

JOHN PETER WILD

Clothing in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire

INTRODUCTION

The student of the archaeology of the Roman provinces rightly directs his attention to those aspects of Roman material culture which are likely to contribute most to the political history of the period. Few attempts have been made in the past twenty years to study and interpret the social and economic history of the Roman provinces. This is not surprising; for the scholar who embarks upon such a task requires a formidable knowledge of many disciplines, ancient and modern.

The subject under review in this article is one facet of provincial-Roman social history. Its justification is that it may serve as a stepping-stone towards the wider perspective.

Previous work

Virtually no work has been done on the clothing of the north-west Roman provinces. Lilian Wilson and Margarete Bieber, to name but two of those who have written about clothing in antiquity, paid scant attention to the provinces. Hugo Blümner's synthesis of the literary evidence on costume, useful though it is, depended on sources relevant to Italy alone. Several articles by M. Láng, and more recently a masterly monograph by Jochen Garbsch, have been devoted to the clothing of the Danubian provinces, Noricum

Note

It is a pleasure to record my deepest gratitude to Professor J. M. C. Toynbee of Oxford for unstinting help and constant encouragement at all stages throughout the preparation of this study. My debt to her is immense.

My best thanks are due also to Professor K. H. Schmidt of Bochum for discussing many of the philological points with me in the Sprachwissenschaftliches Institut of Bonn University. I owe a considerable debt to Miss F. C. Pearce for much helpful criticism of the text and ideas contained in it. I am indebted, too, to Miss A. S. Henshall of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, and Mr. W. K. Lacey. Lastly, but by no means least, I should like to thank Professor Dr. H. von Petrikovits for allowing me to use the library of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, over a period of three years.

I am indebted to the following museum curators and directors for facility to study material in their care: Britain: Mr. D. F. Petch of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester; Mr. John Rhodes of the City Museum, Gloucester; M. Ralph Merrifield of the Guildhall Museum, London; Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates, Lullingstone; Dr. D. J. Smith of the University Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne.

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and Pannonia. Irma Čremošnik has written on the dress of Illyricum. A general, but less reliable, account of the clothing of these regions was given by Mautner and von Geramb.

Simone Langlois has studied the clothing of the Dijon area, but the present work is the first to survey the clothing of the north-west provinces as a whole.

Limits of the study

I have limited my attention geographically to the area which in the fourth century formed the provinces of Britain, Belgica (I and II) and Germania (I and II). This comprises in modern terms the British Isles and the land on the Continent bounded by the Channel coast, the Rhine and a line drawn from Basel to the mouth of the Somme. The cultural connections between the Belgae in Gaul and Britain and the strong trading contacts between Britain and the Rhineland give the area a certain unity.

I have limited myself in time to the Roman period from Caesar's conquest of northern Gaul (57 B. C.) until the withdrawal of the Roman administration in the early fifth century. This time-span, however, is in a sense arbitrary. As I hope to show in the following account, the arrival of the Romans may have had some effect on native taste in clothing, but it did not bring about a revolution. Fashions current in the Iron Age, and probably much earlier, were still a vital force in the Roman provinces.

Several full and competent studies of military uniform have appeared since Lindenschmit's *Tracht und Bewaffung des Römischen Heeres während der Kaiserzeit* (1882), notably the article by E. Sandar in *Historia* 12, 1963, 144 ff. For this reason I have restricted my examination of clothing to the dress of civilians and have excluded that of all army personnel, whether on active service or in retirement. Troops were highly mobile and did not officially form part of the population of a given area until late antiquity.

Sources

Most textile fragments are minute; and the only complete garments found in the western provinces come from Les-Martres-de-Veyre (Puy de Dôme), which is strictly outside our area. But in order to understand the cut and confection of provincial-Roman garments I have made use of the bog-finds of the Iron Age in northern Europe, where complete garments are preserved. For details of the processes of textile manufacture in the Roman world, reference should be made to my forthcoming book on this topic. I have treated of the woollen industry, which is particularly relevant to clothing, in J. G. Jenkins (ed.), *The Woollen Industry in Great Britain and Ireland* (forthcoming).

Of secondary value for the study of clothing, but vital in view of the lack of textile remains, are the representations of local dress and the literary descriptions of it.

I have drawn most of my information on costume from the representations of clothing on tombstones; for only in this type of art does the artist try to portray an actual person in the clothes in which he appeared in an actual period and place. Wall-paintings and mosaics are not reliable, since they were regularly modelled on the sketches in copybooks, which may have originated in an entirely different part of the Empire. Portable figurines in all materials present the same kind of difficulties. The detailed problems related to the reliability of the tombstones themselves are noted below in the text.

Descriptions of clothing in literature are seldom fully satisfactory. It is difficult to identify with certainty a garment mentioned by the ancient authors with something which is known from the gravestones. For this reason I have written a separate section on the literary and philological evidence and have not tried to force links between this and the primary archaeological material.

I have searched through the bulk of the periodical literature and monographs relating to the northern provinces for facts and material; and I have visited most of the major museum collections, either in the knowledge that they did, or the hope that they might, contain something of relevance.

I have personally examined the majority of the funerary monuments mentioned in the text and have often found that the published photographs convey a totally false impression, especially when the stone is damaged. Consequently I have introduced many line-drawings into the text below, based on my own observations, and have not relied on photographs. The illustrations in Espérandieu's corpus are often far from adequate (particularly in the modern photomechanical reprints) and when a better, easily accessible, photograph has been published, I have quoted it instead or in addition. But there is no substitute for autopsy.

The bibliography lists mainly the primary sources, both archaeological and linguistic, including works from which I have drawn parallels.

I. MALE COSTUME

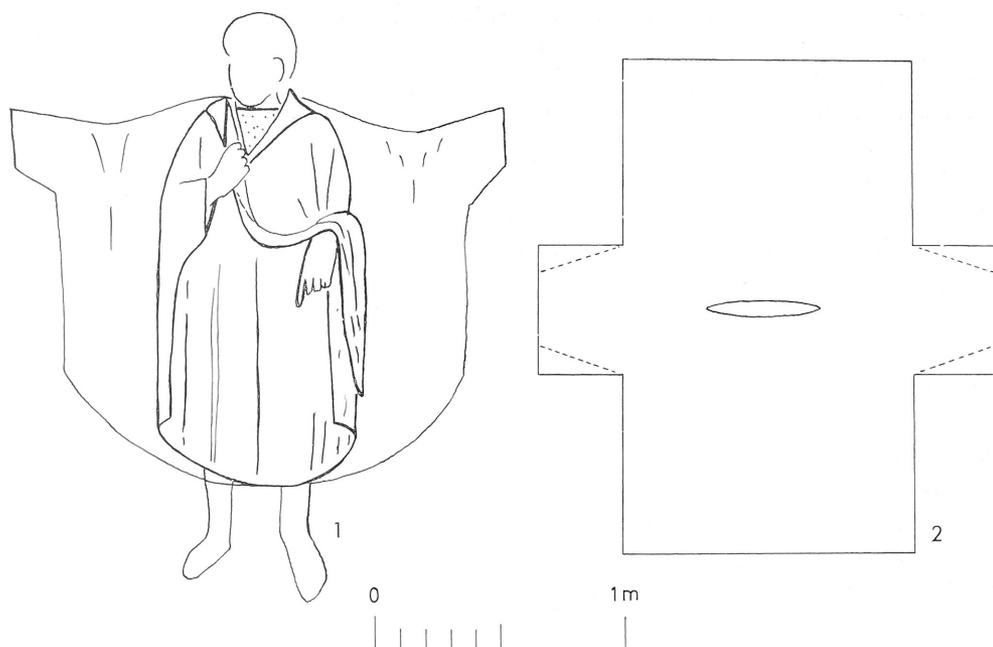
The clothing of the man in Britain, Gallia Belgica and the two Germanies is simpler in style than the various garments worn by the women and changes little with time or region. I have divided it for convenience of description into the attire for daily life in town and country and the attire adapted to special purposes or occasions. In practice the two categories overlap.

Basic male costume

The basic male costume consisted of a Gallic coat, a Gallic cape, a scarf and possibly an undergarment. These were probably worn together only in winter, but the gravestones regularly show them in association.

Gallic coat

The coat is perhaps the best known north-west provincial garment, worn not only by men, but by women and children too. In essence it is a very wide tunic, which falls, ungirt, in deep vertical folds from the arms and elbows. I have shown how the garment would appear when the wearer raised his arms (fig. 1,1). It had wide sleeves of varying length – sometimes none at all; and in certain regions there was a fringe at the bottom. Men usually wore it to below the knee, seldom lower; and this is a good criterion by which to judge the sex of the wearer. The pitfalls in identifying a fabric from the



1 1 General outline of the Gallic coat. – 2 Plan of the Reepsholt coat.

representations of it are numerous, but it is safe to assume that the coat was normally of wool, the basic fibre of the northern provinces.

Shape and cut

The plan of the coat in general outline can be reconstructed with fair confidence from certain particularly clear reliefs, or those on which unusual poses are adopted, and from the actual finds of coats at Reepsholt (Kr. Wittmund, Ostfriesland) and Les-Martres-de-Veyre (near Clermont-Ferrand)¹.

The woollen coat from Reepsholt (fig. 1,2), dated to the first or second century A. D., is the sole representative of its type among the numerous bog-finds of textiles in northern Europe, and may be an import from the Roman Empire². It was woven as a single piece on the loom, beginning with the outer edge of one of the sleeves, as the selvages and the starting-border on the sleeve prove. The two sides of the body and the sleeves were afterwards sewn together; and wedge-shaped portions of the sides of each sleeve were turned in to make the cuffs narrower. A slit was cut out for the neck and edged with ornamental stitching. After the coat had been made up, the overall width (including the sleeves) was 1.82 m., the body width 1.15 m., and the length at back and front 97 cm. The sleeves were 33 cm. long and at the shoulder 25 cm. wide.

From a woman's grave at Les-Martres-de-Veyre (fig. 2,1) (Tomb D, probably second or third century) there came to light in 1893 a woollen coat of like proportions³. It had

¹ Reliefs: v. Massow (1932) *passim*; Esp. 4665; Esp., G. R. 427.

² *Prähist. Zeitschr.* 32/33, 1941/2, 339 ff.; Potratz (1942).

³ Audollent (1922) 44 ff., pl. IX; Fournier (1956). – Fournier shows sloping shoulders, but this is not noticeable on the garment itself.

been cut and made up out of a single rectangular piece of cloth, folded over and seamed down one side to form the body. Short sleeves were added separately and a slit was left unsewn for the neck. The overall width (with sleeves) was 1.70 m., the body-width 90 cm., and the length at back and front (excluding a tuck which took up 16 cm.) 1.25 m. Both garments closely resemble what we see on the Gallic reliefs. We can hardly expect from the latter exact details of cut; but a fragment from Neumagen shows details of the side-seam of a coat⁴. The seam is secured with a over-stitch near the bottom, so as to leave a few centimetres unsewn. Occasionally, as on the Reepsholt coat, it is possible to detect a narrowing of the sleeves at the wrists⁵. Sometimes a narrow hem round the neck opening can also be made out⁶. Coptic linen tunics were sometimes woven like the Reepsholt coat in one piece and this seems to have been an eastern provincial tradition⁷. We do not know how common it was in the West.

On some grave-monuments the lower hem of the coat appears as gently curved⁸. This curve is clear in a variety of poses and seems to reflect actuality and not to be a mannerism of the artist. As shown in the diagram (fig. 1,1), the hem of the coat, if straight cut, would sag clumsily at the sides where it did not fall directly from the shoulders; it would require this curve to correct the sagging.

Margrethe Hald has pointed out that the Reepsholt coat spreads over 1.82 m. from wrist to wrist, the Martres coat 1.70 m., while a stalwart man measures between these points 1.50 m.⁹ She suggests that the sleeves were worn in many folds on the forearm; but there is no sign on any relief known to me of folds in the sleeves or of the sleeves being used to protect the hands against cold¹⁰. Moreover, the Celts were probably smaller than her stalwart man¹¹. The woman at Les-Martres was found wearing a woollen girdle round her coat, but no Gaul or Briton appears on his gravestone to have girt himself. The problem of the conflict between the remains and the representations of them is unsolved. It may well be that the regular coat was not so wide.

Dating and distribution

With few exceptions (which are discussed below) the male civilian adult in Belgic Gaul and the two Germanies in the first three centuries A. D. wore a coat as his body-garment. This statement must be qualified by pointing out the serious gaps in our evidence. Very few civilian gravestones are known from the first century, and even fewer from the fourth, anywhere in the northern provinces. The great wealth of material from the second century and first half of the third (often difficult to date closely) is largely confined to the town sites and rich estates of Gallia Belgica and Upper Germany. In areas comparatively poor in signs of Romanised life (for example, north of the Köln-Bavai

⁴ Von Massow (1932) 129, Abb. 78; Langlois (1959–62) 200. Langlois thinks that the sides of the coat were not sewn up, but tacked together at intervals.

⁵ E. g. Esp. 4044 from Arlon.

⁶ Esp. 5149 from Neumagen; von Massow (1932) 138, Abb. 88, Taf. 28.

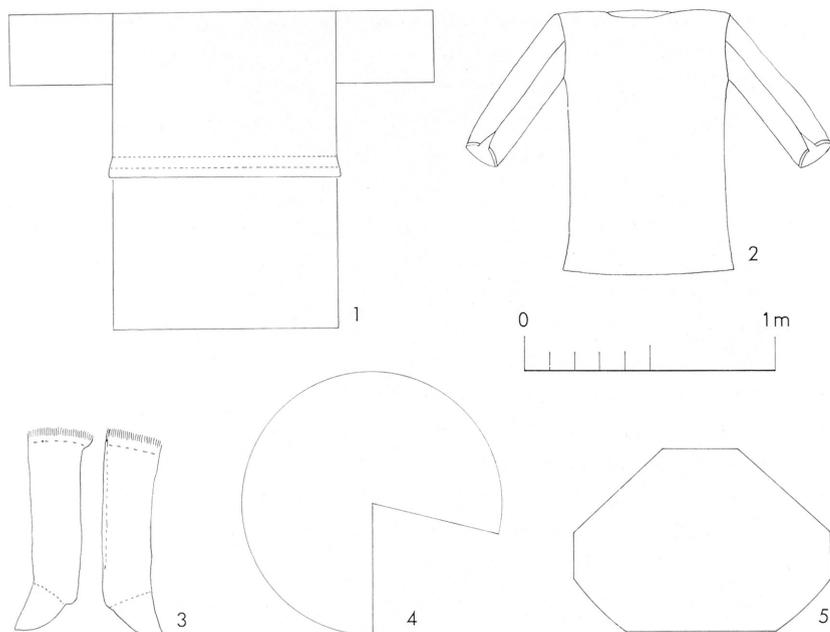
⁷ Acta Arch. 17, 1946, 67 ff.

⁸ E. g. Esp. 4044, 4665. This feature is noted also by Langlois at Dijon: Langlois (1959–62) 199.

⁹ Hald (1950) 345 f.

¹⁰ *Manicae*: Pliny, Epist. III 5, 15.

¹¹ The average height of 100 adult males at York was 1.68 m. (Eburacum [1962] 110).



2 1 Plan of the coat from Les-Martres-de-Veyre. – 2 Outline of the Thorsberg tunic. – 3 Stockings from Les-Martres-de-Veyre. – 4 Outline of petasos from Vindonissa. – 5 Plan of the Imperial Toga.
Nos. 1–3 Scale 1 : 30. – No. 4 Scale 1 : 10. – No. 5 Scale 1 : 60.

road in Lower Germany) nothing is known¹². In Britain, the tombstones are rarely found away from the legionary fortresses and the military zone; and little can be learnt about the romanised lowlands. At all times only the comparatively well-to-do set up funerary monuments in stone, and what we learn of the dress of the lower classes comes mainly from the 'Grabdenkmäler' of the wealthiest, who could afford to have the activities of their servants and tenants depicted as well as their own.

In spite of this handicap, it is worthwhile examining the monuments for information about when and where the Gallic coat was worn by men and about the various refinements introduced at different times and places (fig. 3).

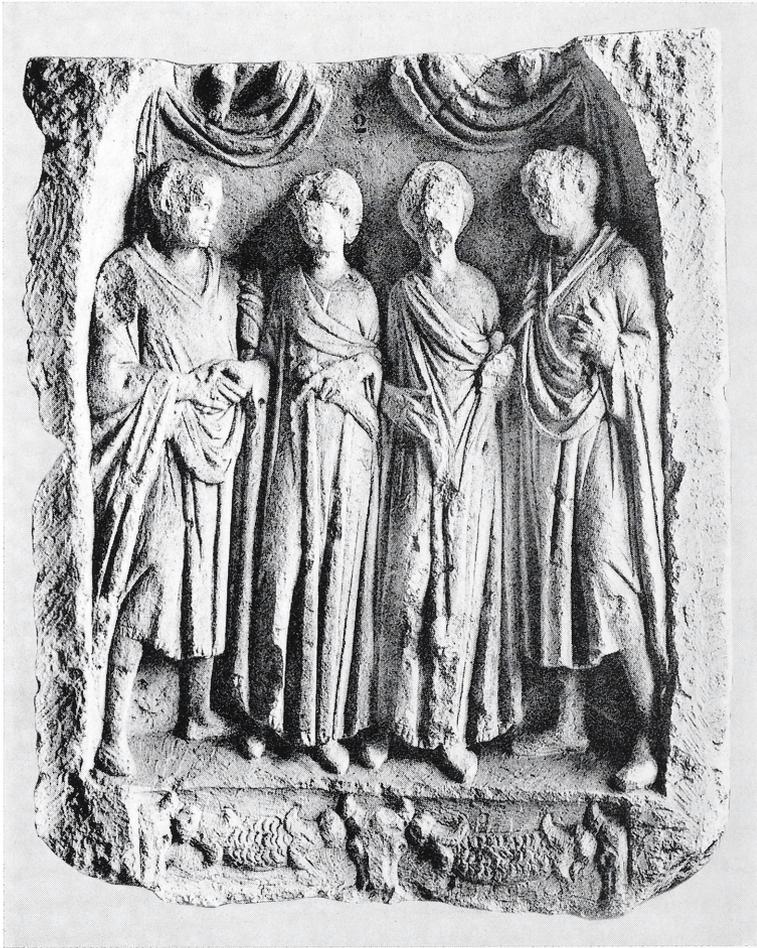
The earliest datable coats are worn by the skipper Blussus (fig. 4) and his nameless contemporary from Mainz-Weisenau who died in Claudius' reign¹³. Most of the details of their coats are unfortunately hidden under their capes, but enough is clear for the identification. A stone of pre-Flavian date from Mainz shows the two young attendants of C. Faltonius Secundus in a funerary scene wearing sleeveless ungirt coats, and their thick scarves (common in the North) indicate that this is probably not the wide girt tunic of the camillus of Roman art, but native dress¹⁴. The forester from Waldfishbach (Pfalz), of the early-second century, is the first man known to wear the sleeved coat¹⁵.

¹² De Maeyer (1937) Kaart 1; see current reports on the situation in Helinium (2, 1962, 268 and following numbers) and van Doorselaer (1964) map.

¹³ Blussus: Esp. 5815; Mainzer Zeitschr. 22, 1927, 55, Abb. 8; Kutsch (1930) 270 ff.; for name: Weisgerber (1935) 346. – Mainz-Weisenau: Esp. 7581; Schoppa (1957) Taf. 52.

¹⁴ Esp. 5798; for date: Mainzer Zeitschr. 11, 1916, 60 Nr. 8, Taf. IX Nr. 2.

¹⁵ Esp. 5938; Schoppa (1957) Taf. 96.



3 Gravestone of two married couples in Gallic coats from Arlon.
Arlon, Musée Luxembourgeois.

From the mid-second century until the German incursions of the mid-third the grave-pillars of Neumagen, Trier and Arlon in the tribal area of the Treveri demonstrate the clothing of this region in vivid detail¹⁶. The evidence for this period is plotted on the distribution map (fig. 5), which indicates only where coats are known to have been worn, not their maximum area of distribution.

Outside the towns and great country estates of Gallia Belgica and Upper Germany the traces of the coat are thin. They are particularly sparse for Lower Germany. The dedicant of an altar to Nehalennia at Domburg was probably a merchant not resident there¹⁷. In Britain, C. Valerius Victor from Chester and the veteran C. Aeresius Augustinus from York (fig. 6) (both of the second or third century) are two, out of a total of the five, men who can be identified as wearing coats¹⁸.

¹⁶ Neumagen: Von Massow (1932) *passim*. – Trier and Arlon: For dating see Mariën (1945) *passim*.

¹⁷ Hondius-Crone (1955) Nr. 16.

¹⁸ C. Valerius Victor: Cat. Chester (1955) pl. XXV no. 89; see *ibid.* pl. XXX no. 117. – C. Aeresius Augustinus: Toynbee (1963) pl. 90, Cat. no. 88; Eburacum (1962) 122 no. 77, pl. 54; no. 95, pl. 53. – Toynbee (1963) confuses the identities of Saenius' children.



4 Stele of Blussus and Menimane. Mainz, Mittelrhein. Landesmuseum.

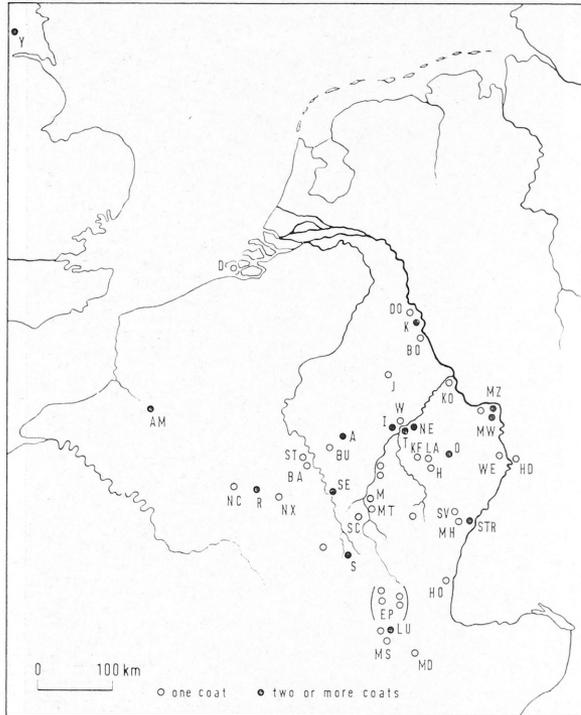
In the late-third and early-fourth century representations of the coat are scarce. A sarcophagus lid from Trier shows a family of which the male members wear coats¹⁹. Their tenants are similarly attired. From Wintersdorf on the Sauer (fig. 7) (ca. A. D. 300) comes the statue of a man striding out to the bath with towels, strigil and oil-flask, dressed in a sleeveless coat²⁰. The quaint Noah's Ark sarcophagus from Trier (ca. A. D. 300) reveals Noah and his sons in Treveran dress, while the slave of an oriental cavalryman from Amiens dresses likewise²¹. For the latter part of the fourth century there is no evidence. The evidence for the mid-imperial period indicates, as we have seen, that the coat was the standard garment for men in Gaul, Britain and Germany. The Pyrenees in the South-West and Raetia in the North-East seem to mark the limits of its distribution; but no clear boundaries can be drawn on the basis of the published reliefs. Where the Gallic gives place to Italian dress is uncertain. From Pannonia there appears to be only a single coat, and that on the tombstone of a soldier's wife²². Examples on men's tombstones from that region are equivocal, and some scenes (e. g. of the waggoner) may be stock themes from the Gaulish repertoire.

¹⁹ Esp. 4974; Koethe (1935) 226, Abb. 32.

²⁰ Esp. 5237; Koethe (1935) 224, 227, Abb. 29.

²¹ Sarcophagus Trier: Esp. 4989; Gerke (1940) 301 ff., Taf. 47,1. – Amiens: Esp. 3940.

²² Arch. Ért. 30, 1910, 329, Abb. 23.



5 Distribution map of gravestones showing men in coats.
(Abbreviations for sites see p. 235).

Variant forms

Coats are remarkably uniform in style throughout our geographical area at all times; and the few divergences that there are cannot be attributed to a definite trend at a given time or place.

In choosing a sleeveless or a sleeved coat a man did not follow any ascertainable fashion. His coat perhaps had sleeves more often than that of his wife and it was invariably shorter in the body²³; but sleeves do not appear to have gained or lost popularity for any particular group of men.

