in Blümner (1911) 231; Potthoff (1992) 123–124.

the *Epidicus* (509). The gloss **indusium* is first found in Varro (C 1); in Late Antiquity, Nonius takes up the gloss again. In Imperial times, Apuleius' novel *The Golden Ass* uses the form *indusiatus*, simply meaning 'dressed.'²⁷ Even taking all forms together, we only have two instances in primary sources and three instances in secondary sources.

As to the noun **indusium*, it was postulated by scholars based on principles of word formation. The adjective **indusiatus* may indeed be derived from it by the addition of the suffix *-atus*. The noun **indusium* could be a Greek loanword, based on the Greek diminutive *ἐνδύσιον. This means 'little entrance, little entry,' whatever that might designate in the context of clothing.²⁸ The word underlying Plautus' *tunica *indusiata* could be a term of Greek-Latin fashion language. Nevertheless, the exact meaning of the term remains obscure, and we cannot be fully confident that reconstruction based on word formation is correct.

Whatever the merits of the derivation, the aim of the following section is to examine the ancient grammarians' evidence. This is all the more important because much of the modern guesswork about the meaning of the word is based on an implausible emendation of the corrupt transmission of Nonius. The end of the section puts forward a tentative hypothesis as to what a *tunica *indusiata* might have been. This is meant only to open up a new line of thought. A certain solution is ultimately impossible, and the semantic field remains a riddle.

3.2.1 Varro

The explanation of the gloss **indusium* given by Varro in his book *De lingua Latina* (On Latin language) has been discussed in chapter C 1.²⁹ Varro either found (or at least claimed to have found) the orthographical variant **intusiatam* (with T) in the dress catalogue of Plautus' *Epidicus*. As it happened all too often among the grammarians, he made this claim so that he could establish a contrived etymological connection. In this case, he sought a connection between **intusium* and the word *intus* (in the house), thereby defining the garment as a domestic overcoat (*amictus*). As is obvious from this heavy-handed approach, the true meaning of the word was completely dark to him.

Apart from this, modern scholars think that Varro refers to the **indusium* one more time in the first book of his cultural history *De vita populi Romani*.³⁰ However, Nonius'

²⁷ Apul. Met. 2.19, 8.27, 10.30.

²⁸ Cf. also LSJ s.v. ἐνδύσις II.

²⁹ Varro LL 5.131: *alterius generis [i.e. amictus] item duo, unum quod foris ac palam, palla; alterum quod intus, a quo intusium, id quod Plautus (Epid. 231) dicit: intusiatam [!], patagiata, caltulam ac crocotulam* [There are also two of the second type of dress [i.e. the wraps], one worn outside and in public, the *palla*; another worn inside, from which the term **intusium* derives. This is the garment Plautus is talking about in the following verse: *intusiatam [!], patagiata, caltulam ac crocotulam*. Cf. p. 568.

³⁰ The OLD lists this as the only evidence for the word.

text on which this claim is based (see below) only contains the form *indussam*. The form **indusium* was only created by an improbable humanistic conjecture. The following argues that we should reject **indusium* in favour of *inducula*. The fragment in question is adduced by Nonius in the lemma *subucula* (undertunic):

Nonius p. 870.21–22 L.³¹

posteaquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et †indussam

After they started to have two tunics each, they called them *subucula* and †*indussa*.

Since the *editio Aldina* (1513), the editors of Nonius usually put the form **indusium* in the text.³² All historical manuscripts, however, offer the meaningless form *indussam*, which was annotated in the margin of some of the manuscripts by the equally meaningless *indusiam*. In other words: This other form is simply someone's guesswork. But what did Varro himself write in this passage of *De vita populi Romani* which Nonius is quoting? Considering his remarks in *De lingua Latina*—where Varro spoke of an **intusium* (with T)—it becomes clear that this word significantly differs from the **indussa* (with D) seemingly referred to here.³³ We thus have to note that the spelling, which is of main importance to Varro's etymological explanation, diverges between the two passages. But there is also another important difference. As to the kind of garment, the obscure **intusium* in *De lingua Latina* is a cloak wrapped around the body (*amictui*); it is a kind of *pallium* for the house (*intus*). In contrast, the **indussa* mentioned here is a *tunica*, i.e. an article of clothing put on over the head (*indutui*) and worn over an undertunic (*subucula*). The two passages therefore refer to fundamentally different garments. This means that we should not change the corrupt form **indussam* to **indusium*, but rather look for another suitable adjective that—like *subuculam*—can stand with the noun *tunicam*.

A look into the dress catalogue of Plautus' *Epidicus* specifically leads to the solution. It seems that Varro used this passage not only in *De lingua Latina* but also in *De vita populi Romani* to gain 'insights' into the early Roman garment and its terminology. This time it is the introduction to the dress catalogue. Periphanes asks the slave Epidicus what kind of *tunica* the female flute player wore (224): *Quid erat induta? an regillam induculam an mendiculam?* (What was she wearing? A royal robe or a beggarly robe?).

In this passage, the rare term **inducula* is used by Plautus in place of the everyday term *tunica*. Varro reading this passage had to wonder what it meant. He concluded that it must have been created at a time when the *tunica* was differentiated into an undertunic (*subucula*) and an 'overtunic' (*inducula*).³⁴ On this assumption, Varro very likely

³¹ *indussam* codd.: *indusiam* index marg. B^A: *indusium* editores post Aldinam.

³² See also most recently Gatti/Salvadore (2014).

³³ The contradiction has sometimes been noticed by scholars, for example Potthoff (1992) 124.

³⁴ Cf. C 1 p. 571.

wrote the form *induculam* in *De vita populi Romani*. The word was then abbreviated in the manuscripts of Nonius, becoming **indussam* in the process. Misreading or omitting letters—especially the letters UL—frequently occurs in Nonius’ *oeuvre*.³⁵ But getting back to Plautus and Varro, the form **inducula* is only attested in Plautus. This formed the basis for Varro’s cultural and linguistic guess work. However, the word is probably a linguistic creation of Plautus, who gained another amusing diminutive which ends in *-ula*, alongside the **regilla* and the *mendicula*. In any case, this fragment of Varro should be excluded from the modern discussion about the meaning of **indusium*.

3.2.2 The Imperial Period (Apuleius)

The term **indusium* is not mentioned in Imperial scholarship. Unlike other glosses from Plautus’ *Epidicus*, it is not found in the dictionary of Festus (Verrius). This could be due to the fact that we only have this section through the epitome of Paulus Diaconus, in which some words have been omitted. However, the archaist Apuleius, who uses the word **indusiatus*, shows that the discussion about the **indusium* lived on.³⁶ Apuleius thought **indusiatus* to be an archaic variant to the participle *indutus* (dressed in). This supposed archaic form always refers to clothes of young men wearing light garments when used by Apuleius. As the generalizing of its meaning shows, Apuleius did not have more knowledge about the **indusium* than Varro or modern scholarship. The obscure word instead offered him an occasion to parade his erudition—like the glosses **rica* and **supparus* offered to other authors (see below). In this, Apuleius and Hafén Slawkenbergius are indeed true brothers in spirit.

3.2.3 Late Antiquity (Nonius)

In Late Antiquity, the noun **indusium* crops up again. A respective lemma is found in the dictionary of Nonius, who did not know the meaning of the word. However, this did not prevent him from defining it with confidence. Readers should again watch for the different spellings:

³⁵ Cf. A 7 p. 140.

³⁶ Apul. Met. 2.19 (young servants at a dinner party): *pueri calamistrati pulchre indusiati* [young servants having the hair artificially curled, beautifully dressed]; 8.27 (homosexual men): *variis coloribus indusiati* [dressed in garments with different colours]; 10.30 (an actor playing the role of Paris): *pulchre indusiatus adulescens* [a young man beautifully dressed].

Nonius p. 866.35–2 L.

indusium est vestimentum, quod corpori intra plurimas vestes adhaeret, quasi intusium. Plautus in Epidico (231): indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam aut crocotulam.

The **indusium* is a garment that clings to the body under several other garments, like an *intusium*. Plautus in the *Epidicus*: *indusiatam* etc.

Etymological guesswork is again the basis of his explanation. Although Nonius read the form *indusiatam* (with D) in his copy of Plautus, he connects an **intusium* (with T) to *intus*, as Varro did. In contrast to Varro, however, Nonius defines the **indusium* not as a garment worn in the house (*intus*), but as a garment worn under other garments (*intra, intus*),³⁷ thus interpreting *intus* in a different way. In fact, Nonius may have identified the **indusium* with Plautus' **inducula*. He cleverly glosses over the slight orthographic difficulty by adding a *quasi* (so to speak) before **intusium*. In any case, his explanatory skills are no greater than those of Varro.

3.2.4 Conclusion

The guesswork of the grammarians shows that the sense of the Plautine glosses **indusiatatus* and **indusiarum* were already completely dark to them. The noun **indusium*, usually thought to be at the bottom of both words, is of no help either since it does not lead to any plausible solution. The Latin **indusiatatus* must instead be the translation of some Greek word, but it is not possible to see what the unattested word *ἐνδύσιον would mean. This fact is remarkable because most secondary fashion terms (if not derived from place names) give us a clear indication as to the cut or the form of a garment or of an ornament. The inability of ancient scholars to find a reasonable meaning for the Plautine gloss was perhaps caused, as in other cases, by a deliberate comic misspelling on Plautus' part or by later textual corruption of the word that made it impossible to connect it to its origin. Our reasoning may therefore be altogether wrong, and we should try another path. The next paragraph is not so much a solution than an experiment to try to shake up old convictions. It is not intended to create new ones.

The prime position of the expression *tunica indusiata* in the dress catalogue of the *Epidicus* suggests that the term **indusiata* designates something basic. If we look for a Greek equivalent which might have been translated by it, the Greek verb ἐνδεύω (to soak or dye in) is plausible for two reasons: It comes from a Greek semantic field related to clothes in a very basic sense, and it comes close to the Latin word without complete phonetic equivalence. There are also the adjective δευσοποῖός (deeply dyed), the noun

³⁷ See also Wilson (1938) 165–166 and all those scholars who identify it as a type of underwear.

δευσοποιία (the dyeing), and the verb δευσοποιέω (to dye).³⁸ Here we find the letter S that is so striking in *indusiata. Without creating a new Greek word, *indusiatu might be considered similar in meaning to the Greek δευσοποιός (deeply dyed). In this case, the tunica *indusiata would be simply a dyed tunica, and the comic caupo *indusiaru would be a trader dealing in such garments. However, there is the issue that the Latin U (and moreover a short one) does not correctly represent the Greek diphthong. A closer transcription would be EU. Whatever the reason for using U, it may have been exactly this divergence that impeded understanding already starting in Antiquity. Despite the plausibility of the meaning ‘dyed,’ it must be still be seen as a very tentative proposal. The tunica *indusiata remains a riddle. It might be one that we can never solve.

3.3 *patagiata (sc. tunica) – *patagium

The story of the noun *patagium is in large part parallel to that of the *indusium.³⁹ It has its origin in the explanation of Plautus given by ancient scholars (A 4): In the *Epidicus*, Plautus mentions a tunica *patagiata next to a tunica indusiata (231); in the *Aulularia*, we find caupones *patagiarii next to caupones indusiaru (509). Among the scholars busying themselves with explanation, Varro is missing this time. The noun *patagium first occurs in Festus (Verrius), who took it to designate some kind of border, and in other authors of the second century CE (Apuleius, Tertullian), who were influenced by grammarians. As to word formation, the adjective *patagiatus could be built in the same way as *indusiatu by adding the suffix -atus to a noun (*patagium). Plautus seems to support this hypothesis, making fun of this type of word formation in the comic pair *impluviatus and impluvium. The Latin word *patagium then mirrors its Greek equivalent *παταγεῖον. This is simple hypothesis, and it may well be correct, but there is again room for doubt. Like the word *indusium, the requisite noun *patagium is not attested in any primary Latin or Greek source, and it is hard to see how it would designate a border. In contrast to other terms for an ornament (like for example clavus, limbus, or ora), it does not describe a recognizable form or position. Hence the choice: We can either believe the ancient grammarians or mistrust them. Some type of border (or a garment) easily comes to mind in the context of clothing found in the *Epidicus*, even when the precise meaning of the word is unknown. The remainder of this chapter

³⁸ A comedy of Apollodoros of Gela (4th–3rd century BCE; T 1 K.-A.) was called δευσοποιός (the dyer). On the terms concerning dyeing, see Blümner I (1912) 227 n. 5.

³⁹ Cf. Georges s.v. patagium: “eine breite Borte, Tresse am Kleid der röm. Damen”; OLD: “border on a woman’s tunic”; Marquardt/Mau (1886) 548; Blümner (1911) 254–255: “goldgestickte Streifen”; Wilson (1938) 154; RE 18.2 (1949) s.v. patagium, col. 2111–2112 (E. Schuppe); Sebesta (1994) 67: “the tunica patagiata had its neckline adorned by a gold band (patagium)”; Pausch (2003) 121–122: “literarisch bezeugte Sonderform der Clavi”; GRD (2008) 139: “a gold border at the neck of a tunic.”

again starts with an overview of the different sources. Modern research usually follows the ancient authors more or less without noting that their opinions slightly differ.⁴⁰

3.3.1 The Imperial Period (Verrius, Apuleius)

Festus (Verrius) explains the meaning of the noun **patagium* as follows. This time we have only the abridged version by Paulus Diaconus:

Festus (Paulus) p. 246.27–28 L.

patagium est, quod ad summam tunicam adsui solet, quae et patagiata dicitur, et patagiarum qui eiusmodi faciunt.

The **patagium* is what is usually sewn on the top of the tunic, which is also called *patagiata* (Epidic. 231), and *patagiarum* (Aul. 509) is the name of those persons who do this.

According to Paulus, the **patagium* is a trimming at the upper end (*summa tunica*) of the *tunica*. His definition, although it is expressed as a general rule (*solet*) and with great confidence, is entirely dependent on the two passages in Plautus discussed in this chapter. It probably goes back to Festus (Verrius) and thus reflects the early Imperial stratum of explanation. This is also the meaning assumed by Apuleius:

Apul. Met. 2.9

uberes enim crines ... patagio residentes paulisper ... nodus adstrinxerat.

For a knot had her full hair, which ... came to rest on the **patagium* a bit, pulled together.

Apuleius is talking about the hairstyle of the maid Photis.⁴¹ Her hair is a true miracle and adds to her attractiveness, leading to Lucius' ruin. In order to linguistically embellish his account, the archaist Apuleius has, as seen elsewhere, inserted a highlight in the form of a Plautine gloss (*patagium*). He follows the same explanation as Festus (Verrius), according to whom the **patagium* is located at the upper end of the tunic (*chiton*).

3.3.2 Late Antiquity (Nonius)

Nonius, as usual, goes his own way in his explanation. He defines the term somewhat differently, focusing on the fabric of the garment itself:

⁴⁰ Cf. the preceding note.

⁴¹ Cf. on her also B 1 pp. 275–276.

Nonius p. 866.3–7 L.

patagium aureus clavus, qui pretiosis vestibus inmitti solet. Plautus Epidico (231): indusiata, patagiata. Naevius Lycurgo (43): pallis, patagis [!], crocotis, malacis mortualibus.

The **patagium* is a golden *clavus* (stripe) that is usually inserted into precious garments. Plautus in the *Epidicus* ... Naevius in the *Lycurgus*...

Nonius' confidence in his 'knowledge' is no less than that of Festus. Again, he talks of a purported ancient custom (*solet*). In fact, it is only Plautus he relies on for his explanation. According to Nonius, the **patagium* is an *aureus clavus*, i.e. a golden stripe woven into the *tunica* in vertical direction from top to bottom. In any case, his claim is that it was not sewn onto the upper end of the garment, but was part of the weave. Although Nonius may have been influenced by the Imperial explanation, he modified it considerably, perhaps due to ornaments on the *tunica* that were observable in his time. We should therefore not combine his theory with that of Festus (Verrius).⁴² Apart from the *Epidicus*, Nonius quotes another new piece of evidence for the **patagium*: a line from the poet Naevius. As with Nonius' many supposed parallels for the gloss **rica* (D 4), the form found in Naevius is a pseudo-parallel. In Naevius, there was most likely talk of *patagus*, the noise caused by bacchants, and not of a **patagium*.⁴³ Naevius certainly did not talk of a golden *clavus*. This suggests that Nonius is forcing a diverging source onto Plautus in order to support his etymological claims.

3.3.3 Conclusion

Weighing up the different explanations against each other, the solution of Festus (Verrius) seems preferable. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, some questions remain. The historical Greek terms for the various ornamental borders and trimmings are well known to us, and a **patagium* is not among them. Neither is it referred to in the inventories of the temple of *Artemis Brauronia*, where many garments are specified by their ornaments. Greek technical terms usually have a sensible explanation, such as position, form, or material. However, there is hardly a reasonable explanation for how an upper border should have received the peculiar name **patagium* or why it (like the *clavus*) should serve as a metonymy for a type of tunic. Finally, there is no archaeological evidence for such a special border. For these reasons, one may doubt whether the definition given by Festus (Verrius) is more than a guess based on Plautus' *Epidicus* and *Aulularia*. On the other hand, if we do not accept his views, there is no simple solution that is also plausible. Like in so many of this book's chapters, we must confess our ignorance. Does the *tunica* **patagiata* have something to do with

⁴² Against Sebesta (1994) 67 and others.

⁴³ See chapter A 2 for a detailed discussion.

the Greek verb πατάσσω (to beat)? Does it, like the Latin word *caesicius (beaten), refer to the production of fine linen? At least this would fit well with Plautus' *Epidicus*, where the term must refer to an elementary quality of the *tunica*. In the end, however, any alternative hypothesis cannot be proven (just like the hypotheses of the ancient grammarians). Whatever the way they came to their varying conclusions, we should be careful to not give new life to a word whose meaning is ultimately uncertain.

4 **rica (tricae)* – Plautus *Epidicus* II

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5. Conclusion

In this chapter, all intricacies offered by textual criticism are on show. The intent is to clear a field that is overgrown by faulty interpretations. The fact that must be stated at the beginning of this chapter is simple: The gloss **rica* is a hapax. It is only attested in Plautus' *Epidicus*. Chapter A 4 argues that the word originated there by textual corruption.¹ The meaningful word *tricae* (trifles, nonsense) lost its initial letter T and became an obscure supposed garment called **rica*. The corruption of 'trifles, nonsense' into a garment is indeed a pointed joke on what might be called a scholars' tragedy that will hopefully find its end with the following remarks. Readers are referred to chapter A 4 as a prelude to the drama found in this chapter. These pages will only illustrate the efforts ancient scholars wasted on explaining the meaningless gloss they supposed must have referred to an article of clothing. They first found a suitable garment and then literary parallels for what is actually a non-word. Modern scholars subsequently followed this train of thought uncritically.² The power of the gloss should not be underestimated. The **rica* received an entire article in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*. In contrast, the historically ubiquitous *tunica* is absent!

¹ Cf. pp. 72–74.

² Marquardt/Mau (1886) 575–576, 583; Blümner (1911) 234; RE 1.1 A (1914) s.v. *rica* 794–795 (A. Hug); Wilson (1938) 151; Potthoff (1992) 164–167; GRD (2007) 161; Olsen (2008) 53–54; M. Tellenbach et al. (eds.), *Die Macht der Toga. Dress Code im römischen Weltreich*, Hildesheim 2013, 295.

4.1 Introduction

Like the other three glosses stemming from the *Epidicus*, the word **rica* was a mystery to scholars from the beginning. Their work started with the assumption that the word had to refer to some article of clothing. They did not consider or at least did not want to accept the banal explanation of a corrupted word. They tried to solve this self-imposed mystery in more or less ingenious ways. The origins of the discussion can be traced back to Varro. His teacher Aelius Stilo may have already dealt with it in his own research on Plautus. Varro thought the **rica* to be a kind of primeval shawl or headscarf worn by Roman women at sacrifice.³ Verrius, whose opinions are mirrored by Festus and other Imperial scholars thought the term to designate the purple headdress of the *flaminica* (the wife of the priest of Jupiter). Over the course of centuries, the gloss **rica* was mixed up with two other glosses: **ricinium* (D 1) and **ricula*.⁴ Its meaning became generalized as ‘shawl, headscarf.’ In Late Antiquity, Nonius defined the garment as a handkerchief (*sudarium*) by offering seemingly new parallels from early Latin texts in order to illustrate this meaning.

This hodgepodge of explanations is made worse in modern research. It sometimes combines the various elements so that they form an undigestible and ahistorical mixture.⁵ The fact that the gloss **rica* is actually a Plautine hapax is obscured by the mass of the Imperial authors talking about it and by Nonius’ pseudo-parallels.

This chapter tries to slowly lead readers through the crooked paths of the labyrinth. It describes the second and the third act of the scholars’ tragedy. First, it turns to the Imperial authors in order to disentangle the various strands of their explanations. Then, it analyses Nonius’ chaotic entry on the term **rica/ricula*, showing that all his ‘new’ parallels for the glosses **rica* and **ricula* dissolve into nothing when put to the hard test of textual criticism.

³ Cf. Varro LL 5.130: *sic rica ab ritu, quod Romano ritu sacrificium feminae cum faciunt, capita velant* [Thus **rica* is derived from the word *ritus* because women veil their heads when they perform a sacrifice in the Roman manner (*Romano ritu*)]. Cf. also C 1 p. 575.

⁴ Similarly modern scholars, cf. Marquardt/Mau (1886) 575–576; Potthoff (1992) 166: “*ricinium* ist etymologisch wohl zu lat. *rica* zu stellen, womit ein dem *ricinium* ähnliches, wohl kleineres Kleidungsstück bezeichnet wurde, das vor allem als Kopfbedeckung genutzt wurde, und daher häufig als ‚Kopftuch‘ gedeutet wird.”

⁵ GRD (2007) 161 (following Wilson [1938]) defines it as “a kerchief worn as a veil especially by the *flaminica* [!] Dialis, wives of *flamines*, or used as a handkerchief,” without questioning the absurdity of the idea that sacred headscarves in purple colour and handkerchiefs (of huge size) should have been designated by the same term.

4.2 Imperial Period (Germanicus, Verrius, Gellius, Festus)

Before turning to the scholars of Imperial times, we should briefly review what Varro said about the **rica* (C 1).⁶ We do not wish to miss the first act of the tragedy, after all. Varro defined the **rica* simply as some kind of headscarf worn by women when sacrificing in the Roman manner. The Imperial grammarians, we will see, greatly expanded on this. Thus began the **rica*'s own story through history. The story leads us deeply into the dark realm of ancient Roman religion or at least what scholarly fantasy thought it to be. The Imperial authors we have to consider are the erudite poet (and prince) Germanicus (15 BCE–19 CE) and, in chronological order, the grammarians Verrius, Gellius, and Festus. Germanicus is dealt with first in order to keep the statements of the grammarians together, although he dates later than Verrius and may have been influenced by his work.

4.2.1 Germanicus

Germanicus uses the gloss **rica* in his *Aratea*, a learned translation of the astrological poem of the Hellenistic poet Aratus of Soloi. The term describes the headdress of the *Virgo Astraea*, which Germanicus equates with the goddess *Iustitia* (justice). In the Silver Age, the virgin Justice withdraws from society and covers her face with a gesture of mourning (123): *tristique genas abscondita rica* (her cheeks covered by a sad **rica*). With the **rica*, Germanicus adds a visual detail to his Greek source, Aratus' *Phainomena*,⁷ in order to make his translation appear more Roman. His remarks are by no means a primary evidence for the existence of the **rica*. Germanicus, a *poeta doctus*, wants to show his erudition. He does this by including an obscure word (both in its meaning and its frequency of use) he knew from his reading the grammarians. He believed the grammarians' interpretation that the **rica* was some kind of female garment and simply created a mourning variant.

4.2.2 Verrius/Festus

The grammarian Pomponius Festus roughly dates to the second half of the second century CE. He lived in a time that started to reduce the large works of Augustan scholarship to handy compendiums. In line with this, Festus' work *De significatione verborum* (About the meaning of words, i.e. glosses) is, as he himself tells us, an excerpt of the far more comprehensive *De verborum significatu* written by the famous Augustan

⁶ Varro LL 5.130.

⁷ Cf. Arat. Phaen. 133–134a: καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν || ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη [and at this time, the Justice loathed this kind of men, and flew to heaven].

grammarian and librarian Verrius Flaccus (ca. 55 BCE–20 CE). Most of its content can be confidently attributed to Verrius. For this reason, Festus is usually equated with Verrius, as is done elsewhere in this book—by referring to these scholars as Festus (Verrius). However, Festus sometimes adds remarks of his own, the extent of his additions being disputed in modern research. That being said, we can now turn to Festus’ contribution to the story of the *rica. It comprises two entries, differing from each other in content. One of them is clearly nothing more than an excerpt of Verrius. As to the second entry, there is reason to attribute parts of it to Festus himself.

We will start with the entry that without a doubt just repeats Verrius’ words. It is more comprehensive and looks like the ‘central’ article on the subject matter, though it comes second in Festus. The manuscript has been badly destroyed in this passage by a mechanical loss. However, the text can be restored to some extent with the help of Paulus’ excerpt of it. The text is partly illegible. The translation tries to include the gaps:⁸

Festus p. 368.3–11 L.

*rica est v[estimentum quadratum]
fimbriatum, pur[pureum, quo flaminicae pro]
palliolo, mitra⁹[ve utebantur ...]
existimat. Titi[us dicit quod ex lana fiat]
sucida alba vesti[mentum ...]
triplex, quod conf[iciant virgines inge-]
nuae, patrimae, m[atrimae,]
tum lavetur aqua p[... caeru]
leum.*

The *rica is a square purple garment that has fringes. The *flaminicae* <used it> as a shawl or headscarf (*mitra*) ... thinks. According to Titius, it is a garment from fresh white wool ... consisting of three layers, produced by freeborn virgins, *patrimae*. and *matrimae* washed with water ... dark.

At the beginning, there is, as usual, a general definition. First, it states that the *rica—like the *recinium in Festus (D 1)—is a square piece of cloth (*vestimentum quadratum*). It is of purple colour (*purpureum*) and has fringes (*fimbriatum*). Then, we learn who wore it: The *flaminicae* supposedly wore it as a headscarf (*palliolum*). The word *flaminica* can mean simply ‘priestess,’ but it often designates the most important one, the wife of

⁸ Paulus Diaconus p. 369.1–4 L.: *rica est vestimentum quadratum, fimbriatum, purpureum, quo flaminicae pro palliolo utebantur. Alii dicunt, quod ex lana fiat sucida alba, quod conficiunt virgines ingenuae, patrimae, cives, et inficiatur caeruleo colore.*

⁹ *mitra* Orsini (see below): *mitrai* edd. The facsimile of the Codex Farnesianus does not show a letter after A.

the priest of Jupiter, the *flamen Dialis*.¹⁰ This passage very likely refers to this specific kind of *flaminica*, since the **rica* is posited as an extraordinary sort of purple garment. We then come to the first problem. The word *mitra* is still part of the introduction. The reading of the Codex Farnesianus is uncertain as to the word ending.¹¹ It is best to restore *mitra<ve>* (or a *mitra*) because both the *palliolum* (B 17) and the *mitra* (B 13) are dress alternatives. The **rica* of the *flaminica* was thus said to be a scarf or headscarf (*mitra*). But what time period is the text talking about? We must again look at Paulus' excerpt for the predicate. Paulus, who usually keeps close to Festus in these matters, has *utebantur* (they usually wore) in past tense and we should restore this in Festus, too. Festus is therefore referring to ancient Roman religious practice, not to a custom of his own times. We are in the realm of religious history. But who said this? Is his name lost in the gap? Orsini thinks that we have to add the name of Verrius before *existimat* (*ut Verrius existimat* [as Verrius thinks]), since Festus often quotes Verrius at the beginning of historical or textual claims. However, Veranius, who is quoted with Titius elsewhere for religious matter (see below), fits in even better, if we take the length of the gap into account. In the end, it is better to leave the question open. We just do not know. In any case, the specialist definition that makes the **rica* a valuable and conspicuous headwear of the most important Roman female priestess stands in contrast to Varro's opinion.

After this, more information from some other scholar is added. In Festus, we get the beginning of his name—Paulus has only *alii dicunt* (other authors say)—which Karl Otfried Müller (1839) plausibly restored as *Titius*. This Titius—a name used in Latin like Mr. Smith in English—is largely unknown. The author is quoted by Festus (Verrius) together with Veranius another time in the entry *offendices* (the word is also a hapax), which deals with the garb of priests.¹² One may assume that he was a grammarian who lived shortly before Verrius. In any case, the 'specialist knowledge' he offered was basically gibberish. As far as we can see, Titius talked about how the

¹⁰ On the meaning of the word *flaminica*, cf. ThLL VI 1 s.v. col. 862.17–864.36. On her social function, cf. most recently ThesCRA V 126–127.

¹¹ The reading *mitraeve*, ascribed to Orsini by Lindsay in his apparatus criticus, is probably due to a typesetting error in Orsini's edition. Orsini usually distinguishes his own additions from the transmission by means of blank spaces, dashes, and change of typefont. In this line, his edition offers *mitra* and *ve*, separated by a somewhat larger blank space. This suggests that Orsini read *mitra* in the Codex Farnesianus and added *ve*. Through a printer's error, this was later misprinted, becoming part of the transmitted text. The letter I in *mitrai*, which scholars after Orsini report to have seen, is not definitively shown in the facsimile of the codex. The traces we see there could also be the remains of another letter. In any case, the archaic orthography *mitrai* instead of *mitrae* is not possible in this context.

¹² Festus p. 222.13–18 L.: *offendices ait esse Titius nodos, quibus apex retineatur et remittatur. at Veranius coriola existimat* [Titius says that *offendices* are knots with which the 'pointed cap of priests' is fastened or loosened. But Veranius thinks it is a small piece of leather]. On Veranius, cf. H. Bardon, *La littérature latine inconnue*, Paris 1952, 310–311; RE 8.1 A (1955) s.v. Veranius (1), col. 937 (A. Gordon).

**rica* was produced. He contended that it was originally made by virgins he specified as *patrimae* and *matrimae* (the meaning of these words was also obscure and discussed by grammarians) from fresh white wool and that it was washed afterwards with some special lotion and thus received a dark colour. Although there is no indication in the text as to the wearers of the **rica*, the remarks look like an addition to the story of the **rica* of the *flaminica*. According to Titius, its production took the form of a religious ritual.

In conclusion, we can say that the remarks of Festus (Verrius) on the **rica* are very similar in content and style to that on the **ricinium* (D 1). Comparing his version to Varro's, we can watch 'knowledge' growing on both garments. In Verrius, the **ricinium* and the **rica* are described in detail. They become valuable garments. The **rica* receives a place of honour and becomes the headwear of the wife of the flamen Dialis, an important priestess. All in all, Varro's initial thought that the **rica* was worn in religious practice has thus been spun out and developed into a full narrative of Roman religious history. At this point, a look back to Plautus may serve to not let this intellectual fog affect our modern perspective. All these elaborate theories clearly contradict the usage of the word **rica* in Plautus. There, the **rica* appears in a series of garments worn by the sophisticated Greek *puella* or *meretrix*.

Let us now turn to the other entry on the **rica* in Festus. It is the first in order, but much shorter than the one discussed above:

Festus p. 342.27–30 (= Paulus 343.9–10)

ricae et ricalae vocantur parva ricinia ut palliola ad usum capitis facta. Gran<ius> quidem ait esse muliebre cingulum capitis, quo pro vitta flaminica redimiatur.

Small **ricinia* are called **ricae* and **ricalae*. These are scarves made to use on the head. Granius, however, says that it is a female headband which the *flaminica* uses as a *vitta* for a garland.

This second entry differs greatly from the first one as to the definition of the **rica*. At the beginning, Festus defines the **rica* as a scarf (*palliolum*), without restricting it to any religious ritual or function. For him, the **rica* is simply a universal piece of headwear. In addition, Festus connects the three glosses **rica*, **ricula*, and **ricinium* with each other. His mixing up of different words is very notable, because we do not find this elsewhere in the Imperial tradition. It occurs only afterwards in Late Antiquity in Nonius. The progression of the diminutives is also very remarkable: first the word **ricinium*, then the word **rica* (thought to be a short form of **ricinium*), and finally the word **ricula* (a diminutive formed with the regular suffix). Creating the connection between **ricinium* and **rica* is very strange since it contains a morphological flaw. Latin has abridged and normal forms of words which designate the same item. For example, the short form *subligar* and the longer form *subligaculum* both designate the same piece of underwear (B 24). In the case at hand, the *shorter* word **rica* supposedly designated a *shorter* garment. The obscure **ricinium* is also made part of the definition. Festus therefore needs an additional *ut palliolum* (as a shawl) to convey an understandable sense. His

use of the three glosses in close proximity is thus intended to have the three words explain each other.

After the definition, the entry takes a surprising turn. Festus adds a reference to the scholar Granius, who is to be identified with Granius Flaccus. This was a grammarian writing on religious history who lived in the first century BCE.¹³ Granius gives us the religious explanation that was missing so far. In the vein of the first entry, the **rica* is said to be the headwear of the *flaminica*. However, this time it is neither a scarf (*palliolum*) (B 17) nor a headscarf (*mitra*) (B 13), but a headband (*vitta*) (B 16). The quotation of Granius makes it clear that this part is taken from Verrius. But what about the introductory definition? Its oddity and the fusing of glosses suggests that it is Festus' own work. There is also some other indication to support the hypothesis that the material is heterogeneous in this passage. The entry **rica* follows the entry **recinium* almost immediately, separated from it by only one other lemma. It looks like it was inserted as an afterthought. It stands between several entries that begin with RE (and not with RI). Moreover, it uses the form **ricinium* (with RI) and not **recinium* (with RE), as does the preceding entry **recinium*. This suggests that Festus may have been at work at least as far as the definition is concerned. We could thus date the mixing of glosses and of content—the term **rica* now designating both a normal headscarf and the garb of the *flaminica*—to the second half of the second century CE and not to Augustan times. This also fits in with how the word is used by the next author we have to speak about: Aulus Gellius.

