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Clothing in the Middle Danube provinces

The garments, their origins and their distribution¹

Introduction

The myriad dress styles worn by the inhabitants of the Roman provinces Noricum, Pannonia inferior and Pannonia superior in funerary monuments have enthralled many generations of scholars and visitors to modern Austria, Hungary and Slovenia, in whose museums the majority of the gravestones are kept. This fascination stems above all from the dazzling array of local dress styles worn especially by the native women of the region, and from the sheer quantity of the material in these provinces, a fact which renders the intricate details of the ensembles visible to the modern scholar nearly two millennia later.

1. Previous work and aims of the study

The first scholarly studies of the material appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with publications that concentrated on smaller geographical areas. Various Hungarian scholars, for example, such as J. Hampel and M. Láng looked at the dress on the monuments of Hungary, referring to the distinctive native women's clothing as »Pannonian«², while in Austria guide books to lapidaria in the various museums also described local dress styles, and referred to distinctive features such as the so-called wing brooches as »Norican«³. In 1923, A. Schober produced a book in which he compiled and discussed the Norican and Pannonian gravestones together, albeit largely for logistical reasons, as Austria and Hungary had still been a united state when he did the bulk of the research⁴; he did not claim a common identity for the two provinces. It was only somewhat later in 1933 that a Styrian folklorist by the name of V. von Geramb picked up on the Swedish brooch scholar O. Almgren's terminology for the wing brooch and another

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² Hampel 1880; Láng 1919.

³ E.g. Egger 1921.

⁴ Schober 1923.

characteristic brooch type of the eastern Alpine region, the so-called Doppelknopf brooch, as »norisch-pannonisch«⁵, and used this composite term to refer to the dress of the region as a whole⁶. His typology, which has largely formed the basis for later work, was written with the express intention of claiming ancient roots for the variety of local costumes still to be found in Austria and Hungary in von Geramb's day⁷. Nonetheless, many of von Geramb's observations were accurate. Based on the much smaller number of stones that were known in 1933, he managed to identify regional differences in the garments worn by the women – his »Volkstrachten« – and suggest names for these that are still in use today. In the time that followed, work grew apace on both the brooches and the clothing. 1934 saw F. Jantsch's article on the Carinthian »Norican« dress styles⁸, while in 1937 I. Kovrig published her seminal typology of the Roman brooches in Hungary, referring to the wing brooches – her group II – as »Pannonian«⁹. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that politics may have played a role in these choices of terminology, especially when Kovrig writes that Austrian scholars (presumably in her view incorrectly) call these brooches »Norican« or »Norican-Pannonian«¹⁰.

The period from 1930 to 1960 also saw a number of smaller studies focussed on specific garment types depicted on the stones¹¹, but the first more detailed treatment was conducted by J. Fitz in 1957 into the native women's dress of the region around Budapest that he assigned to the tribe of the Eravisci¹². Most importantly for the present study, Fitz was the first to draw together both items of clothing and dress accessories (belts, brooches, jewellery) into set »costumes«. For the Eraviscan territory this meant an earlier outfit consisting of a large turban with veil, a plain overtunic, torques, double-row arm bands and wing brooches, and a later one consisting of a flatter turban, wing and mask brooches, medallion necklaces, cord belts and an overtunic with chevron-shaped folds¹³; he also distinguished further subtypes within this group based on both the appearance of the hats and specific subtypes of brooches¹⁴. While I. Čremošnik chose to continue to separate the constituent dress elements in her various studies of the middle Danubian and Balkan regions in the 1960s¹⁵, a work appeared in 1965 that followed J. Fitz's lead in constructing set »Trachten« for the Norican-Pannonian region: J. Garbsch's »Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert«¹⁶. It is this book that has largely determined scholarship on the subject until the present day. Garbsch's main interest were the wing and Doppelknopf brooches already identified by Almgren as »norisch-pannonisch«. He linked the use of these with the distribution, both on graves and in archaeological contexts, of a specific type of belt¹⁷ which he saw, together with the brooches, as proof of »der einzigen deutlich fassbaren einheimischen Nationaltracht im römischen Imperium dieser Zeit«¹⁸ – a Norican-Pannonian national costume. The opening chapters of the book are given over to a description of depictions of native female clothing in the region, based largely on the work of von Geramb but with more differentiated types and subtypes, and in these and in the final chapter they are neatly combined together with

⁵ Almgren 1897. Cf. also Nagy 1928, 347: »Dass ... die großen Fibeln, die von Hampel pannonisch genannt wurden, aber richtiger pannonisch-norisch genannt werden könnten, eine wichtige Rolle spielten, ist hinlänglich bekannt.«

⁶ von Geramb 1933.

⁷ See, e.g., von Geramb 1933, 121–125 and 213 f.

⁸ Jantsch 1934, 65 f.

⁹ Kovrig 1937.

¹⁰ Kovrig 1937, 108. Interestingly, this is a distinction that is not followed by E. von Patek in her study of the brooches five years later, when she refers to »pannonisch-norische Gewandnadeln«: von Patek 1942, 83.

¹¹ Egger 1932; Egger 1948; Schmidt 1953; Schmidt 1958; Diez 1954.

¹² Fitz 1957.

¹³ Fitz 1957, 152.

¹⁴ Fitz 1957, 153 f.

¹⁵ Čremošnik 1963; Čremošnik 1964; Čremošnik 1967; Čremošnik 1969.

¹⁶ Garbsch 1965.

¹⁷ His reconstruction of this was based largely on Noll 1957.

¹⁸ Garbsch 1965, 1.

the brooches and belt into regional »Trachtgruppen« located in Virunum, Flavia Solva, Iuvavum and south-west, north-west and north-east Pannonia with variations in style from the 1st to the 2nd centuries¹⁹.

Already at the time misgivings were expressed regarding Garbsch's approach of choosing one belt and two brooch types to discuss, while ignoring the vast array of other brooch and belt types worn in the region that did not fit into his scheme for a unified Norican-Pannonian costume²⁰, while the tensions of the Cold War made themselves felt in the reaction of scholars in the Eastern Bloc to the intimated idea of an ancient link between Hungary and Austria²¹. The chronology for the different dress styles proposed by Garbsch and his view that they were confined to the first two centuries AD have been shown to be fundamentally flawed. Already J. Fitz but more recently O. Harl and in particular E. Pochmarski have produced a staggering number of extremely valuable studies of the funerary art and some of the dress elements with a view to addressing the urgent desideratum of a more comprehensive and robust chronology for these monuments²². Pochmarski's dating of the stones has revealed a boom in figurative funerary art in the region in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries, pushing Garbsch's chronology forward to a significant degree, and a chapter in the same scholar's recent »Festschrift« fittingly provides an excellent synthesis of the new chronologies for the inscribed monuments in Garbsch's catalogue²³.

In the meantime other studies have also treated the subject of dress in the middle Danube region, either directly in the form of investigations of set garments and ensembles²⁴ or indirectly in the many valuable studies of the gravestones²⁵. H. Ubl's very thorough »Waffen und Uniform des römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Noricums und Pannoniens« of 1969 remains a much-cited work for the military and related men's dress of the region²⁶. Garbsch himself provided a more brief study in »Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt« in 1985²⁷, in which, however, he did not substantially change his earlier findings. More recently, a number of new approaches have linked knowledge of the native dress styles to the question of the textiles from which they were constructed²⁸, as well as to the wider cultural context of gender and cultural identity construction²⁹.

Nonetheless, the basic premises of Garbsch's study, in particular his methodology of combining garments and dress accessories into set local costumes, have not been fundamentally doubted until now. A close look at Garbsch's distribution maps reveals, however, that, unlike for example the hat styles, the brooch types rarely displayed closed regional groupings, and their distributions in general do not in fact correlate with clusters of dress styles. Moreover, a wide variety of different brooch and belts types were actually worn simultaneously by women on the Norican and Pannonian stones beyond those chosen by Garbsch for his study. As such, it could be seen as misleading to force these selected dress accessories into a fixed scheme created by an identified

¹⁹ Garbsch 1965, 3-23; 119-127.

²⁰ See, e.g., J. Fitz's somewhat damning reviews of the book: Fitz 1966a; Fitz 1966b.

²¹ E.g. Grünert 1967.

²² E.g. Harl 1991; Pochmarski 1991a; Pochmarski 1996; Pochmarski 1997a; Pochmarski 1998c; Pochmarski 2001a; Pochmarski 2003a; Pochmarski 2003b; Pochmarski 2004a; Pochmarski 2006.

²³ Wedening 2008. Nonetheless, the chronology proposed by Garbsch is still sometimes followed, even in a few entries in LUPA (e.g. 911. 915-918. 927-941. 1305-1309. 1315. 1331. 1427. 5939).

²⁴ E.g. Ubl 1976; Piccottini 1980; Pochmarski 1992a; Pochmarski 1992b; Pochmarski 1992c; Pochmarski 2004b; Pochmarski 2005.

²⁵ Diez 1992; Eckhart 1967; Eckhart 1972/73; Eckhart 1978; Gabler 1991; Gorenc 1971; Hemmers – Traxler 2007; Pochmarski 1991b; Pochmarski 1996; Pochmarski 1997b; Pochmarski 1997c; Pochmarski 1998a; Pochmarski 1998b; Pochmarski 2001b; Pochmarski 2001c; Pochmarski 2007; Pochmarski – Hainzmann 2004; Traxler 2009; Ubl 1997; Walde 2001; Hudeczek 1978; Harl 1993; Harl 2003.

²⁶ Ubl 1969.

²⁷ Garbsch 1985.

²⁸ E.g. Grömer 2009; Grömer 2010.

²⁹ E.g. Faber – Jilek 2006; Ladstätter 1998; Jaeger 2003; Kremer 2004.

set of garments. As will be shown in the discussion of native women's dress below³⁰, an entirely different set of criteria dictated variations in the forms of garments than those that governed the dress accessories used to hold them together. While accessories such as brooches were subject to the vagaries of fashion and, as such, varied widely over time, it is in the garments themselves that we gain an insight into the more rooted local cultural identities of the region's inhabitants.

For this reason, in this article, the term and concept of »costume« will not be used; it provides a misleading image of the way dress normally works. The word costume presupposes a set of garments that was always worn in a prescribed combination. Human beings, on the other hand, normally wear combinations of dress elements. Everyday dress is always, and has always been, to some extent individualised. In this the English »costume« is more problematic than its German counterpart »Tracht«, as it is the term originally used for traditional European dress styles and the everyday dress of non-Western cultures. The term assumes that these are fixed and static, and by implication timeless and picturesque. As a result, the word »costume« has long been rejected in ethnographic literature as patronising and inaccurate³¹. The German term »Tracht« can mean both »costume« and »that which is worn«, and as such, when used in the second sense, is not entirely incorrect. Nonetheless, modern German-speakers would never refer to their everyday dress as »Tracht«, and as such, the use even of this term betrays an antiquarian view of past societies as quaint and otherworldly, rather than simply as members of our species in a different time period. Moreover, the use of the term »Tracht« in German-language scholarly literature is often meant in the sense of »costume« (i.e. a fixed combination of garments), as for example in the work of von Geramb, Fitz and Garbsch. The latter, as outlined above, even goes so far as to refer to a Norican-Pannonian »Nationaltracht« or »national costume«³².

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to return to the basic individual elements of dress in the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, and to provide the first exhaustive typology of all of the items – both Roman and native, civilian and military³³ – of clothing worn by men and women in the funerary art of Noricum and Pannonia, as well as a discussion of their distribution and, importantly, a comprehensive discussion of the native dress, presenting a range of new theories as to their origins. The latter is of central importance for understanding the dress, and with it the cultural outlook, of the people of this region. The typology does not include belt types, brooches or other jewellery items in great detail, but a description and discussion of these is necessary in a final section in order to demonstrate the fundamental differences between the spheres of clothing and dress accessories³⁴. These accessories have, in any case, already been the subject of a number of excellent typological studies³⁵. What is not attempted is an analysis of the combinations in which the garments were worn; that is a subject for further research³⁶. English was chosen as the language of the text with those working on related themes in the wider region of central Europe in mind, as well as Anglo-Saxon scholarship, where middle Danubian archaeology is woefully underrepresented³⁷. It is hoped that what is presented here can form a more solid and up-to-date foundation for future analysis of this truly unique body of material.

³⁰ See section 5 below: Dress Accessories and their Relation to the Clothing.

³¹ See Roach – Eicher 1965, 1; Polhemus – Proctor 1978, 9; Entwistle 2000, 40, 43.

³² Garbsch 1965, 1.

³³ This does not include military equipment or armour.

³⁴ See section 5 below: Dress Accessories and their Relation to the Clothing.

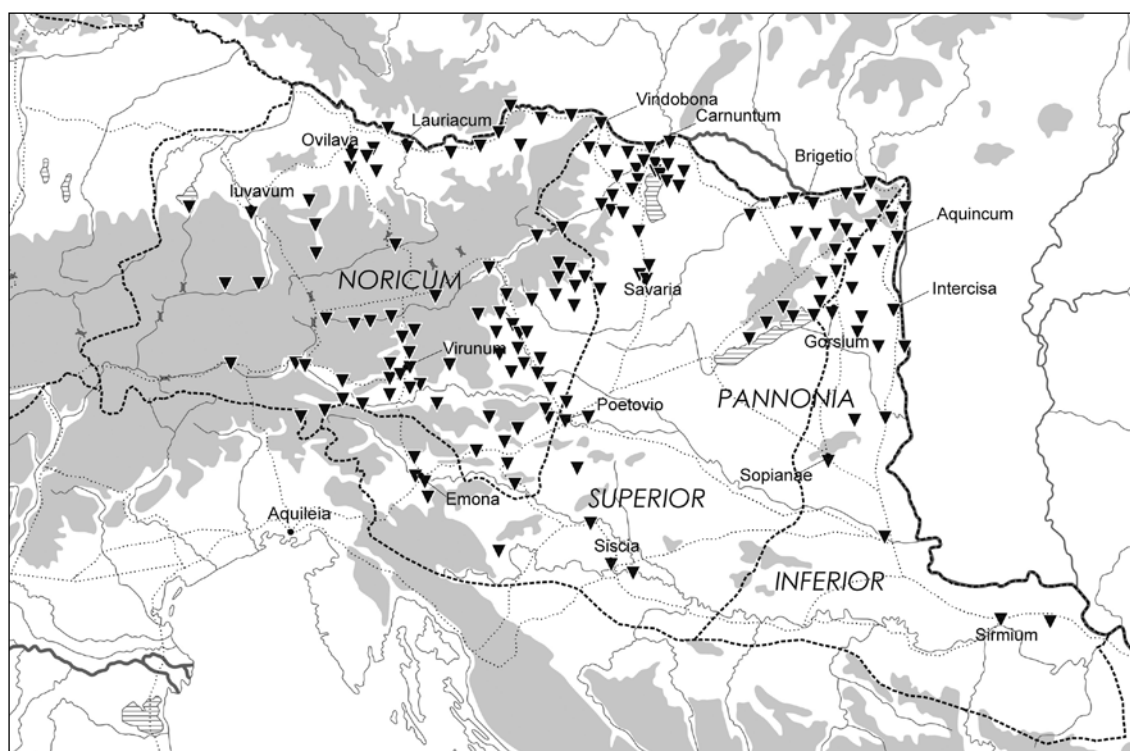
³⁵ E.g. for brooches: Demetz 1999; Sedlmayer 1995; Sedlmayer 2009; Jobst 1975; Gugl 1995. For torques: Kuzmová 2008; For jewellery in general: Facsády 1997; Facsády 2001a; Facsády 2001b; Facsády 2008.

³⁶ Based on the typology presented here, a further investigation is currently under way by the author that aims to identify patterns in the dress behaviour – that is to say the actual dress combinations chosen by individual people on the gravestones – with a view to gaining insights into cultural/ethnic, gender, age and status identities in the region.

³⁷ Notable exceptions are Boatwright 2005 and Maureen Carroll's forthcoming work on the Pannonian gravestones.

2. The Sources

Despite the scepticism expressed in the discussion to follow toward the existence of a united Norican-Pannonian »national costume«³⁸, the study nonetheless takes as its basis the funerary art of the Roman provinces of Noricum, Pannonia inferior and Pannonia superior. The reason for this is simple: these provinces have yielded a far greater quantity of figurative grave monuments than any of the neighbouring provinces, and, given that they are practically the only source type we have to go on for clothing in this region³⁹, they present an exceptional opportunity to explore provincial dress styles in detail. The number of gravestones depicting mortal human beings in identifiable dress in these provinces is 1,412 in total, while in Raetia to the west, for example, a mere 82 have been found⁴⁰. In other parts of the empire we have even fewer or none of these types of monuments, and in such regions we remain in the dark with regard to the clothing worn. The search in Roman studies for the causes of the unequal distribution across the empire of Roman-style gravestones and epigraphy in general is almost as old as the discipline itself, and cannot be entered into here⁴¹. Even within Noricum and Pannonia the spread of the monument findspots is uneven, tending to cluster around the large centres and particularly sparse in western Noricum and southern Pannonia. For this reason, a map of the findspots has been included (map 1) that should be born in mind when viewing the distribution maps of native female garments later on in the discussion.



Map 1 Locations of all findspots of funerary monuments showing dress in Noricum, Pannonia inferior and Pannonia superior

³⁸ See section 5 below: Dress Accessories and their Relation to the Clothing.

³⁹ The climatic and soil conditions in this region are not such that textiles have generally survived, and it is impossible to gain any concrete information on the forms of garments from the few fragments that have survived, mostly as imprints on metal objects (see, e.g., Facsády – Zsidi 2001, cat. 235 and examples in Grömer 2010).

⁴⁰ Based on the entries in the online database <www.ubi-erat-lupa.org>.

⁴¹ See, e.g., MacMullen 1982; Woolf 1996.

The spread of the monuments over time is also very uneven, a factor that makes it difficult to determine when some garments appeared in the region and how long they were worn. Moreover, a major problem with funerary art in the region in general is a lack of reliable dating criteria. The inscriptions, when they have survived, sometimes provide secure leads, such as stationing of troop units, but more often contain only circumstantial indicators, such as the use of a certain emperor or dynasty's *nomen gentile*, or peregrine status for individuals named shown in non-Roman nomenclature and the use of the patronymic, which can be assumed to have become rarer over time. In other parts of the empire, the use of the formulation *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)* or *H(ic) S(iti) S(unt)* is usually indicative of a 1st century AD date and the change to *D(is) M(anibus)* of a date from the late 1st century onward, but in the middle Danube region these formulations are routinely used together⁴². Epigraphic traits can, in any case, only be used at all when the inscription survives. In Pannonia, where the compact stele type grave monument was most widespread, image and epitaph are less often separated, but further to the west in Noricum, where more membered *stelae* and larger grave complexes were preferred, the individual parts have usually been collected up separately⁴³; in this region, the images were used as popular decorations and walled into the edifices of houses, castles and churches from the 18th century onward⁴⁴.

In Noricum, therefore, attempts are made to date the stones according to stylistic criteria⁴⁵. Some stones can, for example, be assigned to specific workshops about which more is known⁴⁶, and some types of ornamentation were confined to specific periods⁴⁷. The *post quem* dating sometimes provided by fashion traits such as beards, hairstyles and modes of draping the toga is particularly useful because it can be anchored in more solid chronologies based on larger bodies of evidence in Italy. E. Pochmarski's work on the chronology of the monuments in the middle Danube region has been very convincing in pushing a large portion of them forward into the Severan period⁴⁸. This author holds, however, that one of his arguments relating to the use of the *sagum* cloak is too sweeping, and this will be discussed in detail further below⁴⁹. Many of the stones that Pochmarski has managed to date securely to a later period show women in local dress styles, refuting once and for all the notion – *pace* Garbsch – that these were only worn in the 1st and 2nd centuries, or that the appearance of native dress signifies an early date⁵⁰. The criteria used to date stones in this study, when such information is needed, are decided on an individual basis, giving preference to epigraphic indicators and datable fashions in beards, hairstyles and toga draping.

The research presented below, as well as work on the stone monuments of central Europe in general, has been greatly helped by the creation of the invaluable online stone monument database UBI ERAT LUPA <www.ubi-erat-lupa.org>, shortened to LUPA. My datings and identifications of garments on the stones are different at times from those suggested in LUPA; nonetheless, in this database, any owner of a computer with an internet connection has at their fingertips immedi-

⁴² E.g. LUPA 8. 88. 122. 181. 183. 194. 203. 209. 216. 225. 258. 370. 428. 660. 710. 724. 749. 781. 788. 1369. 1817. 1823. 1861. 1894. 2696. 2700. 2720. 2746. 2786. 2797. 2807-8. 2917. 2938. 2948. 3018. 3032. 3047. 3054. 3126. 3136. 3159. 3411-2. 3415. 3448. 3461. 3486. 3503. 3511. 3517. 3554. 3556. 3575. 3586. 3867. 4051. 4055. 4068. 4509. 4551. 5042. 5057. 5094. 5558. 5574. 5740. 6082. 6655. 8238. 9224. 9781. 9876. 10676. 10699. 13633.

⁴³ For grave monument types in the region, see Kremer 2001a; Kremer 2001b; Kremer 2001c; Nagy 2001; Traxler 2009.

⁴⁴ This is especially common in Carinthia (e.g. churches at Maria Saal, St. Donat, Karnburg) and Styria (e.g. churches at Straßgang and Greith, lapidarium at Schloss Seggau).

⁴⁵ The majority of which were first laid down in Diez 1957.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Gorenc 1968; Ubl 1970; Kranz 1997; Pochmarski 1994; Pochmarski 2007.

⁴⁷ On the »norisch-pannonische Volutenornament« see most recently Tóth 2010.

⁴⁸ E.g. Pochmarski 1991a; Pochmarski 1996; Pochmarski 1997a; Pochmarski 2004a; Pochmarski 2006. But see also Harl 1991.

⁴⁹ See »Rectangular cloak and *sagum*« below.

⁵⁰ Often suggested in LUPA, e.g. 2. 17. 19–21. 24. 33. 35–39. 43. 45–46. 53. 68. 70–71. 76–77. 207. 236–237. 293. 384. 430–431. 469. 667. 714–718. 722. 735. 776. 788. 793–794. 797–801. 805. 847. 1151. 1195. 1591. 1598. 1286. 1609. 1676 etc.

ate access to the vital information on each of the monuments cited here: photographs, findspot, location, museum inventory number, dimensions and material, the text of the inscription and references to the relevant secondary literature. As a result, an additional catalogue was considered unnecessary, and the reader is invited to use this database for further information.

3. Terminology

Trying to find the correct ancient terms for anything portrayed in Roman art is fraught with difficulties, and this even more so in the provinces, where we have significantly less literary evidence and a more idiosyncratic use of artistic conventions. Even in the field of Roman dress in Italy, the identification in artworks of garments mentioned in texts has been difficult, and led to some incorrect usages that have later had to be revised⁵¹. In the provinces, a compulsion by some scholars to attach Latin terms to garments has led to several words being used for one and the same garment⁵².

For the middle Danube region, our only clear mention in the textual evidence of garments from the region in the period in question are in Diocletian's Price Edict. These are the *bedox* and the *banata* that come in ›Gallic‹ and ›Norican‹ varieties (19, 43–46), whereby the Norican types are more expensive. It is very likely that these terms refer to native garments that were obviously not unknown in other parts of the empire, but we have no idea what they were. At 20,000 denarii (or 800 times the daily wage of a farm labourer: 7, 1a), the Norican *banata* is twice as expensive as the most expensive *byrrus* (19, 33 and 43) and four times the price of the most expensive *paenula* (19, 51), so it must have involved a great quantity or quality of cloth or ornamentation. To the Norican *bedox* is added »etoi belon« – »or awning«, so it might be a type of veil. The most expensive type of shirt (*singilio*) also comes from Noricum (19, 47), but there are varieties from Gaul (48), Numidia (49) and Phrygia (50) as well. From the fact that all the linen garments in the Edict come from eastern cities, and woollen ones from wool-producing areas, it seems likely that the significance of the place names connected to garments in the Edict had more to do with the origins of the raw materials than the ethnic home of the design. By the time of the Price Edict, of course, many of the native garments on our stones may have disappeared anyway. Even in the few cases in which we may be able to link an ancient word with a native garment worn in the middle Danube region, it is impossible to know for certain⁵³. As such, the use of ancient terms for native garments is avoided. In the cases in which there was both a native and a Roman version of what appears to be the same garment, the garments are discussed together under a title which gives both the Latin and a descriptive name⁵⁴.

4. Men

The dress worn by men in the figurative art of the middle Danube provinces is much less varied than that worn by the women, and this image is exacerbated by the fact that some of the key garments seem to have been worn in practically identical form by both Roman and native men. One

⁵¹ See, e.g., the controversy surrounding the appearance of the stola in: Bieber 1931 and Wilson 1938, summarised in Bieber's review of Wilson's »Clothing of the Ancient Romans« (Bieber 1939); Blanck 1997. Also Olson 2008, 27–33 for the most recent view.

⁵² E.g. the hooded cape worn by men in much of the relief art in the northern provinces has been referred to variously as a *sagum* (e.g. Lehner 1918, 288; Kutsch 1930, 274), a *casula* (Wilson 1938, 95) and a *paenula* (Freigang 1997; Boppert 1992).

⁵³ E.g. the term *cucullus*, see »Paenula and Gallic cape/*cucullus*« below.

⁵⁴ E.g. the *paenula*/hooded cape or the *sagum*/rectangular cloak, see »Paenula and Gallic cape/*cucullus*« and »Rectangular cloak and *sagum*« below.

gets the impression that cultural and social identities were played out more readily in women's dress, although we may be missing important details due to the fact that the paint on the stones rarely survives to give us an impression of the original colours.

4.1 Body garments

Tunica

The *tunica* was the basic garment worn by all Romans, male or female. Worn on its own, it was the mark of craftsmen and tradespeople⁵⁵, but otherwise it was accompanied by a toga or cloak of some kind. In its Republican and early imperial form, it consisted of two rectangles of fabric, sewn along the top and sides, with a horizontal slit at the top for the head, and two vertical slits at the top of the side hems for the arms. In public, Roman men were expected to wear it girt around the waist, and ancient literature abounds in negative comments regarding the wearers of loosely-belted or beltless tunics⁵⁶. Soldiers wore the *tunica* girt such that it fell to just above the knee, civilian men to just below the knee, and women wore it ankle- or foot-length⁵⁷. *Clavi*, stripes of varying colour and width that were woven into the fabric such that they ran vertically downward from the shoulders, were used both as decoration and as status markers: a wide, purple *latus clavus* denoted senatorial, its narrower counterpart, the *angustus clavus*, equestrian rank. The absence of *clavi* in images from the middle Danube provinces is almost certainly owing to the fact that such details, when present, will have been painted on. The *tunica* is worn relatively often on stones in the middle Danube region, especially by soldiers or in combination with the toga (fig. 8)⁵⁸.

By the late Republic, the generous width of the *tunica* when girt caused the fabric at the top to protrude in sleeve-like fashion down the upper arm (fig. 1), but it is clear that the original Roman *tunica* had no added sleeves⁵⁹. This began to change in the early Principate, probably as a result of the increased width of Augustan tunics, which created ever longer »Scheinärmel«, and with them a taste for sleeves in general⁶⁰. In the 1st century AD, when sleeves were added, these were short⁶¹, but by the Trajanic period elbow-length sleeves were also worn⁶². From this period onward, the influence of foreign sartorial habits is visible in many forms of clothing (see »trousers« below) and makes its mark on the *tunica* in the growing popularity of the long-sleeved *tunica manicata*.

⁵⁵ Tac. dial. 7; Prop. 4, 2, 38. See also Zimmer 1982a.

⁵⁶ Cic. fam. 10, 32, 4; Hor. epod. 1, 31–34; Suet. Iul. 45, 3; Gell. 13, 22.

⁵⁷ See Quintilian's guidelines in inst. 11, 3, which are confirmed by the visual evidence. Pausch 2003, 89–96 provides a detailed discussion of the significance and styles of belting.

⁵⁸ E.g. LUPA 427. 585. 848. 871. 1122. 1291. 1742. 2799. 2855. 2887. 3367. 3629. 3957. 3961. 4391. 7203. 11254; with togas: 12. 38. 44. 298. 304. 398. 422–423. 448. 543–544. 630. 693. 760. 833–834. 836–838. 840–841. 844. 855. 857. 870. 878. 887. 999. 1003–1005. 1067. 1165. 1202–1203. 1244. 1248. 1273. 1303. 1328. 1335. 1337. 1340–1341. 1350. 1373. 1402. 1424–1425. 1446. 1464. 1486–1490. 1499. 1575. 1606. 1714. 1719. 1722. 2141. 2171. 2254. 2466. 2691. 2759. 2856. 2975. 3049. 3129. 3339. 3366. 3616. 3626. 3663. 3770. 3778. 3788. 3811. 3857. 3870–3871. 3874. 3990. 4002. 4005. 4118. 4129. 4157. 4366. 4399. 4404. 4506. 4600. 4628. 4776. 4859. 4874. 5295. 5314. 5670. 6068. 6141. 6196. 8516. 9365. 12464. 12737. 12765. 12774. 12803. 13077. 13257.

⁵⁹ For a summary of the visual evidence for the Republican and early imperial sleeveless tunic see Pausch 2003, 71–103; for the military context see Sumner 2009, 17–41.

⁶⁰ Pausch 2003, 86.

⁶¹ E.g. butcher relief from Rome in the Dresden Albertinum (Zimmer 1982b, fig. 2). See Pausch 2003, 86 and for the northern frontier: Ubl 1969, 533.

⁶² E.g. figures (including the emperor) on Trajan's Column: Lepper – Frere 1988, pls. 8–10, scenes VI–VIII. Pausch identifies this as the *tunica manuleata* mentioned in various written sources (Pausch 2003, 174–176).

Tunica manicata

The *tunica manicata* was a tunic with long, narrow sleeves and a tighter bodice than earlier *tunicae*, but like these older versions could be worn with or without *clavi*, both girt and ungirt and to various lengths (figs. 2. 3. 10. 12. 46. 60)⁶³. The sleeves were generally plain in form, but cavalry tombstones in the northern provinces also show rolled-back cuffs⁶⁴. It is not clear exactly when and by what means the *tunica manicata* became part of normal dress at Rome. The term appears to have evolved as a translation of the Greek χιτών χειρῖδωτος, the name given to the long-sleeved garments associated with the Persians in Greek art⁶⁵. The *tunica manicata* was already mentioned by Cicero when describing the appearance of Catiline's companions, but the implication at this stage is that it was still an unusual and inappropriate garment for civilian Roman men⁶⁶. We certainly do not find it worn in portraiture or funerary art in this period. By the mid 2nd century AD, on the other hand, although corresponding visual evidence is sparse, Aulus Gellius saw fit to point out to his readers that sleeved tunics used to be considered indecorous in Rome and the whole of Latium, making it clear this was no longer the case⁶⁷. However, it was from the 3rd century AD onwards that the *tunica manicata* became the common tunic at Rome, as attested by both visual and textual evidence⁶⁸.

The chronology of the sleeved tunic at Rome and in the Roman army has been used to provide a framework for dating funerary reliefs in the northern provinces. E. Pochmarski sees the long-sleeved tunic, like the *sagum*⁶⁹, as a new arrival in Noricum of the time of Caracalla, and suggests dating figures sporting these garments to the Severan period⁷⁰. However, a chronology that sees all *tunica manicatae* as Severan or later is highly problematic in that it assumes the garment came as a fashion element from outside the northern provinces, when it is precisely this region that is likely to be its source.

The question as to the geographical origins of the Roman *tunica manicata* is, however, far from straightforward. Some studies have seen it as coming from the Orient – where sleeved tunics had long been worn in the Persian/Parthian cultural sphere – either via the eastern Roman army or as part of a general change from draped to tailored garments linked to increasing, Christianity-inspired prudery⁷¹. Others see this »revolution de costume«⁷², which also included other elements such as a wider use of trousers and symmetrical drapery, as a result of northern

⁶³ See original exemplars found in Egypt, e.g. from Achmim (Pausch 2003, 263 fig. 92), and mosaic images such as the Great Hunt at Piazza Armerina (Wilson 1983, 96 fig. 58).

⁶⁴ See examples in Sumner 2009, 50.

⁶⁵ Pausch 2003, 176. See, e.g., Curt. 3, 3, 13; Gell. 6, 12, 2; Isid. orig. 19, 22, 8. For the sleeved tunic as a barbarian topos in Greek art, see Raeck 1981.

⁶⁶ Cic. Cato 2, 10, 22. See also: Verg. Aen. 9, 616, where the sleeved tunics worn by the Trojans are described as barbarian and unmanly.

⁶⁷ Gell. 6, 12, 1–4: *Tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia et usque in primores manus ac prope in digitos Romae atque in omni Latio indecorum fuit. Eas tunicas Graeco vocabulo nostri »chirodytas« appellaverunt feminisque solis vestem longe lateque diffusam decere existimaverunt ad ulnas cruraque adversus oculos protegenda. Viri autem Romani primo quidem sine tunicis toga sola amicti fuerunt; postea substrictas et breves tunicas citra humerum desinentis habebant, quod genus Graeci dicunt exomidas.*

⁶⁸ Images: mosaics at Piazza Armerina, e.g. rooms 13 (Wilson 1983, 17 fig. 5), 22 (Wilson 1983, 54 fig. 33) and 36 (Wilson 1983, 53 fig. 32); *liberalitas* relief on the arch of Constantine (Giuliano 1954, fig. 44); frescos in Naples and Gargaresh (Pausch 2003, 265 fig. 96 a and b); text passages: SHA Gall. 16, 4; SHA Aur. 48, 5; Isid. orig. 5, 27, 10; 19, 22, 8.

⁶⁹ See »Rectangular cloak and *sagum*« below.

⁷⁰ Pochmarski 1997a, 209; Pochmarski 2004a, 576: »Diese Aussage lässt sich mit L. Bonfante Warren noch weiter dahingehend verallgemeinern, dass erst im 3. Jh. n. Chr. die langärmelige Tunica (*tunica manicata*), die in Rom zuvor als barbarische Kleidung gegolten hatte, allgemein üblich wurde. Damit wären die Männer mit *sagum* und *tunica manicata* auf den Reliefs aus Flavia Solva jedenfalls in die Zeit ab dem frühen 3. Jh. n. Chr. zu datieren.«

⁷¹ E.g. especially older literature such as Wilpert 1898. See also Marrou 1977, 15–20, who suggested the *tunica manicata* came from even further east and entered Rome via Syria and Egypt (19).

⁷² Marrou 1977, 15.



1 Funerary relief from Dunaújváros (LUPA 3957) showing a *calo* wearing a *tunica* and holding two horses. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 26.1910.3



2 Neronian relief from Budapest (LUPA 2876) showing a man wearing a long-sleeved tunic. Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 66.11.45



3 Detail of a relief on a stele from Budapest showing a *'Diener'* wearing a girt, long-sleeved tunic. Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest

influence via the Rhine and Danube armies⁷³. And indeed, the long-sleeved tunic, trousers and rectangular cloak constitute an ensemble that is widely attested in central and northern Europe in antiquity. Strabo, for example, tells us the Belgians wore it⁷⁴, the Dacians on Trajan's Column and the Marcomanni on the Column of Marcus Aurelius are depicted wearing it⁷⁵, and actual exemplars have been found in bog burials of northern Germany and Denmark⁷⁶.

It would appear to have been through the army that the sleeved tunic made its way to Rome. We see Roman auxiliary soldiers on the northern frontier wearing it with trousers in the 1st century AD⁷⁷, and legionaries following suit from the late 1st century onward⁷⁸, presumably as a reaction to the colder climate, to which the tailored local garments were better suited⁷⁹. By the Severan period the *tunica manicata* had become the common body garment for all military personnel, although it was not immediately de rigueur at Rome⁸⁰. H. Ubl argued that this reflected a one-off and generally binding uniform specification⁸¹ that prescribed »[eine] für alle Truppen und Chargen einheitliche Uniformtunika«⁸². He dates this event to 212 AD, pointing out that on the Arch of Severus (203 AD) the short-sleeved tunic still lingered as the under-vest of the cuirass, while the sleeved one was worn generally by soldiers, but that by the time of the Arches of Constantine and Galerius, all the tunics were long-sleeved⁸³. The might of the northern legions had already caused Caracalla to deem it prudent to flatter them by wearing what Dio calls »Germanic dress«, even when campaigning in Syria and Mesopotamia⁸⁴. Through the increasing militarisation of Roman government and growing numbers of emperors of provincial, and especially Danubian, origin in the 3rd century⁸⁵, the *tunica manicata*, along with the trousers, were slowly adopted by civilians at the core of the empire, a process M. Pausch has

⁷³ See especially older studies such as von Geramb 1933, 171; Jantsch 1934, 71 (»Leibrock«); Čremošnik 1964, 760–773. This view has been taken even by scholars working on sculpture in Asia Minor: Borchhardt 1976, 58 ruled out a Persian or Eastern origin for the sleeved tunics in his material.

⁷⁴ Strab. 4, 4, 3.

⁷⁵ Lepper – Frere 1988, scene XI, XXI with fringe.