Fringes can occasionally be discerned round the ends of the sleeves or at the lower hem of the coat. The tombstones of three married men at Arlon, two stones at Metz, and a few other examples in the country districts are the only ones to show men (and their wives) with fringes²⁴. It is noteworthy that there is no instance of a fringed coat on the monuments of the Moselle valley. Perhaps this was indeed a regional peculiarity.

The width of the coat might to some extent have hindered movement of the arms and legs, but it was nevertheless worn by some household servants²⁵. Other workers wore a long-sleeved coat with a corresponding reduction in body-width. This variant form appears to bear on the occupation of its wearers and to give them more freedom.

²³ Langlois (1959–62) 199.

²⁴ Arlon: Esp. 4178. 4044. 4043. – Metz: Esp. 7709. 4310. – Others: E. g. Esp. 6558. 4343. 4821.

²⁵ Dragendorff-Krüger (1924) 74 f., Abb. 43–44.



6 Aeresius Augustinus and his family in Gallic coats at York.

Coats were not usually worn with a hood attached – the cape (see below) covered the head. But one of the tenants on a Neumagen rent-paying scene appears in a long-sleeved coat with a hood pushed back²⁶. The coat has a V-shaped neck instead of the usual horizontal slit along the line of the shoulders; and the hood would be cut out separately and attached afterwards. There are other probable representations of a hooded coat known from the same vicinity, all with long sleeves²⁷. This may be a version of the coat better adapted to manual labour.

²⁶ Esp. 5148; Schoppa (1957) Nr. 71.

²⁷ Esp. 5142. 4049; Latomus 18, 1959, pl. XXVII fig. 2.



7 Bather in Gallic coat
from Wintersdorf on the Sauer.
Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum.

Status of men wearing the coat

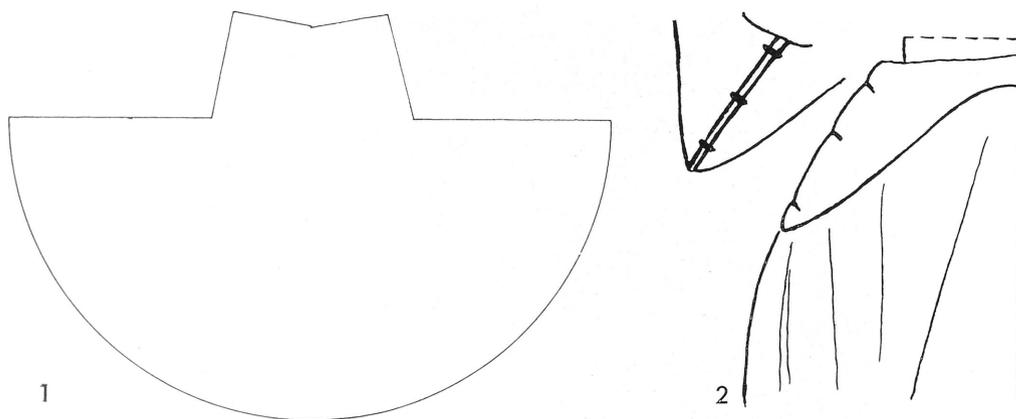
The coat is the only garment in the case of which it is possible to give some account of the status in life of those who wore it. The information comes not only explicitly from the funerary inscriptions, but also from the tools of his trade which the deceased sometimes carries on his tombstone.

The great landowners of the Moselle valley wore the coat for almost every kind of activity, even for hunting²⁸. The moderately wealthy and independent merchants, shopkeepers, craftsmen and other professional persons in the towns wore the coat about their daily business; the list of their occupations includes those of a doctor, a pedagogue, clerical workers, a joiner, a lamp-maker (?), a manufacturer of colour-coated pottery, a shoemaker, a barber, a forester and a wine-merchant²⁹. While some of these men were probably master-craftsmen with large workshops, others must have been fairly humble figures.

Among the servants and employees of the land-owners the coat was the normal attire, equipped with longer sleeves and correspondingly narrower body in cases where the work demanded it. As regards the urban and commercial settlements, such dependents as clerks and their staff, servants in the kitchen and at table, the crews of the wine-ships all wore clothes essentially similar to those of the landed aristocracy and of the town-dwellers listed above. It could be that the coat which some of the tenant smallholders are shown wearing on their grave-monuments represented their best, not their working, clothes. But the fact remains that in the areas for which the evidence is most abundant the coat was worn by all classes of provincial society.

²⁸ Esp. 5142.

²⁹ Doctor: Esp. 4665. – Pedagogue: Esp. 5503 from Strasbourg; Hatt (1964) pl. 80 (ca. A. D. 200). – Clerical worker: Esp. 7248 from Senon. – Joiner: Esp. 5326 from Luxeuil. – Lamp-maker (?): Esp. 4611 from Scarpone (Dieulouard). – Potter: Esp. 4387 from Metz. – Shoemaker: Esp. 3685 from Reims. – Barber: Esp. 5565 from Diedendorf (Alsace); Hatt (1964) pl. 100. – Forester: Esp. 5938; Schoppa (1957) Taf. 96. – Wine Merchant: Esp. 4860 from Soulosse.



8 1 Plan of the Gallic cape with hood attached. – 2 Cucullatus in jet from Corinium-Cirencester.
No. 2 Scale ca. 1 : 1.

Gallic cape

A hooded cape, one of the simplest forms of outer garment, is a well documented feature of peasant dress in Europe. In Italy it was called the *paenula* and was common there among the civilian population and off-duty soldiers³⁰. In Gaul the cape was probably worn mainly for protection in the winter. Its frequent appearance on the funerary monuments is probably due to the fact that the sculptors, in their anxiety to convey information about the life of the deceased and his family, show as much of his wardrobe as they can. Alternatively, it may be that the deceased were thought of as making a long journey into the underworld, and were dressed in travelling costume.

The full Gallic cape was worn only by men and always over a coat. It enveloped the whole body to beneath the knees. To it was attached a separately-made hood, which lay almost flat on the back when not in use. The reliefs and certain figurines of the 'hooded deities' (*genii cucullati*) bring out the detail well. In practice one or both sides of the cape was frequently rolled up and laid on the shoulders, to give the arms more freedom; and this is its normal position in the representations of it³¹. It is likely to have been of wool.

Hooded clothes are rarely found in the northern bogs and no actual examples of a woven woollen cape have come to light to tell us about its cut. But by analogy with later clerical vestments, particularly the *chasuble* (which, as I have argued elsewhere, was related to a type of Gallic cape³²), it is clear that in plan it was based on a circle. A pure semicircle would technically be the easiest to produce on the loom; but a segment of more or less than 180° would give greater or less fullness and freedom to move the arms underneath. The radius of the circle represents the distance from neck to hem and is constant, so that the hem is on the same level, front and back.

The hood is unlikely to have been woven with the body of the cape, but would probably have been added afterwards (fig. 8,1). Its size seems to have varied, but the seam along the top where the two side-pieces join (held in one case by three parallel over-stitches³³)

³⁰ Wilson (1938) 87 ff.

³¹ E. g. Esp. 7256. 4043.

³² Wild (1963).

³³ Toynbee (1957) pl. LXIV 3. 4 (jet, from York ?).



9 Gravestone of Philus
from Corinium-Cirencester.
Gloucester, City Museum.

is often visible (fig. 8,2). Outside a ritual context, it is rarely seen covering the head³⁴. Pliny's apt comparison of the hood of the Italian paenula (when thrown back) to the leaf of the bindweed applies also to the Gallic counterpart³⁵.

When it was to be made up, the two straight edges (the radii of the circle) were brought together and fastened, leaving sufficient room for the head and the characteristic V-shaped vent at the throat. On many stones it is evident, from the way in which it is worn, that the front was sewn up from top to bottom; and the seam is sometimes visible. Other capes are undone a few centimetres at the bottom, forming two easily recognisable hanging points³⁶. In some cases the seam was held with single or double over-stitching or laces³⁷.

The frontal seam (partial or complete) distinguishes it from the soldiers off-duty paenula. The latter seems to have been fastened inside with a thong under the chin and otherwise hangs free³⁸. But unless the context is either civilian Gallic or military, the Italian and Gallic capes could easily be confused; for it would be hard to decide in some cases if the frontal radii were sewn together, or were simply hanging vertically against each other.

³⁴ Esp. 6430; Toynbee (1963) pl. 83, Cat. no. 77.

³⁵ Pliny, N. H. XXIV 88.

³⁶ E. g. Esp. 4043.

³⁷ *Trierer Zeitschr.* 24/26, 1956/58, 652, Taf. 7,2; Esp. 5175; Wild (1963) pl. XXI.

³⁸ Remains of a jacket with a leather thong were found in the 'Schutthügel' at Vindonissa: *Ges. Vindonissa* 1946-7, 73-77 (first century A. D.).



10 Stele at Arlon showing soldier buying cloth (Esp. 4043). Arlon, Musée Luxembourgeois.

The first-century gravestone of Philus from Cirencester (Gloucestershire) (fig. 9) deserves special comment³⁹. Philus is shown standing, completely enveloped by his cape. The main body of the garment is separate from the hood and is partly open down the front where the loose end of his girdle projects. A groove runs across the stone at shoulder-level, marking the lower edge of the hood. Above that there are two layers of fabric, that of the hood and that of the cape; but whether the hood is attached to, or merely placed over, the upper part of the cape is uncertain. The hood was probably based in plan on a double square, folded over (see fig. 8,1), but it is not possible to be sure, since the front is damaged. Philus, it should be noted, was a Sequanian (from Upper Germany), probably a merchant following the *Ala Indiana*, which left Britain before A. D. 89⁴⁰. It is possible that his cape was of Cotswold wool (Haverfield's attractive suggestion⁴¹), but the style may be native Sequanian.

The remarks made about the dating and distribution of the Gallic coat apply equally to the Gallic cape, under which the former was worn. The Blussus portrait and the sarcophagus from Trier, mark the first and last appearance of the cape⁴². It is well represented in the second and third centuries in Gaul, Britain and the Germanies.

³⁹ Toynbee (1957) pl. LXII fig. 1; eadem (1964) 197 f., pl. XLVIII a; R. I. B. 110. – I am grateful to Mr. John Rhodes for discussing this with me.

⁴⁰ Dannicus (R. I. B. 108), trooper of the *Ala Indiana*, whose tombstone was found near that of Philus, was a Raurican and came from the same general area as Philus. The *ala* is more likely to have earned its 'Beiname' *Pia Fidelis* in the revolt of Saturninus (A. D. 89) (Maiden [1958]) than in the 'Bataver-aufstand' (A. D. 69) (Cichorius, RE I [1893] 1244).

⁴¹ *Archaeologia* 69, 1917/18, 187 note 1.

⁴² Blussus: cf. note 13. – Sarcophagus Trier: cf. note 21.

Scarf

A recurrent feature of the male garb in the provinces under discussion, and a practical one in the northern climate, is a scarf. In Italy it was used mainly by people with colds and throat complaints, but this is not true for the North⁴³.

The earliest scarves depicted are also the largest. Blussus and his nameless compatriot wear huge scarves round their necks, tucked under their capes and crossed at the front (fig. 4). The slaves of C. Faltonius Secundus have wound their scarves round their necks similarly, although they have only coats on⁴⁴. The scarfwearers of this early group may have been influenced by the military, who wore a heavy scarf (*focale*), both in the field and off duty.

In the second and third centuries a smaller size of scarf is indicated, wrapped several times round the neck underneath the coat or cape, as the case may be. Most of those who sport it have outdoor jobs – the forester from Waldfischbach, the crew of the Neumagen wine-ships, the tenants from Neumagen⁴⁵. The master too, when out hunting, wears a scarf⁴⁶.

We are fortunate in having from Nièvre (in the tribal area of the Senones, Gallia Lugdunensis) the tombstone of Apinosus, who wears a large scarf outside his coat⁴⁷. The logic of how it is tied is not easy to follow, but it is knotted once round his neck. The ends hanging in front are fringed. It is a little longer than he is tall, and fairly wide; perhaps 1.70 m. by 60 cm. on a generous estimate.

Among the Danish Iron-Age textiles there survive two well preserved woollen scarves from Arden Moss and the Huldre Moss⁴⁸. The former measures 1.37 m. by 56 cm., with fringes 1.5–3.5 cm. in length; the latter 1.37 m. by 49 cm. with fringes. Both bear woven tartan patterns and came from female graves. In the example from Huldre Moss the scarf was wrapped round the neck and secured with a bird-bone pin.

Underclothes

Archaeological evidence for underclothing is hard to find in the case of men. We are told that Augustus in winter wore four tunics and a *subucula*, which seems to be a special undergarment⁴⁹. Women, however, often showed a few centimetres of underslip at the ankles (see p. 198).

Where a vest ought to be visible at the neck, a scarf is often present, and it is difficult to be quite sure that a vest is there. Perhaps the figures in the rent-paying scene from Neumagen are wearing something under their coats⁵⁰. P. Aelius Silenus at Reims and a seated figure from the 'Negotiatorpfeiler' at Neumagen seem to show a few centimetres of undergarment reaching to beneath the knee below the hem of the coat⁵¹; and this is

⁴³ Quintilian, Inst. XI 3, 144.

⁴⁴ See note 14.

⁴⁵ Waldfischbach: See note 15. – Wine ships: Von Massow (1932) 205 Nr. 287a 1–2. 206 Abb. 125. – Tenants: Ibid., Nr. 182a 3, Taf. 29. 151 Abb. 101.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Nr. 184, Taf. 33.

⁴⁷ Eydoux (1962) 196, pl. 218; C. I. L. XIII 2911.

⁴⁸ Arden-Moss: Hald (1950) 22, fig. 14. – Huldre-Moss: Ibid. 45, fig. 31.

⁴⁹ Suetonius, Aug. 82.

⁵⁰ Esp. 5148.

⁵¹ P. Aelius Silenus: Esp. 3667. – Negotiatorpfeiler: Von Massow (1932) 131 Nr. 179a 8, Abb. 80a.

perhaps the clearest example that we have. The finds from free Germany throw no light on the matter, since linen (if linen they were) disintegrates quickly in the peat acids. The significance of the few fibres at Reepsholt is disputed⁵². There is no sign of woollen underclothes.

Although it is difficult to believe that the single thickness of coat and cape without a lining sufficed, the question of what the Gaul or Briton wore under his coat cannot be finally decided. We may reasonably suspect a vest.

Barbarian costume

Beyond the bounds of the Empire to the North and East, from the Baltic to the Red Sea, stretched a band of barbari whose main garb, regardless of nationality, was in essence long-sleeved tunic, cloak and trousers. The ancient authors and the archaeological record together put this beyond doubt⁵³. In the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia and Illyricum the coat is hardly seen and the dress of all men, civilian and military, is this barbarian costume without the trousers⁵⁴. Male dress north and south of the Danube is practically identical – for provincial and barbarian alike; only the long trousers betray the outlander.

There is, however, no archaeological evidence that any civilian wore this costume in everyday life in those northern provinces which fall within our area. Slaves belonging to military personnel are another matter, but they would hardly count as civilians⁵⁵. The clothing of the first century A. D. is a subject about which little is known; nor are any facts available about the backward country districts of those provinces at any period under the Roman occupation. The Gallic national dress as described by Diodorus and Strabo is the tunic and cloak, and it may well have lingered on in the countryside for many generations without leaving any trace on the monuments⁵⁶. It certainly survived in the less prosperous Danubian provinces⁵⁷. There is therefore some justification for considering the long-sleeved tunic and the cloak fastened with a fibula as part of a survey of attire for daily life.

The auxiliaries of the Roman army not only carried their native weapons, but also wore their native dress. The gravestones of the Danubian provinces show the identity of civilian and military garb. In our area too it is not uncommon for soldiers to wear a long-sleeved tunic and a cloak⁵⁸. A bearded soldier on the Antonine or Severan monument to a Treveran proprietor at Arlon can serve as a representative example (fig. 10)⁵⁹.

⁵² See note 2.

⁵³ Girke (1922) Taf. 37–43; Seyrig (1937).

⁵⁴ For Noricum and Pannonia: Schober (1923); Čremošnik (1964); Garbsch (1965). – For Illyricum: Čremošnik (1963).

⁵⁵ Cf. two brothers from Chester: Cat. Chester (1955) 36 f., no. 78, pl. XXI.

⁵⁶ Diodorus V 30,1; Strabo IV 196. – Both draw on Poseidonius for Gaul and their information may not date much later than the mid-first century B. C.

⁵⁷ Cf. note 54.

⁵⁸ Soldier at York: Eburacum (1962) pl. 50, no. 85.

⁵⁹ Esp. 4043.

Long-sleeved tunic

In plan, this soldier's tunic is almost exactly like a modern shirt with a fairly narrow body reaching to the thighs. The sleeves reach to the wrists, are tight and are turned up at the cuffs. The belt was probably of leather. Belt-buckles are rarely found except in military contexts, a fact which perhaps tells against the survival in the countryside of this form of dress⁶⁰. It begins to appear again in the fourth century in Britain and the Rhineland when Frankish *foederati* were hired for the army and given land; but this represents a return to the Iron Age.

Among the articles of clothing deposited in the bog at Thorsberg (Schleswig-Holstein) during the Roman Iron Age was a complete woollen tunic of barbarian type in diamond twill weave (fig. 2,2)⁶¹. Back and front were two lengths of the same piece, sewn across the shoulders, except for a neck-hole of 26 cm., and laced, not sewn, down both sides⁶². The garment measured 86–90 cm. long by 52–56 cm. wide. Sleeves were cut from the same piece (i. e. were 58 cm. long) and sewn up except for a dart at the cuffs. The latter bore a narrow, tablet-woven, ornamental band, which must have been visible, although the overall width (1.70 m.) suggests that the cuffs were turned back. The whole tunic is a very simple cut, which can safely be proposed for the provincial-Roman tunics too.

Gallic deities continued to be shown wearing the old sleeved tunics, but these may have been as anachronistic as the Greek clothes of Roman gods. For example the hunter (-god?) from Chedworth (Gloucestershire) in local stone wears a girded long-sleeved shirt⁶³. Such representations are of very doubtful value for our purpose.

A sleeved and girt tunic-like garment, sometimes with the sleeves rolled up above the elbow, was worn by servants in the great households. The kitchen boys from Igel, the dock-workers at Neumagen and Mainz and the labourer minding the *vallus* at Buzenol are instances⁶⁴. But the looseness of the sleeves, even though the body is not very full, points rather to a type of coat than to a true tunic of the Thorsberg pattern. The tight sleeved tunic of the charioteer from Neumagen, bound round the waist to prevent it flapping, was probably specially designed for this purpose and stems from a metropolitan tradition⁶⁵.

Gallic cloak

Diodorus and Strabo both credit the Gauls with wearing a cloak (*σάγος*) fastened with a brooch, and there are numerous representations of this in the renderings of soldiers and German barbarians⁶⁶. Apart from establishing the fact that he is wearing a cloak with a round fibula, it is impossible to tell which shape of cloak the soldier from Arlon chose

⁶⁰ *Mediaeval Arch.* 5, 1961, 28 f. But belts may have been knotted, not buckled.

⁶¹ Hald (1961) 78, fig. 11. 12; Schlabow (1961) 21. -- The terminus ante quem at Thorsberg is the third century A. D.

⁶² Diodorus (V 30,1) describes such tunics as 'split'.

⁶³ Toynbee (1963) pl. 79, Cat. no. 78.

⁶⁴ Igel: Dragendorff – Krüger (1924) 75 Abb. 44. – Neumagen: Esp. 5148. – Mainz: Esp. 5833. – Buzenol: Eydoux (1962) 212, pl. 235.

⁶⁵ Von Massow (1932) 150 Nr. 182a 3. Taf. 30 (ca. A. D. 220).

⁶⁶ Diodorus and Strabo: cf. note 56.

(fig. 10). But the Roman private was familiar with a rectangular cloak adopted from the Gauls (cf. *sagum*, below p. 226), which served him also as a blanket at night.

It is difficult in the many bog-finds to distinguish a cloak from a blanket when both are of the same fabric (wool) and pattern; but the unusually elaborate 'Prachtmantel' from Thorsberg was certainly a cloak⁶⁷. It measured 1.68 m. by ca. 2.50 m. excluding a short fringe on two adjacent sides. The central portion was woven in simple twill with a three-tone indigo-blue check pattern, surrounded by a border executed in tablet-weaving. This is far from being a 'primitive' garment and must have been designed for a person of consequence.

Trousers

Trousers were the garment which to the Roman mind characterised the barbarian, whether German or Parthian. Short leather breeches were part of the soldier's regular outfit and necessary for cavalymen; but there is no archaeological or literary evidence to suggest that the long woollen trousers of the right bank of the Rhine were ever worn on the left, except by captives and *foederati*.

Countryman's garb

The clothes so far described are likely to have been in daily use among most provincial men; and they bore no relation to any particular activity or occasion. The garments to be examined next, however, had restricted uses and were evolved to meet the peculiar needs of certain occupations.

Those to be discussed first form the countryman's garb – the shoulder-cape, tunic and leggings.

Shoulder-cape

A well known scene on a funerary monument from Neumagen depicts a mounted huntsman (fig. 11,1), dressed in an outfit suited to the chase⁶⁸. On his shoulder lies a short cape, fitted with a hood and reaching as far as his elbows. It could hardly protect him against a rainstorm, but would be adequate against wind and showers.

In appearance it is similar to the long woollen cape described above, and where it was of wool, we can imagine that it was woven and cut in the same way. But sometimes at least it was made of leather. A fourth-century sarcophagus from Rome distinctly shows how such a garment was made up out of specially shaped pieces of leather sewn together⁶⁹. From the northern provinces the slightly longer cape of the bronze ploughman (?) from Trier shows stitching characteristic of leather down the front seam⁷⁰. Leather can be tailored to fit close as easily as can wool and keeps the rain out better; Martial guarantees the sterling worth of a leather *paenula*⁷¹.

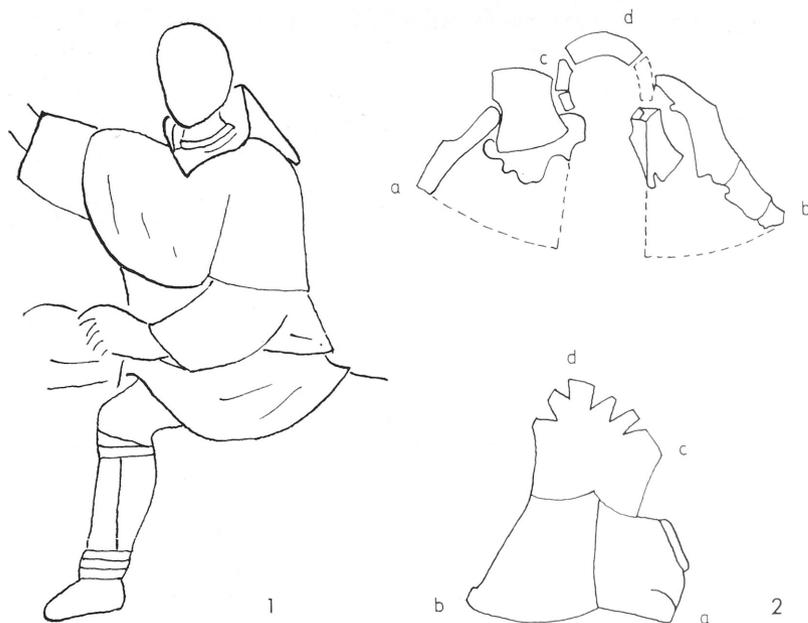
⁶⁷ Schlabow (1951).

⁶⁸ Esp. 5142 (ca. A. D. 200).

⁶⁹ Wilson (1938) pl. L.

⁷⁰ Gansser-Burckhardt (1942) 23 ff. for stitching.

⁷¹ Martial XIV 130.



11 1 Hunter from Neumagen in short cape, coat and leggings. – 2 Outline of skin cape from Krogens Mølle Moss, Denmark (above: front of cape; below: rear).

The unique find in the Krogens Mølle Moss (Denmark) of a hooded shoulder-cape (fig. 11,2), possibly of Roman-Iron-Age date, gives a good idea of how many segments of leather went to make up such a garment⁷². Hood and body are not separate as in the woollen provincial-Roman examples, but form a single tent-shaped cover for head and shoulders.

