

9 Varro – *Menippean Satires* and *Logistorici*

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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 *strophia*, 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; *strophia*: 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 scaena 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* Radicet: *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 Γεροντοδιδάσκαλος 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 ἔκείνης Περσικὰς ὑφέλκομαι [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, περὶ φθορᾶς 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 cerneret 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 praicingebatur, 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 Herculaneo nodo vinctum vir solvit omnis 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 (όλοπόρφυρος), but even keeps its Greek ending (-ο = -ωι).²² The adjective *holoporphyrros* 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. ολοπόρφυρος; cf. also ολοπράσινος (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. ταν regillam tuniculam indulam an mendiculam? Varro Papia Papae, περὶ ἐγκωμίων (F 372): collum procerum fictum levi marmore; regillam tunicam τdiffergitur 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 *differgitur purpura*. Moreover, the transmitted *differgitur* cannot be correct since *differgere* (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 *χιτών ὄρθοστάδιος* (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 [mitranc] 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 strophia⁴⁵*
she hung up figurines, soft balls, hairnets, and hair circlets on the *lares*

The simple emendation *mania*s 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 *mania*s 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 Ταφὴ 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 Ταφὴ Μενίππου (F 538) nihil[ο] 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*.⁵⁴”

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 δεινῷ ἀνίρῳ 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 aiae 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 Macrobr. 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 [Lavinius 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 t̄capis* (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/bar-nacidas* 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—like 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 *chlanidas*. 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 ἄρνακίς 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 πίλους καὶ ἄρνακίδας [covering their feet with felt shoes and sheepskins]; Aristonymos com. F 5 K.-A. (= Antatt. α 150 p. 121 Valente (SGLG 16)): ἄρνακίς Ἀριστώνυμος Ἡλίῳ ρίγοῦντι [*arnakis*: Aristonymos in his play *The sun shuddering of cold*]; Theocrit. id. 5.50: ἦ μὰν ἄρνακίδας τε καὶ εἴρια τεῖδε πατήσεις [indeed, on sheepskins and wool you will walk about here].

is convincing as to its content since Hellenistic literature mentions the περονάτ(ρ)ίς twice as a female garment.⁷⁰

In our most important source (Theocritus), a woman wears a *peronatris* 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 *peronatris*.⁷² Since the text mentions folds that we also know from the Roman *stola*, the *peronatris* 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 *peronatris* 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: τάμπεχονον καὶ τὰν περονατίδα λάζευ [take your cloak and your *peronatris*]. 34: καταπτυχὲς ἐμπερόναμα [the *peronatris* with folds]; Anth. Pal. 7.413.

⁷¹ Theocrit. id. 15.31.

⁷² Theocrit. id. 15.34–38.

⁷³ An archaeological attempt to identify the *peronatris* in Hellenistic art was made by A. Filges, Schlauchkleid - Peronatris - Stola, AA 2002, 259–271 and B. Schmaltz, ‘... wirklich Aphrodite?’, in: E. Dündar (ed.), Lykiarikhissa, Festschrift H. Iskan, Istanbul 2016, 689, who interpret the *peronatris* 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. x 3433 p. 639 Alpers/Cunningham: κόμβωμα· στόλισμα. σκίρωμα [*comboma*: a garment; a hardened swelling].

⁷⁹ Pollux 4.119: τῇ δὲ δούλων ἔξωμίδι καὶ ἴματιδιόν τι πρόσκειται λευκόν, ὃ ἐγκόμβωμα λέγεται ἡ 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 ἵματίδιόν 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 βίψας τὸ ἐγκόμβωμα γυμνὸς ὥρμησεν τρέχειν [So he threw off his *encomboma* and ran off in light clothing]. Longos may follow an Atticistic dictionary here.

