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The Roman Toga: The Social Effects of Materiality

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Classics

by

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September 2018

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Aerynn T. T. Dighton

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ABSTRACT

The Roman Toga: The Social Effects of Materiality

Aerynn T. T. Dighton

The social meanings of the Roman toga, in all their nuances and varieties, arise not arbitrarily from culture and custom, but, as shown in this dissertation, are shaped by the materiality of the toga and its components. Inspired by current approaches in material culture studies which center on the materiality of objects and their interactions with human bodies and behaviors, this project brings together a wide variety of literary and artistic sources, from the first century B.C.E. to the late-second century C.E. and beyond, in an examination of how togas are represented in the performance of their function as signs of identity. This analysis explains the material bases for the toga's many uses as a marker of social identity, adding a wealth of complexity and nuance to the current image of the toga as a symbol of citizenship, masculinity, and Roman-ness.

An important contribution of this study is its insight into how the toga functioned as a unifying sign of citizenship, one which identified gradations of social status only by subtleties in materiality. The all-white *toga pura* marked a 'Roman citizen' as someone integrated within a homogeneous group, with the fabric ostensibly concealing his individuality and his particular origin or status beneath a visual quality of sameness. High rank was indicated only by the addition of prestigious purple dye, making a toga no longer *pura* but *praetexta*, and by small variations in other garments such as the tunic and shoes. Nevertheless, slight physical differences in the toga's fabric, such as its whiteness or

comfort level, were used in nuanced ways to indicate other markers of identity, especially wealth, to a discerning Roman audience. As a result, the toga could mark its wearer as ‘elite’ in artistic and literary sources, but just as often, it could also reveal him to be impoverished, servile in origin, or rustic.

The toga signified more than simply citizenship in Roman society. The garment was also a sign of ‘masculinity’: this study explains how its drape accentuated bodily characteristics that were gendered male, and also why transparent togas signified promiscuity and effeminacy instead. The fabric of the toga both indicated and materially enforced ‘peace’—except when it was adjusted for fighting, perhaps to imply that the upcoming violence was a civic duty. Changes in fashion served to differentiate the elite from non-elites or ‘dandies’ from more conservative dressers, as several scholars have pointed out, but in addition, this study shows how style changes also reflected shifting ideas about ideal bodily movement. In addition, many researchers have noted that various types of toga were important components of several rituals that marked social transitions, but the materiality which lies beneath their different meanings is explained here. From the brilliance of the purple-and-gold *toga picta* to the dark wool and filth of mourning dress, very specific changes in the toga’s materials signaled a shift in status, a new phase of life, or a civic crisis. Any variation in the toga—its fiber, fabric, drape, dyes, and surface treatments—resulted in new social meanings which were largely shaped by the physical characteristics of these substances, particularly by the effects such qualities had upon the wearer’s body.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Many historians call the toga “the quintessential symbol of the Roman people and of Roman masculinity in particular.”¹ The word “toga” in ancient texts often also serves as a sign of something else: peacetime, civic duty, the act of taking office, or a rite of passage. How the toga acted as a symbol in literary and artistic contexts has been well explored. This dissertation, influenced by new approaches in material culture studies, looks beyond what a toga looked like, how styles changed, what the different types were, or what togas represent in a particular author or genre of Roman literature. Foundational to this study is Bjørnar Olsen’s observation that “even when things join language and participate as signs in a system of communication, their actual form or material substance is far from an arbitrary quality; their very significance actually depends on their intrinsic characteristics.”² This approach frames the primary question of this dissertation: what roles *did* the materiality of the toga play in the construction of its diverse meanings?

¹ Dolansky 2008: 32. For example, the toga is “the quintessential Roman male garment” (Harlow 2004: 47), “the dress that quintessentially defined Romanness” (Edmondson 2008: 25), “the quintessential garment of social distinction and Roman identity” (George 2008: 94), “the quintessential Roman article... worn by those seeking to affirm their quintessential Roman identities” (Rothfus 2010: 432), “a quintessential symbol of one’s Romanness” (Olson 2014a: 186), “the quintessential Roman garment” (Olson 2014b: 426), or “quintessential Roman male attire” (Olson 2014b: 429).