In the best known examples the shoulder-cape was worn over a sleeved girt coat, with a fairly full body; but it could be worn with practically any body-garment.

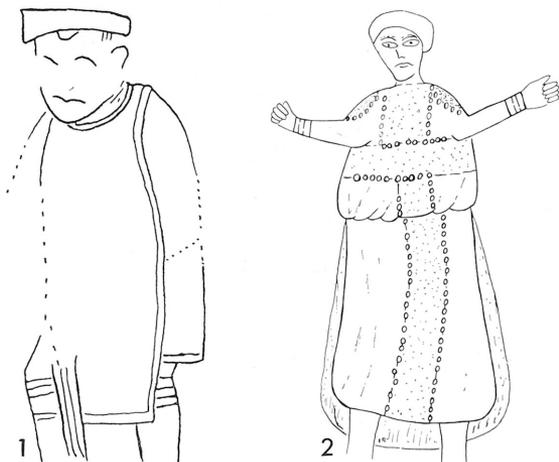
Leggings

The huntsman from Neumagen mentioned above is wearing a pair of leggings, the details of which are well displayed (fig. 11,1). They protect the calves from knee to ankle and consist of a cloth wrapped several times round the leg. The outer edge runs up the outside of the calf. At the knee and ankle strings can be seen which bind the leggings into place.

The northern barbarians in their trousers had little need of extra protection for their legs; but nevertheless a pair of gaiters came to light in the Daubjerg Moss in Denmark (Early Iron Age)⁷³. Laid out flat, they consisted of a rectangular piece of woollen cloth 36 cm. long by 27–31 cm. wide with two strings attached to one end. When it was bound in position, the width of the cloth represents the length of the lower leg. It is interesting to learn that the leggings were discovered in association with a hoodless shoulder-cape

⁷² Hald (1950) 328, fig. 380.

⁷³ Ibid. 30 f., fig. 19–20.



12 1 Miller from Senon in apron, beret and leggings. – 2 Reconstruction of dress of Lullingstone orans.

of skin. A similar pair of leggings was found in a bog at Oberaltendorf (near Hannover) with other clothing of the Roman Iron Age⁷⁴.

A short cape, tunic and leggings seem to have been favourite wear with shepherds and ploughmen. A hooded shepherd with his sheep in stone from Köln-Deutz and the bronze ploughmen from Piercebridge and Trier, together with the reliefs from Arlon, serve to remind us of how the country-folk of the provinces dressed when about their daily tasks⁷⁵. But the kitchenboys and clerks of the great households also made use of this attire on occasion⁷⁶; and people walking in the garden of a villa near Trier – if that is the significance of some wall-plaster fragments – wear a short cape too⁷⁷. Even the landlords went hunting in these clothes. In the fourth century countrymen in cape and leggings joined the repertoire of the late-antique sarcophagus-sculptors – but only in the West⁷⁸. These garments remained unknown in the East.

Sundry garments

To conclude our survey of the native dress of the adult male, and before pressing on to review the evidence for the use of clothing of Roman and Italian origin in the North, we must add a brief account of five miscellaneous garments.

Apron

An early-third-century grave-monument from Diedendorf (Drulingen, Alsace), reused as a Merovingian sarcophagus, bears part of a street scene where a barber is shaving his seated client⁷⁹. A long stiff apron (probably of leather) covers the customer from chin to knees and is fastened behind his neck. For weighing some indeterminable substance a

⁷⁴ Hahne (1915) Taf. XXI Abb. 1–2 (ca. A. D. 200).

⁷⁵ Deutz: Esp. 6541. – Piercebridge: Toynbee (1963) pl. 60, Cat. no. 54. – Trier: See note 70. – Arlon: Esp. 4092.

⁷⁶ Dragendorff – Krüger (1924) 75 Abb. 44.

⁷⁷ Pobé-Roubier (1958) pl. 167.

⁷⁸ Rodenwaldt (1921–22) 99–106.

⁷⁹ Esp. 5565.

servant at Neumagen protects himself with an apron of like size and shape⁸⁰. The tombstone, perhaps of a miller, from Senon (fig. 12,1), permits us to reconstruct the shape of the apron with its careful stitching round the edges⁸¹. The stitching characteristic of leather goods again suggests hide rather than wool as the material from which this apron was made⁸².

Drawers

The lively portrait of a quarryman scratched in the soft rock of the Mayen lava beds at Kruff shows a semi-naked man wielding an immense pick (fig. 13)⁸³. His only garment is a pair of drawers, pulled between his legs like a baby's napkin, and held round his waist by a wide sash, the fringed end of which hangs down in front. Precisely how it was fastened is not clear from the drawing.

A form of drawers was also the working dress of the gladiator, but this is poorly represented on the gravestones in the North. It is difficult to work out the shape of the garment (two styles are shown on the fourth-century mosaic at Bignor villa, Sussex)⁸⁴, but a square of cloth, folded over to make a triangle and then tied like a napkin would fit some representations. The corner drawn forward between the legs doubles back upon itself in front and the whole is bound by a wide belt.

Sleeveless tunic

A stele from York shows the classic dress of the smith in antiquity⁸⁵. He wears a short, girt, sleeveless tunic, fastened only on the left shoulder and leaving the whole of his right arm free. Classical examples of this abound, but such a simple and practical garment is unlikely to have been peculiar to Italy.

Bands

Two dockworkers engaged in loading amphorae into a ship at Neumagen wear over their tunics wide (leather?) bands, which are wrapped tightly round the torso from the armpits to the waist⁸⁶. These must be a form of protective clothing, perhaps to prevent the wearers from coming into contact with the rough packing material of the amphorae or to save them from straining their backs.

Headgear

From the foregoing account it will be evident that the hood was the commonest form of head-covering, when such was required. But there are signs that separate headgear was in use too.

The petasos, closely associated with Mercury, was no stranger in the streets of Rome; Augustus made it respectable⁸⁷. It was a wide-brimmed hat of leather which could take a variety of forms; and the crown and the brim were not offset. A fragmentary relief from Trier of a man with his barking dog shows quite clearly the petasos on his head; the hat is fairly deep and shaped like an inverted pudding-bowl⁸⁸.

⁸⁰ Esp. 5155 (ca. A. D. 135–150?).

⁸¹ Esp. 7253.

⁸² Cf. note 70.

⁸³ Bonner Jahrb. 157, 1957, Taf. 21,1.

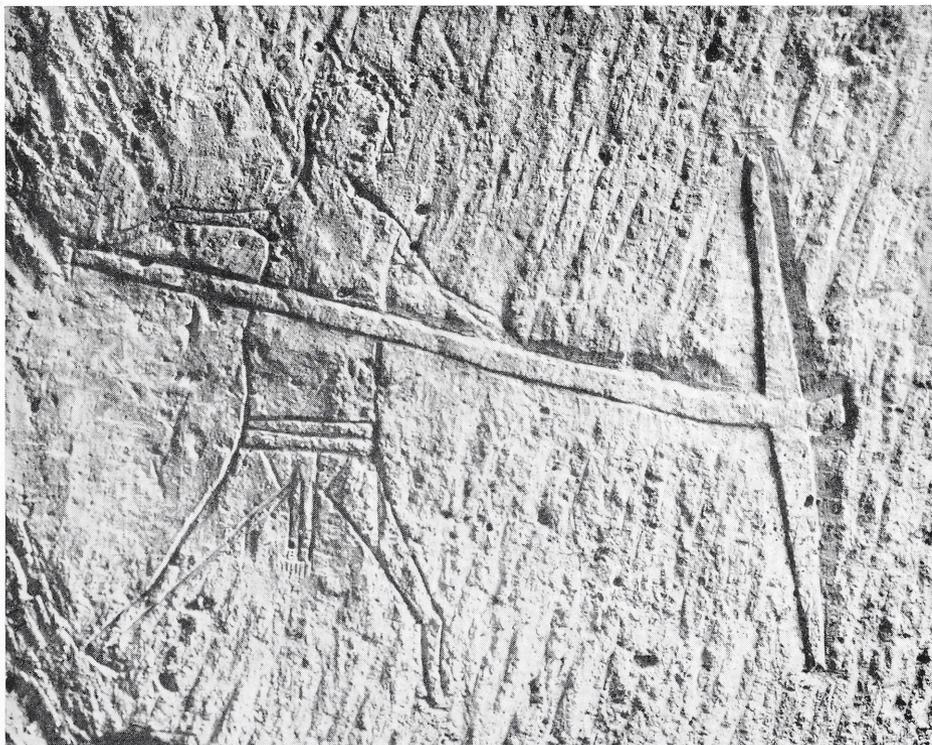
⁸⁴ Toynbee (1963) pl. 225–26, Cat. no. 191.

⁸⁵ Eburacum (1962) pl. 53, no. 96.

⁸⁶ Esp. 5148.

⁸⁷ Suetonius, Aug. 82.

⁸⁸ Esp. 5064.



13 Quarryman from Kruff, Bonn, Rhein. Landesmuseum.

In the excavations of the 'Schutthügel' at Vindonissa remains of two such leather hats were found in a stratified pre-Flavian context⁸⁹. The one was of a single piece of calf's leather (fig. 2,4), circular in shape with a segment cut out. The two radii were sewn together to make the hat conical, and the outer edge was trimmed with an extra leather strip. The crown is somewhat mis-shapen and Gansser concludes that it was worn on the side of the head at a rakish angle. A second specimen composed of four separate segments of hide was found at the same time. The skin cap of the Tollund man and that from the Daubjerg Moss demonstrate that such headgear was not purely a Graeco-Roman phenomenon⁹⁰.

The miller (?) at Senon wears not only an apron, but also a beret to keep the flour out of his hair (fig. 12,1). The stone is damaged and details cannot be recovered, but in style his hat strongly resembles the flat sheepskin 'Fellmütze' found in the Hallstatt salt-mines⁹¹. It was made of two semicircular pieces of skin, sewn together with the woolly side worn outside. A leather thong passed through its rolledback edge to pull it together. The skull-cap of the smith is well known from representations in art and was probably actually worn by the smith at York⁹². It fits closely to the crown of the head and may have been of leather or felt.

⁸⁹ Ges. Vindonissa 1948/49, 46-48.

⁹⁰ Brønsted (1960) 265; Hald (1950) 330 fig. 381.

⁹¹ Kromer (1963) Taf. 70.

⁹² Cf. note 85.



14 Funerary statues from Ingelheim of man in toga and his wife in Menimane's costume. Wiesbaden, Städt. Museum.

Clothing of Roman and Italian origin

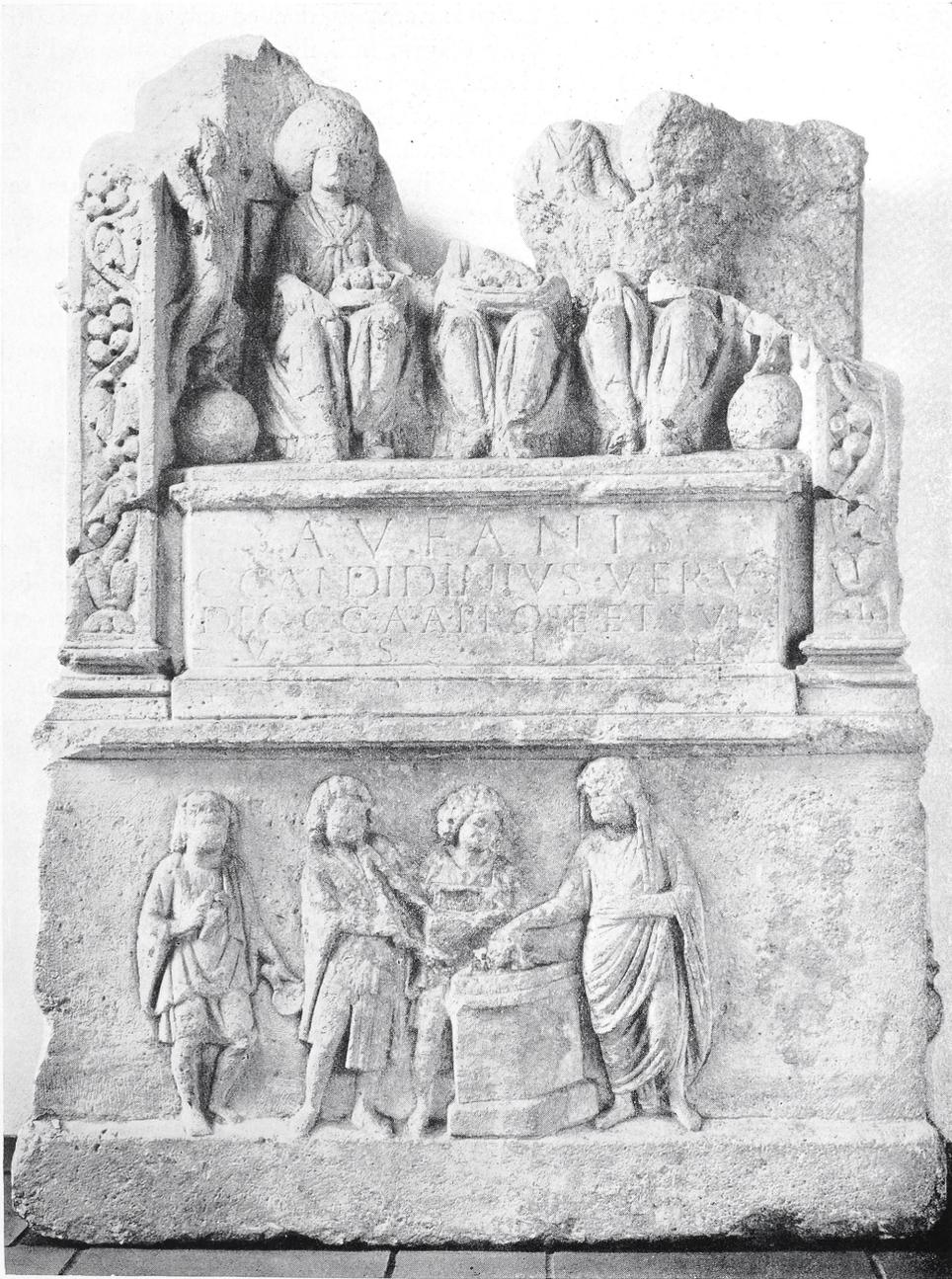
The unwary might easily be led by Tacitus to imagine that, in the process of romanisation, the toga became a common sight in Britain⁹³. But there is remarkably little evidence beyond this statement for the popularity of Italian and Roman clothing North of the Alps.

Toga

The toga is the most typical, and the original, Roman garment⁹⁴; and despite its unpractical nature, it survived a thousand years mainly by serving as a status-symbol. Before the end of the Republic it had ceased to be thought of as a protection against the

⁹³ Tacitus, Agric. 21.

⁹⁴ Wilson (1924) deals very fully with the toga at all periods and her suggestions on cut are followed here.



15 Candidinius Verus in the act of sacrifice.
Bonn, Rhein. Landesmuseum.

elements, and had become the sign of the *civis Romanus*, donned only as formal attire. Juvenal comments that the vast majority of men in Italy only wore the toga after death⁹⁵. Methods of draping it changed gradually over the centuries and it adapted its own shape to the type of draping fashionable at the time; the togae of the republican and the late-antique periods are alike only in name. But the garment held its own at least in Rome, by becoming the respected emblem of high office. Edicts requiring its use were still being issued in the late-fourth century⁹⁶, and it was still depicted on the consular diptychs of the fifth and sixth centuries. But for most men it had no more significance than the academic gown.

Representations of the toga are not hard to find in the military areas of the Rhineland, but are scarce in the purely civilian areas⁹⁷. The question is: did a man really wear the toga, or was it on his gravestone merely as a traditional way of demonstrating how important he had been in life?

The Claudian sculptors in the provinces, who stand under direct Mediterranean influence⁹⁸, show regularly what Lilian Wilson in her detailed account of the history of the toga has called 'The large imperial toga', with relatively full *umbo* and *sinus* (see diagram fig. 2,5). The toga of the man from Ingelheim (fig. 14), of Tiberius Julius Severus from Bingerbrück and of the *pater-familias* of Nickenich (fig. 22) exhibit both these features⁹⁹. These men's womenfolk wear native dress (p. 200), and their two male contemporaries from Mainz-Weisenau wear coats and capes. But they themselves may have worn their togae at times to emphasise their 'Romanitas'.

Known from the late-first and early-second century are a *togatus* taking part in a betrothal ceremony at Trier, one at Oberstaufenbach, one at Neumagen and two at Strasbourg¹⁰⁰. Three more from Trier may be of the same date¹⁰¹. T. Flavius Constans (*Praefectus Praetorio* at Köln ca. A. D. 164–167) probably did wear the sort of toga (Wilson's Antonine type) that is shown in the scene of sacrifice to *Vagdavercustis*. L. Vecconius Quartio (probably a Rhineland) may also have done so, at least when making his vows to the *Matronae*¹⁰².

Another 'Antonine toga' is shown at Neumagen in the early-third century and two more from there may be of this date¹⁰³. Many of the altars to the Ubian *Matronae* of this date display their dedicants as toga-clad, with their heads covered¹⁰⁴. But only C. Candidinius Verus, *decurion* of Köln, is likely to have worn the toga about his daily business (fig. 15)¹⁰⁵. The landowner whose funerary pillar stands at Igel (mid-third century) appears *togatus*; but the details of the garment are unfortunately lost¹⁰⁶.

⁹⁵ Juvenal III 171 f.

⁹⁶ *Codex Theodosianus* XIV 10,1.

⁹⁷ As I noted in the introduction, I have not counted veterans as part of the native civilian populace; but cf. fig. 6.

⁹⁸ Hohl (1937) 12–15.

⁹⁹ Ingelheim: Kutsch (1930) Taf. 25 B. – Bingerbrück: *Esp.* 6138. – Nickenich: fig. 22; *Esp.* 7759.

¹⁰⁰ Trier: *Esp.* 4999. – Oberstaufenbach: *Esp.* 6108. – Neumagen: *Esp.* 5150. – Strasbourg: *Esp.* 5509; Hatt (1964) pl. 53 (ca. A. D. 160).

¹⁰¹ *Esp.* 4994. – Germania 39, 1961, 117 Taf. 26. – *Trierer Zeitschr.* 27, 1964, 130 ff.

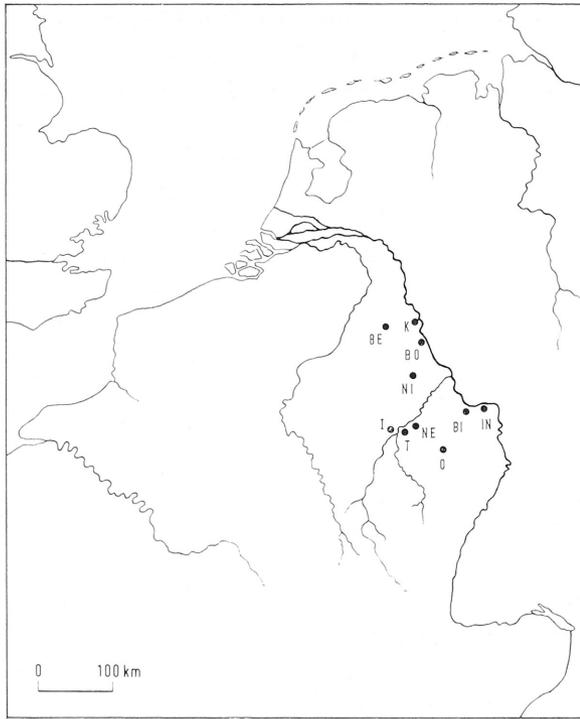
¹⁰² T. Flavius Constans: Schoppa (1957) Taf. 85. – L. Vecconius Quartio: *Esp.* 7770. For Quartio as a name see Weisgerber (1962) 120.

¹⁰³ Von Massow (1932) 158 Nr. 184, Abb. 107. Taf. 32; *Esp.* 5164. 5169.

¹⁰⁴ *Esp.* 6349. 7777.

¹⁰⁵ *Esp.* 7762. For Candidinius see Weisgerber (1962) 118.

¹⁰⁶ Dragendorff – Krüger (1924) 57 Abb. 34.



16 Distribution map of gravestones showing men in togae.

It is hard to estimate what weight to give to the representations of the third-century toga on sarcophagi and jet medallions¹⁰⁷. Even Senators in Rome had to be reminded to wear their togae in the House, so we should do well to be sceptical.

In sum, the evidence amounts to very little. Apart from the officials in the large towns, the senators of the short-lived Gallic Empire and perhaps the imperial circle at Trier in the fourth century, provincial Romans in their togae would be a rare sight (fig. 16)¹⁰⁸.

Pallium

Much affected by the Roman upper class and those with pretensions to philosophy was the pallium, the large rectangular cloak of the Greeks¹⁰⁹. Tertullian in A. D. 209 advocated it as the garb of the Christian¹¹⁰. As regards the North, while we may suspect that the toga was worn rarely, we should be even more cautious about the wearing of the pallium.

For draping, one end of the pallium was drawn from behind over the left shoulder and hung loose some way down the front of the body; the rest of it, having passed diagonally across the back and under (or in some cases, over) the right arm, was thrown up over the

¹⁰⁷ Esp. 5133.

¹⁰⁸ The discovery of a presumed Romano-Briton dressed in a 'scarlet tunic, green toga and yellow stockings' on Grewelthorpe Moor (N. Yorks) in 1850 is amusing, but not sound evidence for the toga! (Ripon Millenary Record, 1862, Preface to Part II, II, p. IX).

¹⁰⁹ Wilson (1938) 78 ff.

¹¹⁰ Tertullian, de pallio I 1.

left shoulder. It is distinguishable from the early form of toga by lacking the characteristic hanging end, visible between the legs of the togatus beneath the rest of the drapery; but where the condition of the carving does not allow this to be discerned, it is hard to identify the garment.

While the pater-familias of the tomb-monument at Nickenich wears a toga, his male relations are definitely shown in pallia¹¹¹. Two other persons, also of Claudian date, on stones from Mainz and Andernach, are similarly dressed¹¹². We are inclined to believe that these pallia stem from the funerary art-repertoire of the first-century sculptors rather than from what could actually be seen in the Rhenish countryside.

There is a small group of stelae from London, perhaps of the second century, depicting palliati and bearing Greek inscriptions. Although some may be souvenirs of the Grand Tour, one at least is of Purbeck marble and must have been locally carved¹¹³. Perhaps among the cosmopolitan population of London the Greeks did on occasion wear their national costume.

A curious leaden curse-tablet from the amphitheatre at Caerleon mentions the theft of a *palleum* (sic) and Gallic sandals¹¹⁴. It sounds as if someone in South Wales wore a pallium or something that he called a pallium. But we should be reluctant to conclude from this, and from the meagre archaeological record, that the pallium was at all well known in the provinces, except perhaps among orientals in the various trades and professions which brought them westward.

Late Roman clothing

The official dress of the later Roman Empire was a curious blend of military and barbarian costume, with occasional survivals from an earlier age. The civil service adopted military-style clothing and so we might expect to find instances of the half-moon (military) cloak and the long-sleeved oriental tunic in the northern provinces.

Half-moon cloak (chlamys)

The half-moon cloak (probably called a chlamys in late antiquity¹¹⁵), is a commonplace of late-antique portraiture, but the tombstones give us no hint of whether it was worn by civilians of high rank in the northern provinces. Possibly at the important centres of York (where the fibulate half-moon cloak appears on the locally carved jet medallions¹¹⁶) and Trier, the regional capital, court dress was usual.

It is interesting that the heavy cross-bow brooches in Britain and the Rhineland begin to be popular in the early-third century, just at the time when this cloak, which requires a heavy fibula, emerges¹¹⁷. It is tempting to assign to the chlamys a wider currency inside and outside the military sphere on these grounds; but it must not be forgotten that a heavy version of the Gallic rectangular cloak (sagum fibulatorium, see below p. 226) was still popular, and this too would need a stronger fibula.

¹¹¹ Esp. 7758. 7759.

¹¹² Mainz: Esp. 5823. – Andernach: Esp. 6207.

¹¹³ London (1928) 174, no. 31. pl. 12 (bottom left); cf. Am. Journ. Arch. 63, 1959, 329.

¹¹⁴ Archaeologia 78, 1928, 158; Germania 15, 1931, 16.