4.2.3 Gellius

The archaist Aulus Gellius (ca. 130–185 CE), the grammarian who left us the results of his nightly studies in his *Noctes Atticae*, seldom comes up in the history of female clothing. However, the few notes he has on dress and dress glosses show that the study of this subject matter went on through the entire Imperial Period—changing, augmenting, and diluting the material we know from Augustan times on its way to Late Antique scholars like Nonius and Servius. The transition is felt, although the process cannot be described in detail anymore.

As regards the gloss **rica*, it is used in Gellius as heterogeneously as in Festus' definition. In a story about Socrates, Gellius tells us how Euclid of Megara disguised himself as a woman in order to visit his teacher Socrates in Athens. As an *homme de lettres*, Gellius does not forget to place the archaic gloss **rica* in his account:

¹³ Funaioli (1912) 1819–1820; Bardon (n. 12) 307.

Gell. NA 7.10.4

Euclides... tunica longa muliebri indutus et pallio versicolore amictus et caput rica velatus e domo sua Megaris Athenas ad Socratem commeabat.

Euclid ... dressed in a long women's tunic, put on a colourful cloak and covered his head with a *rica. He then went from his home in Megara to Athens to Socrates.

Euclid dresses in a long female tunic (*chiton*), a cloak (*pallium*) that is marked as female by the bright colour, and finally a shawl. Gellius calls this headscarf a *rica, using the term without any association with religious cult. He thus keeps to the universal definition we first find in the second entry of Festus. In contrast, the religious-historical meaning of the word—also found in Festus—comes across in another chapter of Gellius' work (10.15). There, Gellius deals with the various ceremonies the wife of the flamen Dialis (*flaminica*) has to perform. The *rica is mentioned as part of the headdress of the *flaminica* (28): *in rica surculum de arbore felici habet* (on her *rica she has a twig from a lucky tree).¹⁴ The story of the *rica and the 'garment' itself are enlarged by this explanation. We now even have decorative accoutrements: a special lucky twig.

It is no longer possible to determine what sources Gellius used in his different chapters. He perhaps used one of the books already known to Verrius when discussing the *flaminica*. However, it is interesting to see that he offers exactly the same two meanings of *rica that we find in the dictionary of his contemporary Festus.

The Imperial part of the story of the gloss *rica does not end with this. We still have one more author to consider: the polymath Serenus Samnonicus († 212), who is adduced by Nonius and will therefore be dealt with in the next section. The following preliminary conclusion also pertains to him. The self-confident utterances of each of the authors examined in this chapter could lead us to believe in the existence of a garment called *rica. This belief would, however, require reading each text as individual and practically unrelated explanations. When we actually compare their statements, we see that these scholars did not know what kind of garment it was or by whom it was worn. To them, it was at once a scarf (*palliolum*), a headscarf (*mitra*), and a headband (*vitta*); it was purple, dark, or without colour; it was worn by ordinary women, by Roman women, or by the wife of the flamen Dialis. The *rica was thus every kind of headdress scholarly fantasy wanted to impose.

Apart from the one mention in Plautus, all these authors had no evidence for the word *rica to offer—no quotation from other archaic authors or inscriptions. This changes in what we might call the third act of the drama, in Nonius. He gives us plenty of sources, or at least it seems so at first.

¹⁴ In Servius Auctus (= Donatus) ad Verg. Aen. 4.137 *surculum* is replaced by *arculum*.

4.3 Late Antiquity (Nonius) — the pseudo-evidence

In Nonius, many parallels from Latin Republican authors suddenly crop up, seemingly proving the meaning of the words **rica*, **ricula*, and **ricinium*. Regarding the general lack of sources for these terms, this may first seem very welcome. However, the following section argues that Nonius all but fabricated his claimed sources. All of the new evidence in Nonius consists of pseudo-parallels due to textual corruption, most of it instead leading to the common dress term **reticulum* (hairnet).

Sifting through Nonius' slipshod work requires a great deal of patience before we finally reach this result. The lemma of Nonius on the term **rica* is one of the longest and most detailed entries in his dictionary. As usual, the text suffers from a high degree of corruption. It raises various difficulties as to single words and has also been handed down in different versions. In the most important manuscripts, it is split in two—a new lemma **ricinum* beginning at p. 865.22 L. In the transmitted form, the text is given below. It is taken from the new edition of Gatti/Salvadore (2014), which provides a modern apparatus criticus, but offers no progress as to the text itself. Markings of textual problems are added for the purposes of this chapter in the form of cruces (†) and bold font. These annotations are intended to give an impression of what needs to be done in order to sort through Nonius' claims.

rica est quod nos sudarium dicimus. Plautus in Epidico: ricam, basilicum aut exoticum. Serenus †opusculo lib. I: aut †zonula aut acum aut ricam. Novius Paedio: †mollicinam crocatam ceridotam †ricam || ricinum. Lucilius satyrarum lib. II: †hrodyty aurati †cice et oracia mitrae. Turpilius †Veliterna: ducit me secum postquam ad aedem venimus, || veneratur deos. interea aspexit virginem || †instantem in capite ricalam indutam ostrinam. Varro Prometheo Libero: aliae †mitrant ricinam aut mitram Melitensem.

It is often hard to decide at which stage of transmission the corruptions in the quotations originated (our manuscripts, Nonius himself, or the texts he used as sources). However, probably Nonius himself must be blamed for many of the errors. The version of the entire text (including fragments of other authors for which this section argues) is as follows. As to the fragments, the text is given in the original form that it might have had, not in the form Nonius might have written:

*rica est quod nos sudarium dicimus.
Plautus in Epidico (230): ricam, basilicum aut exoticum.
Serenus opusculo<rum> lib. I (F 1): aut zonulam aut acum aut ricam.
Novius Paedio (F 4): molliculam crocotam cheridotam [ricam] r<et>iculum.
Lucilius Saturarum lib. II (71): cheridotae auratae [cice] thoracia mitrae.*

Turpilius <Hetaera> [Veliterna] (F 1): *ducit me secum. postquam ad aedem venimus, || veneratur deos. interea aspexit virginem || iniectam in capite r<et>iculum indutam ostrina.*

Varro *Prometheo Libero* (433): *aliae [mitrant] reticulum aut mitram Melitensem.*

The *rica is what we call a *sudarium* (handkerchief).

Plautus *Epidicus* (230): *rica, *basilicum* or *exoticum*;

Serenus in his *Opuscula* book I: either a little belt or a hairpin or a *rica;

Novius in his *Paedium* (F 4): a soft *crocosta* with long sleeves, a hairnet;

Lucilius in his *Satires* book II (71): tunics adorned with gold and with long sleeves, decorative cuirasses, *mitrae*;

Turpilius in his <Hetaera> (F 1): He took me with him. After we came to the temple, he prayed to the gods. While doing so, he saw a young girl who had put a hairnet on her head and was dressed in a crimson *tunica*; Varro *Prometheus Liber* (433): other women a hairnet or Maltese headscarf.

The discussion of *rica in Nonius must begin with understanding the section as a whole. As is his wont, Nonius begins with a definition of his own. This is not influenced by any of the explanations from Republican and early Imperial times. It comes closest to what we read in Festus' second entry. Nonius connects the *rica with a piece of clothing known to him by personal experience. A *sudarium* is a handkerchief or a napkin put to various uses. After the definition, Nonius adduces six authors to prove his statement: 1. Plautus, 2. Septimius Serenus, 3. Novius, 4. Lucilius, 5. Turpilius, 6. Varro. Five of them date to Republican times (four also to Pre-Classical literature). In contrast to the others, Serenus, intruding after Plautus, wrote much later, dating only to the reign of Septimius Severus.

4.3.1 Serenus *Opuscula* F 1

The verse of Plautus' *Epidicus* has already been discussed in chapter A 4.¹⁵ The most relevant aspect in the context of this chapter is the hypothesis that it is the one and only primary evidence we have for the term *rica (see below). The first in the line of secondary sources is then the poet known by the name of Serenus. His true identity and his exact lifetime are a matter of debate.¹⁶ He may be the same as the polymath Serenus Sammonicus. His *floruit* dates to the time of the Severan dynasty, if not later. The title of his work was the neuter plural form *Opuscula*, as can be seen from five other quotations in Nonius—in total, we have nine fragments. The newest edition of Nonius erroneously refers to his text with the singular form *Opusculum*. However, the transmitted text should be corrected to *Opusculorum*, following Lucian Müller (1888). The title *Opuscula* did not refer, as the plural might suggest, to a collection of smaller

¹⁵ Cf. pp. 72–74.

¹⁶ Cf. on him most recently, Courtney (1993) 406; K. Sallmann, art. Septimius Serenus (Sammonicus), in: *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, vol. 4 (= HAW VIII.4), Munich 1997, 591–593.

poems, but to a poem about agriculture and country life. This is shown by its alternative title *Ruralia* (Country Life) and a summary of its contents in Terentianus Maurus.¹⁷

The relevant fragment offers two difficulties. One is easy to solve. The most important manuscripts (LA^AB^A) have the feminine nominative singular form *zonula*. However, the nominative does not fit in the line. It has to be corrected with D^A to the accusative *zonulam*. The entire sequence is also difficult as to its metre. If *aut zonulam aut acum aut ricam* is thought to form an ordinary iambic dimeter, the accusative form of **rica*—which is supposed to have a long vowel I—does not fit in. Many editors therefore change the order and restore the metrically ‘correct’ sequence *aut zonulam aut ricam aut acum*.¹⁸ However, it is better not to touch the transmitted text. The scarce remains of Serenus’ poetical work show that it was quite heterogeneous as to metre, and we do not know for certain whether he did not want to write a choliambic verse. In this case, **rica* would fit in perfectly.

Serenus lists three accessories of the peasant housewife or possible gifts to her: a belt, a hairpin, and the obscure **rica*. The belt is referred to as *zonula*. The diminutive form is a stylistic mannerism found in Latin Neoteric poets like Catullus, whom Serenus likes to imitate (F 17). The inclusion of the hairpin (*acus crinalis*) would have made immediate sense to ancient readers. Serenus and his readers knew its use (and misuse) from Ovid’s *Amores*, in which we see a lady mistreating her maidservant with it. The final item, the **rica*, was probably included by Serenus because he thought it to be a headscarf. He inserted it as a Plautine gloss to show his erudition.

The fragment of Serenus divides the lemma of Nonius into two parts as regards the glosses. The evidence for the word **rica* ends with it. Afterwards, all quotations relate to the non-word **ricinum*, or respectively **ricula/um* (= *reticulum*). The citation of the late author Serenus indicates that Nonius had no further evidence for the word **rica* from earlier times, apart from the real primary source, Plautus. Otherwise, Nonius would certainly have quoted it before Serenus. The hypothesis that two lemmas were actually fused in the lemma on **rica* is also supported by the division in the manuscript tradition (see above). It suggests that a second lemma began with the word **ricinum* (not to be mistaken for **ricinium*, written with an additional I), which comes last in the following quotation from the comic playwright Novius. However, the assumption that Plautus is the only evidence for the term **rica* must still be proven by examining the following quotations, and we will turn to them now.

¹⁷ Courtney (1993) 406–407. Terent. Maur. 1975 (= Seren. F 10): *Septimius, quo docuit ruris opuscula libro* [Septimius in the book in which he teaches the *opuscula* of the countryside].

¹⁸ Müller and Lindsay in their editions of Nonius; Courtney (1993).

4.3.2 Novius *Paedium* F 4

The fragment of Novius (with a V) comes from an Atellan farce with the title *Paedium*. It is examined more closely in chapter A 7 so that a short introduction will suffice here.¹⁹ The verse describes the clothing of a young woman. It seems to be related to another verse from the same play, which is also quoted by Nonius in his dictionary. The text of this fragment is disturbed. The majority of the manuscripts, as mentioned already, separate the last word (**ricinum*) from the fragment and start a new lemma. In addition, the verse is quoted by Nonius not only here, but in a different form two more times. To see what the comic playwright Novius (whom Nonius is quoting) really wrote, we first have to compare all versions:

ricam] *mollicinam crocotam ceridotam ricam* || *ricinum* (p. 865.22 L.)

mollicina] *mollicinam crocotam, ceridotam ricinum* (p. 867.25 L.)

crocotulam] *mollicinam crocatam uridotam richam ricinium* (p. 880.30 L.)

Editors up to now have considered the version containing **ricam* to be the original version. They also place **ricinum* (without a third I) at the end of the verse in order to create a complete septenarius. However, this solution contains two difficulties: The word **ricinum* (without a third I) is not attested outside of the dictionary of Nonius. The words **ricinum* and **ricam* are also very similar in their pronunciation, which would create a clumsy phonetic doubling.²⁰

Let us now turn to the first problem and look at what could be hidden behind the new meaningless **ricinum*. It cannot be our cherished **ricinium* (with a third I) because a simple and heavy Roman cloak does not fit the context (D 1). It has been noted elsewhere in this book that the abbreviation of the syllable UL often caused confusion among copyists, who often mistook it for IN or N or left it out altogether. Presuming this to be the case here, we get the form **riculum*. A similar corruption of the letters UL probably affected the quotation from Varro's *Prometheus* with which Nonius concludes the lemma (see below). However, the word **riculum* is still nonsensical. A final stage is still needed before an intelligible meaning can be established. The final step is assuming that a second abbreviation is hidden in our corrupted form: The abbreviation of the beginning RI seems to be hiding the longer sequence RETI. We thus get the completely normal dress term **reticulum* (hairnet), which—as we will see—perfectly fits most of Nonius' subsequent quotations.

We can now turn to the second issue: The word **ricam* creates a strange repetition of similar words, raising the question of the original wording of the fragment of Novius (before it was corrupted by either Nonius or a later copyist). Deviating from all previous editions, the version without **ricam* should be our basis. First of all, this

¹⁹ Cf. pp. 168–174.

²⁰ Lucian Müller (1888) tried to avoid this by transposing *ricam* before *ceridotam*.

is the version that is quoted in the lemma **mollicina*. The fragment altogether begins with the word *mollicinam* and was probably excerpted to explain it. Therefore, we may assume that it has the original form. Starting from this hypothesis, it is easy to see how the copied secondary version with the additional **ricam* developed: The word or letters were written above the line as a variant. This later found its way into the body of the text. Before turning to further parallels, let us more closely examine what must have happened during this process. As we will find in Nonius' lemma later on, the ending of the non-word **riculum* varied between *-um* and *-am*. The ending *-am* on its own or the syllables *ric-am* together were written above **riculum* as an alternative. The desire to find further parallels for the **rica* metamorphosed these letters into a full word and helped to bring it into the text. This resulted in the clumsy repetition of the expression **ricam riculum*. The desire to produce a complete septenarius probably played a certain role as well.²¹

This hypothesis may seem daring for non-specialists, but there are good parallels for these appalling errors in Nonius. In fact, the last quotation from Varro in this same lemma seems to suffer from a similar intrusion. The marginal note or explanation *mitram* appears to have entered into the text in front of **ricinum*. The same structural argument can be made even when relying only on the examples that concern textiles. A case where we can clearly prove this process is found in Nonius p. 864.11 L. There, Plautus *Epidicus* 223 *an regillam induculam an mendiculam* is given as *an regillam tuniculam **indulam** an mendiculam*. The archetype would then have had the variant *indu-* written above *tuniculam*, which later entered the text as a complete word. In Caecilius *Pausimachus* F 3, the explanation *carbasinus* (made of cotton) is found next to the word *molochinus* (made of cotton) that it was thought to explain (A 7). Another fragment from Varro provides an additional interesting parallel. It is quoted twice in different forms by Nonius in the lemma *aulaea* (p. 861.14–16 L.) and in the lemma *plagae* (p. 862.19–22 L.). In the lemma *aulaea*, we find the juxtaposition of two variants *pallae* and *plallae*. The second form is a non-word that is given instead of *plagulae*. This leads some manuscripts to begin a new lemma on **plallae*—as in the case of *ricam *ricinum*. In Nonius' lemma *plagae*, the additional *pallae* is missing altogether in the same quotation from Varro. The version without *pallae* is certainly the correct one. Taking all the evidence together, we should not hesitate to remove **ricam* from the original text of Nonius (and should ascribe the error to Nonius or a copyist).

Before concluding this section, we still have to take a short look at **mollicinam*, the first word of the verse. This also suffers from minor corruption. It will suffice to state only the results here. The matter is discussed in detail in chapter A 7.²² The transmitted meaningless word *mollicinam* is to be emended to *molliculam* (soft). This demonstrates

²¹ A similar phenomenon can also be observed in a fragment from Naevius (A 3).

²² Cf. p. 170.

another instance of where an incorrect resolution of the abbreviation of UL led to an error in our manuscripts.

Admittedly, these are many changes, but they are all based on a careful method and lead to a meaningful and plausible result. In summary, Novius originally wrote that the young woman in the temple was wearing a *molliculam crocotam ciridotam reticulum* (a soft *crocota* with long sleeves, a hairnet). There is nothing obscure to this. The later corruption was enabled by Nonius incompletely quoting the trochaic septenarius for his dictionary. He only quotes it from the second trochee onwards. In other words, he began from the first relevant word. The fact that the verse is not given in its entirety is not exceptional. Nonius often quotes incomplete verses and takes only what he sees as relevant for his purposes. It was not metre that mattered to him, but linguistic parallels. It was then well-intentioned subsequent copyists who completed what they recognized as a technically incomplete verse, resulting in the meaningless word of our modern text.

4.3.3 Lucilius F 71 M. (= 71 Chr./Garb.)

After Novius, the dictionary includes a quotation from the *Satires* of Lucilius. Again, the manuscripts offer gibberish. Scholars have tried to produce a meaningful text with combined efforts but have not come to a completely satisfying solution. The discussion will start from their proposals and then propose a new solution. In the transmitted and in the restored version presented in this section, the verse from Lucilius reads thus:

hrodyty aurati cice et oracia mitrae (codd.)

chirodytae auratae [ci/ce e] thoracia mitrae (Radicke)

The transmitted form of the verse, which is part of a hexameter, presents several difficulties.²³ The sequence HRODYTY is incomplete; the beginning and ending of the word are seriously muddled. Likewise, the sequence CICE ET ORACIA is meaningless. Lucian Müller (1888) wrote *chirodyti* (with long sleeves) at the beginning;²⁴ Carrion (1583) emended *cice* (E=AE) to **ricae*;²⁵ Karl Ludwig Roth (1842) restored *et thoracia* (small ‘waistcoats’) out of *et oracia*.²⁶ In a first step, we will see what we can make

²³ On the early history of its emendation, cf. T. F. Winkelsen, *Die centones Luciliani* des Janus Dousa Pater (= BAC 89), Trier 2012, pp. 221-222.

²⁴ Cf. also R. Bouterwek, *Das erste Buch des Lucilius, nebst zwei Fragmenten des Sergius*, RhM 21 (1866), 344 and id., *Quaestiones Lucilianae*, Elberfeld 1867, 7, who proposed *chiridoti* (= χειριδωτοί). However, this does not fit into the metre for reasons of prosody. The transmitted *hrodyty* with the two striking Y also points to the form *chirodyt-*, cf. Marx (1914) in his commentary ad loc.

²⁵ L. Carrion, *Emendationes et Observationes*, lib. I cap. 2, restores: *ricini aurati, ricae, oraria, mitrae*.

²⁶ In the edition of Nonius which Roth made together with F. Gerlach (1842). The emendation is proposed there in the apparatus criticus.

of these proposals and what problems remain. Müller's solution is correct, insofar as some form of a Greek loanword like **chirodytus* or *chirodyta/es* has to be restored (see below). We must, however, see whether the masculine ending is correct. Roth's solution (*thoracia*) also goes in the right direction (see below). The preceding *et*, however, does not fit because it is against the rules of Latin enumeration. In contrast, Carrion's conjecture (**ricae*) is not easy. Despite this, it is taken up by all editors of later centuries. It is not clear how a Roman female **ricae* belongs in among 'Oriental' clothing. It is even more out of place since the list of clothing probably concerns men.

The core of all of these problems is the sequence CICEE. Any solution to Nonius' quotation of Lucilius must begin there. CICEE gives us the letters CI and CE, which are needed at the beginning of the line in the word *chirodytae* that designates a tunic with long sleeves (on its form, see below). The Greek semantic field connected with χείρ (hand, arm) appears in numerous Greek composite loanwords. The Greek εΙ can be transcribed in Latin either as E or I; the Greek letter χ (usually written as CH in modern transcription) is often transcribed by a mere C in ancient sources—hence CER, CIR. This is the usual form in the manuscripts of Nonius.²⁷ It is now easy to imagine what happened. Like in the preceding quotation taken from Novius, some letters were written above the line. The intent was either to make up for the missing letters in HRODYTY or, if H is to be taken as a misread CI, as some kind of header that gave the possible orthographic variants. Later on, both alternatives were incorporated into the text to complete the hexameter in this passage, where one foot was missing. This means that an interlinear addition would have again been inserted at the wrong place. The next question is the redundant letter E. The starting point for the proposed solution is that it was yet another variant written above the text. It concerned the ending of *aurati*, giving the female ending *ae* (= *e*) as an alternative. Stray endings cause similar chaos elsewhere in Nonius. We have seen above what an *-am* did to the **riculum* (*ri-cam*). Another clear case in the same book is Nonius p. 864.7 L. There, a variant ending in the expression *in Sardiāna/is tapetibus* (on Persian rugs) later caused the manuscripts to contain the nonsensical *Sardiāna ista pedibus*.

We should keep this possibility in mind later when discussing the entire content of the verse. First, there is another serious objection to the hypothesis that must be addressed. The theory of textual error runs quite smoothly if we look only at the text of the fragment. However, we must not forget that we are still dealing with Nonius' lemma on the gloss **rica* or **ricula*. This is the reason why Carrion's emendation appeared so attractive to many scholars. It supplied the missing word **rica*. Without it, the following question arises: How did the verse get into this section?

In Nonius, poetical fragments often start with the word in question. At least, they are often excerpted with the intention to use them in this way. We should therefore turn to the first word, *chirodyta*. This is very rare in Latin literature (see below) and therefore

²⁷ Cf., for example, Nonius p. 865.22, 867.25 L.: *ceridotam*, 880.30 L.: *uridotam* (= *ciridotam*).

a suitable candidate to be explained by Nonius. It is equal in meaning to the likewise very rare **chirodotus* (with long sleeves), which we find in the immediately preceding quotation taken from Novius. The encounter of these two very rare words is hardly by chance. It seems that both quotations were first put together in the dictionary by Nonius to illustrate this gloss. Nonius later went on to use them together without regard for the quotations' original purpose. This is how Lucilius ended up next to Novius. It may seem strange to us, but there are other parts in the book where a similar chaos prevails. We should keep in mind that Nonius' work is similar to a filing box (and a badly organized one at that).

Let us now turn to the content of the line. It is very likely that it refers to male Oriental costume. The first word designates, as has been said above, a long-sleeved *tunica* (*chiton*). In Classical Latin literature, the Latin term *tunica manicata* is commonly used for this un-Roman type of tunic.²⁸ In archaic and archaistic Latin texts, this type is still designated by two similar sounding Greek loanwords: **chirodotus* (χειριδωτός) and *chirodyta/es* (*χειροδύτης). The adjective *chirodotus* is attested several times in Greek texts, but is a hapax in Latin: It occurs only in the preceding quotation from Novius. In contrast, *chirodyta/es* (a noun that can be used as an adjective) is attested twice in Classical Antiquity and once in Late Antiquity,²⁹ though it is made to disappear in some dictionaries through false orthography.³⁰ In a long essay called *De tunicis chirodytis* (*About tunicae chirodytae*), the archaist Gellius tells us the following about it:

Gellius NA 6.12.5

tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia et usque in primores manus ac prope in digitos Romae atque in omni Latio indecorum fuit. eas tunicas Graeco vocabulo nostri 'chirodytas' appellaverunt.

For a man to wear ample tunics reaching below the arms and as far as the wrists, and almost to the fingers, was considered improper in Rome and in all Latium. Such tunics our countrymen called by the Greek name *chirodytae*.

It is a whim of fate that the Greek word Gellius is talking about is not attested in Greek texts. However, the parallel formation ἐπενδύτης (= overgarment)³¹ leads to the regular Greek form *χειροδύτης. Hence we reach the Latin *chirodytes* (or with a Latin ending, *chirodyta*), and not, as dictionaries (ThLL, OLD) want us to believe, **chirodytus*.³² For this reason, we have to restore *chirodytae* in our fragment and not the form *chirodyti* usually given by editors. We should also not opt for the masculine *aurati*, but for the feminine variant *auratae*. This has the benefit of finally putting the stray letter E (= ae)

²⁸ Cf. B 1 pp. 257–261.

²⁹ Hist. Aug. Pertinax 8.2: *chirodytas Dalmatarum* [long-sleeved *Dalmaticae*].

³⁰ ThLL, OLD print it s.v. *chirodotus*.

³¹ LSJ s.v.

³² Georges s.v. only offers the plural *chirodyti*, explaining it to mean 'sleeves.'

to good use. By this, we get the regular expression *chirodytae auratae* (tunics with long sleeves adorned with gold).

It is clear that Lucilius is not talking about normal garments. The long-sleeved tunic is often referred to in Greek literature as the Persian male costume. Persians wear such clothes in Herodotus.³³ In Lucilius, we hear of tunics decorated with gold (*auratae*). The combination of the two elements fits the image of a rich Oriental (or at least orientalized) costume.³⁴

The same statement holds true for the following *thoracium* (Θωράκιον). The diminutive is attested in this sense only here, but we find the normal form *thorax* in both Greek and Latin. It designates a garment in the form of a cuirass made of cloth. In Herodotus, we read of a magnificent linen *thorax* as a cult gift,³⁵ and we have to imagine something similar here. An unknown wife of an unknown Kallistratos donated a θώραξ κατάστικτος (a spotted *thoracium*) to Artemis Brauronia.³⁶ But there were also less splendid examples. In Imperial times, Augustus wore a wool *thorax* (*thorax laneus*) in winter, and a boy was given a green *thorax* (*viridis*), a kind of jersey for his favorite racing team, by his *patronus*.³⁷ In Latin literature, the *thorax* is always worn by males as a close-fitting intermediate garment, similar to a modern waistcoat.

In this context, the term *mitra* seems to also refer to a Persian-style male headwear. A certain type of *mitra* (in the shape of a headscarf) was also used by Greek and Roman women (B 14)—especially in bed, but also to cover unattractive hair while outside. The passage from Lucilius, however, more likely is referring to something wholly different: a fine Oriental costume worn by men. This exotic costume consists, as in Herodotus, of long-sleeved tunics decorated with gold, ornamental cuirasses, and Phrygian caps (*tiarae*).

When we look for a larger suitable context for the fragment, it is tempting to place it between two other verses from Lucilius (FF 12–13 = 18–19 Chr./Garb.).³⁸ These bookend

33 Herodotus 7.61.1: περί δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους [around the body they wear coloured tunics with sleeves]. On the Persian costume with sleeves, cf. in general E. R. Knauer, *Ex oriente vestimenta. Trachtgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Ärmelmantel und Ärmeljacke*, in: ANRW II 12.3, Berlin 1985, 607–622; B. Bäbler, *Fleißige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen*, Stuttgart 1998, 22–24; A. Scholl, *Der ‚Perser‘ und die ‚skythischen Bogenschützen‘ aus dem Kerameikos*, JdI 115 (2000), 79–112.

34 Female tunics with sleeves are listed twice in the inventory of the Artemis Brauronia, cf. IG² II 1529.10: χιτωνίσκον χειριδωτόν; 1523.23: χιτωνίσκον περιήγητον χειριδωτόν. However, the diminutive form χιτωνίσκος (small tunic) shows that these are probably undertunics.

35 Herodotus 3.47.2: θώρηκα ... λίνεον καὶ ζώων ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῶι καὶ ἐρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλλου [a linen *thorax* with many figures woven into it, decked with gold and cotton embroidery].

36 IG² II 1523.20.

37 Suet. Aug. 82.1; Iuven. 5.143.

38 Nonius pp. 860.27, 867.28 L.

the fragment in Nonius' text.³⁹ In descriptions of this kind, dress terms often appear in larger groups, comprising more than one verse. Nonius usually aims to make full use of his excerpts, sometimes dividing them up between different entries. For this reason, the passage of Lucilius he excerpted might have been somewhat longer. In this way, we get the following text (which is ultimately only an experiment):

praetextae ac tunicae, Lydorum opus sordidu<lum> omne, (F 12 M.)

chirodytae auratae ... thoracia mitrae (F 71 M.)

psilae atque amphotapae villis ingentibus molles (F 13 M.)

Praetextae and tunics—all this mean Oriental stuff—with long sleeves decorated with gold ... 'cuirasses', Oriental caps, rugs with pile on one side and soft rugs with huge nap on both sides.

In this reconstruction, F 26 reads like an explanation of the ironic comment *Lydorum opus sordidulum omne*. The noun *tunicae* (F 26) is taken up by *chirodytae* (F 27), which is used adjectivally (like in Gellius), being prepared for by the inserted comment "all this shabby Persian stuff." It is clear that a supposed Roman *rica has no place in such a context, and we should altogether refrain from emending the sequence CICE to it.

4.3.4 Turpilius Hetaera F 1

The next text adduced by Nonius is taken from a Palliata of Turpilius († 104 BCE) with the title *Hetaera*. The content of the fragment is discussed in chapter A 7.⁴⁰ The following remarks will focus on textual criticism. The *Hetaera* (including parts of this fragment) is also quoted elsewhere by Nonius (see below). The manuscripts offer the title *Veliterna* here, but this is obviously a mistake,⁴¹ *Veliterna* is actually the title of a comedy by Titinius, not Turpilius (an understandable confusion). The quotation is long by the standards of Nonius. It comprises three complete iambic senarii. The situation is as follows: A slave reports what happened to his young master. As he prayed in the temple, he saw a graceful woman, probably the eponymous *hetaera*. The young man falls in love at once. In its transmitted form, the text runs as follows. The third verse offers some textual problems.

*ducit me secum. postquam ad aedem venimus,
veneratur deos. interea aspexit virginem*

³⁹ Nonius assigns our verse to the second book of Lucilius' *Satires*, whereas he attributes the others to the first. However, the corruption of Roman numbers, especially of I to II (or vice versa), is not an insurmountable obstacle because Nonius often misquotes titles. In this lemma, for example, two of the six titles contain an error.

⁴⁰ Cf. pp. 144–146.

⁴¹ Stephanus (1564), in his edition of comic playwrights, still gives the fragment under the title *Veliterna*.

**instantem† in capite riculam indutam ostrinam.*
(*iniectam in capite reticulum, ostrina indutam* [Radicke])

He took me with him. After we came to the temple, he prayed to the gods. While doing so, he saw a young girl who had put a hairnet on her head and was dressed in a crimson *tunica*.

This comparatively long passage is drawn on again later in the dictionary. The last two verses (from *interea* onwards) are quoted again by Nonius under the lemma *ostrinam*.⁴² There, the title of the play is given correctly as *Hetaera*. The second quotation differs slightly at the beginning of the last line, reading *iniectam* instead of *instantem*. The relevant portion reads *iniectam in capite riculam indutam ostrinam*. The text has been printed in many editions of Nonius, the comic playwrights, and Turpilius.⁴³ Editors usually adopt Nonius' longer version and correct the meaningless *instantem*.⁴⁴ Stephanus (1564) puts a comma after **riculam*, separating it from the rest of the line. This suggests two garments, a *ricula* and an *ostrina* (sc. *tunica*). However, since Carrion (1583),⁴⁵ all editors assume that *riculam* and *ostrinam* form one expression.⁴⁶ In that case, both words would go with *indutam*. All scholars leave the problem of what to do with **riculam* untouched.

(1) As to method, it seems best to follow Mercier (1613)⁴⁷ and to start with Nonius' second version: *iniectam in capite riculam indutam ostrinam*. In this way, fewer changes of the text are needed to come to a good result. The text also makes perfect sense, the only exception being the word **ricula*.⁴⁸ The verb *inicere* (to put or throw on or over) is well attested with garments.⁴⁹ The verb then stands in the medio-passive form *virginem iniectam* (a young woman dressed in) and the following **riculam* is the accusative object designating what is put on.

⁴² Nonius p. 881.9–10 L.

⁴³ Turpilius *Veliterna* F 1 Stephanus (1564); Turpilius *Hetaera* F 10 Bothe; F 11 Grautoff (1853); F 1 Ribbeck (1852); Ribbeck² (1871); Ribbeck³ (1898); F 1 Rychlewska (1971).

⁴⁴ Stephanus (1564) *gestantem in capite riculam, indutam ostrinam* (in this form already in the *Cornucopiae* of Perotti, 1526); Ribbeck (1852): *instantem, in capite indutam ostrinam riculam*; Grautoff (1853): *inrantem, caput indutam ostrina rricula*; Ribbeck² (1882): *ibi stantem, in capite ostrinam indutam riculam*; Rychlewska (1971): *ibi stantem in capite riculam indutam ostrinam*. See, however, Bothe (1834): *iniecta in caput ostrina indutam rricula*.

⁴⁵ Carrion (1583), in his *Emendationes et observationes* p. 5, writes *adstantem* and puts a comma after it, thus separating it from the rest.

⁴⁶ Cf. also Georges, OLD s.v. *ostrinus*; and André (1949) 103.

⁴⁷ In his second edition of Nonius. In the first edition (1583), Mercier still printed the emendation *gestantem*.