⁷⁶ E.g. Thorsberg: Hägg 2000, 28–29 but also Obenaltendorf, although these are likely to be Roman soldier's clothes deposited as spoils.

⁷⁷ E.g. LUPA 5929–5930. 7077. 15523. 15525–15526. 15528.

⁷⁸ E.g. LUPA 7080.

⁷⁹ Ubl 1969, 516. 533. Ubl concluded from the context in which it was worn that it was a fatigues garment, not battle dress, until the 4th c. (532 f.).

⁸⁰ This is at least suggested in Cass. Dio 75, 2, 6, in which the people of Rome are unimpressed by the appearance of Septimius Severus' troops when they march into the city in 193 (στρατιωτῶν συμμίκτου καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀγριωτάτων), referring to the *legio XIV Gemina* that had been stationed in Vindobona from 92–106, then in Carnuntum for the next 300 years.

⁸¹ Itself a sign of the times: earlier military dress styles seem to have been based more on local and individual circumstances. See, e.g., Sumner 2009, esp. 41.

⁸² Ubl 1969, 520. It is likely that colour and decorations distinguished ranks and units from one another (see discussion in Ubl 1969, 532).

⁸³ Ubl 1969, 517 f. 534. See also the Severan fresco in Dura Europos (Kaizer 2006, pl. 1) and other examples in Sumner 2009, 48 f.

⁸⁴ Cass. Dio 79, 2, 3.

⁸⁵ Nine emperors of the 3rd c. came from the northern provinces (Maximinus Thrax, Decius, Claudius Gothicus, Aurelianus, Probus, Carus, Numerian, Carinus, Diocletian), while only four came from the east (Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, Phillipus Arabs, Gordian). See Handy 2008 for the special role of the Illyrian army in politics and imperial culture in the early-mid 3rd c. AD as a result of preferential treatment by especially Septimius Severus and the recruiting of Illyrian soldiers to an expanded Praetorian Guard in Rome. According to Handy, this must also have led to a heightened self-esteem of the people in the Danube region and the development of a common »donauländischen Identität« (372). Although Handy does not make the connection, one may see this as one of the causes of the apparent boom in the commissioning of figurative grave monuments that E. Pochmarski has identified (Pochmarski 1991a; Pochmarski 1997a; Pochmarski 1996; Pochmarski 2003a; Pochmarski 2003b; Pochmarski 2004a; Pochmarski 2006) as well as the fact that it seems to be in this period that local dress styles in the region begin to disappear (see below under »Overtunic« and »Hats«).

aptly termed »peregrinisation«⁸⁶. In other words, although influence from other regions like the eastern provinces cannot be ruled out as a cause for the adoption of the *tunica manicata*, the main impulse is likely to have come from the northern provinces, where this garment was part of native dress and had evolved into military attire⁸⁷. As a result – and most unfortunately in light of the dearth of reliable dating criteria for Danubian provincial art – it is impossible to use the presence of garments such as the sleeved tunic and the *sagum* on Norican and Pannonian gravestones as proof of a 3rd-century date.

The sleeved tunic is, in fact, worn by both civilian and military men on some of the earliest gravestones from the region: A man on a Neronian stele from Budapest⁸⁸ who is perhaps a cavalryman (rider scene below the portrait) wears a long-sleeved tunic (fig. 2). Two monuments from the Burgenland depict native men wearing cloaks draped like togas over tight, long-sleeved tunics⁸⁹. Both can be allocated on stylistic and epigraphic grounds to the Flavian period. A gravestone from nearby Göttlesbrunn for a Pollius Danovi f., almost certainly a local man⁹⁰, also of Flavian date, shows that the sleeved tunic, like the native Gallic tunic further west, could also be worn without trousers to mid-calf length⁹¹. In this image it also appears to have cuffs. Equally, the long, ungirt, long-sleeved tunic of a man on a coarsely-worked stone from Potzneusiedl looks nothing like the Severan *tunica manicata*⁹². The 2nd century date given in CSIR is doubtful: given the lack of a *D(is) M(anibus)* formulation on the contemporary stone found nearby, both stones are almost certainly earlier⁹³. Ubl held the gravestone from Zalavár for the legionary veteran C. Julius Severinus⁹⁴, which he dated to the late 1st century, for the earliest depiction of a military man wearing such a tunic in our region⁹⁵, but neither the image nor the dating of the stone are sufficiently clear to be sure of this. Enubico, an auxiliary cavalryman with the *ala I Britannica*⁹⁶ is, on the other hand, a more certain candidate: the tunic under his hooded cloak is clearly long-sleeved and his gravestone, found at Dunaújváros-Intercisa can be dated on the basis of the stationing of his unit in this location to the early 2nd century. The Trajanic hairstyle and early imperial epigraphic conventions of the gravestone for the similarly-attired civilian Valerius Crescens from Budapest⁹⁷ also point to a date in the early 2nd century. There are some further examples from the reign of Hadrian: a new stone from Leithaprodersdorf⁹⁸ shows a man wearing a tight, long-sleeved tunic and a rectangular cloak. The name Aelius Vitalis in the inscription together with the Trajanic hairstyle suggest an early Hadrianic date, and the medalion in Greith⁹⁹, on which a man wears a sleeved tunic under his toga, can also be dated to the Hadrianic period on the basis of the toga drapery and the hairstyle/beard.

⁸⁶ Pausch 2003, title subheading and 176–178. See also the people of Rome being unimpressed by the appearance of Septimius Severus' troops when they marched to Rome in 193 – they were obviously used to much more orderly and »Roman«-looking soldiers in triumphal art in the city (Cass. Dio 75, 2, 6).

⁸⁷ Pausch 2003, 89, 176. See also von Rummel 2007 for a new evaluation of the connotations of this ensemble in the migration period.

⁸⁸ LUPA 2876.

⁸⁹ LUPA 73 and 75.

⁹⁰ Based on the clothing, the front-on, seated portrait style, the name and the wagon and »Diener« scenes at the bottom of the stones.

⁹¹ LUPA 9.

⁹² LUPA 11.

⁹³ LUPA 10. See Krüger 1970, 35 f. nos 248 and 249.

⁹⁴ LUPA 3103.

⁹⁵ Ubl 1969, 513.

⁹⁶ LUPA 3581.

⁹⁷ LUPA 2723.

⁹⁸ Hofer 2009, 12 and fig. 5.

⁹⁹ LUPA 83 with modern paintwork.

Like the rectangular cloak that corresponded to the Roman *sagum*¹⁰⁰, the sleeved tunic was evidently a native garment of the middle Danube region, and was worn throughout the 2nd century by both civilians and auxiliary soldiers in what appears, perplexingly, to be identical form¹⁰¹. Its native links are further underlined in its use by the so-called Diener (fig. 3)¹⁰². As such, it is likely to have had an older native name before the Romans, and perhaps Latin-speaking local Danubians, began to call it the *tunica manicata*. Such a name has, however, not survived, so we must make do with the Latin designation. One late Roman garment with close links to the *tunica manicata* did retain something of its northern origins in its name: The *dalmatica* was a similar garment to the *tunica manicata*, but with wide, gaping sleeves instead of tight ones (fig. 4)¹⁰³. Original garments have survived only in Egypt¹⁰⁴, but it is found in mosaics and catacomb paintings, from which it is clear that it could worn both girt and ungirt, and by both sexes, although the female version was longer. Like the *tunica manicata*, it gained popularity in Rome during the 3rd century AD¹⁰⁵, but was already being used in high imperial circles at the end of the 2nd century: the *Historia Augusta* lists, among Commodus' goods for sale, *vestis subtegmine serico aureis filis insigni opere, tunicas paenulasque, lacernas et chiridotas Dalmatarum et circratas militares purpureasque chlamydes Graecanicas atque castrenses*¹⁰⁶. It is interesting that the term *dalmatica* is not yet introduced here: the garment has to be described as sleeved (*chiridotus* instead of *manicatus*) »in the style of the Dalmatians«. Unlike its tight-sleeved counterpart, the *dalmatica* was a relatively short-lived fashion at Rome: a large section of Diocletian's Price Edict is given over to a list of the prices of the many different types and styles of *dalmaticae* (with



4 Antonine relief from Celje (LUPA 5314) showing a *lictor* and a »Diener« wearing *dalmaticae*. The *lictor* wears a toga over the top. Pokrajnski Muzej Celje, Inv. 180

¹⁰⁰ See »Rectangular cloak and *sagum*« below.

¹⁰¹ It should be noted again that the fact that paint so rarely survives on the stones renders the whole question of colour symbolism unanswerable.

¹⁰² E.g. LUPA 2776. 2777. 2780. 2807. 2836. 2992. 3056. 3165. 3214. 3520. 3528. 3791. 3792. 3878. 3883. 3973 »Diener« tunic/*dalmatica* (Diener-Tunika/*dalmatica*).

¹⁰³ See Pausch's reasoning in Pausch 2003, 180–185, based, among other things, on the description in Gloss. 5.614.19. See also Čremošnik 1963, 103; Pochmarski 1992c, 61 f. and Scharf 1994, 61. Cf. Kolb 1976, who says the *dalmatica* had »Scheinärmel« formed by the wide fabric at the top, and Cleland – Davies – Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 46, who describe it with narrow sleeves.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Pritchard – Verhecken-Lammens 2001.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. servant in fresco in the Domus Praeconum, Rome, 220 AD (Pausch 2003, 288 fig. 173); preaching female figure on wall 3 in the catacombs of Via Anapo in Rome, mid 3rd c. (Deckers – Mietke – Weiland 1991, colour plate 4, no. 8). First mention in Greek in Egyptian papyri from the 2nd c. AD (e.g. P. Oxy 109, 24; 3201, 8; 3765, 12; 3776, 44), but in Latin in SHA Comm. 8, 8.

¹⁰⁶ SHA Pert. 8, 2–3: »In the sale of Commodus' goods the following articles were especially noteworthy: robes of silk foundation with gold embroidery of remarkable workmanship; tunics, mantles and coats; tunics made with long sleeves in the manner of the Dalmatians and fringed military cloaks; purple cloaks made for service in the camp.«

variation pertaining especially to stripes, colours etc.)¹⁰⁷, but by the early-mid 4th century it had largely been displaced by the *tunica manicata*, at least in figurative art¹⁰⁸.

Isidorus tells us that the *dalmatica* was so called because it came from Dalmatia¹⁰⁹. While we have every reason to be careful about trusting this kind of information, M. Pausch has made a convincing argument that the origins of the garment are indeed to be found in the Danube-Balkan region, and that they appear in our source material as the distinctive tunics of the ›Diener‹ on the sides of Pannonian and Norican gravestones¹¹⁰. While the exact identity and meaning of these figures (as well as their female counterparts) are still a moot point¹¹¹, it is clear from the ornateness of the dress worn by the ›girls‹ or ›Dienerinnen‹ and from the various symbolic items they hold that they were not simple domestic servants, and that the dress that they wear was local¹¹².

There is indeed a striking resemblance between the Danubian ›Diener‹ tunic and the late Roman *dalmatica*. One need only compare the striking, drooping sleeves of the *orantes* in some of the catacombs paintings in Rome¹¹³ with those of a ›Diener‹ on a Antonine relief from Celje-Celeia (fig. 4)¹¹⁴ or the loose belt and overhang style of the servant in the fresco from the Domus Praeconum in Rome¹¹⁵ that characterises the male garment in the Danube-Balkan region¹¹⁶ to see the link. While the original Danube-Balkan name for the garment is hardly likely to have been *dalmatica*, again we only know the Latin and Greek terms to work with. Another indication we have that the ›Diener‹ were not stylised figures but real people is the fact that they wear different things: there are also plenty of images of ›Diener‹ wearing girl *tunicae manicatae*¹¹⁷ and even hooded cloaks¹¹⁸. The *dalmatica*-style tunic is more often worn by ›Diener‹ on Norican stones than on those from Pannonia; in Pannonia the *tunica manicata* is more frequent¹¹⁹. However, it is unclear whether or not this was perhaps a chronological matter: most of the Pannonian examples date within the period from 150–250 AD, but the vast majority from Noricum are on blocks that have been separated from their original context and thus cannot be dated. The earliest datable images we have of ›Diener‹ wearing their distinctive tunic are from Seggauberg-Flavia Solva (Noricum – Trajanic)¹²⁰ and Neunkirchen (Pannonia Superior – Trajanic/Hadrianic)¹²¹. The latest appear on 3rd century sarcophagi such as the one for Alfius Vitalis from Budapest-Aquincum¹²² and for Romania Naevia from Sisak-Siscia¹²³. As such, they appear to span the chronology of the monuments themselves and thus cannot be assigned to a particular period. The Diener tunic/*dalmatica* was, however, not only worn by ›Diener‹. It could, for example, be worn beneath a toga, like on the relief from Celje (fig. 4)¹²⁴.

¹⁰⁷ Price Edict 19, 8–9. 12–14; 26, 34–63. The female garments are listed with a higher price due to the fact that they were foot-length and often included some silk (see Pausch 2003, 181 and Scharf 1994, 57).

¹⁰⁸ It is, for example, still worn by some figures in the Piazza Armerina mosaics, most notably by the *domina* in the famous scene in room 13 (Wilson 1983, 17 fig. 5), but the *tunica manicata* is more frequent. The same is true of the catacomb paintings of Santi Marcellino e Pietro in Roma: Deckers – Seeliger – Mietke 1987.

¹⁰⁹ By his time it was remembered purely as a clerical garment. Isid. orig. 19, 22, 9: *Dalmatica vestis primum in Dalmatia, provincia Graeciae, texta est, tunica sacerdotalis candida cum clavis ex purpura*.

¹¹⁰ Pausch 2003, 180–185. See also Čremošnik 1963, esp. 122 for Balkan examples.

¹¹¹ See, e.g., Diez 1954; Pochmarski 2003b; Pochmarski 2005; Pochmarski 2004b; Piccottini 1977; Walde 2001.

¹¹² I would not go so far as to claim, with Pausch, that the dress is necessarily »festliches Gewand« (Pausch 2003, 182).

¹¹³ E.g. Deckers – Seeliger – Mietke 1987, pl. 36 fig. b and c and colour pl. 40.

¹¹⁴ LUPA 5314.

¹¹⁵ Pausch 2003, 288 fig. 173.

¹¹⁶ E.g. the ›Diener‹ on the relief from St. Thomas am Zeiselberg: LUPA 984.

¹¹⁷ E.g. LUPA 74. 597. 641. 647. 655. 679. 680. 691. 705. 770.

¹¹⁸ E.g. LUPA 2111.

¹¹⁹ See, e.g., LUPA 2776. 2777. 2780. 2807. 2836. 2992. 3056. 3165. 3214. 3520. 3528. 3791. 3792. 3878. 3883. 3973. 4017. 4020. 4059. 4067. 4675. 5731. 5997. 6398. 10449. 10559. 10607. 10715. 10721. 10982. 12782. 16677.

¹²⁰ LUPA 1303.

¹²¹ LUPA 429. LUPA 7279 from Szombathely-Savaria is perhaps even Domitianic but this dating is uncertain.

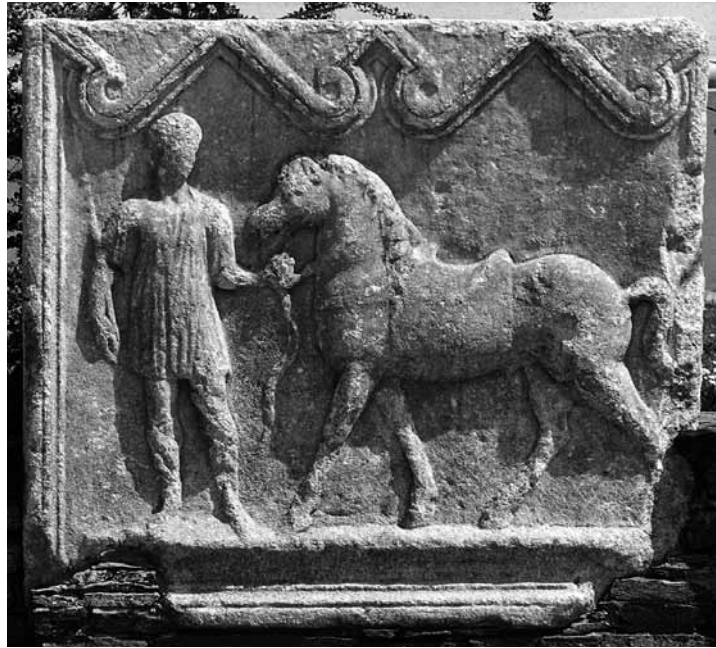
¹²² LUPA 2727.

¹²³ LUPA 3803.

¹²⁴ LUPA 5314.

Exomis

The *exomis* was a short, girt tunic fastened on the left shoulder only. It was originally a Greek garment, often associated with the Amazons in mythological scenes, but also generally worn for outdoor and heavy manual labour and as such the typical garb of shepherds and metal smiths (hence it is worn by Hephaistos and later by Vulcan)¹²⁵. Only one image of a man wearing an *exomis* has come to light in the middle Danube provinces: a relief fragment from Rusovce-Gerulata showing a man standing front-on with his arm lifted¹²⁶. It is unclear whether the scene belonged to a funerary or a votive monument.



5 Funerary relief from Moosburg (LUPA 995) showing a *calo* wearing ›calo tunic‹ and long trousers. Landesmuseum Kärnten, Klagenfurt, Inv. 119

Calo tunic (Calo-Tunika)

Male standing figures holding the reins of a horse and/or pieces of armour are often depicted in secondary scenes (i.e. either on the side or below the main portrait) on the gravestones of cavalrymen. These are commonly interpreted as *calones*, the servants of soldiers who looked after the horses. These figures usually wear trousers of some kind¹²⁷ and a distinctive, thigh-length tunic with short sleeves that was worn ungirt (fig. 5)¹²⁸. It was somewhat flared at the bottom, as can be seen in detailed images such as the large relief block in the church at Gräbern (Wolfsberg) (fig. 6)¹²⁹, but also in stylised form in smaller, more simplified depictions¹³⁰. The tunic worn by the *calo* at Gräbern has a second hem, presumably from an undertunic¹³¹.

Gallic tunic (gallische Tunika)

The Gallic tunic was a body garment commonly worn by men (and in a longer version by women) on votive and funerary reliefs in Gaul¹³². It was worn calf-length and ungirt¹³³, and had sleeves that reached to the wrists. The hem was often curved up at the sides to accommodate sagging under the arms. In the 1st and 2nd centuries the torso of the garment was wide, meaning that the sleeves only needed to be short in order to reach to the wrists. In the late 2nd century the trunk became narrower and the sleeves longer, effectively rendering the garment indistinguishable from the *tunica manicata*. Tunics defined as ›Gallic‹ in the middle Danube region are those with the distinctive earlier end-sleeves (fig. 7)¹³⁴. It is unclear whether the tunic style came over

¹²⁵ Roche-Bernard – Ferdière 1993, 31 f.; Zimmer 1982a, 66 f.

¹²⁶ LUPA 8196.

¹²⁷ Long trousers: LUPA 993, 994, 995, 3055, 3581, 3831, 9301; short trousers: LUPA 2023, 5908.

¹²⁸ Jantsch 1934, 71 called this a »Kurzrock« and also saw it as the dress of the *calones*.

¹²⁹ LUPA 2023.

¹³⁰ E.g. LUPA 2709, 3831.

¹³¹ Cf. Jantsch 1934, 71, who saw this as part of the main garment.

¹³² See Wild 1968a; 1985: »Gallic coat« and Rothe 2009, 42: »Gallic tunic«.

¹³³ Except for slaves: Rothe 2009, 35 and note 392.

¹³⁴ E.g. LUPA 237, 1165, 1594, 2247, 2252, 2917, 2999, 3213, 3781, 3945, 4596, 6131, 8513.



6 Relief in the church at Gräbern/Wolfsberg (LUPA 2023) showing a *calo* wearing a *calo* tunic, knee breeches and ankle boots

from Gaul or whether it was part of native dress in the Danube region as well. In any case, it is also common on stones in the bridging province Raetia¹³⁵.

Trousers/bracae (Hosen/bracae)

Some form of trousers were part of native men's dress in both the Celtic and the Germanic spheres¹³⁶, and in classical literature and art became an iconic (and in Greek and Roman eyes barbaric) element in the appearance of these people¹³⁷, which has led to a modern view that men of these societies exclusively wore trousers. The term used by the Romans for them was *bracae*, which we are told by Diodorus was a Celtic word¹³⁸. As mentioned above¹³⁹, ancient authors, Roman triumphal images and bog finds in northern Europe show that the trousers formed part of a typical ensemble consisting additionally of a hip-length, sleeved tunic and a rectangular cloak held at the right shoulder with a brooch¹⁴⁰.

The trousers were usually made out of wool¹⁴¹ and came in three different types: knee-length, ankle-length and full-length. The knee-length and ankle-length forms are usually rendered by the mason using a horizontal incision just below the knee or at the ankle, but identifying the full-length form is a more controversial matter. As the late Roman trousers on a fresco from Silistra in Bulgaria and from the bog find in Thorsberg in northern Germany¹⁴² show, these extended, like modern tights, to the toe, and will have been tight on the leg. On

relief depictions these would look like bare legs. Many of the earliest depictions we have from the north-west of men wearing trousers show either the knee-length breeches or what appear to be bare legs but which, given the fact that the tunic only extends to just below the waist, must be foot-length trousers like those at Thorsberg, unless we are to assume that the men's privates were visible. The full-length trousers were in all likelihood clearly discernible on the original stones, as they would have been rendered in colour. Indeed, as soon as we have colour images of the ensemble in late antiquity, when it became common Roman dress, the full-length trousers appear still tight, and in form just like bare legs, but the colours used show that the garment is there (see, e.g., the fresco from Dura Europos, where they are rendered in dark brown, clearly different from the pale colour of the skin¹⁴³). Consequently, we must assume long trousers in

¹³⁵ E.g. LUPA 6221. 6256. 6259. 6275. 6278. 6308. 6312. 6328. 6343. 6461. 15782.

¹³⁶ See Strab. 4, 4, 2 for evidence that already in antiquity these cultural groups were seen as having many common elements.

¹³⁷ E.g. Strab. 4, 4, 3; Plin. nat. 3, 4, 31; Suet. Iul. 80.

¹³⁸ Diod. 5, 30, 1.

¹³⁹ See section »*Tunica manicata*« above.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. Strab. 4, 4, 3; Thorsberg: Hägg 2000.

¹⁴¹ However, a leather pair has been found at Valkenburg, NL dating to the 2nd/3rd c. (Hoevenburg 1993).

¹⁴² Hägg 2000, 28–29.

¹⁴³ See most recently Kaizer 2006, pl. 1.



7 Votive relief from Grubegg/Bad Mitterndorf (LUPA 6131) showing a man wearing a Gallic tunic and sacrificing to nymphs. Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Inv. 187

relief figures of men who appear to have bare legs, but whose tunics are too short for this to have been possible¹⁴⁴.

We do not know exactly what the original *bracae* looked like, but the earliest images we have of them suggest the forms were varied. The Gallo-Roman wooden votive figurines from the source sanctuary at Chamalières dating to the Julio-Claudian period appear to show men wearing both the knee-length¹⁴⁵ and the full-length¹⁴⁶ trousers with a short, belted tunic, but the earliest images we have of this ensemble (with both knee- and full-length trousers) as worn by real, named individuals are 1st-century gravestones for auxiliary cavalrymen from the Rhine¹⁴⁷ and Danube¹⁴⁸ provinces, which indicates that members of the native equestrian units continued to wear the traditional dress that was so practical for riding.

Like the *tunica manicata*, the *bracae* gradually made their way into mainstream Roman dress via the military, presumably again for practical reasons¹⁴⁹. At first it was the knee-length breeches that were adopted by legionaries, apparently around the late 1st, early 2nd century. They were still inappropriate enough as general's garb in 69 AD for Italians to be shocked by Caecina's wearing them on his return to Italy from the north¹⁵⁰, but by the time of Trajan's Column 40 years later they are worn by both auxiliaries and legionaries, and indeed the emperor himself, but not by the Praetorian Guard, *signiferi* or musicians of the legions¹⁵¹, while even these wear them on the Adamklissi metopes¹⁵².

¹⁴⁴ See also Ubl 1969, 585, 594 and Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, 101, where the authors similarly assume trousers for the bare-legged figures with short tunics from Chamalières and suggest the details were painted on.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, cavalryman/rider, no. 1.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, nos. 121–123 and esp. 128, 474.

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Worms: LUPA 16778 (Tib.-Claud.). 16779 (Tib.); Wiesbaden: LUPA 7077 (Jul.-Claud.); Mainz: LUPA 15803 (Tib.). 15804 (Tib.). 15806 (Ner.). 15812 (Flav.).

¹⁴⁸ E.g. LUPA 3367.

¹⁴⁹ Ubl 1969, 588.

¹⁵⁰ Tac. hist. 2, 20.

¹⁵¹ Auxiliaries (only these wear both knee- and full-length): Lepper – Frere 1988, pl. 17, scene XXIV and XXVIII, scene XXXVII; legionaries: pl. 37, scene LI; Trajan: pl. 21, scene XXVII; Praetorians, musicians and *signiferi*: pls. 76–77, scenes CII–CIV. See also Ubl 1969, 585.

¹⁵² Which, according to Ubl, are more realistic as they were created *in situ* by the soldiers (1969, 587 f.). See Ubl 1969, 580–590 for examples of the knee-length breeches as worn by soldiers in various parts of the empire. See

The longer trousers gained currency at a later stage than the knee breeches. H. Ubl argued that they were introduced to the army with the *tunica manicata* and the *sagum* with brooch as part of the uniform reform under Caracalla¹⁵³, but earlier depictions like those on the Column of Marcus Aurelius show that the transition must have taken place during the course of the 2nd century¹⁵⁴. By the time of Severus Alexander and the fresco at Dura Europos¹⁵⁵, the full-length trousers are worn by both Julius Terentius, tribune of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, and his men. However, the trousers never entirely lost their exotic connotations: in the mid 3rd century Tetricus' trousers are described as *bracis Gallicis*¹⁵⁶ and they were still considered offensive enough in the late 4th century to be banned from the city of Rome¹⁵⁷, although such measures speak more for their popularity than for their scarcity and were in all likelihood ineffective.

In the middle Danube provinces the trousers were worn as knee breeches (fig. 6)¹⁵⁸ and long trousers (fig. 5)¹⁵⁹, although with regard to the latter it is impossible on our stones to tell if they are the ankle-length or the foot-length versions. They are worn in both forms throughout the Roman period, first appearing on the gravestones of auxiliary cavalymen in the mid 1st century AD¹⁶⁰, and are almost always associated with cavalymen, who either wear them in standing portraits¹⁶¹ and rider scenes¹⁶², or whose *calones* wear them¹⁶³. An Antonine relief from Brigetio shows a bearded barbarian wearing them being killed by a Roman legionary not wearing them¹⁶⁴, but a legionary centurion of the *legio I Minervia* on a late 2nd/3rd- century stone in Sirmium wears them¹⁶⁵. The military connection seems clear, but one image shows a man wearing trousers on horseback who is hunting, as opposed to fighting¹⁶⁶, and the intriguing relief of a man wearing a tunic, *sagum*/rectangular cloak and long trousers and holding a bucket on a relief from Ajka shows him engaged in what appears to be some kind of civilian outdoor pursuit, given the trees, the stag and the baskets that are depicted around him¹⁶⁷. As a result, we cannot rule out the possibility that civilians in the region also wore trousers. What we do not know is whether all the men in *tunica manicata* and *sagum* wear the trousers: there are not many full-figure depictions of soldiers after the 1st century and on those we do have in the absence of paint we can never be sure whether we are seeing *bracae* or bare legs¹⁶⁸, although when the tunic is very short the former can be assumed. The paint remaining on a relief fragment from Vienna, in any case, shows very clearly that what look like bare legs could actually have been covered by tight trousers, in this case bright red in colour¹⁶⁹.

also Rothe 2009, 31–34 and Roche-Bernard – Ferdière 1993, 19, who suggest the intense contact with northerners during Trajan's Dacian campaigns as the crucial factor.

¹⁵³ Ubl 1969, 597.

¹⁵⁴ E.g., Coarelli 2008, scene LXXXIV. Although see also the Portonaccio sarcophagus (190–200 AD), showing Roman soldiers in knee-length and the barbarian prisoners in full-length trousers (Matz 1958, pl. 38).

¹⁵⁵ Kaizer 2006, pl. 1.

¹⁵⁶ SHA Aur. 34.

¹⁵⁷ Cod. Theod. 14, 10, 2.

¹⁵⁸ E.g. LUPA 994. 2023. 2272. 2596. 3242. 3417. 4052. 5768.

¹⁵⁹ E.g. LUPA 427. 523. 544. 993. 995. 2080. 2709. 2726. 2779. 2978. 3092. 3095. 3097. 3243. 3367. 3437. 3590. 3880. 4336. 4570. 16683.

¹⁶⁰ E.g. LUPA 427. 2709. 2726. 3242. 3367.

¹⁶¹ LUPA 523. 3437. 3590. 4336 (long trousers).

¹⁶² E.g. LUPA 2596. 4052. 5768 (knee breeches). 427. 544. 2080. 2726. 3243. 3367. 4570 (long trousers).

¹⁶³ E.g. LUPA 994. 2023. 3242 (knee breeches). 993. 995. 2709. 2978. 3243 (long trousers).

¹⁶⁴ LUPA 3097.

¹⁶⁵ LUPA 4336.

¹⁶⁶ LUPA 3880.

¹⁶⁷ LUPA 3417.

¹⁶⁸ See, e.g., LUPA 3110.

¹⁶⁹ LUPA 16683.

4.2 Cloaks

Toga

The toga was a woollen cloak based on a semi-circular pattern and wrapped around the body. An additional curve called a *sinus* was adjoined at the straight edge in the early principate such that the garment fell in two layers of semi-circular folds. Already in antiquity, the toga was synonymous with Roman identity. In the capital itself, it symbolised free, citizen status, wealth (it was expensive to buy and to maintain) and high professional rank (it was cumbersome and could not be worn for manual labour). Different types of toga indicated various ranks and life stages¹⁷⁰. In the provinces, the toga is likely to have been especially symbolic of the possession of Roman citizenship, and perhaps also the type of livelihood that involved links with the wider imperial political and/or economic elite¹⁷¹. The drapery of the toga changed significantly over the centuries it was worn, and this presents one of the few certain dating criteria for relief stones (especially those without inscriptions) in the middle Danube provinces.

During the time period of our images, the 1st-century ›imperial‹ toga with its voluminous, drooping folds and its large, hanging bunch of fabric at the front (*umbo*) (fig. 8) gradually gave way, in the early 2nd century, to a tighter version in which the diagonal fold across the torso (*balteus*) was pulled more firmly and the *umbo* was reduced (fig. 9). In the late Antonine period yet another style became *en vogue* at Rome: the *toga contabulata* with its various preforms. In the earliest form of the *toga contabulata*, dating in Rome to the late Antonine and Severan periods, the *umbo*, instead of hanging in a U-fold, was pulled over the right shoulder in a wedge shape, the point of which was tucked into the ever-tighter *balteus*, and the *sinus* became more prominent (fig. 10). In the fully contabulated toga (ca. 220–375 AD), the *umbo* was stretched in a tight band across the entire chest, largely replacing the *balteus*, but this style does not appear in our region¹⁷².

Toga drapery is one of the more reliable art-historical dating criteria for relief art in the middle Danube area, and the predominance of the early contabulated form in images of *togati* is proof of the late date of many of the stones¹⁷³. Although this fashion may well only have reached the frontier region several years after it was introduced at Rome, it is to be expected that it had gained a foothold by the early Severan period at the latest¹⁷⁴. It would appear for a time to have been worn alongside older toga styles: on one of the mausoleum relief scenes from Bad Waltersdorf showing a *sella curialis* with lictors and scribes, one of the lictors wears a U-shaped *umbo*, the other the tighter *balteus* and *umbo* of the early 2nd century, and the two scribes the early form of the *toga contabulata*¹⁷⁵. O. Harl has suggested the contabulated toga was a sign of special status because of the extra resources in time and staff needed to look after it¹⁷⁶, but this applies to the toga as a general rule, not just to the *toga contabulata*. It is probably true that many men who possessed Roman citizenship in the middle Danube provinces could nonetheless not afford to wear a toga, although the dress worn by people in their grave portraits will not always have reflected reality, and it is conceivable that some Danubian men, like those in rural Italy in Juvenal's famous passage, did not wear a toga ›until they were dead‹¹⁷⁷. The toga

¹⁷⁰ *Toga candida* (election candidates), *toga pulla* (for mourning), *toga praetexta* (for children), *toga picta* (for triumphant generals), *toga purpura* (for emperors), *toga virilis* (for adult men): see Stone 1994.

¹⁷¹ See Rothe 2009, 49–53. See also Harl 1991, 30 f.: ›... toga, tunica, Haarschnitt und Schriftrolle als Vorläufer von Nadelstreifenanzug und Aktenköfferchen der Businessmen des 20. Jahrhunderts.«

¹⁷² For the most comprehensive and up to date treatment of the toga and its various draping styles, see Goette 1990.

¹⁷³ For this, see Kranz 1986 and especially the work of Erwin Pochmarski on the chronology of the Norican grave-stones, most recently Pochmarski 2006.

¹⁷⁴ Kranz 1986, 212–216 (perhaps already in the late Antonine period); Pochmarski 1996, 130 (from the Severan period onward).

¹⁷⁵ LUPA 6068. See also Kranz 1986, 216.

¹⁷⁶ Harl 1991, 26.

¹⁷⁷ Iuv. 3, 171–172: *Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.*

- 8 Portrait on a gravestone from Celje (LUPA 3616) showing a woman wearing an overtunic held at the shoulders using large wing brooches, a semi-circular cloak and bonnet H 1.1.1. Her husband wears a *tunica* and toga. The dress of their children is unclear. Pokrajinski Muzej Celje Inv. 80



- 9 Portrait relief in the wall of the church at Straßgang (LUPA 1453) showing, on the left, a man wearing a *sagum*/rectangular cloak, in the middle a woman wearing an overtunic with pectoral jewellery, rectangular cloak around the shoulders and bonnet, and on the right a man wearing a *tunica* and Antonine toga



- 10 Detail of a funerary relief from Enns (LUPA 491) showing a man in a sleeved tunic and early contabulated toga. Museum Lauriacum, Enns, Inv. R X 64 and R X 100



is a common garment on the Norican and Pannonian gravestones, and was usually worn with the basic Roman *tunica* (figs. 8. 9)¹⁷⁸, although it was also often worn with the *tunica manicata* (fig. 10)¹⁷⁹ or even the *dalmatica* (fig. 4).

Pallium

Pallium was the Roman name for the Greek *himation*. It was a rectangular, usually woollen, cloak that was draped around the body, typically such that it formed a ›sling‹ across the chest from which the right hand could protrude. In Rome, and in elite provincial society, it was associated with all things Greek: philosophy, theatre, the liberal arts¹⁸⁰. Through its ubiquitous use in the Hellenised Roman east, it also came to be associated with early Christians¹⁸¹. In the western provinces it perhaps also presented a way in which people could dress in a ›Roman‹ way without having to possess Roman citizenship, as was necessary for the toga, and was often draped in a similar way¹⁸². A *pallium* can thus be assumed for the images in Noricum and Pannonia of men who clearly, from their names, did not possess citizenship, but who wear a cloak draped over the left shoulder (fig. 11)¹⁸³. The second group of representations of this classical garment come in the form of the ›Totenmahlreliefs‹ particularly popular with soldiers in Intercisa and Budapest, in which the convention was followed for depicting the man reclining behind a table with a *pallium* draped around his legs and over his shoulder¹⁸⁴. The only image we have of the garment draped in the classic, arm-sling way is from Savaria¹⁸⁵. The middle section of a large statue found at Budapest shows a male figure with a cloak that may be a *pallium* or a *paludamentum* (although other indications of a military connection are lacking)¹⁸⁶. The depictions date from the 1st century¹⁸⁷ all the way through to the 3rd century AD¹⁸⁸.



11 Funerary stele from Bruckneudorf (LUPA 73) showing a man in a cloak draped like a toga (= *pallium*). Hanság Múzeum, Mosonmagyaróvár, Inv. 68.1.10

¹⁷⁸ E.g. LUPA 12. 38. 44. 298. 304. 398. 422–423. 448. 543–544. 630. 693. 760. 833–834. 836–838. 840–841. 844. 855. 857. 870. 878. 887. 999. 1003–1005. 1067. 1165. 1202–1203. 1244. 1248. 1273. 1303. 1328. 1335. 1337. 1340–1341. 1350. 1373. 1402. 1424–1425. 1446. 1464. 1486–1490. 1499. 1575. 1606. 1714. 1719. 1722. 2141. 2171. 2254. 2466. 2691. 2759. 2856. 2975. 3049. 3129. 3339. 3366. 3616. 3626. 3663. 3770. 3778. 3788. 3811. 3857. 3870–3871. 3874. 3990. 4002. 4005. 4118. 4129. 4157. 4366. 4399. 4404. 4506. 4600. 4628. 4776. 4859. 4874. 5295. 5314. 5670. 6068. 6141. 6196. 8516. 9365. 12464. 12737. 12765. 12774. 12803. 13077. 13257.

