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3.1 The Imperial Period (Festus/Verrius, Apuleius)

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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 χιτὼν 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 περὶ ἐγκωμίων (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 χιτὼν 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 62.17.5, 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 Hafen 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 **indusiatus* and **indusiarii* 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 **indusiatus* 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 δευσοποιός (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, **indusiat* 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 *indusiarus* 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 indusiarum* (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 **indusiat* 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 patagiarii qui eiusmodi faciunt.

The **patagium* is what is usually sewn on the top of the tunic, which is also called *patagiata* (Epidic. 231), and *patagiarii* (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.