⁴⁸ That the quality of this version might be better is also suggested by the fact that the quotation is given under its correct title, while the wrong title in the longer version points to a greater confusion in the process of transmission.

⁴⁹ ThLL VII s.v. col. 1612.38–54; OLD s.v. *inicio* 5.

(2) Stephanus was right in putting a comma after **riculam*. The text is not talking about one garment, but about two articles of clothing: the **ricula* and the *ostrina*. The adjective *ostrina* (crimson) is either used as a noun, as often happens with clothing terms (especially with those designating coloured garments⁵⁰) or a word like *tunica* or *vestis* is added in the next verse, which is now missing. The verb *induere* also describes a process of dressing, but it differs slightly from *inicere*. The girl's crimson tunic (*chiton*) is put on by pulling it over the head. Again, we find the expression in its mediopassive form *virginem indutam* (a young woman dressed in). The object is contained in the accusative *ostrinam*. Here we face two smaller problems. The verb *induere* can be construed either with the ablative or the accusative.⁵¹ We should probably restore the ablative form in order to get the unambiguous expression *indutam ostrina*. Mistaken 'harmonization' of endings is another common error in Nonius.⁵² We should also consider following Ribbeck³ in changing the word order to *ostrina indutam* for prosodic reasons.⁵³ The word *ostrinus* usually has a long vowel I, which does not fit in the transmitted verse position, where a short syllable is technically required. If we leave the word in its transmitted place, we must assume an irregular prosody.⁵⁴ The discussion up to now shows that Turpilius is definitively describing the visible costume of a young lady. She is wearing something on her head (as is indicated by the word *iniecta*) and a crimson tunic (*chiton*). The combination of elements brilliantly depicts the figure of the beautiful hetaera that we also encounter in other Palliatae.

We can now tackle the obscure term **ricula*, which must refer to some kind of headwear. In both versions of Nonius, we find the feminine form. But what did Turpilius really write? The conclusions of previous chapters suggest that Nonius' text is corrupt. The ugly accumulation of words⁵⁵ with similar endings (*virginem, iniectam, and riculam*) blurs the grammar. It suggests that a similar corruption could have occurred in *riculam* as it did in *ostrinam*. The simplest assumption is that Turpilius offered the masculine ending *-um*. This leads us to the form **riculum*, which can be restored in the preceding fragment of Nonius and in the following one from Varro. It is very likely an unresolved abbreviation of the word *reticulum* (hairnet). Again, we have found a perfectly normal headaddress underlying the obscure gloss. The young lady wore a hairnet as part of her elegant attire. It turns out that the **ricula* is not some unknown garment, but simply the corruption of a common term.

⁵⁰ Cf. for example, the adjectives in the catalogue of Plautus' *Epidicus*.

⁵¹ ThLL VII 1 s.v. col. 1268.27–66.

⁵² Afranius, *Fratriae* F 15: *incintam togam* instead of *incinctam toga*; cf. A 7 p. 163.

⁵³ So also in LHS I 121, 327.

⁵⁴ ThLL IX, s.v. *ostrinus*, col. 1161.4–21 compares *murrinus* and *coccinus* (with a short I) to it. However, these adjectives are not exact parallels. In contrast to *ostrinus*, they are regularly written with a short vowel I in Latin and a short Iota in Greek.

⁵⁵ Bothe (1834): "*cumulata m littera, quod vitari solet*"; Grautoff (1853) 17: "*accusativorum accumulatio inelegans*."

4.3.5 Varro *Prometheus Liber* F 433

The last quotation of Nonius comes from Varro's Menippean satires, namely from the *Prometheus Liber*. The content of the fragment has been dealt with in chapter A 9.⁵⁶ Its text is also severely corrupted and requires detailed discussion. The manuscripts of Nonius as transmitted provide a meaningless version of the text. It was most recently corrected by Astbury (433):

aliae mitrant tricenam aut mitram Melitensem (codd.)
aliae ... nt ricinium aut mitram Melitensem (Astbury)
aliae [mitrant] reticulum aut mitram Melitensem (Radicke)
 other women a hairnet or Maltese headscarf

The form *mitrant* is meaningless. According to Astbury, it originated out of the following word *mitram* by a leap of the eye. It then displaced a verb whose ending is still extant in the sequence of the letters NT. However, it is more likely—as we have seen in other fragments—that the annotation *mitram* was written above the line or in the margin to explain the gloss **ricenam*. This would have later been adopted in the main text and adapted accordingly by a scribe in order to make some sense of it. The form *mitrant* should therefore be deleted, as proposed by Lucian Müller (1888).

The next sequence of letters TRICENAM is just as meaningless. It has been variously emended by editors. Mercier (1583) proposed **ricinam*, Müller (1888) **reicam*. These proposals nonetheless both produce non-words. Popma's (1601) guess **ricinium*⁵⁷ is not much better. The gloss **ricinium* does indeed exist in Latin historical texts, but Varro thought that it designated a thick primeval cloak.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, this does not fit the following fashionable *mitra* from Malta. Moreover, Nonius would have included this fragment by Varro in his lemma **ricinium* if he had thought it to contain that rare word. For these reasons, we should not opt for this emendation.

As to the expected content, the **reticulum* (hairnet) is again the best solution. In *De lingua Latina*, Varro mentions it as a typical Roman headwear.⁵⁹ But what happened to it in this case? The sequence looks a bit like an anagram. The error perhaps originated from a misplacement of some letters. This combined with the usual inability of the scribes to resolve an abbreviation of the letters UL (see above). A similar process can be

⁵⁶ Cf. p. 192.

⁵⁷ Popma prints the text of Mercier in his edition, but remarks in his notes p. 700: "*Nonius hoc adducit in voce rica, ut fortassis legendum sit, aliae ricam, ricinium, aut mitram.*"

⁵⁸ Cf. C 1 pp. 565–568.

⁵⁹ Varro LL 5.130: *quod capillum contineret, dictum a rete reticulum ... mitra et reliqua fere in capite postea addita cum vocabulis Graecis* [Because it held the hair, the *reticulum* was named after the net (*rete*). ... The *mitra* and almost all other headdresses were added later along with their Greek names]. Cf. on it B 12 p. 455.

observed in the gloss *amperinta*, which appears to be a completely garbled *interulam* (B 6).

But why did Nonius excerpt this fragment in the first place, if not for the gloss **ricula*? We should recall here that we are still fighting our way through Nonius' entry on the glosses **rica*/**ricula*. The answer to this question is quite simple: The textual error is not due to Nonius or his scribes. It was his manuscript of Varro that was already defective in this place, offering a **ricula* instead of a *reticulum*. Nonius is guiltless. He just copied what he read. And that was wrong. The third act of the scholars' tragedy of the **rica* now comes to an end. Plautus' **rica* is the only **rica* that remains in primary evidence.

4.4 The Migration Period (Isidore of Seville)

The aftermath of the drama **rica/ricula* in the Migration Period is very short. Its history ends in Isidore of Seville with a brief notice on the **ricula: rricula est mitra virginalis capitis* (the *ricula* is a headscarf of the head of a young woman).⁶⁰ Again, Isidore adds something of his own. In keeping with the (supposedly) diminutive form of **ricula*, he makes it a kind of headband not of the woman but of the *virgo*. A large caveat to his proposal is that Isidore would not have seen what he refers to as a **ricula* in his entire life.

4.5 Conclusion

This concludes the scholars' tragedy. After humble beginnings, we have watched 'knowledge' on the **rica* grow in the early Imperial Period to form a small story of its own. First, the simple **rica* became a purple garment. It was worn by the wife of the *flamen Dialis*. It was produced by holy virgins in a ritual. Then, the story of the **rica* got mixed up with that of other glosses. Suddenly, Nonius pulled new evidence out of thin air in what was a real *coup de theatre*. Hopefully this chapter succeeded in dispelling Nonius' conjured illusion. After all this work of sifting through scholarly and scribal errors, we have seen three **reticula* (hairnets) and one **cice* dissolving into nothing. This forensic work also found that all texts have meaningful grammar and content. Their meaning can be established without in turn conjuring up an ancient world full of mysterious things. The only way to break through Nonius' illusion was a rational method guided by textual criticism. This was able to explain virtually every letter and the course a corruption might have taken in the manuscripts. In the end, there remains only Plautus' **rica*, and that was, if my hypothesis is correct, originally a **tricae* (nonsense, trifles).

⁶⁰ Isid. Etym. 19.31.5.

It seems that the comic playwright has yet another joke at our expense. If only he knew the havoc the innocent sequence RICA would cause. The ancients would certainly have chuckled at the nonsense written about their times.

5 *supparus – Plautus Epidicus III

1. Introduction
2. Varro
3. The Imperial Period
 - 3.1 Festus (Verrius)
 - 3.2 Lucan
4. Late Antiquity (Nonius)
5. Conclusion

The following chapter is about the meaning of the word *supparus.¹ In contrast to the gloss *rica, the term *supparus designates a real garment. However, the specific appearance of this garment was already a matter of dispute in Antiquity—a dispute that has not been settled by modern scholarship. We will therefore start with sifting through what ancient secondary sources thought about the gloss and its supposed garment and what our available primary sources actually say. As in the chapter on the *rica (D 4), understanding the *supparus first requires the hard work of textual criticism, since, depending on the nature of the evidence, the understanding of several of the primary texts is seriously hampered by Antique and modern misunderstanding. Much of the effort will thus concentrate on restoring a plausible text of the grammarian Festus (Verrius). Starting with the earliest editors, attempts at understanding the text have created more riddles than there actually are. It turns out that the problems are fewer and require less complex solutions than usually proposed. Only after removing thick layers of scholarly accretion, the chapter will proceed to a hypothesis of its own. It starts from the basic primary evidence and argues that the *supparus is a kind of outer tunica. It might have been an Italic dress custom (as opposed to specifically Roman) of Republican times. For this reason, ancient Roman grammarians writing in the Imperial Period or later had difficulties explaining the term. In any case, the term *supparus ultimately remains a gloss. For this reason, it has been placed in this part of the book and has been marked with an asterisk (*). The term should only be used with extreme caution in any historical discussions.

¹ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 484–485; RE 6.2 (1909) s.v. Flachs, col. 2463–2464 (F. Olck); Blümner (1911) 231; RE 4.1 A (1931) s.v. supparus, col. 939–942 (E. Schuppe); Wilson (1938) 164–165; Potthoff (1992) 186–190; Sebesta (1994) 66; N. Goldman, Reconstructing Roman clothing, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 235; Olson (2003) 202–203; Pausch (2003) 145; 149–151; GRD (2007) 184; Olson (2008) 15–16, 21.

5.1 Introduction

The word **supparus* differs from all the other obscure words discussed in this part of the book: It is not a *hapax legomenon*, but is attested several times in early Roman comedy. As to its ending, the secondary texts of the grammarians and later scholars vary between the masculine **supparus* and the neuter **supparum*. The exact ending is still under contention (most recent research gives **supparum*),² but the oldest primary texts indicate that the masculine **supparus* is the correct original form. In the fragments of archaic authors, the word mostly occurs in the accusative (*supparum*), but the nominative form *supparus* is found in Naevius (see below) and in Novius. The same form is also assumed by Varro and Festus. So we should keep to this. In contrast, Lucan and Nonius offer the neuter **supparum* (see below), but this rather originated in the common deterioration a gloss suffers in the course of its life. There is also some difficulty concerning the pronunciation of the word. Since we do not have a primary evidence on the length of the vowel A, it could be either *súpparus* or *suppárus*. However, Varro seems to have pronounced the word *súpparus*, and he may well be right.

These grammatical questions are not all of the issues obscuring the gloss. Scholars in Antiquity (writing centuries after the primary texts) also did not exactly know what kind of garment the word designated when they found it in the older texts. This did not deter them from offering confident proposals. In its long history, the **supparus* took on all possible appearances—from a long ‘*peplos*’ to a short skirt covering the legs, from overgarment to undergarment. Following the example of their ancient predecessors, opinions of modern scholars also differ widely. In Georges, for example, the **supparum* [!] is thought to be a linen cape with short and tight sleeves down to the elbow;³ in the OLD, the **supparus* is more modestly defined as “a woman’s garment, perh. a kind of scarf or shawl”; in the older German research, the **supparus* is generally an upper garment;⁴ in English research since Wilson (1938), it is mostly thought to be an undertunic worn by young women and brides.⁵ This chapter argues that none of these definitions are correct.

² GRD (2007) 184.

³ Cf. Georges s.v.: “ein Überwurf von Leinen mit kurzen, ziemlich engen Ärmeln, die den Oberarm bis zum Ellenbogen bedeckten, von Frauen über der *subucula* getragen.”

⁴ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 484–485; Olck (n. 1) 2463–2464; Blümner (1911) 231; Schuppe (n. 1) 939–942; Potthoff (1992) 186–190.

⁵ Wilson (1938) 165: “an under tunic serving the same purpose as the modern chemise”; Sebesta (1994) 66; Goldman (n. 1) 235; Olson (2003) 202–203; Pausch (2003) 145, 149–151; GRD (2007) 184; Olson (2008) 15–16, 21.

5.2 Varro

Varro's opinion on the **supparus* was discussed in detail in chapter C 1.⁶ He derived the word etymologically from the Latin word *supra*, but also considered that it might be an Oscan loanword:⁷

Varro LL 5.131

indutui alterum quod subtus, a quo subucula, alterum quod supra, a quo supparus, nisi id quod item dicunt Osce.

As to garments pulled over the head, there is one that is worn underneath, whence *subucula*, another that is worn over (the dress), hence **supparus*, if it is not what is called by the same name in the Oscan language.

Varro defines the **supparus* as a kind of outer tunic, without commenting on its appearance in detail. It is difficult to say whether he was guided only by the etymology in this or whether he had any factual knowledge about it. Given that tunics were so ubiquitous, his explanation is actually of limited value (even should it turn out to be correct). His afterthought about an Oscan article of clothing, however, suggests that there still was a garment called **supparus* on the fringes of Varro's intellectual world. Varro's statement would also square chronologically with the fact that the word was still used by his contemporary Novius in an Atellan farce.

5.3 The Imperial Period

5.3.1 Festus (Verrius)

The garment **supparus* perhaps still had some life in it in the first half of the first century BCE. In contrast, it was dead by Imperial times. The term clearly was a gloss by then and an object only of literature. We can see what scholars thought about it from an entry in the dictionary of Festus, an epitome of Verrius' more comprehensive dictionary dating back to the first years CE.⁸ Nearly all contents go back to him.⁹ In this article, Festus' text is badly destroyed, missing about two thirds of each line.¹⁰ Only the definition of Festus and one quotation at the end can be safely restored through

⁶ Cf. p. 572.

⁷ As regards the dictionaries of the Oscan-Umbrian language, Varro's view is taken up in R.S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, Cambridge 1897, 220. J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*, Heidelberg 2000 makes no mention of the **supparus*.

⁸ In this book, the connection is made explicit in writing Festus (Verrius) when it comes to dating the material. If it does not matter or only the form of the text is dealt with, only the name of Festus is given.

⁹ For possible exceptions, see D 4 p. 643.

¹⁰ On the text, cf. Lindsay's introduction p. VII.

interpretation to him. In any case, Festus (Verrius) claimed the opposite of Varro. At the end of the passage, Festus repeats his statement concerning the *puellare vestimentum*. Obviously, he drew his conclusions from a remark in the comic playwright Afranius, whose quotation we can confidently restore from Paulus' version and a parallel in Nonius.¹³

Let us now turn to the problematic middle part—the lines 11–18. Some remarks on the history of scholarship may be of help to better understand the following discussion. The original text of Festus is only transmitted in the Codex Farnesianus, which suffered physical damage. For this reason, our text is full of gaps. What could be missing has first been suggested by the erudite Humanist scholar Joseph Scaliger (1575).¹⁴ However, Scaliger himself published the text of Festus without his additions, which he rather meant to be a paraphrase. His emendations were included in the edition of Fulvio Orsini (1583), who enriched them by some guesses of his own. This edition solidified the status of Scaliger's proposals, and they spread through research on Festus. Scaliger's suggestions, often ingenious, still influence modern research. This can be seen in Lindsay's edition, which needs to be read with care. Although it is the most recent edition, it is not the best and should always be read in conjunction with the edition of Thewrek and others (1893) and the facsimile of the Codex Farnesianus in order to see what is actually written in the original text.¹⁵ As to the lines in question, Scaliger/Orsini boldly recast them as follows:¹⁶

[item velum] omne, quod [ex lino est, sup]parum dicitur. Pun[icum vestimentum, ita vo]cat Naevi[us de bello Punic]o. et in Nautis [vocat Neptuno v]estem consec[ratam supparum. at] nunc supparos appellamus vela lin[ea in cruce]m [expansa].

Similarly, every sail made of linen is called *supparus*. A Phoenician garment, so says Naevius in his *Bellum Punicum*; and in his *Nautae*, he calls *supparus* a garment consecrated to Neptune. But now we call a *supparus* linen sails that hang on the spar.

This is a fine though somewhat complicated story. Scaliger/Orsini supposed that the **supparus* designated a kind of Phoenician sail about which Naevius supposedly talked several times. Obviously, Naevius' poem on the First Punic War was the place *par excellence* to talk about Phoenician things. Future scholars and several editors of Naevius shared this view.¹⁷ Engaging learned fantasy, the **supparus* mentioned by Naevius

¹³ Cf. A 7 pp. 647–275.

¹⁴ The reference in Lindsay p. XXIV must be corrected.

¹⁵ The codex suffered further damage since Scaliger's and Orsini's editions, but the facsimile is still of good use when it comes to judging Lindsay's text.

¹⁶ Scaliger (1575), Castigationes pp. 185–186.

¹⁷ The respective passage was printed among the fragments of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*, cf. F 9 Morel (1927); F 27 Marmorale (1950); F 58 Blänsdorf (1995); cf., however, Traglia (1986) Naev. inc. 1.

even became a garment that was worn by Ascanius, the son of Aeneas!¹⁸ Naevius then also spoke about a *supparus* (this time as a garment) in his *Nautae* (Sailors). In a play by the same name, this garment would probably be an offering to Neptune, the god of the sea. After that, Scaliger/Orsini again introduced a scholar's remark about the special type of sail. They drew on Festus' lemma on the word *siparium* (sail) for this, where the word **supparus* is restored by modern emendation (see below). In sum, all of this is storytelling rather than rigorous scholarship, and later scholars rightly rejected much of it. However, the story secretly lived on and still leads to a complete misconception of what Festus' entry on the **supparus* looked like. The following section will argue for another, much simpler solution.

The question to be considered first is to whom most of the mutilated words should be attributed. Are they part of the comment of Festus—as Scaliger/Orsini thought? Or are they the remnants of quotations Festus took from other authors? In general, there are two reasons in favour of the latter hypothesis: (1) The entries in Festus concerning a single word (excluding words on religious issues) usually take the following form: 'The word A designates the item B. See Author X: (quote from X); and author Y: (quote from Y); and author Z (quote from Z), etc.' The general layout thus comes close to what we know from modern dictionaries. First comes the definition, and then follows the linguistic evidence, which is commonly adduced without much ado. A simple connective *et* often suffices to list the authors. (2) Paulus Diaconus usually proceeds as follows in his epitome: He gives us all of the scholarly definition in Festus while cutting out most quotations and only offering those that add some special content. It is very likely that he applied the same approach here. He clearly omitted the middle part containing the quotations from Titinius and Naevius (see below), giving us only the important quotation from Afranius at the end. For this reason, it is most unlikely that the middle part of Festus contained some remarks on the **supparus* being a sail. This would establish a noticeable second meaning beside the first one (that it was a kind of garment) and would not have been omitted by Paulus. In consequence, we should ban Scaliger/Orsini's sail theory to the realm of erudite fiction and instead look for an alternative solution. The rest of the chapter argues that there is only talk about the garment called **supparus* and that Festus adduces four fragments from three authors as evidence for this: Titinius, Naevius (from an unknown work and from his *Nautae*), and finally Afranius.

But let us now turn to the text and enter into a more detailed discussion of what is left in our transmitted form. In line 11, we find the title of a comedy called *Fullonia* (A fullers' story). The author's name is lost, but it was most likely the comic playwright

18 Marmorale (1950) in his edition of Naevius: "In questa testimonianza di Festo ... si parla della veste di un bambino, o, meglio, di un bambino vestito di *supparus*. Si deve quindi ricavarne, se vogliamo mantenere in questo punto il fr. [i.e. in the second book of the *Bellum Punicum*], la presenza di un bambino nella reggia di Cartagine. E poiché nella corrispondente versione data da Vergilio ..., si parla di Ascanio, è lecito postulare anche nel *bellum Poenicum* di Nevio la presenza di un figlio di Enea."

Titinius, since he wrote a Togata with this title and is also quoted by Festus elsewhere.¹⁹ The quotation is lost in the gap. The size of the gap makes it difficult to judge over how many of the dictionary's lines the quotation extended. It is likely that it still comprised *omne quod* since Festus very often quotes entire verses of his primary sources. If this is the case, grammar necessitates that it goes on in line 13. It most likely consisted of two iambic senarii or trochaic septenarii and likely included the letters at the end of line 13. These letters give us parts of two words. Taking them together as a noun and adjective is a natural fit. This would restore the expression *supparum punicum* or *puniceum* (with an E). The meaning of the adjective *punicus/puniceus* is 'crimson' rather than 'Phoenician,' since there is no parallel for a *Punicus *supparus* in Latin texts. In contrast, young woman wearing red clothes are attested several times.²⁰ Moreover, a **supparus* in this colour is found in Varro, who seems to combine two glosses in the phrase **supparus ostrinus*.²¹ Apart from that, the word **supparus* is only attested in comedies. A crimson dress fits Titinius' *Fullonia* well because it is about a young and beautiful wife. It is unlikely that it is from Naevius because Festus' indications of authors usually precede the quotation. Therefore, we should ascribe the words to Titinius.

We can now turn to orthography. Unfortunately, we cannot tell whether Titinius had *punicum* or *puniceum*. As mentioned above, the prosody of the word **supparus* is uncertain. In the expression *supparum punicum*, the vowel A of *supparum* must be long, hence *suppārus*; otherwise it does not fit into the verse. If Varro's pronunciation *sūpparus* (see above) is right, we must restore *puniceum*; this would create a fine beginning of a trochaic septenarius, as found in Plautus' *Epidicus* and in Novius' *Paedium* (see below). Since Varro might still have known something about the garment, we can maybe trust him in this instance. This gives us the pronunciation *sūpparus*. This prosodic choice will be significant for the proposed reconstruction of portions of the corrupted text.

At the end of line 14, editors confidently read CAT NEVI DE. The letter C in CAT cannot be unambiguously read in the facsimile of the Codex Farnesianus (quat. XIV col. 15). When editors like Lindsay uncritically favour it, they do so out of a preconceived desire to make a particular interpretation fit, biasing them towards a particular emendation. If we restore something like *significat* or *vocat* here, everything would point to the explanation that Festus himself is speaking. However, we should be cautious at this point and leave the question open. The letters AT may also be the end of the quotation of Titinius. The next quotation is taken from the playwright *Naevius*, as the sequence NEVI shows. Restoring the missing ending US is quite reasonable and requires nothing more than resolving what was given in an abbreviation. We find the same phenomenon

¹⁹ On the fragment, cf. also A 7 p. 148.

²⁰ Cf. B 11 p. 436.

²¹ Cf. A 9 p. 156.

with the name *Naevius* elsewhere in Festus.²² Serious problems start with the next letters DE. Here and in line 15, editorial negligence is again on display. Lindsay (following Scaliger) gives us the following version: **Naevius de** || <*bello Puni*>**co** (Naevius about the Punic War). The plausibility of the emendation hinges on what is read in the Codex Farnesianus. Again, a single letter comes into play. If a C before the O is transmitted, *bello Punico* is a likely proposition. Without the C, it is not. Lindsay glosses over this decisive fact. In the text, he gives us a C without brackets. However, he puts a dot under it, noting in his critical apparatus: *co* FU (c n. l.). This small annotation actually means “C non legitur,” the letter C cannot be discerned anymore, but was given by Orsini. Contrary to Lindsay’s statements, it does not appear anywhere in earlier editions, not even in that of Fulvio Orsini (= FU). Orsini prints *Punico*, the italics (which include the C) marking the letters *not* found in his available manuscript. This means that there was only a single definitive letter in Orsini’s text: the letter O. Lindsay’s remark on the letter C is therefore at best highly misleading. In the facsimile of the Codex Farnesianus, there is no C in front of the O either. The desire for the conjecture <*bello puni*>*co* thus seems to have given rise to reading of the letter C.²³ Further reconstruction should not rely on it as a starting point.

However, there are other, stronger reasons against Scaliger’s conjecture. Lindsay camouflages it by inserting a reference in the blank space, but Scaliger’s emendation is much too short for the gap. Moreover, when Festus gives the title *Bellum Punicum*, he usually uses the genitive.²⁴ It is therefore unlikely that Festus wrote something like *De bello Punico*. But what are we to do then with the letters DE? The normal form of quotation in Festus would be the preposition *in* followed by the work title (in X). For this reason, restoring the title of one of Naevius’ comedies (Demetrius, Dementes) would require further conjecture. However, Festus sometimes omits the title altogether and immediately starts with the quotation. The easiest explanation is that he also does it here and that the letters DE are the beginning of the next fragment. This would not give us a title, which means that we cannot know with certainty to which of Naevius’ works it belonged. This additional ambiguity would help explain why previous editors favoured the emendation with C. It neatly ties up most interpretive issues. That being said, the proposal that the letters DE indicate an unknown work produces less uncertainty than might be expected. It is a fair guess that the quotation also came from a comedy because all other fragments referring to the *supparus belong to comedy. In contrast to epic poems, this genre in general favours the mention of garments talking about everyday life while stories of heroic deeds do not require mentions of specific clothing. The first fragment from Naevius then runs on in line 15 until the transmitted O, which was

²² Festus p. 482.10 L. (see below n. 24).

²³ Today, the letters CO are printed in all editions of the Naevius fragments without a dot under the C.

²⁴ Festus. p. 158.9 L.: <Naevius ... bell>*i Punic*; p. 306.27 L.: *Naevius in carmine Punic* belli; p. 428.34 L.: <Nae>*vius belli Pu*<*nici* ...>; p. 482.10 L. sic ꝑ. *naevicapesset* [= *Naevius in ca*<*rmine belli Punic* ... *ca*>*pesset*] *flam*ma.

formerly misused for *Punico*. The O may be the end of an ablative like, for example, *supparo*. The entire phrase in lines 14/15 would thus run *Naevius* <...> *et in Nautis* (Naevius: “...” and in his *Sailors*: “...”).

The next few lines (16–18) would then give us a long quotation from this unknown play. Because the text is badly damaged, the content has always puzzled scholars. Most recently, the existence of *crucem* in the passage has been adduced in theological research as a strange testimony of crucifixion.²⁵ The understanding of the lines is further hampered by editors’ misreading of the textual fragments that are left. Let us start with line 18, which is confidently given by Lindsay as NA IAM CRUCEM. The letters do not have any additional diacritics or other indicators that Lindsay is wary of parts of this emendation. Turning to the Codex Farnesianus, however, it is clear that the first N and the first I are difficult to read. We should instead change the N to an M and the I to an L. This would restore the transmission to the expression *malam crucem*. The text is not about spars and sails (as editors would have it), but about some person saying that another person should *go to be hanged*, or more literally *go to be crucified*. When this expression is culturally and not only linguistically translated, it means something along the lines of *go to hell!* (as given in the translation above). The curse *i in malam crucem* is very common in comedy. Its wording sometimes varies according to the situation at hand, but its position in the texts is quite consistent. In almost all parallels, it stands at the end of the line.²⁶ We should therefore expect it to be at the end of the long quotation from Naevius’ *Nautae*.

But this is not the only point where careless fantasy has misled editors. In line 16, Lindsay gives us the letters ESTEM CONSECR. Orisini restored this to a *vestis consecrata* (a sacrificed garment) and thought this to denote a sailors’ offering to Neptune. However, when we look at the Codex Farnesianus, we should interpret Orisini’s S to actually be an F (the letters F and S being very similar in form). This gives us CONFEC. This corruption can then be rendered as a past form of *conficere* (to manufacture): for example *confeci*, *confecisse*, *confectam*. The verb *conficere* is used elsewhere with clothing.²⁷ In Plautus, for example, we find a fine scene with it. The word is marked in bold:

Plaut. Miles 686b–688

*verum egone eam ducam domum,
quae mihi numquam hoc dicat ‘eme, mi vir, lanam, unde tibi pallium
malacum et calidum **conficiatur** tunicaeque hibernae bonae.’?*

But I shall marry a wife who never says to me: ‘Dear husband, buy some wool so that I can make you a soft and warm cloak and good winter tunics’?

²⁵ Cf. J. Granger Cook, *Crucifixion in the Mediterranean World*, Tübingen 2015, 132–133.

²⁶ Plaut. Cas. 641: *i in malam a me crucem*; Poen. 347: *i directe in maxumam malam crucem*; Pseud. 335: *i in malam crucem*; Capt. 469: *illicit parasiticae arti maxumam malam crucem*; Rud. 176: *it in malam crucem*. On the mention of the cross in Plautus, see most recently Granger Cook (n. 25) 52–57.

²⁷ OLD s.v. 2.

After these corrections, We can now put bits and pieces of lines 16–18 together. They give us the rest of a comic scene. We have: *vestem confec<tam>* (a manufactured garment) ..., *nunc supparos* (now several *supparus) and *in malam crucem* (go to be hanged). In comedy, husbands and their wives rarely have harmonious relationships. The husband often complains about the wife's demands and her lack of sympathy; in turn, the wife often criticizes the husband's stinginess and infidelity. When it comes to clothing, it is a literary commonplace that women want to have many articles of dress (robes, shoes, headdress, jewellery) and something along these lines must be at the core of the scene from Naevius. The text mentions several *suppari* (in plural) in connection with *nunc* (meaning 'now,' or rather, 'at one moment'). This forms part of the antithesis *nunc ... nunc*. The underlying thought seems to be 'now she demands this one fine garment (*vestis*), now that (*suppari*)' (in other words, yet another article of clothing). We cannot tell anymore whether the scene was a direct confrontation between husband and wife ending in final exasperation of one of the partners that the other should go to hell. The curse could also be read as the complaint of an ungenerous husband about his wife. The parallels we have and the fact that we get a list point to the second solution, adding the caveat that there is no way of making a final determination. In any case, the scene was not about ships, sacrificing of clothes, tar, spars, or booms. Instead, it was about the complications of marital life. This semantic and cultural field should then be kept in mind with the rest of the fragment.

In line 19, Festus returns to commenting on the *supparus. The remaining textual traces (DETUR PUELLA) allow confidently restoring something like *supparus esse videtur puellare vestimentum* (it seems to be the garment of a *puella*). Festus illustrates his opinion by a fourth example, this one taken from Afranius. We can tell that we are back on safe ground because Paulus Diaconus excerpted it thinking it to be of special relevance.

In conclusion, we can say that Festus (Verrius) did not know the garment called *supparus from his own experience. He tried to prove the meaning of the word with the help of four references, all of them probably taken from Roman texts, most likely comedies. He proceeds exactly as one would expect in a dictionary. The quotations are mainly lost in gaps, but this does not prevent us from gathering at least a broad picture of what the *supparus might have referred to. The textual rests available today and the parallels to other texts show us that the *supparus must have been an article of everyday female dress in archaic Roman comedy. The cost of this garment would help to explain why the wife's demands anger the stingy husband.

To complete the picture, we must turn to another entry in Festus where the *supparus appears. It concerns the *siparium*—the term *siparium* designates a theatre curtain or a veil—and is the reason why ships, masts, and sails were considered at all plausible by modern scholars. The superficially parallel entries should be kept strictly separate for reasons that will be discussed below. As to the transmitted text, the entry on the

**siparium* is no less corrupted than that on the **supparus*. The section where reference to the **supparus* is made runs as follows:²⁸

si

[*pario* ...] *utuntur, dictum ait*
 [... *a vesti*] *mento, quod vocetur*
 [*supparus*.

siparium they use X says it is called ... after a garment that is called <*supparus*>.

This reference seems clear enough, but it must be stressed that the connection between the words *siparium* (theatrical curtain, sail) and **supparus* entirely rests on Scaliger's emendation of the text.²⁹ There is no other ancient evidence for this supposed connection, although it is a likely proposition that **supparus* is the dress term missing at the beginning of the last line of this second passage. As to their orthography, **supparus* and **siparium* are similar enough to have invited ancient grammarians to postulate an etymological relation. We then end up with some grammarian's (preposterous) guesswork (*dictum ait*) about the etymology of the word **siparium*. It is very likely that this was the opinion of Verrius. After this, the **supparus* disappears from the scene. Another odd etymology of the **siparium* immediately follows, which was offered by the grammarian Sennius Capito. He connected the **siparium* (curtain) with the verb *separare* (to separate), probably because a curtain separates a person or a group from the view of another. The fact that the connection between **siparium* and **supparus* rests entirely on a single remark of a grammarian (as restored by Scaliger) recommends that we should not make Festus' article on the **siparium* the basis for further speculation about the **supparus* and its etymology.

It turns out that most of the problems we have in understanding Festus' words were actually created by modern scholarship itself. The meaning of both entries in Festus is unambiguous if we keep close to the remnants in the manuscripts. Ironically, it has been the desire to understand the passages that led to seeming contradictions that then needed to be explained with yet more guesswork.³⁰

5.3.2 Lucan – *poeta doctus*

The next evidence for the gloss **supparus* is found in the epic poem called *Bellum civile* of the poet Lucan (39–65 CE). Lucan calls it **supparum*, using the poetic plural **suppara*. Contrary to what some scholars thought, his mention of the **supparus* is not

²⁸ Festus p. 458.11–16 L.