¹⁷⁹ E.g. LUPA 306. 740. 831–832. 839. 842. 877. 879–881. 1177. 1202. 1204. 1212. 1229. 1268. 1271. 1317. 1332–1333. 1365. 1440. 1452–1453. 1609. 1623. 2139. 2880. 2882. 2896. 2913. 2932. 3036. 3114. 3591. 4629. 4985. 9784. 9795. 13333.

¹⁸⁰ Tert., de Pallio.

¹⁸¹ Tert., de Pallio; s. also Bieber 1959; Marrou 1964.

¹⁸² See Rothe 2009, 60 f.

¹⁸³ E.g. LUPA 73. 75. 349. 632. 738. 3120. 3181. 3273.

¹⁸⁴ E.g. LUPA 2919. 3032. 3055. 3056. 3190.

¹⁸⁵ LUPA 748.

¹⁸⁶ LUPA 8375.

¹⁸⁷ E.g. LUPA 73 and 75 from Bruckneudorf: beardless men; LUPA 3120 from Környe: HSE without DM.

¹⁸⁸ E.g. LUPA 3056 from Intercisa: late style of relief.



12 Medallion portrait from Budapest (LUPA 2731) showing a man wearing a long-sleeved tunic and a *sagum*/rectangular cloak fastened with a disc brooch. Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 64.11.114

Rectangular cloak and sagum (rechteckiger Umhang und sagum)

The simplest of all garments, the rectangular cloak, is, at the same time, one of the most complicated and problem-fraught in the context of the middle Danubian gravestones. It formed part of the dress repertoire of most European cultural groups in antiquity, and across these groups it was identical in shape and draping method: fastened on the right shoulder using a brooch for ease of movement of that arm (figs. 12. 21. 32. 46. 60)¹⁸⁹. We have already seen¹⁹⁰ that it formed part of the typical Celtic/

Germanic ensemble with the sleeved tunic and the trousers known from Roman texts and visual art¹⁹¹. As such, it was almost certainly part of native men's dress in the middle Danube provinces. Unfortunately, the rectangular *sagum*, a Roman military cloak and as such a garment with entirely different connotations, is visually indistinguishable from the native cloak on our stones.

Both the northern native cloak and the Roman military *sagum* were made of wool¹⁹² and were originally rectangular in shape¹⁹³. Some depictions from the late 2nd century onward suggest that later versions had a rounded hem¹⁹⁴. Both the Roman and the northern cloaks could be worn with or without a fringe along the hem. Given the wide distribution of this feature across different social groups and time periods, it seems likely that it was a matter of personal taste rather

¹⁸⁹ Left-handed men may have worn it on the other shoulder (Ubl 1969, 549). Very rarely, it is fastened at the chest instead (e.g. LUPA 3367). LUPA 9 shows a rectangular cloak worn around the shoulders like women, not with a brooch.

¹⁹⁰ See above »*Tunica manicata*«.

¹⁹¹ See above »*Tunica manicata*« and »Trousers/*bracae*«.

¹⁹² E.g. Mart. 14, 159.

¹⁹³ Isid. orig. 19, 24, 13: *dictum autem sagum quadrum eo quod apud eos primum quadratus vel quadruplex esset* (»It is called the *sagum* quadrum because at first among the Gauls it used to be square or fourfold.«). At the time of Trajan's Column it was clearly rectangular (Lepper – Frere 1988, scene XI. XXI with fringe).

¹⁹⁴ E.g. fresco Dura Europos: Kaizer 2006, pl. 1. H. Ubl's discussion of this is somewhat confusing: Ubl thinks it is semi-circular, unlike the *chlamys*, which he says is rectangular. He says there are no *chlamydes* in the Danube provinces at all (Ubl 1969, 535 f.), although there is a rectangular, early form of the *sagum* (what would then be the difference?). He writes further that the *sagum* had a rectangular form in the early period, then both round and rectangular existed in the 1st and 2nd c., but that the round version is the norm by the 3rd c. (Ubl 1969, 549). He thinks that the rectangular one would give a zigzag hem falling from the brooch at the shoulder which you can see on some portraits, e.g. LUPA 1338 (Ubl 1969, 550), but it is not clear why this would happen more with one shape than another: in both cases the hem hanging down from the brooch is a straight one, of course depending on how long along the edge it was fastened. He also says that a rectangular *sagum* will show at least three corners in a full-figure image and in a bust image the side of the cloak that is thrown back over the left shoulder will have a corner hanging down if it is rectangular, and form a perfect arc if it is semi-circular (Ubl 1969, 564), but if the *sagum* were fastened at the corners at the shoulders, one would only see two other corners, which is what we, in fact, often do see. See also below under »*Paludamentum*«.

than fashion or a sign of rank¹⁹⁵. A shorter version of the cloak, the *sagulum* or *sagulos*, was sometimes also worn by soldiers¹⁹⁶, and is mentioned by Silius Italicus as the dress of lictors¹⁹⁷.

Excursus: Rectangular cloak and sagum – military dress?

In view of the prevalence of rectangular cloaks in Danubian funerary art, and their consequent significance for the correct interpretation of the images, scholars have made many and various efforts to address the problem of the apparent identicalness of the Roman and native cloaks. Earlier studies saw the rectangular cloak with brooch fastening as a component both of central European native dress and of Roman military dress as the *sagum*¹⁹⁸. More recently, scholars have begun to focus more on the Roman element. Based on H. Ubl's seminal work on military equipment, the *sagum* has been seen principally as the original ordinary cloak of Roman soldiers on the Danube frontier that gave way for a time during the first two centuries AD to the *paenula* (see below), only to return to common use in the early 3rd century as part of the general military dress reform that Ubl attributed to Caracalla¹⁹⁹. L. Eckhart then used this as a justification for interpreting the reliefs with *sagum* at Lauriacum as both Severan and military²⁰⁰, a line of reasoning that O. Harl has also followed in his more recent study of military gravestones²⁰¹. Again using the example of Lauriacum, where the *sagum* does indeed prevail in male depictions, and where the vast majority of gravestones indicate a soldier as dedicatee, as well as the statistics for Noricum in general, where of 15 depicted soldiers nine wear *saga*, Harl argued that »[das] *sagum* ist also als Kleidungsstück zu betrachten, durch das sich sein Träger als Angehöriger des Militärs definierte«²⁰².

The most recent treatment of the *sagum* question is E. Pochmarski's »Das *sagum*, urtrachtlicher keltischer Umhang und/oder römischer Uniformmantel« of 2004, a comprehensive discussion stemming from the author's wider project aimed at meeting the urgent desideratum of establishing usable dating criteria for Danubian funerary art. Pochmarski recognised a large number of civilian men wearing *saga*, pointing out that even in the legionary fortress at Lauriacum not all *sagum*-wearers hold swords or are named as soldiers²⁰³, and concluded that although it was in the military sphere that the *sagum* became de rigueur under Caracalla, the garment soon also became popular with civilian men in the region as well²⁰⁴. As such, according to Pochmarski, the *sagum* should be treated not as exclusively military, but as exclusively Severan (or later)²⁰⁵. In this, he also points to the fact that the *sagum* often appears with the early form of the *toga contabulata*, which is definitely Severan²⁰⁶, and the *tunica manicata*, which for him is also

¹⁹⁵ As suggested by Traxler 2009, 206 but see Ubl 1969, 564 with examples of soldiers of different ranks all wearing the fringe. See also the fresco from Dura that shows a tribune and his inferiors with fringes (Kaizer 2006, pl. 1).

¹⁹⁶ E.g. the *signifer* on column base from Mainz: Sumner 2009, 82 fig. 69.

¹⁹⁷ Sil. 9, 420.

¹⁹⁸ Čremošnik 1963, 122; Čremošnik 1964, 761; von Geramb 1933, 127–129.

¹⁹⁹ Ubl 1969, 555 and 562 f.; Junkelmann 1986, 157. Ubl thinks it officially and completely replaces the *paenula* in all legions in the empire between 212 and 222 AD based on gravestones (Ubl 1969, 555–558), auxiliaries (559–560) and *numeri* as well (e.g. LUPA 3095) but we cannot be sure if there was not a much longer overlap based on only four stones, and how much central control there was of soldier's clothing. Also, Ubl sees the *sagum* as round-hemmed, so perhaps we should say the *chlamys* became the main type of military cloak from the 3rd c. onwards.

²⁰⁰ Eckhart 1976.

²⁰¹ Harl 2003.

²⁰² Harl 2003, 340. See also Faber – Jilek 2006.

²⁰³ Pochmarski 2004a, 572.

²⁰⁴ To illustrate his point he uses two reliefs with men in *saga*, one a legionary veteran (LUPA 1623) and one a civilian (LUPA 1624). These date to the mid Severan period and prove, according to Pochmarski, that civilians started wearing the *sagum* in this period. See also one other relief at the church at Stallhofen of a civilian in a *sagum* which dates to a similar period on stylistic grounds (Pochmarski 2004a, 574).

²⁰⁵ Pochmarski 2004a, 571 f. See also similar argumentation in his earlier works: e.g. Pochmarski 1991a; Pochmarski 1997a, 210; Pochmarski 1996, 139.

²⁰⁶ See above under »Toga«.



13 Funerary relief from Kremsmünster (LUPA 12802) showing a woman wearing Norican dress and a man wearing a rectangular cloak/*sagum* held using a disc brooch. Sternwarte Stift Kremsmünster

Severan²⁰⁷. Pochmarski sees the fact that a treatment of the *sagum* as a criterion for Severan date places the majority of Norican (and Pannonian) funerary monuments into this short period as unproblematic, as it was indeed in this period that the region saw its zenith of prosperity and adoption of Roman culture²⁰⁸. As a result, according to Pochmarski, »[die] Sagumdarstellungen haben in dieser Zeit, da ein Großteil der epigraphischen und skulptierten Denkmäler Noricums entstanden zu sein scheint und ein gewisser Höhepunkt der Romanisierung erreicht ist, wenig mit dem ursprünglichen, keltischen Mantel zu tun«²⁰⁹.

Both Harl's (*sagum* = military) and Pochmarski's (*sagum* ≥ Severan) interpretations make sense to an extent. The *sagum* was a Roman military cloak, and as such it will have been an important visual signifier of military status for those soldiers who wore it. It is also true that the majority of depictions of men wearing the *sagum* in Noricum and Pannonia date either irrefutably or with high probability to the first half of the 3rd century²¹⁰. It does not follow, however, that because the *sagum* was

particularly popular in the Severan period, all depictions of the garment must date to this period. The ubiquity of this style of cloak in Roman Europe forbids an interpretation as a temporary »Zeiterscheinung«. There are, in fact, a significant number of depictions of the rectangular cloak that do not fit into either the military or the Severan model, and these suggest that the picture may have been somewhat more complicated. The earliest civilian monuments that depict men in the rectangular cloak date to a much earlier period²¹¹: on a gravestone from Hartberg, Tibertius Julius Avitus wears a rectangular cloak, while his wife Caixu wears local Norican dress²¹². There is no indication of a military connection and Avitus' beardlessness and hairstyle of large strands combed toward the forehead, generally classed as Trajanic, together with his name and the nominative case in the inscription, all suggest an early 2nd-century date. Likewise, a stone from Kremsmünster depicts a woman in Norican dress and a beardless man with the Trajanic hairstyle wearing a rectangular cloak with disc brooch (fig. 13)²¹³.

²⁰⁷ Pochmarski 2004a, 575 f. But see the present author's interpretation of the sleeved tunic above under »*Tunica manicata*«.

²⁰⁸ The theory of a Severan boom is also held by Kranz 1986 and Harl 1991, but not by Hudeczek 1977 and Grassl 1991.

²⁰⁹ Pochmarski 2004a, 576.

²¹⁰ Of 433 stones depicting men wearing a rectangular cloak in Noricum and the Pannonias, 383 (88 %) belong in this category.

²¹¹ The aforementioned half-bust niche stele from Budapest (LUPA 2876) that dates on the basis of both the hairstyle and the monument type to the mid 1st c. AD, shows a man wearing a sleeved tunic and a rectangular cloak. The rider scene below the portrait niche suggests he was a cavalryman. Together with a stele from Szekszárd for Surius Essimni f. (LUPA 659), a soldier with the *cohors I Vindellicorum*, that dates based on the unit's movements quite firmly to the early Trajanic period, this stone shows clearly that the *sagum* was in use also by auxiliary troops in the region in the mid 1st and early 2nd c.

²¹² LUPA 1465.

²¹³ LUPA 12802.

Disc brooches appear in archaeological contexts in the central European provinces as a general class of brooches from the early 1st to the late 4th century²¹⁴. Unfortunately, on none of the funerary reliefs of the middle Danube region is the detail sufficient to allow us to determine specific brooch types, so they cannot be used for dating. Hairstyles can, on the other hand, be useful. E. Pochmarski has dismissed the hairstyles of the men mentioned in the previous paragraph as not Trajanic but rather a style popular with men in the Danube region throughout the period in question. He cites a number of stones on which this coiffure is worn, but other features of the stone point to a later date: a stone in St. Donat with one bearded and one moustachioed man and a woman with an Antonine hairstyle²¹⁵, and one in St. Thomas am Zeiselberg, on which the man wears a fringed *sagum* and (*contra* Pochmarski) clearly has a beard, as can be seen in the continuation of the hairline downward in front of the ears and the parallel strands of hair in the moustache²¹⁶. However, although the hairstyles depicted in these two examples look in many ways ›Trajanic‹, they are actually somewhat different to the examples given in the previous paragraph: in the latter, like in portraits of Trajan²¹⁷, the hair is fuller and the strands thicker, and the ears protrude conspicuously at either side of the head, a feature typical of 1st- and early 2nd-century grave portraits in general. Pochmarski is similarly sceptical of the absence of a beard as definitive proof of an earlier date, and sees only the presence of a beard as evidence of a post-Trajanic date²¹⁸. These misgivings are well-founded, but when beardlessness or a distinctive hairstyle fall together with a series of other features on relief stones that suggest an earlier date, the cumulative weight of these indications should be taken into account.

A whole series of very similar pre-Severan gravestones from around Budapest and the Danube bend depict men wearing long-sleeved tunics and rectangular cloaks next to their wives wearing local native dress²¹⁹. Other features of the stones point to the dedicatees as local native people: five of them depict the wagon or sacrifice scenes characteristic of the region²²⁰, and, with the exception of LUPA 3267 from Tatabánya and LUPA 3196 from Zsámbék, where the inscription is missing, both the men and the women had native names and were of peregrine status. There is no indication of a military connection on any of the stones, and the mention of wives as *coniuges*²²¹ renders active service unlikely in any case. All the dating indicators for these monuments suggest an early 2nd century date: the men have Trajanic hairstyles and no beards²²²; two of the inscriptions still use the typically 1st-century *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)* formulation²²³, one in combination with *D(is) M(anibus)*²²⁴; two further inscriptions²²⁵ then use the pure *D(is) M(anibus)* convention. The designation of Suadilla on a stone from Budapest as *liberta* also suggests a date before the middle of the 2nd century²²⁶.

Two gravestones from Dunaújváros-Intercisa depicting women in native dress with men wearing rectangular cloaks on either side also appear to date to the early or mid 2nd century: the inscription on the first uses *H(ic) S(itae) S(unt)*²²⁷; the names are native. LUPA 3985 has no

²¹⁴ See, e.g., Riha 1979, pl. 78 and 79, types 3.14–3.17 and 7.2–7.14.

²¹⁵ LUPA 886.

²¹⁶ LUPA 862. Cf. Pochmarski 1996, 129–133.

²¹⁷ E.g. Palazzo Nuovo, Capitoline Museums, Inv. MC0276.

²¹⁸ Pochmarski 1996, 133.

²¹⁹ LUPA 2779. 2973. 3059. 3136. 3196. 3267. Pochmarski seems to agree that native dress is indicative of an earlier, Roman dress of a later date (Pochmarski 1996, 135).

²²⁰ LUPA 2779. 2973. 3059. 3196. 3267.

²²¹ LUPA 2779. 3136. 3267.

²²² Where the brooch on the man's shoulder is visible, it is either a disc brooch or a bow brooch of indeterminate type, both perfectly possible for an early 2nd c. date.

²²³ LUPA 3059. 3136.

²²⁴ LUPA 3136.

²²⁵ LUPA 2973. 3267.

²²⁶ LUPA 2973.

²²⁷ LUPA 3578.

surviving inscription, but the men seem to be clean-shaven. On the first stone, the man on the right wears a disc brooch, but on the second, the man on the left clearly wears a knee brooch. Due to their prevalence at military sites, knee brooches were traditionally seen as soldiers' dress, but their ever more frequent emergence in non-military sites²²⁸, coupled with the fact that they are often worn by local women as chest ornaments on gravestones (figs. 35. 47)²²⁹, show that they were widely worn in civilian contexts as well. There is a degree of consensus among brooch scholars that knee brooches, described by A. Böhme as »Reichsfibel« due to their wide use along the Roman frontiers²³⁰, began to be worn in our region in the mid 2nd century AD²³¹. Their end date is more controversial: H. Sedlmayer and C. Gugl see the bulk of knee brooches ending in the mid 3rd century²³², while W. Jobst and others claim they were used as late as the turn of the 3rd/4th centuries²³³.

A further group of gravestones depicting apparently civilian men in rectangular cloaks dates to the Antonine period: One of the reliefs in the church wall at Straßgang shows a woman in native dress and two men, one clean shaven and wearing a rectangular cloak and disc brooch, the other bearded and wearing a toga very clearly draped in the style of the mid 2nd century, whereby the *balteus* was twisted tightly across the chest²³⁴; there is no sign of the earlier protruding – or later contabulated – *umbo* over the *balteus* (fig. 9). Two Norican reliefs²³⁵ and one from Osijek-Mursa in Lower Pannonia²³⁶ depict bearded men (and in the case of LUPA 1223 from Landscha a male child) wearing the rectangular cloak with either a disc or knee brooch, and women wearing Roman dress and sporting, in meticulous detail, the characteristic hairstyle of Faustina the Younger. P. Kranz has shown that such hairstyles may have been worn in our region several decades after they were fashionable at Rome²³⁷, but it is very unlikely that they extended all the way to the reign of Caracalla²³⁸, which for E. Pochmarski is the start date of the »*sagum*-Tracht«. A further two steles from Dunaújváros-Intercisa²³⁹ and Kékkút (Veszprém)²⁴⁰ show women in native dress and men in rectangular cloaks with a knee brooches. The knee brooches mean that the stones probably date to between the mid 2nd and mid 3rd centuries, but the native names and *libertus* designations of the former, and the pillared niche and gable stele type, names (Tiberius Julius Facundus, Antonia Octavia) and *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)* formulation of the latter all point to a date at the beginning of this spectrum. A further eight stones from the middle Danube region possess features that, although they suggest an earlier date, are not watertight dating criteria on their own: clean-shaven men²⁴¹, imperial *gentilicia*²⁴²,

²²⁸ E.g. Wels-Ovilava: Sedlmayer 1995, 167–173; Virunum: Gugl 1995, 57; Flavia Solva: Kropf – Nowak 2000, pls. 17–46, nos. 86–251.

²²⁹ E.g. LUPA 1159.

²³⁰ Böhme 1972, 50.

²³¹ Jobst 1975, 59–68; Sedlmayer 1995, 43–50; Gugl 1995, 35; Cociş 2004, 94–97; Weber 2007, 179–181; Schmid 2010, 36. For their appearance a generation earlier in Germania Superior, see Böhme 1972, 52 f. and Kortüm – Lauber 2004, 183. 268: Walheim: Trajanic-Hadrianic period.

²³² Sedlmayer 1995, 43–50; Gugl 1995, 35.

²³³ Jobst 1975, 243; Buora 2003, 506 f.

²³⁴ LUPA 1452.

²³⁵ LUPA 832. 1223.

²³⁶ LUPA 4295.

²³⁷ Kranz 1986, 216 f. and note 89.

²³⁸ See also LUPA 839 and 877 on which women wearing what appears to be a Faustina minor hairstyle are depicted next to men in the early form of *toga contabulata*, which must be Severan (see Pochmarski 1996, 130).

²³⁹ LUPA 3214.

²⁴⁰ LUPA 3413.

²⁴¹ LUPA 807. 1159.

²⁴² LUPA 483 from Amstetten-Öhling.

native names²⁴³, women in native dress²⁴⁴ and native wagon and sacrifice scenes²⁴⁵. Again, none of the men on these stones appear to be soldiers²⁴⁶.

From the examples discussed above it is clear that although many of the 433 depictions of men wearing a rectangular cloak and brooch in the middle Danube provinces depict Roman soldiers, and although the majority probably date to the Severan period or later, it is going too far to date every last one of them to 211 AD or later. It has been shown by E. Pochmarski that the *sagum* was particularly popular from the mid-Severan period onwards, but this is not proof that it was not worn by some men in the middle Danube region in an earlier period; indeed, this seems most unlikely given that the rectangular cloak was the single most ubiquitous male garment in Roman and Iron-Age Europe. There remains a significant minority of apparently civilian dedications for which the cumulative dating characteristics weigh heavily in favour of a date before – and in some cases up to a century before – the military dress reform posited by H. Ubl for the reign of Caracalla. Contrary to O. Harl's statement that »man kann ... mit einer gewissen Sicherheit davon ausgehen, dass sich die echten Zivilisten von Norikum ... nicht im *sagum* darstellen lassen würden«²⁴⁷, the stones discussed above all appear to depict civilian men, and recurring characteristic features suggest many of them were of local, native origin (native and peregrine names, womenfolk in local dress, native wagon and sacrifice scenes, etc.). As such, these men are wearing not the Roman military *sagum*, but the very similar garment that was »eine der zahlreichen keltischen Komponenten in der Tracht der Einheimischen«²⁴⁸.

Moreover, we need not be surprised at the similarity between the Roman *sagum* and the native cloak: ancient authors make it very clear that the *sagum* was in fact adopted from the northern peoples in the first place. Varro tells us that not only the garment, but the term *sagum* itself was Gallic in origin²⁴⁹, and Isidore of Seville explains that it was adopted during Roman campaigns in Gaul in the form of enemy booty²⁵⁰. It is Gallia Cisalpina that is meant here, which was conquered by the Romans during the 3rd century BC: the *sagum* was worn by Roman soldiers long before Caesar's campaigns. One of the earliest depictions of a Roman soldier in a *sagum* is the census scene on the late 2nd-century BC altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus from Rome²⁵¹. During the course of the middle and late Republic, the *sagum* came to be synonymous with soldiery: Cicero uses the phrase »to put on the *sagum*« as shorthand for »going to war«²⁵². At the same time, the *sagum* is mentioned time and again by Roman writers as a characteristic garment of the Celtiberians²⁵³, Gauls²⁵⁴ and Germans²⁵⁵, and it is seldom missing from (albeit Roman) depictions

²⁴³ LUPA 682. 770. 802. 1612.

²⁴⁴ LUPA 682. 770. 802. 1159.

²⁴⁵ LUPA 770. 802.

²⁴⁶ Three reliefs from the environs of Virunum (LUPA 990. 991. 997) and one from Flavia Solva (LUPA 1205) depict *librarius*->Dieners (young men holding scrolls, *styli* or writing tablets) wearing rectangular cloaks with disc or knee brooches (cf. Traxler 2009, 206). As visibly younger men, the beardlessness of such figures cannot be taken as a hint toward an early date, but two of the reliefs (LUPA 990. 997) are decorated with the so-called Norican-Pannonian »Volutenornament« which renders a date in the Antonine period just as possible as a Severan one (the earliest stone in the middle Danube provinces with this ornamentation is an altar from Budapest [CIL III 3432] dating to 164: Kranz 1986, 211 f.; Pochmarski 1996. See also Schober 1923, 230–232 for a no longer tenable date between 100 and 200 AD and Gabelmann 1977, 238–242 with note 174 for other older literature).

²⁴⁷ Harl 2003, 342.

²⁴⁸ Hudeczek 1978, 84 note 8.

²⁴⁹ Varro ling. 5, 167.

²⁵⁰ Isid. orig. 19, 24, 12–13: *Est autem vestis militaris, cuius usus Gallicis primum expeditionibus coepit e praeda hostili. De qua est vox illa senatui: »Togis depositis Qirites ad saga fuerunt.« Sagum autem Gallicum nomen est: dictum autem sagum quadrum eo quod apud eos primum quadratus vel quadruplex esset.*

²⁵¹ Louvre Inv. Ma 975 (LL 399).

²⁵² Cic. Phil. 5, 12.

²⁵³ Strab. 3, 3, 7.

²⁵⁴ Polyb. 2, 28, 7; 2, 30, 1; Varro ling. 5, 167; Caes. Gall. 5, 42; Diod. 5, 30, 1; Verg. Aen. 8, 660; Strab. 4, 4, 3; 4, 6, 2; Pomp. Mela 3, 3, 21.

²⁵⁵ Tac. Germ. 6, 17.

of northern barbarians, including the Dacians²⁵⁶. Wooden figurines from source sanctuaries in Gaul with their Julio-Claudian date give us some of the earliest self-commissioned images we have of native northern people, and the rectangular cloak with brooch on the right shoulder is one of the main garments worn²⁵⁷.

In the centuries that followed, *saga* »made in Gaul« were a popular commodity, which generated a regular *sagum* industry in the region attested by countless inscriptions that mention *sagari* and *negotiatores sagarii*²⁵⁸. A distinction between the Gallic and the Roman military version of the garment still seems to have existed in 300 AD: Diocletian's Price Edict, by which time the military version more commonly went under the name *chlamys* (see below), mentions the *χλᾶμύς στῤῥαπιωτικός*, or soldier's cloak²⁵⁹ and the *σάγος Γαλλικός τῶν ἑστὶν Ἀνβιανήσιος ἤτοι Βιτουρητικός* (»from the Ambiani or Bituriges«) or *aphros*²⁶⁰. The cloak with brooch on the shoulder was not only a very ancient European garment: it also enjoyed considerable longevity beyond our time period: *sagum* is still the name used for the military cloak worn by Theodosius while campaigning in northern Africa²⁶¹, and it became part of standard Frankish and Anglo-Saxon men's dress²⁶².

The question that must, however, be posed, is whether there was a difference between the native rectangular cloak as worn by some of our men, and the Roman military *sagum* as worn by others. The evidence we have consists almost entirely of stone reliefs, and on these no difference is discernible²⁶³, but we should not forget that the stones will originally have been painted, and the fact that this paint has not survived (aside from a very few exceptions) means that we are left without the colour that may have been an important feature of many of our garments. In fact, there are various indications that it was indeed in colour and decoration that the northern native cloaks differed from their Roman military cousins. Gallic textiles were generally associated with garish colours and patterns, as, for example, in Pliny's description of a *scutulatus* pattern, a lozenge or check weave²⁶⁴, and unlike the Roman version, the northern *sagum* in particular is often described as having been multi-coloured with decoration in stripes or check. Diodorus, for instance, tells us »the clothing they [the Gauls] wear is striking – shirts which have been dyed and embroidered in varied colours, and breeches, which they call in their tongue *bracae*; and they wear striped *saga*, fastened by a buckle on the shoulder, heavy for winter wear and light for summer, in which are set checks, close together and of varied hues«²⁶⁵. Martial tells us that the Romans liked cloaks in brown, while the Gauls preferred bright colours like red²⁶⁶. On the other hand, we have reason to believe that red was a common colour for the Roman military *sagum*:

²⁵⁶ E.g. Lepper – Frere 1988, scene XI. XXI with fringe. For the *sagum* as an originally northern garment see also Wilson 1938, 105 f.; Wild 1968a, 226; Roche-Bernard – Ferdière 1993, 22 f. 161.

²⁵⁷ E.g. Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, 65. 99 and 103: »... le manteau agrafé des hommes porté sur la tunique courte est un costume gaulois dans la tradition de La Tène.« The authors even see this garment as »plus ancien que la cape [the native hooded cape]«. It is interesting that at Chamalières, and apparently only here, women also wear this cloak.

²⁵⁸ CIL IV 753; CIL VI 1282. 1868. 9864. 9872; CIL IX 1863. 1872; CIL XII 1928. 1930. 4509. 1898. 5925. 5928. 5929. 6773. See also Schlippschuh 1974, 49–51.

²⁵⁹ Price Edict 19, 1.

²⁶⁰ Price Edict 19, 60–61. The difference between these and another garment called the *phiblatorion* is unclear. One of these comes from Raetia (Price Edict 19, 53), and another less expensive one from Poetovio (55) but the same garments are also mentioned as coming from the Treveran area (54) and Africa (56).

²⁶¹ Amm. 29, 5, 48.

²⁶² Charlemagne with wife in a depiction from a manuscript written between 817 and 823 in St. Paul im Lavanttal (Klosterbibliothek) and Harold on the Bayeux Tapestry: Owen-Crocker 2010, 232–259.

²⁶³ It is also interesting to note that a *sagum* from Egypt mentioned in a papyrus (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden 7 [Berlin 1926] VII 1564 = SP395) and dating to ca. 138 AD has, at 266 × 177 cm, similar dimensions to the Thorsberg cloak (250 × 168 cm).

²⁶⁴ Plin. nat. 8, 191.

²⁶⁵ Diod. 5, 30, 1. See also, e.g., Tac. hist. 2, 20: *versicolor sagulum*; Verg. Aen. 8, 660 describes the Gallic *sagum* as *virgatus* (striped).

²⁶⁶ Mart. 14, 129.

lictors are described by Silius Italicus as wearing a red *sagulos*²⁶⁷, and a statue of a soldier from our region in Rust (Burgenland)²⁶⁸ apparently had some remaining red paint on the *sagum*. On the fresco at Dura the cloaks are either brown or white with a red fringe²⁶⁹. It seems likely that different military ranks were shown in the colour and decoration of the cloak²⁷⁰. Despite the fact that we know very little of the details, the above passages highlight the importance of colour in the meaning of the garments under discussion, and suggest that the seemingly identical native and Roman rectangular cloaks on reliefs in the middle Danube region were originally discernible in the colour and decoration rendered in paint.

Ancient authors did not shy away from using the same term – *sagum* – for both the Roman and northern native versions of this garment, and it is possible, given the Gallic origin of the term, that local Danubian men had a similar name for it. It may also be, as H. Ubl suggested, that *sagum* was an umbrella term used by the Romans to denote all cloaks consisting of a rectangular piece of fabric held at the shoulder with a brooch²⁷¹. Nonetheless, due to the probability that we are looking at two different garments on the reliefs from the Danube region, and of the fact that we do not know the native term used, it seems judicious to continue to refer to the Roman *sagum* and the native ›rectangular cloak‹ as separate garments.

Paludamentum

The *paludamentum* was a large military cloak that corresponded to the Greek *chlamys*²⁷². It was rectangular save for one curved edge and was larger and of finer material than the *sagum*²⁷³. In Greece and Republican Rome it was often held at the shoulder using a brooch, but in Roman art of the imperial period, where military portraits of emperors represent the archetype, it is typically shown draped in a bunch at the left shoulder and another over the forearm without any visible fastening (fig. 14)²⁷⁴. There is, however, some confusion: H. Ubl observed that from the 3rd century onward a ›semi-circular *sagum*‹ became the norm in the Roman army²⁷⁵; by most definitions this would actually be a *paludamentum*. In some images in the middle Danube region the cloak does in fact appear to be a normal *sagum* (knee-length, stiff, held at the right shoulder with a brooch) but with a curved edge²⁷⁶. It is possible that the terms were blurred even in antiquity: the Gallic emperor Tetricus is described in Aurelian's triumphal parade as wearing a red *chlamys*, a yellow *tunica* and Gallic trousers²⁷⁷. In this classic northern European combination one would usually expect the *sagum* instead of the *chlamys*, but it may be that the *chlamys* in

²⁶⁷ Sil. 9, 420. The description of lictors in *sagum*-like cloaks corresponds to 1st-century AD depictions of them such as Staatliche Museen – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Römisches im Antikenmuseum, no. 45.

²⁶⁸ LUPA 2272.

²⁶⁹ Kaizer 2006, pl. 1.

²⁷⁰ Ubl 1969, 554.

²⁷¹ Ubl 1969, 548. The outer garment worn by slaves and the poor is also sometimes called *sagum* (Colum. 1, 8; Dig. 34 tit. 2 s23 § 2).

²⁷² Nonius Marcellus uses the words *paludamentum* and *chlamys* synonymously and says they are the same thing (537). Tacitus describes Agrippina attending Claudius' *naumachia* in a *chlamyde aurata* (ann. 12, 56) while Pliny (nat. 33, 3) and Cassius Dio (60, 33), telling the same story, use *paludamento aurotextili* and *χλαμύδι διαχρυσῶ* respectively. For what it is worth the 6th-c. writer Lydus tells us the early Roman officers wore the *paludamentum*, which, he explains, was similar to the *chlamys* (Lyd. mag. 1, 17, 1).

²⁷³ See, e.g., the statue of Augustus at Prima Porta and images of Marcus Aurelius on his column: Coarelli 2008, scenes IX and XXII. In this context it is, however, intriguing that Diocletian's Price Edict sets the best quality *chlamys* at 4,000 *denarii* (19, 1), while the ›Gallic‹ *sagum* is double the price at 8,000 *denarii* (19, 60). See von Geramb 1933, 127 for links between the Greek *chlamys* and the Roman *lacerna*.

²⁷⁴ Contra Hirschmann 2000, this style of wearing the *paludamentum* must already have been popular in the Augustan period: see the gravestone from Xanten-Birten for Marcus Caelius, who died in the Varian disaster of 9 AD (LUPA 15513). See also full-figure images like the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Baltimore Art Gallery or the Claudian tombstone of Quintus Sertorius Festus from Verona (Maxfield 1981, pl. 2 b and text CIL V 3374).

²⁷⁵ Ubl 1969, 549.

²⁷⁶ E.g. LUPA 6307.

²⁷⁷ SHA Aur. 34, 2.



14 Detail of a relief in Schloss Seggau (LUPA 1303) showing the *optio legionis* Carminius Cupitus wearing the *paludamentum* bunched at the shoulder

optio legionis Carminius Cupitus on a stone from Flavia Solva dating to the Trajanic period (fig. 14)²⁸⁴. Whether or not auxiliary officers also wore the *paludamentum* is not clear from the images²⁸⁵. Assuming the curved *sagum* was indeed that and not a *paludamentum*, the latter would appear to have been reserved for ever higher ranks as time went on, before disappearing altogether in the late 3rd century²⁸⁶.

Paenula and Gallic cape/cucullus (Paenula und gallischer Umhang/cucullus)

With the various European hooded cloaks, we encounter a very similar problem to that of the *sagum* and native rectangular cloak: it is often very difficult to distinguish them from one another, although we know there must have been both Roman military and local native versions. In their basic form, these garments were a sleeveless cape that hung to the knees with a hood added to the neck-hole that usually lay flat on the shoulders and upper back when not in use.

The *paenula*, a common Roman soldiers' fatigue garment worn from the Augustan period to the time of Septimius Severus²⁸⁷, always had a seam or split down the front, sometimes held with a button, toggle, thong or clasp²⁸⁸. It was commonly depicted with the ends at the front

fact replaced the *sagum* in this ensemble, as we have a number of images from the late Roman period in which a curved cloak is worn with the trousers and sleeved tunic²⁷⁸. As a result of the lack of clarity in this regard, it is justified, with H. Ubl, to see only garments with the distinctive ›Schulterbausch‹ (›shoulder bunch‹) on the Danubian stones as confirmed *paludamenta*²⁷⁹.

Varro tells us *paludamenta* were *insignia atque ornamenta militaria* and part of the battle dress of generals and emperors²⁸⁰. They were not to be worn within the *pomerium* of Rome²⁸¹. In the provinces the *paludamentum* appears to have been the dress cloak of officers, who would otherwise have worn the *sagum* or the *paenula*; as such, they were only depicted wearing it when dressed in parade uniform on their gravestones²⁸². In view of the large number of soldiers stationed in Noricum and especially Pannonia, it is surprising that we have so few definite depictions of it²⁸³.

The lowest rank of soldier wearing it is the

²⁷⁸ E.g. fresco from Dura Europos: Kaizer 2006, pl. 1.

²⁷⁹ Ubl 1969, 572.

²⁸⁰ Varro ling. 7, 37.

²⁸¹ Tac. hist. 2, 89; SHA Hadr. 22, 3; SHA Gall. 16, 4.

²⁸² Ubl 1969, 573 f.

²⁸³ LUPA 872. 1207. 1303. 3243. 3380. 4300. 8375 (?).

²⁸⁴ LUPA 1303.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Ubl 1969, 576.

²⁸⁶ Ubl 1969, 578.

²⁸⁷ See military relief depictions in Rome and Italy listed in Ubl 1969, 537 f. The earliest is worn by Drusus on the south side of the Ara Pacis, the latest by soldiers on the Arches of Severus in Rome and Leptis Magna. Interestingly, an almost identical garment to the *paenula* was still worn by Arabs in northern Africa in the mid 20th c. (Ubl 1969, 536).