² Olsen 2010: 157. In the Peircian semiotic system, a physical thing can be a ‘Sign’ (e.g., orientation of a weathervane) that indicates the ‘Object,’ which exists outside the interpreter (the direction of the wind) and the ‘Interpretant,’ the connection the interpreter makes between the Sign and Object (how to hit a golf ball), which varies based on the interpreter’s context (location, cultural background, previous experience, etc.; cf. Harris and Cipolla 2017: 116-119). While the Peircian system is a useful way of thinking about the construction of meaning, in this study the terms Sign, Object, and Interpretant would create confusion and will not be used.

Answers are found through close examination of the toga as an object that had a tangible existence and symbolic significance, both in Roman lives and in their literature and art. In this dissertation, therefore, I show how the toga's materiality as a piece of fabric, worn on a living body and composed of various physical substances, shaped its use as a sign: how it enabled and guided the performance of identity, from everyday practices to special rituals, in both literary and artistic representations. Moreover, the materiality of the toga as a sign-object contributes to a wide range of meanings which are not only diverse and complex, but also contextually and culturally specific.³ Looking *at* the toga as an object, juxtaposed with looking *through* the toga to these varied social meanings, yields insights into the representation of Roman identity via dress.

So far in modern scholarship, the toga has rarely been studied as a material object, and there has been little explanation of how this existence shapes the toga's function as a sign. Scholars frequently represent togas either as arbitrary symbols of abstract ideas or as articles of clothing, lacking both substance and bodies. Analyzing the toga as tangible matter that interacted physically with the wearer deepens our understanding of a major aspect of daily life in Roman society, from the toga's purpose as outerwear, to its function in the commemorative art, to the use of its representations in historical narratives, and to the role

³ For example, the color of mourning and death in the West is black, but white in many Eastern cultures. Black is the color of darkness and ash; white is the color of bone. However, *no* culture uses green, the color of living plants, for mourning. Thus, the symbolism of color is based in materiality, but the choice among several options is culturally and contextually determined. Even in the same culture, a color will have a different meaning in another social situation (cf. the versatility of the little black dress).

of its various types in Roman rituals. The conclusions of this research should prove to be valuable for cultural historians of ancient Rome and dress historians.

This dissertation also seeks to address many of the questions which historians often ask regarding some of the details of Roman dress. The search for clarity on important aspects such as the placement of the border on the *praetexta* or the cost and weight of a toga has resulted in great debates among dress historians, in vague general statements (“it was heavy”) under a veneer of consensus, or in absolute silence. It is admittedly difficult to balance the scarcity and anachronism of sources with a desire to avoid oversimplification. In general, I aim to lay out the possibilities and to suggest where the logical answer seems to lie based on my experience and the experience of others who work in clothing and textile design. A fresh perspective on old questions frequently yields new results.

Material Culture and Dress

As one of the most obvious examples of how materiality creates meaning, much of the expression of identity is determined through people’s interaction with and uses of objects. Current theoretical approaches in material culture studies often focus on such interactions, noting that bodies and objects can have an agency upon each other which influences the expression of meaning.⁴ Ian Woodward notes that in the process of constructing identity, “there is mutuality and complementarity between person and object... *objects have a performative capacity*, being a result of social context and reflexive presentations of self in

⁴ Bennett 2010: 28-31; cf. Ahmed 2010; Purves 2015.

relation to objects.”⁵ As a physical border between the body and the external environment, clothing mediates both the wearer’s experience and perception of the environment and the viewer’s perception of the wearer.⁶ The concept of a causal relationship between materiality and the representation of social identity is central to this study of the toga as an object–sign.