²⁹ A. E. Housman, *Siparum and Supparus*, *ClQ* 13 (1919), 149–152.

³⁰ Marquardt/Mau (1886) 485 n. 2 against Wilson (1938) 64; Goldman (n. 1) 235.

primary evidence as to the nature and function of the garment.³¹ As we have seen, the word *supparus was already a gloss for Verrius in Augustan times. The same applies even more to the later Lucan. The poet used the ancient word, which he knew from grammarians, to show his erudition. In a negative catalogue, Lucan enumerates the customs that were omitted by Cato when he got married to Marcia during a period of war. He tells us which clothes Marcia did not wear as bride:³²

Lucan. 2.360–364

*non timidum nuptae leuiter tectura pudorem
lutea demissos uelantur flammae uoltus,
balteus aut fluxos gemmis astrinxit amictus,
colla monile decens umerisque haerentia primis
suppara nudatos cingunt angusta lacertos.*

No yellow shawl covered the lowered face in order to lightly cover the timid reserve of the bride, no belt with gemstones fastened the flowing robe, no elegant necklace hung around the neck, no *supparus hanging on the base of the shoulders closely surrounded the naked arms.

Lucan's description is very important for the history of Roman dress and has been discussed several times in this book.³³ The clothing described can best be compared with the garment we see on the statues of women of the emperor's household and other women from the upper classes in the early Imperial Period. Under the *stola* (B 4), a *tunica* is often visible as a second garment. This encloses the shoulders and has short faux-sleeves. In Lucan's description, the words *fluxos amictus* designate the long *stola* (Lucan could not use the proper word *stola* for it because its stylistic level was too low for an epic poem). The term *suppara refers to the *tunica* beneath, where Lucan faced the same stylistic restrictions. Lucan keeps to Verrius' definition of the *supparus as a kind of undergarment. Literary convention did not allow him to use the everyday words *tunica* or even *subucula* in an epic poem, and so the gloss *supparus was a suitable alternative. Lucan did no more than depict a contemporary festive costume, ennoble it by an ancient word, and adapt it to the Republican Period. The opacity of the term *supparus was thus counter-acted by the narrow context of the list. Lucan's Roman readers knew what dress he referred to. In consequence, Lucan's remarks cannot be used to understand the appearance of the historical *supparus, such as for the assumption that it had sleeves.³⁴ His passage also becomes unsuitable

³¹ Against OLD s. v. *supparus*; Olson (2003) 202–203; (2008) 16, 21.

³² On the grammar, see Dreyling (1999) in his commentary ad loc. The negative extends over the entire expression. For a similar list of things *missing* at a wedding ceremony, cf. Ovid. Met. 6.428–429 (the ill-starred wedding of Procne).

³³ Cf. B 1 pp. 272–273; B 4 p. 319.

³⁴ Against Wilson (1938) 165.

for inferring that the **supparus* was a wedding dress. These derived details are just the grammarians' theory put to poetical use by a *poeta doctus*. Nothing more.

Lucan's words are explained by the so-called Scholia Bernensia.³⁵ These explanations are of no historical value when it comes to identifying the **supparus*. Instead, they are only of interest for the history of scholarship itself. The Scholia Bernensia are not based on a uniform Late Antique commentary on Lucan, but are a heterogeneous Carolingian compilation of earlier marginal scholia.³⁶ However, the content seems to be partly based on genuine Late Antique material. Offering different explanations, the scholia again show the prevailing uncertainty about the nature of the **supparus*:

Schol. Bernensia ad Lucan. 2.364 p. 72.22–25 Usener
subpara pro amiculis. suppara genus vestis, quod alii stola dicunt, alii toracem vel amiculi genus. alii vestes angustae sine manicis pube tenus, quibus virgines nupturae induuntur.

subpara instead of *amica*. *suppara* are a type of dress that some say is a *stola*, others a 'waist-coat' (*thorax*) or a kind of cloak (*amiculum*). Others say it is a tight dress without sleeves that reaches down to the private parts, which is worn by virgins when they marry.

First, we get three different explanations that we do not find elsewhere. These identify the **supparus* with three other known dress words (*stola*, *thorax*, *amiculum*). The second half is clearly based on Lucan's description. The expression *vestes angustae* mirrors Lucan's words (*suppara angusta*). The **supparus* as a wedding garment is only found in his text (*virgines nupturae*). In any case, the haphazard guesswork of the scholia shows that it cannot be used to deduce the appearance of the historical **supparus*.

5.4 Late Antiquity (Nonius)

In Late Antiquity, a long entry on the **supparum* [!] (in the neuter) is found in the dictionary of Nonius. It forms part of a long line of entries that take their start from the glosses of the dress catalogue in Plautus' *Epidicus*. As always, Nonius is independent from Imperial grammarians. This time there is nonetheless a certain similarity between

³⁵ On the Scholia in general, see J. Ramming, *Varronisches Material in den Scholien zu Lukan, Pharsalia II 356.359.371*, *Maia* 37 (1985), 255–259 and id., *Quellen und Genese der Scholien zu Lukan, Pharsalia 2,355-371*, *Hermes* 114 (1986), 479–490.

³⁶ Cf. the excellent study of S. Werner, *The Transmission and Scholia to Lucan's bellum civile*, Hamburg 1998, 124–172, especially pp. 124, 147–148. I give only the version of the Codex Bernensis (C). The additions in the manuscripts BV are no more than an incorporation of Paulus Diaconus' lemma **supparus*. Paulus also provides a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the scholia. For an overview of the different versions, cf. Ramming (n. 35) 485–485.

him and the earlier writers because Nonius quotes the same text from Afranius included by Festus. A notable difference is that his quotation of Afranius contains one more word at its beginning. Nonius also gives the missing title of the comedy. This shows that he did not rely on Festus, but excerpted Afranius (and all other poets) independently:

Nonius p. 866.8–10 L.

supparum est linteum femorale usque ad talos pendens, dictum quod subtus appareat. Plautus in Epidico (232): supparum aut subnimum [est], ricam, basilicum aut exoticum. Novius Paedio (70): supparum purum Melitensem. – interii, escam meram. Afranius in Epistula (122): tace, puella non sum, supparo si induta sum? Varro Eumenidibus (121b–122): hic indutus supparum coronam ex auro et gemmis fulgentem gerit.

The *supparum [!] is a linen skirt that reaches down to the ankles. It is so named because it appears underneath (*subtus*). Plautus in the *Epidicus*: ‘not-enough-underneath’ or ‘too-much-underneath,’ *rica, royal robe or exotic robe’; Novius in the *Paedium*: ‘a supparus, pure Maltese stuff. (B) I am doomed, a true bait!’; Afranius in the *Letter*: ‘Shut up! Am I not a girl since I am dressed in a supparus?’; Varro in the *Furies*: ‘This one dressed in a *supparus, wearing a shining wreath of gold and precious stones.’

Nonius begins with his own definition. Like Lucan, he regards the word as neuter. Knowledge of the original masculine ending had finally been lost. Nonius likewise etymologically connects the *supparus with *subtus*, but—in contrast to Festus—he does not interpret *sub* in the sense of an undertunic (*subucula*). In Nonius, the *supparus thus becomes a garment for the lower part of the body, specifically the legs. It is now a kind of skirt (*linteum femorale*) which reaches down to the ankles and is called thus because it shows itself at the bottom (*subtus appareat*). This is, of course, fantasy bordering on scholarly absurdity.³⁷ It says more about the fashion of Nonius’ own times than about the historical *supparus of pre-Imperial times.

After the definition, Nonius gives four primary quotations from archaic and Classical Latin literature. All these have already been discussed elsewhere with regard to textual criticism.³⁸ As usual, Nonius and his copyists cause textual problems for the modern reader. The structure of the entry is quite similar to that on the *rica.³⁹ Verse 232 from Plautus’ *Epidicus* is quoted first (this time in full), being the starting point for

³⁷ For this reason, some scholars wanted to change the text. Röper (1861) 15, followed by Marquardt/Mau (1886) 485 n. 2, suggests with reference to Lucan. 2.363–364 (*humerisque haerentia primis suppara*) to read (*h*)*umerale* instead of *femorale*, but Nonius’ etymological explanation clearly speaks against this conjecture. Blümner (1911) 231 n. 2 proposes replacing *femorale* by *femineum* (female). However, Nonius usually uses the adjective *muliebris* in this case. There is no reason to interfere with the text. Nonius actually regarded the *supparus as a kind of leg-dress.

³⁸ Cf. A 4 pp. 72–74; A 7 pp. 171–174.

³⁹ Cf. D 4 pp. 625–638.

Nonius' entry. Novius then follows again (F 3), then a quote from a Togata. This time it is not—as it was in the entry on the **rica*—Turpilius, but instead Afranius. At the end of the entry, we again find a reference to Varro's Menippean satires. The parallel structure of the entries on the **supparus* and the **rica* is very remarkable insofar as it reveals a certain 'systematic' approach on the part of Nonius. In general, new quotations do not provide much in addition to what is already understood from Festus: that the **supparus* probably was a visible female garment. However, the fragment of Novius is of much interest since it might show that the **supparus* was worn over another garment (see below). The fragment of Varro is unique insofar as it is the only one to give us an unequivocal prosody of the word. Standing at the end of the iambic senarius, the letter A in **supparus* must be short. This supports the pronunciation postulated above. Whatever the historical pronunciation, Varro pronounced the word *súpparus*. Despite the usual deficiencies we find with Nonius, his entry is valuable in determining at least Varro's reading of the word. The extent to which this allows access to the historical term or its historical pronunciation is another debate.

5.5 Conclusion

The **supparus* was thought by ancient (and modern) scholars to have had different functions and to have clothed almost all parts of the body (except the head). This interpretive spread emphasizes that we do not actually know what the term designated. Having cleared the intellectual fog engulfing the texts after more than two thousand years of scholarship, we may start anew and take an unprejudiced look at the primary evidence. It is quite disillusioning. Our information on the garment is very restricted. The **supparus* is mentioned in all sorts of Roman comedy: first in the Palliata (Naevius, Plautus), then in the Togata (Titinius, Afranius), and finally in the Atellan farce (Novius). This shows us that the term **supparus* must have been an everyday word, referring to what was an everyday garment from the earliest times up to the first century BCE.

In the primary evidence, the term always designates a visible female garment that was worn by young (and attractive) women. Afranius gives us the gist of what we hear about the **supparus*:⁴⁰

Afranius Epistula F 12

tace!

puella non sum, supparo si induta sum?

Shut up! Am I not a girl since I am dressed in a *supparus*?

⁴⁰ Cf. also A 7 p. 155.

The verse is taken from a travesty scene. A young man dressed as a woman has sneaked into the house of his mistress and is discovered. In order to excuse himself, he points out that he is wearing a female dress and therefore must be a girl. This suggests that the *supparus is a visible and typically female garment. It can be neither underwear nor an undertunic (*subucula*). The verb *induere* also points to the idea that the *supparus was probably put on over the head like a tunic (*chiton*) as opposed to a wrapped or draped around the body.

In addition, Novius' reference to the *supparus suggests that it (or at least a type thereof) was made of linen. Novius speaks of a *supparus coming from Malta, where fine linen clothes were produced.⁴¹ Festus (Paulus) also refers to linen, very likely relying on one of his quotations now illegible to us. We can therefore be certain that a *supparus could take on the form of a luxurious linen garment. Novius' description of the *supparus is also quite important because he possibly shows us how it was worn together with another garment. The fragment's form as reconstructed in chapter A 7 runs as follows:⁴²

Novius Paedium F 4 + F 3

A. <...> *molliculam crocotam chiridotam reticulum
supparum purum Melitensem*. B. *interii, escam meram!*

(A) <She was wearing> a soft *crocota* with long sleeves, a hairnet, a *supparus*, pure Maltese stuff.

(B) I am doomed, a true bait!

A beautiful young lady, possibly a hetaera (*meretrix*), wears a *supparus and a red *tunica* (*crocota*) with long sleeves. But how should we imagine this combination? The adjective *mollicula* (soft), here used in a hypocoristic form, may indicate that the *crocota* was used as a light inner garment (in Greek a χιτωνίσκος), worn directly on the skin. It is used in this function elsewhere. Combining the *crocota* as common undergarment with the *supparus suggests that the *supparus was an outer garment and not an article of clothing somehow worn under the tunic. Since female garments are usually longer than male ones, we may also suppose that the *supparus* was a kind of long tunic. Otherwise, the travesty scene would lose all its comic effect. The young man wearing the *supparus* must have looked like a young woman, as does Menaechmus in Plautus' *Menaechmi* (B 6). This is as far as we get with the Latin primary evidence.

Turning to the grammarians, the only scholar who had still an inkling about the nature of the *supparus may have been Varro. If Varro is to be trusted, wearing a *supparus was perhaps an Italian dress custom, not a Roman one. It may have also been antiquated by the first century BCE. At least, this would explain why Roman scholars from the Imperial Period onward had so much difficulty in identifying the

⁴¹ B 9 pp. 384–385.

⁴² Cf. pp. 168–174.

supparus and how they came about proposing various solutions. Discussing the gloss **supparus* is in a way frustrating, since we will never know the exact appearance of this garment beyond its most general characteristics. It is also full of temptations because the term *supparus* looks so close to the words *super* and *supra* (over, above). However, the grammarians' fate should caution us not to fall into this trap. Using etymology and connecting the word with *sub* (under), they came to think of the *supparus* as a *subucula*, an undertunic—despite the clear evidence to the contrary. In this sense, knowing less is better than living in the illusion of knowing more.

6 **Capital*; **caltula*, **castula*, **capitula*; **calasis* – five grammarians’ glosses

1. **capital* (Varro)
 - 1.1 Varro
 - 1.2 Festus/Verrius
 - 1.3 Aelius Stilo
 - 1.4 Conclusion
2. **caltula*, **castula*, **capitula* (Nonius)
3. **calasis* = *calas*<*ir*>*is* (Paulus Diaconus)

It cannot be denied that this chapter is something like the ragbag of the entire collection. It contains all glosses whose origins can only be traced back to the grammarians. In other words, these are all glosses that are not found in primary texts. In fact, most of them are created by the grammarians themselves. Only the word **capital* is of a more venerable age.

The younger glosses—**caltula* (Nonius) and **calasis* (Paulus Diaconus)—are now enjoying much success among modern scholars and are beginning to pervade dictionaries and handbooks. The intent of this chapter is to counter-act and possibly halt this process. It is also about ancient scholars’ methods and about how glosses came to life in the first place. The chapter’s latter sections deal with Late Antiquity. This leads up to chapter D 7. There, we will witness the origin of the youngest member of the group of grammarians’ glosses: the dress gloss **stica*. The process of this ‘birth’ took place only a few decades ago and can therefore be viewed ‘in real time’ as it were. This means that we can clearly see all steps of the process and hopefully in the future avoid the mistakes that were made.

The lesson to be gleaned from the grammarians’ glosses is seeing how easily minor corruptions can turn into independent words and then live on in scholarship.

6.1 **capital* (Varro)

The word **capital* is ancient and venerable.¹ Nevertheless, it never designated a normal female garment in Rome. It probably never designated a garment at all. The gloss goes back to some archaic Latin text, maybe Plautus. However, primary evidence is missing, and we will never know for certain. What remains is only scholarly discussion about what was thought to be some kind of headwear. The etymology of **capital*, being related with *caput* (head), seemed to point to that.

¹ The **capital* is missing in Marquardt/Mau (1886) and Blümner (1911) and has therefore not found its way into modern literature.

6.1.1 Varro

The first certain evidence we have is in Varro's *De lingua Latina*. There is, however, reason to doubt that a garment called thus ever existed (see below). Varro lists the **capital* second among the primeval female Roman pieces of headwear that he says are still in use in religious cult in his own times:²

Varro LL 5.130

quod capillum contineret, dictum a rete reticulum; rete ab raritudine; item texta fasciola, qua capillum in capite alligarent, dictum capital a capite, quod sacerdotulae in capite etiam nunc solent habere. sic rica ab ritu, quod Romano ritu sacrificium feminae cum faciunt, capita velant. mitra et reliqua fere in capite postea addita cum vocabulis Graecis.

Because it holds hair together, the *reticulum* (hairnet) was named after the *rete* (net). The word *rete* is derived from *raritudo* (wide mesh). Likewise, the woven headband was named *capital* after *caput* (head) because they attached the hair to the head by it. Priestesses (*sacerdotulae*) still use it nowadays as a headwear. Similarly, *rica* was named after *ritus* (cult), because women cover their heads with it when sacrificing in a Roman manner. The *mitra* and almost all other headdresses were later added together with the Greek terms.

In his list, Varro gives an overview of all Roman pieces of headwear, beginning with the Latin word *reticulum* and ending with the Greek loanword *mitra*. The word *mitra* initiates what Varro thinks to be the second (Greek) period of Roman dress. The pieces of headwear listed become ever more sophisticated: first, a simple net (*reticulum*), then a headband (**capital*), then a piece of cloth (**rica*), and finally a kind of headscarf (*mitra*). The words *reticulum* (B 12) and the *mitra* (B 13) are normal designations for two real items of female Roman clothing. In contrast, the words **rica* and the **capital* are not, despite Varro's claims to the contrary. Both words are glosses given life by Varro relating them to actual garments which are regularly called by another unspecific name. According to him, the word **rica* designates a headscarf (*pallioium*) women use in sacrifice; the **capital* is the name of a woven headband (*fasciola*) worn by some priestesses.

Varro's statement about the **rica* is mere guesswork and plainly wrong (D 4). His remarks about the **capital* cannot be put to the test, but they look somewhat forced. In historical times, there are enough words for similar pieces of headwear. A religious headdress of that type would have been called a *vitta* (B 16), or as Varro himself says, a *fasciola*. The origin of the term **capital* is likewise obscure. There is reason to believe that it was an old literary gloss put to good use by Varro. It wonderfully filled a gap in his history of Latin terms for ancient female headwear.

² Cf. also B 12 p. 455.

6.1.2 Verrius/Festus

The word *capital was no regular dress term in Varro's time, but a 'ghost' that nevertheless haunted scholars. This is also indicated by our last source. It is an entry in Festus, whose remarks are based on those of the Augustan grammarian Verrius.³ The material thus goes back to at least early Imperial times. Festus (Verrius) has a lemma on the *capital since he regards it as a gloss worthy of explanation. In this case, we have only the abridged version of Paulus Diaconus:

Festus (Paulus) p. 49.24 L.

capital linteum quoddam, quo in sacrificiis utebantur.

The *capital is a kind of linen cloth that they used in sacrifice.

Festus (Verrius) defines the word *capital in the same way as Varro, but departs from him in an important manner. Unfortunately, the abridged version of Paulus does not tell us who supposedly wore the *capital, nor does he describe its function. It is likely that Festus claimed it to be a female piece of headwear since the word *capital points to a connection with the head (*caput*). The *capital is again postulated as a garment used in religious cult. However, the *capital is not a headband (*fasciola*) in Festus, but a piece of linen cloth (*lintheum*). The relationship between his and Varro's explanations looks quite similar to that in the case of the glosses *ricinium (D 1) and *rica (D 4). There is a common core, but also some difference. The *ricinium and the *rica, for which we have the full entries of Festus, also supposedly designated religious garments. Maybe his entry on the *capital was formed in a similar way. In any case, it shows us that the meaning of the gloss was still a matter of debate from Varro onwards.

6.1.3 Aelius Stilo

The statements of Varro and Festus are all the certain evidence we have on the *capital. However, there could be a third instance where this word was used. It is a passing remark which the grammarian Sextus Aelius Stilo (2nd half of the 2nd century BCE) made in his commentary on the *carmen Saliare*. The *Salii* were an old priesthood of the god Mars, famous for their cultic practices consisting of a song and dance in armour. They fascinated scholars in all times as a kind of ancient proto-headbangers. We still have part of their song mediated through Stilo's commentary on it. As a grammarian, Stilo was mainly interested in the obscure words he found in the lyrics. Stilo's remarks are again reported to us by Festus. They form the basis of Festus' article—this time we have the full version—on the obscure word *pescia:

³ On Verrius and Festus, cf. Introduction to part D pp. 588–589; D 5 pp. 643.

Festus p. 230.12–14 L.

peschia in Saliari carmine Aelius Stilo dici ait capit<al>ia ex pellibus agninis facta, quod Graeci pelles πέσκη vocent neutro genere pluraliter.

Aelius Stilo says that the word *peschia* in the song of the *Salii* designates *capitalia* made of lamb's hides because, as he says, the Greeks call hides πέσκη in neuter plural.

The text needs some discussion. It gives us the reading *capitia*, which is printed without any comment in the editions of the *carmen Saliare*, Stilo, or Festus.⁴ And yet, the word *capitia* does not fit here. Chapter B 22 argues that it denoted a kind of 'brassiere.'⁵ The context of the priests of Mars also does not fit even the OLD's definition of the *capitia* as 'a kind of tunic worn by women' and not men. The *carmen Saliare* was a cult song of male priests with a very martial appearance (in the most literal sense). It is very unlikely that Stilo told his readers that these men were singing about female tunics—much less about brassieres! An easy solution is to emend the unlikely *capitia* to **capit<al>ia*. This gives a perfect sense. Stilo did not talk about a woman's brassiere, but about headwear made of lamb's hide (*ex pellibus agninis facta*). He probably wanted it to designate some type of cap worn by the *Salii*. As ritual caps, these had to be made out of a special material—at least, in the eyes of Roman scholars. However, Stilo was not explaining the gloss **capital* itself, but was trying to explain the word **peschia* included in the priest's song by means of the gloss. We do not know where Stilo came across the **capital*. We may suppose that it was a gloss to him like to successive scholars. This would mean that Stilo was explaining one gloss through another.⁶

6.1.4 Conclusion

The true textual origin of the gloss **capital* is beyond our ability to establish. We can track the word only as far back as the early scholarly debate. Maybe it already belonged to Stilo's repertoire. The word could be comparatively 'young,' if we keep in mind Varro's distinction between 'very old' and 'old' words.⁷ He relished what he considered the very old ones, and the rather unspectacular **capital* was perhaps only an 'old' one that did not warrant as much attention. This would preclude the 'very old' Law of the Twelve Tables and the remnants of 'very old' times found in the *carmen Saliare* as the **capital*'s parents. Another option for the gloss's origins are the writings of Plautus and the Plautine glosses, given that both Stilo and Varro dealt with these in their own work. The **capital* could be seen as a little sister of the Plautine **rica* (D 4).

⁴ Cf., for example, *Carmen Saliare* F 5 Blänsdorf/Morel; *Aelius Stilo* F 3 Funaioli.

⁵ Cf. p. 507.

⁶ We can also watch this phenomenon in the case of the **rica*, cf. D 4 p. 622.

⁷ Cf. C 1 p. 563.

6.2 *caltula, *castula, *capitula

This next section discusses three similar words that supposedly referred to the same article of clothing—a piece of intimate female lingerie.⁸ Ancient (and some modern) scholars claim that, despite being identical in meaning and strikingly similar, they were also three distinct words. However, the female ‘brassiere’ (on its exact shape, see B 22) was called a *capitium* in Republican times. Later on, it was called *fascia pectoralis*. If we believe scholarship, the Romans made a big fuss about the simple piece of cloth covering the female breast, using three similar words for the same meaning. In addition to **capitium*, there are three other names for it found in our transmitted texts: **caltula*, **castula*, **capitula*. The similarity of these words should raise some suspicion as to whether these are actually distinct but related terms.

The following remarks try to first unravel the knot of the three glosses. The section will end where it began, with the **capitium*. It maintains that the **caltula* is a hapax from the dress catalogue of Plautus’ *Epidicus* and has only been inflated to become a veritable garment in Nonius. Both scholarly playfulness in dealing with words and scribal error subsequently led to the variants **capitula* and **castula*. The study will be based on a close textual analysis of Nonius’ entry on the **caltula* because he is the author who has the most to say about the garment. He also refers to other grammarians, especially to Varro.

The nature of the term **caltula* was dealt with in chapter A 4.⁹ It is part of a Plautine pun. In the *Epidicus*, the **caltula* and the **crocotula* form a comic pair of dresses taking their names from flowers. All Antique grammarians understood this joke. The **caltula* is therefore not among the early Plautine glosses (it was understood well enough as a pun). In Late Antiquity, all this changed with Nonius—who no longer saw the pun or at least did not want to accept the word as just a pun. Like in the case of the **rica*,¹⁰ Nonius offers several instances for the word that are all, as we will see, pseudo-parallels. He comments on the **caltula* in his 17th book, which concerns the colour of clothes (*de colore vestimentorum*) and is a quickly compiled addendum to Nonius’ more comprehensive 14th book (*de genere vestimentorum*). The double entry on the **caltula* and *crocotula* contains many quotations from poets. Only one refers to the **caltula*. The other quotations are therefore omitted here. Nonius’ relevant text runs as follows:

Nonius p. 880.24–37 L. (Varro F 330 S. = 46 Rip.)

caltulam et crocotulam, utrumque a generibus florum translatum, a calta et a croco. Vergilius in Bucolicis (Ecl. 2.50): ... Plautus in Epidico (231): ... Novius Paedio (71): ... Naevius Lycurgo (43): ... sed castulam [!] Varro de vita populi Romani lib. I palliolum

⁸ On the **caltula*, see Potthoff (1992) 77; GRD (2007) 29; Olson (2003) 203 and (2008) 52.

⁹ Cf. p. 78.

¹⁰ Cf. D 4 p. 625–638.

breve voluit haberi. castula [!] est palliolum praecinctui, quo nudaē infra papillas praecinguntur; quo mulieres nunc et eo magis utuntur, postquam subuculis desierunt.

caltula and *crocotula*: Both terms are derived from species of flowers, from the marigold (*caltula*) and from the crocus. Virgil in the *Eclogues* ...; Plautus in the *Epidicus* ...; Novius in the *Paedium* ..., Naevius in the *Lycurgus* ... But Varro contends in the first book *On the life of the Roman people* that the *castula* [!] is a short piece of cloth. The *castula* [!] is a small piece of cloth functioning as a wrap. They gird themselves with it naked underneath the breast. Women use it even more now that they have stopped using the undertunic (*subucula*).

Nonius was prompted to create the double entry *caltulam et crocotulam* by verse 231 from the dress catalogue in Plautus’ *Epidicus*, which he also used in two other places. He leaves quotation from Plautus unchanged and does not even bother to transfer it to the nominative. Regarding Nonius’ evidence, it turns out that the comic playwright Plautus is the only evidence for the dress term **caltula*. The quotation from Vergil concerns the flower called *caltula*. The fragments from all other archaic poets up to Naevius deal with the *crocotula*.¹¹

Nonius then proceeds and suddenly changes the orthography: “But Varro calls the *castula*...” Instead of **caltula* (with an additional L), we twice find the L changed into an S in **castula*. Editors of Nonius usually harmonize the spelling, changing the S of **castula* to the L of **caltula* in both cases, and gloss over the discrepancy. This is probably in part due to the meaninglessness of **castula*. Harmonizing the two forms leaves one fewer gloss to explain. However, this approach is questionable because the orthography of keyword and of the quotation sometimes diverge in Nonius.¹² Moreover, Nonius does not simply quote Varro like the other authors, but adds the word *sed* (but). This could indicate that the topic changes and Nonius is now talking about what was called **castula* by Varro (as opposed to the **caltula* of Plautus). We should therefore keep to the (meaningless) form **castula*.

But there is also another problem. In all editions, Varro’s words, which are adduced as often as the last evidence, are made to extend until the end of the lemma.¹³ However, there is a serious obstacle to this solution. The *subucula* was still in use among women at the time of Varro.¹⁴ This is contrary to the statement that women stopped wearing the undertunic. For this reason, the last part of the sentence (*quo mulieres ... desierunt*) cannot belong to Varro, but must be attributed to Nonius. But what about the preceding remarks (*castula ... praecinguntur*)? Do they form part of a direct quotation from Varro or do they also belong to Nonius? The choice between these two alternatives is difficult,

¹¹ Cf. on them A 3; A 7 p. 169.

¹² Cf. also A 3 p. 57.

¹³ Cf. most recently the edition of Gatti/Salvadore (2014) and the commentary of Pittà (2015) 224.

¹⁴ Cf. A 1 pp. 261–264.

but the form of the sentence that resembles other definitions in Nonius and the fact that a definition is still missing in this entry are in favour of the latter hypothesis. It seems that Nonius felt obliged to comment on Varro's opinion and to define the garment called *castula more closely.

But which word is hiding behind the meaningless *castula? Other unparalleled word forms in Nonius go back to unresolved or falsely dissolved abbreviations.¹⁵ A similar error may be assumed in this case. It seems likely that the letter S is a sign for an abbreviation. It leads us to *capitula* as the word form written in Varro's original. Nonius tells us in his entry on the word *capitium* that Varro called the *capitia* by the alternative name **capitula*.¹⁶ The similarity of the item of clothing—a brassiere in both cases—also suggests that Nonius is influenced here by the remarks of Varro, which he quoted on the *capitium*: *neque id ab orbita matrum familias institutum, quod eae pectore ac lacertis erant apertis nec capitia habebant* (and this invention did not originate from the circle of mothers, because these were naked on the chest and on the upper arms and did not wear a *capitium*). The definition *quo nudaie infra papillas praecinguntur* looks like it was inferred from Varro's words on the *capitium*. For these reasons, Nonius' *castula* (fem. sg.) is very likely identical with Varro's *capitula* (neutr. pl.). It should not disturb us that the neuter plural is converted into a feminine singular, since we can observe the loss of the neutral form elsewhere.

In conclusion, the fate of the three glosses can be summarized as follows: The **castula* is a comic Plautine hapax; **castula* is an orthographical mistake; and **capitula* is a Varronian variant for *capitia* only attested in Nonius. Looking at what Varro does in *De lingua Latina*, we should trust Nonius on the form of Varro's variant, but we should not take the variant itself too seriously. Varro often playfully suggests a orthographic variant—for example, *intusium* and *indusium*—without having common usage on his side. Here, he may have said something similar. In the mind of Nonius and his successors, the **capitulum* became a real new word to be acknowledged and discussed with all scholarly seriousness. In the end, there remains only the *capitium* as a proper term to designate the Antique brassiere, and its story is told in chapter B 22.¹⁷

6.3 *calasis = calas<ir>is (Paulus Diaconus)

The final section covers the gloss **calasis*. It has secured a firm place in dictionaries (OLD) and modern archaeological handbooks.¹⁸ It is thought to designate a specific form of tunic. The following section argues that the *calasis* is a chimaera. It owes its

¹⁵ Cf. D 4.

¹⁶ Nonius p. 870.27 L.: *haec et capitula appellavit* [Varro also called these garments **capitula*].

¹⁷ Cf. p. 507.

¹⁸ Scholz (1992) 94–100; Pausch (2003) 156–157 (“Die Calasis: eine besonders repräsentative Tunika”); S. G. Lahusen, *Römische Bildnisse. Auftraggeber – Funktionen – Standorte*, Darmstadt 2010, 31. But see

origin to a textual corruption of the word *calasiris*. Evidence for the word *calasis* is very weak. It is attested only once: in the condensed version Paulus Diaconus gives of an entry of Festus. The full entry is as follows:

Festus (Paulus) p. 44.28–30 L.

calasis tunicae genus, quod Graeci καλάσιριν dicunt. alii dicunt nodum esse tunicae muliebris, quo connexa circa cervicem tunica submittitur.

The *calasis* is a type of tunic which the Greeks call *calasiris*. Others say that it is a knot on the female tunic on which the tunic, fastened in the nape, hangs down.

The καλάσιρις is a special Egyptian type of tunic (*tunicae genus*). It is first attested in Herodotus.¹⁹ It was worn in the cult of Isis,²⁰ but was also widespread throughout the Greek Mediterranean world as a festive female garment. It was worn, for example, by women in Ephesus and by the female participants in the mysteries of Andania.²¹ Aristophanes lists it among the female luxury garments in his dress catalogue.²² Herodotus says that it was long and had tassels; sometimes it had stripes.²³ It turns out that the first explanation given in Festus is correct, and the second one is false. The alternative definition of the *calasiris* as a knot may go back to a misunderstanding of Herodotus' classic account of the garment. At least the odd *nodus* looks a bit like the tassels mentioned by him.

However, Paulus does not give us the form *calasiris*, but the form **calasis* as the keyword of the dictionary entry. Lindsay, in the critical apparatus of his edition, rightly suspects that it is a simple corruption of *calasi<ri>s*. It is probably a very late one and may be due to Paulus Diaconus himself or to a scribe. The keyword *calasiris* was probably still correct in Festus since it is not a complicated archaic Latin gloss and the Greek (albeit corrupted) word in the entry—the older manuscripts give us καλάσινον—still points to the longer and correct form. In any case, the non-word **calasis* should be banned from modern research.

already against it, A. Filges, *Standbilder jugendlicher Göttinnen*, Cologne 1997, 165–166; Alexandridis (2004) 42 n. 377.

19 Herodot. 2.81.1: ἔνδεδύχασι δὲ (sc. Αἰγύπτιοι) κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσιωνωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις [The Egyptians wear linen tunics around the legs with tassels, which they call *calasiris*].

20 Kratinos F 32 K.-A.

21 Democritus von Ephesus FGrHist 267 F 1; Syll.³ 736.15ff.

22 Aristoph. F 332.7 K.-A.

23 Cf. Kassel on Cratin. F 32 K.-A.

7 *stīca – a modern dress gloss

The story of the dress gloss *stīca is very short, but it may serve as a cautionary tale for those putting too much trust in scholars of any time period (the author of this book included). Modern research claims that it referred to some unknown male garment. The reason for its inclusion in this book on women's dress is that it illustrates the steps of how a dress gloss is born and how its meaning grows over time.