²⁸⁸ E.g. LUPA 4027. 2836. 4289; see also Wild 1970, 137–155.

thrown back over each shoulder²⁸⁹. An extant item from Egypt shows that it was semi-circular in pattern and that the added hood was rectangular in shape²⁹⁰. It didn't change noticeably in form over time and was never worn with a fringe at the bottom, although it could sometimes have a pompom at the peak of the hood or the corners hanging down at the front²⁹¹. As the warmest of all Roman military garments, it was particularly popular in the European provinces; H. Ubl even went so far as to suggest it was prescribed as uniform for all soldiers between Macedonia and Britain, although there is little evidence for this²⁹². The *paenula* was always fatigue dress; it is hardly ever seen in battle scenes on triumphal art, but some of the very few exceptions to this rule can be seen on the Danube: two stones from Carnuntum show legionaries wearing it under their cuirass, and another (Attius Exoratus) girt like a military tunic²⁹³. It was rarely worn by emperors, although various types of hooded cape are mentioned in the inventory of Commodus's possessions mentioned above²⁹⁴, and the *caracallus*, a similar, probably ankle-length garment, was so popular with Caracalla it earned him his nickname²⁹⁵. Within the military the *paenula* does not appear to have been confined to any particular ranks or positions²⁹⁶. In the Danube provinces it was worn mainly by legionaries and mainly in Pannonia (the earliest depictions being soldiers of the *legio XV Apollinaris* in Carnuntum)²⁹⁷, but it is also worn by auxiliaries²⁹⁸.

The native hooded cloaks of central and northern Europe, often called ›Gallic capes‹ because of their conspicuous popularity in Gaul²⁹⁹, are more varied in form than the *paenula*. Some were waist-length, as worn by the little bronze figurine of a ploughman from Trier³⁰⁰, others were calf-length, as worn by the native family on a tombstone in York³⁰¹ or in the early Roman wooden votive figurines from Chamalières, Puy-de-Dôme³⁰². On Gallic gravestones, the native Gallic cape practically never has a full split or seam at the front, but it is clear from the Chamalières figures that it could be both closed at the front or have a seam or split³⁰³. On the Danubian stones the hooded cloak is worn by civilian native men both with and without the opening at the front³⁰⁴. The neck was usually V-shaped, but some appear also to have had a round neck opening³⁰⁵. Both the native cape and its Roman military counterpart were often worn with a scarf tucked in around the neck that is sometimes difficult to decipher from the hood³⁰⁶. In some

²⁸⁹ E.g. LUPA 7081. 15518. 15520. 15752. 15770.

²⁹⁰ See Granger-Taylor 2008, 6–16. See also Wild, who sees the basic pattern as a semicircle (Wild 1985, 374 f.) and Böhme, who sees it as a three-quarter or full circle (Böhme 1985, 430. 435).

²⁹¹ See discussion in Ubl 1969, 548.

²⁹² Ubl 1969, 547 f. Ubl speaks constantly of »vorschriftsmässiges Uniform«, assuming a set uniform for the entire Roman period, but we don't have any evidence of this: »Da ... die *paenula* ... einer Reihe von Legionen der verschiedensten Provinzialheere als Uniformmantel diente, ist anzunehmen, dass sie durch eine allgemeine Uniformierungsvorschrift allen Truppen vorgeschrieben war.« (Ubl 1969, 546).

²⁹³ Ubl 1969, 537 f.

²⁹⁴ SHA Pert. 8, 2–3: *paenulae* and *cuculli Bardaici*.

²⁹⁵ SHA Hadr. 3, 5; Poll. 7, 60; Spartian, Caracalla 9, 7–8.

²⁹⁶ Ubl 1969, 540 f. 542.

²⁹⁷ E.g. LUPA 79. 2838. 2938. 4981. 5042.

²⁹⁸ E.g. LUPA 2855. 3265. 3576. 3581.

²⁹⁹ See, e.g., Wild 1985, 374 f.; Böhme 1985, 430. 435; Rothe 2009, e.g. 53 f.

³⁰⁰ Wild 1985, pl. 5. Also one of the figurines at Chamalières: Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, no. 430.

³⁰¹ Allason-Jones 2003, 276 fig. 14.2.

³⁰² Dumontet – Romeuf 2000. Women appear also to sometimes have worn the hooded cape, as shown by some figures from Chamalières (e.g. Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, nos. 195–198) and the gravestone from York (Allason-Jones 2003, 276 fig. 14.2).

³⁰³ Dumontet – Romeuf 2000. E.g. no. 102 with a seam down the front. For the hooded Gallic cape in northern Gaul and the Rhineland, see Rothe 2009, 34–36.

³⁰⁴ E.g. LUPA 2723. 2853. 2875. 3265. 3516. 3576. 3945. 3974. 3986. 4027. 4038. 4041. 4067. 4700.

³⁰⁵ E.g. among figures at Chamalières: Dumontet – Romeuf 2000: V neck (e.g. no. 95, 330) round neck (e.g. nos. 57 and 79).

³⁰⁶ The cape is depicted only very rarely with the hood up in images of civilians/mortals (e.g. Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, no. 299). The publishers of the figurines at Chamalières think the bunch around the neck that is characteristic of these



15 Detail of a relief from a funerary stele from Lauriacum (LUPA 471) showing a man wearing a hooded cape with a front seam and a scarf wrapped high around his neck. Museum Lauriacum, Enns, Inv. R X 13

images, however, the scarf is wrapped high around the neck (fig. 15)³⁰⁷. This scarf is only ever worn with the hooded cape.

Some scholars have seen all the hooded capes of northern Europe as Roman *paenulae*, arguing they were brought there by the Roman army after which they became popular with the local men³⁰⁸, but this is not convincing.

First, the textual evidence points the hooded cape as an archetypal Celtic garment. Written sources give us several names for hooded capes from Celtic-speaking areas of the empire. The most common is *cucullus*, almost certainly a Celtic word³⁰⁹, and associated, in Martial's Epigrams, with the Illyrian Liburni (14, 139), the people of Baetica (14, 133) and, as the *bardocucullus*, with the Lingones (1, 53, 3) and the Gauls generally (14, 128)³¹⁰. *Byrrus* is a term that appears somewhat later for a hooded cloak³¹¹, and the section of the Theodosian Code that gives us his edict *de habitu* (14, 10, 1), which ruled that men were to wear the *paenula* at formal meetings in Rome and slaves only *cuculli* and *byrri*, indicates that there was indeed a difference between these garments, although it is impossible to see today.

It has been postulated that *cucullus* referred only to the hood itself³¹², or to the shorter native shoulder cape, and *paenula* to that which reached to the knees³¹³.

Second, hooded capes are worn in some of the very earliest images of native men from the northern provinces, such as 85 % of the men in the aforementioned figurines at Chamalières dating to the Julio-Claudian period³¹⁴. The native river source sanctuary at Chamalières was a long way from any urban, let alone military centre, and all the other features of these figures are indigenous, from the torque that is worn by some men with their hooded capes, to their distinctly Gallic shaggy hairstyles³¹⁵. For M. Dumontet and A.-M. Romeuf, the »pelerine« worn by the

figures is more likely to be a hood than a scarf, but in some cases it might be a scarf, whereas in others it is very clearly a hood, e.g. no. 107. At the Seine source there are stone images that clearly show a scarf (Deyts 1983, pl. 82 a–c).

³⁰⁷ E.g. LUPA 471.

³⁰⁸ E.g. Kolb 1973, 69–162; Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 66.

³⁰⁹ Egger 1932, 312.

³¹⁰ From the reference in SHA Pert. 8, 2–3 to *cuculli Bardaei* it is clear that the *bardocucullus* was named after the Bardaei, a tribe in Illyricum. In 1, 53, 3 Martial describes the *bardocucullus* as greasy (*unctus*). For a list of literary references to the *cucullus*, see Holder 1891–1913, 1183.

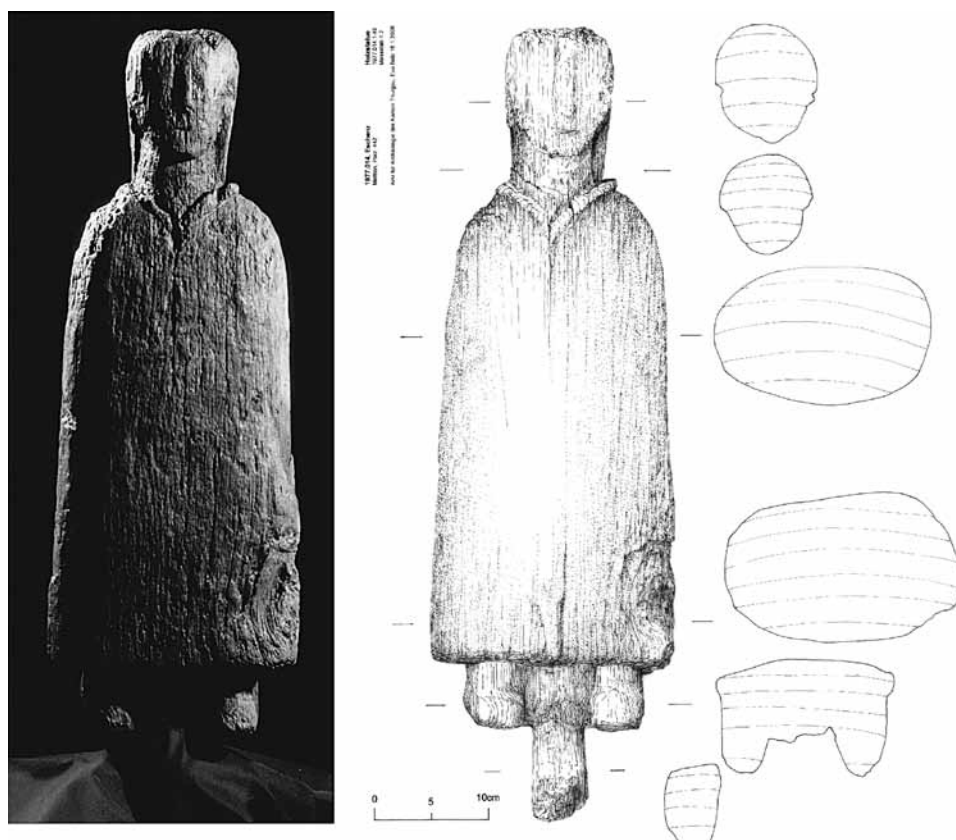
³¹¹ Diocletian's Price Edict 19, 34 names Noricum as one of the places this garment might come from (one of the more expensive at 8,000 *denarii*), as well as Dacia (19, 35), Britain (19, 36), Africa (19, 42), Achaia (19, 41), Phrygia (19, 41) and the Argolid (19, 40). See also Wild 1963; Wild 1964.

³¹² Láng 1919, 209 f. note 4.

³¹³ Pochmarski 1992a; Pochmarski 1992b. See also Jantsch 1934 who speaks of a *paenula* and sees it as native but distinguishes it from the *cucullus*, the »richtiger Wetterkragen« and »eigentliche Kleidungsstück der heimischen Bevölkerung, der armen Leute, deren Schutzpatron der Genius Cucullatus war« (p. 71).

³¹⁴ Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, 97.

³¹⁵ E.g. Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, no. 69.



16 Photograph and drawing of the wooden figure from Eschenz showing a long-haired man in a hooded cape

figures at Chamalières is clearly a native garment³¹⁶. Closer to home, an oak figure dendrodated to the early Augustan period from Eschenz in Switzerland shows a long-haired man wearing a hooded cape without an opening at the front (fig. 16)³¹⁷.

Moreover, we have every reason to believe that, like the *sagum*, the Roman *paenula* was, in fact, originally a Celtic garment. The earliest images we have of the hooded cape is in Greek and Etruscan art as the characteristic garment of Telesphorus, a deity linked to Aesclepius and as such associated with health and healing, although the practical outdoor nature of the garment signifies the hooded deity specifically as the protector of travellers³¹⁸. In his Greek context, Telesphorus seems to have come from Anatolia, and was probably brought there by the Celts. It has been suggested that he represented a very old Celtic god that was linked to Aesclepius in Asia Minor as a result of an idea by the priests at Pergamon³¹⁹. The pan-Celtic nature of the hooded protector god is clear also from Etruscan images depicting him accompanying bridal and funerary wagons on ash chests. The connection with wagons is significant, as most of the Etruscan and Latin words relating to wagons were of Celtic descent, and R. Egger argued that the hooded deity was also adopted from the Celts³²⁰. The Etruscans had early links with the Celts due to geographical proximity, trade and the latter serving as mercenaries within Etruria,

³¹⁶ Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, 103. See also Claudian gravestones in Mainz for early images of native men wearing the hooded cape (LUPA 16485).

³¹⁷ Bürgi 1978; Belz et al. 2008.

³¹⁸ Cf. Dumontet – Romeuf 2000, 97 who point out the French word for a hooded cape: *pèlerine* = pilgrim, suggesting the garment later came especially to be associated with pilgrims.

³¹⁹ Egger 1948; Noll 1953, 651.

³²⁰ Egger 1948, 92 f.



17 Funerary portrait of the *cornicen* Ael(ius) Quintus from Aquincum (LUPA 2836) showing a bearded man in a *paenula* with a split/seam down the front. This is fastened at the neck with a long, horizontal clasp. Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 63.10.137

and they took on many Celtic cultural elements, including the archetypal torques³²¹. As a result, the Romans are likely to have been familiar with the Celtic hooded garment perhaps even before they conquered Cisalpine Gaul in the 3rd century BC.

The deity that became Telesphorus in the classical pantheon can be found throughout the Celtic-speaking parts of the Roman Empire as the *genius cucullatus* or, more commonly, collectively as *genii cucullati* and depicted as either one or three standing figures wearing closed, knee- or hip-length capes with the hood pulled up over the head³²². Given the harsh topography, it is perhaps not surprising that a disproportionate amount of evidence for these protective deities has been found in the eastern Alps³²³. We must conclude with J. Garbsch, A. Faber and S. Jilek and several others that hooded capes, although also used by the Romans, were garments that were »allgemein keltisch«³²⁴ with a long tradition in central Europe³²⁵, and as such should not always be interpreted as Roman garments on the Danubian gravestones. The extraordinary longevity in the Danube-Balkan region of both the native version of the garment and its most plausible name is demonstrated in a rare archaic Austrian

word »Gugel« for a hood or headscarf, and »kukuljica« in Herzegovina for a woollen felt, hooded shoulder cape still worn in the 20th century by shepherdesses in bad weather³²⁶.

The funerary art of the middle Danube provinces certainly seems to confirm that the hooded cape was not only a Roman military garment but also a native garment of the region: It is one of the more common garments, and while a portion of these are soldiers (fig. 17)³²⁷, a significantly larger number have no obvious connection to the military, and often have native names and are depicted with their wives and daughters in native dress³²⁸. The drivers in wagon scenes usually wear a hooded cloak³²⁹, and some kind of artisanal occupation can be assumed

³²¹ Bonfante 1973, 613. It is interesting to note, however, that the Etruscans do not seem ever to have generally adopted the hooded cape.

³²² Noll 1953, 651. See, e.g., in our region LUPA 9794.

³²³ Gallo-Roman temple in Wabelsdorf with an altar mentioning the deity where the sanctuary was obviously dedicated to him (Egger 1932). More discussion of Telesphoros and *genii cucullati* and related finds in Dacia and Noricum-Pannonia: Noll 1953.

³²⁴ Garbsch 1985, 574; Faber – Jilek 2006, 153.

³²⁵ See also von Geramb 1933, 137–160.

³²⁶ See Noll 1953, 651.

³²⁷ Military men in hooded capes: LUPA 12. 13. 79. 90. 97. 337. 367. 674. 760. 1897. 2799. 2827. 2836–2837. 2839–2840. 2855. 2875. 2938–9. 3052. 3113. 3265. 3567. 3576. 3581. 3614. 3816. 3961. 3966. 4677. 4981. 5042. 5987. 10456. 12766.

³²⁸ Non-military men in hooded capes: LUPA 31. 428. 471. 776. 784. 964–965. 1127. 1394. 1594. 1884. 1887. 2112. 2691. 2723. 2742. 2806. 2838. 2853. 2859. 2879. 3206. 3212. 3220–3221. 3337. 3516–3517. 3818. 3861. 3945. 3974. 3986. 4027. 4038. 4041. 4289. 4326. 4596. 4599. 4700. 5124. 5151. 5252. 10176. 10182. 10445. 10651. 10685. 13137.

³²⁹ E.g. LUPA 3206. 3212. 3220–3221.

for two stones that show men in hooded capes holding tools (fig. 18)³³⁰. The social ubiquity of hooded capes is evident from the fact that we even have ›Diener‹ dressed in them³³¹.

4.3 Headwear

It was not common for men to wear hats or bonnets in the middle Danube region, nor indeed in central Europe in general. If needed, the hood of the native cape could be used as protection against rain and wind. However, in late antiquity a hat appears on triumphal art, emperor portraits and in mosaics that is a flat cylinder in shape, apparently made of fur and which H. Ubl has convincingly argued is the *pilleus Pannonicus* mentioned in late Roman literature³³². Although the name would suggest it is from Pannonia, we have very little evidence for it in the middle Danube region. A bronze figurine in Vienna of a young man wearing it with a *chlamys* with brooch on the shoulder was interpreted as a hero figure of some kind by Ubl because of his near-nakedness, but nothing is known of its provenance³³³. Other direct evidence is lacking, but it may be connected with a flat, plate-shaped cap worn by a man on a gravestone in Carnuntum³³⁴, the fur hat of women in the Leitha region³³⁵ and the various much earlier fur hats that have been found at Hallstatt and Dürrenberg³³⁶. A late-1st century AD gravestone from Carnuntum for the legionary soldier Quintus Septimius Niger that reads *L(ibertatis) P(illeus)* unfortunately depicts the Roman, cone-shaped *pilleus* traditionally associated with freedmen, and not the *pilleus Pannonicus*³³⁷.



18 Fragment of a stele from Budapest (LUPA 2853) showing a man wearing a hooded cape and holding a hammer. His wife wears native dress consisting of a bodice, overtunic held at the shoulders using large wing brooches, a twisted torques, a single-layered, large bonnet of type H 3 and a rectangular cloak pulled up over the head. Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 64.10.15

4.4 Shoes

When we turn to the shoes worn in the middle Danube provinces we encounter a multitude of problems. First, unlike in the waterlogged bogs of northern Britain and the lower Rhine, very few actual shoes have been found in the region. Second, the majority of funerary depictions, which are our main source for shoes in the region, are busts or half-figure portraits that do not depict the feet. With men we are slightly more fortunate, as their garments rarely covered the feet as female dress often did, and they are overrepresented in the full-figure portrait types (e.g. *calo* scenes, standing soldier depictions, etc.). Third, on the full-figure portraits we do have, the

³³⁰ LUPA 2853 (hammer), 3516 (pliers).

³³¹ E.g. LUPA 964–965, 2112, 2691.

³³² E.g. Veg. mil. 1, 20; Ubl 1976.

³³³ KHM Inv. VI 4990. Ubl 1976, 224. Image in Ubl 1976, 225 fig. 7, 1.

³³⁴ E.g. LUPA 47.

³³⁵ See »H 5: Fur hat« under »Northern Pannonian bonnets« below.

³³⁶ Ubl 1976, 233–235.

³³⁷ LUPA 160.



19 Niche relief from Carnuntum (LUPA 12) showing the legionary soldier Rufus Lucilius wearing a short *tunica*, cloak, belt and *caligae*. Museum Carnuntum, Inv. 141

shoes were rarely rendered in any great detail and often not at all, suggesting either very plain shoes were commonly worn or, more likely, that the details were added in paint later. This can especially be assumed for the many depictions that show soldiers with apparently bare feet³³⁸; here it is easy to imagine how the straps of sandals may have been painted on, still giving a realistic effect, and H. Ubl suggested that feet where toes are visible probably meant the figure was wearing *caligae*, as the disappearance of toes from images in the 3rd century corresponds to the advent of closed boots as normal footwear for soldiers³³⁹. Finally, C. van Driel-Murray has recently shown the immensely complicated nature of the question of shoes in the northern provinces due to the fact that styles were so varied and changed so rapidly and randomly, such that it is almost impossible to create any meaningful typology, even in terms of regional variation³⁴⁰. Nonetheless, on the Danubian gravestones there are a few types of shoes that can indeed be identified, and these will be discussed briefly below³⁴¹.

Caligae

Caligae were the standard Roman soldier's boots during the Principate. They were ankle-high strap boots consisting of one large piece of leather, the middle of which formed the sole and the edge of which was cut into thin straps that were folded up around the foot and held in place with leather laces³⁴². These shoes usually also had an additional inner and outer sole, also made of leather, and hobnails on the outer sole for grip and durability seen on soldier depictions. As mentioned

above, the details of these shoes may often have been painted onto the stone, the mason having simply depicted bare feet. There are, however, also depictions in the middle Danube region on which the *caligae* are rendered in stone (fig. 19)³⁴³.

Calcei

The *calcei*, the typical closed Roman shoes that were the appropriate footwear for the toga, can also be found on a number of the Danubian stones³⁴⁴. The front was closed, soft leather and they were fastened around the ankle using various kinds of straps reaching from the sides of

³³⁸ E.g. LUPA 7206, a legionary soldier from Budapest, or 2855, an auxiliary soldier from Esztergom.

³³⁹ Ubl 1969, 592 f. Probably called *calcei*: they are the most common type of boot found at Vindolanda: van Driel-Murray 2001.

³⁴⁰ van Driel-Murray 1989, 342.

³⁴¹ For a comprehensive treatment of Roman shoes, see Goubitz – van Driel-Murray – Groenman-van Waateringe 2001.

³⁴² See Cleland – Davies – Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 29.

³⁴³ E.g. LUPA 12.

³⁴⁴ LUPA 398, 999, 1575, 10000.

the foot according to the status of the wearer. Status was also shown in their colour and in their ornamentation (e.g. red colour and a crescent pendant for patricians)³⁴⁵. None of these specific status markers are, however, discernible on our stones.

Sandals (Sandalen)

A scribe on LUPA 983 from Zollfeld wears, instead of the plain ankle boots, ankle-high sandals consisting of a strap reaching along the front of the foot from the ankle until almost the toe, and four straps that reach out from it around the foot.

Plain ankle boots (Knöchelstiefel)

Soft, plain, closed bootlets that reached to just above the ankle are the most common type of shoe worn by men in the funerary art of the middle Danube region (figs. 3. 6). They may have been identical to the Roman *perones* worn by farmers and men of the lower classes, especially in Republican period³⁴⁶. These were usually made from one single piece of fur or untanned leather. They were fastened above the ankle, often also folded down at the top, but were lacking in decoration and entirely closed. The ankle boots worn by men on our stones are completely featureless, but again, details of fastening or ornamentation may have been rendered in paint. On the Roman monuments of the middle Danube, these shoes are worn by men from all walks of life: scribes, *calones*, soldiers, ›Diener‹ and men performing sacrifice³⁴⁷. Their appearance in images further south in Aquileia³⁴⁸ suggest that although they enjoyed particular longevity and popularity in the Danube provinces, *pero*-like ankle boots were a wider Roman phenomenon.

5. Women

The dress worn by the women of the middle Danube region was of a much greater variety than that worn by men. Especially the native dress was characterised by a wide array of regional styles, which suggests that in this part of the Roman Empire, as has often been the case in human history, it fell to the women to act as ›guardians of ethnicity‹ and express membership of local cultural groups³⁴⁹.

5.1 Body Garments

Undertunic (Untertunika)

Due to the nature of our evidence for dress in the middle Danube region (i.e. no written sources that might mention garments that were normally concealed), we have very little idea of what undergarments were worn by either gender. On a handful of images of girls and women, however, it is possible to detect an undertunic, as it has a different neckline to the tunic under which it is worn. On LUPA 680 from Pécs, for example, a girl wears what appears to be a V-necked garment under her horizontal slit-necked *tunica manicata* (fig. 20), while on a stone from Szilágy³⁵⁰, the undergarment has the same horizontal opening, but is tighter. On a stone from Budapest³⁵¹, the undertunic is tighter still and almost resembles a scarf tucked in at the neck.

³⁴⁵ See Cleland – Davies – Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 28 f.; Goette 1988.

³⁴⁶ N. Goldman 1994, 105.

³⁴⁷ E.g. LUPA 403. 523. 913. 951. 2023 (*calo* [?] servant [?]). 2653. 2654. 6261. 7279. 11652.

³⁴⁸ E.g. LUPA 17629.

³⁴⁹ See, e.g., anthropological studies such as Nadig 1986; James 1996.

³⁵⁰ LUPA 691.

³⁵¹ LUPA 2702.

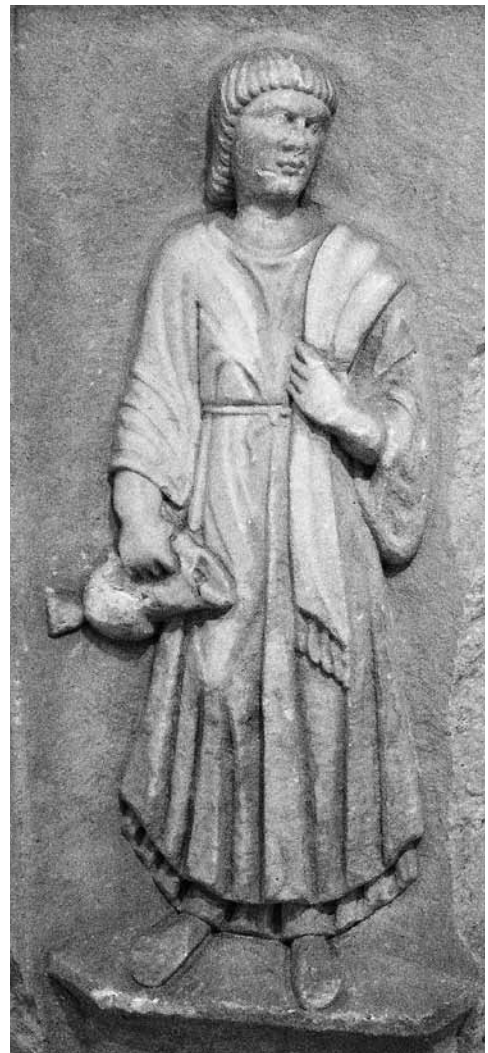


20 Detail of a relief on a grave stele in from Pécs (LUPA 680) showing a girl wearing a tunic with a horizontal neck-slit, and an undertunic with a tighter V-neck and tighter cuffs (?). Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs, Inv. R 83.5.1



21 Portrait on a grave stele from Szombathely (LUPA 681) showing a woman wearing a *tunica* and a *palla* with a border decorated with a band of scroll ornamentation and a man wearing a fringed rectangular cloak/*sagum*. Two little boys at the front also wear rectangular cloaks/*saga*. Savaria Múzeum, Szombathely, Inv. 67.10.120

22 »Girl« from Sankt Peter in Holz (LUPA 2111) wearing a bobbed hairstyle and a Roman-style *tunica* girt with a cord belt. At the hem, the underskirt is visible. Römermuseum Teurnia



Tunica

Unlike the shorter male version³⁵², the basic female Roman *tunica* (figs. 21. 46. 60) was ideally worn such that it covered the feet, although it often appears ankle-length in depictions of working women in places like Ostia³⁵³. The classic late Republican and early imperial style was girt below the bust and had false sleeves formed by the width of fabric at the top falling a little way down the shoulders (*tunica* 1). During the course of the 1st century, the Roman *tunica* developed short sleeves (*tunica* 2), and this style can also be seen on stones in the middle Danube region³⁵⁴, also often worn over the native underskirt like *tunica* 1³⁵⁵. In a further development of the 2nd century, the Roman *tunica* was gradually worn with longer, narrower sleeves, and as such grows to resemble the native tunic styles of the northern provinces (see *tunica manicata* above). During the course of the 2nd century we see Danubian women wearing, on top of the native underskirt, the Roman-style *tunica* girt with a cord belt, and as such taking the place of the overtunic with brooches³⁵⁶ (fig. 22). It is visible especially in the depictions of ›girls‹, as these were rendered full-figure³⁵⁷, and represents an interesting example of combining Roman with native dress elements³⁵⁸.



23 Statuette from Adony (LUPA 12789) showing the trunk of a woman wearing a *tunica*, *stola* (see straps) and *palla*. Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár

Stola

The *stola* is known to us especially from written sources as the symbolic garment of the respectable Roman matron³⁵⁹. For many years there was controversy over what exactly it looked like, as the visual evidence for it is scarce³⁶⁰. A recent synthesis of the evidence by K. Olsen has put the argument to rest, and it now seems most likely that the *stola* was the floor-length, sleeveless, tube-shaped dress held with straps or cords at the shoulders and worn over the normal female *tunica* that can be seen in some Roman statue art, but which was probably never worn as widely as the written sources would have us believe³⁶¹. A stone from Adony (fig. 23) shows that it was,

³⁵² See above »*Tunica*« in the section on men's clothing.

³⁵³ See Kampen 1981.

³⁵⁴ E.g. LUPA 917. 928. 942. 3165 (›girl« depiction). LUPA 1396 shows a ›girl« in a tunic with elbow-length sleeves. The tunic is girt (cf. Pochmarski 2005, 361 and fig. 6, who writes that it is unclear because the right arm is in the way, but you can see the way the folds gather that it must be girt). This stone is unusual because it is worn with a cloak (*palla* [?]) draped diagonally like a toga.

³⁵⁵ E.g. LUPA 904. 909. 914. 915. 1195. 4374. 6841.

³⁵⁶ See below under »Overtunic«.

³⁵⁷ E.g. LUPA 18. 904. 941. 1427. 4156.

³⁵⁸ Cf. Garbsch 1965, 6 f. and 1985, 558, who sees this as a separate native tunic style of the 2nd c. (›Norische Mädchen M2«). In his review of Garbsch's book, J. Fitz already pointed out that this tunic was in fact »schablonenmäßig« in character, too much so to be able to call it native (Fitz 1966a, 621).

³⁵⁹ E.g. Cic. Phil. 2, 18; Hor. sat. 1, 2, 29. 63; Ov. ars 1, 31, 32; Ov. trist. 2, 248.

³⁶⁰ Bieber 1931; Bieber 1939; Wilson 1938.

³⁶¹ Olson 2008, 33–36.



24 ›Girls‹ on eastern Pannonian gravestones wearing the *peplos*, on the left with a thigh-length flap, on the right with a hip-length flap. Left: grave stele for Tiberius Claudius from Budapest, Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 63.10.19 (LUPA 2705); right: grave stele from Szentendre-Ulcisia Castra, Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 66.11.7 (LUPA 3183)

however, not unknown in the middle Danube provinces, although the singularity of this depiction suggests that also here it was not a common garment³⁶².

Peplos

A number of ›girls‹, mostly in eastern Pannonia, wear what appears to be a *peplos*, a Greek style of tunic consisting of a cylinder of cloth folded over to create a flap, pinned or sewn over the shoulders at the fold, and belted around the waist or under the bust (fig. 24)³⁶³. It is not clear whether we are seeing the influence of migration from the south, or simply the adoption of conventions of depiction known to the people of the middle Danube in images of classical deities³⁶⁴.

Gallic tunic (gallische Tunika)

Like the Roman *tunica*, the so-called Gallic tunic³⁶⁵ with its characteristic curved hem, lack of belt and long or end-sleeves was worn by both men and women, the latter not calf-length but to the ankles. Unlike the male version, however, it was not a pre-Roman garment, but one that developed at the turn of the 1st/2nd centuries in Gaul as a pan-Gallic dress style that gradually replaced the various localised Iron-Age women's dress ensembles in many parts of the north-west³⁶⁶, a process that, significantly, did not occur in the middle Danube, where pre-Roman dress was worn well into the 3rd century, as will be seen below. In Gaul the Gallic tunic was usually worn under a cloak of some kind. The examples are too few to confirm with any certainty

³⁶² LUPA 12789. The garment on LUPA 4773 is not a *stola*, but a *palla* (cf. Eckhart 1981, 71 no. 92).

³⁶³ LUPA 1308, 2705, 2777, 3514, 3546, 3977, 10449.

³⁶⁴ Koda 2003. See also Pochmarski 2005, 358–360 with fig 4.

³⁶⁵ See above ›Gallic tunic‹ under the section on men's clothing. Eckhart calls this a ›Leibrock‹ (e.g. Eckhart 1976, 57). Láng calls it a ›Havelock‹ (Láng 1919, 233).

³⁶⁶ Rothe 2012.

M. Láng's assertion that it was worn as an outdoor overgarment in the Danube region³⁶⁷.

Although it was typical of Gaul and the Rhineland, the Gallic tunic is also worn in some few funerary depictions in the middle Danube region³⁶⁸. On a stone from Wallsee a woman wears a Gallic tunic with curved hem and end-sleeves³⁶⁹. This figure also seems to be wearing a large bonnet of some kind in a spherical form more typical of the Roman north-west³⁷⁰. The standing female figure on the side of a stone from Bad Waltersdorf dated by E. Pochmarski to the late Antonine, early Severan period³⁷¹ may also be wearing a Gallic tunic³⁷², which is suggested by the ankle length, the curved hem and the lack of belt, and what appears to be an end-sleeve on the left, but the draped fold of a cloak over the top complicates the image, which is why E. Diez interpreted the garment as a *paenula*³⁷³. In the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries, the sleeves of the Gallic tunic became longer and tighter such that it starts to become a *tunica manicata*³⁷⁴, which, as with other tunic types, women wore ankle- or foot length. On a stone dating to the Severan period from Pöchlarn, two women are depicted full-figure holding trays or implements of some kind (fig. 25)³⁷⁵. While the woman on the left appears to be wearing a sleeveless *tunica*, the one on the right wears a long-sleeved Gallic tunic or *tunica manicata* with the characteristic curved hem. The gathering of the fabric suggests this one may have been girt around the waist.



25 Grave relief in the church at Pöchlarn (LUPA 400) showing two women holding vessels. The woman on the left wears a *tunica*, while the woman on the right wears a long-sleeved tunic. Both tunics are girt and fall to the ankles

³⁶⁷ Láng 1919, 249.

³⁶⁸ E.g. LUPA 400, 510.

³⁶⁹ LUPA 510. Cf. Pochmarski 2005, 354 who can see no sleeves. It is not Garbsch's M2, because the essential double layer of over- and undertunic is missing.

³⁷⁰ See Wild 1968b, 67, 73; Rothe 2009, 37–39.

³⁷¹ Pochmarski 2005, 364.

³⁷² LUPA 6067.

³⁷³ Diez 1954. See also Pochmarski 2005, 362 and fig. 7.

³⁷⁴ See above »*Tunica manicata*« under the section on men's clothing.

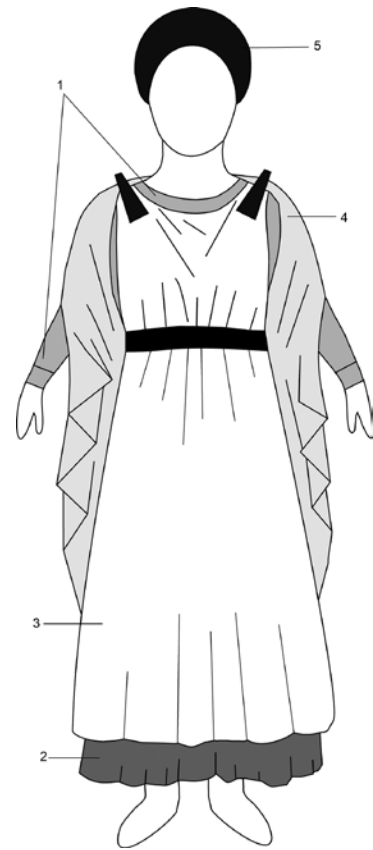
³⁷⁵ LUPA 400, see also Pochmarski 2005, 357 f.

Native Danubian women's dress

In the next sections we come to the main characteristic garments of native women in the middle Danube region. Throughout north-western Europe in the Roman period, native women's dress consisted of the same combination of garments:

- a high-necked, long-sleeved bodice (fig. 26, 1) and skirt (fig. 26, 2) as undergarments³⁷⁶,
- over this a loose, sleeveless, tube-shaped overtunic made of heavier fabric, usually worn with a belt and held at the shoulders using large brooches (fig. 26, 3),
- a cloak draped in various, usually symmetrical styles (fig. 26, 4)
- and a hat of some description (fig. 26, 5).

