
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](mailto:fileadmin@rem-mannheim.de) and [redakteure](mailto:redakteure@rem-mannheim.de) and [Forschung](mailto:Forschung@rem-mannheim.de) 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 Hypsaeus 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. Schwarzmayer 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. Altemps 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 Altemps. 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 (Settecimini)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* 1. 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 Chiostro 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 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, Kunsthst. 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 Publius 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. Krinzing (eds.), 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions 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 Hypsaëus: PPM (n. 15) IV 609 fig. 8c; Th. Fröhlich, *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten*, 32. *Ergh. 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 und 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.