The word is taken from the so-called 'Vindolanda Tablets.' These are quite famous in research on Roman history. For this reason, some brief remarks will suffice here. In the year 1973, excavations started at the site of the former Roman auxiliary camp of Vindolanda, just south of Hadrian's Wall. The excavations continued for the following twenty years and brought to light a variety of objects, including extensive remains of birchwood tablets. These contained parts of the camp's correspondence, providing an interesting view into everyday life at this outpost of the Roman Empire in the years 90–120 CE. As would be expected at the fringes of the empire, the writing tablets do not contain poetry but various lists and accounts relevant to the running of a logistical operation. In tablet 181, the obscure garment called *stīca figures (at least according to some researchers).¹

The tablets are generally in bad shape, and the text of the passage in question is a bit mutilated. It gives us a list of people who have either already paid or have yet to pay various sums of money to a merchant (who seems to have written the document). Among the things this man had provided his clients was firewood (3, *lignis emtis* [!]) and some obscure *stīca (4, *stīcam*). The word *stīca is not attested in ancient Latin literature, so the editors Bowman/Thomas (n. 1) tried to guess what it was. They connected it with the Greek word στίχη, which is found in the Edict of Diocletian (301 CE). They then postulated that *stīca designated some kind of tunic.² A new dress gloss was born that was subsequently fostered by other scholars. In 2013, for example, Wild lists the *stīca as a real dress term without a question mark, indicating how confident he was of this meaning.³

But was the basic assumption of Bowman/Thomas correct? There are several reasons for serious doubt. The Vindolanda Tablets do mention numerous textiles and items of clothing, but all the terms are either used elsewhere or are easily associated with familiar dress terms. In contrast, the *stīca is a Latin hapax. It is unique. It is hence better to look for a solution that does not require postulating a new term with an unknown meaning.

1 A. K. Bowman/J. D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets II*, London 1994, 129–131.

2 Bowman/Thomas (n. 1) 130.

3 J. P. Wild, *Vindolanda. Zu den Textilien und der sozialen Hierarchie in einem Kastell*, in: M. Tellenbach et al. (eds.), *Die Macht der Toga*, Hildesheim 2013, 240.

And this is possible. Let us return to the military camp of Vindolanda for this and look at what the Roman soldiers needed. As the various letters and lists show, many items necessary to sustain daily life were traded at the camp. We find firewood⁴ and often read about cereals, such as barley (*hordeum*)⁵ and wheat (*frumentum*).⁶ Wheat is also listed in tablet 180, which was written by the same person as tablet 181. Another word for cereals (and wheat) is *spica*. The word is used twice in tablet 343, once in the plural and once in the collective singular.⁷ Tablet 343 is closely connected with the tablet that contains the sequence STICA. Both tablets were found in the same place in the excavation. The word *spica* found in tablet 343 probably specifically designated grain that had not yet been threshed.⁸

Based on other parts of the book, readers will already know where all this will lead. As to orthography, the gloss **stica* (with a T) is strikingly close to *spica* (with a P). It is a reasonable guess that tablet 181 contained the word *spica* and not the word **stica*. A merchant selling grain to an outpost in conjunction with firewood is not unusual or surprising. Moreover, we also know that the same merchant traded in some form of grain based on what is said in tablets 180 and 343. And indeed, the suspicion that some corruption occurred is confirmed when we look at the photographs of the archaeological findings. The photograph of tablet 181 shows that the second letter of the sequence may just as likely be the letter P as the letter T.⁹ Both letters are generally similar in shape in the handwriting of the tablets. The uneven surface of the wood and the haste with which the list was written in the course of routine business may have further blurred the style of writing.

It turns out that the reading SPICA is just as likely as the sequence STICA. The benefit of the first reading is that it does not create additional ambiguity. The sequence is found elsewhere in the same archaeological findings, and it has an identifiable meaning. A merchant selling the most basic of supplies (firewood and grain—heat and food) makes more sense than a merchant selling firewood and clothing. All of this suggests that the gloss **stica* is a simple misreading by Bowman/Thomas and that it should be quickly removed from the record of dress terms.

The story of the false gloss is, however, a very interesting case for showing us how obscure supposed dress terms may have been engendered in Antiquity. We should be not more confident in the explanations given by ancient grammarians than those given by modern scholarship just because these men lived in Antiquity or at least Late Antiquity. They were themselves often dealing with centuries-old texts. For example, Nonius wrote five to six centuries later than some of his sources. The ancient gram-

4 Tab. 215 ii.5.

5 Tab. 185.19; 190c passim; 213 ii.2.

6 Tab. 180.1,37; 185.27; 191.9. In tab. 182, which is written by the same person, we find ham and bacon.

7 Tab. 343.7, 27.

8 Bowman/Thomas (n. 1) 325.

9 Bowman/Thomas (n. 1) plate X.

marians' ability to understand or decipher the texts before them was often hampered by several unavoidable factors: the deterioration of papyrus and ink, the errors inherent in creating handwritten copies, and the general evolution of language. When they then proposed new words and new meanings, it need not have been based on solid textual or historical evidence. There is reason to believe that some grammarians willfully invented some glosses and the supposed meaning. However, we have no way of conclusively proving the origin of ancient misreadings or faulty explanations. In contrast, it is possible to point to the exact methodological error committed by Bowman and Thomas. We can also point to the exact material object on which their error was based. This decisive evidence allows for intervening in the ongoing dissemination of the supposed gloss **stica* in research. The lesson is this: If accomplished researchers like Bowman and Thomas can fall prey to the temptation of creating a new gloss, it is very likely that the less careful grammarians were similarly responsible for the origins of at least some of the glosses examined in this part of the book. In any case, we should avoid trusting them blindly.

The Archaeological Evidence
(by Joachim Raeder)

All archaeological research that more closely deals with the typology of Roman costume and its components (such as *pallium*, *toga*, *tunica*, or *stola*) is usually based on the collection of Latin and Greek sources found in Classicist works of the 19th century.¹ However, the value of the sources and their historical context are rarely questioned. The multidisciplinary DressID project from 2007 to 2013, for example, did not include philologists and did not, for the most part, critically incorporate literary sources.² The study presented here by Jan Radicke is the first to carry out a critical and historically differentiating review of the Latin terms used for female Roman garments in written sources. Its results are the basis and the starting point for the identification and the naming of the garments and the description of their social significance. On its basis, my archaeological contribution, following the concept of the book, does not take into account the garments of Late Antiquity. This section only presents a small selection of all extant depictions found on historical monuments. This is done to help identify and illustrate the garments mentioned in the literary sources. The valuable work done in the field by, among others, A. Alexandridis, H. R. Goette, V. Kockel, and B. Scholz, has been incorporated into my argumentation. It is impossible to properly acknowledge all the specific ways in which their work contributed to the section. Questions that could arise from the interpretation and contextual placement of the monuments³ are also not examined in detail here. As far as necessary, they have been dealt with in the philological part of the study in cooperation with J. Radicke.

The study of the clothes of a Roman woman cannot be based on original archaeological findings. Ancient textiles were made of plant or animal materials and are only preserved in a few and very small fragments. It is only from Late Antiquity, especially from Egypt, that more complete garments are extant. For this reason, the ancient visual sources are most important for our knowledge of Greek and Roman clothing: free standing sculptures and depictions in relief art, painting, and mosaic. However, these images present some problems and hence must be carefully interpreted. In general, they do not always provide accurate information on all the details of historical reality and the real garments. For example, it is likely that the *toga*, in which every Roman citizen chose to be depicted, was hardly ever worn in everyday life during the Imperial Period. Even the garments in which the ladies of the imperial court and nonroyal women are dressed on their honorific or burial statues (*stola*, *pallium*, *chiton*) hardly reflect an everyday costume, which is evident not least from the stereotypical manner in which

Translation of the German text by Frederik Kleiner and Jan Radicke. Titles not taken up in the bibliography are referred to in full.

1 For a short overview, see the General Introduction p. 10.

2 Cf. the exhibition catalogue by M. Tellenbach et al. (eds.), *Die Macht der Toga. Dress Code im Römischen Weltreich*, Regensburg 2013; for further publications from the DressID project, see www.rem-mannheim.de and [fileadmin and redakteure and Forschung and 2015-Publikationen_DressID.pdf](#).

3 For an overview, cf. Edmondson/Keith (2008).

they are worn and draped. A clear distinction must be made between art and reality, especially where female ideal statuary types (*Bildnisträger*) used with individual portrait heads have been copied from famous originals from the Greek Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The dress shown on such *Bildnisträger* thus has little in common with the clothing actually worn by Roman women.⁴ On the contrary, patrons and workshops used the various basic types of female statuary bodies (*palliatā, stolatā*, idealized body) and their attributes primarily as well-known visual code in order to represent the legal and social status of the woman being portrayed or to depict more personal ideals like virtue, beauty, and other female ideal social roles (wife, mother). The presented articles of dress (clothing, shoes, headwear) are therefore subordinate to the ideal visual concept. Since the depictions are conceived in this manner, they are not a realistic or naturalistic representation of everyday life. The interpretative problems we face with the visual arts are thus similar to those we face in our literary sources.

1 *tunica* (chapter B 1)

The inner garment is usually called *tunica* in Latin literature. The detailed literary references to the tunic are few, but they enable us to identify the garment in our archaeological sources with certainty.⁵ The *tunica* consisted of a front and back panel of fabric that were sewn together at the top and along the sides.⁶ Usually, it had no sleeves. The tunic was worn under the *toga*,⁷ or, in the case of women, under the *stola* or cloak.⁸ According to the monuments (**pl. 2.1**), the tunic is a garment lying directly on the body. It is made of relatively heavy fabric (wool?) that produces only few folds.

⁴ This statement also applies to all mythological pictures on Roman wall painting, which are often misunderstood as realistic by modern scholars.

⁵ On the *tunica* in general, cf. Wilson (1938) 55–75; H. R. Goette, Die römische ‘Staatstracht’ – toga, tunica und calcei, in: Tellenbach et al. (2013), 39–41. The Erlangen Doctoral thesis of M. Pausch (2003) on the Roman tunic does not specifically address the tunic in female Roman costume. Pausch carelessly crosses historical and cultural boundaries and uncritically combines archaeological and literary sources from distant periods in a methodologically impermissible manner. His results, especially with regard to the origin and the early form of the *tunica*, are largely worthless and will not be discussed here in detail. See also the critical remarks of A. Böhme-Schönberger on the work (Römische Stoffe aus Mainz und die römische Tunika, Mainzer Archäologische Zeitschrift 8 (2009), 13–20). Except for a few fragments from the western provinces, all extant tunics belong to the third and fourth centuries CE or later. Their extended cut (sleeves) and their rich ornamentation is not taken into account here; cf. on them also C. Fluck, Von Haute Couture bis Prêt-à porter, in: Tellenbach et al. (2013), 147–153; Pausch (2003) 118–136.

⁶ Varro, LL 9.79; cf. B 1 p. 247.

⁷ Asconius ad Cic. Scaur. 5. See, for example, the statue of the Arringatore in Florence, Mus. Arch.: T. Dohrn, Der Arringatore, Berlin 1968; Goette (1990) 106 Liste Aa2.

⁸ Carmen Priapeum 12 with B 4 p. 317 and, for example, the statue of Livia in the Vatican, Sala dei Busti inv. 637: see n. 75 on pl. 14.2.

It is also closed by seams along the shoulders and the sides of the body. For the head and arms, there are openings at the top and in the upper part of the sides. This results in a closed garment that had to be put on over the head. High-quality *togati*, whose arm is visible outside of the toga, have an ostentatious seam along the shoulder and under the armpit of the right arm. The same type of seam is also found on tunics worn in female portrait busts⁹ (pl. 4.3).

The length of the male tunic can be determined by examining men dressed in *toga*.¹⁰ The *tunica* never appears above their feet under the *toga*. In representations of male servants in cult and craftsmen wearing the tunic as an outer garment, it ends just above or just below the knees (pl. 2).¹¹ In the case of the female draped statues, the hem of an inner garment appears under the hem of the cloak and falls on the feet and the floor. The lower hem will usually be that of the *stola/vestis longa*. However, a foot-long *tunica* is undoubtedly worn by the girl dressed in *toga* in a group of statues in the Musei Capitolini¹² (pl. 1.1), by the girl on a tombstone in the Villa Doria Pamphilj,¹³ and by the grieving women on the relief of the Haterii tomb¹⁴ (pl. 3.1). Unlike the grieving men on this relief, whose tunics are only knee-length, the women's tunics fall to the ground. On the painting from the Fullonica of L. Veranius Hypsaesus in Pompeii (VI 8.20)¹⁵ (pl. 3.2), the long tunics with vertical red stripes, which are worn by the women under their blue cloaks, look different from the men's short (blue) tunics that have a small yellow hem.

⁹ Cf., for example, the Flavian portrait bust in Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 6062: C. Gasparri (ed.), *Le Sculture Farnese*. II. I Ritratti, Verona 2009, 82–83 no. 56 pl. 55; further see K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen III*, Mainz 1983, no. 63, 79, 152.

¹⁰ Cf. also B 1 p. 251.

¹¹ **Pl. 2.1:** Life-size limestone statue of a boy (slave?) in Berlin, Antikensammlung SPK inv. Sk 502: A. Schwarzmaier et al. (eds.), *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Antikensammlung*, Berlin 2012, 160–161 no. 88. – **pl. 2.2:** Bronze statue of a Camillus in Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. 1184: H. Stuart Jones (ed.), *A Catalogue of the ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford 1926, 47 cat. no. 3 pl. 66; M. Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, Berlin 1934, pl. 45; Helbig⁴ no. 1450; E. Simon, *Augustus*, Munich 1986, 119 fig. 156; Fr. Fless, *Opferdiener und Kultmusiker auf stadtrömischen historischen Reliefs*, Mainz 1995, 38, 41, 62, 92 pl. 20; for further descriptions of assistants in cult, cf. Fless, *ibid.*; on depictions of craftsmen in general, cf. G. Zimmer, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen*, Berlin 1982.

¹² See n. 39.

¹³ R. Calza (ed.), *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj*, Rome 1977, 276–277 no. 336 pl. 181; A. Backe-Dahmen, *Innocentissima Aetas*, Mainz 2006, 141 cat. no. R 12 pl. 5a; K. Olson, *The Appearance of the Young Roman Girl*, in: Edmondson and Keith (2008), 145 fig. 6.6.

¹⁴ **Pl. 3.1:** Vatican, Mus. Gregoriano Profano inv. 9999: Fr. Sinn and K. S. Freyberger, *Die Grabdenkmäler 2. Die Ausstattung des Hateriergrabes*. Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. *Katalog der Skulpturen I,2*, Mainz 1996, no. 5 pl. 9.2.

¹⁵ **Pl. 3.2:** Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 9974: *Pompei Pitture e Mosaici*, edited by Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana I – X, Rome 1990 – 2003, (hereafter PPM), IV 609 fig. 8c; F. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei II*, Naples 1862, *Descrizione generale* pl. 76; Cl. Parisi Presicce et al., *Spartaco. Schiavi e Padroni a Roma*, Rome 2017, 204–205 cat. VII.2.

Latin literature does not distinguish between a *tunica* whose front and back panels are sewn together along the shoulders and a tunic that is fastened with knots on the shoulder in the style of a Greek *chiton*.¹⁶ In the archaeological sources, however, there is a clear typological difference between the ‘Greek’ *chiton* and the ‘Roman’ *tunica* (pls. 4.1–4, 12, 28). The Classical Greek *chiton*,¹⁷ as it appears on numerous representations of men and women from the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE, is a garment of fine linen lying directly on the body. It is sewn together along the sides up to the openings for the arms and is closed along the top by knotting. The knots are placed at short intervals along the sides to the left and right of the opening for the head. The *chiton* falls down long to the feet and could be worn as an outer or inner garment. It is characterized by the fine nature of the fabric, which leads to irregular folds and makes the body appear beneath the garment. The knotting produces a type of drape across the arms to the chest that differs from that of the *tunica*. In the case of the *tunica*, the folds run down vertically from the shoulder starting at the seam; in the case of the *chiton*, in contrast, short folds lead to each knot in a star shape. In addition, on freedmen’s reliefs that depict men in the simple *tunica* and the women in the knotted tunic (*chiton*), the *tunica* and *chiton* are distinguished in terms of their material. The *tunica* seems to be made of a heavier, coarser fabric (wool) while the knotted tunic (*chiton*) is made of a thinner fabric (linen) that falls down more easily. The same difference of material also appears when we compare the tunics of *togati* from the Imperial Period with the inner garments of the female draped statues which usually figure knotted tunics (*chitones*) (pls. 12, 28). In contrast, the tunics of the priests, shepherds, slaves, and craftsmen, who all wear only this garment, appear to be made of coarse wool.¹⁸

The inner garment is mainly called *tunica* (or *subucula*) in Latin literature.¹⁹ There is no distinction between the tunic sewn along the shoulders and the knotted one. However, both types of garments are equally represented on monuments from the Imperial Period starting in early Augustan times. On the early freedmen’s reliefs dating to 40/30 BCE, women wear both the sewn tunic and the knotted tunic with faux sleeves over the shoulders and upper arms (*chiton*),²⁰ sometimes on the same monument²¹ (pl. 4). Likewise, the simple tunic and the knotted tunic (*chiton*) are equally depicted

¹⁶ Cf. B 1 p. 247.

¹⁷ On the Greek *chiton* (with numerous sources), cf. RE 3.2 (1899) s.v. *chiton*, col. 2309–2335 (W. Amelung); M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin and Leipzig 1928, 19–21, 38–49 pls. 7–16; A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland*, Munich 1989, 71–77.

¹⁸ The tunic of the so-called Camillus in the Capitoline Museums is made of a more refined material (pl. 2.2).

¹⁹ Cf. B 1 p. 261.

²⁰ Cf. on this type of sleeve, B 1 p. 245.

²¹ Pl. 4.1: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2431: Kockel (1993) 158–159 cat. no. J 4 pl. 70.d. – pl. 4.2: Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 196630: Kockel (1993) 112 cat. no. E 1 pl. 25.a. – pl. 4.3–4: Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 72480: Kockel (1993) 190–191 cat. no. L 20 pl. 105.b; C. Gasparri and R. Paris (eds.), *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. Le Collezioni*, Rome 2013, 186 no. 124.

on Augustan portrait sculpture. From the first century CE onward, the knotted and pleated and the body emphasizing *chiton* became predominant over the thick tunic with few folds (*tunica*) on Roman portraiture²² (pls. 12, 28). The *chiton* as inner garment is therefore clearly distinct from the tunic worn by men under the *toga*.

The term *calasis* introduced by B. Scholz²³ for the knotted tunic (*chiton*) should not be used anymore in the philological and archaeological discourse.²⁴ The only source that includes the word is corrupted. It refers to the Greek *kalasiris*—a garment with trimming used by initiates in mystery cults.

The practice of wearing two or more tunics on top of each other, which is mentioned in Latin literature,²⁵ is only occasionally shown on Imperial monuments. On a tombstone in Berlin²⁶ (pl. 5.3), the Aiedii wear two inner garments under their *toga* or *pallium*. We can tell this from the double hem in the neckline. The same practice is also seen on several early *togati*²⁷ (pl. 5.1–2).

On the monuments, depending on the amount of fabric and its quality, tunics for both men and women can be draped in such a manner that the faux sleeves extend down to the elbows and look like sleeves. This is most clearly seen on a bronze statue of a Camillus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome²⁸ (pl. 2.2). In contrast, the *tunica manicata*,²⁹ which included sewn-on, tubular sleeves that reach down to the wrists, was not an element of the normal citizen costume.³⁰ Garments with sleeves had a negative connotation, and they were worn only by barbarians like the Marcomanni who are depicted on the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome³¹ or those we see on the

22 Pl. 12: see n. 46. – pl. 28: see note 46.

23 Scholz (1992) 94, 96.

24 Cf. D 6 p. 665.

25 Cf. B 1 p. 254.

26 Pl. 5.3: Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 840: Kockel (1993) 149–150 cat. I 1 pls. 56.d, 62.a,b; A. Schwarzmaier et al. (eds.), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Antikensammlung, Berlin 2012, 211–212 no. 117.

27 Pl. 5.1: Naples, Mus. Naz. Cortile: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Rom. Das Zentrum der Macht, Munich 1970, 89 fig. 97; Goette (1990) 113 Liste Ba2 pl. 5.4 (the double tunic is not visible in the photo) – pl. 5.2: Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 126296: A. Giuliano (ed.), Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I, 7.2, Rome 1984, 264 no. IX 23; Kockel (1993) 170 cat. no. K 6 pl. 83.a. See also the paludamentum bust with double tunic in Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. 485: K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen II, Berlin 2010, 147 no. 183–184.

28 See above n. 11.

29 Cf. B 1 p. 257.

30 The relief in Ostia used by Pausch (2003) 179 no. 3 fig. 166 as an example of *the tunica manicata* must be deleted from his list. The woman is wearing a cloak wrapped around the body, as can be clearly seen on the left shoulder.

31 See, for example, the group in scene CIV: E. Petersen and A. v. Domaszewski and G. Calderini (eds.), Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom, Munich 1896, pl. 113; J. Griebel, Der Kaiser im Krieg. Die Bilder der Säule des Marc Aurel, Berlin 2013, 401–404, scene 104. On the costume of eastern barbarians, see R. M. Schneider, Bunte Barbaren, Worms 1986, 19 and passim; A. Landskron, Parther und Sasaniden. Das Bild der Orientalen in der römischen Kaiserzeit, Vienna 2005, 139–147, 167–169.

Sarcophagus Ludovisi³² (pl. 6.4). However, in the idealized sphere, long sleeves appear on muses³³ (pl. 6.2) and Dionysus in his Indian Triumph³⁴ (pl. 6.1) as well as with citharodes and actors³⁵ (pl. 6.3).

2 *pallium/palla* (chapters B 2/3)

Horace shows us that the foot-long *stola* and the wrapped *palla* were part of an honourable matron's costume.³⁶ Varro mentions the *muliebris stola* together with the *pallium* (not *palla*).³⁷ Representations of both imperial and private female persons are characterized by the combination of tunic, *stola*, and cloak. The *pallium/palla* can therefore be clearly identified.

The word *pallium*, like *palla*, refers to the rectangular male and female cloak that is wrapped around the body. The Greeks referred to it as *himation* since at least Classical times, and it was part of everyday civic costume.³⁸ The late-Hellenistic and late-Republican monuments that show individuals dressed in a *pallium* allow us to reconstruct the manner in which the cloak was worn³⁹ (pls. 1, 9). The cloak is put on in the

32 Pl. 6.4: Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus in Rome, Pal. Altamps inv. 8574: A. Giuliano (ed.), Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I,5, Rome 1983, 56–67 no. 25; E. Künzl, Ein Traum vom Imperium. Der Ludovisisarkophag – Grabmal eines Feldherrn Roms, Regensburg/Mainz 2011; Palazzo Altamps. Le Collezioni, Rome 2011, 240–243.

33 Pl. 6.2: Statue of Melpomene in Stockholm, Nationalmus. inv. Sk 4: K. M. Türr, Eine Musengruppe hadrianischer Zeit, Berlin 1971, 9–11, 63 cat. I 2 pl. 6.1; A.-M. Leander Touati, Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum, Stockholm 1998, 120–123 no. 5 pl. 9–11.

34 Pl. 6.1: Dionysian sarcophagus in Baltimore, Walters Art Gall. inv. 23–31: Fr. Matz, Die dionysischen Sarkophage, ASR IV 2, Berlin 1968, 231–233 no. 95 pls. 116–120; see also LIMC III (1986) 558 no. 245, 246 s. v. Dionysos/Bacchus pl. 453.

35 Pl. 6.3: Cymbal player with long-sleeved tunic from a comedy scene. Fresco from Stabiae in Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 9034: B. Andreae, Antike Bildmosaiken, Mainz 2003, 226 fig. 226; see also the famous picture of the “Attore Re” from Herculaneum (so-called Palestra) in Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 9019: M. Bieber, Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum, Berlin 1920, 110 pl. 55.2; St. de Caro (ed.), Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples 1994, 167; A. Wallace-Hadrill, Herculaneum, Mainz 2012, 177.

36 Hor. sat. 1.2.99; cf. B 3 p. 288.

37 Varro LL 8.13, 9.48; cf. B 2 p. 280.

38 M. Bieber, Griechische Kleidung, Berlin and Leipzig 1928, 21–24; M. Bieber, Roman Men in Greek Himation (Roman Palliati), Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1959 (103), 374–417; K. Polaschek, Untersuchungen zu griechischen Mantelstatuen. Der Himationstypus mit Armschlinge, Diss. Berlin 1969; H.-G. Hollein, Bürgerbild und Bildwelt der attischen Demokratie auf den rotfigurigen Vasen des 6.–4. Jhs. v. Chr., Frankfurt 1988; M. Bieber, Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art, New York 1977, 129–147; A. Lewerentz, Stehende männliche Gewandstatuen im Hellenismus, Hamburg 1993; Alexandridis (2004) 43–44, 259–291.

39 Pl. 1.1: A statuary group of a mother in *pallium* with daughter in *toga* in Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. 2176: Fittschen and Zanker (n. 9) 39 no. 42 pl. 54; Goette (1990) 148 Liste N 1 pl. 70.1; M. George, A Roman

following manner: The rectangular fabric of the cloak, which is twice as broad as it is high, is placed in such a manner that the first of the four corners lies above the left front of the body. The fabric is then thrown back over the left shoulder and falls down long over the back to almost the feet. The upper edge is placed over the back of the head or along the shoulders, and the fabric is pulled over the right shoulder and arm. The fabric is then wrapped across the whole front of the body, and the upper edge is finally thrown back over the left shoulder so that the last corner falls down long. At this point in the dressing process, the lower edge above the feet is pulled up with the angled left arm. The edge thus falls over the outside of the arm.

A special feature of *palliati* and *palliatæ* is the right arm, which is placed in front of the chest and held by the cloak like by a sling. In contrast to this snug drape of the cloak, women in Etruscan-Italian art⁴⁰ (**pl. 7.1**) also wear the cloak in a loose way, where the upper edge is placed under the right arm and then over the left arm, keeping the upper body exposed. This style is referred to as a hip-bundle (*Querwulstmantel*).

Horace speaks of the *palla* as an ornamental cloak and describes it as a precious and festive article of clothing worn by wealthy matrons.⁴¹ All authors after Horace only use the term *pallium* for the female cloak. The *palla* and *pallium* most likely did not differ as to their basic shape. The late-Imperial *palla* of Isis *melanostolos* and the priestesses of Isis,⁴² with its rich ornamentation on the hems arranged in *contabulatio*, was draped in the same manner as the *pallium* of earlier times.

The monuments provide only little information about the rich ornaments a fine *pallium/palla* could have. Traces of the original paint are rarely visible, but they at least prove the existence of colourful borders on the cloaks. We get a good idea of what the red trimmings on all of the cloak's edges looked like through the small marble statue of a woman in *pallium* in the Museo delle Terme in Rome⁴³ (**pl. 1.2**). The rich colours and ornamented edges are also shown by depictions on Roman frescoes.⁴⁴

However, a remarkable typological change can be observed on portrait statues of matrons in *pallium* from the Imperial Period. Earlier representations have the women wearing a simple *pallium* with an arm sling as described above, what was apparently

Funerary Monument with a Mother and Daughter, in: S. Dixon (ed.) *Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World*, London 2001, 178–189 pl. 11.1.

40 Cf. the Etruscan-Italian votive bronze from Nemi (3rd century BCE) in London, British. Mus. inv. GR 1920.6–12.1: see n. 50.

41 See above n. 36.

42 J. Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Leiden 1991, 8–9, 73–78, 81–89.

43 **Pl. 1.2:** Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 105: L. de Lachenal, in: A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I*, 2, Rome 1981, 302–305 no. 20.

44 See A. Maiuri, *La Peinture Romaine*, Geneva 1953, 52 pl. 22; 118 pl. 62; W. Kraiker, *Das Stuckgemälde aus Herculaneum "Schmückung einer Priesterin"*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 60/61 (1953/54), 133–149 pls. 57–58.

an adaptation of the male costume consisting of *pallium* or short *toga*.⁴⁵ In the early Imperial Period, however, numerous new statuary types for female portraiture were introduced that took inspiration from the complicated drape of late-Classical and Hellenistic cloaks⁴⁶ (pls. 12, 28) and were themselves in turn widely copied and reproduced.⁴⁷ These new creations frequently added the *stola* as a Roman element under the cloak.

A. Alexandridis convincingly linked these new creations to the new political and moral beginning under Augustus. Her hypothesis is very convincing, since the *stola* with its decorative shoulder straps (see below) indeed necessitated new types of statues that made the straps visible on the shoulders beneath the cloak. In contrast to the old *pallium*-schema, the cloak was now draped in a more open manner. The new 'classicist' design enriched the public image and representation of women with new aspects that were now also considered becoming of a wife and mother, such as beauty and grace. These were added to the traditional qualities of *castitas*, *pudicitia*, and *verecundia*.⁴⁸

3 *stola/vestis longa* (chapter B 4)

Archaeological evidence that would allow us to write a history of early Roman costume is scarce. The archaic images of women found in Etruscan art⁴⁹ can be disregarded since they do not pertain to our topic. The relevant sources become more plentiful starting from the third century BCE onward. Most date to the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Imperial Period due to an increase in the number of female grave and honorific statues.

⁴⁵ Thus Alexandridis (2004) 43.

⁴⁶ pl. 12: Statue of Livia in Munich, Glyptothek no. 367; Scholz (1992) 29–40 (St. 16) fig. 21; E. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, Cambridge 1999, 154 cat. 18 fig. 39; Alexandridis (2004) 125 cat. no. 25; Fl. Knauß and Chr. Gliwitsky (eds.), *Charakterköpfe. Griechen und Römer im Porträt*, exhibition Munich, Munich 2017, 150 fig. 4, 10–11; 357 cat. no. 39. – pl. 28: Statue of a priestess from Pompeii in Naples, *Mus. Naz. inv. 6041*; Scholz (1992) 45–46 (St. 27) fig. 30–32; R. Bonifacio, *Ritratti romani da Pompei*, Rome 1997, 53–54 no. 12 pl. 13; K. Wallat, *Die Ostseite des Forums von Pompeji*, Frankfurt 1997, 263–266 fig. 296–300; Gr. Stefani, *Le Statue del Macellum di Pompei*, *Ostraka* 15 (2006), 195–230 fig. 5–8; F. Coarelli, *Divus Vespasianus*, *Exhibition Catalogue Rome 2009/10*, Milan 2009, 489 no. 92; C. Maderna, in: P. C. Bol (ed.), *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst IV*, Mainz 2010, 121 fig. 180.

⁴⁷ Alexandridis (2004) 57–65, 219–259.

⁴⁸ On these concepts of virtue, see, for example, B. von Hesberg-Tonn, *Coniunx carissima*, *Diss. Stuttgart* 1983, 106–107, 127–128; Alexandridis (2004) 29–31, 52; J. Raeder, *Veteranenstolz und Frauenlob*, in: H. Börm (ed.), *Monumentum et instrumentum inscriptum. Festschrift P. Weiß*, Stuttgart 2008, 177–186.

⁴⁹ See also L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, Baltimore 2003; Fr.-W. von Hase, *Zur Kleidung im frühen Etrurien*, in: Tellenbach et al. (2013) 72–79. – On the derivation of matronly costume from Etruscan art, see Scholz (1992) 110–113.

It is *idealized* depictions of women from the third and second centuries BCE (Middle Roman Republic) belonging to the realm of Etruscan-Italian and Latin-Roman culture that first show us garments that can be seen as typological models for the further development of female Roman costume up to the Imperial Period. First of all, there are several Etruscan votive bronzes from the third century BCE representing women who are wearing three garments while offering sacrifice. The first example is a figure of a woman from Nemi (now in London)⁵⁰ (pl. 7.1-2). Her inner garment appears on only the right shoulder. It consists of front and back panels that are sewn together along the shoulders. The corners of the seams are each marked by a tassel. On top of the inner garment, the woman is wearing a second garment. This is foot-long and pleated. It seems to be made of light fabric and is closed along the sides. The fabric is pulled over the shoulders in such a way that it serves as shoulder straps. The dress is also girded beneath the chest. A cloak draped over the left shoulder and abdomen completes the woman's attire. There is also a second bronze statue of the same type in Paris⁵¹ that only differs from the first by having the woman wear a *chiton*, which is knotted along the arms, under the intermediate garment. A third fine example for this three-part costume (inner garment, long sleeveless intermediate garment, cloak) is provided by the image of a woman named Larthi Ursmnai. It is depicted on the left wall of the Tomba Bruschi in Tarquinia and dates to around the same period as the two bronzes.⁵² Under her dark cloak, Larthi is wearing a violet, foot-long dress with straps that leave her shoulders exposed. Her dress has a hemmed rounded neckline over the chest and a border with a radial pattern on the lower hem. Underneath she wears a pale inner garment that we can see only on her upper arms and neckline.

A knotted *chiton* or simple *tunica*, a girded intermediate garment fixed by a brooch (*fibula*), and a cloak also appear on large statuettes of Demeter and Persephone from the temple in Ariccia.⁵³ These are made of terracotta and date from the early third century BCE. The intermediate garment could be referred to as a '*peplos*' since the

50 Pl. 7.1–2: London, Brit. Mus. inv. GR 1920.0612.1: S. Haynes, *The Bronze Priestess and Priestesses from Nemi*, RM 67 (1960), 36 no. 1 pls. 12, 13, 14.1; S. Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes*, London 1985, 320–321 no. 196 pls. 240, 241; M. Bentz, *Etruskische Votivbronzen des Hellenismus*, Florence 1992, 106 no. 23.1.5, 140, 156.