The origins of this ensemble are difficult to ascertain. In the Roman period, we are fortunate enough to have both pictorial depictions of the dress in funerary or votive art, and intact grave contexts containing the shoulder brooches in types and combinations that correspond to the contemporary depictions. For this reason, pairs of large brooches in graves, which in any case almost always correlate with female burials, are usually interpreted as evidence that, at the very least, the overtunic of this basic European female ensemble was worn by the woman interred. Large pins are worn at the shoulders of women in burials from the Hallstatt period in central Europe and Greece³⁷⁷; these are also depicted on archaic Greek vases³⁷⁸, which led I. Čremošnik to claim a Greek origin for the ensemble (the overtunic being identical to the Doric *peplos*), from whence it spread out to the rest of Europe³⁷⁹. I. Hägg's recent work has, however, shown that large shoulder pins can be found in central European graves already in the early Bronze Age (from ca. 2200 BC onward), while the earliest such finds from Greece date to the late Helladic era (ca. 1200 BC)³⁸⁰. Brooch ensembles point to the ensemble being worn widely across Europe in the Iron Age³⁸¹, and in the so-called *peplos* found at Huldremose bog in Denmark we have the garment in full³⁸². It may even be the original source for the sleeveless *chiton* in Greece and *tunica* and *stola* combination at Rome (see above)³⁸³. In its more traditional form with brooches at the shoulders it was widespread in those regions in the Roman period in which Iron-Age dress continued, such as Scandinavia³⁸⁴, central Europe³⁸⁵ and, for a time, Gaul³⁸⁶. Two stones from near the Roman fort of Biriciana to



26 Schematic drawing of the main components of native women's dress in central and north-western Europe

³⁷⁶ Garbsch 1985, 558 f.: »Unterkleidung«.

³⁷⁷ Jacobsthal 1956, 116 fig. 123, 331, 332, 338, 340, 341, 342.

³⁷⁸ Jacobsthal 1956, fig. 331; Čremošnik 1964, fig. 8.

³⁷⁹ Čremošnik 1964, 770–773. Nonetheless, this author was already onto something when she spoke against the then common interpretation of the ensemble as »Celtic« (e.g. Láng 1919, 247 f.) by pointing out that it was also worn in the Balkans and in Moesia (123).

³⁸⁰ Hägg 1996, 136–138.

³⁸¹ For Britain, see Allason-Jones 1989, 109. For Pannonia, Noricum and Illyricum, see Láng 1919; Čremošnik 1964.

³⁸² See Hald 1950, 372 fig. 427; Munksgaard 1974, 144 fig. 102; Gebühr 1976, 54–56; Schlabow 1976, 95–96; von Kurzynski 1996, 74–78.

³⁸³ Cf. Čremošnik 1964, 771–773.

³⁸⁴ Hald 1950; Munksgaard 1974; Gebühr 1976; Schlabow 1976; von Kurzynski 1996.

³⁸⁵ Láng 1919; Čremošnik 1964.

³⁸⁶ Wild 1985, 394, 412; Rothe 2009, 34–37. See, most recently, Bouzek 2008, for the links between European Iron-Age cultures and the Roman invented fiction of a clear divide between »Germantum« and »Keltentum«.

the north of Augsburg show that it was also worn in Raetia³⁸⁷. The ensemble reappeared in the northern provinces in the 4th and 5th centuries AD, when Germanic people began to settle inside the Roman frontiers³⁸⁸, and went on to form the basis of early Anglo-Saxon³⁸⁹ and Viking³⁹⁰ dress. As such, it is not at all a Norican-Pannonian peculiarity; we must regard it, with Čremošnik, as a kind of European ›Urtracht‹³⁹¹.

A major problem for the interpretation of the ensemble in the middle Danube region has been the lack of local pre-Roman evidence for it that, albeit, corresponds to a lack of late Iron-Age graves in the region in general³⁹², leading some to surmise it was an innovation of the Roman period³⁹³. In light of the wider context set out above, however, there can be no doubt that it was worn by Danubian women as an ensemble with a great deal of history. Without the textiles or figurative art we will never know the extent to which the finer details of the dress styles were continued from the pre-Roman period³⁹⁴, but for the Roman period, for which we have the gravestone evidence, it is very clear that local – in many cases perhaps tribal – identities were expressed in the differing forms of especially the overtunic and the hat³⁹⁵.

›Girl‹ depictions

The best evidence we have in the middle Danube region for the native dress ensemble as a whole are the many – but as yet still relatively mysterious – so-called girl depictions that appear mostly on the sides of Norican stones, and in meal scenes on the front of the Pannonian stones³⁹⁶. While the vast majority of the portraits proper are given in bust or half-figure form, the ›girls‹ are usually depicted full-figure, allowing us to see also the bottom of the garments. In his work of 1965, J. Garbsch treated this dress as specific to ›girls‹, and categorised the different styles in set ensembles (rather than as separate garments) as M1, M2, M3 and M4 (›M‹ being for ›Mädchen‹). Full-figure images of both ›girls‹ and adult women on gravestones in Pannonia show clearly, however, that the dress of the ›Mädchen‹ was in fact identical to that of the older women in the same cultural group, except that, significantly, ›girls‹ tend not to wear the cloak or the hat (see fig. 30 for one of the few exceptions). This is another reason why the body garments can be seen particularly well in ›girl‹ depictions. The fact that the

³⁸⁷ LUPA 6352. 6354. In this distinctive style, the overtunic is ungirt and hangs in pleats or straight folds from a ribbed neckline. The undertunic is foot-length, and instead of brooches at the shoulders we see wide, flat folds of fabric ending at the line of the overtunic. The extant stones are too weathered to decipher how this was fastened or if it is not perhaps a regional way of draping the rectangular cloak.

³⁸⁸ E.g. Čremošnik 1964, 768 note 8. See also the 5th c. ›princess‹ at Zweeklo, Netherlands (van Es – Ypey 1977).

³⁸⁹ Owen-Crocker 2010, 35–103, esp. 42–56: worn by the earliest Anglo-Saxon women in Britain, always with paired brooches at the shoulders, often with a third brooch in the middle or joined by a chain of beads (Owen-Crocker 2010, 35–54). The ensemble was abandoned in the course of the 7th c. but still worn by Viking women until the 12th c.

³⁹⁰ Hägg 1983; Hägg 1984, esp. 168 f. See also a description of 12th-c. Swedish Vikings in Russia by Arab traveller Ibn Fadlan: women wear a ››box‹‹ of different types of metal ››on either breast‹‹, the ››value of the box indicates wealth of husband‹‹. These are probably the large convex fasteners used by Viking women at the shoulders that replaced the pins/brooches (see Smyser 1965, 96).

³⁹¹ Čremošnik 1964, 767. For an overview of the ensemble in prehistory, see Grömer 2010, esp. 391–96. For the Roman and Early Medieval periods, see Owen-Crocker 2010, 35–103. With regard to its characterisation as ›European‹, however, it must be noted that a very similar combination of garments was worn in Roman-period Syria and Palestine (e.g. B. Goldman 1994), and could be found in Algerian dress as late as the 19th c. (Owen-Crocker 2010, 43 and Allen 1892, 162–175).

³⁹² Urban 1992.

³⁹³ E.g. Faber – Jilek 2006, 154. See also Kremer 2001b, 390, who writes that the dress styles must reflect regional identities, but that we do not know whether they were derived from older traditions.

³⁹⁴ See Gassner 2008 for the idea that the crystallisation of local identity groups may have stemmed from the logistical needs of Roman rule.

³⁹⁵ See already Čremošnik 1963, who identified regional expression in the overtunics and headdress worn in Illyria: overtunic like an apron around Crvica; headscarves of various forms in Plevlje, Konjic and Glamoč; large bonnets in some parts of the Drina Valley, in others a kind of turban.

³⁹⁶ See, e.g., Diez 1954; Piccottini 1977; Pochmarski 2003b; Pochmarski 2004b; 2005; Walde 2001.



27 Portrait niche on the grave stele for Meitima from Veréb (LUPA 715) showing a young woman wearing the full native garment combination: bodice, skirt, overtunic O 4, hat and cloak over the head. With her are two ›girls‹ wearing identical bodices, skirts and overtunics, but no cloaks and hats. Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, Inv. 51.4.1

hat and cloak are missing from ›girl‹ depictions must mean that they were garments that were acquired at a certain age, perhaps with the onset of puberty or after marriage, and as such visually marked out the adult woman in native Danubian society. Especially the Pannonian stones show, however, that the undergarments and overtunic of the ›girls‹ were identical to those worn by adult women³⁹⁷, an idea that J. Garbsch had also warmed to by 1985³⁹⁸. It is especially clear on stones like the grave stele for Meitima in Székesfehérvár, where a woman is shown with several ›girls‹ (fig. 27). As such, the ›girl‹ depictions can be used to gain a better idea of the garments worn by women in this region as a whole.

Bodice and underskirt (Unterhemd und Unterrock)

The undergarments of the native women's ensemble which, like most garments in Europe in antiquity, were probably made of wool, can be seen in gravestone depictions protruding as long sleeves down the arms, as a lower hem of cloth at the ankles, and as a high neck at the upper chest above the edge of the overtunic (fig. 26, 1. 2), often with a vertical slit that was presumably necessary to get it over the head, and which was often pinned together using a small brooch, or even several brooches (figs. 30. 47)³⁹⁹.

Until recently it was usually assumed, based on stone relief images, that the long-sleeved garment visible under the overtunic at the arms and neck of native women was identical to that beneath the hem of the overtunic; in other words, it was assumed the undergarment was a tight, long-sleeved tunic that fell to the ankles⁴⁰⁰. An often-overlooked and so far singular fresco from Brunn am Gebirge (fig. 28)⁴⁰¹, however, shows that this was obviously not the case. Although damaged due to its secondary use in late antiquity as the wall of a stone cist grave, this painted image of a local woman from the Roman period – probably a grave portrait – depicts the sleeves of the undergarment in a white colour, but the underskirt below the overtunic in dark red. Initially it seems plausible that the overtunic was in two layers, and the lower layer is one we see protruding at the bottom in a darker colour to set it apart. However, it is doubtful that the lower hem can always be explained in this way.

³⁹⁷ See, e.g., LUPA 682. 715.

³⁹⁸ Garbsch 1985, 554.

³⁹⁹ E.g. LUPA 714. 765. 770. 4041. 3180. 3182. 4700.

⁴⁰⁰ E.g. Garbsch 1965, 4. 8. 9. 12; Garbsch 1985, 558 f.; Fitz 1957; Bíró 2003; Čremošnik 1963, 1964.

⁴⁰¹ LUPA 4411; Farka 1976.

First, in many images it is clear from the way the folds hang that the upper layer of cloth was much thicker than that from which the underskirt was made, pointing to two separate garments⁴⁰². Second, in more detailed depictions in which we can indeed see two layers of overtunic, i.e. in which the overtunic must have consisted of a piece of cloth folded double, there is still yet another garment protruding from below⁴⁰³. Third, in the ›girl‹ images depicting a Roman-style *tunica* instead of the native overtunic (see above), they often also still wear the native underskirt below (see, e.g., fig. 22). In none of these images, however, do we see the long, tight sleeves of an upper part of such a garment depicted on the arms; these would surely be visible as the sleeves of the *tunica* reached only to the upper arms or elbows.

Finally, the two-garment theory would explain why some ›girls‹ in Noricum appear to have bare arms, although the second hem of an undergarment is visible below. J. Garbsch suggested the undertunic under the more Roman-style, sleeved overtunics was short-sleeved so as to be invisible at the arms⁴⁰⁴, but E. Pochmarski has suggested that the undergarments of both Garbsch's M1 and M2, in other words in all of the Norican ›girl‹ depictions, were sleeveless, based on the apparent bareness of the arms in a good number of images⁴⁰⁵. In view of the ubiquitousness in north-west Europe of the garment combination worn by native women in the Danube region, the bare-armed version may be even be the dress style that Tacitus was referring to when he said that the dress of German women did not have sleeves, and that therefore »the upper and lower arm is bare, and the nearest part of the chest exposed«⁴⁰⁶. And indeed, as Garbsch pointed out, even when we can see what appear to be sleeve cuffs, the fact that most women wore bangles and armbands at the wrists means that we can often not be sure exactly what it is that is depicted⁴⁰⁷. It must, however, be pointed out that the sleeves of such a tight garment might often have been rendered in paint. Cer-



28 Fresco from Brunn am Gebirge (LUPA 4411) showing a woman wearing native dress. The white colour of the bodice and the dark red of the skirt are clearly visible, while the overtunic, bonnet and rectangular cloak were light red, and the ankle boots pale green. Heimathaus, Brunn am Gebirge

⁴⁰² E.g. LUPA 705. 923. 3197. 3217. 11690. 13106. Cf. Biró 2003, 92 who suggests the overtunic was of thinner fabric than the undergarment.

⁴⁰³ E.g. LUPA 5911.

⁴⁰⁴ Garbsch 1985, 558.

⁴⁰⁵ Pochmarski 2004b, 161. For images in which the arms appear bare see, e.g., LUPA 899. 912. 920. 924. 1160. 1286. 3217. 5911.

⁴⁰⁶ Tac. Germ. 17: *partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.*

⁴⁰⁷ Garbsch 1985, 558: »Nachdem die dargestellten Mädchen stets Armringe oder Armbänder tragen, die mit Ärmelenden verwechselt werden könnten, ist an sich nicht mit völliger Sicherheit auszuschließen, daß das Untergewand in Wirklichkeit ärmellos wie das Obergewand gewesen wäre, so unwahrscheinlich dies angesichts der klimatischen Verhältnisse auch sein mag.« The painted reconstruction of the famous ›girl‹ from Virunum (LUPA 923) shows, for example, bare arms and the neck of a sleeveless tunic. The ›cuffs‹ are given as metal armbands.



29 Relief of a ›girl‹ with a parasol or fan in Schloss Seggau (LUPA 1315) wearing a bodice (neckline), overtunic held with large wing brooches at the shoulders, a small »kräftig profilierte« brooch at the chest and a torques with *lunula* pendant at the neck



30 Detail of a relief from Bölske (LUPA 818) showing a ›girl‹ wearing a hat, a bodice (the folds of the sleeves and the small brooch holding together the neck slit are clearly visible) and an overtunic held at the shoulders using large wing brooches. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 56.1881.1

tainly the only indication we have that the ›girl‹ with a parasol or fan from Schloss Seggau (fig. 29)⁴⁰⁸ is wearing an undertunic is the neckline: no other edge, for example, of the sides of a sleeveless undertunic, is visible; the arms appear as bare, although they can't have been. Moreover, there are a significant number of images in which not just the cuffs, but also the folds of the sleeves are visible on the arms⁴⁰⁹. A good example is the ›girl‹ depiction with the pig's head on a tray from Bölske⁴¹⁰, in which the fabric of the sleeve can clearly be seen bunched at the elbow and towards the wrist (fig. 30).

The solution to this dilemma must be that the ensemble could be worn *both* with and without the sleeved bodice, perhaps depending on the weather. The figure usually interpreted as personified Germania from the Temple of Hadrian in Rome certainly wears a bodice with long, tight sleeves under her overtunic⁴¹¹, while the Germanic women on the Column of Marcus Aurelius wear the overtunic both with and without the sleeved bodice underneath⁴¹². The fact that those depictions in the middle Danube region in which the arms appear to be bare still show the lower hem of an underskirt means that the bodice and the underskirt must have been two separate garments, a fact that also J. Garbsch eventually acknowledged in 1985⁴¹³.

⁴⁰⁸ LUPA 1315.

⁴⁰⁹ E.g. LUPA 705. 760. 818. 2851. 3214.

⁴¹⁰ LUPA 818.

⁴¹¹ Toynbee 1934, pl. 34, 3.

⁴¹² For overtunic with bodice underneath see Depeyrot 2010, II: Iconographie, esp. 394 pl. 217 but also 211 pl. 38, 212; pl. 39, 264; pl. 91, 306; pl. 129 and 381 pl. 204; for overtunic without bodice underneath see esp. 333 pl. 156 but also 221 pl. 48 and 389 pl. 212.

⁴¹³ After saying, on p. 553 (of Garbsch 1985), when referring to the Brunn am Gebirge fresco, that »der einzige bekannte Fund [vermag] die Kenntnisse noch nicht entscheidend zu modifizieren«, he goes on to concede, on

Overtunic (O) (Obertunika)

The overtunics of the middle Danube region⁴¹⁴ were almost certainly made of wool, perhaps in a thicker weave as suggested by the stiffness of the cloth in comparison to the underskirt in some depictions⁴¹⁵. The thicker the cloth, the more robust the brooches at the shoulders will need to have been. As mentioned above, the overtunic was worn in a variety of styles according to region:

▫ O 1: Tube-shaped overtunic (schlauchförmige Obertunika) (fig. 31)

This most basic of overtunics, identical to those of Garbsch's Norican ›girls‹ of type M1 and north-west Pannonian ›girls‹ of type M3⁴¹⁶, consisted of the simple, sleeveless, tube-shaped dress that usually hung to the calves (figs. 32, 33)⁴¹⁷ but was sometimes tucked up slightly at the hem to achieve a ballooning effect (fig. 34)⁴¹⁸. It is the only overtunic that was worn across a relatively wide area mainly focussed on the eastern half of Noricum and into the neighbouring parts of Pannonia. Only three are found in eastern Pannonia (map 2). As we will see with the headwear below, what this may be is a general Norican style, in which case the scarcity of grave portraits in the east of the province could be masking the true distribution.

▫ O 2: Overtunic of Isis Noreia (Obertunika der Isis Noreia) (fig. 31)

The second type of overtunic consists of two layers, the bottom one being girt, the upper draped diagonally across the body to be held with the brooch on the right shoulder. It was already identified by C. Praschniker in 1941⁴¹⁹, but taken to be a towel or napkin by most other scholars⁴²⁰. It is easy to see where the confusion lies: most depictions of the garment involve ›girls‹, who often have a towel thrown over the shoulder. The separateness of the two objects is, however, sometimes very clear, such as in a ›girl‹ depiction at Schloss Seggau, where the towel on the left shoulder forms a rectangular body of cloth, while the fold pinned to the right shoulder is clearly connected with the rest of the overtunic (fig. 35). How it worked can best be seen in the statue of ›Isis Noreia‹ in the Landesmuseum Kärnten in Klagenfurt (see below)⁴²¹.

None of the stones depicting overtunic O 2 contain any dating criteria independent of the dress itself, and as such it is impossible to gain any insight into its chronology, but its geographical distribution is clear: it occurs nine times in total and is confined to the area in and around Virunum (map 2)⁴²², which suggests it might have been the mark of the original tribe of this region, who rose to prominence as the main tribe of the federation that came to be known as the Regnum Noricum, and were probably called Norici⁴²³. It would, then, represent a more specialised local group membership that contrasts with the more general identity of the inhabitants of the former Norican kingdom of which overtunic O 1 could feasibly be an expression.

p. 558, that the differing colours of the undergarments on the fresco must mean they consisted of a separate »Hemd und (Träger)rock«.

⁴¹⁴ Earlier terms for this garment include *peplos* (e.g. Praschniker 1941) and »Doppelrock« (Láng 1919).

⁴¹⁵ E.g. LUPA 705. 923. 3197. 3217. 11690. 13106. Cf. Láng 1919, 236, who thought the overgarment will have been of leather or fur because of the climate.

⁴¹⁶ Garbsch 1965, 4 f. 7 f. He links this with wing brooches and the belt with three straps.

⁴¹⁷ E.g. LUPA 399. 912. 924. 938.

⁴¹⁸ E.g. LUPA 923.

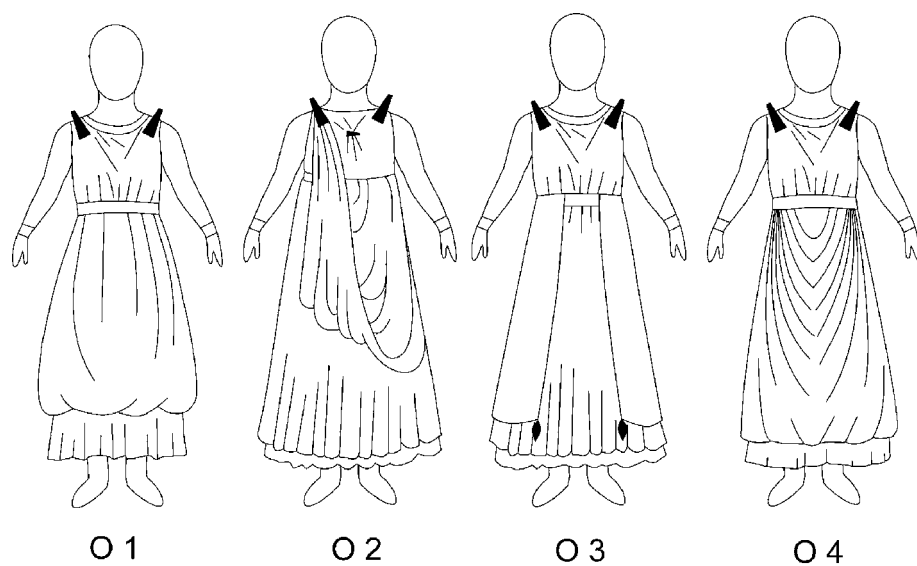
⁴¹⁹ Praschniker 1941, 271 f.

⁴²⁰ E.g. von Geramb 1933, 175; Jantsch 1934, 70; Pochmarski 2005, 359–360. See also the colour reconstruction in LUPA 934.

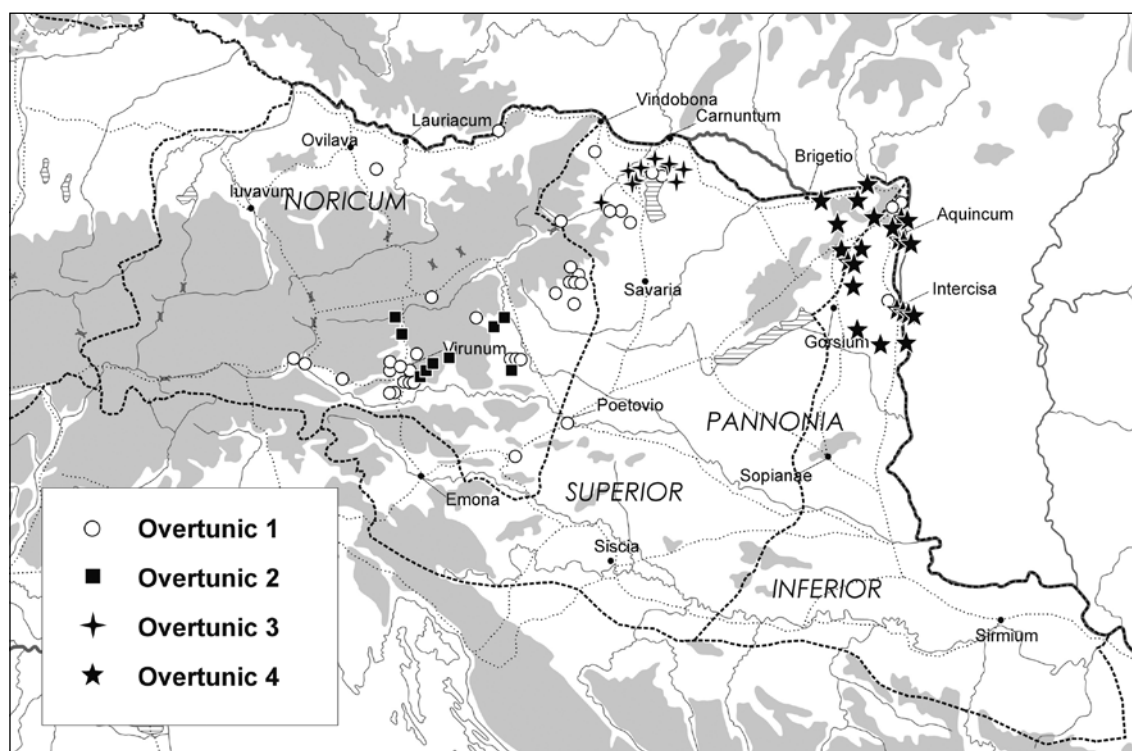
⁴²¹ LUPA 5871.

⁴²² LUPA 934. 935. 937. 1160. 1200. 1286. 5871. 5910. 5911.

⁴²³ Haensch 1997.



31 Types of overtunics in the middle Danube region



Map 2 Distribution of overtunics in the middle Danube region



- 32 Grave relief from Dunaújváros (LUPA 734) showing two women wearing bodices, underskirts, plain overtunics (O 1), hidden belts, aprons, single-layered, bulbous bonnets (H 3) and rectangular cloaks pulled up over the head. The woman on the right uses mask brooches to fasten her overtunic, while the one on the left uses large wing brooches. The man wears a *sagum*/rectangular cloak held at the shoulder using a knee brooch. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 22.1905.32



- 33 Stele from Budapest (LUPA 765) showing three women wearing bodices, underskirts, overtunics of type O 1 held with large wing brooches at the shoulders, pectoral jewellery, single-layered, large bonnets of type H 3 and rectangular cloaks pulled up over the head. The right-hand two also wear two different types of apron (the left one fringed and the right one hanging in U-shaped folds), while the left-hand figure wears no apron at all. The small figure to the right wears a skirt and overtunic. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 60.1858.2



34 Relief from near Virunum (LUPA 923) showing a ›girl‹ wearing a bodice (the edge at the neck, cuffs at the wrists), an underskirt, an overtunic of type O 1 held with large wing brooches at the shoulders and a belt with three straps. Her hair is bobbed and curled under. Landesmuseum Kärnten, Klagenfurt Lapidarium, Inv. 200



35 Relief in Schloss Seggau (LUPA 1286) showing a ›girl‹ wearing overtunic O 2 held using a large knee brooch at the shoulder and a small one at the chest. She also wears a belt with three straps and has a towel over her left shoulder. Her hair is bobbed

Excursus: The statue of ›Isis Noreia‹

This figure presents an intriguing mixture of native dress elements with those associated with Isis: the ›Isis blanket‹, a thick piece of cloth with a fringed edge usually worn with a knot at the front in images of Isis and her followers (fig. 36)⁴²⁴, is here draped in the form of overtunic O 2 (fig. 37). It was folded and wrapped around the body to form a double-thickness cylinder, fastened at the fold on the shoulders with large brooches (type unclear). The fact that it must have been folded double and not sewn up to form a closed cylinder can be seen most clearly in this statue due to the fringed edges: they hang under the arm on the right side (fig. 38), while there are no edges or fringes hanging down on the left. This is also obvious from the fact that the length of overlap folded back to the shoulder is exactly the length it would fall to be level with the hem of the underflap.

Isis also wears a short cloak around the shoulders, as does the ›girl‹ in the church wall at Possau/Maria Saal⁴²⁵. Additional native elements in Isis Noreia's dress are the belt with three straps that can be seen protruding below the upper layer of overtunic, and the elaborate pectoral jewellery consisting of three disc brooches with hanging pendants joined by chains. In the initial comprehensive treatment of the statue, C. Praschniker interpreted the garment as a *peplos*

⁴²⁴ See, e.g., Walters 1988; Heyob 1975, 95–105.

⁴²⁵ LUPA 934.

that, however, had gained its strange, very un-Greek form because the local artist who made it had never seen a *peplos* and so based his depiction on local dress styles as seen in the local ›girl‹ depictions⁴²⁶. It seems more likely, however, that the statue was intended as a conscious amalgamation of recognisable local dress elements with the classical images of Isis (Isis blanket, holding of the cornucopia shared with statues of Tyche⁴²⁷). As such, it must indeed represent a syncretised deity.

▫ O 3: Overtunic of the Leitha region (Obertunika der Leithagegend) (fig. 31)

Overtunic 3 is also characterised by a second layer of cloth, this time wrapped around the sides of the skirt section, usually to just above the upper hem, and sometimes with a tassel or some kind of pendant at the inner corner, as is the case on the stone from Mönchhof (fig. 39)⁴²⁸. The greatly stylised representation on the stones showing this tunic makes it difficult to say how exactly the tunic was constructed and what the objects hanging from the corners were. It may, for example, be that the tunic's characteristic feature, the cloth around the side of the skirt, was not a further layer of overtunic at all, but rather a cloth that was wrapped around and tucked into the belt at the top. A confusing fact is that in some grave portraits, a very similar layer of cloth wrapped around the sides of the body is clearly a cloak, as it goes *over* the arms⁴²⁹. On one, the cloak even has similar pendants/tassels at the corners like O 3⁴³⁰. But in the depictions of O 3 proper it is clear that it is part of the tunic, as it sits *under* the arms, while a smaller cloak is wrapped around the shoulders over the arms (fig. 39)⁴³¹, and in some depictions you can also see it protruding from under the belt⁴³². O 3 occurs on ten stones within a very small area in the Leitha region north of Neusiedler See, apart from one outlier to the east in Neudörfel/Mattersburg (map 2)⁴³³, suggesting it was characteristic of a local group, perhaps the tribe of the Boii⁴³⁴, although it is never worn with the distinctive boat-shaped hat (H 5) often attributed to this



36 Statue of a priestess of Isis wearing the fringed ›Isis blanket‹ tied in an ›Isis knot‹ over her clothes. Museo Archaeologico Regionale, Palermo

⁴²⁶ Praschniker 1941, 270–272. Cf. Schmidt 1958, who saw it simply as an Isis garment.

⁴²⁷ E.g. the one in the Munich Glyptothek: Furtwängler 1910, no. 227.

⁴²⁸ LUPA 2255 (Burgenländische Landesmuseen, Archäologische Sammlung Inv. 29925).

⁴²⁹ E.g. LUPA 17. 35. 4596.

⁴³⁰ LUPA 17.

⁴³¹ LUPA 36. 70. 237. 1598. 2255. 4555.

⁴³² E.g. LUPA 36.

⁴³³ LUPA 34. 36. 39. 70. 237. 431. 1598. 2255. 2261. 4555.

⁴³⁴ See Caes. Gall. 1, 5; for the *deserta Boiorum* created when they were defeated by the Dacians/Getae: Strab. 7, 3, 11; 7, 5, 2; Plin. nat. 3, 146. But see also CIL IX 536 for the existence of a *civitas Boiorum* in the region in the 2nd c. AD. Most recently V. Gassner (2008) has argued that signs of Boian identity in the Roman period do not represent a continuity of Boian culture, but rather the result of Roman efforts to divide their conquered territory into easily identifiable groups.



37 So-called Isis Noreia statue (LUPA 5871) showing a female deity dressed in the fringed »Isis blanket« draped as overtunic O 2 held at the shoulders using large Aucissa (?) brooches, pectoral jewellery, a belt with three straps and a semi-circular cloak. Landesmuseum Kärnten, Klagenfurt, Inv. 4926. 4927. 7965. 8530. 7912



38 Detail of the statue of Isis Noreia (LUPA 5871) showing the fringed edges hanging down under the right arm. Landesmuseum Kärnten, Klagenfurt, Inv. 4926. 4927. 7965. 8530. 7912

group⁴³⁵. The inscriptions are all there is to go on for dating these stones. Four of them have the formulation *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)* or *H(ic) S(iti) S(unt)*⁴³⁶, which usually suggests a 1st-century AD date, although it was used until much later in the middle Danube region⁴³⁷. The patronymic form of the names also suggests an early date, but this is never a solid dating criterion. One stone may date to the early 1st century⁴³⁸, while the ligature on LUPA 4596 and the nomenclature on two further stones⁴³⁹ suggest dates between 70 and 150 AD. As such, it is again difficult to say

⁴³⁵ See below under »Northern Pannonian bonnets« H 5.

⁴³⁶ LUPA 36. 70. 237. 431.

⁴³⁷ E.g. LUPA 216 (Carnuntum): Hadrianic due to mention of *legio XIII Gemina*; LUPA 1823 (Carnuntum): after 118 AD due to mention of province *Dacia superior*.

⁴³⁸ LUPA 2261 (»Claudia T.L.«).

⁴³⁹ LUPA 36 (»Flavius«); 70 (»Cocceia«).

how long this dress style appears in the stones. Figurative gravestones in the wider Carnuntum area date from the early 1st to the early 3rd century⁴⁴⁰, but the later stones do not depict women full-figure, so we cannot see the decisive bottom half of the clothing.

▫ O 4: North-East Pannonian overtunic (nord-ostpannonische Obertunika) (fig. 31)

In north-eastern Pannonia yet another type of overtunic can be found that occurs on 23 grave monuments⁴⁴¹. It was identified by V. von Geramb in 1933⁴⁴² and discussed in more detail by J. Fitz in 1957⁴⁴³ but J. Garbsch did not include it in his typology of 1965. Fitz called it a »keilförmig verlaufender Rock« (in the German section of the text) and suggested the cut was more triangular in shape, with a narrower edge at the top and a wider edge at the bottom. He suggested a change over time from a garment cut on the straight with a triangular top to a garment cut on the diagonal like the segment of a circle, which produced its main feature: the chevron-shaped folds that fall down toward the middle⁴⁴⁴. However, more up-to-date dating of the stones suggests it was worn for practically the whole period to which the stones themselves date, confuting Fitz's idea of a change over time and a relatively short duration for the ensemble as a whole⁴⁴⁵. In any case, the simplistic rendering of most of the overtunics makes it impossible to identify such fine details as exact pattern with any certainty. The narrower edge at the top that Fitz identified can indeed be clearly seen in some more detailed reliefs⁴⁴⁶, but in yet others it seems that the top edge was simply pinned at a narrow distance, and that the rest of the upper edge hung down the sides from the brooches⁴⁴⁷. The chevron-shaped folds are often rendered in the stones as cut, straight lines (e.g. fig. 27)⁴⁴⁸, but the only statue we have⁴⁴⁹ and the more three-dimensional reliefs (e.g. fig. 30)⁴⁵⁰ show that they were indeed folds.



39 Detail of a stele from Mönchhof (LUPA 2255) showing a woman wearing an underskirt, overtunic O 3 with tassels hanging down at the corners held with large wing brooches with hanging rings at the shoulders, the belt with three straps and a cloak (semi-circular [?]) around the shoulders. Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, Eisenstadt, Inv. 29.925

⁴⁴⁰ At least according to the dating in Krüger 1970 (CSIR).

⁴⁴¹ LUPA 655. 705. 715. 716. 727. 760. 768. 770. 774. 818. 2854. 2859. 2883. 2919. 3197. 3214. 3267. 3562. 3863. 3883. 3945. 3956. 5974.

⁴⁴² von Geramb 1933, 190 f.

⁴⁴³ Fitz 1957.

⁴⁴⁴ Fitz 1957, 137 fig. 1. But see also Láng 1919, 213 f. who both had already identified the distinctive folds.

⁴⁴⁵ Earliest: LUPA 2854 (*H(ic) S(itus) E(st) without D(is) M(anibus)*, »Flavia« → late 1st c. AD); latest: LUPA 3863 (*toga contabulata* → Severan or later). Cf. Fitz 1957, 152.

⁴⁴⁶ E.g. LUPA 727. 2883.

⁴⁴⁷ E.g. LUPA 2854.

⁴⁴⁸ E.g. LUPA 655. 715. 716. 770. 2919. 3945.

⁴⁴⁹ LUPA 727.

⁴⁵⁰ LUPA 818. 2854. 3863.

M. Bíró recently took a closer look at the construction of the dress and concluded that the basic outline of the garment was a segment of a circle with the point folded over to produce a narrow edge, where it was pinned to the back. The sides were open instead of sewn up. The point of the triangle, according to Bíró, then hung down the front forming the top of an apron. The chevron folds of the skirt were formed by its openness at the sides and the sheer volume of cloth, which gradually got wider toward the bottom. The fold effect was helped, according to Bíró, by the fact that the cloth of the overtunic was much thinner than that of the undergarments⁴⁵¹. The basic explanation provided by Bíró makes good sense, although it is difficult to identify what she means by the pointed apron, and the dense folds of the underskirt in depictions surely points to a much thinner fabric for this than the overtunic, which had a much stiffer appearance⁴⁵². However, brooches and a method of tucking the skirt into the belt at the sides also appear to have played a key role, a fact that has been missed in previous studies. In the images of the ›girls‹ from Bölcske (fig. 30) and Zsámbék⁴⁵³ and of the lady holding the baby from Budapest⁴⁵⁴, the large brooches holding the garment at the shoulders throw deep chevron folds down the front that are held in place with the belt. The effect was enhanced by tucking the sides of the skirt section up into the belt. This is the only explanation for the bunching at the sides on the statue from Sárszentmiklós-Örspuszta⁴⁵⁵ and the ›girl‹ depiction from Bölcske (fig. 30)⁴⁵⁶, but is it even shown explicitly in the reliefs from Szentendre, Zsámbék and Szomód⁴⁵⁷, where you can see the sides of the tunic folded over the belt and tucked into the top.

The distribution of this garment is intriguing. It only occurs in the Danube bend in an area stretching to the south as far as Intercisa and its environs (map 2). J. Fitz claimed it as the female dress of the Eravisci, a tribe that is known to have lived in the area in the immediate pre-Roman period with their capital in the *oppidum* on Gellért Hill in Budapest. He speculated that it may have been exclusive to certain social groups, such as the Eraviscan aristocracy, suggested by the fact that it tends to be found more on larger monuments and in the central Eraviscan area; its gradual demise went hand in hand, for Fitz, with that of Eraviscan culture in general, which was progressively supplanted by that of other tribes⁴⁵⁸. Only a comprehensive new study that combines information on the findspots of these stones with their various artistic and epigraphic features will be able to test Fitz's thesis.