¹¹⁵ Delbrueck (1929) 38 ff.

¹¹⁶ Toynbee (1963) pl. 150 f., Cat. no. 138.

¹¹⁷ Heurgon (1958) 23 f.

Tunic

The problem of how far the clothing in the repertoire of the fourth-century artist reflected what he saw about him, at the actual place and time at which he was working, must also be in the foreground of our discussion of the unique fourth-century wall-paintings from the Christian house-chapel (?) at the Lullingstone villa in Kent¹¹⁸.

The west wall of the presumed chapel bore a fresco of six praying figures (orantes) between columns, many fragments of which have been patiently reassembled. Only the second figure from the left, that of a standing boy with red hair (represented as deceased, with a curtain behind him) is sufficiently well preserved at the moment to be discussed (fig. 12,2)¹¹⁹. The following must remain a provisional interpretation until more pieces have been assembled.

The boy appears to be wearing a single garment, a tunic with long, tight sleeves, which is girt and pouched into an overfold at his waist. The hem scarcely reaches to his knees. The body of it is brownish-orange in colour, and bears heavy bands of embroidery at the cuffs; on each shoulder is a plain brown roundel edged with pearls. There is a wide, bluish-purple sash, likewise pearl-edged, made in two pieces, one of which runs vertically down the front of the tunic and the other horizontally round his waist above the overfold: this sash follows the outline of the overfold and is probably an integral part of the garment. There is no indication (e. g. at his right elbow) that he is wearing a wide sleeved *dalmatica* over the tunic (see below p. 222), and the illusion of a cloak hanging behind (of which there is no sign at his shoulders) is to be explained by the fact that the tunic is split up the sides and the back portion is hanging slightly lower than the front portion¹²⁰.

If that is the correct interpretation, the tunic will have been made up in the same way as the Thorsberg tunic (which was certainly 'split' [p. 182]), of which it is a sophisticated relative. The shoulder and wrist ornament is likely to have been added separately as tapestry-woven bands or patches, such as have been discovered in quantity in late-Roman graves in Egypt. The sash, too, may have been tacked on to the finished tunic.

The overtones of the whole are distinctly eastern, strongly reminiscent of Iranian dress¹²¹. The form of the tunic appears again on the tomb fresco of a little girl at Naples (fifth-century) and pearl edging is not far to seek¹²². Near parallels in design are to be seen on the mosaics of the villa near Piazza Armerina in Sicily.

The question remains: did this young man wear such a tunic in late Roman Britain? The figures seem to represent actual people in a family; but Professor Toynbee thinks it possible that a foreign artist was commissioned to produce the work; and his copy-book may have been Italian¹²³. Perhaps when we have a fuller picture of the five remaining figures we may be nearer to an answer.

¹¹⁸ Toynbee (1964) 221 ff.

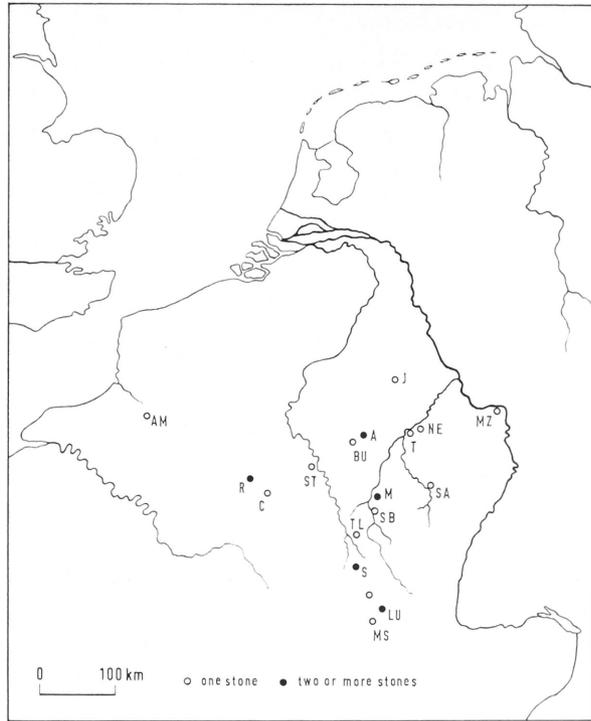
¹¹⁹ A colour plate from a drawing by Mr. D. S. Neal for the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works (Britain) is published in the guide: *Lullingstone Roman Villa* (1962) 31. I have examined the plaster through the kindness of Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates and Miss J. E. A. Liversidge (report forthcoming).

¹²⁰ Cf. note 53.

¹²¹ Cf. note 53.

¹²² Naples: *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (1958) pl. 574, 239.

¹²³ Toynbee (1964) 227.



17 Distribution map of gravestones showing women in coats.

II. FEMALE COSTUME

The rapid change of style and fabric in women's clothing is a commonplace of the modern scene which we might expect to find foreshadowed in the ancient world. If so, we should be largely disappointed. Some conservatism would not be thought to be out of character in the garb of the male provincial; but we should not be prepared for the discovery that his womenfolk wore in different places and at different times only three distinct ensembles, of which one was dominant. Over a period of more than four hundred years this hardly constitutes rapid change in style.

Basic female costume

The costume which women wore most frequently in the norther provinces, according to the sources of evidence we possess, consisted of a Gallic coat, a cloak, a bonnet and sometimes an undergarment and a scarf.



18 Distribution map of gravestones showing women in coats in Britain.

Gallic coat

We have already described above how the coat was woven and put together and cited the examples found at Reepsholt and Les-Martres-de-Veyre. It is unnecessary to repeat the account here; for the essential details are the same for women as for men.

The extra length of the woman's coat would probably mean that it could not be woven as one piece on the loom as were the Reepsholt coat and the Coptic tunics. There is no absolute limit to the width of a loom, but rather one of convenience for the passing from hand to hand or throwing the spool. For a woman's coat to be woven in one piece the width of the loom might need to be as much as 2.50 m. It would be simpler to cut the garment out and sew it together, as in the case of the Les-Martres coat.

Margrethe Hald suggests that the great width of the Reepsholt coat be explained by supposing that it was gathered into folds on the arms. The woman from Les-Martres, who was interred in her coat, appears to have been found wearing a wide woollen girdle round her waist, which might hold such folds in position. Fragments of similar girdles have been recovered from a pool in Roman Mainz, but of course need not have been part of women's attire. There is no sculptural indication that the coat was ever girt.

The coat from Les-Martres (1.25 m. long), if worn by a woman of fairly slight build (average height at York is 1.52 m.), would certainly reach to her ankles, although it would not trail on the ground. The tuck at her waist could probably be adjusted to suit her height.

Dating and distribution

The difficulties encountered when evidence of clothing in a particular geographical district and at a particular period of time is fragmentary have been enumerated already. They must be kept in mind when we try to determine the period at which the coat was worn by women in Britain, northern Gaul and the Rhineland.

First-century tombstones of women are rare outside the Rhine-valley and even in the valley itself are restricted in number. None of the women shown on them wears a coat. It is first represented under the Antonines, when the impressive funerary monuments of local notables in the main settlements of Gallia Belgica began to be erected. Its absence from the Claudian monuments in the Rhine-valley suggests that it was not common there in the first century; but the evidence does not permit us to conclude that the coat was worn by women nowhere in our region at that time.

During the Antonine and Severan periods there is ample evidence of the popularity of the coat with women throughout Gallia Belgica and in the urban centres of Upper Germany¹²⁴. But north of the Köln-Bavai-Boulogne road and in the countryside of Upper Germany it is totally absent. The distribution map (figs. 17–18) of tombstones of women with coats presents the picture which I have described.

It is interesting to discover that the coat was regularly worn in Britain at Chester and York and at least along the line of Hadrian's Wall¹²⁵. Lowland England may have followed this pattern, if the Catuvellaunian Regina brought her clothes from home with her.

In the early-fourth century the coat was still in use in Trier. The sarcophagus lid previously mentioned reveals a woman in coat and cloak; and the sculptor of the curious Noah's Ark sarcophagus featured Noah's wife in a Treveran coat and cloak¹²⁶. The wife of a soldier on a fourth-century tombstone from Châlons-sur-Marne is similarly dressed¹²⁷. It is unfortunate that the late tomb-stelae from Trier (e. g. that of Afrania Afra¹²⁸) vouchsafe so little detail.

To sum up: the dating and distribution of the coat worn by women offers in general a pattern similar to that observed for the same garment as worn by men. Its apparent absence in the first century, and the more abundant evidence for it in Britain, are the only significant points of difference.

Variant forms

Sleeved and sleeveless coats can be counted in approximately equal numbers, and both were worn, so far as we can see, contemporaneously. It is worth noting that at Amiens and Reims in north-western Gallia Belgica sleeved coats seem somewhat more popular

¹²⁴ Notably Arlon, Metz, Reims, Amiens in Belgium; Soulosse and Luxeuil in Upper Germany.

¹²⁵ British women in coats (fig 18):

Carlisle: Ani(cia) or An(n)i(a) Lucilia (Lap. Sep. 496; R. I. B. 958; Bonner Jahrb. 166, 1966, 643). – Aurelia Aureliana (Toynbee [1964] 205; Cat. Black Gate no. 101 with fig.; R. I. B. 959). – Mother with fan (Toynbee [1963] pl. 86, Cat. no. 89). – Fragment by same hand (Cat. Tullie Ho. no. 102, fig. opp. p. 38).

Chester: Voconia Nigrina (Cat. Chester [1955] no. 89 pl. XXV; R. I. B. 543). – Six other women (Cat. Chester [1955] no. 117, pl. XXX; no. 118, pl. XXXI [two women]; no. 119 – here fig. 19,2; no. 120; no. 129, pl. XXXIII).

Dilston (Northumberland): Woman unnamed (Lap. Sep. 641: 'clad in the garments of the sick chamber').

Ilkley: Anonymous woman (Yorkshire Arch. Journ. 28, 1926, 316 no. 5, pl. XXXVIII fig. 53).

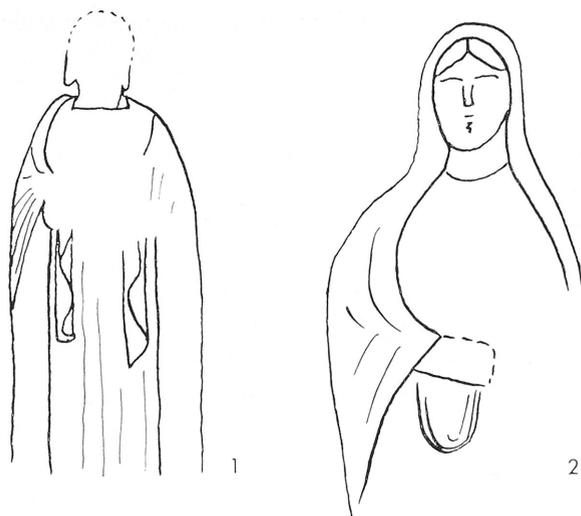
S. Shields: Regina the Catuvellaunian (Toynbee [1963] pl. 85, Cat. no. 87; eadem [1964] 200; R. I. B. 1065).

York: Two female dedicants (Eburacum [1962] pl. 45, no. 42). – Flavia Augustina (Ibid. pl. 54, no. 77; Toynbee [1963] pl. 90, Cat. no. 88; R. I. B. 685).

¹²⁶ Esp. 4989; Gerke (1940) 301 ff., Taf. 47,1.

¹²⁷ Esp. 3744; Koethe (1935) 225.

¹²⁸ Esp. 5012.



19 1 Woman from Chester in cloak (mode II). – 2 Woman from Epinal in cloak (mode I).

than sleeveless ones; but both types are regularly found associated in the south-east of Gaul. The body of material is not great enough to allow us to draw any conclusions from this.

A marked preference for fringes round the ankles is shown by the Treveran women of Arlon and the Mediomatrican women of Metz in the mid-imperial period. Seven women at Arlon, two at Metz, one from Soulosse, one from Monthureux-sur-Saône, and one from Buzenol (neighbouring settlements) dress in fringed coats¹²⁹. Iassia from Soulosse is a particularly clear example. Here the fringe is set inside the hem of the coat and appears to have been added separately, although it would have been simple to weave fringe and coat together. This type of trimming probably reflects regional taste.

Cloak

I was at first inclined to believe, after looking at the published photographs, that women wore a form of hoodless cape over the coat as their main piece of outer clothing in winter; but a personal examination of the majority of actual stones convinced me that this is not the case. A simple rectangular cloak is all that was worn over the coat; indeed, it is almost the only outer garment for women known at all. This fact is disguised by the variety of the numerous modes of draping it round the upper part of the body, which will now be listed and examined.

Shape and modes of draping

Mode I. The cloak is a large rectangle (figs. 2,1; 19,2), perhaps 1.8 by 1.2 m.¹³⁰ Half of it hangs down the back, or possibly over the left shoulder down the front; the rest is drawn across the back over the right (or, in some cases, the left) shoulder and held in the left (or right) hand. The corners are tasselled.

¹²⁹ Arlon: Esp. 4040. 4043. 4091. 4097. 4169. 4178. – Metz: Esp. 4310. 7709. – Soulosse: Esp. 4862. – Monthureux: Esp. 4819. – Buzenol: Arch. Belg. 42, 1958, pl. XX b.

¹³⁰ E. g. Esp. 4780, now in the Musée Départemental des Vosges, Epinal.

Mode II. The cloak is worn like the modern stole across the back of the shoulders (fig. 19,1) and the two upper corners are held in each hand in front of the body¹³¹. In some cases it is pulled over the head at the same time. The dimensions suggested under Mode I are borne out here.

Mode III. Much the commonest position in which the cloak is shown on the funerary monuments is round the neck and shoulders like a scarf. The cloth is folded lengthwise and the ends thrown backwards over each shoulder. Flavia Augustina (fig. 6) and the mother with the fan from Carlisle serve as illustrations¹³².

We need not doubt that the cloak was in fact worn as it is illustrated above, although, as protection against the weather, it would be considerably less efficient than the men's cape. But a heavy woollen shawl of like proportions, worn as in Mode II, was considered satisfactory until comparatively recent times by the wives of Lancashire cotton-mill operatives. A scarf in addition does not seem to have been thought necessary. Mode III would perhaps be a method of carrying the cloak rather than wearing it. The three modes listed reflect no discernable geographical or chronological differentiation.

Undergarments

The problem as to whether undergarments were worn by women beneath the coat is not so acute as it was in the case of men. Evidence is not lacking. The early-third-century stele of Regina will make our point clear¹³³.

Under her medium-length sleeved coat Regina wears a fairly full shift, which is visible at the neck. The lower portion of it projects 10–15 cm. beyond the hem of her coat. Above the bracelets on her arms the sleeves of the undergarment can just be discerned.

Similar examples can be cited from many places in the northern provinces¹³⁴; frequently a shift is visible at the ankles. We might venture on these grounds to argue that an undergarment, long, full and perhaps sleeved, was a regular complement to the coat. We do not know of what fabric it was made, but linen or a fine wool are probable materials. It might be noted, however, that the young woman from Les-Martres-de-Veyre, although fully clothed, wore no undergarment.

Bonnet

One of the mainstays for the dating of Roman metropolitan sculpture is the rapidly changing female hairstyle, which can often be given precise limits of date from the coin-portraits of ladies of the imperial family. The same changes are also recorded in the provinces and women were keen to show on their tombstones that they had followed at any rate some current trends. Generally speaking, it is rare to find representations of a headdress of any kind covering the hair of provincial women.

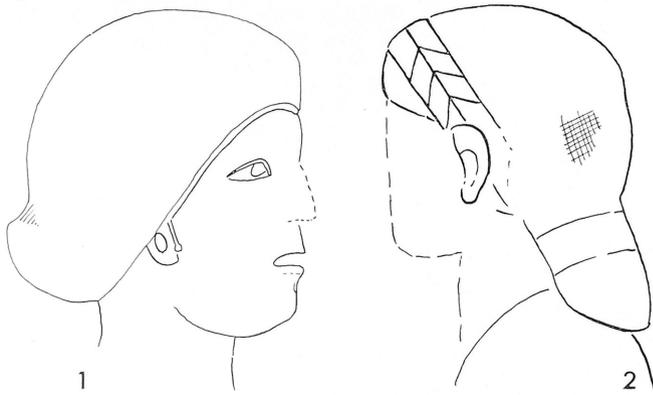
Headdresses are, however, not unknown. The wives of the Treveri occasionally wear a type of close-fitting bonnet, rather like a bathing cap, which, to judge by the representations of it, must have been made of very light material. There are few certain instances

¹³¹ E. g. Cat. Chester (1955) no. 119. – Esp. 4040.

¹³² Flavia Augustina: Eburacum (1962) pl. 54, no. 77; Toynbee (1963) pl. 90, Cat. no. 88; R. I. B. 685. – Mother from Carlisle: Toynbee (1963) pl. 86, Cat. no. 89.

¹³³ Toynbee (1963) pl. 85, Cat. no. 87; eadem (1964) 200; R. I. B. 1065.

¹³⁴ E. g. Esp. 4712 from Toul. – Esp. 4380 from Sablon (Metz); cf. Langlois (1959/62) 205 f.



20 1 Woman from Neumagen in bonnet. – 2 Side view of bonnet on complete female statue from Ingelheim.

of it, but it was probably in widespread use¹³⁵. On the stones themselves it is very difficult to distinguish from hair, but Wilhelm's tantalising drawings of stones, now lost, from the Treveran tribal area suggest that it might have been quite common there¹³⁶. A head from Neumagen (fig. 20,1) is particularly helpful¹³⁷. The hair was wound round the head to form a roll above the forehead and ends in a neat bun at the nape of the neck. The whole is covered with a bonnet which reveals the contours of the coiffure beneath. This bonnet closely resembles similar examples from other parts of the Rhineland; its structure will be discussed later in a context in which more evidence is available (p. 212).

Stockings

The coat and shift between them usually cover the ankles and feet, so that the presence of stockings cannot be detected on the tombstones. It is fortunate that the young woman from Les-Martres gives us some insight into the question.

Her heavy woollen twill stockings (fig. 2,3) are each made up of a leg-piece (55 cm. long), sewn up behind, and a foot-piece (20 cm. long) attached at the ankle¹³⁸. They would extend upwards to just below the knee and were held in position by a string-garter which passed through holes in the material. The top, which could be turned down over the garter, was fringed. If she wore the shoes which were found in her coffin, the stockings would have been totally concealed.

Costume of Menimane

The most attractive and fascinating form of native dress in the northern provinces is the ensemble which I have called the Costume of Menimane after the wife of the skipper

¹³⁵ E. g. Esp. 4040 from Arlon. – Esp. 4712 from Toul. – Esp. 4159. 5142.

¹³⁶ For the drawings by A. de Wilhelm incorporated in Espérandieu's corpus, see the bibliography (p. 240).

¹³⁷ Von Massow (1932) Taf. 66 Nr. 193a (coloured).

¹³⁸ Audollent (1922) 46 no. 48.



21 Girl from Mainz in Menimane's costume. Mainz, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum.

Blussus from Mainz-Weisenau¹³⁹. Their family-gravestone, an outstanding product of the Claudian sculptors' workshop at Mainz, is sufficiently detailed to serve as the basis of our discussion (fig. 4)¹⁴⁰.

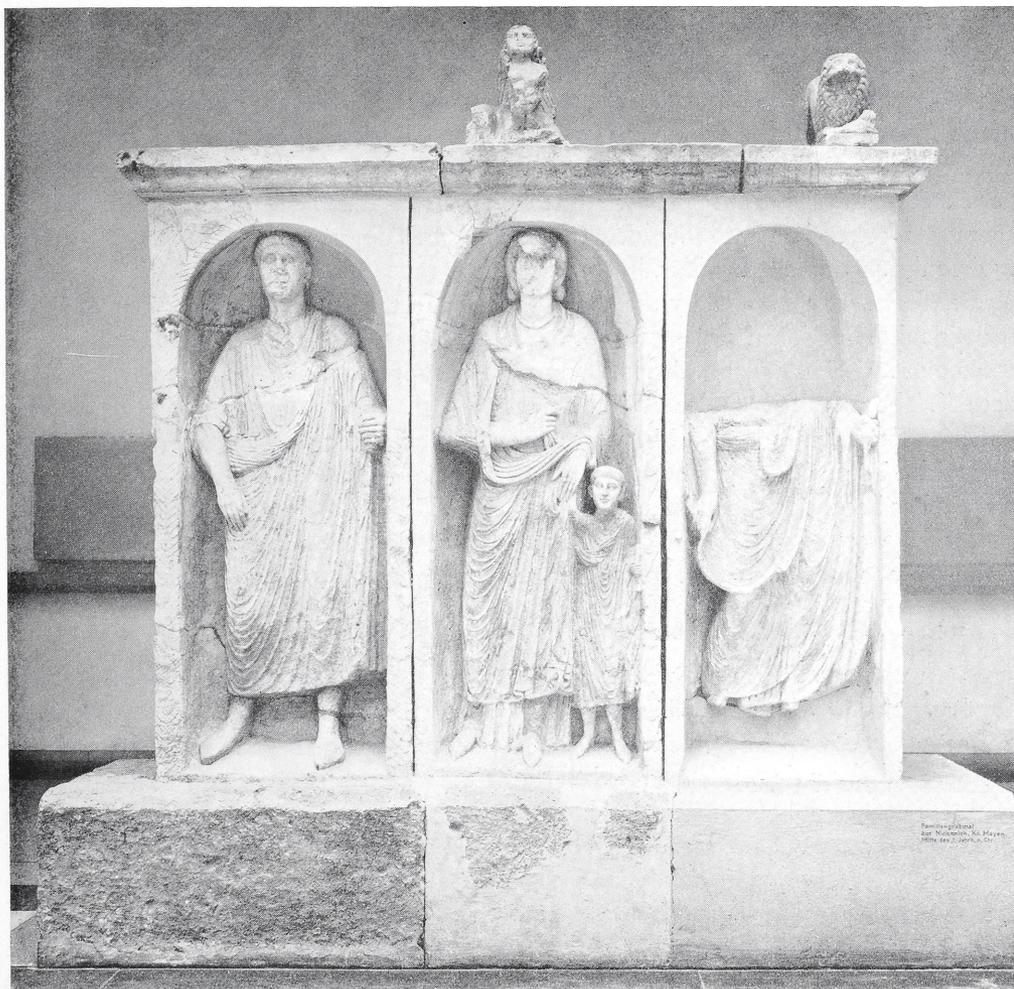
Her clothing consists of a long-sleeved bodice, an overtunic with fibulae, a cloak, a scarf and perhaps a bonnet. I shall deal first with the cut and mode of wearing each garment in turn and afterwards with their dating and distribution as a group; for none of the garments which make up the ensemble are found apart from it. Thus they are best considered as a unit.

The long-sleeved bodice

Next to her skin (apparently) Menimane wears a long-sleeved bodice of indeterminate length. It fits very closely to her body and is quite smooth in contrast to the stylised folds of the rest of her attire. The sleeves are long and tight, ending

¹³⁹ The examples of this costume known to me are: A. Menimane: fig. 4; Kutsch (1930) 274 Nr. 5; Esp. 5815 (poor). – B. Girl from Mainz: Fig. 21; Bonner Jahrb. 158, 1958, 289, Taf. 57,3. – C. Bust from Ingelheim: Fig. 14 and 23; Kutsch (1930) Taf. 26, Abb. A–B. – D. Statue from Ingelheim: Fig. 20,2; Kutsch (1930) Taf. 25 Abb. A. 26 Abb. C. – E. Girl from Selzen (Kr. Oppenheim): Mainzer Zeitschr. 31, 1936, 33 ff. Nr. 1–4, Taf. 1; Esp. 8524. – F. Woman from Saverne (Alsace): Esp. 5698 (I was not able to examine this stone). – G. Horburg (Alsace), three women: Esp. 5463. 5468. – H. Woman from Metz: Esp. 7721. – I. Prima from Xanten: Esp. 6592; Hahl (1937) 18 Anm. 68. – J. Mater-familias from Nickenich: Fig. 22; Esp. 7758; Schoppa (1957) Taf. 53.

¹⁴⁰ Note 139, Monument A.