51 Paris, Louvre inv. MNC 754: Bentz (n. 50), 105 no. 23.3 fig. 171–174.

52 V. Vincenti, *La Tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia*, Rome 2009, 24, 63–66 pls. 10, 15a. On the grave, see H. Blanck and C. Weber-Lehmann, *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen des 19. Jhs.*, Cologne 1987, 189–196.

53 Rome, Mus. Naz. delle Terme inv. 112374 and 112343: Roma Medio Repubblicana. *Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a. C.*, Rome 1977, 325 no. 475; 327 no. 477 pl. 67; F. Coarelli, *Römische Kunst von den Anfängen bis zur Mittleren Republik*, Darmstadt/Mainz 2011, 132 fig. 119–120.

influence of Greek models on these statues is manifest. We also find many historical precursors in Classical Greek art for the custom of wearing three garments.⁵⁴

In the second century BCE, female images become more individualized. Hence we find a further differentiation of the costume components used in the portrayals. This also coincides with a greater artistic accuracy in the reproduction of everyday and festive clothing. Again it is Etruscan art that provides fine examples. (1) A three-piece dress ensemble with tunic, V-neckline intermediate garment, and cloak is worn by Larthia Seianti on her sarcophagus in Chiusi (early 2nd century BCE)⁵⁵ (**pl. 7.3**). (2) The same combination of three dresses is also worn by the woman bidding farewell to her armed husband with a handshake that is found on the left side of the Etruscan alabaster urn from Volterra (already 1st century BCE) (**pl. 7.4**).⁵⁶ The woman is dressed in a tunic whose seam is clearly seen on her upper arm. On top of it lies a foot-long, girded dress with a sewn V-neckline over the chest. A cloak covers the woman's legs and abdomen. (3) A similar dress with a decorative V-neckline (albeit without any visible inner garment) is also found on a female votive bust from Caere in the Vatican Museums.⁵⁷

All these monuments prove that an intermediate garment between the inner garment and the cloak was already worn in Etruscan-Italian cultural spheres at least since the third century BCE. This was a foot-long voluminous dress with many folds, which had wide straps over the shoulders and a hemmed V-neckline. Its appearance was thus similar to the Classical Greek *peplos*, but in contrast to the *peplos*, it was a sewn and tailored garment.

In late Republican and early Imperial times, the same type of garment was adopted in portraits of Roman middle- and upper-class women. Some examples: (1) A grave statue from Rome (Settecami)⁵⁸ (**pl. 9.2**) shows this type of dress with a V-neckline

⁵⁴ It is especially prominent on tombstones; cf. H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Berlin 1931, pl. 52.2; for general information, see A. Filges, *Schlauchkleid – Peronatrix – Stola*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2002:1, 259–271. For the term '*peplos*', cf. p. 286 n. 3.

⁵⁵ **Pl. 7.3**: Florence, Mus. Arch. inv. 700967: R. Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, Berlin 1952, 21 no. 20 pl. 53; M. Sprenger and G. Bartoloni, *Die Etrusker*, Munich 1977, 162 pl. 270–271; Scholz (1992) 111; S. Haynes, *Kulturgeschichte der Etrusker*, Mainz 2005, 381–382 fig. 267.

⁵⁶ **Pl. 7.4**: Volterra, Mus. Guarnacci inv. 270: G. Catani (ed.), *Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica 2. Urne Volterrane 2. Il Museo Guarnacci 2*, Pisa 1986, 32 no. 32; Scholz (1992) 110–111. A good illustration in: R. Bianchi Bandinelli and A. Giuliano, *Etrusker und Italiker in der römischen Herrschaft*, Munich 1974, 319, 323 fig. 372. The drawings in the corpus of Brunn and Körte (G. Körte, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche 2.2*, Berlin 1896, 158 pl. 65) are too summary and do not correctly represent the *tunica* and *stola*.

⁵⁷ Vatican, Mus. Gregoriano Etrusco inv. 14107: O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, Leipzig 1941, 185 pl. 94.1; M. Papini, *Antichi Volti della Repubblica*, Rome 2004, 265–267 fig. 191–193; N. Thomson de Grummond and L. C. Pieraccini, *Caere*, Austin 2016, illustration on front cover; L. Bentini et al. (eds.), *Etruschi. Viaggio nelle terre di Rasna*. Exhibition Bologna, Milan 2019, 127 no. 85.

⁵⁸ **Pl. 9.2**: Rome, Mus. Naz. delle Terme inv. 372547: G. Messineo, *Bullettino Comunale* 91 (1986), 687 fig. 424.

under the cloak and over the tunic. (2) The statue of Rutilia P. f. Avia in the Museo Chiaramonti⁵⁹ and (3) the statue of Livia in the Museo Capitolino⁶⁰ (**pl. 8**), both of which date to the first decades of Augustus' Principate, have intermediate dresses with shoulder straps as a visible costume element. On the statue of Rutilia, the inner garment and the intermediate garment can now only be distinguished on the chest due to the position of the folds and the different characteristics of the materials. Originally, different colours would have highlighted the distinction between the garments. The foot-long intermediate garment of Livia can likewise be recognized by the hemmed V-neckline on the chest (**pl. 8.2**), as that of Rutilia Avia. (4) The so-called Livia from the Villa dei Misteri in Pompeii⁶¹ (**pl. 9.1**) is also dressed (like the Livia in Rome) in this simple closed dress with straps and hemmed V-neckline as an intermediate garment between the inner garment and the cloak.

In this case, however, due to the special circumstances of the discovery, a red border above the feet is preserved along the hem as a further characteristic of the costume. This border along the hem can also be recognized on other statues at the same place either through traces of colour, by decomposition reliefs, or by a modified plastic design of the folds.⁶² A fresco from Herculaneum known as "Dressing of a priestess" gives an impression of what the colouring of the intermediate and the other garments looked like⁶³ (**pl. 10.1**). The young woman (priestess or bride?), whose hair is being arranged by a larger woman, is wearing a long bright purple dress with straps. It is decorated along the bottom hem with a broad, ornamented, dark purple border. On the right shoulder, the strap of the dress is held together with two brooches. On the right upper arm, we see a wide, knotted inner garment. A light grey to light brown cloak is placed around the body and falls down on the left side of it. The young woman is wearing closed yellow shoes on her feet. Other frescoes from Pompeii and Herculaneum⁶⁴ also show women and girls who are mostly dressed in dark coloured dresses with straps

⁵⁹ Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti inv. 1695: Scholz (1992) 34 (St. 3) fig. 3; B. Andreae (ed.), Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums I. Museo Chiaramonti 1, Berlin 1995, pls. 80–83.

⁶⁰ **Pl. 8:** Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. 38: Fittschen and Zanker (n. 9) 1–3 no. 1 pl. 1; Scholz (1992) 35–36 (St. 8) fig. 10; R. Winkes, *Livia. Octavia, Iulia. Porträts und Darstellungen*, Louvain 1995, 83–84 no. 83; E. La Rocca and Cl. Parisi Presicce (eds.), *Musei Capitolini. Le Sculture del Palazzo Nuovo* 1, Rome 2010, 116–121 Atrio no. 3.

⁶¹ **Pl. 9.1:** Pompeii, Antiquario inv. 4400 (currently Boscoreale, Antiquario): A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, Rome 1931, 223–234 fig. 94–98; Scholz (1992) 36 (St. 9) fig. 11–14; Winkes (n. 60) 204 no. 189 (not Livia); Bonifacio (n. 46) 104–107 no. 42 pl. 35; Bartman (n. 46) 157–158 cat. 27 fig. 37, 138–139 (Livia); Alexandridis (2004) 211, 260 no. 17 (not Livia).

⁶² See Scholz (1992) 28–29.

⁶³ **Pl. 10.1:** Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 9022: W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipzig 1868, 339 no. 1435; P. Herrmann (ed.), *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, Munich 1904–1931, 8 pl. 3; Kraiker (n. 44) 133–149 pls. 57–58.

⁶⁴ **Pl. 10.2:** The banquet scene (excerpt) from the house of Laocoon, Pompeii VI 14, in Naples, Mus. Naz. 111209: PPM (n. 15) V 357 fig. 21; St. Ritter, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 120, 2005, 329. See also the servant and priestess from Cubiculum 4 of the Villa dei Misteri: A. Maiuri, *La*

under the cloak, but do not have any recognizable inner garment (**pl. 10.2**). As to the statue of Fundilia in Copenhagen, recent colour tests⁶⁵ showed that her intermediate dress held by a fastening on the shoulder had a violet colour, whereas her *pallium* was coloured red-brown and had a blue-yellow border along the hem.

In the early Augustan period, the traditional dress with straps was embellished with decorative shoulder straps (**pls. 11–15**). In this type, the front and back panels of the dress are not connected by shoulder straps that are simply sewn together, but by means of either clips or loop-like cords and braided or smooth bands that were sewn to the strap. The contact point between the shoulder strap and the fabric of the *stola* is usually hidden by a (leather? metallic?) clip-like cover⁶⁶ (**pl. 13**). Such shoulder straps—some of them apparently also made of metal—are also seen with *chitones* depicted on numerous monuments from the Alexandrian-Hellenistic⁶⁷ and Etruscan-Italian⁶⁸ cultural spheres starting in the third century BCE. In Rome, this ornamental accessory was only adopted in the early Augustan period for the traditional intermediate garment and remained an insigne of this costume until the garment fell out of use. But there are also mixed versions: A draped female statue from Rome dating to Tiberian times⁶⁹ (**pl. 11**), for instance, still connects the old motif of the V-neckline with the new type of shoulder straps.

The Etruscan-Italian and the Roman archaeological evidence as to the intermediate garment that was worn between an inner garment and a cloak perfectly squares with what we read about the *stola/vestis longa* in Latin literature. There we learn that Roman *matronae* wear a *stola* over the tunic and under the cloak (*pallium/palla*). The garment

Villa dei Misteri, Rome 1931, 175 fig. 65 pl. 16; G. Cerulli Irelli/M. Aoyagi/St. de Caro/U. Pappalardo, *Pompejanische Wandmalerei*, Stuttgart 1990, pl. 106; D. Mazzoleni and U. Pappalardo, *Pompejanische Wandmalerei*, Munich 2005, Colour fig. on p. 114; and the servant in the scene with the mourning Dido from the Casa degli Amanti in Pompeii I 10, 11: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1935, 569 fig. 15; PPM (n. 15) II 476 fig. 54.

65 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 708: A. Skovmøller, *Facing Colours of Roman Portraiture*, Berlin 2020, 63–69 fig. 60–61.

66 Pl. 13.1: = pl. 11. – **pl. 13.2:** = pl. 14.3. – **pl. 13.3:** Statue of a woman in *stola* in Orvieto, Mus.: D-DAI-Rome 69.2443; Alexandridis (2004) 251 no. Ba 38. – **pl. 13.4:** Portrait sculpture in Petworth House: Alexandridis (2004) 163 cat. 115 pl. 23; J. Raeder, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House*, Mainz 2000, 173–176 no. 61 pl. 77–78. – **pl. 13.5:** = pl. 28. – **pl. 13.6:** = pl. 15.2. On the construction and the various types of this shoulder strap, see Scholz (1992) 88–92. Scholz, however, uses the incorrect Latin term (*instita*) to describe the shoulder strap, cf. already H. Blanck, *Die instita der Matronenstola*, in: Komos. Festschrift Th. Lorenz, Vienna 1997, 23–25.

67 A famous example is the “Old drunkard”; see also the women in *chiton* on the friezes of the Pergamon altar: Scholz (1992) 113; Filges (n. 54) 267–268; B. Schmaltz, ... wirklich Aphrodite?, in: E. Dündar (ed.), *Lykiarikhissa*. Festschrift H. Iskan, Istanbul 2016, 689 with n. 16.

68 Late-Etruscan bronze bust of a woman in London, Brit. Mus. inv. 1824.0452.1 (unpublished).

69 Pl. 11: Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 121216: Scholz (1992) 37–38 (St. 11) fig. 16–17 with the older literature (but with outdated terminology); R. Friggeri et al. (eds.), *Terme di Diocleziano. Il Chostro piccolo della Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli*, Rome 2014, 80–81 no. 8.

is further characterized as a long, voluminous, sleeveless dress that falls down to the ground. The Romans perceived it to be similar to the Classical Greek *peplos*.⁷⁰ An ornamental border (*instita*), perhaps often purple coloured, was added to the lower hem above the feet.⁷¹ However, in general, the material and the colouring of the dress seem to have been up to personal choice.⁷² The decorative shoulder strap was probably called *anale(m)ptris*. This term is at least found in Ovid for such straps, though not in connection with the *stola*.⁷³ According to the written sources, the *stola/vestis longa* was a social privilege of the *matrona* since the Middle Republic and became a legal privilege under Augustus.⁷⁴

The earliest Roman representations of the *stola* (with or without ornamental shoulder straps) can be traced back to the creation of the first portrait type of Livia (the so-called Marbury Hall type)⁷⁵ (pls. 8, 14.1–2) and of other female portrait types dating to the thirties of the first century BCE (pl. 14.3–4).⁷⁶ The portrait type of Livia was probably created when she was officially honoured with a honorific statue in 35 BCE (Cass. Dio 49.38.1),⁷⁷ though we only have more recent copies of the original. When Livia was honoured (along with Augustus' sister Octavia), she was also bestowed with *sacrosanctitas*, a common privilege of the Vestal Virgins.⁷⁸ The rhetor Valerius Maxi-

70 Cf. B 3 p. 294; B 4 p. 303.

71 Cf. B 4 p. 306.

72 Cf. B 4 p. 312.

73 Ovid. ars 3.273, cf. B 4 p. 311.

74 Cf. B 4 p. 333.

75 Pl. 14.1: Bust of Livia, formerly Marbury Hall (now Liverpool, World Art Mus.); EA 3109–11; Scholz (1992) 51–52 (Bü. 5); Winkes (n. 60) 137 no. 59; Bartman (n. 46) 161–162 cat. 37 fig. 52–54; 143; Alexandridis (2004) 123 cat. no. 20 pl. 3.2. – **pl. 14.2:** Statue of Livia from Otricoli in the Vatican, Sala dei Busti inv. 637; Winkes (n. 60) 165 cat. no. 88; Scholz (1992) 38 (St. 13) fig. 19; Bartman (n. 46) 155–156 cat. 22 fig. 9–10; D. Boschung, Gens Augusta, Mainz 2002, 68 no. 19.5 pl. 55.1; Alexandridis (2004) 129 cat. no. 33 pl. 4.2; E. La Rocca (ed.), Augusto. Exhibition Rome 2013, Verona 2013, 319–320 no. IX. 3. – For the iconography of Livia, see most recently D. Boschung, Ikonographische Überlegungen zum Trierer Liviaporträt, Trierer Zeitschrift 79/80 (2016/17), 31–45; for more portraits of Livia with *stola*, cf. Winkes (n. 60) no. 28, 40–44, 55, 58–59, 69, 74, 76, 83, 88, 109, 113, 123–124.

76 Pl. 14.3: Bust from the Licinian tomb in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 736; Scholz (1992) 50 Bü. 1.1; Fl. Johansen, Catalogue Roman Portraits I. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen 1994, 164 no. 70. – **pl. 14.4:** Bust from the Licinian tomb in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 737; Scholz (1992) 50 Bü. 2; Johansen (see above in this n.) 168 no. 72. The busts are Tiberian-Claudian copies based on models from the years 40 and 30 BCE.

77 On the honorific statues in the year 35 BC, cf. Bartman (n. 46) 62–68. Due to the state of preservation, it is not certain whether the coin portrait of Octavia on the aureus of Antony from 39 BCE in Berlin (CRR 527/1) already shows the *stola* with shoulder straps. The small bust of the so-called Octavia in Rome (Rome, Mus. Naz. Pal. Massimo inv. 121221; Scholz (1992) 51 Bü. 3, fig. 39, 40), which is considered to be a depiction from around 40 BCE (irrespective of who it actually portrays), appears to represent the simple V-neckline of the dress.

78 H.-W. Ritter, Livias Erhebung zur Augusta, Chiron 2 (1972), 333 n. 162; U. Hahn, Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und nu-

mus (2.1.5) tells us that the *stola* offered the wearer a special (legal) protection.⁷⁹ We may hence assume that the *stola*—made especially recognizable by the new type of shoulder strap—was introduced on these honorific statues for the first time in order to externally mark Livia’s *sacrosanctitas*. In the time that followed, the *stola* remained closely associated with Livia. Emperor Caligula thus even nicknamed her a “*Ulixes stolata*.”⁸⁰

The significance of the *stola* with its straps as insigne and symbol of the venerable *matrona* is also made clear by several portrait busts of women from the early Imperial Period⁸¹ (pl. 15.1–2) and by coins representing members of the imperial household (pl. 15.3).⁸² Although these offer only a very restricted view of the attire of the depicted woman, the shoulder straps are always made ostentatiously visible. A particularly remarkable example is the cameo of Livia with the portrait bust of Divus Augustus in her hand⁸³ (pl. 15.4). The portrait of the Empress includes attributes of the goddesses Fortuna, Ceres, Magna Mater, and Venus, but the straps of the *stola* on both shoulders as symbols of a Roman *matrona* are shown as well.

Augustus’ ‘reforms’ of official visual representation lasted for more than a hundred years (he not only reshaped the appearance of the *stola*, but also modified the shape of both the *pallium/palla* and the *toga* of the male citizen by introducing the *sinus* and the *umbo*). It is only by the the second century CE that the *stola* no longer played a role in art. The last examples of *stolatae* belong to the time of Trajan.⁸⁴ Scholz⁸⁵ dates some statues to the mid-Antonine period, but these should instead be dated to the first and

mismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina, Saarbrücken 1994, 34–35, 68 n. 25; N. Mekacher, Die vestalischen Jungfrauen in der römischen Kaiserzeit, Wiesbaden 2006, 29, 51–52.

⁷⁹ Val. Max. 2.1.4; cf. B 4 p. 340.

⁸⁰ Suet. Cal. 23.2; cf. B 4 p. 334.

⁸¹ Pl. 15.1: Bust of Antonia Minor in Paris Louvre inv. Ma 1229: K. de Kersauson, Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des portraits romains I, Paris 1986, 172 no. 80; M. Marcucci (ed.), Claudio Imperatore. Exhibition Rome, Mus. dell’Ara Pacis, Rome 2019, 60 no. 6. – pl. 15.2: Bust of Antonia Minor from Tralles in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 743: J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, Römische und Frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei. Neue Funde, Mainz 1979, 64–65 no. 10 pls. 7.2, 9; Johansen (n. 76) 110 no. 43.

⁸² Pl. 15.3: A dupondius of Tiberius with a portrait of Livia as Salus Augusta with *stola*: BMCRE I 131 no. 81–84; RIC I² no. 47; J. P. C. Kent and B. Overbeck and A. U. Stylow, Die römische Münze, Munich 1973, 98 no. 158 Colour pl. IV. For more evidence, see Scholz (1992).

⁸³ Pl. 15.4: Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. inv. IX a 95: W.-R. Megow, Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus, AMuGS XI, Berlin 1987, 254 no. B 15 pl. 9.1–3; Alexandridis (2004) 137 cat. 50 pl. 55.2; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, Magie der Steine. Die antiken Prunkkameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum, Vienna 2008, 126–133 no. 8; 283–288 no. 8.

⁸⁴ On the *stola* in the Flavian period, see A. Alexandridis, The Other Side of the Coin: The women of the Flavian Imperial Family, in: N. Kramer and Chr. Reitz (eds.), Tradition und Erneuerung. Mediale Strategien in der Zeit der Flavii, Berlin 2010, 214–216.

⁸⁵ Scholz (1992) 48–50 (St. 33–35), 80–82.

early second century CE.⁸⁶ Our written sources from the second century CE also do not mention the *stola* anymore.⁸⁷ It is therefore not surprising that the *stola* is not found in figurative sarcophagus sculpture from the second century CE, even though themes from the *vita privata* are often represented.⁸⁸

The group of women who wore the *stola* included all free Roman citizens living in legal *matrimonium*, from the freedmen's to the Senatorial class. The *stola* was in no way 'usurped' by the freedmen, as V. Kockel believed.⁸⁹ It was instead a legal privilege of the *liberta* married in a *matrimonium iustum*. This is proven by both written sources and images of freedmen on the so-called freedmen's reliefs (**pl. 16**).⁹⁰ Such depictions were used almost exclusively in the architecture of the tomb façades of freedmen's families. On a number of these tomb reliefs from the late Republican and early Augustan periods, wives and mothers are portrayed as women in *stola*; in one case, the woman in the *vestis longa* is explicitly referred to as a *liberta* in the inscription.⁹¹

Beyond the private sphere, the *stola* was also used by the Vestal Virgins as part of their costume. Against Scholz,⁹² the Vestal Virgins also wore the *stola* (and a *suffibulum*) and are shown in it.⁹³ N. Mekacher has already noted that the Vestal Virgin reclining at a meal on the relief in the Musei Capitolini⁹⁴ (**pl. 17.1**) is wearing a *stola* with a strap that has slipped from her shoulder. But there are also more examples: (1) The Vestal Virgin on the Flavian Cancellaria relief⁹⁵ is also dressed in a *stola* (here without straps), which is clearly distinct from the tunic on the arm and décolleté. (2) The tunic and the

⁸⁶ Alexandridis (2004) 249 appendix 2.2.14 fig. 17; 250 appendix 2.2.14 Ac 5; 252 appendix 2.2.14 Ba 69.

⁸⁷ Cf. B 4 p. 352.

⁸⁸ Scholz claims that portraits of Faustina Minor on an aureus and a bronze medallion from the second century CE show the *stola*: Scholz (1992) 74 Mü. 12; Kent and Overbeck and Stylow (n. 82) 121 no. 340, 351 pl. 83. However, this does not seem correct. The coins instead show either parts of the folds of the garment or a necklace; cf. Alexandridis (2004) 53 n. 489.

⁸⁹ Kockel (1993) 52.

⁹⁰ On the literary sources, cf. B 4 p. 321.

⁹¹ **Pl. 16.1–2**: Rome, Mus. Cap. (Centrale Montemartini) inv. 2231; Kockel (1993) 119–120 cat. F 1 pl. 31.a. – **pl. 16.3**: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2799; Kockel (1993) 182–183 cat. L 9 pl. 95.b; E. Angelicoussis, *Reconstructing the Lansdowne Collection of Classical Marbles II. Catalogue*, Munich 2017, 318–322 no. 52. The *stola* and *vestis longa* with V-neckline can be seen on the following freedmen's reliefs from the first century BCE: Kockel (1993) cat. A 1 pl. 2.b (Clodia N. L. Stacte); cat. D 2 pl. 21.b; cat. E 5 pl. 28.a; cat. E 6 pl. 28.b; cat. F 1 pl. 31.a; cat. H 2 pl. 48.b; cat. L 8 pl. 95.a; the only portrait of a woman in a *stola* with an ornamental strap (see Kockel [1993] K 10 pl. 87.a) is marked as a free Roman in the inscription.

⁹² Scholz (1992) 10.

⁹³ On the literary evidence, cf. B 4 p. 327.

⁹⁴ **Pl. 17.1**: Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. 2391 (currently Mus. dell'Ara Pacis): G. M. Koeppl, *Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit I*, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 183 (1983), 114–116 no. 23 fig. 28; Mekacher (n. 78) 249 R 2 fig. 17; M. M. Lindner, *Portraits of the Vestal Virgins, Priestesses of Ancient Rome*, Ann Arbor 2015, 105–106 (in my view with an incorrect interpretation).

⁹⁵ Vatican, Mus. Gregoriano Profano, Cancellaria-Relief B figure 3: F. Magi, *I Rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancellaria*, Rome 1945, pl. VII; S. Langer and M. Pfanner, in: Fr. Fless et al. (eds.), *Vatikanische*

stola of the Vestal Virgin in the Museo delle Terme⁹⁶ dating to the time of Hadrian are distinguishable by their different fabric. (3) The towering goddess Vesta on a statue base from Sorrento⁹⁷ also wears a *stola* with a V-neckline, and (4) also does so on the relief in the Villa Albani (probably dating to the Augustan period).⁹⁸ Even when the *stola* was no longer worn in everyday life, it continued to be part of the ritual costume among the Vestal Virgins, as the later honorific statues of the priestesses from the Atrium Vestae show⁹⁹ (pl. 17.2).

4 *toga praetexta* (chapter B 5)

The *toga* is the mark of an adult man with Roman citizenship (*civis Romanus*).¹⁰⁰ Unlike the rectangular Greek cloak with four corners (*himation*, *pallium*), the *toga* has a round hem and only two corners. The basic form of Republican *toga* (*toga exigua*) is the semicircle with one straight and one round hem. The Imperial *toga*, introduced in the Augustan period, is made of more material and consists of a larger and a smaller semicircle, which are sewn together along the straight edge. The smaller circular segment was placed over the thighs as a second rounded layer of fabric (*sinus*).

According to our literary sources, freeborn girls (as well as freeborn boys) were dressed in a *toga* with a purple border (*toga praetexta*) on formal occasions (chapter B 5), whereas unfree prostitutes (belonging to the lowest social sphere) wore the normal Republican *toga exigua* (chapter B 6). There is no archaeological evidence on the prostitute's *toga* (since it does not qualify for representational art), but several monuments show us that the *toga praetexta* was worn by girls.¹⁰¹ For instance, the

Museen Museo Gregoriano Profano. Katalog der Skulpturen IV. Historische Reliefs, Wiesbaden 2018, 52 pl. 10.1.

96 Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 639: Mekacher (n. 78) 217 cat. P 5 fig. 51; Friggeri et al. (eds.) (n. 69) 146 no. 38.

97 Sorrento, Mus.: Mekacher (n. 78) 158 fig. 19, 20, 250 cat. R 3; C. Cecamore, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung 111, 2004, 105–141; 113 fig. 5.

98 Rome, Villa Albani inv. 1010: H.-U. Cain, in: P. C. Bol (ed.), Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke I, Berlin 1989, 421–425 no. 132 pls. 234–235; Mekacher (n. 78) 250–251 cat. R 4.

99 Mekacher (n. 78) 217–218 no. P 6 fig. 82–84, 104, 224–225; no. P 16 fig. 91–92 (the latter two statues with simple shoulder straps). – **pl. 17.2:** Headless statue in Rome, Atrium Vestae: N. Mekacher (n. 78) 228 no. U 5 fig. 106 (Vestal?).

100 More comprehensively on the *toga*, cf. Goette (1990); most recently U. Rothe, The Toga and Roman Identity, London 2020. On the *toga praetexta*, cf. H. Gabelmann, Römische Kinder in Toga Praetexta, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 100, 1985, 497–541; on girls in *praetexta*, see there 517–522; Olson (n. 13) 139–157; Backe-Dahmen (n. 13) 82–83; M. George, A Roman Funerary Monument with a Mother and Daughter, in: S. Dixon (ed.), Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World, London 2001, 183–186.

101 The *togatae* are collected by Goette (1990) 80–82, 158–159.

little girl in the statue group of a mother and daughter in Rome¹⁰² (**pl. 1.1**), which can be dated to the time around 50 BCE due to the haircut type of the mother, still wears the short Republican *toga*. The purple stripe, which ran along the round border, was surely painted on, but is no longer preserved on the statue. The Augustan *toga* that consists of more material is already worn by the girl of the Gens Iulia on the southern frieze of the Ara Pacis (frieze figure 43)¹⁰³ (**pl. 18.2**). We also see it on the statue of Paulla from the tomb of Publicius in Cologne¹⁰⁴ (**pl. 18.1**).

5 Head Coverings and Headdress

In Roman portrait sculpture, women are usually represented bareheaded and without conspicuous headdress; sometimes the back of the head is covered by the cloth of the cloak that is turned up. Headbands, circlets, headscarves, and other types of hair decoration are relatively rare. In portraiture, however, women are often adorned with a crescent-shaped, half crown made of solid material. In modern language, this would be called a “diadem” (**pl. 23.4**). The ancient term seems to have been *stephané*.¹⁰⁵ This half crown was also worn by gods. In imperial or private portraiture, the *stephané* can therefore be understood as a sign of apotheosis, and it was probably never worn in everyday life.¹⁰⁶

5.1 *velatio capitis*

On most *stolatae*, the upper hem of the cloak is turned up over the back of the head (**pls. 1, 8, 9, 11, 28**). Like the *vitta* (see below), the *velatio capitis*¹⁰⁷ belongs in the context of sacrifice, consecration, and death cult. However, the *stolatae* do not always perform religious ceremonies. A passage in Valerius Maximus¹⁰⁸ suggests that covering the head with a cloak was also a feature of a venerable matron’s public appearance that was in accordance with the moral norms of the Augustan period.

¹⁰² Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. 2176: see above n. 39.

¹⁰³ **Pl. 18.2:** G. M. Koeppel, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 187 (1987), 126 fig. 15; Goette (1990) 80, 158 Liste N2b pl. 70.3.

¹⁰⁴ **Pl. 18.1:** Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Mus.: Goette (1990) 80, 158 Liste N5 pl. 70.4.

¹⁰⁵ A. Lichtenberger et al. (eds.), *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*. Kolloquium Münster 2009, Bonn 2012, 1 n. 2; Alexandridis (2004) 49.

¹⁰⁶ On the *diadem*, see A. Alexandridis, in: N. Kramer and Chr. Reitz (eds.), *Tradition und Erneuerung. Mediale Strategien in der Zeit der Flavii*, Berlin 2010, 211–212.

¹⁰⁷ H. Freier, *Caput velare*, diss. Tübingen 1963. On the *velatio capitis* of the *matrona*, see Freier *ibid.* 128–129; Kockel (1993) 50–51; Alexandridis (2004) 46.

¹⁰⁸ Val. Max. 6.3.10.

5.2 *reticulum* (chapter B 12)

Hairnets made out of different materials are attested both in Roman art and in archaeological finds of real hairnets from Roman antiquity. For instance, an original hairnet made of golden threads was found in the tomb of a girl in Vallerano near Rome.¹⁰⁹ In art, a female bronze from the early second century CE in Princeton¹¹⁰ shows a *reticulum* that covers the turban coiffure. Numerous frescoes from Pompeii and Herculaneum also portray wealthy women with hairnets, including the famous image of a woman (poetess?) with *stilus* and *tabula*¹¹¹ (pl. 19).

5.3 *mitra* (chapter B 13)

A few sculptures from the late Republican and early Imperial Periods show a headscarf that is worn by older women and is tightly bound over the forehead. The fabric envelops the entire hair on the dome and back of the head in a sack-like manner (pl. 22).¹¹² The cloth of the headscarf either forms large loops on the sides or falls down to the neck with a straight end. A headscarf of this kind is worn by Hercules in the statue group with Omphale, which portrays him in the service of Omphale¹¹³ (pl. 20). Other mythical figures (such as Priapus and Hermaphroditus) also wear it, as do maenads, hetaeras,

109 A. Bedini et al., Testimonianze di filati e ornamenti in oro nell'abbigliamento di età Romana, in: C. Alfaro et al. (eds.), *Purpurae Vestes*. Actas del I Symposium Int. sobre Textiles y Tintes del Mediterráneo en época romana Ibiza 2002, València 2004, 84–87 fig. 7; M. Harlow, in: M. Carroll and J. P. Wild (eds.), *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity*, Stroud 2012, 151–152, 155 colour fig. 24; N. Frapiccini, *La Retorica dell'Ornato*, in: M. E. Michili and A. Santucci (eds.), *Comae. Identità femminili nelle acconciature di età romana*, Pisa 2011, 27–31, fig. II 21, 22.

110 Princeton, Art Museum inv. 1980–10: P. E. Mottahedeh, *The Princeton Bronze Portrait of a Woman with Reticulum*, in: A. Houghton (ed.), *Studies in honour of L. Mildenberg*, Wetteren 1984, 193–210; J. M. Padgett (ed.), *Roman Sculpture in the Art Museum Princeton University*, Princeton 2001, 40–43 no. 9.

111 Pl. 19: Naples Mus. Naz. inv. 9084 (from Pompeii VI 17): de Caro (ed.) (n. 35) 188 with fig.; Cerulli Irelli et al. (eds.) (n. 64) pl. 86; I. Baldassarre and A. Rouveret and M. Salvadori and A. Pontrandolfo, *Römische Malerei. Vom Hellenismus bis zur Spätantike*, Cologne 2002, 244.

112 Pl. 22.1–2: Freedmen's relief from the Esquiline hill in Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 126107: Kockel (1993) 85–86 cat. A 3 pl. 4. – pl. 22.3–4: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 2059: Johansen (n. 76), 246 no. 111. M. Lindner misidentifies the head as a Vestal (Portraits of the Vestal Virgins, Priestesses of Ancient Rome, Ann Arbor 2015, 128–130 cat. 1 fig. 24, 25). For further examples, cf. Kockel (1993) cat. A 3, F 1, F 5, F 11, G 10 pls. 4.d, 33.a, 35.b, 38.b+e, 45.b.; Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 124512: B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo Nazionale Romano. I Ritratti*, Rome 1953, 50 no. 77.