Apron (Schürze)

A characteristic further dress element of eastern Pannonia is the apron, usually a simple rectangular piece of cloth tucked into the belt (fig. 32) already identified by V. von Geramb in 1933⁴⁵⁹. It could either be plain or have a fringe at the bottom⁴⁶⁰. It sometimes appears to have been folded up at the sides to make a zigzag pattern on either side⁴⁶¹. M. Láng saw the aprons and their variations in style as fashion, not ethnic markers, and used a stone from Aquincum with three women, two with different aprons and one with none at all to illustrate her point (fig. 33)⁴⁶². J. Fitz and M. Bíró, on the other hand, have seen the aprons as a trait of the Eravisci⁴⁶³. If taken with the two main types of hats in this region, the idea of an ethnic basis becomes more plausible: it is

⁴⁵¹ Bíró 2003, 92.

⁴⁵² See, e.g., LUPA 818. 2919. 3197.

⁴⁵³ LUPA 818. 3197.

⁴⁵⁴ LUPA 2854.

⁴⁵⁵ LUPA 727.

⁴⁵⁶ LUPA 818.

⁴⁵⁷ LUPA 760. 3197. 3863.

⁴⁵⁸ Such as the Osi and Cotini: Fitz 1957, 153.

⁴⁵⁹ von Geramb 1933, 191.

⁴⁶⁰ E.g. LUPA 3974.

⁴⁶¹ See the seated woman on a stone from Intercisa: LUPA 3112.

⁴⁶² LUPA 765; Láng 1919, 224 f.

⁴⁶³ Fitz 1957; Bíró 2003, 92.

only ever worn in the Danube bend, and only ever with bonnet H 3, never with H 2⁴⁶⁴. On the other hand, unlike these hat types, it was not widely worn. We only have seven stones depicting it⁴⁶⁵. As for the theory that it was fashion, none of the stones can be dated with any accuracy or certainty, so it is difficult to tell. It may alternatively have been a marker of special status. In those stones where we have several women from the same family depicted, it tends to be the older women who wear it⁴⁶⁶. In the single depictions, the women are all either married (depicted with husband) or have children (inscription mentions them). The only exception is LUPA 3974, in which a ›Mädchen‹ is depicted wearing an undertunic, overtunic, veil and fringed apron.

5.2 Cloaks

Palla

The native women of the northern provinces possessed a cloak that was identical in form to the Roman women's *palla*, namely a large rectangular piece of cloth draped around the body in a variety of ways. The Roman garment was, however, usually draped asymmetrically, typically over the left shoulder and around the hips but sometimes also diagonally around the shoulders and across the body (figs. 21. 42. 46. 60) or in the ›armsling‹ style (fig. 40)⁴⁶⁷. These styles are to be distinguished from the strictly symmetrical draping of the native cloak around both shoulders and falling down at the sides⁴⁶⁸. As such, only cloaks in this region should be classed as *pallae* when they are draped in a Roman way⁴⁶⁹. In the Antonine period the *palla* was more often draped across the shoulders and flung back over one shoulder⁴⁷⁰, while somewhat later a

⁴⁶⁴ For these bonnets, see below under ›Headwear‹.

⁴⁶⁵ E.g. LUPA 707. 718. 734. 765. 2977. 3112. 3974.

⁴⁶⁶ E.g. LUPA 765: young girl standing no apron, two older women sitting with aprons; 3112: girl standing no apron, mother seated with apron.

⁴⁶⁷ LUPA 42. 44. 58. 59. 106. 306. 327. 348. 350. 353. 422. 471. 479. 480. 482. 483. 484. 487. 488. 494. 495. 497. 579. 583. 584. 590. 591. 595. 626. 640. 641. 643. 647. 650. 657. 663. 673. 681. 691. 694. 724. 728. 730. 731. 733. 736. 737. 741. 772. 776. 796. 832. 834. 835. 838. 839. 843. 845. 859. 860. 863. 867. 873. 875. 877. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 1004. 1092. 1175. 1212. 1222. 1223. 1228. 1229. 1245. 1273. 1291. 1328. 1336. 1355. 1371. 1379. 1403. 1414. 1415. 1438. 1742. 1897. 2260. 2273. 2411. 2691. 2696. 2724. 2732. 2733. 2742. 2750. 2751. 2756. 2757. 2758. 2774. 2787. 2806. 2839. 2848. 2850. 2852. 2875. 2876. 2879. 2880. 2910. 2913. 2919. 2922. 2932. 2974. 2976. 2980. 2983. 3036. 3038. 3042. 3049. 3053. 3060. 3062. 3115. 3118. 3119. 3121. 3142. 3143. 3150. 3161. 3165. 3178. 3183. 3227. 3263. 3290. 3334. 3386. 3414. 3416. 3421. 3422. 3424. 3437. 3439. 3443. 3449. 3470. 3493. 3495. 3512. 3513. 3517. 3518. 3520. 3549. 3565. 3566. 3579. 3587. 3588. 3589. 3591. 3596. 3599. 3610. 3611. 3613. 3619. 3722. 3758. 3770. 3774. 3781. 3791. 3803. 3811. 3821. 3823. 3828. 3830. 3840. 3843. 3847. 3858. 3861. 3870. 3893. 3895. 3941. 3971. 3975. 3986. 3997. 4005. 4011. 4032. 4033. 4049. 4064. 4065. 4067. 4126. 4250. 4252. 4289. 4325. 4326. 4338. 4344. 4366. 4380. 4404. 4450. 4453. 4557. 4575. 4597. 4600. 4613. 4643. 4690. 4701. 4773. 4780. 5042. 5164. 5265. 5662. 5665. 5672. 5744. 5745. 5972. 5982. 6000. 6033. 6066. 6141. 6397. 6625. 7192. 8339. 8510. 8763. 8817. 9153. 9160. 9785. 9822. 9839. 9841. 9843. 9898. 9903. 10153. 10175. 10228. 10464. 10467. 10557. 10559. 10578. 10580. 10600. 10622. 10633. 10634. 10651. 10682. 10683. 10711. 10715. 10730. 10734. 10809. 11965. 12749. 12811. 13106. 13257. 13333. 13343. 13382. 13386. 16677. 16945.

⁴⁶⁸ For this distinction see already Láng 1919, 238.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Pochmarski 1997a, 211; Pochmarski 2006, 103 f. and Traxler 2009, e.g. 204 who class most female rectangular cloaks as *pallae*. Already von Geramb warned against doing this: ›Er wird meist in der einschlägigen Literatur ... als palla bezeichnet. Wir glauben, daß man hier mit der Übertragung des lateinischen Namens vorsichtig sein sollte. Die palla ist größer und vor allem vorn nochmals um den Körper gezogen (gewickelt), sie ist, wie das pallium, Wickeltracht. Was wir aber hier auf den norisch-pannonischen Steinen sehen, ist keine Umwicklung, sondern ein Umhängen. Wie ihn die Einheimischen nannten, wissen wir nicht.‹ (von Geramb 1933, 129). It is difficult to see for sure whether von Geramb is right in his claim that the *palla* was actually much larger than the native cloak, but care is indeed needed as a matter of principle in assigning Roman words to native garments, because vital distinction may be lost.

⁴⁷⁰ E.g. LUPA 2875. 5042. 10153. 10580.



40 Fragment of a stele from Budapest (LUPA 2877) showing a woman wearing a *palla* draped in the »armsling« style. Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 66.11.44

fashion arose for a border decorated with a band of scroll ornamentation (fig. 21)⁴⁷¹. In late antiquity the boundary between Roman and native blurred entirely, as the more symmetrical styles of northern Europe began to become fashionable at Rome.

Rectangular cloak (rechteckiger Umhang)

In Noricum and Pannonia the female rectangular cloak of the northern provinces was worn draped around the shoulders, usually such that the shoulder brooches were holding it or at least still visible and the edges fell down at the sides (figs. 9; 18; 26, 4; 41; 51; 52; 55; 62). It formed part of the native garment combination for adult women, and as such appears on a large portion of the stones in this region. There are no visible extra fastenings for the cloak, with the exception of what appears to have been a set of cords holding the sides together across the chest on a stone from Szombathely⁴⁷². In eastern Pannonia it was often drawn up to veil the back of the head (e.g. figs. 18. 32. 33. 47. 56. 57. 61)⁴⁷³.

Semi-circular cloak (halbkreisförmiger Umhang)

In the statue of »Isis Noreia« in Klagenfurt (fig. 37)⁴⁷⁴, the goddess wears a cloak that falls in zigzag folds around the shoulders as if at this edge it were round. It falls down the back all the



41 Statue from Ercsi (LUPA 726) showing a woman wearing the native bodice, skirt and overtunic held using plate brooches with ivy-leaf pendants, pectoral jewellery, a hidden belt and the rectangular cloak draped around the shoulders. Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, Inv. 50.81.1

⁴⁷¹ E.g. LUPA 681. 4049. 4575. 6141. For the *palla* in Italy see Kolb 1976; Scholz 1992, 100–107; Scharf 1994, 90–114.

⁴⁷² LUPA 685. See also Garbsch 1985, 557.

⁴⁷³ See below under »Veiling«.

⁴⁷⁴ LUPA 5871.

way to the ground in an apparently straight line, so it appears to have been worn with the straight side at the back and the curved side around the shoulders. It is also sometimes worn by mortal women, like Licovia Ingenua on a gravestone from Celje (fig. 8).

5.3 Headwear

J. Garbsch, and before him already V. von Geramb, identified a curious array of hats and bonnets in the middle Danube region that showed marked regional distributions⁴⁷⁵. The practice of expressing ethnic identities in headwear was not, however, confined to the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia: I. Čremošnik established the same pattern in Illyria⁴⁷⁶, and the large spherical bonnets of the Ubian women of the lower Rhine region⁴⁷⁷ are perhaps the most famous manifestation of this apparently widespread characteristic of European Iron-Age dress. One feature of the middle Danube region, however, is that the wearing of hats, and with them the cloak (see above), was confined to older women. It was postulated above that the adoption of these two garments signalled a new phase in a girl's life: the onset of puberty, perhaps, or marriage⁴⁷⁸. From the images we have, the former seems most likely, as some stones depict what appear to be teenage girls wearing cloaks and hats together with one or both of their parents, which suggests they were not yet married (e.g. fig. 55)⁴⁷⁹.

Hairstyles and the covering of the hair also appear to have played a role in this context. In Noricum, most of the so-called girls wear a distinctive bobbed hairstyle in which the hair is cut to chin-length (e.g. fig. 22) and often curled up at the ends (e.g. figs. 34. 35). The adult women of this region, however, wear their hair in a large fold protruding from under the bonnet to either side of the face (e.g. figs. 9. 49. 50. 51. 62)⁴⁸⁰. This hairstyle appears as almost standard: when native bonnets are worn, no attempt is made to follow the Roman practice of widely varying hairstyles⁴⁸¹. In Pannonia, on the other hand, the bonnets usually cover the hair completely (e.g. figs. 18. 56. 58), and Láng was probably right to see the few images showing hair protruding from under the headdress as a concession to Roman fashion⁴⁸². Although we cannot know whether there was a more profound significance to the covering of the head for women in the Danube region, it is interesting to see that when native dress is gradually abandoned by them in portraits in the 3rd century, the bonnet is often the only native element to remain and is worn with otherwise thoroughly Roman dress, even if it is often pushed to the back of the head to reveal the fashionable ›melon‹ hairstyle of the era⁴⁸³. Two stones from Lauriacum dating to the Severan period, for example, show women with identical clothes, jewellery, hairstyles and poses, but one wears a bonnet at the back of her head⁴⁸⁴, while the other's head is bare⁴⁸⁵ (fig. 42). Before the hats themselves are discussed, however, a further excursus is necessary on the issue of veiling in the middle Danube region.

⁴⁷⁵ von Geramb 1933, 191–206; Garbsch 1965, 13–22. Determining the exact appearance of the hats of the middle Danube region is, however, not always straightforward due to the wide range of artistic styles of the stonemasons, and the fact that in some cases features that were carved may in other cases have been added with paint later.

⁴⁷⁶ Čremošnik 1963.

⁴⁷⁷ See, e.g., Wild 1968b, 67–73; Rothe 2009, 37–39.

⁴⁷⁸ This was suggested by Garbsch 1965, 11.

⁴⁷⁹ E.g. LUPA 448. 1203. 3182.

⁴⁸⁰ A good example is LUPA 831 in the church in Greith.

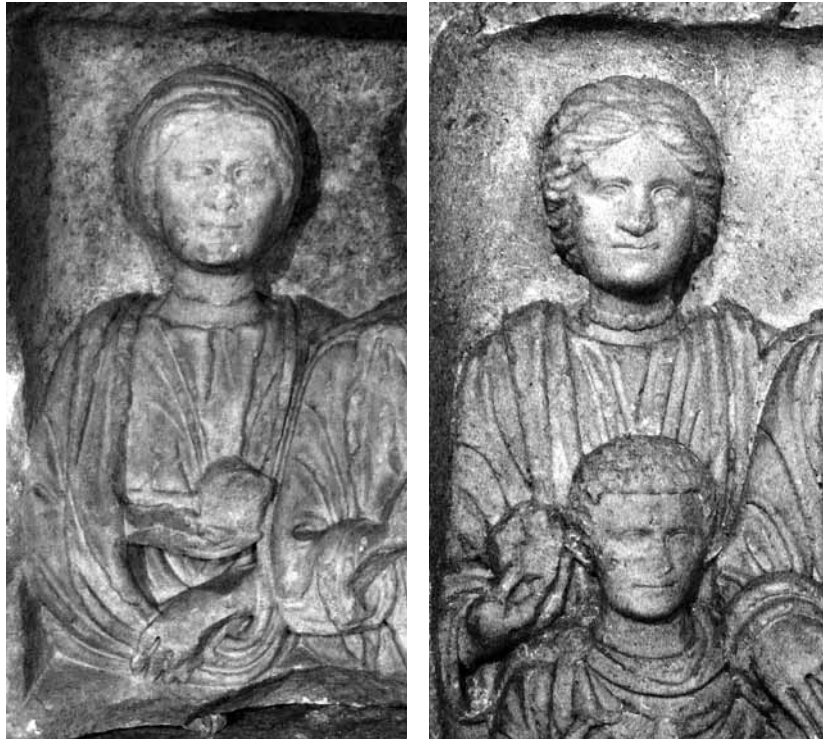
⁴⁸¹ This was also observed by Čremošnik in Illyria (Čremošnik 1963, 124): if women went without headwear, they wore very fashionable Roman hairstyles.

⁴⁸² Láng 1919, 213.

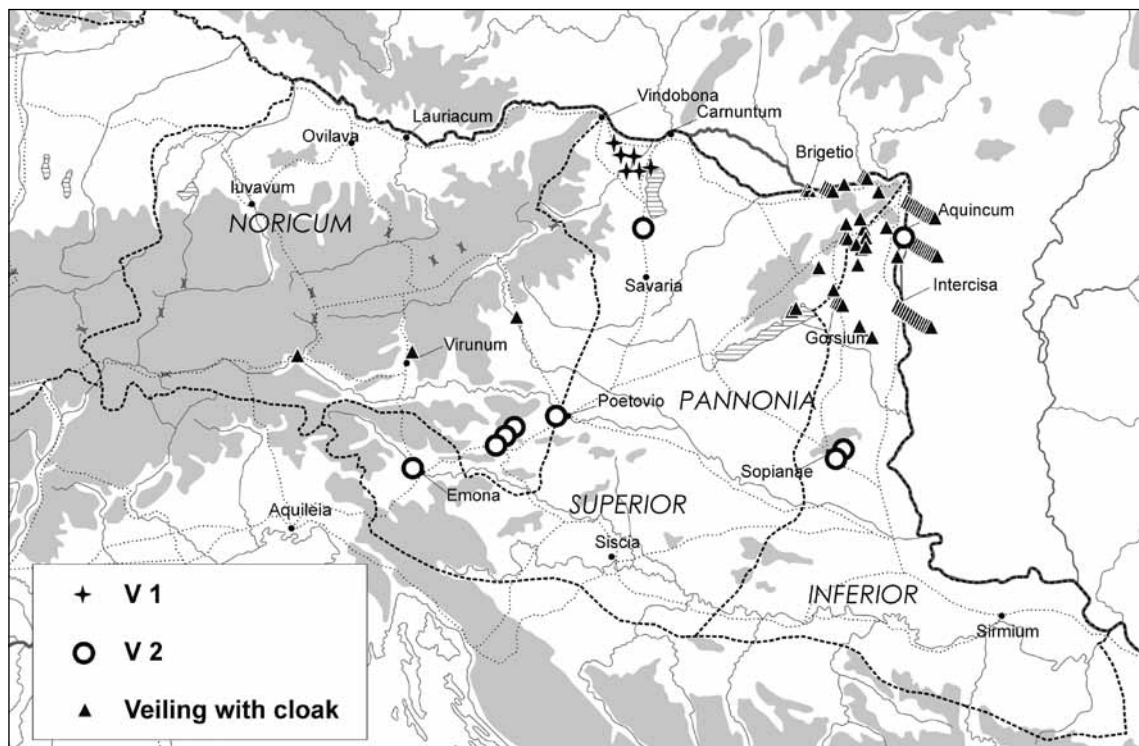
⁴⁸³ E.g. LUPA 685 (Savaria). 495 (Lauriacum).

⁴⁸⁴ LUPA 495.

⁴⁸⁵ LUPA 4613.



42 Detail of two portrait gravestones from Lauriacum from the Severan period showing two women wearing identical Roman dress (*tunica* and *palla*), but the left one wears a bonnet, while the other does not. Left: LUPA 495, Museum Lauriacum, Enns, Inv. R X 28. Right: LUPA 4613, Museum Lauriacum, Enns, Inv. R X 177



Map 3 Distribution of veiling in the middle Danube region

Veiling

Previous works on the dress of Noricum and Pannonia have regarded the veil worn by some women as a constituent part of their headdress as a whole. J. Fitz, for example, spoke of the »Turbanschleier« of the Eraviscan women⁴⁸⁶, and J. Garbsch distinguished between a »Schleierhaube« and a »Turban mit Schleier« in Pannonia. In his typology, only the »pannonischer Turban« could be worn with or without a veil⁴⁸⁷. However, while veiling was considerably more widespread in Pannonia than in Noricum (map 3), in fact every one of the different hats worn by women in the middle Danube region could be worn with or without a veil – even the Norican bonnet (fig. 43)⁴⁸⁸, with the exception of the fur hat of the Leitha area (see below H 5). In only two very distinct places in the middle Danube region do we see separate veils, and in neither case do these appear to be worn with a bonnet.

V 1: Short veil of the Leitha region (kurzer Schleier der Leithagegend) (fig. 44)

The Leitha region is exceptional for being the only place that ›girls‹ wear any kind of head-dress, namely a short veil (map 3)⁴⁸⁹. It is, however, also worn by some adult women⁴⁹⁰. The only images we have of this headdress are very two-dimensional and stylised, so that in most cases, *contra* Garbsch and Fitz⁴⁹¹, it is not possible to see whether a bonnet was worn. In the only relatively detailed image we have, in any case, it is evident that the woman does not wear a bonnet: the strands of hair can clearly be seen (fig. 45)⁴⁹². The fact that a kind of veil occurs both in the Danube bend and in the Leithawinkel led Fitz to postulate an ethnic link between the two regions, whereby people from north-west Pannonia migrated to the east⁴⁹³. This may be true, but a further dimension is added when we consider a short veil that has so far gone undetected was also worn in the south-east of Noricum. The latter bears a much closer resemblance to V 1 than the general veiling of eastern Pannonia.

V 2: Short veil of south-east Noricum (kurzer Schleier Südostnoricums) (fig. 44)

This veil is shorter than that of the Leitha area and seems always to have been worn with the hair tied in a flat bun on the top of the head (German: »Scheitelzopffrisur«, fig. 46). It is found mainly in the area of Celje but also in several cases in Pécs, Sopron and Budapest (map 3)⁴⁹⁴, such that a connection to a regional group cannot be argued strongly. The stones that can be dated lie in the Hadrianic period or later⁴⁹⁵.

In contrast to these two short veil types, the veil usually worn by women in Pannonia is actually not a separate veil at all, but simply the rectangular cloak pulled up over the head (e.g. figs. 18. 32. 47. 56. 57. 61). It is for this reason that Norican women are usually shown with the thick folds of their cloak around their shoulders, while in many depictions of Pannonian women, the cloak does not feature as strongly, because it is pushed back over the head and behind the upper arms. The detailed portraits of Veriuga from Intercisa (fig. 47)⁴⁹⁶ and Flavia from Gor-

⁴⁸⁶ Fitz 1957, 152 f.

⁴⁸⁷ Garbsch 1965, 19–22.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf., e.g., Garbsch 1965, 19: The »Pannonische Schleierhaube« is worn »stets mit einem Schleier«. This, in fact, did not escape J. Fitz's attention (see, e.g., comments made in Fitz 1957, 152), although he routinely referred to the veil as the decisive feature of his hats.

⁴⁸⁹ LUPA 12. 23. 25. 28. 36.

⁴⁹⁰ LUPA 31.

⁴⁹¹ See Fitz 1957, 152 f. and Garbsch's »Nordwestpannonische Mädchen«: Garbsch 1965, 7 f.

⁴⁹² LUPA 31.

⁴⁹³ Fitz 1957, 152 f. and maps 5 and 6.

⁴⁹⁴ LUPA 759. 825. 3118. 3119. 3154 (?). 3610. 3796. 4250. 8331. 10036 (?). 13343.

⁴⁹⁵ LUPA 759. 825 (250–300). 3118 (Hadr.-Sev.). 3119 (Sev.). 3610 (100–200). 3796. 4250 (mid 3rd c.). 8331 (200–250). 13343.

⁴⁹⁶ LUPA 714.



43 Comparison of bonnets with and without veiling, from the top:

43a The double-layered, tight bonnet H 2 (LUPA 3182/Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 66.11.50 and LUPA 3586/Archaeological Park Gorsium, Tác)



43b The single-layered, large bonnet H 3 (LUPA 3214/Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 74.1911.1 and LUPA 7056/Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár)



43c The large turban bonnet H 4 (LUPA 4027/Archaeological Park Gorsium, Tác, Inv. 8395 and LUPA 10543/Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest)

43d The *modius* hat H 8 (LUPA 693/Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest and LUPA 716/Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 76.1901)



43e The Norican bonnet H 1.1.1 (LUPA 803/Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, Inv. 50.76.1 and LUPA 1291/Schloss Seggau)



V 1



V 2

44 Types of separate veils in the middle Danube region



45 Portrait from a stele from Velm (LUPA 31) showing a woman wearing a bodice, underskirt, overtunic and the short veil of the Leitha region V 1. The hair is clearly visible – there is no hat. Her husband wears a hooded cape with a seam down the front. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. III 806 b

sium (fig. 57)⁴⁹⁷ show this especially clearly, but it is also generally the case in the Leitha area⁴⁹⁸, where Fitz and Garbsch saw »veiled bonnets«. This style of veiling was also common in other parts of the empire⁴⁹⁹, including, of course, Rome itself, but here is not the place for a detailed discussion of where its origins lay. For the present study it is important that the occurrence of veiling is a separate element to the hats *per se*. There was, in other words, no such thing as a »Schleierhaube«. Without the veil as its decisive feature, the details of the Pannonian bonnets themselves can be allowed to speak, and they reveal slightly different forms to those proposed by earlier scholars.

Hats

H 1: Norican bonnets (norische Hauben)

These bonnets appear to have consisted of a square piece of fabric folded diagonally and wrapped around head. The edges were rolled up at the sides to create a hat-like appearance. The variations in form were produced by different sizes and thicknesses of the piece of cloth used and the extent to which the sides were rolled up⁵⁰⁰. The name is justified, as they are found on gravestones throughout the province of Noricum.

Outliers in western Pannonia may be accounted for in the fact that the original Regnum Noricum extended further to the east and south as far as the Amber Road. J. Garbsch created a typology of these bonnets⁵⁰¹ that to a large extent has stood the test of time, but which in parts is difficult to follow, not only in the chronology, which has been shown to have been set too early⁵⁰², but also in the classification: he drew together what appear to be very different styles under one classification⁵⁰³, proposed several classifications for bonnets that look identical⁵⁰⁴, and overlooked stones in his catalogue depicting the bonnet that did not fit into his typology⁵⁰⁵. The basic problem is that, in reality, every depiction of the Norican bonnet is slightly different from the next, and this means typological decisions are difficult. Nonetheless, variations in style are discernible and it is important to try and understand their significance. The typology proposed below is based on a fresh reading of the evidence, and reveals more of a chronological and less

⁴⁹⁷ LUPA 805.

⁴⁹⁸ E.g. LUPA 43.

⁴⁹⁹ See, e.g., the pulling up of the cloak over the female bonnets and turbans in grave reliefs in Palmyra (several examples in B. Goldman 1994).

⁵⁰⁰ Garbsch 1965, 13.

⁵⁰¹ Garbsch 1965, 13–17; Garbsch 1985, 559.

⁵⁰² See e.g. Eckhart 1981, 53 f. no. 68 and Pochmarski 1996, 132.

⁵⁰³ E.g. LUPA 1623 showing a narrow, tight bonnet pushed back on the head, and 1626 showing a very wide and loose bonnet folded up at the sides, both, according to Garbsch, his H5.

⁵⁰⁴ E.g. most depictions of Garbsch's H4 and H5 are very simple, tight Norican bonnets pushed to the back of the head. The feature Garbsch claims for H5, that the roll is rounder rather than flat, is not visible on any of the stones he cites except LUPA 1624.

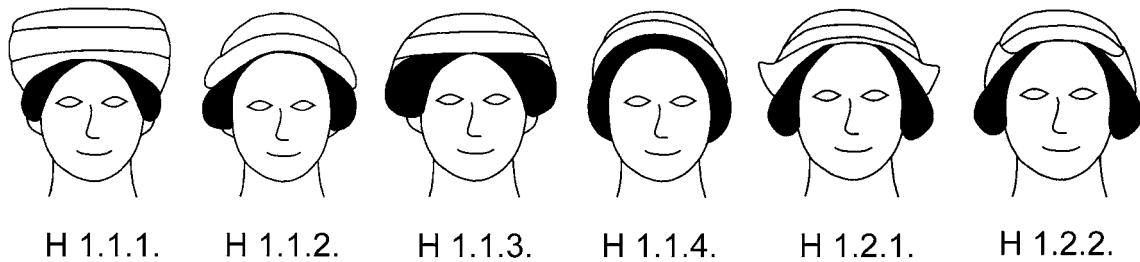
⁵⁰⁵ E.g. LUPA 1204, no. 146 in his catalogue that clearly depicts a woman in a Norican bonnet but is not included in the lists in the typological section.



46 Portrait on a stele from Celje (LUPA 3118) showing a family. The woman wears a *tunica*, *palla* and the short veil of south-east Noricum (V 2), her husband and son a long-sleeved tunic and rectangular cloak/*sagum*. Pokrajinski Muzej Celje, Inv. 82



47 Portrait on a grave stele from Dunaújváros (LUPA 714) showing a woman wearing a bodice held together with a small knee brooch at the neck, an overtunic held with large wing brooches at the shoulders, bonnet H 2 and a rectangular cloak pulled up over her head. She has a disc pendant around her neck and holds a distaff and a spindle. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 56.1911.3 = 62.54.1



48 Types of Norican bonnets

of a regional variation than that produced by J. Garbsch in 1965. The only bonnet that shows a clear regional grouping is H 1.2, while the others appear to be developments over time. Garbsch himself mentioned that there was considerable overlap in the distributions of his bonnet types, something he put down to new styles coming in while older styles were still worn by more elderly women⁵⁰⁶, and this seems the most likely scenario, especially considering the overall tendency is for the bonnet to become tighter and pushed further to the back of the head over time.

▫ H 1.1.1 (fig. 48)

In this form of the Norican bonnet, the cloth is wrapped over the head in such a way that the sides over the ears are folded into wedges and then form a wrapped band around the head to support an almost horizontal top fold (figs. 8. 43)⁵⁰⁷. It corresponds largely to Garbsch's H1⁵⁰⁸. A portrait in St. Georgen shows clearly that sometimes the crown of the head could be left free⁵⁰⁹, while another in St. Veit⁵¹⁰ shows this was not always the case. Traces of paint on LUPA 834 show it could be a red colour. The main distribution of this hat is Noricum as a whole, with two instances in Pannonia (map 4). Interestingly, isolated finds of it occur as far afield as Sarmizegetusa/Ulpia Traiana⁵¹¹. The stones in this category that can be dated show that it falls into the period from the mid-1st century AD to the end of the reign of Trajan⁵¹².

▫ H 1.1.2 (fig. 48)

This style is similar to H 1.1.1 but the main band of cloth is now folded in arched layers over the head instead of horizontal, rendering the wedges over the ears of H 1.1.1 superfluous (fig. 49)⁵¹³. The main distribution of this hat is Noricum as a whole, with three instances in Pannonia (map 4). The stones in this category that can be dated show that it falls into the period from the reign of Trajan to the early Severan period⁵¹⁴.

▫ H 1.1.3 (fig. 48)

This type is similar to H 1.1.2 but now the bonnet is formed as a single, smooth arc around the head, like a cap (fig. 50). The folds of the cloth are still there, showing that it was still folded in the same way, but they are only visible in lines, no longer in folds and contours⁵¹⁵. The distribution of this hat is the whole of Noricum (map 4). The stones in this category that can be

⁵⁰⁶ Garbsch 1965, 134.

⁵⁰⁷ LUPA 302. 349. 425. 590. 803. 838. 840. 857. 896. 1127. 1165. 3616. 4276. 5355. 5885.

⁵⁰⁸ Garbsch 1965, 13 f.

⁵⁰⁹ LUPA 878.

⁵¹⁰ LUPA 834.

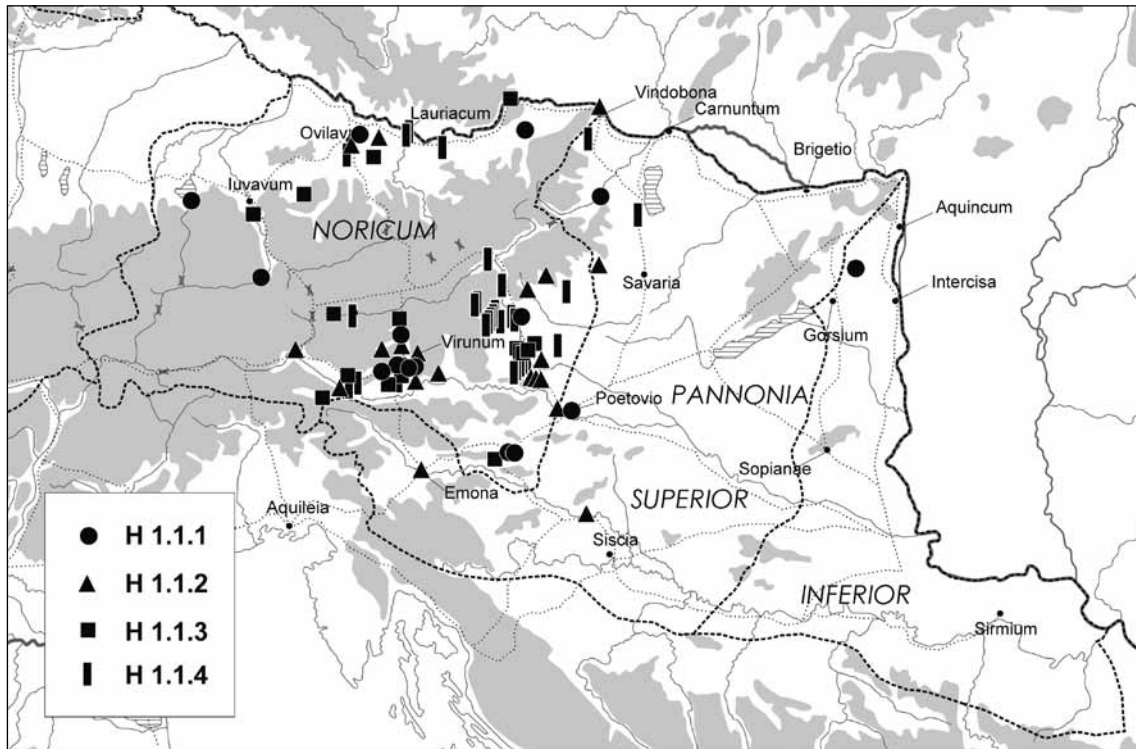
⁵¹¹ LUPA 15078: two ladies in otherwise Roman dress – Noricans?

⁵¹² LUPA 425 (50–100). 803 (100–125). 857 (50–75). 1165 (100–120). 3616 (Trajanic).

⁵¹³ LUPA 448–449. 586. 593. 630. 833. 837. 841. 874. 878. 881. 1067. 1318–1319. 1334. 1446. 1490. 1887. 2139. 4255. 4648. 5387. 8816.

⁵¹⁴ LUPA 448 (Ant./Sev.). 593 (Ant.). 630 (120–150). 833 (Ant.). 837 (100–120). 841 (120–140). 874 (100–120). 878 (120–150). 1067 (Traj.). 1319 (Hadr.). 1334 (Sev.). 1446 (120–160). 1490 (120–150). 2139 (120–150). 8816 (170–225).

⁵¹⁵ LUPA 301. 303. 313. 834. 846–847. 879. 894. 1213. 1267–8. 1341. 2222. 3627. 13333.



Map 4 Distribution of Norican bonnets H 1.1



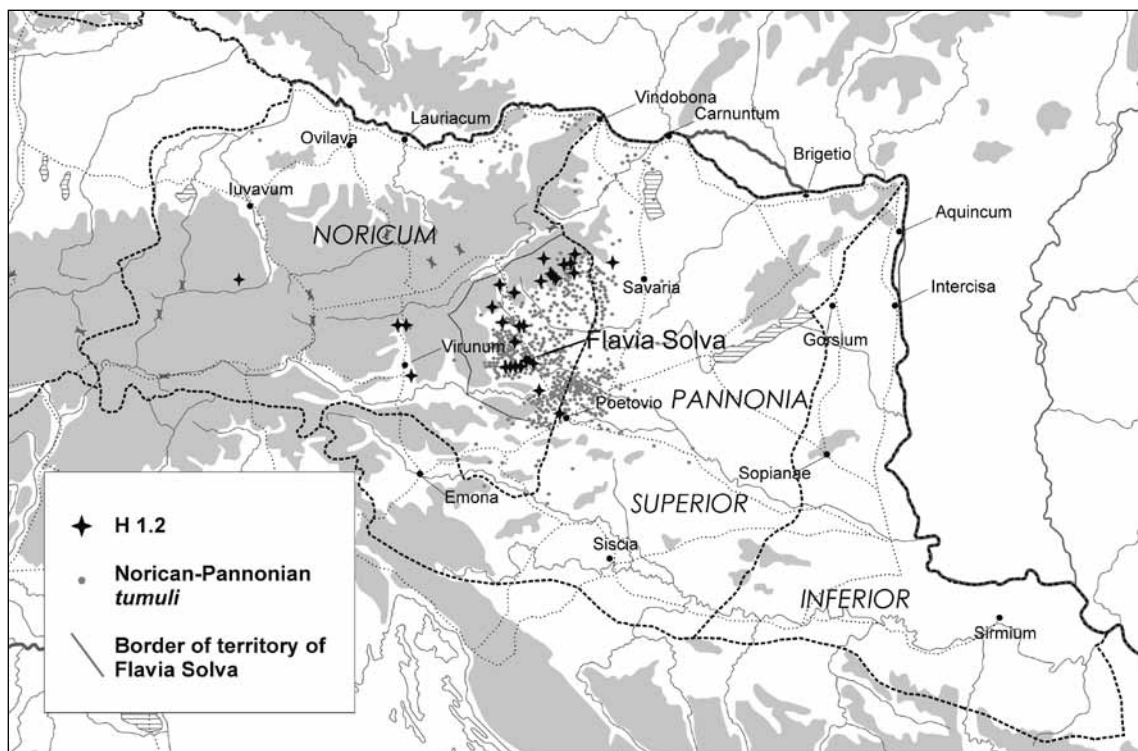
49 Detail of a grave monument in Schloss Seggau (LUPA 1340) showing a woman wearing bonnet H 1.1.2. The characteristic folding of the top and the wide, folded rim can clearly be seen. She also wears a torques with *lunula* pendant around her neck



50 Detail of a portrait medallion from the Zollfeld (LUPA 834) showing a woman wearing bonnet H 1.1.3. The characteristic smooth transition from rim to main body can clearly be seen. Stadtmuseum, St. Veit



51 Detail of a grave portrait in Schloss Seggau (LUPA 1271) showing, from two angles, a woman wearing pectoral jewellery and bonnet H 1.1.4. with its characteristic thin rim and tight fit. Note also the cord belt tied in a knot under the bust



Map 5 Distribution of Norican bonnets H 1.2 with territory of Flavia Solva and distribution area of Norican-Pannonian tumuli based on Hudeczek 1977, 437 fig. 4

dated show that it falls into the period from the late Antonine to the end of the Severan dynasty (140–235 AD)⁵¹⁶.