22 Gravemument from Nickenich: left-hand male figure in pallium; central female figure in Menimane's costume, child in pallium; right-hand male figure in toga. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmuseum.

in cuffs that are turned back at the wrist. A clear join is visible down the front of the bodice, clasped by a single fibula underneath the massive medallion which hangs about her neck. On the contemporary stele of a girl from Mainz the characteristic cuffs and frontal slit are even clearer (fig. 21)¹⁴¹. The latter is fastened by three brooches. These could be undone when she wished to take off her dress; for it was probably too tight to pull over her head.

The seam on Menimane's left shoulder is the only hint about the cut of the bodice. The body was probably a single piece of fabric, sewn up across the shoulders. The sleeves would be attached separately and the front fastened up at will with a number of fibulae. This is not the only possible reconstruction, but is the simplest and neatest (fig. 21). The cloth cannot be identified from the stelae alone.

¹⁴¹ Note 139, Monument B.

Overtunic with fibulae

The type of tunic which Menimane wears off-shoulder over her bodice is familiar as the Doric peplos of Greek art. Like its Greek cousin, it was a simple wide cylinder, held on each shoulder by a fibula and pinned to the bodice over the breast with a third brooch. It has slipped down from Menimane's left shoulder and is concealed by her cloak on the right; but the bust of the woman from Ingelheim makes it clear that the tunic was fastened on both shoulders (fig. 14; 23)¹⁴². The girl from Mainz has pinned her tunic only on the left shoulder, but the weight is taken by a girdle round her waist. A girdle, elsewhere concealed by the cloak, was part of the attire. The lower hem at Menimane's ankles is fringed and because of its fullness is best taken as part of the tunic.

Once more the Moss of Huldre in Denmark has supplied a parallel of Early-Iron-Age date¹⁴³. The so-called 'peplos of Huldremose' is a plain cylindrical garment of woollen twill 1.68 m. high by 1.32 m. in diameter. It is tubular-woven, a single piece of cloth. The width is considerable, and it is too long to have been worn without a fold of some sort. It has been suggested that the top was folded down like the ἀπόπτυγμα of a Greek peplos, so that the upper part of the body was covered with two thicknesses of cloth. A more probable explanation is that it was worn girded and with an ample overfold.

Fibulae on the overtunic

The part played in this type of dress by the fibulae is an important one. Moreover, it is the first point at which evidence other than the grave-monuments and textiles comes to our assistance. It will be noted that on a stone at Saverne (Alsace) the fibulae on the shoulders form a pair, while the third on the breast is somewhat smaller¹⁴⁴. This grouping of the fibulae is to be assumed also for the stelae from Mainz-Weisenau and Ingelheim cited above, where Claudian 'Kragenfibeln' pin the tunic. It is confirmed by the numerous parallels on Norican and Pannonian grave-stones¹⁴⁵ and by the frequent occurrence in closed female grave-groups in the Rhineland of three fibulae of this type.

It has long been the convention to draw Roman brooches with the head pointing upwards, the pin downwards, in the way in which we should naturally wear them nowadays. But this was the least common mode in antiquity¹⁴⁶. The fibula over Menimane's breast was pinned horizontally, the single fibula visible on her left shoulder with the head downwards. Her contemporaries followed this basic pattern.

Cloak

A cloak of a size similar to that of the type discussed above as an accessory to the coat appears on four Claudian stelae of the Mainz region. Rectangular, it measures about 1.40 m. by 2 m. (assuming the women to be slightly over 1.50 m. tall). In four cases it is worn like the palla (or pallium) of Roman art¹⁴⁷; a portion was drawn over the left shoulder, while the rest passed diagonally across the back under the right arm, and was supported by the left arm in front. Menimane, however, concedes nothing to the Roman mode, and pins her cloak on the right shoulder with a fibula – this time, with the head upwards.

While Menimane clearly follows native tradition, the influence of the Roman matron

¹⁴² Note 139, Monument C.

¹⁴³ Hald (1950) 372 fig. 427.

¹⁴⁴ Note 139, Monument F.

¹⁴⁵ Garbsch (1965).

¹⁴⁶ Wild (1965) *passim*.

¹⁴⁷ Note 139, Monuments D, E, J.



23 Bust of woman from Ingelheim in 'Menimane' costume.

has been detected in the draping adopted by the other four women. However, taking note of the rest of their attire, we might believe that it is after all a native fashion and that such a simple mode of draping a cloak need not stem from a single foreign source.

Scarf

The women from Ingelheim and Saverne are alone in wearing a scarf at the throat under the bodice. It seems to be of fairly light material which does not bunch together. It is wound twice round the neck and crossed in front.

Hairnet and bonnet

The need for caution in presuming the existence of a light hairnet or bonnet is no less imperative in dealing with the stones of the Mainz group. The statue in the round of a woman at Ingelheim reveals a hairnet still marked out in dark lines on the stone¹⁴⁸. It encloses a roll of hair over the brow and holds in position two loosely formed buns on the nape of the neck. Its structure is not completely certain, but the crown and buns seem to be held in a fine-mesh net, while the roll over the forehead is covered by a band of more open work (fig. 20,2).

A good parallel for the type is afforded by the woman's hairnet from the Moss of Arden (probably Early-Iron-Age in date)¹⁴⁹. Of fairly close mesh in sprang technique, it measures 10–13 cm. depending on how far it is stretched. Four draw-cords are provided to hold the net in position. The hair lying under it when it was discovered was plaited and wound round the crown of the head, in the way suggested above.

Although the stone is badly damaged and the back gone completely, the female bust from Ingelheim has a type of bonnet akin to that discussed above¹⁵⁰. It is a cap of light

¹⁴⁸ Note 139, Monument D.

¹⁴⁹ Hald (1950) 23, fig. 15.

¹⁵⁰ Note 139, Monument C.

material covering plaits. The line of one of the draw-cords is visible on the right of the forehead. We shall return later to this feature in another context. Menimane, too, seems to wear a bonnet of this kind.

Fibulae

Less easily perishable than the animal and vegetable fibres, of which textile fabrics are composed, are the metal brooches associated with this type of dress. Their grouping is quite distinctive: two fibulae, forming an identical pair, on the shoulders and one or more single examples of a different type or size on the breast, pinning the bodice and overtunic together. We might usefully select from the small finds of the northern provinces examples of groupings of this kind.

It is essential that these groups of fibulae should be closed finds; for we must be sure of their number. The only valid form of evidence therefore is the closed grave-group; since it is only under such circumstances that we can be reasonably sure that the inventory records what was worn by a single individual, although even here there is no guarantee that an extra fibula has not been added for good measure. Inhumation burials might have given the relative positions of the fibulae to the skeleton, but they do not become common until the late-second century A. D. Cremation is the only rite that concerns us here.

The brooches would be less useful as evidence if it were not for the fact that clothing requiring more than one fibula to support it is rare in the North, and that clothing that requires a single pair of fibulae is confined to women who followed Menimane's fashion-trend. Moreover, the grave finds often offer precisely the grouping we are seeking and suggest that it was standard for a particular type of costume. A pair of fibulae found alone in the poorer graves is very common, and the absence of a third brooch need not exclude a pair from consideration as part of this series. The coat and the garments worn with it – a most important point – need no fibulae at all. In many cases the grave furniture contains objects connected with the female toilet¹⁵¹, although in other cases the inventory is too poor to leave any indication of sex. No graves which are certainly of men contain pairs of fibulae.

Dating and distribution

According to the gravestones

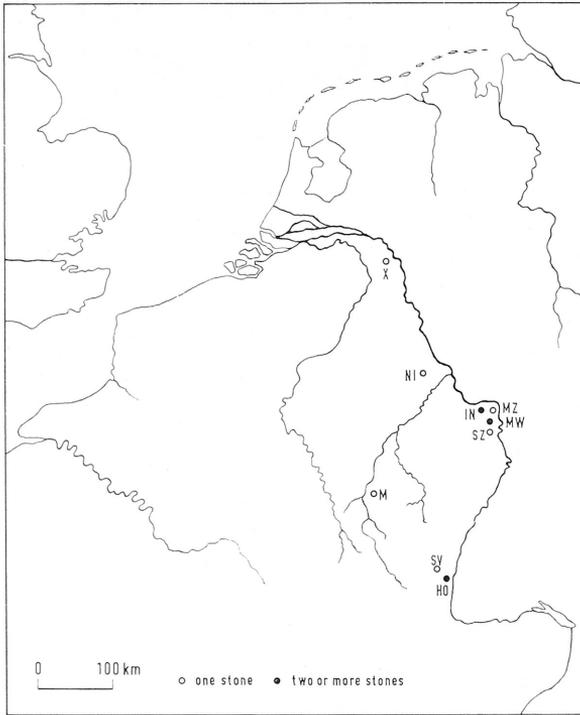
The bodice and overtunic, which are Menimane's basic garments, are never found independently of one another, and so they can be regarded as a unit from the point of view of dating and distribution.

The products of the Claudian school of funerary sculptors at Mainz mark the first appearance of this type of costume. Naturally enough the examples are clustered in the bend of the Rhine near Mainz, an area thickly populated in the Early Iron Age¹⁵². Contemporary stones from different workshops show a *mater-familias* at Nickenich (Kr. Mayen) (fig. 22) and Prima, a woman of Treveran origin, at Xanten in this dress¹⁵³. The small group of stelae at Horburg and Saverne (Alsace) is difficult to date,

¹⁵¹ E. g.: Tournai: Amand–Eyckens–Dierickx (1960) 58 Tombe CXVII. – Mülheim (Kr. Koblenz): Bonner Jahrb. 143/144, 1938/39, 424, Abb. 44,5. 6. – Mainz: Mainzer Zeitschr. 24/25, 1929/30, 150, Abb. 13,9, Grab 30.

¹⁵² Hachmann et al. (1962) Karten 1–6.

¹⁵³ Note 139, Monuments J and I.



24 Distribution map of gravestones showing women in Menimane's costume.

but may perhaps be assigned to the late-first or second century on the strength of the round enamel brooches pinning the tunics¹⁵⁴. A single stone at Metz cannot be accurately dated, but is unlikely to be later than the Antonine period¹⁵⁵.

Thus on sculptural evidence alone, Menimane's costume was most popular in the first and perhaps early second centuries, and was practically confined to the Rhine valley (see distribution map, fig. 24).

According to the fibulae

The distribution of grave-groups containing a single pair of matching fibulae, together with one or two additional brooches, is plotted on the map (fig. 25) compiled from the published records. Many hundreds of graves remain unpublished, especially in the Low Countries, and the map is satisfactory only for areas within the modern boundaries of West Germany. I have further reduced the number of finds considered by rejecting graves whose inventory was not recovered complete.

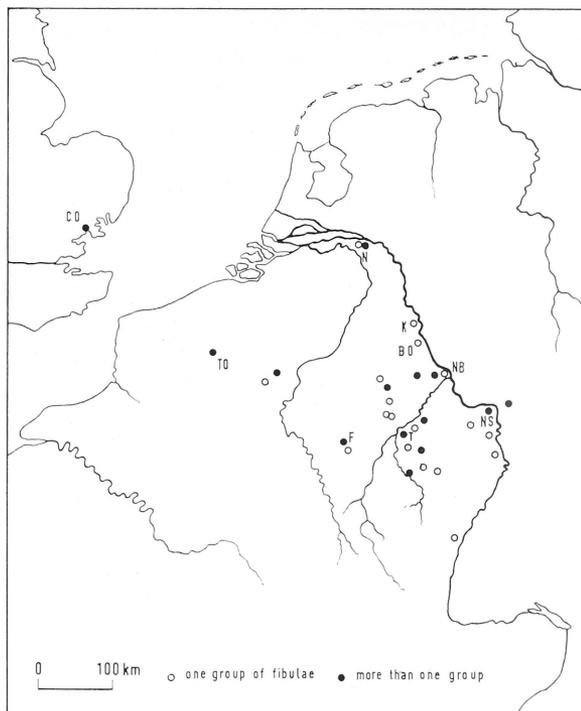
The majority of the relevant graves can be dated to within the first half of the first century A. D. There are fewer of the Flavian era and only isolated examples of the second century¹⁵⁶. It is interesting to note that many belong to the reigns of Augustus

¹⁵⁴ Note 139, Monuments G and F. – For dating: *Ber. RGK.* 29, 1939, 60.

¹⁵⁵ Note 139, Monument H.

¹⁵⁶ Flavian: E. g.: Neidenbach (Kr. Bitburg): *Trierer Jahresber.* 4, 1911, 31, Grab 3. – Wallersheim (Kr. Prüm): *ibid.* 5, 1912, 32, Grab 9.

Second century: E. g. Stahl (Kr. Bitburg): *Trierer Jahresber.* 4, 1911, 28, Abb. 7 c. d; *Bonner Jahrb.* 142, 1937, 353. – Hees bij Nijmegen: *Brunsting* (1937) 178, pl. 10 (upper register).



25 Distribution map of closed finds of fibulae grouped as for Menimane's costume.

and Tiberius and point to Menimane's costume being a survival of native tradition. This idea is supported by the unpublished graves from the Neuwieder Becken, north of Koblenz, to cite but one example where the grave inventories show complete continuity from the pre-Roman into the early Roman period¹⁵⁷. The evidence of the graves, which puts the floreat of the fashion in the first century A. D., thus confirms that of the stelae. The distribution pattern reveals that this form of dress is comparatively rare in the large towns. There is but a single find of paired fibulae from the extensive cemeteries of Roman Köln¹⁵⁸; and this is not due merely to unscientific excavation and recording. The finds are concentrated in the South Eifel and in the angle formed by the Moselle and the Saar, south of Trier. We know little about life in the first century in either area, but it is clear that both were country districts. Thus we can see a marked contrast between the town population and the peasants of the countryside in the dress which they wore. We shall discuss this conclusion in a later chapter.

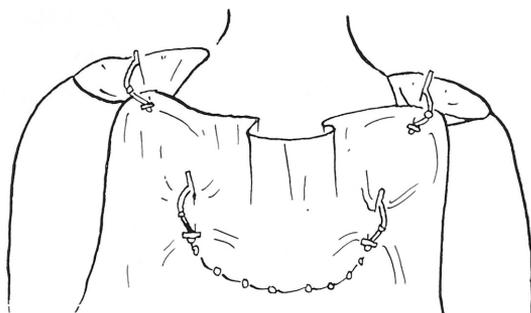
The information from Britain is too meagre and scattered to be useful. At Colchester graves of three immigrant women from the Rhineland only serve to highlight the lacuna¹⁵⁹.

Women in the Danubian provinces wore a fascinating series of bodices, shifts and tunics fastened with fibulae. The evidence ranges in date from the first to the third century,

¹⁵⁷ I am grateful to Dr. K. V. Decker for discussing this material with me in advance of his publication.

¹⁵⁸ *Germania* 36, 1958, 462, Taf. 63, Grab 55.

¹⁵⁹ *Antiqu. Journ.* 22, 1942, 60. – From Chorley, Lancashire: *B. M. Guide* ² (1958) 18 no. 18.



26 Reconstruction of overtunic with chained fibulae.

but the type which corresponds to the ensemble of Menimane was at its peak in the first century¹⁶⁰. It lacked the third brooch pinning the tunic to the bodice above the breast and would be represented in the graves by a simple pair of fibulae. Such finds in the Rhineland suggest that this version may have been known there too. It is virtually identical with the dress of Menimane and can be safely classified with it.

Variant forms of the tunic

Overtunic with chained fibulae

In the northern provinces pairs of fibulae linked by a chain are occasionally encountered. Finds where the chain is still attached to both brooches are very rare, but there are a number of instances where parts of the set were recovered detached from one another¹⁶¹. Parker Brewis, in his study of the Backworth brooches of North Britain, drew attention to the loop at the head of pieces of this class and suggested that they were worn in pairs, linked by a chain¹⁶². Head-loops, however, are rare outside Roman Britain¹⁶³.

There is no sculptural evidence for Britain and the Rhineland to indicate how these chained pairs were employed. But on the Danubian stelae the fibulae pinning the overtunic on the shoulders seem to have been connected with a dangling chain across the breast, from which hung a series of little charms and ornaments¹⁶⁴. A good example of a set with this arrangement was found intact in the Rhine at Kekerdom (Nijmegen) linking two round enamel brooches¹⁶⁵. Isolated finds of such sets occur as far East as Illyricum and Thrace¹⁶⁶.

Chained fibulae are also known among the Germanic-speaking people of Northern Europe. Norling-Christensen, on the strength of female graves of the Roman Iron Age at Juelling (island of Lolland, Denmark), has reconstructed the Scandinavian female dress of the day on the Danubian model with a pair of fibulae on the shoulders of each woman and a second, lower, pair supporting a chain (fig. 26)¹⁶⁷. The lower pair serves

¹⁶⁰ Garbsch (1965) *passim*; Schober (1923) 82 Nr. 181, Taf. 90; Láng (1919) for general account.

¹⁶¹ Sets: Kekerdom (Nijmegen) (unpublished): Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam, Nijmegen, Inv. no. 9. 1952. 70. Kindly shown me by Miss M. den Boesterd. – Stanwix (Cumberland): *Antiqu. Journ.* 11, 1931, 38 fig. 2, pl. VI 1. See Wild (1965) 610 ff. – Parts of sets: Hofheim (Main-Taunuskr.): *Nass. Ann.* 34, 1904, 43 Nr. 44, Abb. 11. – Trier: *Bonner Jahrb.* 64, 1878, 106.

¹⁶² *Arch. Aeliana*³ 21, 1924, 173 ff.

¹⁶³ Collingwood (1930) 249 f.; Behrens (1954) 220. 226.

¹⁶⁴ Schober (1953) Abb. 102.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. note 161.

¹⁶⁶ Von Patek (1942) Taf. IX 7. 9. 10.

¹⁶⁷ *Acta Arch.* 13, 1942, 332 ff.

only as an ornament. The shortness of the chain on the few specimens known to us in the provinces suggests the same arrangement there too¹⁶⁸; it would scarcely reach from shoulder to shoulder. But nevertheless a shoulder-to-shoulder chain cannot be discounted entirely.

Dating and distribution

Chained fibulae and the tunic with which they were associated were known before the arrival of the Romans in the West and beyond the limits of their expansion¹⁶⁹. The examples which we have are confined to the first and second centuries. The fact that the loop is common to several types of British brooches hints that the paired fibulae with chains, or perhaps with more easily perishable strings of beads, were not rare in Britain.

Overtunic without fibulae

A peculiar problem is posed by the figure of a standing woman on an uninscribed Claudian stele from Mainz-Weisenau¹⁷⁰. Her tunic, so far as can be seen, is wide-fitting and requires no fibulae to support it. (If fibulae were employed, the neck-line would not be so high.) Much of her body is closely wrapped in a large rectangular cloak.

From a superficial glance one might suppose that she is wearing the normal dress of the Roman matron in Italy, the stola (tunic) and palla (cloak), which would have frequently occurred in the artists' pattern books in the North. But the context is purely native; her hairnet, resembling that of the Ingelheim statue (fig. 20,2), the huge medallion and torque fastened about her neck, not to mention the numerous rings on the fingers and thumb of her left hand, are all out of step with Italian fashion¹⁷¹. Moreover, her seated husband wears the native coat and cape.

Perhaps we have here a tunic related to that of Menimane, but sewn instead of pinned on the shoulders; and it is possible that traces of the cuff of a sleeved bodice are visible at her right wrist. The regular folds at her ankles in the stylisation characteristic of the time give no hint of the heavy pleats at the side or of the slightly curved hem associated with the coat. Since only one further (undated) example is known, it would be unwise to classify the garment rigidly¹⁷².

The Gundestrup Cauldron, an object bearing scenes from the artistic repertoire of the Celts in the first century B. C., shows women in a sleeveless one-piece garment, low-cut in front¹⁷³. It seems to be supported without a brooch on the shoulders. In Pannonia also a similar tunic is known in the Roman period, with sleeves added¹⁷⁴. These garments possibly have affinities with the tunic under discussion.

Long-sleeved tunic and accessories

The sculptors of the Moselle valley had formed by the end of the second century their own repertoire of scenes for funerary monuments. One of them, that of the toilet of

¹⁶⁸ Kekerkom 21 cm.; Stanwix 12.4 cm.; example in von Patek (1942) Taf. IX 9 ca. 15 cm.

¹⁶⁹ Pre-Roman chained fibulae: Cf. Grt. Chesterford brooches: Fox (1958) 66, pl. 40b.

¹⁷⁰ Schoppa (1957) Taf. 52.

¹⁷¹ A similar medallion was found in Bonn: Mainzer Zeitschr. 22, 1927, 54, Abb. 7.

¹⁷² Esp. 6480 from Köln.

¹⁷³ Klindt-Jensen (1962) fig. 22.

¹⁷⁴ Láng (1919) 216.

the mistress of the house, is particularly popular and regularly contains the figure of a servant-girl dressed in a long, girded, tunic with long sleeves¹⁷⁵. At first sight this might be dismissed as a variant of the coat; but the coat is never seen girt, with long sleeves, or with a comparatively tight fitting body. It deserves to be treated as a separate article of attire.

Cut of the tunic

We have unfortunately no direct evidence for the cut of the tunic, since there are no specimens from the bogs and no hints of seams on the stones. But by analogy with the coat from Les-Martres-de-Veyre (fig. 2,1) and the Thorsberg tunic (fig. 2,2) we may presume that the body was made up from one piece, or at most two pieces, of cloth seamed at the side(s), and that the sleeves were added afterwards as separate entities joined at the shoulder. There is no sign that Raglan sleeves were known in antiquity.

Accessories – the cloak

The large rectangular cloak, ubiquitous as the woman's outer garment, was also draped over this type of tunic. The servant girls, who are normally shown inside the house, naturally do not have it; but certain individual funerary reliefs demonstrate ways of wearing it.

The following modes are represented, of which the first two may mirror a fashion of Italian origin: –

Mode I. The cloak is draped over the left shoulder and brought round the back under the right arm and across the front of the body at waist height¹⁷⁶.

Mode II. Instead of being supported on the left hand, when it has crossed the front of the body (as the above), the end is thrown over the left shoulder, so that it envelopes the whole of the left side of the body¹⁷⁷.

Mode III. The cloak is worn like a shawl across the back, but the ends, instead of being held in the hands, are thrown back over the shoulders, the right end over the left shoulder and the left over the right. The style of the stones showing this mode is so schematic that it is impossible to be sure of the exact details (fig. 27)¹⁷⁸.

Undergarments and bonnet

Undergarments are visible in some cases, as would be expected (fig. 27). One woman from Arlon wears a bonnet of the Neumagen type discussed and illustrated above¹⁷⁹.



27 Woman from Oberhalslach in long-sleeved tunic.

¹⁷⁵ E. g. Schoppa (1957) Taf. 72.

¹⁷⁶ Esp. 4044.

¹⁷⁷ Esp. 4094.

¹⁷⁸ Esp. 8514.

¹⁷⁹ Esp. 4044.



28 Procession of women in Ubian attire. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmuseum.

Dating and distribution

Representations of the long-sleeved tunic are few in number and appear to be confined to the second and third centuries. Geographically they fall into two distinct groups; the products of the Moselle valley workshops (Gallia Belgica) and the stelae of local origin in Upper Germany.

The earliest example of the latter group is dated on hair-style to the early-second century and is carried out in a two-dimensional and patterned style which makes the details of the clothing difficult to elucidate¹⁸⁰. The draping of the cloak (Mode III) is peculiar to the area (fig. 27). In Gallia Belgica and in one case in Britain both servants and free women wear this tunic¹⁸¹.

Dress of the Ubiae

Large groups of dedications to the mother-goddesses (matres or matronae) discovered during the nineteenth century in Britain, the Rhineland and Cisalpine Gaul provoked lively controversy among antiquarians. Speculation about their religious significance and ill-founded attempts to assign them to a narrow racial origin were based on little evidence. But the special position of the Rhineland matronae was acknowledged, since their Germanic 'Beinamen' and strange dress set them apart (fig. 15).

¹⁸⁰ Heidelberg bei Waldfishbach: Schoppa (1957) Taf. 96. – The Upper Germany group is represented by stones from Oberhalslach: Fig. 27; Esp. 8514; Hatt (1964) pl. 195 (late third century?). Marlenheim: Esp. 5640; Hatt (1964) pl. 196 (early fourth century?). Altdorf: Esp. 5641; Hatt (1964) pl. 127 (third century?). Dachstein: Esp. 8508; Hatt (1964) pl. 120 (mid third century?). – The dating of these stones, pace Professor Hatt, has not yet been satisfactorily established.