113 Pl. 20.2–3: Statue group in Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 6406: St. Oehmke, *Entwaffnende Liebe. Zur Ikonologie von Hercules and Omphale-Bildern*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 115 (2000), 150–162 fig. 1–9, 15; C. Gasparri (ed.), *Le sculture Farnese I. Le sculture ideali*, Naples 2009, 152–154 no. 70 pl. 65. – pl. 20.1: Statue of Hercules from the group in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 529: Oehmke *ibid.* fig. 10–14, 16.

and old women¹¹⁴ (**pl. 21**). This headscarf is rightly called *mitra*, in accordance with the literary sources.¹¹⁵ Due to the typological kinship with the Hellenistic *mitra*, the headscarf we find in sculptures of Roman women can be possibly identified with the *mitra calvatica*.¹¹⁶

5.4 *anadema* (chapter B 14)

The broad or narrow band rounding the head without the ends of the band falling down on the shoulders (as is the case with the royal *diadem*) was called *anadema*. A prominent example of a woman wearing such a headband is the Antonia Minor from the southern frieze of Ara Pacis¹¹⁷ (**pl. 23.1**). However, an *anadema* can only be identified on a few portraits, since it is difficult to distinguish it from a headscarf when it is covered by a cloak pulled over the back of the head.¹¹⁸

5.5 *strophium* (chapter B 15)

Numerous portraits of Antonia Minor show a narrow twisted circlet probably made of metal (gold?)¹¹⁹ (**pl. 15.1**). Until now, the significance of this piece of headwear is unclear, but the term *strophium* may be applicable. A freedwoman on the three-figure Mattei relief¹²⁰ wears a twisted headband consisting of cloth that is similar to the headband worn by some gods (Asclepius and Apollo) as well as Eleusinian hierophants

114 Pl. 21.1: Maenad (top right) on the mask relief in London, Brit. Mus. 1818.0110.1 (Smith no. 2454): H.-U. Cain, *Chronologie, Ikonographie und Bedeutung der römischen Maskenreliefs*, Bonner Jahrbücher 188, 1988, 147 with fig. 47; 197 cat. no. 33. – **pl. 21.2:** Medea sarcophagus in Mantua, Pal. Ducale: C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs II*, Berlin 1890, 210–211 no. 196; H. Sichtermann and G. Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen*, Tübingen 1975, 41 no. 47 pl. 90 (wet nurse); see also pl. 92.1. – **pl. 21.3:** Statue of Hermaphroditus in Berlin, Antikenslg. SK 193: St. Oehmke, *Das Weib im Manne. Hermaphroditos in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Berlin 2004, 77–80 cat. 7 fig. p. 78.

115 H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*, Münster 1966; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Zur Mitra in klassischer Zeit*, *Revue archéologique* 1977, 23–36.

116 The *ricinium* that V. Kockel (Kockel [1993] 52) equates with this headscarf is a gloss and should not be used anymore in modern discourse on Roman clothing (see chapter D 1).

117 Pl. 23.1: Southern frieze of the Ara Pacis figure 41: E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Tübingen 1967, 19 pl. 15; G. M. Koeppl, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 187, 1987, 126 (frieze figure 41) fig. 14.

118 On the problem, see K. Fittschen, *Antike Kunst* 47 (2004), 120–121; Kockel (1993) 52 (with examples); Kockel identifies the headscarf with the *vitta*.

119 Paris Louvre inv. Ma 1229: K. de Kersauson, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des portraits romains I*, Paris 1986, 172 no. 80; K. Polaschek, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Antonia Minor*, Rome 1973, pl. 2–10. Alexandridis (2004) 76 n. 718 believes the circlet to be a twisted hairband.

120 Pl. 23.2: Rome, Mus. Naz. (Pal. Altamps) inv. 80728: Kockel (1993) 176–177 cat. L 1 pl. 92.d; see also Alexandridis (2004) 76 n. 718.

and *mystai* (initiates) (**pl. 23.2**). However, this is very singular, and the relief lacks an inscription and other attributes. We can therefore not determine the significance the *strophium* had for the woman's portrayal nor judge whether it is a portrait at all.

5.6 *vitta* (chapter B 16)

The *vitta* is a woven or twisted, narrow, woollen band that is placed around the hair. Ulpianus refers to a *vitta* made of pearls (*vitta margaritarum*).¹²¹ This may indicate the shape of the woollen hairband, which is tied into pearl-like knots. The Augustan authors associate the *vitta* with the *mater familias*. According to them, both the *vitta* and the *stola* are insignia of the Roman *matrona*. The long history a knotted woollen band had in religious cult may have led Augustus to transfer the *vitta* to the *matrona* as a sign of *sacrosanctitas*.¹²² The maternal *vitta* could have been purple coloured like the *instita* of the *stola*. Numerous portrayals of both imperial and private women from the time of the empire show the women wearing a knotted woollen band in their hair.¹²³ These bands can very likely be identified with the *vitta*. For example, the portrait statue from the Macellum in Pompeii¹²⁴ (**pl. 28**) represents a woman with a knotted woollen band that falls down to her shoulders. The band is connected to a wreath on her head. Such bands, whose ends could fall down onto the shoulders, could be simply tied into the hair or interwoven with a wreath, or they could lie under a *stephané*¹²⁵ (**pl. 23.3–4**). They were worn by *stolatae*, but were also the attribute of gods and priests or the decoration for sacrificial animals and other sacrificial utensils. The bands were also used in many different sacred contexts.¹²⁶ The variety of meanings found with the knotted woollen band on monuments corresponds to the literary use of the term *vitta*.

¹²¹ Digest. 34.2.25.2; cf. also B 16 p. 477.

¹²² Ovid, *trist.* 2.246–253; Ovid, *Pont.* 3.3.51.

¹²³ Alexandridis (2004) 75–77; A. Rumpf, *Antonia Augusta*, Abh. Berlin 1941, 22–23. Rumpf considers the *vitta* to be a priestly band; Alexandridis considers it to be only a symbol of *pietas*. The identification of the knotted woollen band with the *vitta* is also supported by the bust of Marcus Aurelius in London (*Brit. Mus.* 1907). This portrays the emperor as a member of the *fratres Arvales* with a wreath of ears of corn and a woollen band; cf. A. Alföldi, *Chiron* 9 (1979), 581 pl. 37.2; J. Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, Berlin 2008, 86–89, fig. 49. According to Pliny *NH* 18.2.6 and inscriptions, the Arval brethren wear a *corona spicea* and a *vitta*; see H. Freier (n. 107) 93–99; J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères*, Rome 1990, 518–520.

¹²⁴ **Pl. 28**: See n. 46.

¹²⁵ **Pl. 23.3**: portrait of a private woman in Rome *Mus. Naz.* 125713; L. Sensi, in: G. Bonamente and M. P. Segolini (eds.), *Germanico. Convegno Macerata-Perugia*, Rome 1987, 222 fig. 2, 3; K. Polaschek, *Trierer Zeitschrift* 35 (1972), 176 fig. 10.6; D. Boschung, *Gens Augusta*, Mainz 2002, 63 cat. no. 16.3. – **pl. 23.4**: Image of Agrippina Maior in Luni, *Mus. inv. CM 1469*: A. Frova (ed.), *Scavi di Luni*, Rome 1973, 53–54 no. 2 pl. 128; Alexandridis (2004) 145 no. 66 cat. 66 pl. 16.1.2.

¹²⁶ The knotted woollen band was depicted from the 6th century BCE onwards; see also with evidence: M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1982, 289–290. On the woollen band at the

According to Valerius Maximus (5.2.1),¹²⁷ a resolution by the senate could have awarded the matrons the *vitta*, which originally was a sacred element, as a legal privilege. Like the *stola*, the *vitta* may have formed part of Augustan marriage legislation.

5.7 *flammeum* (chapter B 18)

The *flammeum* is a yellow-orange scarf that was worn by the bride during the wedding ceremony. Despite much effort, research has up to now not found definitive visual evidence for what the *flammeum* looked like and how it was worn. This is partly because research misinterpreted the *flammeum* as the hem of the cloak that was pulled over the bride's face (as seen on images of weddings in wall painting and relief sculpture).¹²⁸ On the other hand, since the *flammeum* was part of the ritual costume for the virgin girl's transition to the status of wife, we can hardly expect to find it in representational art, but rather in narrative art. Being a scarf, the *flammeum* can only be distinguished from other everyday scarves (such as the *palliolum*) by its yellow-orange colouring and its exclusive use in the bridal ritual.

C. Reinsberg¹²⁹ discussing wedding representations suggested that the *flammeum* is not worn by the bride, but that it is carried in a little box by attendants. However, her argument is not conclusive since in Euripides and Apollodorus, for instance, the two boys of Medea, bring the poisoned wedding gifts (gold crown and *peplos*) and not the *flammeum*.¹³⁰

For this reason, a new proposal for the identification of the *flammeum* is made here: On the Roman Medea sarcophagi, Jason's new bride Creusa wears not only a (bride's) crown, but also a scarf as an autonomous element of her garb. It covers the back of her head and falls down on her shoulders¹³¹ (**pl. 25.2**). The Roman sarcophagi depict a Greek myth; nevertheless, the scarf may represent the Roman *flammeum*, even though this can ultimately not be proved due to the lack of colour. A similar scarf that

bull sacrifice in Ephesus and Samos, see G. Seiterle, Ephesische Wollbinden, in: H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums Wien 1995, Vienna 1999, 251–254.

127 Val. Max. 5.2.1; cf. B 16 p. 481.

128 See, for example, Wilson (1938) 138–145; L. La Follette, The Costume of the Roman Bride, in: Sebesta/Bonfante (1994), 55–56; H. I. Flower and M. J. Diluzio, *AJA* 123 (2019), 229–230. For more information on the *flammeum*, cf. A. Rossbach, Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe, Stuttgart 1853, 279–286; C. Fayer, *L'ornatus* della sposa romana, *Studi Romani* 34 (1986), 18–22; Olson (2008) 21–25; K. K. Hersch, *The Roman Wedding*, Cambridge 2010, 94–106.

129 C. Reinsberg, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben*, ASR I 3, Berlin 2006, 78 n. 569.

130 Eur. *Medea* 949; Apollodor. *Bibl.* 1.145.

131 **Pl. 25.2**: Medea sarcophagus in Mantua, Pal. Ducale: Robert (n. 114) 210–211 no. 196; Sichtermann and Koch (n. 114) 41 no. 37 pl. 90.

is fixed to the hair is also worn by Aurelia Philematium, who is portrayed together with her husband Aurelius Hermia on a late-Republican tombstone¹³² (**pl. 25.1**). Finally, on a fresco from the Villa Imperiale, an orange scarf behind a half crown is worn by a woman sitting on a couch. However, identifying her as a bride must remain uncertain¹³³ (**pl. 24.1**).

6 Belt (chapters B 20–21)

There seems to have been no rule as to whether a Roman *matrona* had to be girded or ungirded in public. Women in *stola* are just as often portrayed with belts as without them in representational art. *Stolatae* with a belt wear it relatively high under the bust¹³⁴ or slightly lower, roughly in the middle of the body¹³⁵—but always above the belly button (**pl. 28**). A very low position of the belt below the belly button is found only with goddesses and women modelled off of them.¹³⁶

For the most part, the belts consist of a round, usually twisted fabric cord that is tied together in a large bow over the centre of the body¹³⁷ (**pl. 26.1**). This cord can likely be identified with the *strophium* mentioned in literature (chapter B 21). The belt is rarely shown as a narrow band that seems to be made of a firmer material (leather?) (*cingillum*)¹³⁸ (**pl. 26.2**). A broad band, probably made of woollen material or another fabric, resembling the so-called *cingulum* of Roman military officers,¹³⁹ is more likely to be found in idealized sculptures (Muses, Apollo). However, Livia (?) wears one on a relief from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias.¹⁴⁰ On a colossal seated statue of Livia in Ephesus, such a broad belt is worn over the *chiton*¹⁴¹ (**pl. 26.3**).

132 Pl. 25.1: London, Brit. Mus. inv. 1867.0508.55 (Smith 2274): O. Vessberg (n. 57) 180–183 pl. 24.2, 25.1; M. Hoffer, in: Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik. Exhibition Berlin, Berlin 1988, 336–338 no. 188; Kockel (1993) 234 Appendix II no. 1.

133 Pl. 24.1: Pompeii, Villa Imperiale (Oecus A southern wall): Maiuri (n. 44) 106 pl. 54; U. Pappalardo and M. Grimaldi, Pompei. La Villa Imperiale, Naples 2018, 81 fig. 2, 115.

134 Alexandridis (2004) pl. 16.4; on the Vestal Virgins, cf. Mekacher (n. 78) fig. 51, 92, 104, 110.

135 Scholz (1992) fig. 23.

136 H. Winkler, Die tiefe Gürtung, Rheinfelden 1996.

137 Pl. 26.1: Statue of a Vestal in Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 639; Mekacher (n. 78) 217 cat. P 5 fig. 51; Friggeri et al. (eds.) (n. 69) 146 no. 38.

138 Pl. 26.2: Statue of a woman in *stola* in Orvieto, Mus.: Photo D-DAI-Rome 69.2443; Alexandridis (2004) 251 no. Ba 38.

139 See K. Stemmer, Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen, Berlin 1978, 128–129 and passim.

140 R. R. R. Smith, The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, JRS 77 (1987), 125–127 no. 10 pl. 22.

141 Pl. 26.3: Statue of Livia in Selçuk, Mus. inv. 1/10/75; J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum (n. 81), 61 no. 5 pl. 4.2.

7 Underwear (chapters B 22–24)

Depictions of underwear are naturally only to be expected outside of official representational art and sculpture. However, the not uncommon frescoes with erotic scenes from Pompeii and Herculaneum, pictures from the realm of sports, and representations of the goddess Venus can convey an idea of the shape of intimate underwear. A breast band (*fascia pectoralis*) (chapter B 22) is often worn by the prostitutes in copulation scenes from Pompeii¹⁴² (pl. 24.2). Consisting in a more or less broad strip of cloth or leather, the *fascia* is wrapped around the body over the breasts. A splendid inlaid breast band made of silver can be seen on a bronze statuette of Venus in Trier¹⁴³ (pl. 25.3).

A complete impression of luxurious underwear is provided by the famous gold-painted marble statuette of Venus from Pompeii (I 11,6)¹⁴⁴ (pl. 25.4). Venus is dressed in a golden net-like upper garment that is worn skin-tight over the chest area, is sleeveless, and has shoulder straps. It seems to be a piece of luxurious, visible lingerie that would be referred to as a “top” in modern women’s fashion. It can perhaps be identified with the *amictorium* (chapter B 23) mentioned in Martial.¹⁴⁵ On the same Venus statuette, the pubic triangle is completely covered with golden paint. Research is still debating whether this could be a coloured representation of pubic hair. In my opinion, however, the triangle seems too big for that purpose, and Venus/Aphrodite is usually represented without pubic hair. Matching the top, it could therefore be an equally luxurious loin-cloth (*subligar*) (chapter B 24). We have also archaeological findings from England that include such richly decorated leather panties that cover only the pubic region.¹⁴⁶ Finally, the well-known ‘bikini girls’ on the mosaic from the fourth century CE in the Piazza Armerina¹⁴⁷ likely performed their exercises with a *fascia pectoralis* and a *subligar* wrapped around the abdomen.

142 Pl. 24.2: Picture from the brothel in Pompeii VII 12 (Atrio (A) southern wall): PPM (n. 15) VII 525 fig. 13. On further evidence, cf. most recently St. Ritter, Zur Situierung erotischer Bilder in der pompejanischen Wandmalerei, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 132 (2017), 225–270.

143 Pl. 25.3: Trier, Mus. inv. 35.107: H. Menzel, *Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland II Trier*, Mainz 1966, 37 no. 79 pl. 36, 37; A. Dierichs, *Erotik in der römischen Kunst*, Mainz 1997, 113 fig. 122.

144 Pl. 25.4: Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 152798: Cl. Blume, *Polychrome hellenistische Plastik*, Petersberg 2015, 291–292 cat. no. 90 with colour fig.

145 Mart. 14.149.

146 C. van Driel-Murray, *Römische Lederbikinis*, in: V. T. van Vilsteren and R.-M. Weiss (eds.), *100.000 Jahre Sex. Exhibition Hamburg, Wanders/Assen 2003/04*, 46–47 with figures.

147 U. Pappalardo and R. Ciardello, *Die Pracht römischer Mosaiken*, Darmstadt 2018, 174–179 with figures.

8 Footwear (chapters B 26–30)

In contrast to textiles, we have extensive original finds of Roman leather shoes, most of which were protected from decay by the wet soil of the northern provinces.¹⁴⁸ Their variation in form and décor is hardly reflected in the terminology used in Latin and Greek literature for men's and women's footwear. Our literary sources usually do not emphasize the subtle differences of regional workshops, material, and décor or the different 'brands.' They instead refer to basic typological forms, speaking of closed shoes (*calcei*), high boots (*caligae*), and open sandals (*soleae*). Modern usage would do the same, unless writing for a fashion magazine.

The *calcei* and *socci* worn by women in early Imperial literature can be clearly identified as closed shoes on monuments. The *calceus muliebris* (chapter B 26) is portrayed as a closed shoe consisting of an outsole and a closed upper made of soft leather or cloth¹⁴⁹ (pl. 27.3–4 and pl. 8.3, 11.3, 12.3). The soft upper completely surrounds the foot and reaches up to at least the ankle. It fits tightly to the foot so that the toes visibly press against the front of the shoe. At ankle level, the shoe is probably tied with laces, which are pulled through the leather. This is not visible on statues of women because the lower garment falls to the ground. The material of these closed shoes may have been leather, as suggested by the dark yellow to ochre coloured shoes of this kind on Pompejan murals.¹⁵⁰ The fundamental typological similarity of the women's shoe to the *calceus patricius* and *senatorius*¹⁵¹ (pl. 27.1) and the close relationship to the simple *calceus equester*, which was produced without straps,¹⁵² allows for its definitive designation as the *calceus muliebris*. According to representational art, the shoe was worn by all free female citizens (both girls¹⁵³ and women). For example, the female members of the Gens Iulia on the Ara Pacis wear this shoe (pl. 18.2), as do women dressed in *stola* (*matronae*) represented on portait sculpture (pls. 1, 8, 9, 11, 12, 28). Women in divine guises (*in formam deorum*) wear sandals.¹⁵⁴

148 For an overview, cf. Goldman (1994) 101–129; Knötzele (2007); on the finds from Vindolanda, see C. van Driel-Murray, *Vindolanda and the Dating of Roman Footwear*, *Britannia* 32 (2001), 185–197.

149 Pl. 27.3: Left foot of the Livia statue in Parma, Mus. inv. 1952 no. 828; C. Saletti, *Il Ciclo Statuario della Basilica di Velleia*, Milan 1968, 33–37 no. 4 pl. 11–14; Boschung (n. 125), 25 no. 2, 6 pl. 16.1, 18.1, 3. – pl. 27.4 = pl. 1.2.

150 Cf. the frescoes in Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 9042 (Antiope), 111473 (Nymph), 111475 (female companion of Europa), 114320 (Helena), 114322 (Phaidra).

151 Pl. 27.1: Left foot of the Claudius statue (originally Caligula) in Parma, Mus. inv. 1952 no. 834; Saletti (n. 149) 45–49 no. 10 pl. 31–35; Boschung (n. 125) 26 no. 2, 9 pl. 17.2, 18.4.

152 See on this the fundamental article by H. R. Goette, *Mullus – Embas – Calceus*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 103 (1988), 401–464.

153 On *calcei* and *socci* with children, cf. A. Backe-Dahmen, *Sandals for the living, sandals for the dead. Roman children and their footwear*, in: S. Pickup and S. Waite (eds.), *Shoes, Slippers and Sandals. Feet and Footwear in Classical Antiquity*, Abingdon 2019, 263–282.

154 Alexandridis (2004) 54 with n. 496.

The second type of closed shoe made of soft, fitted leather is characterized by lacing underlaid with a tongue over the instep. This type of shoe is not used for either imperial or private portrait statues of women. In idealized sculpture, it is worn by female personifications and muses¹⁵⁵ (**pl. 27.2**). It is worn much more often by men (and occasionally women) in Roman wall paintings of everyday scenes.¹⁵⁶ The type of shoe has a long tradition in Greek culture under the name ἐμβάς (*embas*).¹⁵⁷ We find it in the theatre with actors and in the Dionysian sphere. The corresponding Latin term is *soccus* (chapter B 27).

The open sandal of the Roman woman (*solea*) (chapter B 28) has a simple form¹⁵⁸ (**pl. 27.5–6**). It consists of an outsole that follows the contour of the foot. The sole is made of multiple layers of leather stacked on top of one another, and it can vary in height. The sole is connected to straps that are laid around the foot. A strap passes between the big and the second toe. It is either picked up by a strap that is perpendicular to the root of the toe, or it is connected at the height of the instep with two straps that run to the sides of the foot. Another strap may be stretched over the heel. Some (male) sandals also have straps drawn between the other toes to provide a firmer foothold. The straps can be fitted with decorative appliqués and fittings, especially over the instep. Sandals with straps up to the calf and intricate, net-like straps up to the ankle (*crepida*) (chapter B 29), which are so often found with gods and portrait statues from Classical

155 Pl. 27.2: Statue of a female personification (province or muse?) in Rome, Norwegian Institute: H. P. L'Orange, *Statue tardo-antica di un'Imperatrice*, in: *ActaArchHist* 4 (1969), 95–99 pl. 1–3; K. Schade, *Frauen in der Spätantike – Status und Repräsentation*, Mainz 2003, 86.

156 Examples of *socci* are clearly identifiable in the banquet scene from the Casa del Triclinio in Pompeii (V 2.4); cf. St. Ritter, *Zur kommunikativen Funktion pompejanischer Gelagebilder: Die Bilder aus der Casa del Triclinio und ihr Kontext*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 120 (2005), 315–320 fig. 6; also in the sales scene from the shop (*Fullonica*) of Verenius Hypsaeus: PPM (n. 15) IV 609 fig. 8c; Th. Fröhlich, *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten*, 32. *Erg. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung*, Mainz 1991, 229–236; J. R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, Berkeley 2003, 112–118 pl. 6. See also Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 9523 from Pompeii VII 2.39: S. Rafanelli (ed.), *L'Arte di vivere al tempo di Roma. Exhibition Vetulonia*, Rome 2017, colour fig. on p. 59; Maiuri (n. 44) pl. 11 (Aldobrandini Wedding), and pls. 36, 43, 47, 54, 81. A *soccus* (of Omphale?) is worn by Hercules in the fresco from the house of Marcus Lucertius in Pompeii (IX 3.5.24) in Naples, Mus. Naz. 8992: PPM (n. 15) IX 268–271 fig. 191; F. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei I*, Naples 1854, Casa di M. Lucrezio pl. 8; W. Zahn, *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculaneum and Stabiae II*, Berlin 1852/59, pl. 84.

157 Goette (*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 103 (1988), 426) identifies the *embas* with a fur boot, especially the type worn by Thracian riders, but this is not supported by the literary evidence.

158 On sandals in general, cf. Erbacher (1914) 34, 38; Lau (1967) 113–115; K. D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, Madison 1985; Knötzele (2007) 55–57. – **pl. 27.5:** Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 108871: Friggeri et al. (eds.) (n. 69) 86–87 no. 13. – **pl. 27.6:** Seated statue of Helena in Rome, Mus. Cap. inv. 496: Fittschen and Zanker (n. 9) 35–36 no. 38 pl. 47–48; Schade (n. 155) 173–175 cat. I9 pl. 28.

and Hellenistic times (mostly of men), cannot be found on representations of Roman women.

In both imperial and private representational art, the sandal is only worn by women who are divinized or otherwise modelled off of goddesses and thus endowed with other “divine” attributes (such as diadem, cornucopia, wreath, bundle of grain, and idealized naked body). A. Alexandridis rightly refers to sandals as the “shoes of the gods.”¹⁵⁹ However, depictions in Roman murals and mentions in literature prove that the sandal was women’s usual footwear in everyday life.¹⁶⁰

9 *matrona*

To conclude this chapter, two portrait statues of *matronae stolatae* who are not of the imperial household will be described in more detail: a *matrona* in the Museo delle Terme in Rome and a *matrona* from the Macellum in Pompeii. (1) The statue in the Museo delle Terme in Rome¹⁶¹ representing a young woman (**pl. 11**) can be dated to around the years 20/30 CE by the Tiberian hairstyle. She is dressed in a tunic whose heavier fabric emerges below the pit of the neck in the neckline of the fine and thin *stola*. Over the chest, the *stola* has a hemmed V-shaped neckline. The front and back panels are joined above the shoulders by a three-piece shoulder strap. The contact point between the strap and the fabric of the *stola* is covered by a sheath. The finely pleated fabric of the *stola* appears again above the feet. A wide cloak (*pallium*) made of thicker, smoother fabric lies over the *stola*. Its rectangular fabric covers most of the lower body, shoulders, and back. It is placed over the left shoulder, the back of the head (*velatio capitis*), and the right shoulder; it encloses the angled right arm, crosses the body below the chest, and falls down over the angled left arm. The lower hem of the cloak is decorated with a band—now only recognizable by some relief lines—that was presumably originally coloured. On her feet, the woman is wearing closed shoes (*calceus*) made of supple, thin material (leather?), so that the toes visibly push against the front of the shoes.

(2) The second statue is from the Macellum in Pompeii¹⁶² (**pls. 28–29**) and was created sometime between the late-Neronian and early-Flavian periods (around 60/70

¹⁵⁹ Alexandridis (2004) 55.

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, the seated woman in the fresco from Herculaneum in Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 9022: Helbig (n. 63) 339 no. 1435; Herrmann (ed.) (n. 63) 8 pl. 3; Kraiker (n. 44) 133–149 pl. 57–58; Maiuri (n. 44) 104 pl. 53 (woman playing with knucklebones), 106 pl. 54 (bride).

¹⁶¹ **Pl. 11:** Rome, Mus. Naz. inv. 121216: Scholz (1992) 37–38 (St. 11) fig. 16–17 with the older literature; Friggeri et al. (eds.) (n. 69) 80–81 no. 8. I have chosen the statue as an example for two reasons: Both the body and the visage of the woman are almost entirely preserved, and the statue shows the straps of the *stola* on both shoulders.

¹⁶² **Pl. 28:** Naples, Mus. Naz. inv. 6041: see above n. 46.

CE). The statue represents a high-ranking female citizen of Pompeii (the right arm is a modern addition), presumably while performing a sacrifice. As an inner garment, the young woman is wearing a tunic (*chiton*) that is tied along the shoulders and arms; on top of it, she is wearing a *stola* that falls onto the chest in a slightly looser V-neckline. The shoulder strap is a braided cord that is visible on both shoulders. The cloak (*pallium*) that envelops the body is placed over the back of the head in a manner appropriate to the sacrificial ritual. The drapery of the cloak follows a statuary schema known to us from some replicas and variants. We can assume that a Hellenistic model¹⁶³ has been copied for the portrayal. On her head, the woman is wearing a laurel wreath and a knotted headband (*vitta*) whose ends fall onto her shoulders. She is also wearing closed shoes.

The combination of costume elements on both statues (*tunica/chiton, stola, pallium, calceus, vitta, velatio*) presents a coherent picture and portrays the *matrona* in her rank and social status as venerable wife (and mother) with virtues such as *pietas, pudicitia, castitas, and verecundia*. They also visualize the political and moral aims of the Emperor in the realm of marriage and moral policy. Since they stood in public spaces (forum, necropolis),¹⁶⁴ these images were seen often, and they had a strong social and paradigmatic effect. However, the stereotypical form and striking statement of the statues show that the representations of Roman *matronae* are a pure construct of Augustan imperial ideology, which wanted to propagate a definitive view of women.

163 On the discussion concerning the model, cf. K. Hitzl, *Die kaiserzeitliche Statuenausstattung des Metroon*, *Olforsch* 19, Berlin 1991, 64–65.

164 J. Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context*, Berlin 2008, 331–369 gives an overview of public statues of women.



Epilogue

The painting *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog* by Caspar David Friedrich shows a wanderer standing on a mountain top and looking down on a large plain of white mist veiling the surrounding landscape. The image has always been near to my heart and in a way symbolizes my feelings at the time of writing my final chapter. In this book, I have climbed an intellectual mountain, and I now look back on my work with surprise. All results have been achieved by a chain of rational choices, and yet the ultimate form of the book now lies before my eyes like the result of a miracle. I can only hope that I have created an image of Roman dress culture that somehow mirrors reality. However, the lost Roman world will always remain a mystery for me, and this mystery will always fill me with awe. Ancient life is gone for good, and it has left only barren signs for us to decipher. My deciphering of the female Roman 'dress code' has come to an end now after over a decade.

The form in which this book has been written does not lend itself to a grand conclusion. The results have been presented within the single chapters and repeating them seems redundant and somehow inappropriate. My book is not a novel as to its form, and there has been no winding up of the plot for a dramatic finale. It is rather a collection of short stories intertwined by common leitmotifs. For this reason, the following section reflects on some of the implied premises of the previous analysis. It is an abstract musing about the philosophical books that have influenced me and about what kind of inspiration I have taken from them. Perhaps, readers now expect me to discuss the terms 'culture, Romanization, Hellenization, hybridity, ethnicity' and all other concepts that keep modern scholarship busy, but I felt that I could neither outdo Wallace-Hadrill (*Rome's Cultural Revolution*, 2008) in this nor that my subject would gain much from it. I will therefore look at things from an altogether different and more abstract point of view.

Composing scholarly books is about making choices. If you plan on starting a revolution, you may start it by shouting revolutionary slogans. This was not my way. In a certain sense, this book has aimed for a revolution in the field of Roman dress studies, but I have deliberately shunned from making too much noise at the beginning. In contravention of current trends in German Humanities, I chose to not present a flashy theoretical *Überbau* at the start of the book, but served a more traditional meal. All I wanted was to convince my readers by the wealth of new detailed results drawn from all extant sources. While it is possible to observe observing how to observe, there is the danger of ending up in an infinite regress and of losing sight of what you were going to observe in the first place. Confronting readers with a meta-theory from the start may impress them, but at the same time deter them from reading on or leave them disappointed when after much fussing about the correct theory no new concrete results are offered in the end, and to say it in Horace's words: *parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*. For example, all debate about the above-mentioned terms has only led to one thing: You have to put them in quotation marks now (at least if you want to show your scholarly raffinesse), and you are often offered the most trite or even wrong results when it comes to analyzing the evidence. For this reason, the book avoided scholarly

parlance as far as possible and focused on applied method. Theorizing was deliberately reduced to a minimum. Analysis kept close to the ground, using the microscope, so to say, and slowly ground away at the evidence. Emphasis was laid on new concrete results rather than on abstraction. There was, however, some method behind this madness, and I am going to explain it from the scratch now.

As should be evident, the book kept to the dichotomy *true–false* and adhered to the principle of falsification. It may seem unnecessary to state this at this point, but the reading of many ‘scientific’ books and articles has taught me that these basic rules are often lost sight of. Within this framework, I combined multiple strands of philosophical theory from various traditions: epistemology, theory of discourse, semiotics, and social theory. I did not start the project from the theoretical side, and it was rather that bits and pieces of these theories—that had been mostly slumbering in my mind for a long time—suddenly cropped up within me when it came to interpreting the data and to structuring the results. I then took them up as they best suited my purpose, sometimes with disregard for their greater subtleties.

The epistemic backbone of this study is formed by the principles of empiricism, as laid down in the various books by Willard Van Orman Quine. His studies on logic and language, especially his classic *Word and Object*, deeply impressed me as a student, and they still do so now. More than the details, it is the mode of Quine’s thought that has left a mark on me. His sober and sobering reflections about words and their meanings, about how we designate objects, and about how we form statements often came to my mind while writing. The first main division as to subject matter, for example, was heavily influenced by Quines’ remarks on extensions and intensions of statements.

In general, texts are the main evidence for Roman dress available to us, followed by works of visual art. As banal as it may sound, words are symbols that serve to communicate with others, and they have a ‘meaning.’ Some of them, like *stone*, designate material objects that exist in the outer world and that can be discerned by sense perception. Such symbols refer to a set of real, tangible things. You may kick a stone and dress your body in a tunic. In contrast, some words, like *centaur*, do not relate to any material object, or it is unclear which object they refer to. Logicians would say that these words have no extension or at least not a clear one. Semiotics would say that the sign has no referent. No matter the preferred theoretical frame, no one has ever seen a real, living centaur because it is just a fictional object of literature and of material art. A centaur can be said to exist in some sense, but not in the same way as a stone. In accordance with this, one of the main contentions of this book is that we find both types of words in the discourse on Roman fashion.¹ I have called the stone-type of word ‘neutral’ or ‘literary’ terms, and the centaur-type I have called glosses, thereby following ancient

¹ The word *tunica*, for example (B 1), refers to a real historical dress item (B 1). In contrast, the term **ricinium* (D 1) does not designate any garment any of our sources saw in real life, and it very likely originated by textual corruption through a misspelling of *triclinium*.

and modern scholarly tradition. The glosses were marked by an asterisk (*) in order to denote their different ‘ontological status.’² In contrast to my predecessors, I have strictly kept to this ontological distinction, and my study is shaped by it in a fundamental way. Parts A/B concern the common dress terms and real garments, while the parts C/D deal with the glosses and the dress chimaeras.

In a second step, I proceeded to combine and to diversify this down-to-earth logical concept with a rather primitive theory of discourse that fit the evidence. Hardly any scholar living in 20th-century Europe could avoid being influenced by the thoughts of Michel Foucault. His insistence on discourses and their mechanisms in his theoretical chef d’oeuvre *L’Archéologie du savoir* (The archaeology of knowledge) is such that no one can ever forget that communication is a social art and that different groups of people communicate in a different way. Abstracting from Foucault and focusing on words, we might divide language users into four main groups: technical experts (non-linguists), ‘normal’ individuals, poets and authors of ‘high’ literature, and linguists.³ Members of the first group (or at least individuals acting in that capacity) use everyday *and* technical language when talking among themselves. As regards clothing, for example, tailors talk about things like hemlines, rounded borders, dropped shoulders, and other things in a language that non-specialists will not easily understand. Normal people use neutral (= common) terms. Poets use poetic language (including some everyday words). And finally, linguists (that is, word specialists) use linguistic and neutral terms. In the different fields, language has a different purpose, and individuals can shift between group discourses depending on whether they are at work or in the pub with friends. Technical experts use technical words as a shortcut for saying technical things. Normal people want to communicate in a general and commonly understandable non-specialist way. Poets use poetical expressions to embellish their poems and to entertain. Linguists ponder about terms, if they are difficult, and try to find out their origin and their meaning. In contrast to the other groups, they often do not use the respective words in a primary way in order to designate things, but only speak *about* them. Words become thus part of a meta-language.