▫ H 1.1.4 (fig. 48)

In this style of bonnet, the cloth is wrapped over head in such a way as that it is tight over the head and pushed back to reveal the hair above the forehead. The main fold around the head is thin and tight (fig. 51)⁵¹⁷. It corresponds to Garbsch's H4 and H5, whereby the main feature he claims to be the difference between the two, the rolled fold around the head having a circular cross-section, is not evident on the stone. Garbsch put his H4 bonnets in the region around Virunum and Flavia Solva and dated them to the 2nd century⁵¹⁸, but all of the stones in his list actually date to the Severan period. He saw H5 as a characteristic hat of the Graz area, and already rightly saw that this was the latest type of hat (late 2nd, early 3rd c.) based on the beard-ness of the women's husbands⁵¹⁹, a claim I would make for his H4 examples as well. Those in this category that are datable are indeed Severan or Antonine/Severan, save for one that is Antonine⁵²⁰. The proposed timeframe for H 1.1.4 is thus the late Antonine to late Severan period. It is found all over Noricum with two instances in Pannonia (map 4).

Garbsch's conclusions to his bonnet chronology were that in Virunum, H1 in the 1st and 2nd centuries developed into H4 in the Severan period; in Flavia Solva H2 in 2nd century developed into H3 in the Antonine period and H4 and H5 in the Severan period⁵²¹. The chronology posed above is much more straightforward: all of the bonnets are found across Noricum, or at least the territory that was once the Regnum Noricum, and the style of wrapping them changed across the whole area gradually over time toward ever tighter and more compact forms.

H 1.2 (fig. 48)

In H 1.2 we have the only style of Norican bonnet that is clearly confined to a smaller region in and to the north of Flavia Solva (map 5)⁵²². In this it corresponds closely with the distribution of the so-called Norican-Pannonian *tumuli*⁵²³, which lends further weight to the idea that it was indeed an attribute of a specific ethnic group in this area. It was formed by wrapping the cloth over the head in such a way that the sides over the ears are left to protrude somewhat outwards. These protrusions are either left as an outward curl (H 1.2.1; fig. 52) or tucked back into the main fold around the head (H 1.2.2; fig. 53). The stones in this category fall into Garbsch's H2 and H3, but he failed to pick up the distinctive feature of the curls/tucks at the sides. For his bonnet H2, however, he also picked up a distribution north of Flavia Solva⁵²⁴. He dated both bonnets to the late 1st and early 2nd centuries, but the stones in his list actually date from the mid 2nd to the early 3rd centuries⁵²⁵. In my list four stones date to the turn of the century⁵²⁶, while

⁵¹⁶ LUPA 301 (Ant.-Sev.). 834 (Sev.). 879 (Ant.). 1267 (Sev.). 1268 (Sev.). 1341 (Sev.). 3627 (Ant./Sev.). 13333 (Ant./Sev.).

⁵¹⁷ LUPA 495. 533. 895. 869. 880. 1159. 1202. 1204. 1239–1240. 1260. 1271. 1335. 1402. 1414–1415. 1424. 1453. 1606. 1609. 1611. 1623–1624. 1626. 1719. 3356. 3626. 4411. 4825. 4904. 8722.

⁵¹⁸ Garbsch 1965, 16 and map 5.

⁵¹⁹ Garbsch 1965, 17 and map 5.

⁵²⁰ LUPA 495 (Sev.). 880 (Sev.). 1159 (120–235). 1202 (Sev.). 1204 (Sev.). 1239 (Sev.). 1260 (Sev.). 1271 (Sev.). 1335 (130–190). 1402 (Ant./Sev.). 1415 (Sev.). 1424 (Sev.). 1453 (Sev.). 1606 (Sev.). 1609 (Ant.). 1623 (Sev.). 1624 (Sev.). 1626 (Sev.). 1719 (Sev.). 3626 (Ant./Sev.).

⁵²¹ Garbsch 1965, 121–123.

⁵²² LUPA 304. 448. 831. 876. 1151–1152. 1203. 1206. 1219. 1238. 1274. 1291. 1340. 1365. 1438. 1440. 1452. 1457. 1460. 1465. 1486–1487. 1489–1499. 1550. 1757. 4628–4629. 4661. 8723. 12786.

⁵²³ See, e.g. Palágyi – Nagy 2002; Nagy 2002; Hinker 2005; Hudeczek 1997; Urban 1984. No revised map of the locations of the *tumuli* has been done since Hudeczek 1977, 437 fig. 4.

⁵²⁴ Garbsch 1965, 14 f. and map 4.

⁵²⁵ Earliest: LUPA 1499 and 1604 (mid 2nd c.); latest: 685. 1486. 1487. 1606 (Sev.).

⁵²⁶ LUPA 876 (100–120). 1452 (80–140). 1465 (90–110). 4628 (100–120).



52 Detail of a grave medallion from Seggauberg (LUPA 1206) showing a woman wearing an overtunic held at the shoulders using large Doppelknopf brooches, a hidden belt, a cloak around the shoulders, a knee brooch at the chest, a torques with *lunula* pendant around her neck and bonnet H 1.2.1. The rim of the bonnet curled up at the sides can clearly be seen. Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Inv. 153



53 Portrait medallion from Goldegg (LUPA 304) showing a woman wearing large Doppelknopf brooches at the shoulders and bonnet H 1.2.2. The sides fully tucked up can clearly be seen. Salzburg Museum, Salzburg, Inv. 145/69.

the others could be or definitely are later (e.g. due to the use of the *toga contabulata*)⁵²⁷. This, in other words, was not merely the only Norican bonnet with a localised distribution, but also boasted a great deal of longevity, at least from the late Flavian period to the Severans.

Northern Pannonian bonnets (nordpannonische Hauben)

The various hats worn in northern Pannonia are different from the Norican bonnets in that they generally cover all the hair, like those of Gaul and the Rhineland⁵²⁸. J. Garbsch divided them into the »nordwestpannonische Schleierhaube«, the »pannonische Schleierhaube«, the »Turban mit Schleier« and the »pannonischer Turban«⁵²⁹. The fur hat, Garbsch's »Pelzhut« can be put to one side for the following discussion as it was a clear type that was never worn with a veil. We have already seen that the »nordwestpannonische Schleierhaube« was not necessarily a bonnet at all; all that can be seen for certain on these very stylised images is a short veil (V 1, fig. 44. 45)⁵³⁰. With regard to the eastern bonnets, one gains the impression that the deciding factor in traditional descriptions was the veil. The »pannonische Schleierhaube« is described by Garbsch as having a large »Wulst« (bulge or rim), such that it sometimes resembles a balloon, but that it could also sometimes consist of several layers⁵³¹. What is described here are two very different looking hats, one plain and bulbous like a balloon, and one with several layers, and as such presumably wrapped. The »Turban mit Schleier« is described as similar to the »pannonische Schleierhaube«, but »niedriger« (lower, by which he probably means less voluminous). The

⁵²⁷ LUPA 304 (100–120). 448 (Ant./Sev.). 831 (Hadr.). 1152 (Ant.). 1203 (Ant.). 1206 (Ant./Sev.). 1238 (Ant./Sev.). 1274 (Ant./Sev.). 1291 (140–170). 1340 (100–150). 1486 (Sev.). 1487 (Sev.). 1489 (Sev.). 1499 (120–140). 4629 (100–200).

⁵²⁸ Gallic bonnet: Rothe 2009, 45; Ubian bonnet: Rothe 2009, 46 f. Exceptions to this are LUPA 53. 734. 760. 818. 1887. 3586. 4454.

⁵²⁹ Garbsch 1965, 19–22.

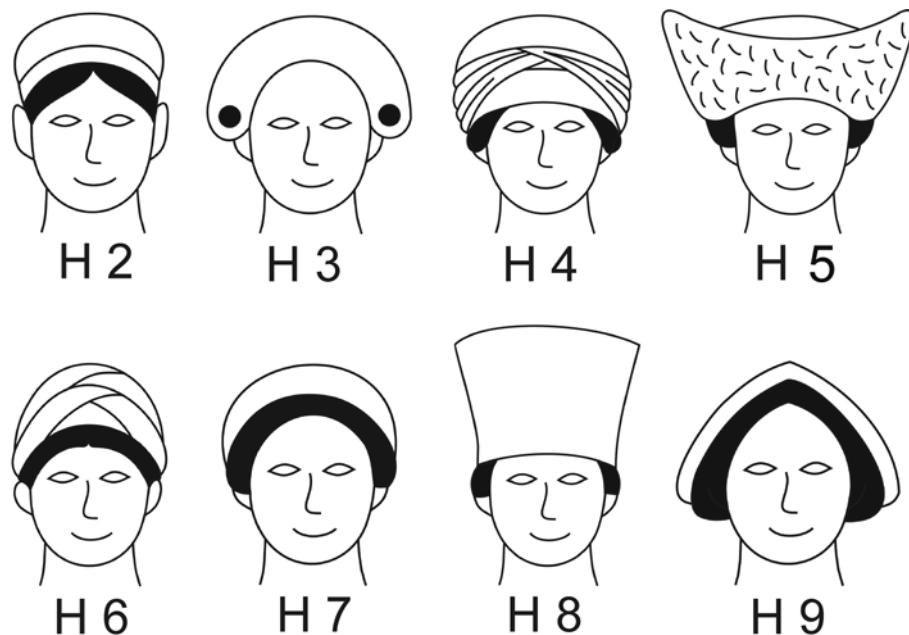
⁵³⁰ See above under »Veiling«.

⁵³¹ Garbsch 1965, 19.

description continues: »Die Form differiert im einzelnen; bald scheint es sich um eine Schleierhaube mit schmalem Wulst zu handeln, bald um eine Art Baskenmütze mit darübergelegtem Schleier.«⁵³² Again two different hats are described here: one like the »Schleierhaube« but with a smaller »Wulst«, from which it follows that like this hat it could be plain or multi-layered, and one very similar to a beret, i.e. a bonnet proper with only one layer. The »pannonischer Turban«, finally, is described as being worn with or without a veil, and coming in a variety of forms from a beret style (»baskenmützenähnlich«) to a tight cap (»eng anliegende Kappe«)⁵³³. Again we have two different forms, and neither actually have any connection with a turban, which is a wrapped headpiece. Indeed, it is difficult to see how a tight cap can possibly be described as a turban. If one sees the veiling as a separate element to the various hats proper, as one surely must, the descriptions offered by Garbsch no longer make any sense. In the following, a new typology is presented based on the appearance of the hats themselves, rather than on the presence or absence of veiling.

H 2: Double-layered, tight bonnet (zweilagige, enge Haube) (fig. 54)

H 2 was a relatively tight bonnet depicted as having two horizontal layers⁵³⁴: a band or rim around the head and the body of the bonnet proper over the head, which could be very tight (figs. 43. 55)⁵³⁵ or slightly bulbous (fig. 47)⁵³⁶. It is found mainly in the south-east of the Danube bend, although there are two outliers: one in north-west Pannonia and one in Noricum (map 6). The datable stones show it was worn at least from the Flavian period to the late 2nd century⁵³⁷.



54 Types of other women's headwear in the middle Danube region

⁵³² Garbsch 1965, 20.

⁵³³ Garbsch 1965, 21 f.

⁵³⁴ LUPA 109. 746. 760. 767. 798–789. 2977. 3182. 3586. 4041. 4700. 9923.

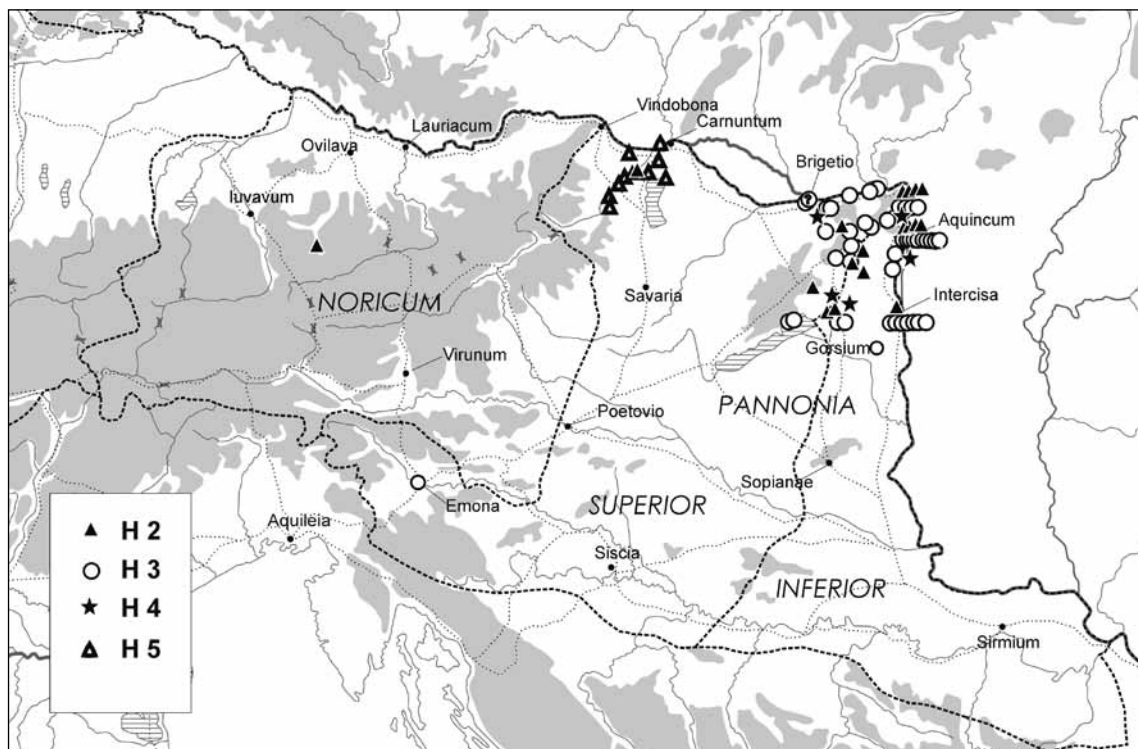
⁵³⁵ E.g. LUPA 109. 2977. 3182. 3586.

⁵³⁶ E.g. LUPA 767. 798–799. 4041. 4700.

⁵³⁷ LUPA 109 (Flav.). 746 (120–200). 760 (120–160). 767 (100–120). 4041 (100–120). 4700 (2nd c.).



55 Detail of a stele from Tàc (LUPA 3586) showing two women wearing bodices, over-tunics held at the shoulders using plate brooches with ivy leaf pendants, rectangular cloaks around the shoulders and double-layered, tight bonnets of type H 2. Archaeological Park Gorsium, Tàc



Map 6 Distribution of bonnets H 2–H 5

H 3: Single-layered, large bonnet (einlagige, große Haube) (fig. 54)

H 3 was a large, plain, bulbous bonnet with no discernible extra layers or bands. In detailed depictions it forms a kind of circular form around the head, but it is sometimes stylised as a simple, bulbous arc that ends above ears (figs. 32. 33. 43. 56)⁵³⁸. It is often decorated with rosette and disc-shaped objects on either side that are most likely hair pins holding it in place⁵³⁹: bone pins with large, flat, gold heads and amethyst and glass beads were found in a sarcophagus in Brigetio dating to the early 4th century, but unfortunately they had been washed around by incoming water, so they were not found *in situ*⁵⁴⁰. Bonnets of H 3 type are found exclusively in north-eastern Pannonia, but with a distribution that extends further to the west than H 2 (map 6). The stones we can date all belong to the 2nd century⁵⁴¹, although one stone from Budapest may be earlier on account of the formulation *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)* without *D(is) M(anibus)*⁵⁴². M. Láng thought the larger versions of the north-east Pannonian bonnets were a sign of wealth, and pointed to the ›Fuhrmannsfamilie‹ and a simple stone from Budapest with ladies in tighter caps⁵⁴³. This may be the case, although an ethnic connection is still possible, considering the fact that we know that there were two main native groups living in this area: the Eravisci and the Azali further to the west⁵⁴⁴. A closer inspection of the inscriptions on these stones and the combination of the garments with other factors should be able to shed more light on this.



56 Portrait on a stele from Ercsi (LUPA 794) showing a woman wearing a bodice, skirt, overtunic held at the shoulders with large wing brooches, a twisted torques, studded bangles, the single-layered, large bonnet of type H 3 and rectangular cloak pulled up over the head. Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, Inv. 58.5.1

H 4: Large turban bonnet (große Turbanhaube) (fig. 54)

H 4 was a more rare type consisting of a tight band across the forehead and behind that a large body of cloth wound around head and crossed over above the forehead (figs. 43. 57)⁵⁴⁵. A striking resemblance to headwear in Palmyra suggests a possible eastern connection⁵⁴⁶. It is only found

⁵³⁸ LUPA 682. 714–715. 717–718. 734. 740. 765. 768. 787. 794. 801. 830. 2779. 2838. 2853. 2859. 2973. 3059. 3061. 3112. 3181. 3196. 3206. 3213. 3214. 3218. 3221. 3267. 3273. 3818. 3974. 3985. 5126. 5252. 5984. 7056. 9842. 13737. 10176. 10460. 10631. 12754. 12766. 12809.

⁵³⁹ E.g. LUPA 830 and 4454. There is one example of H 2 with these decorations: LUPA 760. See also already Láng 1919, 213.

⁵⁴⁰ Bartus 2003, 26 fig. 2.5–7 and 29 fig. 5 and Prof. László Borhy, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (personal communication). See also Bartus 2008.

⁵⁴¹ LUPA 714 (100–150). 717 (100–150). 718 (100–150). 734 (150–200). 765 (100–150). 768 (100–140). 794 (100–125). 801 (100–150). 2859 (120–150). 2973 (100–120). 3059 (80–130). 3267 (130–170). 3974 (100–200). 3985 (150–200).

⁵⁴² LUPA 2838.

⁵⁴³ Láng 1919, 238 f.

⁵⁴⁴ Plin. nat. 3, 148; Tac. Germ. 28 and the still-relevant Mócsy 1959 and discussion in Mócsy 1974, 53–63.

⁵⁴⁵ LUPA 704. 707. 805. 4027. 5126. 8395. 10543.

⁵⁴⁶ See, e.g., the female portraits on *loculus* plates: LUPA 14184 and Louvre Inv. AO 1575.



57 Portrait on a stele from TÁC (LUPA 805) showing a woman wearing an overtunic held at the shoulders using large wing brooches, a hidden belt, a twisted torques, studded bangles, the large turban bonnet of type H 4 and the rectangular cloak pulled up over the head. Archaeological Park Gorsium, TÁC



58 Portrait on a stele from Bruckneudorf (LUPA 76) showing a woman wearing an overtunic held with large »kräftig profilierte« brooches with hanging ring at the shoulders, bangles and the boat-shaped hat of type H 5. Hansági Múzeum, Mosonmagyaróvár, Inv. 68.1.9

in the area of the Danube bend (map 6) and the few datable stones we have fall into the period from the late 1st to the early 2nd centuries⁵⁴⁷.

H 5: Fur hat (Pelzmütze) (fig. 54)

H 5 is a distinctive boat-shaped hat that, from the rough working on one of the stones⁵⁴⁸, seems to have been made out of fur (fig. 58). It is never worn with a veil⁵⁴⁹. It was already identified by J. Garbsch as a hat that was worn exclusively in north-west Pannonia in the Leitha region (map 6), and associated both by him and by others as a garment of the Boii tribe⁵⁵⁰. J. Fitz spoke of two separate costumes in the Leitha area characterised by two different hats, the fur hat and the turban with veil⁵⁵¹. Although the veiled turban has been shown not to have existed in that form, but rather as a distinctive style of veiling (V 1), he was fundamentally right: the fur hat is, for example, never worn with the overtunic of the Leitha Region (O 3)⁵⁵². The stones that can be dated show it was worn at least from the mid 1st to the mid 2nd century, although we have few portrait monuments from a later period in this region, so the picture may be somewhat skewed⁵⁵³.

⁵⁴⁷ LUPA 707 (late 1st c.). 805 (80–125). 4027 (Traj.).

⁵⁴⁸ LUPA 45.

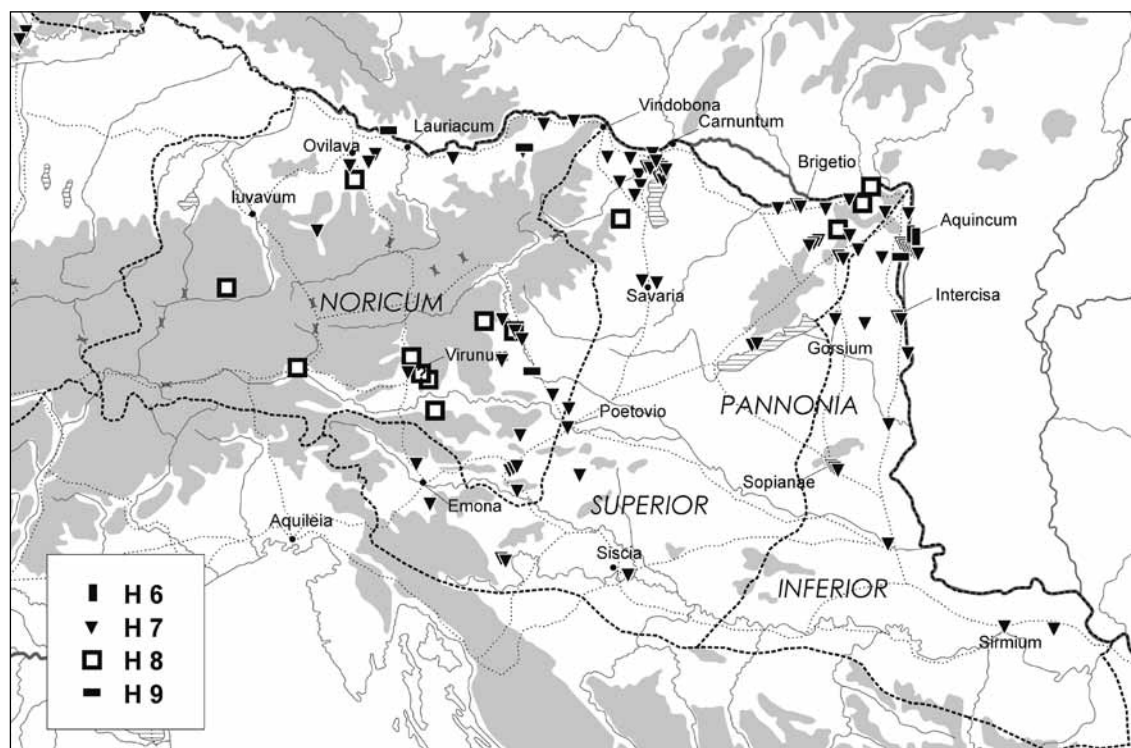
⁵⁴⁹ LUPA 17. 45–46. 49. 76. 632. 797. 1591. 2250. 2254.

⁵⁵⁰ Garbsch 1965, 18 f.; Garbsch 1985, 559. See also Mosser 2003, 364 and Urban 1984 on the Germanic influence on the Boii as a result of an entourage of Vannius settling in Pannonia in 50 AD (Tac. ann. 12, 29, 30).

⁵⁵¹ Fitz 1957.

⁵⁵² See above under »Overtunics« O 3.

⁵⁵³ LUPA 17 (2nd half 1st c.). 45 (80–150). 49 (118–150). 76 (Ner.). 632 (Traj.). 2250 (2nd half 1st c.). 2254 (2nd half 1st c.).



Map 7 Distribution of bonnets H 6–H 9

Other headwear

The final hat types are either too rare or too widespread to be assigned to a certain geographical area or ethnic group (map 7).

H 6: Turban (fig. 54)

The only two proper turbans depicted on the middle Danubian stones consist of a band of cloth wound around head and twisted in a knot above the forehead (fig. 59)⁵⁵⁴. They both come from Budapest-Aquincum (map 7), and the only one that can be dated is probably from late antiquity⁵⁵⁵.

H 7: Tight, plain bonnet (enge, schlichte Haube) (fig. 54)

This very plain bonnet consisted of a single layer of cloth and resembled a modern beret (fig. 60). It is a common style of headwear across the whole middle Danubian region (map 7)⁵⁵⁶, and is identical to bonnets found further to the west in Raetia⁵⁵⁷ and Gaul⁵⁵⁸. It is not confined to a particular period; the earliest stone showing it is from the 1st century, and the latest from the Severan period⁵⁵⁹.

⁵⁵⁴ LUPA 3052. 6519.

⁵⁵⁵ LUPA 3052.

⁵⁵⁶ LUPA 19. 21. 33. 35–36. 42–43. 53–54. 58. 65. 68. 70. 72. 77. 356. 367. 492. 583. 587–588. 597. 645. 685. 702. 737. 769. 776. 788. 818. 1229–1230. 1403. 2245. 2819. 2848. 2919. 2992. 3076. 3110. 3115. 3137. 3180. 3246. 3269. 3334. 3413. 3493. 3611. 3613. 3663. 3684. 3723. 3791. 3792. 3812. 3858. 3863. 3878. 3945. 4064. 4126. 4129. 4305. 4326. 4397. 4453. 4454. 4557. 4570. 4857. 4018. 5151. 5665–5666. 6352. 8351. 8817. 9784. 9903. 9944. 10183. 10205. 10982. 12765. 12791.

⁵⁵⁷ E.g. LUPA 6228. 6328. 6354. 15777.

⁵⁵⁸ See Rothe 2009, 45.

⁵⁵⁹ Datable stones: LUPA 33 (1st c.). 35 (70–100). 36 (80–130). 42 (225–300). 53 (Sev.).



59 Relief fragment from Budapest (LUPA 6519) showing the head of a woman wearing a turban (bonnet type H 6). Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest



60 Detail of a stele from Bábolna (LUPA 4064) showing a woman wearing a *tunica*, *palla* and plain bonnet of type H 7. Her husband wears a long-sleeved tunic and rectangular cloak/*sagum* and her daughter a *tunica* and *palla*. Podunajské múzeum v Komárne (Danube Region Museum Komárno), Inv. II 2792



61 Portrait medallion in the apsis of the church at Lendorf (LUPA 851) showing a woman wearing pectoral jewellery, plain bangles, the *modius* hat (type H 8) and the rectangular cloak pulled up over the head



62 Detail of a grave portrait in Schloss Seggau (LUPA 1340) showing a woman wearing a bodice, overtunic with pectoral jewellery, a torques with *lumula* pendant, rectangular cloak around the shoulders and a gable bonnet (type H 9)

H 8: Modius hat (Modiusmütze) (fig. 54)

The modius hat was so-called by V. von Geramb because of its resemblance to an upturned *modius*, a Roman vessel for measuring grain⁵⁶⁰. J. Garbsch then continued to use the name⁵⁶¹, and there is no reason to change it. It was essentially cylindrical in shape, widening at the top (fig. 43d; 61)⁵⁶². M. Láng considered it to have been made of leather, but we do not have any real indication of the material⁵⁶³. Garbsch dated it to the second half of the 1st century⁵⁶⁴, but new finds and new datings show that it was actually worn from the earliest Roman period in Noricum until at least the reign of Trajan⁵⁶⁵.

Garbsch considered H 8 to be a regional style of Virunum⁵⁶⁶, but failed to identify it on several stones from other parts of Noricum and Pannonia⁵⁶⁷: it is, in fact, found across the whole of Noricum and northern Pannonia, with only a slight accumulation in Virunum (map 7). As such, it must be seen as a more general piece of headwear. In 1953, L. Schmidt looked at the hat in detail, and although he considered it to be an element of Virunensian »Gautracht«⁵⁶⁸, he saw a connection to the Mediterranean *polos*, a hat associated with deities and priests in Hellenistic and Roman iconography⁵⁶⁹. Based on this, he argued that »hier in weitem Umkreis mit einer gewaltigen Sinnhaftigkeit dieser Kopfbedeckung gerechnet werden muss«, and that the women in Virunum wearing the modius hat thus embodied »einem heiligen Urbild an einer Glaubensgestalt«⁵⁷⁰. One may find this too far-fetched, but considering it was worn by only a few, select women across the region, it may indeed have represented some kind of special, perhaps religious status. This would explain the fact that several have been found in Virunum, the location of one of the region's most important sanctuaries⁵⁷¹.

H 9: Gable bonnet (Giebelhaube) (fig. 54)

Some very few women in Noricum and Pannonia wear a bonnet that appears to be flat, and folded over the head lengthways, rather like a gable-end of a roof, whereby the gable is at the forehead (fig. 62)⁵⁷². The datable monuments showing this hat date to the 2nd, perhaps also 3rd centuries⁵⁷³.

5.4 Shoes

The shoes worn by the women of the middle Danube region are more rarely seen than those of the men, as they wore longer garments that often covered the feet. For those we can see, details are rarely rendered in the stone, which suggests they may have been painted on. Unless we see the individual toes, we must assume shoes were worn, and even then sandal straps might have

⁵⁶⁰ von Geramb 1933, 192.

⁵⁶¹ Garbsch 1965, 18.

⁵⁶² LUPA 596. 693. 716. 849. 850. 851. 852. 872. 1165. 1607. 2856. 7145. 8598. 16911.

⁵⁶³ Láng 1919, 245.

⁵⁶⁴ Garbsch 1965, 18.

⁵⁶⁵ The earliest is LUPA 16911 from the Magdalensberg, which has been stratigraphically dated to the reign of Tiberius. Other datable stones: 693 (90–120). 851 (Traj.). 872 (1st/early 2nd c.). 1165 (Traj.). 2856 (70–90).

⁵⁶⁶ Garbsch 1965, 17–18; Garbsch 1985, 559 and map 4.

⁵⁶⁷ LUPA 596 (Ried) and 693 (Környe), and other stones not in his catalogue: LUPA 7145 (Neudörfl – Burgenland, Pannonia Superior). 2856 (Esztergom). 716 (Sarisap, Komárom).

⁵⁶⁸ Schmidt 1953, 653.

⁵⁶⁹ For examples see Schmidt 1953, 658 f. and priests in Palmyrene art (B. Goldman 1994). See also the wave decoration on a *modius*-like hat on LUPA 3870.

⁵⁷⁰ Schmidt 1953, 657.

⁵⁷¹ See, e.g., Alföldy 1974, 81.

⁵⁷² LUPA 350. 585. 1340. 2879. 9599. 10183.

⁵⁷³ LUPA 585 (Ant.). 1340 (100–150). 10183 (200–300).



63 Detail of the statue from Ercsi (LUPA 726) showing the woman's ›Mary Jane‹-style closed shoes. Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, Inv. 50.81.1

been added in paint. Nonetheless, a number of shoe types can be made out on some of the gravestones of the region.

Closed sandals (geschlossene Sandalen)

The full-figure statue of a woman from Ercsi depicts her wearing sandals that are closed at the front and around the side of the foot, and held with a single strap across the top, attached with some kind of button, very similar to modern ›Mary Janes‹ (fig. 63)⁵⁷⁴. They are possibly also worn by the seated figure from Wieting, although the strap would be hidden by the hem of the skirt⁵⁷⁵. The most similar shoe type found in archaeological contexts is Type Welzheim, but this has a rib seam along the front and several smaller straps⁵⁷⁶.

Plain ankle boots (schlichte Knöchelstiefel)

Women seem also to have worn the plain ankle boots that were so popular with men in this region: the fresco from Brunn am Gebirge depicts soft, plain, grey-green bootlets (fig. 28)⁵⁷⁷.

Ankle sandals (Knöchelsandalen)

The ›Mädchen‹ at Bölcske is wearing soft (leather [?]) bootlets that have a strap leading upwards from the front attached to a strap around the ankle⁵⁷⁸. They are a cross between ›Mary Janes‹ and the bootlets because of the strap running upward to the ankle.

5.5 Dress accessories and their relation to the clothing

Although this study has focussed on garments rather than dress accessories, in this final section it is important to discuss the various female dress accessories in the middle Danube region in their relationship to the garments discussed, as earlier studies, e.g. by J. Garbsch and J. Fitz, saw the two groups as inseparable and included elements of each in the set ›costumes‹ they set out for the various regions.

It has been established above that some of the native female garments such as the overtunics and the headdresses show very clear regional distributions, and often remained unchanged over long time periods. For these reasons, such garments can be seen as visual markers of local cultural identities. This, of course, begs the question as to whether they were linked to pre-Roman tribal or other ethnic identities. In some of the cases mentioned above, this would appear to be the case; some distinctive garment types are confined to a clearly-defined area. Overtunic 3, for example, is found exclusively in the northern Leitha area, while Overtunic 4 only occurs in the Danube bend (map 2). From what we know of the pre-Roman tribal groupings in these areas, one could suggest that O 3 was a marker of Boian, O 4 a marker of Eraviscan identity. On the other hand, O 3 never occurs together with the hat H 5, which is also confined to this area and as such

⁵⁷⁴ LUPA 726.

⁵⁷⁵ LUPA 2346.

⁵⁷⁶ See van Driel-Murray 2000, 150 fig. 124; 152 fig. 127.15; 153 and 342 cat. 51c.

⁵⁷⁷ LUPA 4411.

⁵⁷⁸ LUPA 818.

is an equally qualified contender for the role of Boian dress marker (map 6). We know that the Leitha area was inhabited by both remnants of the Boii and other groups, so this could simply reflect the ethnic mix in this region. Norican bonnet H 1.2 is in many ways more clearly an ethnic marker, as its distribution corresponds to that of the bulk of the ›Norican-Pannonian *tumuli*‹ and the administrative district of Flavia Solva, which was almost certainly based on standing cultural territories (map 5). Unfortunately, we know very little about the pre-Roman population of this area, and as such cannot even attempt to link the dress and the *tumuli* with a group known by name. Finally, the various types of veiling also show marked regional distributions (map 3).

It is perfectly possible, of course, that some of the regional groupings shown in the dress evolved after Roman conquest, for example as people developed a feeling of belonging centred on a main town⁵⁷⁹. But many of the distribution patterns of distinctive garments show that the cultural identities they reflected must have pre-dated the Roman boundaries: the distribution of Norican bonnet H 1.2, for example, like the ›Norican-Pannonian *tumuli*‹, ignores the eastern border of Noricum (map 5). Norican bonnet H 1.1 shows a distribution across the entire region that had once belonged to the Regnum Noricum, not only the smaller area that became the Roman province Noricum. This suggests that, unlike Pannonia further to the east, where we find no combined identities, the Norican kingdom was not only a political federation, but must also have produced a certain degree of collective identification, and that this type of women's bonnet was one form of expressing it. Moreover, the epigraphy of Pannonia in particular is striking for the survival, until well into the late 3rd century AD, of tribal ethnonyms⁵⁸⁰. Whether or not continuity was always ensured, in these cases it was certainly aspired to.

It has been important to summarise the regional, in some places perhaps tribal nature of many of the garments here, as this does not apply to the distribution of dress accessories, and as such, J. Garbsch and J. Fitz's approach of combining the garments with brooch types and belts as set regional pieces has only confounded the issue of women's dress in the Danube region. A synopsis of this material is therefore necessary for comparison.

Brooches

In none of the maps presented in Garbsch's work does the distribution of brooch types give clear evidence of the closed regional groupings⁵⁸¹ that we find with the overtunics and headwear. Some very few exceptions, such as wing brooch subtype A238l only in the area around Vindobona⁵⁸², or Doppelknopf brooch subtype A236e around Celeia⁵⁸³ do not change the overall picture gained from these maps of a very mixed distribution for virtually all brooch types. The emphasis in certain areas of some kinds is to be expected as illustrating the reach of certain metal workshops, and this also explains why they tend to extend in various directions along transport routes⁵⁸⁴. In none of these cases does it correspond to what we otherwise know of the territories of tribal/local identity groups in the region in the Roman period. Moreover, brooch types ranged widely over space and time. Large brooch groupings such as the wing brooches and Doppelknopf brooches that were common in, but *contra* Garbsch not confined to, the Alpine-Danube region in the Roman period, were worn over too wide an area to have held ethnic significance⁵⁸⁵. On the other hand, the various sub-types of these were only ever worn for a short period of time,

⁵⁷⁹ As was the case, e.g., in Cologne-Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium on the Rhine, where the epigraphy shows that a mixed population of incoming Ubii, other immigrants and perhaps the indigenous population very soon exclusively identified themselves as »Agrippinensians« (CIL III 10548; XIII 8091 [Bonn]; 8283 [Cologne]; AE 1973, 364; AE 2001, 1464 [Colijnsplaat]; AE 1988, 894; AE 1995, 1113 [provenance unknown]).

⁵⁸⁰ CIL III 10481; AE 1986, 598; AE 2003, 1416. 1418–1423.

⁵⁸¹ See Garbsch 1965, maps 6–13.

⁵⁸² Garbsch 1965, map 10.

⁵⁸³ Garbsch 1965, map 13.

⁵⁸⁴ E.g. wing brooch subtype A238o along the Danube (Garbsch 1965, map 13) or Doppelknopf brooch A236c along the Amber Road (Garbsch 1965, map 7).

⁵⁸⁵ See Garbsch 1965, maps 6–13 and Demetz 1999, maps 8–11.

usually the space of one generation⁵⁸⁶. Garbsch concentrated on only two brooch types in the region, the wing (figs. 8. 29. 30. 32. 33. 34. 47. 56. 57) and Doppelknopf (figs. 52. 53) brooches, in order to strengthen his theory of an overriding »Norisch-Pannonische Tracht«, but in reality a wide range of brooch types were worn by women in the region, including disc brooches⁵⁸⁷, pelta brooches⁵⁸⁸, »kräftig profilierte« brooches (fig. 58)⁵⁸⁹ and knee brooches (fig. 35)⁵⁹⁰, all of which were worn across a wider area of the Roman Empire.