¹⁸¹ For Gallia see Schoppa (1957) Taf. 72. – For Britain: Cat. Chester (1955) 40, no. 120, pl. XXXI.



29 Bronze female head from the Rhine. Bonn, Rhein. Landesmuseum.

I have discussed this dress and have argued at length for the view that the matronal dress is a reflection of what was worn by Ubian women in Lower Germany¹⁸². I need here only summarise my conclusions and refer the reader elsewhere for the detailed argument.

There exists a small number of funerary reliefs which show the deceased in matronal attire. All are from the known territory of the Ubii. In addition, some of the altars dedicated to the matronae actually depict female dedicants in matronal dress (fig. 28). Mortal women, therefore, wore matronal dress on occasion, or, in all probability, regularly in daily life¹⁸³.

A small bronze head from the Rhine, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, wears the matronal headdress and was thought by Delbrueck to represent a provincial woman (fig. 29). He dated it to the fourth century. Some doubt has recently been cast upon his conclusions by Bracker, who suggests that it is the head of a goddess and is of late-second-century date¹⁸⁴. While the views of Delbrueck are by no means disproved, it would be imprudent to cite the head in this context as an example of the matronal headdress worn by a mortal woman.

¹⁸² *Germania* 46, 1968 (forthcoming).

¹⁸³ *Kat. L. M. B.* (1963) Nr. 17 with further literature.

¹⁸⁴ *Römer am Rhein (Ausstellung Köln)* (1967) 199 C9.

In brief, the matronal costume consisted of an enormous bonnet, an enveloping cloak pulled over the shoulders, which was clasped above the waist in front by a fibula, and a series of tunics largely concealed by the cloak (fig. 15).

Bonnet

The most striking piece of matronal attire is the bonnet, which sits on the head like a huge nimbus. The surface is quite smooth and the only distinguishing feature is a small (metal ?) tag projecting from it against the right cheek. No details of its structure are revealed, at least not on the altars.

The bronze female head mentioned above, despite the uncertainty about its date and purpose, is a useful source of information about the structure of the 'Matronenhaube'. The curious tag on the right cheek provides the vital connecting link with the 'Haube' of the matronal altars. The immense size of the bonnet on the dedications does not invalidate this comparison, since the size may merely be an expression of the numen of the goddesses. The mortal 'Haube' would be smaller.

The hair on the bronze head is divided into two plaits which are wound in opposite directions round her head above the brow. Over this coiffure is fitted a cap of fine material (cross-hatched on the crown of the head), which covers the hair and upper part of the ears. A simple net of cord holds the cap down over the plaits which ring the head. It consists of an upper cord, which passes round the head completely, and a parallel outer cord at the edge of the cap against the forehead. This cord appears to stop short at the ears and is joined to the inner cord by a series of criss-cross strings at intervals. Where the strings cross or join, they are fastened with a small round button, which may at the same time attach the framework of the net to the underlying cap. Where the last of the cross-strings joins the outer to the inner cord above the left ear, the inner cord is pulled slightly out of position by the tension. It may be that the net was fastened at this point.

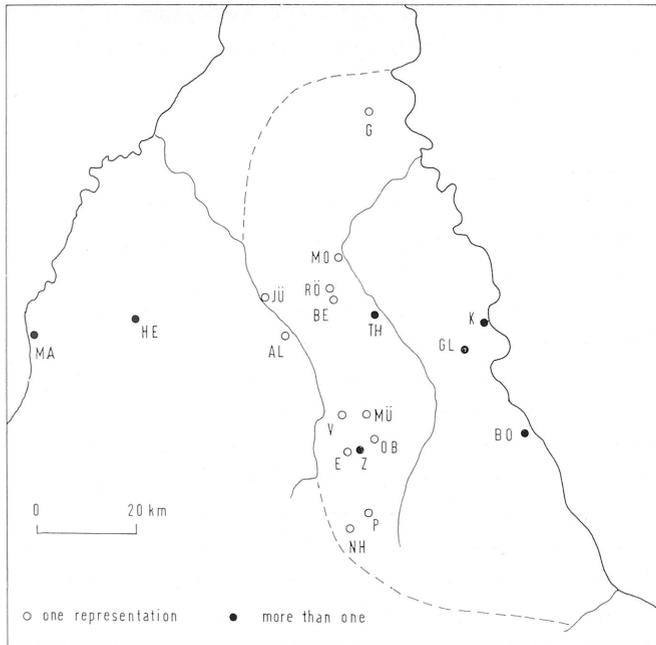
The tag, present on almost all the altars and the relevant gravestones, has given rise to various interpretations. Delbrueck thought that it was an ear-pick tucked under the cap. But on a head in Köln the tag, more like a button here, is against the forehead and two strings appear to run down from it and to be pushed up under the cap on the right-hand side¹⁸⁵. It is probably better taken as a metal tube with an ornamental cap, holding the ends of draw-strings which are attached to the inside of the bonnet to keep it in position. The normal matronal bonnet would need internal strings of this sort. On the bronze head the outer cords may be mainly for decoration; for the cap fits close to the back of the head where no cords are visible externally, although they may be there inside.

Many kinds of headdress are known in the Danubian provinces on gravestones, but none are exactly like the 'Matronenhaube'¹⁸⁶. Some, however, may have been constructed on the same principle. Close parallels are to be found among the Treveri in the second and third centuries (p. 198) and Menimane also sports a bonnet of this type. A curious female head from Dumfries in Scotland may belong to this series, if it is Roman work¹⁸⁷; but the wings projecting from the bonnet above the ears, reminiscent of the Dutch bonnet of modern times, have no exact parallel in antiquity.

¹⁸⁵ Fremersdorf (1950) Taf. 70.

¹⁸⁶ Čremošnik (1963) 123; Mautner – von Geramb (1932) 191 ff.; Garbsch (1965) 11 ff.

¹⁸⁷ Journ. Rom. Stud. 42, 1952, 63 f., fig. 3. pl. 9 fig. 3–4.



30 Distribution map of representations of the Ubian dress.

Cloak

The cloak is an immense half moon and envelopes the body completely. The two radii, which form the straight edge, hang down the front of the body and are clasped together at the waist by a fibula. The edge is occasionally rolled back a few centimetres on the shoulders to support the weight of the cloth more evenly.

If we calculate on the basis of a small woman of about 1.50 m., the radial measurement would be about 1.10 m. The straight edge would thus be about 2.20 m. long. The material seems to be a heavy wool cloth.

It is unfortunate that even the most detailed stones do not give enough information about the fibulae to assign them to a precise category; but in every case a sturdy bow-brooch of a standard type is worn pinned horizontally through the fabric.

In free Germany a skin cape which resembles the matronal cloak was commonly worn by both men and women¹⁸⁸.

Tunic and undergarment

There is little to be seen of the tunic and undergarment on the representations, and what is visible causes difficulties.

At first glance there appear to be two hems above the ankles, an upper and a lower. On closer inspection the upper hem does not in fact seem to be the edge of the cloth. I have discussed this problem elsewhere and reached the tentative conclusion that the upper hem may be the edge of a flounce reducing the length of the upper tunic¹⁸⁹. The real edge

¹⁸⁸ Hald (1950) 322 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. note 182.

would then be tacked to the body of the garment inside, some distance from the bottom of the tunic. The lower hem would then represent a separate undergarment.

Dating and distribution of the ensemble

With a single exception the representations of the clothing of the matronae, both on the altars on the grave monuments, fall within the second half of the second century or the first half of the third¹⁹⁰. They are concentrated in a relatively small area west of Köln (fig. 30). Almost all of them lie within the known tribal domains of the Ubii or on their fringes¹⁹¹. There is therefore a strong presumption that this is the normal dress of Ubian women, if not of the surrounding tribes as well.

The Ubii came from the right bank of the Rhine after the Caesarian conquest and were settled in what had been the territory of the Eburones¹⁹². It is clear from a study of their proper names that Germanic influence on their language was strong¹⁹³. It could be argued that the Ubian women brought their native dress over the Rhine with them and that it is the only recognisable surviving element in their material culture which provides a parallel to the Germanic elements in their spoken language. This type of dress may have been common throughout Lower Germany where many of the tribes are known to have wandered in from the right bank (compare *Nehalennia* below). But Hachmann and his colleagues have recently demonstrated that a substrate population speaking a language with strong pre-Indo-European elements in it (the North-West Block) lived on both banks of the lower Rhine in the Roman period¹⁹⁴. We cannot therefore assume without argument that the Ubian dress has the same origin as the Germanic part of their language; but it is distinct from anything else in Gaul and the Rhineland. The Ubian women may have adopted it from the substrate population with whom they came into contact.

On present evidence it would be hazardous to decide firmly in favour of one or other of these possibilities. But there is no need to seek the origin of the Ubian costume in any of the Gallic provinces.

Costume of *Nehalennia*

The temple to the Germanic goddess *Nehalennia* at Domburg (Walcheren) was conveniently placed at the continental end of one of the trade routes to Britain. In the early years of the third century the merchants engaged in this trade dedicated to their patroness an important series of altars on which she is shown in a costume strikingly similar to that of the Ubian women (fig. 31,1)¹⁹⁵.

We have no other evidence for this costume apart from these stones, but on the analogy

¹⁹⁰ Dating discussed by Hahl (1937) 51 ff.

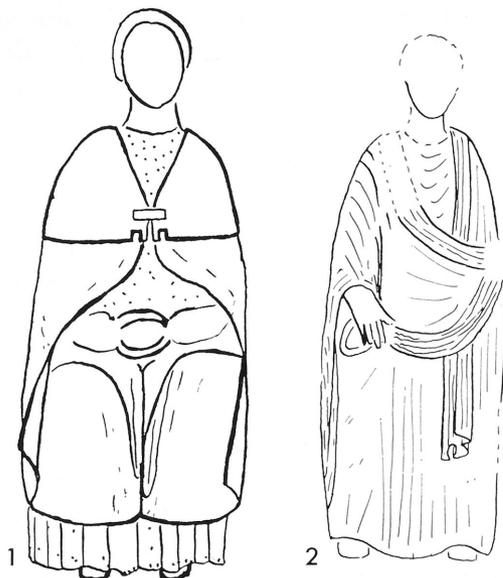
¹⁹¹ For the territory of the Ubii see Schmitz (1948) 57 ff. with Abb. 4; idem, *RE Suppl.* VIII A (1955) 532 ff. s. v. Ubii. – The matronal altars from Zazenhausen (*Bonner Jahrb.* 83, 1887, 132 Nr. 179) and Mümling-Grumbach (*Esp.*, G. R. 233) in the *Agri Decumates* may have been set up by auxiliaries from Lower Germany.

¹⁹² Von Petrikovits (1959) 85 Anm. 153.

¹⁹³ Account by Prof. Dr. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* (1968); see also Gutenbrunner (1937).

¹⁹⁴ Hachmann et al. (1962).

¹⁹⁵ Hondius-Crone (1955); Jenkins (1956).



31 1 Partially restored drawing of Nehalennia on altar dedicated by Dacinus at Domburg. –
2 Secundinia Restituta from Neumagen in stola and palla.

of the matronal altars we may assume that this dress was worn by women in the Walcheren. The stone, however, of the Nehalennia altars came from the Metz quarries or from the region of the Upper Marne. Of the dedicants (or their fathers) half have names extremely popular in, or confined to, Lower Germany: three of the eighteen bear Germanic names. A considerable proportion of them were, then, at home in this region and would be familiar with the local dress¹⁹⁶. It is interesting that the only representation in stone of Nehalennia outside the Walcheren is at Köln, where she is wearing the clothes of Ubian women (without the bonnet), not those of her homeland¹⁹⁷.

Nehalennia's dress at Domburg consists of a tunic and cloak exactly like those of the Ubiae. She wears a bonnet, too, of a smaller size¹⁹⁸. The only article that is peculiar to her is a shoulder cape, which fits neatly over the upper part of her cloak. A bow-brooch is pinned through the cape and cloak, underneath, on the breast, to hold the edges together.

Most of the altars are too badly damaged for the full details to be elucidated; but a small section seems to be cut out of the lower edge of the cape on each side beneath the fibula, perhaps as ornament (fig. 31,1)¹⁹⁹. The cape, in contrast to the rest of the clothing, is quite smooth; and bearing in mind the skin capes from the bogs of free Germany, we may suggest that this, too, was of hide. It would probably have been similar to, but smaller than, the cape from the Daubjerg Moss. Even when Nehalennia is portrayed as a Hellenistic goddess, she still retains the cape²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁶ Names at home in Lower Germany (see Weisgerber [1962]): ASCATTINIUS, EXOMNIANIUS, HITARIINIUS, INGENUINIUS, SECUNDINIUS (C. I. L. XIII 8780. 8784. 8791. 8789. 8790). Names of Germanic origin (see Gutenbrunner [1937]): FLETTIUS (son of Gennalo), HUCDIO (father of Ammacius), LIFFIO (father of Dacinus) (C. I. L. XIII 8786. 8779. 8783).

¹⁹⁷ Schoppa (1959) Taf. 76 (upper plate).

¹⁹⁸ Hondius-Crone (1955) 102; Hahl – von Gonzenbach (1960) 41, Abb. 2. – The connection with the matronae is strengthened by Professor J. E. A. Bogaers' new reading of C. I. L. XIII 8798 as NEHALENNINIS (sc. MATRONIS): Ber. Rijksdienst 12/13, 1962/63, 581.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Hondius-Crone (1955) no. 5,8.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. no. 1,2.

The Island of Walcheren²⁰¹ was the seat of a people who had crossed from the right bank of the Rhine. Thus the dress of Nehalennia is closely linked with that of the Ubiae and presents the same problem of origin, Germanic or pre-Germanic.

Sundry garments

Drawers

One of the most intriguing finds from Roman Britain is the pair of leather drawers which was found in a first-century well in Queen Victoria Street in the City of London²⁰². Cut from a single piece of leather, and very carefully hemmed, it measures 44 cm. in length. The holes for the legs are approximately 16 cm. in diameter. It was fastened at the hips at each side by two pairs of laces. The garment is scanty in the extreme and can only have been worn by a girl.

The girl-athletes in a late-fourth-century mosaic in the Villa near Piazza Armerina in Sicily offer the nearest parallel²⁰³. Their drawers are similar, but without visible means of fastening. A band of material supports and holds in their breasts.

Hair-band

A rich woman's grave from Mainz, perhaps of the third century A. D., yielded a hair-band in gold-brocade, which was discovered in position on her forehead²⁰⁴. It is 30 cm. long by 6 mm. wide. Such bands were not the privilege of Roman women only; for a young girl at Windeby (Kr. Eckenförde) in free Germany was blind-folded with her own hair-band before being killed for some unknown misdemeanour²⁰⁵. The woollen band, in sprang-technique, was 49 cm. long by ca. 3 cm. wide, and fringed at both ends.

Clothing of Roman or Italian origin

There is little danger of confusing the native clothing of provincial men in the North with attire ultimately of Roman origin. With women, however, it is another matter; and it is relevant to ask whether the sculptors themselves drew a firm line between the ensemble of the Roman matron and certain types of costume native to the Rhineland and Britain. The tombstones of men wearing the toga are not infallible proof that they ever wore such a garment, even on rare occasions. In the case of women, the problem is even more acute; for there is no external means of checking what they are likely to have worn. There are no references to provincial womens' dress in literature; and women had no garment like the toga for official occasions.

Dress of the Roman matron

From the earliest known representations until those of the end of the Empire the two basic garments of the Roman woman remained substantially the same. They were a

²⁰¹ Tacitus, *Germania* 29.

²⁰² *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 45, 1955, 139, pl. LI 3.

²⁰³ La Villa Erculia di Piazza Armerina, Roma 1959, Tav. XLIII. A statuette in bronze of a girl-acrobat from Egypt was once in the Musée at Rennes: *Rev. Arch. Ser.* 5, 19, 1924, 216 f. (I owe this reference to the staff of the Guildhall Museum, London).

²⁰⁴ *Mainzer Zeitschr.* 20/21, 1925/26, 96, Abb. 9.5. Despite the Fortis-lamp (first or second century A. D.) the date of this inhumation burial and its gravegoods probably lies within the third century.

²⁰⁵ *Prähist. Zeitschr.* 36, 1958, 118 ff. and 180 ff., Abb. 2,3.

sleeveless or short-sleeved tunic (which went under various names, principally stola) and a large rectangular cloak (the palla or later pallium)²⁰⁶.

The tunic, which reached to the ankles, was of simple form and was usually sewn up across the shoulders. It is precisely similar to the overtunic with fibulae which the woman from Mainz-Weisenau wears normally. It seems to have been girt at the waist.

The rectangular cloak is the commonest female garment of all. Out of context it would be indistinguishable from its native counterpart and is draped in the same way.

Dating, distribution and authenticity

The legionary gravestones of the first century regularly show husbands and wives in Italian costume²⁰⁷ (eg. L. Baebius and family at Köln). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these figures came straight from artist's copy-book.

The wife of the togatus from Oberstauftenbach (Pfalz) (Trajanic) and Secundinia Restituta (fig. 31,2) from Neumagen (Hadrianic) may perhaps have worn Italian dress at times, if their husbands were important enough to wear the toga²⁰⁸. But the stele of Pacatia Florentia from Köln (ca. A. D. 150–250) raises two questions simultaneously²⁰⁹: are her tunic and cloak Roman, or native garments whose style of draping is influenced by Roman art? If they are Roman, did she really wear them? Neither question can be answered satisfactorily. A woman from Arlon in the same costume is accompanied by her husband in native dress²¹⁰: the context suggests that her dress and, therefore, that of Florentia, may be provincial, but draped in the Italian style.

Later representations in stone show the upper part of the body only, but the same garments are present. The cloak is commonly draped round the shoulders like a shawl. Barbarinia Accepta, wife of a praetorian tribune who served the Gallic Emperors, is the likeliest of her contemporaries to have worn this dress²¹¹. In the fourth century an elaborate version of the pallium, edged with a wide band of embroidery or tapestry-woven ornament, appears to have been court-dress and is recorded on a jet medallion from York²¹². Gold thread is sometimes found in late burials and may be the remains of such ornament. But the jet medallions and the sarcophagus reliefs of the Late Empire, even if they were carved in the provinces, followed artistic conventions which were Empire-wide and are of little direct value for our study of Britain and the Rhineland²¹³.

In sum, we should do well to give a conservative estimate of the extent to which Roman or Italian fashion penetrated the lands north of the Alps. Even where her husband wore his toga, a woman might be forgiven for wearing native dress. Perhaps only the wives of high officials, whose sojourn in any one province was short, wore the clothing of the city of Rome.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Wilson (1938) 146 ff.

²⁰⁷ E. g. Esp. 6450: L. Baebius and family at Köln.

²⁰⁸ Oberstauftenbach: Esp. 6108. – Neumagen: Esp. 5150; Hahl (1937) Taf. 8.

²⁰⁹ Esp. 6453.

²¹⁰ Esp. 4045. – Cf. Esp. 5322. 6490.

²¹¹ Fremersdorf (1950) Taf. 55. – Cf. Eburacum (1962) pl. 55 no. 74; Esp. 6048.

²¹² Toynbee (1963) pl. 150, Cat. no. 138.

²¹³ E. g. the sarcophagus from Clapton, London: London (1928) pl. 57 no. 18.

III. CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

Isidore states that the Roman boy laid aside the toga praetexta and assumed the toga virilis at the age of 16²¹⁴. This will serve as a convenient, if somewhat arbitrary, distinction between children and adults.

No special provision was made for children's clothing in Rome or apparently in the provinces. There is no intermediate stage between the swaddling bands of babies²¹⁵ and the clothing of the adult: children's garments were smaller versions of what their parents wore. Clothing was so simple that there was probably no need to design special attire for children.

The stele of Flavia Augustina and her family from York (fig. 6) shows the two children Saenius Augustinus (standing in front of his father), aged one year and three days, and his sister, aged one year, nine months, five days. Both are dressed exactly like their parents, although they probably died too young to walk. On a stone from the same workshop Sempronia Martina (aged 6) is dressed just like her mother Julia Brica²¹⁶. Further examples of this sort are not far to seek.

Boys

Coat and cape

On the panel of the school-scene from Neumagen the pupils wear the same clothes as their master²¹⁷. One pupil wears a sleeveless coat, another one with medium-length sleeves. This seems to bear out our point that sleeved or sleeveless coats cannot be classified separately on the basis of time or place.

One of the most charming scenes of provincial art, carved on the side of a grave-pillar from Arlon, is that of five small children and their dog at a private funerary banquet²¹⁸. All of them, regardless of sex, wear fairly loosely fitting coats with medium-length sleeves. Other representations include boys at Carlisle, York, and Lincoln in Britain, and at Saverne, Landstuhl, Reims, Arlon, and Sablon on the continent²¹⁹.

Clothing of Italian origin

Peregrinus (aged 10) from Speyer, the slave of C. Iulius Nigellio, wears, on a first-century stone, a short-sleeved tunic, scarf and cape – probably the off-duty clothes of the legionary²²⁰. A lad from Sablon (Metz) is swathed in a pallium, as is the child on the monument from Nickenich (fig. 22)²²¹. The son of Iulius Pomponianus stands in a toga behind his father as he sacrifices to the Matronae Aufaniae at Bonn²²².

²¹⁴ Origines XIX 24,16.

²¹⁵ Esp. 4364.

²¹⁶ Eburacum (1962) pl. 54 no. 80.

²¹⁷ Esp. 5149.

²¹⁸ Pobé-Roubier (1958) Taf. 218.

²¹⁹ Carlisle: Toynbee (1963) pl. 86, Cat. no. 89. – York: Eburacum (1962) pl. 50 no. 85. – Lincoln: Arch. Journ. 103, 1946, 55, pl. IXa. – Saverne: Esp. 5707. – Landstuhl: Esp. 6095. 6558. – Reims: Esp. 3720. – Arlon: Esp. 4092. – Sablon: Esp. 4361. 4310.

²²⁰ Esp. 5955.

²²¹ Esp. 4340.

²²² Esp. 7760.

Girls

There is little evidence as to what girls in the north-west provinces wore, but sufficient to indicate that they copied their mothers. Two older girls, Iberna (aged ca. 19) and Ianuaria (aged 17) from Sablon, are dressed in coats and cloaks²²³. Vacia, a three-year old infant from Carlisle, wears a long tunic with three-quarter-length sleeves, girt at the waist and pouched into an overfold at the thighs²²⁴. A cloak is rolled up on her shoulders. This form of overtunic without fibulae is not found after the second century on the continent.

Small children

Small children wore a coat quite commonly, as the relief at Arlon shows. But in Britain – a province comparatively well-endowed with gravestones of children – the crudely worked stele of Sudrenus at Corbridge and that of Pervica at Great Chesters hint at something else²²⁵. Sudrenus (4 years old) has a fairly tight fitting, sleeved tunic with what is best interpreted as a tuck at the waist. Pervica is dressed in a similar garment, without a tuck, the long sleeves of which are unmistakable. These might be distinctively children's clothes.

IV. COLOUR IN PROVINCIAL DRESS

It was the normal practice in antiquity to add a coat of paint to statues and reliefs, although this survives today only in rare instances. In the provinces also funerary monuments were embellished, first with a thin layer of stucco and then with actual colour²²⁶. The lines and folds of the garments on sculpture were highlighted in red or black, just as the lettering of inscriptions was picked out in minium. Appropriate colours were then applied to the flat surfaces.

Roman writers occasionally mention the colours of clothes in passing; and it is clear that hues which would be considered today too loud, for men at least, were quite acceptable in Italy. Blue capes, green shoulder-capes, and the entire spectrum of colours from red through purple to blue were part of the everyday scene²²⁷. The statues were also often decorated in a manner that seems vulgar in the extreme to the modern eye. Some of the colours employed may have been purely arbitrary and cannot be accepted uncritically as true to life²²⁸.

All the instances of coats, scarves and capes on men and women, which bear traces of their pristine appearance, are painted without exception yellow or a yellowish-orange²²⁹. If we ignore the inappropriate red outlines, the main effect is probably true to life and represents the shades of undyed wool.

The clothes of the togati at Trier were also yellow²³⁰. The same colour was applied to the

²²³ Iberna: Esp. 7713. – Ianuaria: Esp. 4335. ²²⁴ Cat. Tullie Ho. no. 88 with fig.