In our Latin texts on dress, technical and colloquial language are largely lacking. With a few exceptions, the texts belong either to the literary or the scholarly (linguistic) discourse.⁴ Accordingly, parts A/B were about ‘high’ (= non-scholarly) literature, and parts C/D about scholarly literature on dress. The distinction between different discourses complements the ontological division mentioned above. The first type of literature is primary evidence because it is about garments authors and readers could

2 We also find a similar distinction in art. There are real and fictional garbs.

3 We should perhaps not so much talk about groups but rather about roles. Individuals usually combine several roles. Technical experts, poets, and scholars are normal persons using neutral language most of the time. However, for the purposes of defining the nature of our sources, it seems best to stick to groups or—in a more abstract manner—to discourses.

4 Sometimes, like in the case of Varro, a text contains elements of both.

see and touch in their world. The scholarly literature is secondary evidence because it is about garments authors and readers did not see, but only *thought* to have existed and that thus took on a life of their own in discourse.

Within this main distinction, I further individuated the literary discourse. Part A explored its nature in its entirety and sifted through its ingredients. However, Roman literature has a double nature. It combines literary (in the stricter sense of the word) and everyday aspects and uses both literary and everyday terms. Part A interpreted single texts by means of traditional hermeneutics, but did not focus on one particular side. In contrast, part B directed its attention exclusively on the common discourse on dress. It cut off poetical words and focused on neutral dress terms and on real female Roman garments.

In a third step, I turned to another French philosopher for intellectual help: Roland Barthes and his semiotic study *Système de la mode* (The language of fashion). In contrast to the other philosophical works mentioned in this section, Barthes' book was completely new to me. I hit on it while reading several studies on modern fashion and found it to be most impressive. It obviously differs much in scope and content from my own study. It deals with the language of fashion magazines and 20th-century fashion and reconstructs the nature of the discourse on fashion, whereas my aim was to get through to real objects and social 'data.' Barthes' semiotic enquiry nevertheless sharpened my understanding about how the same statement, even the same word, can express different things according to the different perspectives and contexts in which it is used. The criteria 'appearance' and 'social usage' structuring the narrative of most chapters in part B mirror Barthes' influence to some extent, and they are based on the different functions of neutral language in life. Basically, I posited that every dress term is involved in a technical and in a social discourse. The technical discourse teaches us something about the material and form of a garment, and the social one teaches something about the garment's social usage and about the society which employs it. Via social usage, materiality transforms into mentality.

In Latin literature, we are missing, as I said above, most of the technical discourse. There are no sewing patterns nor technical descriptions of how to produce a certain garment. However, there are some residues of it when technical and neutral language are using the same words. The main points of intersection are the general neutral terms which Latin has for specific garments and which mostly refer to a particular form or fabric. We might call them linguistic shortcuts that function as technical definitions. In contrast to Barthes, who knew the objects his texts referred to and only reconstructed the discourse, my scope was different. The symbolic character of language that suits oral communication was a disadvantage for the enquiry into past things because we do not have the respective sense perception of the material object. We have just the Latin word, but we do not have the object it refers to. We must learn what type of garments the Romans would have called, for example, a *pallium* by inferring it from texts and from depictions. Our written sources are often very few, and it requires detective work to discover the correct solution. Depictions are important since they fill the visual gap

left by our texts. Without them, our texts (and by extension, we as scholars) would be blind. For this reason, I started by defining the technical meaning of terms and identifying the archaeological objects they refer to.

After this, my analysis turned to the social aspect of dress terms. The social implication of a word does not depend so much on the term itself, but more often on the context in which it is used. Words are part of statements, and most of them are more complex than mere occasion sentences like ‘this is a tunic’ or ‘there is a tunic.’ Many statements express a belief or an attitude. In literature, they convey what authors want to tell their readers. In Latin fictional texts, dress terms are usually part of descriptions of characters. At a most basic level, they imply social expectations as concerns the use of the respective garments. Picking two examples of obvious rules: A *tunica* is not worn on your feet, and a *calceus* (shoe) does not belong on your head. But social usage is not restricted to elementary functions like these. A garment also characterizes the person wearing it. It is his or her second skin, and this is even more important in literature since the authors have full control over how to depict their characters. Moreover, in Roman literature in particular, a garment marks age or social status. For example, a *stola* indicates that the woman wearing it is a Roman *matrona*, whereas a *toga* characterizes a woman as a lowly prostitute. Beyond social classes, descriptions of dress also often imply an authorial judgement on the behaviour of the character being described. Here, authors rely on shared norms among their readership. At this point, Pierre Bourdieu’s book *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste) came to mind. His study on French culture does all we would like to do with Roman culture, but we lack the necessary evidence. In contrast to Bourdieu, we have no experience and no statistics; we have only a few stray remarks in texts. And again, we have to first find out the social matrix, whereas Bourdieu could take it for granted and focus on it. Some Latin authors, like Pliny, express explicit judgements, but most do not. The social code appears only by comparison, and it is only by parallels that we can find out what was considered normal or abnormal. With much caution, I thus tried to derive social norms from several parallel descriptions. The colour red, for example, was often worn by young women and hetaeras. In contrast, an old woman (*anus*) in red clothing was exceptional and in some way transgressive. Hence the conclusion that the (satirical) author wanted to express that the *anus* was a strange person by dressing her in a garb only *meretrices* would wear. Due to the nature of our available texts and their authors, the rules of behaviour we can somewhat confidently posit were those of the upper classes since all Roman literature was either written by members of the elite or their clientele. This is how it is for most of human history.⁵

⁵ On social bias, cf. also Carlo Ginzburg’s historical study *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del ‘500* (The cheese and the worms: the cosmos of a sixteenth-century miller). His work shows how

It was at this point that I urgently felt the need to emancipate myself from epistemology and semiotics in order to get on. Words are not all; society (as objects) does not consist of only words (symbols), but there is something factual the words refer to, even if they can also help establish non-tangible societal structures. We can definitively say that Roman society *was* differentiated by gender (male vs. female), age (young vs. old), and various social strata. There *were* slaves, freedmen, freeborn Roman citizens, knights, and senators. In addition, social classes and codes change over time, as does clothing in particular. From what I could tell from the sources, Roman dress changed in the first century BCE when the composition of the social classes drastically altered, the allegiance to social classes lost overall importance, and new functional elites came to the forefront. For these reasons, it seemed that I needed a more elaborated social theory that gave me the possibility to describe the process.

The sketch of dress culture given in this book had to be a drastic reduction of contingencies in order to make it a tractable subject matter. This occasionally makes it seem like Roman culture was on some form of trajectory. Unlike Aristotle and Hegel, I do not see such large-scale changes as a linear movement to a preordained single end and consummation (*telos* or *agathon*). There is nothing, in my view, like a *Weltgeist* that comes to its fulfillment. Societal *kinesis* is a complex and unpredictable process. Social and cultural evolution is neither a clear-cut nor a uniform movement, even though it may appear so to those watching from a long distance in the future. To the contrary, evolution proceeds *per vestigia cancri*: It can slow down or accelerate; it will usually involve only some parts of society, but leave others untouched; and the changes mostly concern select items of the material culture, but not all. Thus, any apparent grand narratives were an incidental result of analysis and the presentation of results in a finite book.

In a last step, I hence tried to graft a social theory onto semiotics. The theory that came closest to my wishes was that of Niklas Luhmann. He is the most ‘Aristotelean’ thinker I know of when it comes to categorizing social phenomena, although he challenges many hidden ‘Aristotelean’ premises. He developed his theory over the course of thirty years. The first coherent draft of it in *Die Systemtheorie der Gesellschaft*, published posthumously in 2017, dates to 1975 and shows a strong anti-Marxist streak. The last version of it, called *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft* (Theory of society), was published in 1997, shortly before Luhmann’s death. In this, anti-Marxism has faded because Marxism had lost its lustre among German academics, and there were no more sit-ins or teach-ins at German universities.⁶ The work also has a striking difference in language. In the final draft, most of the over-abstract expressions have ceded to ‘normal’ language

difficult and rare it is to get a hold of statements by people that lived beyond the limited confines of the elite.

⁶ The Cold War being over, criticizing them has given room to satirizing German academic life, a satire that is funny to read and that one might spin out even more nowadays. There is no one who can describe the system of the university, its media, and its academic limits like Luhmann.

so that it is much easier to read. Even so, Luhmann's theory is highly abstract and complex. In simple terms, it distinguishes between three levels of human interaction: the private level, called 'personal interaction,' the organizational level (like the state), and the entire society. He also distinguishes between 'system' and 'environment.' A 'system' (or part of it) reacts to its 'environment' and vice versa. Such reactions are part of its *autopoiesis* (self-contained reproduction). This is admittedly a very reductive version of Luhmann's thought, but it may suffice for the present purpose.⁷

Taking the entire 'Roman society' as the starting point (system), this study of Roman female dress considered the extension of various classes of people (= subsystems), the interactions between them, and their results on the entire society. Applied to clothing, this meant that a specific garment or attire was not always worn by the same social group. For example, the group of female citizens wearing the *palla* and the *stola* varied widely in composition in Roman history since new groups acquired the social status and the right to wear these garments over time. On the other hand, looking from the outside, Roman society as a whole (system) and its clothing stands in contrast to other cultures (environments). For the sake of a heuristic division, I took the notion of a 'traditional' Roman dress as a starting point, defining it as the clothing that Romans wore at the beginning of the second century BCE and that they themselves considered 'traditional' in the first century BCE.⁸ I then opposed this traditional Roman dress (system) to 'Greek' dress (environment 1) and 'Celtic' dress (environment 2). The resulting narrative was that Roman dress culture did not only influence other dress cultures, but other dress cultures also influenced Roman dress culture in a kind of give-and-take. The expansion of the Roman Empire first combined with a diffusion of 'foreign' cultural mores within Roman society that in the second century CE led to a homogenous 'international' dress culture in a Roman Empire that had lost nearly all original Roman traces. In other words, 'Roman dress' in the second century CE had acquired a new definition, and it was this new Roman dress that the Romans gave back to their provinces.

Within this general evolution, the organizational level (state) also came into view, the imperial politics and policies of Augustus. In the first century BCE, so my narrative went, Roman society and Roman dress culture had already changed to a great degree. Cultural change made itself felt, and Augustus tried to counteract this process by propagating traditional Roman dress. There were probably many reasons for the change in Roman culture, but three may be the most important: the influence of foreign cultures, the involvement of a new wealthy leisure class, and the dissolving of old social elites (on

⁷ Luhmann himself never wrote about dress and fashion. Doris Schmidt, *Die Mode der Gesellschaft. Eine systemtheoretische Analyse*, Hohengehren 2007 describes fashion as a system in Luhmann's sense. However, this type of close proselytism was alien to me.

⁸ Nevertheless, it should be remembered that Roman costume was heterogenous from its start.

the vertical level) in favour of new functional elites based on competence.⁹ The decline of social cohesion and its reasons have already been considered by the Roman historian Sallustius, and it is a common topic of the modern handbooks on Roman history. From the Gracchi onwards, political antagonism within the upper echelons of society had increased to an extent that it led to civil war. This happened exactly at a time when functional competence in administrating a wide and complex empire was lacking. The incompetence of the old elite also spurred *homines novi* like Marius (and Cicero) to come to the foreground. At the same time, the freedmen class gained wealth and social clout. As regards Roman dress, all this resulted in the gradual disappearance of the traditional garments that belonged to the old elite culture, which had been annihilated by wars and ousted by newcomers. Augustus saw this upheaval and tried to stabilize Roman society in general and his rule in particular by redefining social privilege as a functional privilege, thereby transforming social dress customs into emblems. Traditional garments were even defined as privileges by law. The *stola*, *vitta*, and *praetexta*, as well as the male *toga*, became legally bound to Roman citizenship and Roman marriage (*matrimonium*), whereas they had previously only been social custom. However, in contrast to the male *toga*, the female ‘traditional’ garments had no civil function because women had fewer official roles than men and no political role at all. Roman women thus had no occasion to wear an odd ‘traditional’ garb that was not even functional and instead impeded movement. In any case, Augustus’ political measures could not stop the ‘internationalizing’ cultural trend but only slowed it. In the first century CE, traditional Roman dress was still worn by the elite (senators, knights) when performing social and political roles. Upper class women were the last to wear a *stola*, in analogy to their husbands wearing the *toga*. However, the cultural trends begun decades earlier prevailed over social policy, and a new supranational Roman dress culture and a new imperial self-representation was formed under Hadrian. In private, an individualistic dress culture prevailed that could rely on multi-ethnic ingredients from Gaul to Greece to China.

The social history of Roman dress proffered in various chapters of part B (especially 4 and 11) formed the climax and the turning point of the book. The dynamism of the description stands in marked contrast to the static picture of Roman dress that has prevailed in scholarship up to now, and that is suddenly exchanged for Late Antiquity like a colour slide. However, the narrative offered in this book is only one possible hypothesis. Writing about a long bygone dress culture is, as I said at the beginning, a daring enterprise, and it inspires skepticism as to what we can truly know about it. All theory rests on sense data that connect us to the exterior world. Theory gets farther away from such data when it advances, or, to change the perspective, the sense data

⁹ On a small scale, this process prefigures what we see at the beginning of the Early Modern Period. Luhmann’s description of this inspired me to transfer it to Antiquity, though the remodeling of Roman society stopped before the process had been completed.

remain the same in number but become fewer in relation to the scale of theory. In astrophysics, we first describe cosmic background radiation, then define from it the extension of the universe, and finally form a theory about the big bang that occurred billions of years ago (all based on the original measurements). I proceeded in much the same way for this book. I first interpreted single statements concerning dress; then I defined the meaning of neutral dress terms as to the material and the social usage of the objects designated by them; and I finally formed a theory about Roman dress culture and its evolution.¹⁰ In the end, however, we have to admit that all we know about Roman female dress is fastened on the few pegs that we are able to drive into the outer world (far fewer pegs than non-specialists usually believe), and it is important to get at least these pegs right. Since we have no direct sense data (no garments are left from the respective period), but only words and pictures, we must treat them with all care, and I have tried to do so.

In dialectics, it is usual to also give heed to alternatives, and this has been done in parts C/D, which are a collection of cautionary tales. In Dante's *Divina Commedia*, the travelers read at the entrance to hell "Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate!" and then encounter various ghosts consisting of souls without a body. In the same way, the world of the ancient scholars we entered was a quite hopeless affair. Many of the hypotheses proposed by them are still influential in modern research, but they are nevertheless mistaken. Nearly all of the words I discussed in those parts had either no or no clear stone-type object of reference. They were chimaeras and did not lead to real Roman dress culture, but only to the world of scholars' books. It was a world for linguists indeed, but a world for linguists only. The final chapter (D 7) left our ancient predecessors for good and turned to modern scholarship. This was done to remind us that we should not look on the Roman *grammatici* with scorn. They did what they were able to, and if they failed, it was because they had no rigorous methodology to build on and because they desired to know more than the evidence allowed them. In the end, their vain efforts show us how difficult it is to win reliable historical knowledge, even when it is 'only' two or three centuries removed.

Writing this book proved a veritable challenge for me because it needed all of the scholarly skills I had at my command, spanning from textual criticism to social theory. I often felt gratitude for the various outstanding scholars who had instructed me over the years. Sometimes, it was a short lesson that nonetheless accompanied me in my academic career.¹¹ And finally, the book would not have been written in this form without the help of my friend and colleague Joachim Raeder, who contributed the archaeological skill that I lacked.

10 On the similarity of method, see also P. Hoyningen-Huene, *Systematicity. The Nature of Science*, Oxford 2013, 107–108.

11 The distinction between primary and secondary evidence, for example, was first introduced to me by Edward Hussey, an Oxford scholar, who severely criticized an undergraduate essay written by me on the Pre-Socratics for mixing up and using incorrect sources.

On the most abstract level, my study was about words and objects, although the objects only came into play indirectly. Implicitly, it was also about method and about the question of whether a serious general cultural history can be written anymore. As the preceding pages show, my answer to this question is in the affirmative. Yes, we can still write cultural history if we keep to certain methodological standards concerning source analysis, and above all, if we clearly mark the limits of our knowledge and justify our hypotheses. That is all we can do. The readers may then decide whether they follow our arguments or, in the words of Ottavio Ferrari,¹² they can decide to contribute something that is better. This will progress knowledge and that is, I think, what science and scholarship are really about.

¹² Cf. p. 15.

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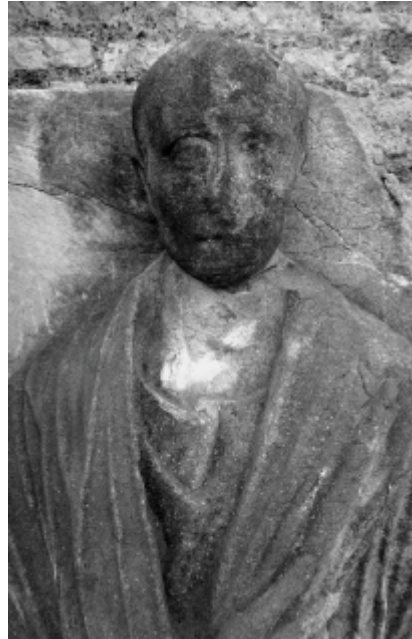
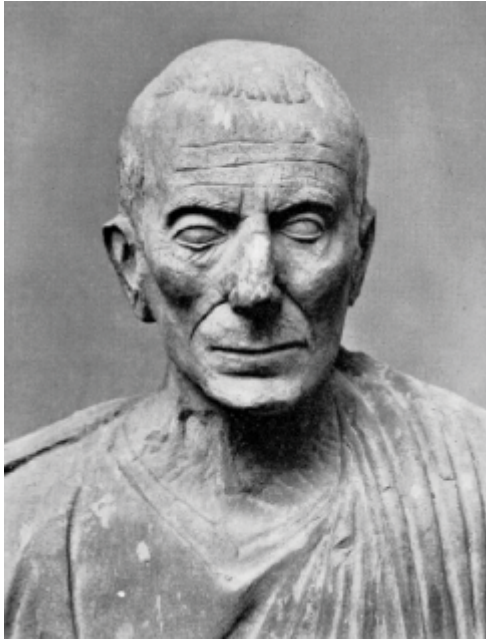


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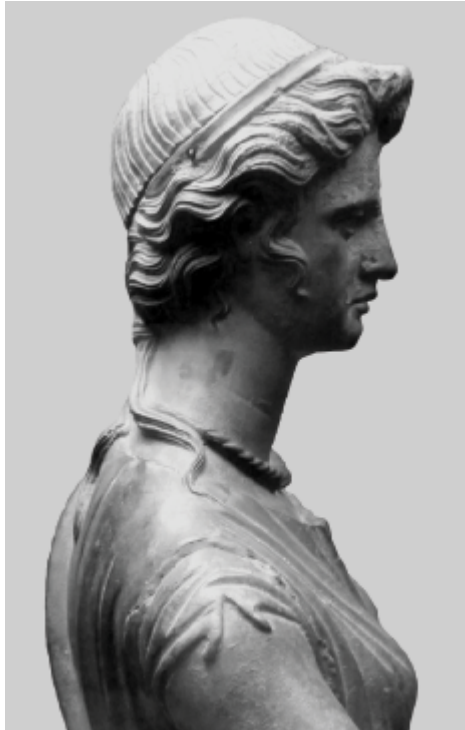


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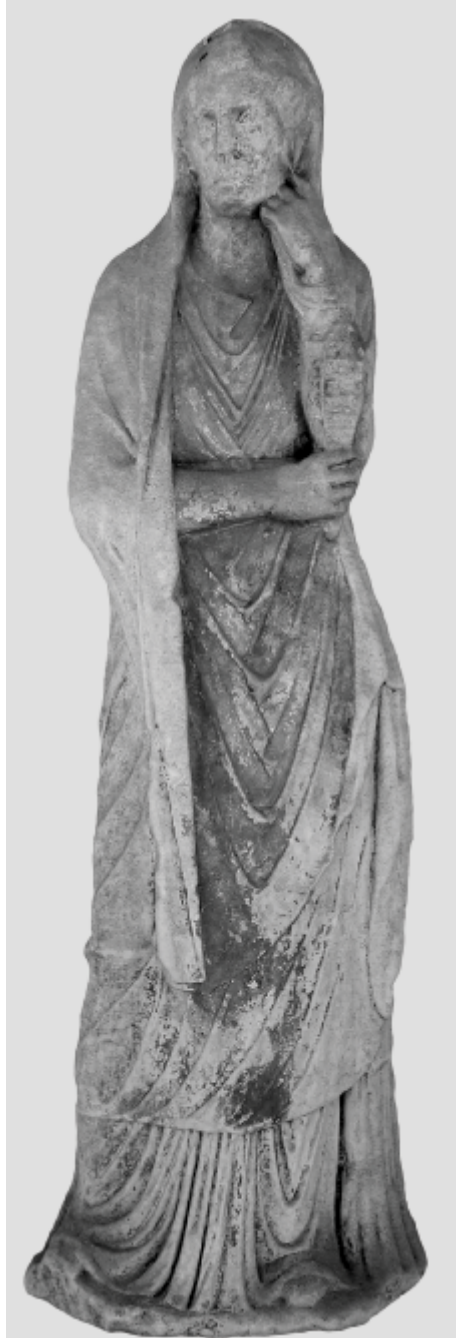
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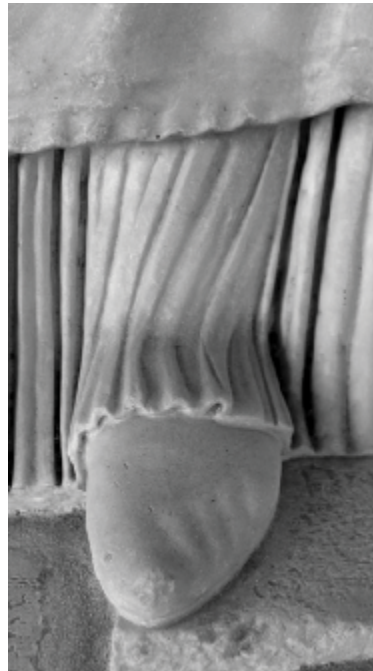
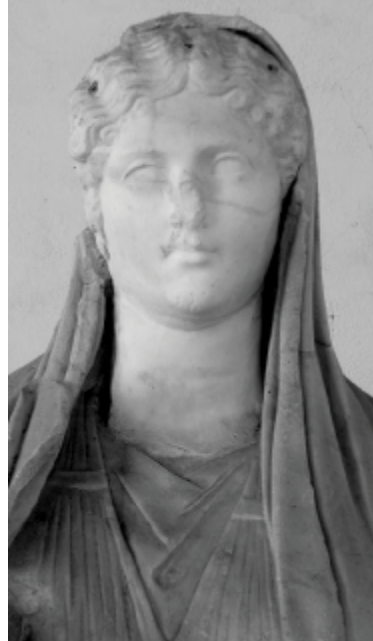
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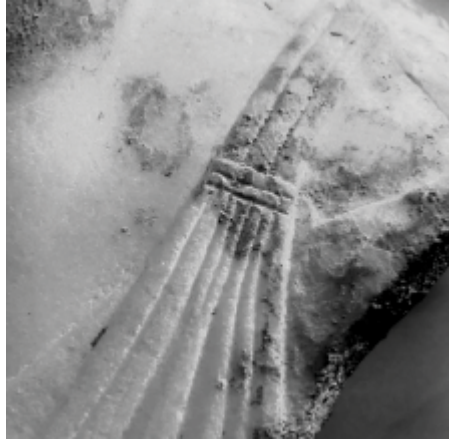
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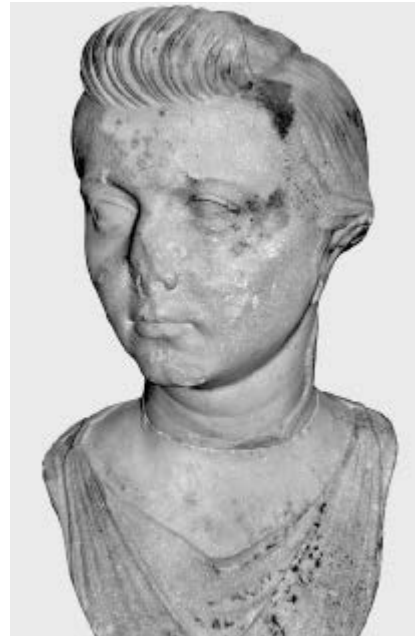
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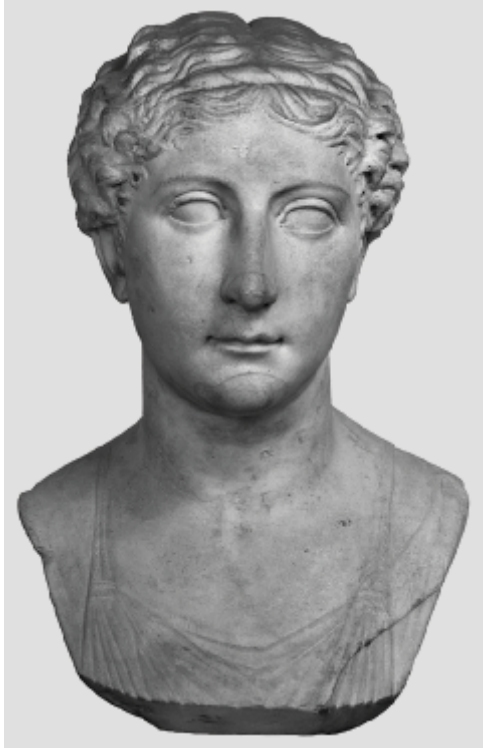


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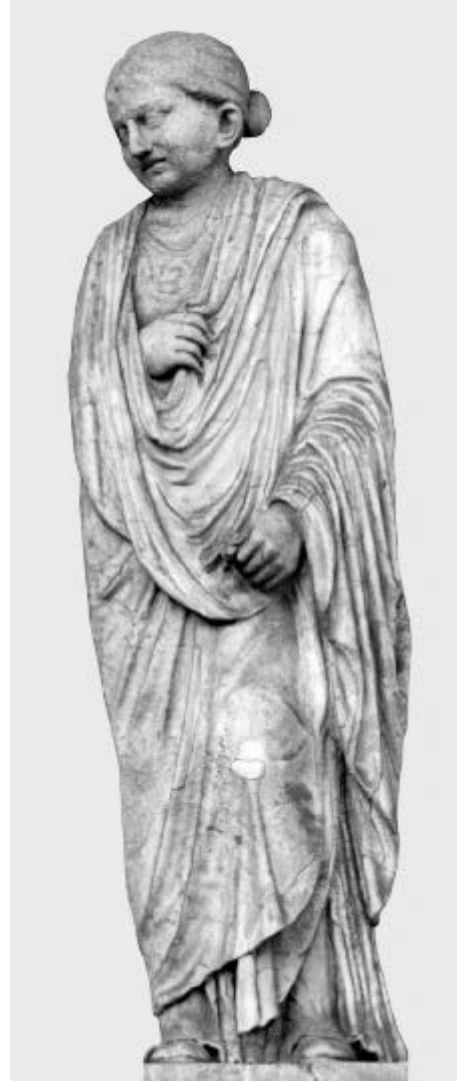




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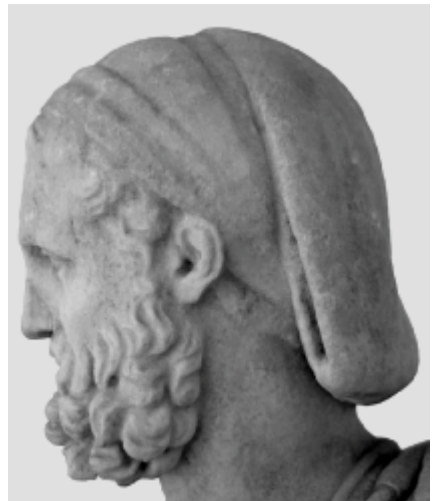
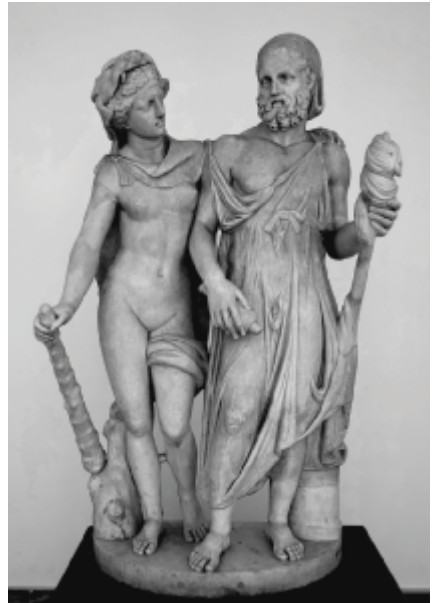
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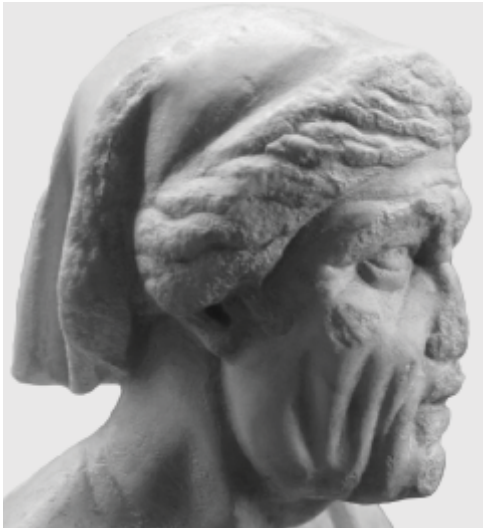
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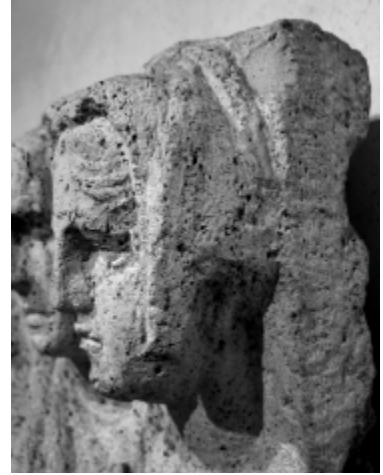


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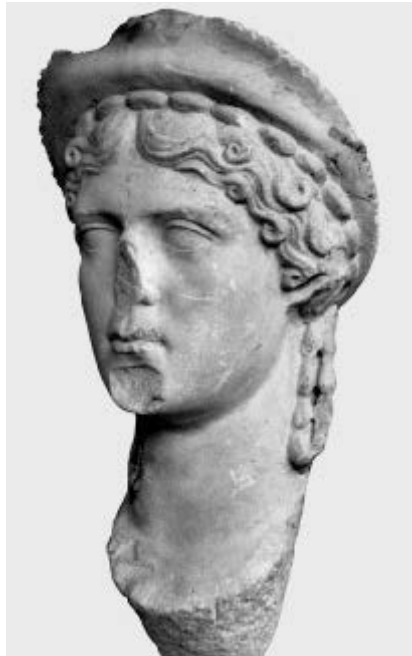
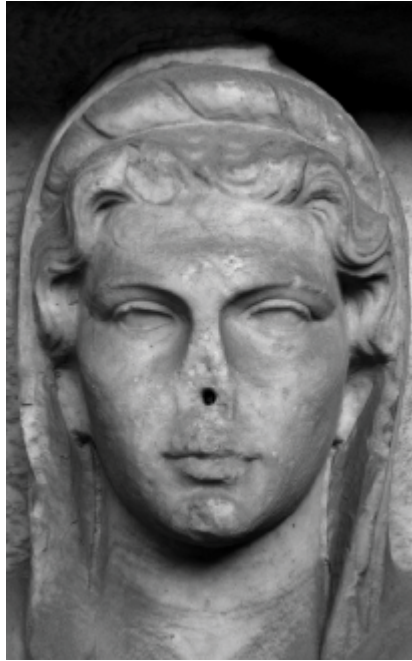


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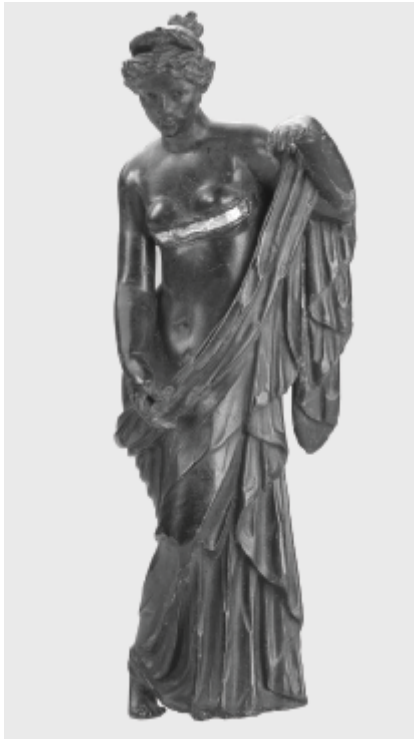
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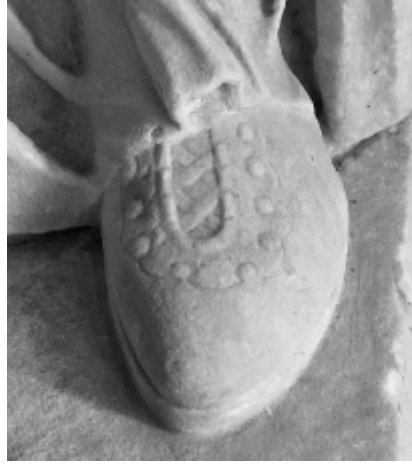
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