The closest we come to a specific local type of brooch in the middle Danube region are the mask or plate brooches of eastern Pannonia⁵⁹¹ also worn at the shoulders and also not treated by Garbsch, but most recently discussed by K. Csontos⁵⁹². They were characterised by a large, flat plate in a variety of shapes, from a bow-tie form to an elongated hexagon, decorated in various styles using bead- and fretwork and often including ivy-leaf pendants hanging from the bottom (figs. 41. 55)⁵⁹³. They can be found especially in the southern part of the area usually assigned to the Eravisci in and around Tác-Gorsium, and it is thus assumed they were produced there⁵⁹⁴. The essential fact is, however, that they were only worn for a short period of time in the first half of the 2nd century AD⁵⁹⁵ alongside a vast array of other brooch types, even sometimes by women of the same family. Csontos wished to suppose that the origins of these brooches were »to be found in an earlier period« but admitted that there was no evidence for this⁵⁹⁶. In reality they were a whimsy of fashion: while pendants on brooches were produced in the middle Danube region at various stages in time⁵⁹⁷, the ivy-leaf pendants show an Eastern influence that also appears on glazed pan handles of the region of the 2nd century⁵⁹⁸, while the cicada ornamentation of others came from the Mediterranean⁵⁹⁹, and the plate shapes themselves were probably taken from early military belt mounts⁶⁰⁰. Local metalworkers in the provinces picked up new ideas for forms and ornamentation from all over the empire, and used them to create ever-new forms for people to buy⁶⁰¹. If each different brooch type were to symbolise a different ethnic group, we must assume a rapid change in the composition of these groups over time periods of less than a generation, which would negate the whole idea of cultural identity in the first place. On the gravestones from the middle Danube region we, in fact, see women from the same area, even the same family, and as such for which a shared cultural identity can be assumed, wearing a variety of different brooches. A relief of a family from Dunaujváros is a good example of this: it shows a man with two women wearing identical clothes and headdresses, but the one on the right uses mask

⁵⁸⁶ Garbsch 1985, figs. 4–5.

⁵⁸⁷ E.g. LUPA 881.

⁵⁸⁸ E.g. LUPA 685.

⁵⁸⁹ E.g. 837. 878. 1267. 1609.

⁵⁹⁰ E.g. LUPA 448. 1159. 1202. 1260. 1719. As such, the characterisation of these as »Soldatenfibel« (e.g. Böhme 1972, 52 f.) is obsolete. For suggestions and some lively discussion as to the dating of this key brooch type, see Jobst 1975, 59–68; Sedlmayer 1995, 43–50; Gugl 1995, 35; Jütting 1995, 192; Cociş 2004, 90–97; Kortüm – Lauber 2004, 183. 268; Weber 2007, 179–181; Schmid 2010.

⁵⁹¹ Fitz called these »bow« brooches: Fitz 1957.

⁵⁹² Csontos 1997/98; Csontos 2003.

⁵⁹³ See, e.g., LUPA 734. 3586.

⁵⁹⁴ Csontos 1997/98, 161; Fitz 1957. These brooches are also found in graves in the area, e.g. Felsőcikola grave 1: Bónis 1977, fig. 1; and Máty: Fitz-Petres 1965, figs. 26. 33.

⁵⁹⁵ Csontos 1997/98, 161; Fitz 1957.

⁵⁹⁶ Csontos 1997/98, 159.

⁵⁹⁷ E.g. Franz 1953, 677–686: A86 brooch with three loops on the spiral for three little chains holding punched bronze foil pendants in the shape of arrow heads (fig. 2.1). Also a »Zangenfibel« from Riva on Lake Garda has such pendants (Mus. Innsbruck, Inv. 3539). Pendants also found in Norican chest ornamentation, e.g. on that of Isis Noreia from Klagenfurt (fig. 37) and hanging from some types of »Krebsschwanzfibeln« (e.g. Demetz 1999, pl. 39, 2).

⁵⁹⁸ Csontos 1997/98, 161.

⁵⁹⁹ Bónis 1977, 37; Csontos 2003. See also Vinski 1957 for a detailed discussion of cicada ornamentation as a whole.

⁶⁰⁰ Csontos 1997/98.

⁶⁰¹ See also Facsády 2001b, 47.

brooches to fasten her overtunic, while the one on the left uses large wing brooches (fig. 32)⁶⁰². Although it appears that a matching pair was aspired to, the brooches worn at the shoulders of the overtunic could even be two different types⁶⁰³. The variety in brooch types worn in specific regions is consistent with the multifarious brooch assemblages acquired from the corresponding archaeological contexts⁶⁰⁴.

We should also not assume that all the women of a specific cultural group could afford especially the larger metal brooch types; it is likely that a variety of fastenings were used to hold the overtunic at the shoulders, even perhaps pins of perishable material like bone, as has been suggested by M. Bíró based, among other things, on a find of a bone pin at the shoulder of a man coupled with the ubiquity of bone pins in settlement and grave contexts⁶⁰⁵, and has been assumed by G. Owen-Crocker for Anglo-Saxon dress as well⁶⁰⁶. The fact that we do not see such irregular fastenings on the gravestones is not a problem for the theory *per se*: the lower classes are in any case invisible in the funerary art. In 2001, A. Facsády made the comment that the native clothing styles in Budapest were worn by all social classes (albeit interpreting the ›girls‹ as servants or slaves) but that differences in class were visible in ›la richesse et le décor des bijoux‹⁶⁰⁷. It is certainly true that a different aesthetic sensibility influenced dress choice amongst the native inhabitants of the middle Danube – the sheer quantity of metal fastenings and jewellery depicted on the stones and found in graves is un-Roman in character, and something that struck Latin authors as a trait of Celtic-speaking peoples in general⁶⁰⁸. As sceptical as one might be about such text passages, this impression is difficult to disprove from the evidence we have of metalwork in La Tène contexts! However, the fact remains that a wide variety of brooches were used to fasten the overtunic in the middle Danube region, and these changed rapidly in style over time. As such, they represented an element of transience in an otherwise long-standing and deep-rooted native dress ensemble.

Jewellery

What applies to dress fastenings themselves, applies even more so to jewellery in general. Characteristic of women's dress in the middle Danube region was a fondness for pectoral jewellery in a variety of forms (e.g. figs. 9. 33. 37. 41. 61. 62). It usually consisted of various brooches set in symmetrical formations across the chest, sometimes with hanging pendants and often joined by chains. (In some depictions these look like cords, but could be the cord-like woven metal chains known from archaeological contexts⁶⁰⁹.) Disc brooches of various kinds seem to have been particularly popular in this role. The woman in the medallion portrait at Lendorf is one of the more spectacular examples of this (fig. 61)⁶¹⁰, and G. Piccottini has presented an overview of variations in this type in schematic form⁶¹¹, stating that it was particularly typical of southern Noricum⁶¹². However, disc brooches and chains are also used as pectoral jewellery further east

⁶⁰² LUPA 734.

⁶⁰³ E.g. Sedlmayer 1995, 95 f. and pl. 12 (cremation grave at Lichtenegg); LUPA 1127 (gravestone from Egerndach) with two different types of wing brooch.

⁶⁰⁴ See the array of brooch types found in individual Roman settlements, e.g. Demetz 1999; Sedlmayer 1995; Sedlmayer 2009; Jobst 1975; Gugl 1995.

⁶⁰⁵ Bíró 2003, 89–102. See also Tacitus' comment that the German cloak could be fastened using a thorn (Tac. Germ. 17).

⁶⁰⁶ Owen-Crocker 2010, 46. See also the comments made in Bujna 1982, that in mid-La Tène graves in Pannonia high status women had full metal belts, those lower down some metal, and those of the lower classes none at all.

⁶⁰⁷ Facsády 2001b, 43. Textiles may also have distinguished class: G. Owen-Crocker also found status distinction in the quality of cloth used in early Anglo-Saxon dress (Owen-Crocker 2010, 320).

⁶⁰⁸ E.g. Strab. 4, 4, 5. See also discussion in Čremošnik 1964, 769 and 772 (perhaps dated terminology but still relevant conclusions).

⁶⁰⁹ E.g. Roman cabinets, Wels, Stadtmuseum.

⁶¹⁰ LUPA 851.

⁶¹¹ Piccottini 1980, 64 fig. 1.

⁶¹² Piccottini 1980, 67.



64 Detail of a portrait medallion from the Zollfeld (LUPA 834) showing a woman wearing a brooch in the shape of an acorn at her chest. Stadtmuseum, Sankt Veit

in Pannonia⁶¹³, and overall, a wide variety of brooch forms were used in pectoral jewellery, including in southern Noricum: The chest ornament found in a house that burnt down on the Magdalensberg in the early Claudian period consisted of different lengths of chain and brooches of various types: one large and six small Aucissa brooches (type Ettlinger 29), one wheel brooch (type Ettlinger 40/1) and one rosette disc brooch with fretwork and glass paste in the middle, all dating to the Claudian period⁶¹⁴. The only arguably regional style in this respect are perhaps the large rings that appear to hang from brooches that are found mainly on eastern Pannonian stones (figs. 39. 58), along with the wheel-shaped objects (brooches [?]) set across the chest on many depictions from the same region (fig. 32)⁶¹⁵.

However, even these were only worn for a particular period in the 2nd century, and as such are more likely to represent a temporary fashion than an important ethnic symbol⁶¹⁶. In many ways a simplified version of the pectoral jewellery was the practice of wearing one or more brooches in the middle of the chest, often, as the drapery suggests, holding the overtunic to the bodice underneath, but otherwise performing a purely ornamental function. Again, a wide variety of brooch types were used for this: disc brooches⁶¹⁷, pelta brooches⁶¹⁸, »kräftig profilierte« brooches (e.g. fig. 29)⁶¹⁹, even a unique acorn-shaped brooch is used on a stone from Virunum (fig. 64)⁶²⁰ or, increasingly during the course of the 2nd century, knee brooches (e.g. figs. 35. 52)⁶²¹. As a concept, pectoral jewellery with chains had a long history in the native dress of central Europe, and can already be found in archaeological contexts in the early-mid Iron Age⁶²². The fact that it is almost never found in graves suggests that it may have been passed down to the next generation; nonetheless, its ever-changing constituent parts were subject to the vicissitudes of fashion, also from Rome, and as such it can be seen more as a manifestation of central European metal-workers' inventiveness and joy in their material, a joy that their customers obviously shared. It does not tell us anything about the finer details of ethnic identity groups⁶²³.

⁶¹³ E.g. LUPA 448. 734. 1901. 3586. 3214.

⁶¹⁴ G. Piccottini attempts a reconstruction based on the parts (that were all rolled together and not in any set combination) in Piccottini 1980, figs. 2 and 3 (see also Sedlmayer 2009, 79 fig. 50).

⁶¹⁵ E.g. LUPA 734. 5956.

⁶¹⁶ Similarly, K. Kusmová's analysis of torques in Pannonian funerary relief art failed to identify any meaningful regional grouping (Kusmová 2008).

⁶¹⁷ E.g. LUPA 881.

⁶¹⁸ E.g. LUPA 685.

⁶¹⁹ E.g. LUPA 837. 878. 1267. 1315. 1609.

⁶²⁰ LUPA 834.

⁶²¹ E.g. LUPA 448. 1159. 1202. 1260. 1719. 5871.

⁶²² Northern Italy, Pannonia, Illyricum, Thrace (Jacobsthal 1956, 117), Greece (Jacobsthal 1956, fig. 647) and Bulgaria (the Orehovo find from the 5th c. BC: Jacobsthal 1956, fig. 642). The chains were especially popular in the mid La Tène period (e.g. Manching: Krämer 1961, 314 pl. 43, 2–3): an exemplar in Innsbruck from San Zeno in Italy (Inv. 13.631, Franz 1953, 681 fig. 3) has an »Armbrustspiralfibel I« (Demetz 1999, 151 f. and pl. 28, 1) dating to the mid-late 1st c. B.C. and an early imperial Cernisola IIb joined by two chains with *bullae*-shaped pendants hanging off them. See Franz 1953 for further pre-Roman forms. For Illyricum and an intriguing, but not entirely convincing, postulation of continuity into the modern era in the Balkans, see Čremošnik 1967; Čremošnik 1969.

⁶²³ A similar conclusion has recently been reached for the migration period by von Rummel 2007, esp. 34–55.

A wide range of other jewellery items was worn by native women in the middle Danube region, a detailed discussion of which would go beyond the scope of this study. Typical of Iron-Age Europe, torques of various kinds were worn throughout the region and beyond, very often either in a twisted style (e.g. figs. 18. 56. 57) or plain with a *lunula* pendant hanging from the middle (e.g. figs. 29. 49. 52. 62)⁶²⁴, a feature which, as H. Wrede has shown, was specific to neither the Roman nor the Celtic cultural spheres⁶²⁵, and, related to these, metal bangles that were predominantly plain in form (e.g. figs. 58. 61)⁶²⁶ but could also be studded (figs. 18. 56. 57). Earrings of various kinds were worn (in eastern Pannonia for a time particularly large pendant earrings were⁶²⁷), but the Roman habit of wearing finger rings was adopted by relatively few women⁶²⁸. A jewellery item that is found throughout the ancient Mediterranean is the hair-part decoration (in German more elegantly: ›Scheitelschmuck‹), usually worn by young girls and consisting of a band decorated with ivy leaf and *lunula* pendants, suggesting it had an apotropaic function (fig. 65)⁶²⁹. As varied as all these jewellery types were, however, in no case were specific types worn for long enough in a certain local region for one to be able to see them as anything indicative of specific ethnic identities.



65 Detail of a grave relief in Aquincum (LUPA 2848) showing the top of the head of a girl wearing ›Scheitelschmuck‹. Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 64.10.8.

Belts

The same may be applied to belts. Although a variety of these were worn in the middle Danube region, in his book of 1965, J. Garbsch focussed his attention on a special belt with three straps hanging from the clasp depicted on gravestones (figs. 34. 35. 37. 39), but that can also be identified in archaeological contexts because it was decorated with fretwork plates and other metal appliqués (fig. 66). The fretwork plates and ›boat‹ appliqués were first put together as a belt ensemble by L. Nagy in 1928, who characterised the belt as ›pannonisch-norisch‹⁶³⁰; it was

⁶²⁴ E.g. LUPA 301. 305. 307. 384. 429. 471. 483. 593. 630. 728. 793. 831. 833–834. 837–838. 840. 842. 846–847. 878. 881–883. 899. 1067. 1151. 1159. 1202–3. 1206. 1212–1213. 1219. 1222. 1260. 1267. 1271. 1315. 1333–1334. 1341. 1350. 1402. 1414. 1424. 1446. 1453. 1457. 1460. 1487. 1489–90. 1550. 1606–1607. 1609. 1623–1624. 1757. 1901. 2139. 2346. 2779. 2787. 2879. 2883. 3616. 3626. 3723. 3736. 4041. 4382. 4628–9. 4825. 9083. 9965. 12802. 13333.

⁶²⁵ Wrede 1975. Cf. Láng 1919, 213 who saw them as Celtic and Faber – Jilek 2006, 154 who see them as Roman.

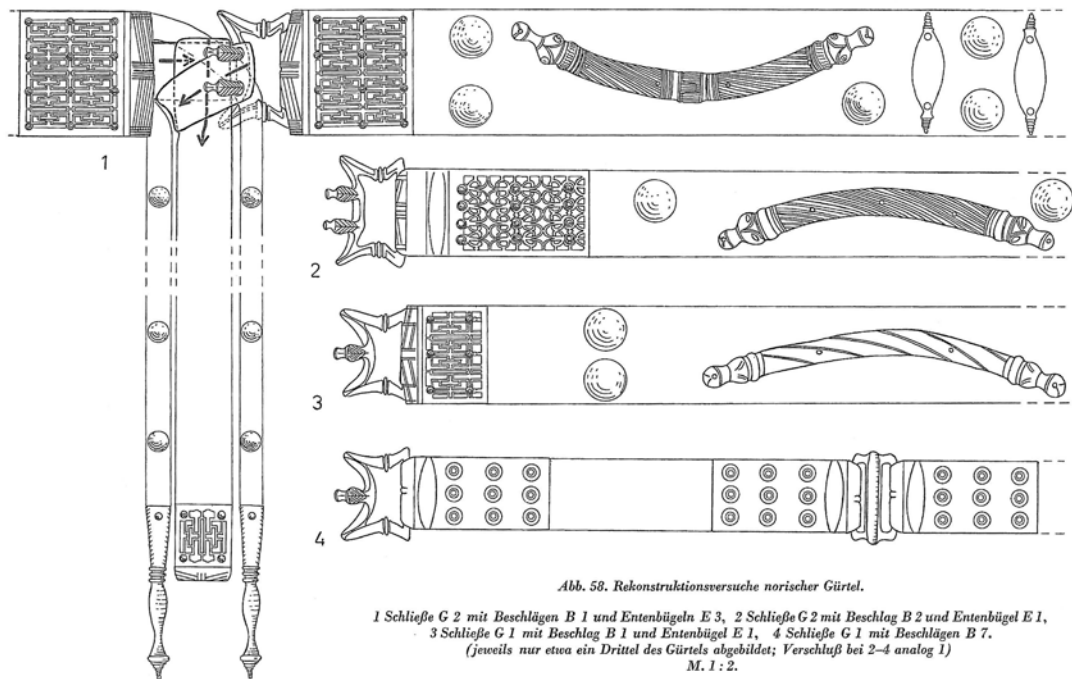
⁶²⁶ These are worn in almost every female image in the region – it is unnecessary to list them.

⁶²⁷ See most recently Facsády 2008, 229–242.

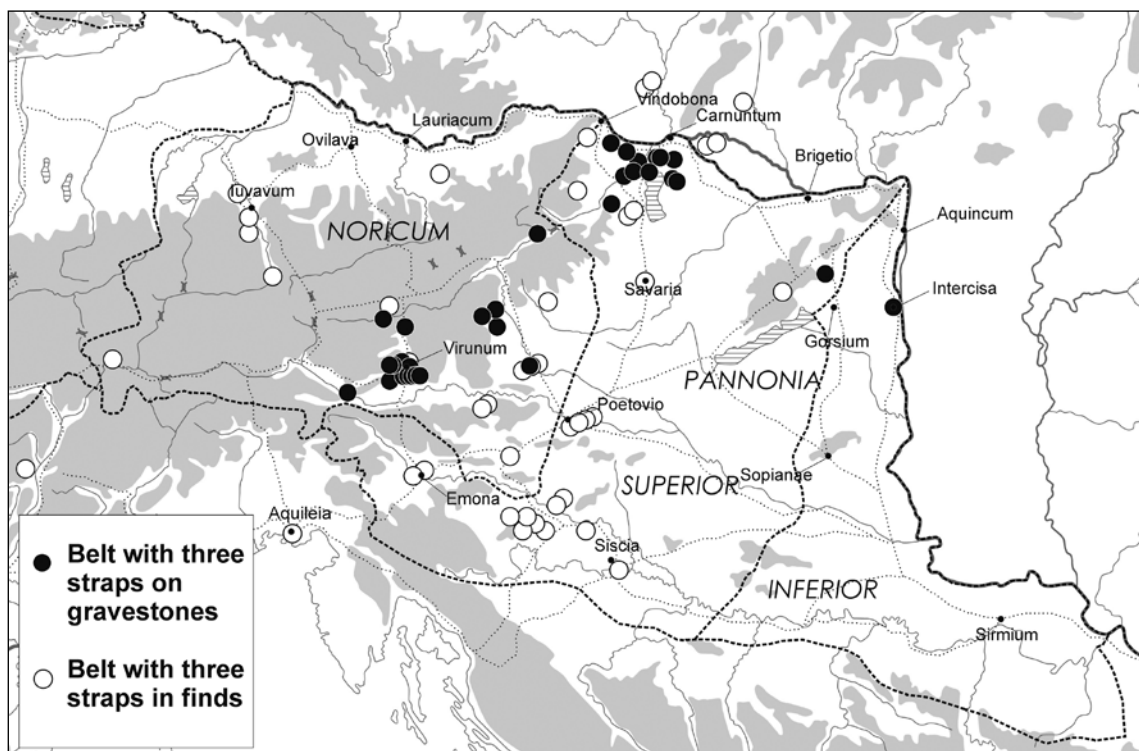
⁶²⁸ LUPA 448. 851. 1338. 1901. 2848. 3770. 11573.

⁶²⁹ E.g. LUPA 2848. 3062. 4575. For a neighbouring region see also a gravestone for a girl in Zenica in Bosnia (Čremošnik 1963, 108 fig. 3). It is otherwise found in the Rhineland (often worn by the middle figure on votive stones for the *matronae*), Italy, Greece, Syria and Egypt. Originals have been found in Pergamon, Homs, Lyon, Enzen nr. Euskirchen, Atschar (Bulg.), Tunis and Southfleet. For examples and a comprehensive treatment see Hahl 1960, who suggests the Latin term may have been *discriminale* or *discerniculum* based especially on Gloss. Plac. 5, 62, 10, where these are described as *ornamentum capitis virginis* and *muliebris* (p. 32–34).

⁶³⁰ Nagy 1928, 347. The boomerang-shaped appliqués, on the other hand, he says were linked to the torques (p. 347).



66 J. Garbsch's reconstruction of the three-strapped belt with metal appliqués



Map 8 Distribution of belt with three straps on monuments and in finds (based on Garbsch 1965, maps 14-16)

then discussed further by R. Noll, but without the straps and strap ends⁶³¹. Garbsch then added the horseshoe-shaped appliqués and the strap ends and presented it as a main component of his »Norisch-Pannonische Tracht«⁶³². A. Faber and S. Jilek have most recently looked at the belt in more detail. They have suggested that the closest thing in the immediate pre-Roman period to the metal fretwork, which in itself is typically La Tène in aesthetic⁶³³, were a certain type of late La Tène sword sheath⁶³⁴, but that the belt plates in the form we see them in the Roman period do not have any antecedents in late La Tène dress in the region, neither for men nor for women, and that they were thus »sicher innovativ«⁶³⁵. This, however, is in stark contrast to belt types in the pre-Roman period that show clear specific regional distributions and as such could be seen as »stammesbezogene Tracht«⁶³⁶. And indeed, belts do appear to have been indicators of ethnic identity in the European Iron Age, in contrast to brooches, the distribution of which tended to be spread across several regions⁶³⁷. The Heimstetten material is also interesting in this context⁶³⁸. The fact that the Heimstetten graves are – unusually – inhumations of women points to this being a relatively coherent group of people in a narrow time frame. It is noteworthy, then, that they wore a wide range of different brooches⁶³⁹, although the positions of these on the body show that they were being used to fasten very similar garments, the basic European female ensemble under discussion here, in fact⁶⁴⁰. Interestingly, they all have very similar belts (the »Sprossengürtelhaken« belt), suggesting that in this case also, they were related to regional identity. The author of the Realenzyklopädie article on belts also concluded that in all likelihood, »für die Verwendung von G[ürtel]n nicht die gleichen Kriterien galten wie für Fibeln«⁶⁴¹. He points out, however, that by the Roman period the belt type distributions tended to be more mixed and no longer connected to ethnic groups⁶⁴².

Certainly on the Roman gravestones from the middle Danube region we have no indication that the belts worn by the women had any significance as ethnic markers. Garbsch's belt with three straps, which he claims was a central component of his Norican-Pannonian costume as a whole⁶⁴³, can only actually be found in any quantity in eastern Noricum and western Pannonia, with a more sparse outer dispersal to the east and west further into those two provinces, north into neighbouring Germany and south into north-east Italy (map 8). It was, however, worn alongside a vast array of other types of belt:

⁶³¹ Noll 1957.

⁶³² Garbsch 1965, 79–114.

⁶³³ Lenerz-de Wilde 1977; Künzl 1994. For this reason, Nagy saw in the belt a »Fortleben der Latène-Kultur« that »zu Anfang der römischen Kaiserzeit wieder auflebt« (Nagy 1928, 347).

⁶³⁴ Werner 1977. For a description of how such fretwork plates were made, see Fürhacker 1994.

⁶³⁵ Faber – Jilek 2006, 154. They go on to suggest that the straps were inspired by Roman military »apron belts« and as such the components for this female belt were taken from the »männlichste aller antiken Welten, der Welt der Krieger und Soldaten« (Faber – Jilek 2006, 156). However, they themselves point out in footnote 42 that soldiers' equipment was in a state of flux in the late Republican period, borrowing bits and pieces from various groups they were in contact with (e.g. Iberian daggers, Celtic horse-riding equipment: Bishop – Coulston 1993, 61). They also point out that Roman military equipment in the Augustan period was heavily influenced by recruits for the northern campaigns, especially from northern Italy (Faber – Jilek 2006, 154 f.).

⁶³⁶ Faber – Jilek 2006, 153.

⁶³⁷ Müller 1999, 159.

⁶³⁸ See generally Reinecke 1957; Garbsch 1974; Keller 1984; Volpert 2001.

⁶³⁹ Keller 1984, 12 excludes the brooches as »gruppentypische Elemente« because they are so varied and found also outside the region. E.g. Heimstetten grave 1: »Scharnierflügelfibeln«, thistle brooch and an eye brooch (Keller 1984, pl. 4); Heimstetten grave 3: pair Doppelknopf brooches, animal-head brooch, »kräftig profilierte« brooch A67 and an Aucissa brooch (Keller 1984, pls. 7–8); Dietramszell-Bairawies: pair of large wing brooches (Keller 1984, pl. 2).

⁶⁴⁰ Keller 1984, pl. 16.

⁶⁴¹ Müller 1999, 159.

⁶⁴² Müller 1999, 166.

⁶⁴³ E.g. Garbsch 1985, 554.

- The cord belt (Schnurgürtel), made with one or two strands and tied at the waist, or more typically under the bust, in a knot (e.g. figs. 22. 51)⁶⁴⁴. This is identical to the Roman women's belt and is often worn with a Roman *tunica*.
- The tablet belt (Täfelchengürtel), consisting of linked rectangular metal plates with rosette decoration⁶⁴⁵.
- The studded belt with tapered hook (Sprossengürtelhaken) characteristic of the Heimstetten group in Raetia⁶⁴⁶, but also found in Pannonia (e.g. fig. 67)⁶⁴⁷.
- The sash belt (Schärpengürtel), a smooth band, 3–6 cm wide that was most likely, from its appearance, made out of cloth but may also have been made of leather (e.g. fig. 30). It has no visible fastening, suggesting that either the details were painted on, or it was tied at the back⁶⁴⁸.
- The hidden belt (versteckter Gürtel), in which the belt is worn underneath the overtunic such that it forms a bulge out the top, but the belt itself is hidden (figs. 32. 41. 52. 57)⁶⁴⁹. Various different types of belt could have been used to achieve this effect, but it is listed here as a separate style because it was the effect itself that seems to have been of significance, not what was used to achieve it.



67 Detail of a stele from Bruckneudorf (LUPA 71) showing a girl wearing a belt with a tapered buckle. Hansági Múzeum, Mosonmagyaróvár, Inv. 68.1

None of these displays any kind of conspicuous regional grouping (map 9). The accumulation of the cord belt in south-east Noricum reflects a general popularity in this region of Roman-style *tunicae*, and as such cannot be seen as a native ethnic marker. The sash belt was marginally more popular in eastern Pannonia than elsewhere, but this is not clear-cut. In all, the belts appear, like the brooches and jewellery, to have been subject to taste.

Most sociologists refer to ›fashion‹ as a modern phenomenon resulting from the development of a specifically Western style of consumerist economy⁶⁵⁰. It is assumed that only the modern world has brought forth the degree of social mobility needed for fashion, which is fuelled by competition, to occur. But Roman society was characterised by a high degree of social mobility, certainly in comparison to other pre-modern societies, and most certainly displayed a preoccupation with fashion, mostly in the form of hairstyles and beard types. The various prerequisites

⁶⁴⁴ E.g. LUPA 18. 482. 495. 591. 608. 727–728. 835. 887. 897. 902. 904. 914. 1271. 1286. 1328. 1331. 1371. 1427. 1609. 1711. 1717. 2111. 2307. 2371. 2408. 3619. 4156. 4634. 4641. 5667. 6841. 8024.

⁶⁴⁵ E.g. LUPA 3974.

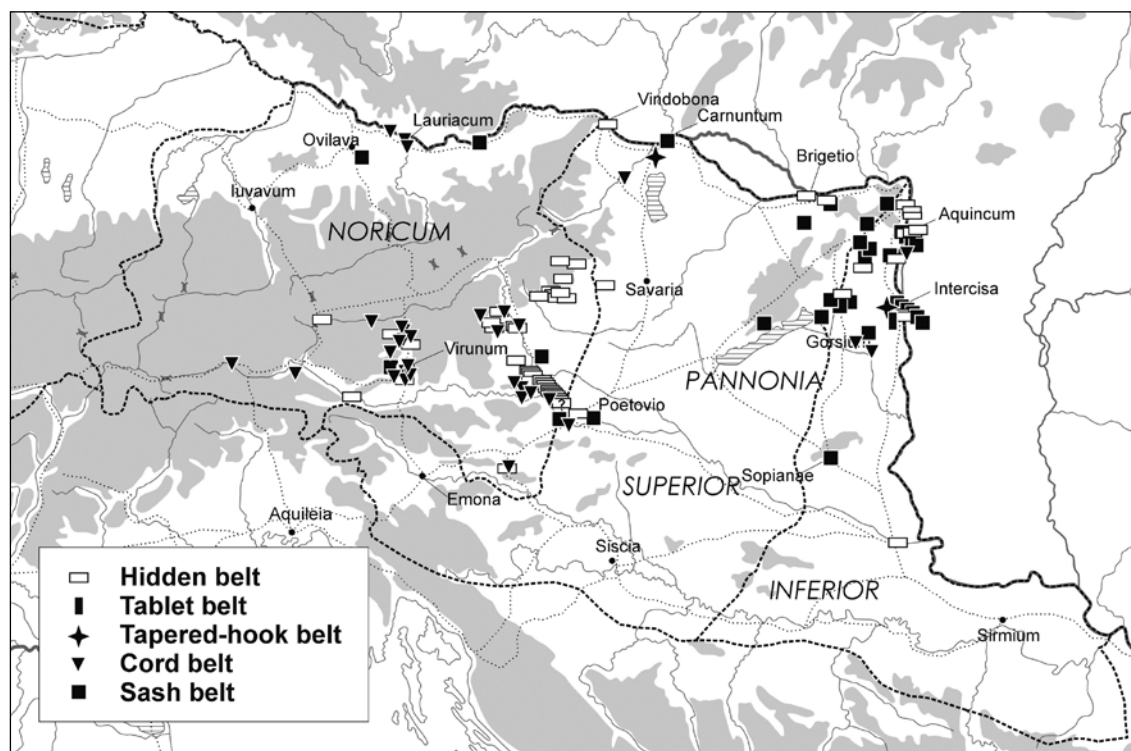
⁶⁴⁶ See above.

⁶⁴⁷ E.g. LUPA 71. 3562.

⁶⁴⁸ E.g. LUPA 62. 399. 691. 715. 717. 770. 776. 788. 802. 1306. 2779. 3112. 3136. 3213. 3217. 3781. 3945. 3956. 4027. 4051. 7017. 9844. 10830.

⁶⁴⁹ E.g. good examples: LUPA 1206. 726. 734. Other examples: LUPA 1160. 1202 (?). 1203. 1204. 1219. 1222. 4825. 8511.

⁶⁵⁰ See, e.g., Barnes – Eicher 1992, 23; Davis 1992, 16 f.; Entwistle 2000, 43. For a notable exception, see König 1973, 49.



Map 9 Distribution of belts on monuments in the middle Danube region

for fashion mentioned in the sociological literature can, however, also be found in the middle Danube region, particularly with regard to the dress accessories:

- change in dress styles that is deliberate and conscious (the rapidity of change in, e.g., the brooch styles in the middle Danube region cannot have escaped the wearers' attention; they were subject to the creative impulses of the workshops)
- ›change for change's sake‹ (none of variations in style in, e.g., brooches or belts appear to have been based on practical considerations; quite the contrary, most were purely aesthetic)
- an element of personal selection in the choices made (this was clearly the case in the middle Danube region, especially where women of the same family wore different sets of jewellery)
- the ability of wearers to access knowledge of what is fashionable (brooch workshops were located in most major settlements and the new styles they devised will soon have been visible when women began to wear them)⁶⁵¹.

Thus characterised, the dress accessories worn by women on gravestones in the middle Danube region stand in striking contrast to the garments themselves; the latter were characterised by far greater longevity and regional specificity, as shown in the previous chapter. For this reason, the dress accessories and the attested garments of the middle Danube region must be regarded as separate categories, rather than forced together into set costumes. The information that can be won from the dress accessories is multifarious, but very different in nature, and as such must be the subject of independent investigation⁶⁵².

⁶⁵¹ These criteria have been compiled from established literature on the subject, in particular König 1973; Davis 1992; Entwistle 2000.

⁶⁵² For a more comprehensive discussion of these issues, see Rothe 2013.

6. Conclusion

The funerary art of Noricum and Pannonia reveals a variety in the dress worn by its inhabitants in the Roman period that is unmatched in the surviving evidence for any other region of the empire. The very complexity of especially the native women's dress shows that there was no such thing as a ›Noric-Pannonian national costume‹, only a myriad of local styles. The hats and overtunics especially show closed regional groupings that almost certainly expressed local cultural (tribal [?]) identities, or in the case of the Norican bonnet perhaps an amalgamated identity within the original borders of the *Regnum Noricum*, but they show variations in distribution from one another, and can rarely be put together in paired ›sets‹. The native female ensemble itself was a garment combination with a long history in Europe, and in no way confined to Noricum and Pannonia. The styles of jewellery with which it was worn, on the other hand, were fleeting in character and never really regionally specific. They were subject to passing influences and expressed an element of fashion-consciousness and individuality. While for women we can map out not only the native and Roman components in the dress, but also finer regional groupings, the men's dress was far less varied, and even distinguishing native from Roman is hampered by the fact that some of the key garments were apparently common to both spheres. It is clear that, in this region, it fell to the women to express local identities in their dress.

However, when looking at the dress of Rome's provinces we need to get away from the folkloristic idea of ›costumes‹ consisting of a prescribed, full set of components, because to do that is to forget the way dress works, and has always worked. Every individual chooses from the items available to them what he or she will put together to create an intended effect, and the messages that are communicated in a single dress ensemble can be manifold, depending on the combination of items that are chosen. Even in those regions of the modern world in which ›traditional‹ dress is worn, and even then on ›traditional‹ occasions such as festivals, individuals routinely choose to omit certain items, or to add western or other elements to their dress in order to communicate their stance with regard to their ethnicity, their personal taste and their knowledge of wider fashions⁶⁵³. Certainly, some dress items in Noricum and Pannonia, such as hats and overtunics, appear to have been linked to specific cultural groups, and the fact that they are worn on the gravestones must surely mean that the identity they communicated held great significance for the people who wore them. Likewise, the sheer volume of such depictions in especially this region tells us a great deal about the importance to these people of self-representation. But to assign a comprehensive set of ›national costumes‹ to the women of the middle Danube region is to turn them from human beings into museum curiosities, a role they neither live up to nor deserve. Only by starting from the basic elements of the dress and looking at which of these was chosen by each individual one by one will we be able to gain an insight into the true complexity of social and cultural identities in the middle Danube region in the first three centuries AD.

⁶⁵³ See, e.g., for India: Dar 1969, 75–78; Tarlo 1996, 46 and note 17; 48 f.; for Indonesia: van Dijk 1997, 69.

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References of figures: Maps 1–9: U. Rothe; figs. 1. 4–8. 13. 19. 23. 25. 27. 28. 30. 32. 33. 37. 39. 43. 46. 47. 52. 53. 55. 59. 60: Photographs O. Harl; figs. 2. 3. 9. 10–12. 14. 15. 17. 18. 20–22. 24. 29. 34. 35. 38. 40–42. 48–51. 54. 56–58. 62–65. 67: Photographs U. Rothe; fig. 16: Amt für Archäologie Thurgau, drawing Eva Belz, photo Daniel Steiner; fig. 36: Photograph ChrisO; fig. 45: Photograph KHM Vienna; fig. 61: Photograph J. Jaritz; fig. 66: after Garbsch 1965, 111 fig. 58.

Abstract

Ursula Rothe, Clothing in the Middle Danube provinces. The garments, their origins and their distribution

The Roman middle Danube provinces of Noricum, Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior have yielded an extraordinary number of gravestones from the Roman period, often including relief portraits of the deceased. The spectacular native dress worn especially by the local women has long been considered a characteristic aspect of the region's culture in the Roman period. Nonetheless, it has not been treated to a detailed analysis since J. Garbsch's study of 1965, and has never been covered in a comprehensive manner. This article provides a typology of all dress items – both men's and women's, Roman and native – that appear on the middle Danubian gravestones. It seeks to outline how these garments and ensembles may have evolved and what significance they may have held for the people who wore them.

Keywords

Dress – Noricum – Pannonia – Funerary Art