²²⁵ Sudrenus: Arch. Aeliana⁴ 15, 1938, pl. XIII i. – Pervica: Cat. Black Gate no. 200 with fig.

²²⁶ Germania 38, 1960, 143.

²²⁷ Blue capes: Maiuri (1953) pl. on p. 114. – Green shoulder-capes: Martial XIV 139.

²²⁸ The clothing of the Ubian women on the 'Frauenprozession' panel is all painted red (autopsy).

²²⁹ Esp. 5148. 5161. 5154. 4862.

²³⁰ Esp. 4999.

bonnet of the woman at Neumagen²³¹; there the smooth surface is pale yellow, the lines, including the fastening tag, red.

More substantial remains of colouring were found on the group of Claudian funerary statues at Ingelheim²³². The lady wore a light-green bodice, red overtunic and dark-grey cloak and scarf. This is in itself credible; but her husband seems to have worn a grey-green toga (!) the border of which was emphasised with a grey-black stripe.

The wall-paintings are more helpful, but at the same time more difficult to use. The riot of colour in the Pompeian houses might lead us to be distrustful. But there is no reason to doubt the dark-brown cape and tunic of a gardener at Trier, or the bright hues of the clothes of the Christian figures at Lullingstone²³³.

The northern peoples were especially colour-conscious; and Diodorus observes (at second hand) that they were fond of tartan check patterns in their clothing²³⁴. Archaeological finds from within and without the northern frontiers confirm this.

Accordingly, although the evidence is limited, we need not assume that the Gauls were content with the sober colours of the coats mentioned above, but may well have made full use of the dyeing techniques of which they are said to have been the masters.

V. THE LITERARY AND PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In the foregoing account of the archaeological evidence for the clothing of the north-west provinces, I have deliberately refrained from using Latin or native names for the garments discussed, unless they are of Italian origin. Although the literary sources supply valuable information about clothing of provincial origin, it is extremely difficult to identify a garment known from the monuments with a specific article mentioned in the literary texts. It is not enough to say, as Felix Hettner attempted to do, that the Gallic coat, which is the commonest garment on the grave-monuments of the Roman period, must be identical with the sagum, merely because according to Diodorus and Strabo this was the commonest Gallic garment²³⁵.

In practice, the literary description of an article of clothing ought to tally exactly with the alleged representations of it, not only in the shape and general cut of the garment, but in its date of emergence and geographical distribution. However, several names in the written sources are often available for a single garment seen on the gravestones (cf. byrrus, caracallus). In such circumstances, the evidence is seldom detailed enough to allow a confident identification with one or other of them. I have therefore felt justified in treating separately the literary and archaeological material, although I have indicated possible links where they occur.

Besides the direct and indirect descriptions of an article of clothing in ancient writers, the name itself can often give a clue to its shape and sometimes to its ultimate origin, if it is a word foreign to the language in which it is first found. The historical and archaeological implications of a loan-word have rarely been appreciated by archaeologists, although Pliny the Elder was aware of their value: 'oddments of wool left over from the finishing are used as stuffing for bolsters – an invention of the Gauls, I think; at any

²³¹ Von Massow (1932) Taf. 66 (coloured).

²³² Germania 38, 1960, 143.

²³³ Trier: Pobé-Roubier (1958) no. 167. – Lullingstone: See p. 193.

²³⁴ Wild (1964 b); Diodorus V 30,1.

²³⁵ Pick's Rhein.-Westf. Monatschr. 7, 1881, 1 ff.

rate the practice is called by Gallic names today, but I could not say at what period it began²³⁶. The introduction of foreign loan-words into the Latin language, he realised, meant the introduction of foreign objects and ideas.

The work of Professor Kenneth Jackson and Henry Lewis on the Latin loan-words in Old Welsh, a closed group of about 800 words from every sphere of life, confirms the general principle behind Pliny's statement²³⁷. All the words, except the ecclesiastical (which may be later importations), were used in Roman Britain; and they represent something which was unfamiliar to the pre-Roman population and for which no word existed in their own vocabulary. The objects might be something completely new to them, or improved versions introduced by the Romans of something already familiar to them. There is, however, a small group of Latin loan-words for which a word must have already existed in British (e. g. Lat. *bracchium* gives Middle Welsh *breich*, 'arm'), since innovation looks unlikely. Until this group has been isolated and explained, the case for the borrowing of object and name simultaneously will not be completely watertight; but the list of Latin loan-words in Greek, particularly in the realm of administration and commerce, reveals new influences and products from the Latin West and lends support to our main contention²³⁸.

The following clothes are listed alphabetically in the general categories to which they belong. They comprise the Gallic and Germanic garments known in Italy and garments of Italian origin known to have been made in the provinces.

Body garments

Camisia

The *camisia* is mentioned first in a letter of Jerome at the end of the fourth century. He describes it explicitly (with an apology for using *sermo vulgatus*) as a tight-fitting linen shirt with long, narrow, sleeves, which the priests had adopted from the military. Isidore of Seville in the early seventh century paraphrases Jerome, adding that in his day it had become a night-shirt²³⁹.

Walde-Hofmann accept *camisia* as a loan word of Germanic origin, which had entered Latin via Gallic before the completion of the first sound-shift. Whatmough suggests that it may be an isogloss in Gallic and Germanic²⁴⁰; but these are rare. Immediate borrowing of the word from Germanic into Latin is impossible because of the initial *c-* which had already become χ in Germanic before the first Roman contacts with the North (cf. *Chatti Chauci*). The Germanic root **kamitia* gives Old High German *hemidi*; the Indo-European root is **kem-*, 'cover'²⁴¹.

It is probable that the word and the garment which it describes were known to the population of the Rhineland (where Celtic and Germanic are closest) much earlier than the first mention of them in Latin literature; for Jerome says that *camisia* belonged to the common speech of everyday; and the word, as we have seen, was in Gallic at an

²³⁶ N. H. VIII 192.

²³⁷ Lewis (1943) offers the primary evidence, which is commented upon and pruned by Jackson (1953) 77 ff. For Celtic material in Latin see Schmidt (1967) 151 ff.

²³⁸ Hahn (1906) 137 ff., esp. 158–160.

²³⁹ Jerome, Epist. LXIV 11 (Migne, P. L. XXII 614). – Isidore, Origines XIX 21, 1. 22, 29.

²⁴⁰ Walde-Hofmann (1938) s. v. *camisia*. – Whatmough (1962) II 448.

²⁴¹ Pokorny (1959) 556.

early date. Perhaps the Thorsberg tunic would have been called a *camisia* by some people.

It is interesting that the word was borrowed into the insular-Celtic languages from Church Latin after the Roman era²⁴². The garment may have therefore been unknown in Roman Britain.

Pesrut, *tunica pexa*

One of the Old Welsh genealogies lists a native chieftain of North Britain named Patern *pesrut*, 'Paternus of the red tunic'. He is likely to have lived in the fourth century. The Middle Welsh *peis*, derived from the Latin *tunica pexa*, 'soft-finished tunic', probably refers to a sleeved shirt²⁴³. The colour 'red' (Old Welsh, *rut*, Old Cornish *rud*) may possibly be one of the many shades of purple known to the Roman world.

While Jackson is somewhat cautious about the political significance of a red shirt, the late Professor Sir Ian Richmond considered it 'strongly suggestive of Roman investiture', marking the moment when the tribal chiefs 'became recognised independent kings' and clients of Rome²⁴⁴.

Gifts of clothing to prominent officers, especially the *paragauda* (a shirt with a varying number of stripes) and a *tunica russa*, red tunic, are mentioned several times in the late *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. Aurelian received from a grateful Roman people *tunicas russas ducales*²⁴⁵. These gifts amounted to recognition for loyal services rather than deliberate investiture, but would support Richmond's contention about the native chieftains.

Dalmatica

The identification of the *dalmatica* causes little difficulty, since the garment passed without significant change from secular use into the vestiarium of the early Church and hence has survived until the present day. Representations of a body-garment like the ecclesiastical *dalmatic* are common in the late-antique Christian catacombs in Rome²⁴⁶. The Edict of Diocletian (A. D. 301) lists all manner of *dalmaticae* in fine wool, silk, wool and silk union fabric, and linen, for men and women²⁴⁷.

In shape and cut it is precisely similar to the wide-fitting Gallic coat with wide, but short sleeves; it was worn ungirt. Isidore point out that it must have come from Dalmatia (sc. *vestis*) (*dalmatica*)²⁴⁸. In view of its similarity to the Gallic coat there is no reason to disagree with him, although Čremošnik comments that the *dalmatic* cannot certainly be found on the grave-stelae in the area where its etymology suggests it was at home²⁴⁹.

The earliest dated appearance of the word is on an inscription from Thorigny which records that Claudius Paulinus, while governor of Britain, presented a member of his staff with a number of items of clothing including a *dalmatica* of fine wool from Laodicea in Asia Minor²⁵⁰. It is interesting that the presentation took place in Britain in A. D. 220, and we may assume that the recipient wore the garment in the North.

²⁴² Pedersen (1909) I 240.

²⁴³ *Antiquity* 29, 1955, 79 f.; Jackson (1953) 78; Wild (1967).

²⁴⁴ Richmond (1958) 125. ²⁴⁵ MacMullen (1963) (appendix); S. H. A., *Probus* 4,5; *Aurelianus* 13,3. 46,6.

²⁴⁶ Mützel (1928); RE IV (1901) 2025 f.; Wilpert (1903). ²⁴⁷ *Edictum Diocletiani* XIX.

²⁴⁸ *Origines* XIX 22,9.

²⁴⁹ Čremošnik (1963) 123.

²⁵⁰ Pflaum (1948) 25; C. I. L. XIII 3162, col. II 10. – The references in the Augustan Histories to Commodus wearing a *dalmatica* are not to be taken at face value, since the date and authorship of the work are the subject of lively controversy (see *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 57, 1967, 115 ff.).

There are many instances of the *dalmatica* in papyri and graffiti from the early-third century onwards, particularly in the eastern provinces²⁵¹. The Edict does not record its manufacture in the North. Perhaps the *dalmatica* entered Italy by way of the Greek-speaking East; it may never have been in common use in the northern provinces.

Capes

Byrrus

The textile industry in Britain and the Low Countries in the third and fourth centuries A. D. made an important contribution to the economy of the northern provinces. Among the articles exported from the North the Edict of Diocletian lists the *byrrus*, a garment which commentators have interpreted variously²⁵². My complete examination of the problems involved has appeared elsewhere and in the following paragraphs I shall only summarise the published results²⁵³.

Shape and cut

There is no direct description of the *byrrus* until the work of the early mediaeval scholiasts and glossators, who are of uncertain value. There is, however, enough information from reliable ancient sources to suggest that the *byrrus* was a long cape of heavy wool or occasionally of skin, commonly worn out of doors in all the worst kinds of weather. A hood was probably attached to it, but it had no sleeves. It would have been easy to confuse with the *paenula* at a distance, but seems to have been distinguished from it by having a triangular gusset fitted into the V-shaped gap at the neck to protect the throat. The front was sewn up completely.

From a comparison of the prices and various types of finish listed in the Edict I have argued that the *byrrus* was made of particularly hard-wearing wool with a long nap to repel the rain. It may not have been dyed, but best-quality *byrri* had two parallel stripes down the front as ornament.

On the basis of this evidence, I have tentatively identified it with the hooded cape which appears on the Andrew's Diptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and elsewhere in late-antique art.

Origin of the *byrrus*

According to the Edict, the *Nervii* in the Low Countries manufactured the best *byrri*, while the *byrri* of their neighbours, the *Atrebates*, are mentioned in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* as highly prized²⁵⁴. It is not known where the medium-quality British *byrri* were made, but probably not (as I earlier supposed²⁵⁵) on the Wessex Downs, where short-stapled fine-woolled sheep would be kept, unsuitable for hard-wearing garments with a long nap.

On linguistic grounds it is likely that the *byrrus* originated in Gaul; and the outstanding quality of the northern *byrri* would support this conclusion. Walde-Hofmann compare the Middle Irish *berr*, Middle Welsh *byrr*, 'short', and reconstruct a possible continental-

²⁵¹ Graffito at Dura: Dura (1933) 153 no. 300, line 15. — See Preisigke (1925–31) s. v. δελματιζή.

²⁵² Edictum Diocletiani XIX with Journ. Rom. Stud. 45, 1955, 106 ff.

²⁵³ Wild (1963) 193–202.

²⁵⁴ S. H. A., Carinus 20,6.

²⁵⁵ Wild (1963) 193–202.

Celtic **birros*²⁵⁶. Weisgerber and Whatmough accept the etymology²⁵⁷. Gallic personal names in *Birr-* (e. g. *Birro*) may be compared with the Latin *Paulus*, 'Shorty'²⁵⁸; but a garment from this root is not recorded in insular-Celtic. It would have entered Latin in a truncated form (like [*vestis*] *dalmatica*) as a 'short sc. cape'. The fact that the *byrrus* was not short in classical antiquity does not disprove the etymology.

There was no standard spelling of *byrrus* in antiquity. The earliest instance (in a Latin letter of the early second century A. D. from Karanis in Egypt²⁵⁹) is spelled *byrrus*, but shortly afterwards βίρροϋς appears in two letters in Greek²⁶⁰. The duality of spelling persists in all documents, public and private alike, until the late Empire²⁶¹. Augustine used three forms *birrus*, *byrrus* and *byrrhus*. If *byrrus* with -y- is correct (*birrus* then being Vulgar Latin²⁶²), it is likely to have been transmitted to Latin via Greek; for -y- was invented in Latin to cope with -v- in Greek loan-words²⁶³. But there is practically no evidence for a vowel in Gallic with the sound value of the Greek Upsilon²⁶⁴. On the other hand, *birrus* may be the correct form, while *byrrus* is a solecism invented under Greek influence, like FYRMUS for FIRMUS²⁶⁵. The additional problem of variant readings in the MSS makes the question insoluble. The hunt for orthography may in any case be idle, since both spellings were acceptable at all periods. I have adopted the spelling which appears in the earliest known text.

Caracallus

The story of how the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus was given the unofficial nickname of Caracalla after a variety of cloak or cape which he adopted from the Gallic troops under his command caught the imagination of many ancient writers. I have discussed the character and origin of the garment in a recent paper, the results of which I shall present here briefly²⁶⁶.

The sources, although they do not go into detail, agree in describing the *caracallus* as a hooded, sleeveless cape, probably of thick wool. In its more eccentric forms it reached to the ankles. First mentioned by Cassius Dio, who may have seen Aurelius Antoninus wearing it, it reached the peak of its popularity in Rome in the third century, and was still known there in the fourth. In the early-fourth century a smaller model in linen which may have served to protect the back of the head against the sun, is recorded in the Edict of Diocletian and in later Egyptian papyri.

The original and correct form of the substantive, *caracallus* (καράκαλλος), was assimilated to a large group of Latin cognomina in *-lla* and *-la* when it became the nickname of the Emperor (cf. Caligula). The feminine form *caracalla* is derived from that.

Although ancient writers assert that the garment was Gallic, the name **caracallos* has no Gallic etymology (pace Walde-Hofmann), but seems to be parallel to a group of personal names in Gallia Belgica which have been shown to be pre-Indo-European. On these grounds I have tentatively suggested that the garment, too, in whatever form, originated in northern Europe before the end of the Bronze Age.

²⁵⁶ Walde-Hofmann (1938) s. v. *birrus*. – Middle Irish *berr* (Meyer [1906] s. v.); Middle Welsh *byrr* (Pedersen [1909] I 352).

²⁵⁷ Weisgerber (1930) 195. – Whatmough (1962) II 442.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Holder (1891–1913) I 424 f.

²⁵⁹ P. Mich. 467, 18 ff.

²⁶⁰ P. Giss. 76,4; B. G. U. 845,13.

²⁶¹ Thesaurus Linguae Latinae s. v. *birrus*.

²⁶² Clausen (1904) 865.

²⁶³ Ibid. 860.

²⁶⁴ Dottin (1920) 95.

²⁶⁵ C. I. L. VI 2500; Sommer (1948) 63.

²⁶⁶ Wild (1964 a) 532 ff.

The byrrus and caracallus existed side by side as two distinct garments in Rome, at least in the third and fourth centuries. The differences may have been in detail and cannot now be established. The Gallic cape is the only garment on the tombstones which answers to their general description; but we do not know which name was applied to it. Perhaps different groups of people in the North had their own particular names for the same garment.

Cucullus

The hooded shoulder-cape which appears on the reliefs of the northern provinces and on the late-antique sarcophagi in the West is normally, and correctly, called a cucullus.

The word cucullus, which came to describe the hood of the monkish habit (Engl. *cowl*)²⁶⁷, passed from Latin into the Romance languages and still further afield with the spread of Christianity (cf. Old High German *cucula*). The meaning was never lost. An inscription from Wabelsdorf in Austria on an altar to the GENIUS CUCULLATUS probably referred to the actual hood itself²⁶⁸; for the hooded deities, to whom it was dedicated, wear long rather than short capes. Cucullus may at first have been applied to the hood only, but later included the shoulder-covering attached to it.

A decree in the Code of Theodosius (A. D. 382) stipulated that the cucullus should be worn only by slaves²⁶⁹. Shepherds in a short hooded garment are common on fourth-century sarcophagi in the West and can safely be described as cucullati²⁷⁰. Juvenal mentions it twice as a disguise used at night²⁷¹. Many references show that it was a favourite garment in Italy.

Cuculli seem to have been northern in origin and were manufactured in Gaul during the Roman era, at least by the Santoni and Lingones²⁷². But no Gallic or Indo-European root can be suggested for the word²⁷³: in phonology it is similar to caracallus, ending in double -ll- and reduplicated. Perhaps the Celts inherited it from the older population of northern Gaul, to whom the personal names of this type are assigned. The word appears in the insular-Celtic languages only as a borrowing from Latin²⁷⁴.

Closely akin to, if not identical with, the cucullus was the bardocucullus, described as a sort of paenula by Martial²⁷⁵. The first element in the word, *bard-*, is the Gallic **bardos*, 'bard'. The vowel -o- is also a Gallic, not a Latin, way of joining parts of a compositum. Perhaps the bard, although not a religious figure, was once marked out from other men by a special kind of hood, the importance of which is demonstrated by the Genii cucullati²⁷⁶.

Cloaks

Chlamys

A chlamys of fine Canusine wool was among the expensive gifts which Sennius received from Claudius Paulinus in A. D. 220 and we are at liberty to suppose that he wore it²⁷⁷.

²⁶⁷ Walde-Hofmann (1938); Holder (1891-1913) s. v. cucullus.

²⁶⁸ Egger (1962) II 159 ff., Abb. 1; cf. Deonna (1955).

²⁷⁰ Rodenwaldt (1921-22) 102 ff.

²⁷² Juvenal VIII 145; Martial I 53,5.

²⁷⁴ Pedersen (1909) I 227.

²⁷⁶ Walde-Hofmann s. v. bardocucullus. The Mod. Welsh BARDDGWCWLL is a piece of antiquarianism. The cuculli Bardaeci of the author of the Life of Pertinax (S. H. A., Pertinax 8,3) is probably a misunderstanding of bardocuculli.

²⁶⁹ Codex Theodosianus XIV 10,1.

²⁷¹ Juvenal VIII 145. VI 118.

²⁷³ Walde-Hofmann (1938) s. v.; Whatmough (1962) III 562.

²⁷⁵ XIV 128.

²⁷⁷ Cf. note 250.

It was a cloak of Greek origin, but the name was used in late antiquity to describe the cloak of the Roman general, the *paludamentum*²⁷⁸. In the late Empire it was worn extensively, not only by the military, but by officials in government service; and in this capacity it would have been seen occasionally in the North.

It was an approximately, or precisely, semicircular cloak, fastened with a brooch on the right shoulder (Sennius' 'golden brooch with gems')²⁷⁹. The consular diptych of Probianus (ca. A. D. 400) shows him accompanied by two officials, the figure on the one side in a *chlamys* in a military or civil-service context, that on the other side dressed in a Senatorial *toga*²⁸⁰. The diptych illustrates in detail the provisions of the decree of A. D. 382 about dress in the city of Rome and leaves no doubt about the name of each garment²⁸¹. The *chlamys* is clearly the half-moon cloak (p. 192) which appears on the jet medallions at York.

Mantus

The Edict of Diocletian lists among low-priced woollen goods a *mantus* (Greek text *μάντος*)²⁸². In a recent note I have suggested that it was a simple cloak of wool²⁸³. Its name may be derived from the Indo-European root *men-*, 'tread', and refer to a fulled (trodden) wool textile.

Sagum

Roman writers considered the *sagum* to be characteristic of northern barbarians and mentioned it frequently²⁸⁴. Although the first explicit description of it as a rectangular cloak is late, the many representations of Gauls and Germans in Roman art correspond closely to the literary references²⁸⁵; they wear not only the *sagum*, but *braca* (trousers) as well. The *sagum* was a plain, rectangular cloak, sometimes fringed, sometimes striped (*virgatus*), which we can confidently equate with the 'barbarian' cloak, the Thorsberg 'Prachtmantel' (p. 182).

In the Roman Empire the *sagum* was characteristic of the private soldier and served him not only as a cloak, pinned on the right shoulder, but as a blanket at night²⁸⁶. Strabo says that it was borrowed from the Gauls and modern philologists would accept this²⁸⁷. The Indo-European *seg-*, 'fasten', would give Gallic **sagon*.

By the third century the uses of the *sagum* as cloak and blanket had diverged. *Sagum fibulatorium*, or just *fibulatorium* (appearing already in a third-century papyrus), denote the cloak, while the blanket is still *sagum*, but priced very low in the Edict²⁸⁸. The Edict lists a *fibulatorium* manufactured at Trier²⁸⁹; so, although there is no archaeological evidence for it, it may have been worn in Gaul in late antiquity.

²⁷⁸ RE XVIII 3 (1949) 281 ff. s. v. *paludamentum*.

²⁷⁹ Delbrueck (1929) 38 ff.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. no. 65.

²⁸¹ For the decree cf. note 269.

²⁸² Edictum Diocletiani XIX 59.

²⁸³ *Sagum fibulatorium*: S. H. A., Tyr. Trig. 10,12. – *Fibulatorium*: P. Ox. 1051,6. 11. – *Sagum*: Edictum Diocletiani XIX 60. 61.

²⁸⁹ Edictum Diocletiani XIX 54.

²⁸³ See Wild (1966).

²⁸⁴ Holder (1891–1913) s. v. *sagos*.

²⁸⁵ Girke (1922).

²⁸⁶ Wilson (1938) 104 ff.

²⁸⁷ Strabo, Geogr. IV 197. – Pokorny (1959) 887.

Braca

The Romans of Rome affected a thorough-going snobbery with regard to trousers which were before the late-second century A. D. considered only fit for barbarians to wear²⁹⁰. References to *bracae* (Engl. breech, breeches) usually couple them with the tribes on the northern and eastern fringes of the civilised world; e. g. *Gallia bracata*, an earlier expression for *Gallia Narbonensis*²⁹¹. There can be no doubt, after a glance at barbarians in Rome art, that *bracae* meant trousers²⁹².

The etymology of the word *braca* was for long a point of dispute among scholars whose national prestige was at stake. Some favoured a German root, some a Celtic (Gallic)²⁹³. Present-day opinion leans heavily towards a Germanic root (cf. Old High German *bruch*, Old Norse *brök*). Diodorus, referring to the period of conquest, says that it was in his day a Gallic word²⁹⁴; so the borrowing from Germanic into Gallic into Latin must have taken place by 50 B. C. The name of Caesars' contemporary Mandubracius probably means 'the man with a backside like a pony' rather than 'with trousers of ponyskin'²⁹⁵.

Although short breeches in leather were a standard part of legionary attire²⁹⁶, long woollen trousers were not worn inside the Empire until late antiquity, when the wearing of slippers (*tzangae*) and trousers within the city of Rome was forbidden by edict of the Emperor Honorius²⁹⁷. Several pairs of woollen trousers have been found in the northern bogs, some calf-length, some to the ankles²⁹⁸. But there is no evidence that provincials continued to wear trousers, even on the wilder northern frontiers. If the garment was borrowed ultimately from the Germans of the far North, it may not have been as popular as Roman writers and poets supposed. The Celts of the British Isles had to borrow the Anglo-Saxon word *broc* as Middle Irish *broc* shows; and it is difficult to decide whether they wore trousers before that²⁹⁹.

Uuantus (uantus)

Gloves were unknown in classical antiquity and long sleeves (*manicae*) served instead to protect the hands against the cold. Long sleeves of this kind were certainly known in Roman Britain (Old Welsh *maneg*, Latin *manica*[e]). The first mention of gloves or mittens (*uuantus*) is in the late-sixth century life of Columbanus, an Irish monk who had worked for many years on the Continent. His biographer reports that the 'Galli' used *uanti* to cover their hands when doing rough work³⁰⁰.

The word *Galli* has led some philologists to ascribe a Gallic origin to the glove³⁰¹; but the term *Galli* covered Germanic peoples too in the late Empire³⁰²; and in this case it probably refers to the Franks.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae s. v. *braca*.

²⁹¹ Pomponius Mela II 74.

²⁹² Girke (1922).

²⁹³ Walde-Hofmann (1938) s. v. *braca*; Journ. English and Germanic Phil. 42, 1943, 494 f.; Pokorny (1959) 165.

²⁹⁴ Diodorus V 30,1.

²⁹⁵ Schmidt (1957) 237. – But see Evans (1967) 100 ff. and 222 f.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Cichorius (1896) *passim*.

²⁹⁷ Codex Theodosianus XIV 10,2 (A. D. 397).

²⁹⁸ Hald (1962) 35 ff.

²⁹⁹ Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung 30, 1890, 87 ff.

³⁰⁰ Iona, Vita Columbani I 15.

³⁰¹ Whatmough (1962) IV 913.

³⁰² Weisgerber (1939) 25 ff. – Frankish origin accepted by Gamillscheg (1928) s. v. *gant*.

The earliest known mitten – only the thumb piece is separate – is a woollen example from the Roman Iron Age found at Åsle in Sweden. It was carried out in a complicated single-needle knitting technique³⁰³.

Thus the archaeological and philological material together points to a northern origin for the glove.

Various textiles

Ulpian states as a legal definition that there was no distinction in the Roman mind between textiles which were clothes and those which were bed-clothes³⁰⁴. A sagum was both a cloak and a blanket. Hence, although the following items may have been worn as cloaks at some period, the evidence available suggests that to the Roman they were bedclothes.

Vanata

Catalogued in the Edict is the *βάνατα* (*vanata*, with the Vulgar Latin confusion of B and V), made in Noricum and Gaul, and described as double-thickness or *καταβίωον*, a (corrupt ?) word of unknown meaning³⁰⁵. Whatmough thinks it may be a travelling cloak, but to judge from the context it is more likely to have been a sort of rug or blanket³⁰⁶.

The word is presumed to be Gallic; and the root *vanat-* appears in proper names VANATASTUS from Vesontio, VANATACTUS from Switzerland, and VANATAXTA from Rheinzabern³⁰⁷. Names in -st- suffix appear to be Illyrian³⁰⁸; and the name itself *vanata* may be Illyrian rather than Celtic (Gallic).

Vedox

Similar to the *vanata* and preceding it in Diocletian's list was the *vedox*, a textile produced in Gaul and Noricum³⁰⁹. It is described as a *velum* (here βῆλον), a curtain. The etymology of the word is uncertain³¹⁰.

Tossia

Among the gifts of clothing which Sennius received from Claudius Paulinus was a *tossia Brit(annica)*³¹¹. The word is an hapax legomenon. The article itself is listed between a pair of blankets (*rachanae*) and a seal-skin and may have been a type of rug or blanket made in Britain. The fact that British rugs (*tapetia*), used on couches or as saddle-cloths³¹², were the best in the world in A. D. 301, suggests that the *tossia* may have been something similar and an acceptable present.

³⁰³ Arbman-Strömberg (1934); Hald (1962) 76 fig. 68.

³⁰⁴ Ulpian quoted by the Digest XXXIV 2,23 ii.

³⁰⁵ Edictum Diocletiani XIX 43, 45; Mommsen-Blümner (1893) 154 suggest ΠΑΤΑΒΙΩΝ, 'Paduan', for corrupt ΚΑΤΑΒΙΩΝ.

³⁰⁶ Whatmough (1962) V 1184.

³⁰⁷ VANATASTUS: C. I. L. XIII 5392. – VANATACTUS: Howald-Meyer (1940) 245 Nr. 160. – VANATAXTA: C. I. L. XIII 11689.

³⁰⁸ Schmidt (1957) 102 f.

³⁰⁹ Edictum Diocletiani XIX 44. 46.

³¹⁰ Perhaps Indo-European *vedb-*: Pokorny (1959) 1116.

³¹¹ C. I. L. XIII 3162 col. II; Pflaum (1948) 25 supposes that the *rachana* is a tunic (!) 'like the *birrus*' (!) and that with the *tossia* it forms 'une canadienne'.

³¹² Journ. Rom. Stud. 45, 1955, 114.

The origin of the word is obscure. Hirschfeld connected it with the Mediaeval Latin *toxa*, a sort of blanket (*stragula*), which is mentioned once in the ninth, once in the eleventh, century³¹³. It is unlikely that the Latin *toxa* is a corruption of *tossia* (-ss- to -x- unlikely, cf. Latin -x- to Italian -ss-), but it may be a parallel form from the same root. Indo-European (*s*)*teg-*, 'cover', could give Gallic **teg-* by normal development of -o- from IE. -e- (cf. Latin *tego*, *toga*, 'cover')³¹⁴. But the -o- stage of this root is not recorded in Insular-Celtic (Old Welsh *tig*, Old Irish *tebh*, 'house'), although it could be expected according to the sound laws. The consonantal change *tog-sia* into *tossia* would cause no problem³¹⁵.

Etymologically, then, *tossia* may be Gallic, but this is not proved. The word may be the British description of what the compilers of the Edict classified as a *tapes*, a rug.

One final point is worth making about the garment-names in the continental-Celtic vocabulary, both those etymologically of Gallic origin (*byrrus*, *bardocucullus*, *sagum*, *mantus* [?]) and those borrowed from the substrate population (*cucullus*, *caracallus*) or from the Germans (*camisia*, *braca*, *uuantus*). Not one of them is present in either Old Welsh (the remains of the language of the Romano-Britons) or Old Irish, except as demonstrably late borrowings from Latin. Thus there is no philological evidence for what the Britons wore before the Roman invasion. One might argue from the negative evidence that they did not dress like the continental Celts, if the words for continental-Celtic clothing only arrived with the Romans. But even so, it would be difficult to accept unreservedly Caesar's comment that the Britons north of the Thames wore only skins³¹⁶!

VI. CLOTHING IN A WIDER CONTEXT

In the foregoing chapters I have tried to give some account of the various garments which were worn by men, women and children in the northern provinces. I have drawn attention to the clothes as textiles, examined their shape and cut, and presented the details of their distribution and dating so far as the literary and archaeological evidence permits. Each item of clothing has been treated separately and speculation about the nature of the relationships between garments and costumes, their origins and their place in Roman culture has been kept to a minimum. In the final chapter of this section I shall attempt to raise and answer precisely these questions.

Relationships between men's costumes

It has already been shown in the chapter on clothing of Roman and Italian origin that the *toga*, *pallium* and other articles of attire characteristic of Rome and Italy were not among the contents of the ordinary provincial clothes' chest. The country garb of *cucullus* (shoulder-cape) and leggings, and such individual items of clothing as the apron, drawers and head-gear are so widely scattered that no conclusions can be drawn about their

³¹³ Hirschfeld, C. I. L. XIII fasc. 1, p. 500. — Du Cange (1883) s. v. *toxa*. — For the suggestion that *tossia* is insular-Celtic see now *Études Celt.* 11, 1966/7, 409–412.

³¹⁴ Pokorny (1959) 1013.

³¹⁵ Dottin (1920) 63.

³¹⁶ Caesar, B. G. V 14,2.

ultimate origins and contexts. We are left accordingly with the two most important ensembles of the civilian in the northern provinces, the 'barbarian' costume and the basic male costume.

'Barbarian' costume and his context

The costume which consists of a long-sleeved tunic (*camisia* ?), cloak (*sagum*) and trousers (*braca*) was worn by the barbarians across the Rhine, by the Celtic-speaking population of Noricum and Pannonia (with the exception of the trousers), and by the Gauls themselves at the time of the Roman invasion. The precise origin of this form of dress is not known, but in the later phase of the pre-Roman Iron Age it was spread throughout northern Europe and among many of the barbarian peoples of the East (eg. Sarmatae, Parthians and Persians)³¹⁷. The literary and archaeological sources are quite explicit on this point. There is however, no sign of it in Gaul or the Germanies after the Roman conquest. In the remote country districts, where there are no permanent records, it may possibly have lingered on and soldiers in the *auxilia* retained it. But in most areas 'barbarian' costume was certainly pushed out very soon after the conquest by what we have named the basic male costume.

Origin of the coat and cape

The Gallic coat and cape fully deserve the title 'basic costume'; for they are found everywhere within the northern provinces in all strata of society from the mid-first century until the evidence trickles away in the mid-fourth. Yet the coat is never mentioned in literary sources; and apart from the stray find at Reepsholt and a few possible examples in the Danubian lands, the garment is confined to the tombstones of Gaul, the Rhineland and Britain.

No one has questioned the belief that the coat is of provincial, and not of Roman, origin, although garments superficially similar to it are known in Italy. Legionaries and even the Emperor Trajan himself in a military context³¹⁸ wore a wide sleeveless girt tunic which bears a resemblance to the Gallic coat and is better known as the tunic of the *camillus*, the attendant at religious functions³¹⁹. In the late Empire, under the name *colobium* (which appears first in the third century A. D.), it was worn by everyone, not merely soldiers and servants³²⁰. In Rome the wide tunic had no sleeves because in early imperial society sleeves were considered improper for men³²¹; it was girt for similar reasons³²².

With these facts to hand it could be argued that the provincials in their desire to be Romanised had adopted the wide sleeveless tunic and cape of the legionary soldiers, whom they saw on the frontier. At the same time, however, one would have to account for the appearance of short sleeves in the provinces, extra width, and the lack of a belt; for even legionaries followed the accepted canons of the *civis Romanus*. The Gallic cape

³¹⁷ *Rev. Arch.* 24, 1926, 1 ff.

³¹⁸ E. g. the soldier at Heerlen: *Germania* 21, 1937, Taf. 51,1. – For Trajan: *Mem. American Acad. Rome* 21, 1953, 125 ff. with plate p. 154.

³¹⁹ E. g. Wilson (1938) pl. XLII.

³²⁰ The identification of the *colobium* is made certain by a comparison of the terms of *Codex Theodosianus* XIV 10,1 with the contemporary *Probianus-diptych* (Delbrueck [1929] 250 ff. Nr. 65).

³²¹ Aulus Gellius VI 12.

³²² Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* XI 138.

too is different from the *paenula*. The hypothesis, then, of a Roman origin for the basic costume seems to be an unlikely one.

The alternative view is that the Gallic coat and cape are of provincial origin. In the course of the third century A. D. the *dalmatic*, a wide sleeved tunic which closely resembled the Gallic coat became popular in Rome. It was native to the Illyrian provinces and was worn ungirt. Its close resemblance to the Gallic coat, coupled with the fact that it was unknown in Rome before the third century, suggests that the Gallic coat, too, was of provincial origin and unknown in Rome until the Severan period.

The fact that two varieties of Gallic cape entered Rome from the provinces at about the same time, if not earlier, has already been noted. The basic Gallic costume, accordingly, appears to have been regarded in Rome as something provincial and new, but none the less acceptable.

A plausible explanation of the similarities between the Gallic coat, the *dalmatica* and the tunic of the *camillus* (the *colobium*) is that they were descended from a common ancestor. The even closer relationship between the two northern types, both in shape and geographical distribution, would lend support to this.

To attempt to locate more precisely the origin of the Gallic coat, and to explain the reasons for its distribution, is admittedly a mainly speculative proceeding; but the attempt is worth making.

Since the coat appears well established in northern Gaul on monuments of the first century A. D., it is probable that it had existed there before, and during, the Roman invasion-period. This is made even more likely if the theory that the coat, the *dalmatica* and the *colobium* had a common ancestor is accepted. The coat, it could be argued, escaped the notice of the classical geographers and their informants because they concentrated their attention on the Gauls of the South. The coat may have been worn at that time only by a small tribe or group of tribes and hence have been inconspicuous.

The strong antipathy which the Romans felt towards the wearing of trousers, a standard item of attire in pre-Roman Gaul, may have had some effect on provincial opinion³²³. Those who wished to profit from the new opportunities for advancement which the Roman Empire brought would wish to avoid the stigma of dressing like a barbarian. If they adopted the Gallic coat instead of tunic and trousers, they would be free of this embarrassment. It must in any case have been somewhat difficult for the provincials to form an idea of what Romans in Italy wore; for the multifarious clothing of the army, high government officials and the cosmopolitan negotiatores could only leave them with a confused impression.

The Belgic tribes from the land between the Maas and the Schelde, who exercised suzerainty over the whole of *Gallia Belgica*, may have been the original wearers of the Gallic coat. It has been demonstrated recently that they were part of a substrate population present in North-West Europe before the arrival of the Celts and Germans³²⁴. In historic times they were themselves conscious of a separate identity. If the coat was their own form of dress, this might explain how it could have survived in an area populated by Celts and Germans. Perhaps the cape known as the *caracallus* (p. 224) was theirs too. Considerable elements of an older population survived among the Celtic tribes in the areas between the *Remi* and the *Lingones*; and the *Treveri* seem to have

³²³ I am grateful to Mr. W. K. Lacey for making this fundamental point.

³²⁴ Hachmann et al. (1962) 127 ff.

been proud of this part of their ancestry³²⁵. They, too, may have once worn the coat. A revival of the dress of this substrate population under Belgic influence would not seem impossible, but must of course remain only a matter of conjecture.

Relationships between women's costumes

The dress of the Roman matron was known in the art of the Roman provinces, but there is little reason to suppose that it was often worn there, except by wives of officials. The dominant native dress reveals several different currents inherited from the pre-Roman Iron Age.

Origin of Menimane's dress

Menimane's dress, as represented on the tombstones of the Rhineland and in the pairs of fibulae found in graves, was at its peak of popularity in the first century A. D. It was practically the only female ensemble. But from the late-first century onwards, until it disappears in the Antonine period, it was worn only in the remote country districts which would be more conservative in taste. The coat was responsible for its demise.

Menimane's costume and the various forms of overtunic, which probably belong to the same cultural context, are the female equivalent of the 'barbarian' costume of the male. They were worn throughout Early-Iron-Age Europe and continued in use in the Roman period in Noricum and Pannonia, where the coat was never fashionable³²⁶.

Irma Čremošnik's contention that the Norican and Pannonian form of dress with its chained fibulae, which is closely related to Menimane's costume, stems from a Greek original, spread through Greek influence in the Balkans, seems highly unlikely. The fact that the fibula-types can be traced back to Greek origins does not prove that the northern version of this costume as a whole is derived from, and not (as I suggest) parallel to the Greek form of dress.

Coat

It is uncertain how long it took for the coat to replace the La-Tène costume, but the process was virtually complete in Gaul by the late-second century A. D. The situation in Britain is obscured by lack of evidence, but the same process probably took place there, perhaps more slowly and less completely.

It is noteworthy that, while men in northern Gaul adopted the coat comparatively quickly, their womenfolk clung for over a century longer to the La-Tène costume of Menimane. Both men and women in the older pre-Celtic population may have worn the coat and the tradition may have survived into the Roman period. On the other hand, if only men wore it, the women of the Roman provinces may have copied the dress of their husbands. This is not so far-fetched an idea as it sounds; for the bulk of female personal names in Gallia Belgica are formed from what were originally distinctively male names³²⁷. There may have been no concept at that period of feminine dress, but only of certain feminine features, such as the length.

³²⁵ On the 'Germanic' origin of the Treveri see Tacitus, *Germania* 28; for the meaning of 'Germanic' here see Hachmann et al. (1962) 43 ff.; for pre-Celtic personal names and some corroboration of Hachmann's thesis see Weisgerber (1935).

³²⁶ Čremošnik (1964) 760 ff.

³²⁷ Schmidt (1957) 48.

Dress of the Ubiae and Nehalennia

I have already discussed at some length the possible origins of the garments associated with this form of dress. They were brought over the Rhine from the east bank by the 'German' tribes settled on the left bank, soon after the Roman occupation began. The question of their ultimate origin, Germanic or pre-Germanic, has been left open.

Fashion

To write a chapter on the Roman attitude to clothes would be a fascinating study, but hardly relevant to the purpose of the present work; for evidence both literary and archaeological is to hand for Italy alone. But a few remarks might usefully be made on this subject.

The clothing of the provincial women does not appear to reflect much fashion consciousness; rapid change of fashion was reserved almost exclusively for hair-styles. To follow fashion, had it existed, would not have been difficult, where the weaving was done in the home. But to talk of fashion at all in the modern sense with regard to antiquity may be an anachronism.

In Rome and Italy there were clearly canons of decent dress. For example, Quintilian, in his notes for orators on how to dress for effect, goes into great detail about how a toga should be draped and a tunic girt to the right height above the knee³²⁸. But Quintilian's canons do not seem to have been observed by men in the North. Aulus Gellius comments that women's clothes should reach the wrists and ankles to protect them from the common gaze³²⁹ – this does appear to have been reflected in northern feelings.

Survival of native dress

The extent to which native dress survived after Gallia Belgica, the two Germanies, and Britain had been constituted as provinces of the Roman Empire is a question which might interest the historian. As we have seen, not only was there little Roman influence on the style of provincial clothing, but trends which had begun in the remote pre-Roman period continued in full vigour after the conquest.

One example will suffice. In Trier, which from the early fourth century was the seat of the administration of the western provinces, the coat continued to be worn at least until ca. A. D. 320, when the evidence peters out (p. 173). The wearers were not conservative peasants from the country districts, but cultivated men who could afford monuments in stone.

The significance of this apparent gap in the process of romanisation of native society cannot pass without comment.

The term 'romanisation' has often been wrongly used and understood, as if it were a process by which a superior culture and superior institutions were imposed uniformly upon a backward people. On this premiss, because Roman building practice (to cite an obvious example) replaced the primitive Iron-Age techniques completely in many areas, it has been thought legitimate to expect a similar penetration of Roman ideas into all spheres of provincial life. This is far from the truth.

³²⁸ Quintilian, Inst. XI 138.

³²⁹ Aulus Gellius VI 12.

Native dress, it must be emphasised, was essentially practical. It was moulded to the figure and cut or shaped to fit. The tight-fitting bodice of Menimane, for example, is unparalleled in Italy. The loose coats admittedly look unpractical, but may in fact have been very warm to wear over a slightly closer fitting undergarment. The northern peoples had good reason to be satisfied with their clothes.

Furthermore, Roman dress, apart from the tunic and paenula, was based on the toga and various forms of draped cloak, which were satisfactory in the Mediterranean climate, but could not bear comparison in bad weather with the garments made in northern Gaul. Hence 'romanisation' could have little impact on native clothing, since the Romans had nothing more suitable to offer than that which the natives already had. The toga, it is true, had a political or status significance for some provincials; but even so, it was not common in the North (see p. 188 ff.).

In the Bronze Age weavers wove their garments on the loom in the shape of the finished product, so that no cloth at all was wasted or cut³³⁰. The revolution came when men began to cut an unshaped web and tailor their clothing to give a better fit. This development had taken place in the North at the beginning of the Iron Age; but in the climate of southern Europe the need for fitted garments was not so urgent. The Roman tailor (*bracarius*) originally cut out and sewed leather breeches for soldiers as his name implies; he was the expert at cutting and moulding materials to a set pattern. When the vogue for other fitted garments reached Italy, the range of his activities widened, and he began to work in wool and linen as well as in felt and leather³³¹. The Edict of Diocletian reveals that many garments were partially shaped on the loom, but needed to be trimmed and sewn up before they could be worn.

The influence of the northern provinces on Rome

The advantages which Gallic and Germanic clothing possessed over Italian and Roman did not escape the notice of the Romans in Italy itself. In the late-second and early-third centuries they shed their previous inhibitions about length of sleeves and girding, and adopted wholesale the clothes of the northern peoples – Gallic capes (*byrri*, *caracalli*), German shirts (*camisiae*), Dalmatian coats (*dalmaticae*), and perhaps the hair-net³³². Northern garments had begun to appear in Italy at an early date (cf. *sagum*, *braca*), but the trickle turned to a steady stream about the time of the Severi. Fashions were taken over from the Iranians too, and all manner of gaudy ornament, stripes and patches, became extremely popular. The prices in the Edict indicate that the borrowing affected all classes in the state. Roman clothing in the strict sense disappears, except for the formal version of the toga.

The history of northern fashions thus reveals a notable reversal of fortune. The curious situation had developed in which a Treveran in the fourth century, wearing the coat and cape which his forebears had worn for centuries, would be fully in keeping with trends in the metropolis. His clothes, by their simplicity and lack of trimmings, might give him a slight air of rusticity; but he could claim credit for having turned the tables on Rome.

³³⁰ Schlabow (1962).

³³¹ *Edictum Diocletiani* VII 42 ff.

³³² *Bonner Jahrb.* 150, 1950, 86 ff.

References for illustrations:

Drawings by the author; maps by Rhein. Landesmuseum Bonn, based on the author's material.

- 1,1 after Esp. 4044.
 2 after Hald (1962) 61 fig. 53.
 2,2 after Hald (1962) 56 fig. 49.
 5 after Wilson (1924) 64 fig. 27A.
 3 Photo C. Dessart, Angleur.
 4 Photo Mittelrhein. Landesmuseum Mainz.
 6 Photo The Warburg Institute, London, and Otto Fein.
 7 Photo Rhein. Landesmuseum Trier.
 9 Photo City Museum Gloucester.
 10 Photo C. Dessart, Angleur.
 11,1 after Esp. 5142.
 2 after Hald (1950) 328 fig. 380.
 12,1 after Esp. 7253.
 13 Photo Rhein. Landesmuseum Bonn.
 14 Photo Städt. Museum Wiesbaden.
 15 Photo Rhein. Landesmuseum Bonn.
 19,1 after Cat. Chester (1955) no 119.
 2 after Esp. 4780.
 20,1 after von Massow (1932) Taf. 66.
 2 after Kutsch (1930) Taf. 26A. 26C.
 21 Photo Mittelrhein. Landesmuseum Mainz (from Bonner Jahrb. 158, 1958, Taf. 57,3).
 22 Photo Rhein. Landesmuseum Bonn.
 23 after Kutsch (1930) Taf. 26A. B.
 27 after Esp. 8518.
 31,1 after Hondius-Crone (1955) no. 5,8.
 2 after Esp. 5150.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SITES QUOTED IN THE MAPS

A	Arlon	IN	Ingelheim	OB	Oberelvenich
AL	Altdorf (Kr. Jülich)	J	Jünkerath	P	Pesch
AM	Amiens	JÜ	Jülich	R	Reims
BA	Baalon	K	Köln	RO	Rödingen
BE	Bettenhoven	KF	Kefersheim	S	Soulosse
BI	Bingerbrück	KO	Koblenz	SA	Saarbrücken
BO	Bonn	LU	Luxeuil	SB	Sablon
BU	Buzenol	M	Metz	SC	Scarpone
C	Châlon	MA	Maastricht	SE	Senon
CA	Carlisle	MD	Mandeure	SH	S. Shields
CH	Chester	MH	Marlenheim	ST	Stenay
CO	Coldchester	MO	Morken-Harff	STR	Straßburg
D	Domburg	MS	Monthureux/Saône	SV	Saverne
DI	Dilston	MT	Montigny	SZ	Selzen
DO	Dormagen	MÜ	Müdersheim	T	Trier
E	Embken	MW	Mainz-Weisenau	TH	Thorr
EP	Epinal	MZ	Mainz	TL	Toul
F	Fouches	N	Nijmegen	TO	Tongres
G	Gripswald	NB	Neuwieder Becken	V	Vettweiss
GL	Gleuel	NC	Nizy le Comte	W	Wintersdorf
H	Heidelsburg	NE	Neumagen	WE	Weinsheim
HD	Heidelberg	NH	Nettersheim	X	Xanten
HE	Heerlen	NI	Nickenich	Y	York
HO	Horburg	NS	Nierstein	Z	Zülpich
I	Igel	NX	Naix		
IL	Ilkley	O	Oberstauftenbach		

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