New Materialists, in particular, “delve even deeper to think more in detail about the substances that objects are made from and what these bring to the table.”⁷ This approach has significantly shaped the following study of the toga. Looking at the toga as an object comprised of fibers, dyes, and surface treatments, for example, leads to new insights into the social meanings which arise from the toga’s undyed white woolen fibers, the chemicals used in fulling, or the varied substances in the different types of togas.⁸ Furthermore, Sara Ahmed builds on Karl Marx’s and Jacques Derrida’s theories that matter becomes an object with meaning through its making and use, combining them with the phenomenological argument that people’s experience is embodied and with Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of the *habitus* as an embodied set of acquired dispositions.⁹ She observes that actions with objects shape bodily impressions, to the extent that repeated interactions can shape the body itself; children thus inherit “values, capital, aspirations, projects, and styles” through proximities and tendencies toward certain objects. In her view, “orientations are how the world acquires a certain shape through contact between bodies... [and they] affect how subjects and objects

⁵ Woodward 2007: 152.

⁶ On perception being embodied, see Merleau-Ponty 2002; on the application of Merleau-Ponty’s approach to the study of dress, see Entwistle 2000: 333-334.

⁷ Harris and Cipolla 2017: 138

⁸ On whiteness and fulling, see Ch. 2, pp. 62ff; on the different toga types and their materials, see Ch. 4.

⁹ Ahmed 2010.

materialize or come to take shape in the way that they do.”¹⁰ Garments like the toga are, importantly, those objects which are brought nearest the body on a habitual basis.

For instance, since the body shapes and is shaped by the garments which are placed upon it, this mutual interface between body and clothing affects the way the wearer looks and moves. Anthony Corbeill argues that in the late Republic, “the optimate class, through its public invective, has identified certain forms of behavior, speech, and action as contrary to its own *habitus* and has, as a further corollary, defined these characteristics as being contrary to the proper Roman way of life.”¹¹ The *habitus*, for Bourdieu, is a schema of perception, action, and understanding that is linked to a social group and is largely “*em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking.”¹² These body techniques are socially structured, expressive uses of the body, but the *habitus* is also structuring, in that it “generates the principles by which people are able to classify and organize encounters in the social and material world.”¹³ Once learned, usually through habituation in childhood, such behaviors are pre-reflective to the point where they are often thought to be ‘natural’ to members of that social group.

¹⁰ Ahmed 2010: 234-235. Ahmed uses the examples of a pen, which stains the skin and creates a permanent bump on the fingers, and a keyboard, which hunches the shoulders and damages the tendons in the hands over years of use. The writer uses the objects, moving the pen and typing on the keyboard, and in the course of this interaction the objects in turn act upon the body. Through the constant repetition of the labor of writing, the objects that are habitually brought near affect the body in such a way that the body expresses, through these visible marks, through the *habitus*, that this person is a writer (2010: 246-247).

¹¹ Corbeill 2002: 206.

¹² Bourdieu 1990: 69-70. Cf. Crossley 2005: 104-113, 117-121.

¹³ Woodward 2007: 122.

Elite Roman children, for instance, would wear the *toga praetexta* or long tunics to habituate them to the bodily postures and gestures that were part of correctly performing the *habitus* of their class as adults.¹⁴ A person who acts differently from the *habitus* of a specific class, even if he follows the official ‘rules’ of behavior, reveals to a discerning audience that he does not belong to that group.¹⁵ The body thus expresses a social identity which is viewed and interpreted by others who do not always read the same message that the subject intends to express. The elite authors of Roman texts often describe people in terms of such embodied practices, which were believed to reveal their ‘true’ character and social identity to a cultured reader. As Jonathan Edmondson points out, Romans were quick to censure deviations from the *habitus patrius et civilis*, Suetonius’ term for the “traditional Roman dress code.”¹⁶

The social body, in ancient Rome as today, is a dressed body (or sometimes a conspicuously undressed body), and it is largely interpreted through clothing and other adornment. “Getting dressed is an act of preparing the body for the social world,” as Joanne Entwistle notes, “making it appropriate, acceptable, indeed respectable and possibly even desirable also.”¹⁷ Yet clothing is more than simply an arbitrary sign of social identity. Treating objects like clothes as material things that exist in the physical world, not just as symbols of an idea, enables a deeper understanding of the process of how such meaning is

¹⁴ Harlow 2017: 49.

¹⁵ Cf. Bourdieu 1984.

¹⁶ Edmondson 2008: 37; Suet. *Calig.* 52.1. In this dissertation, I prefer Bourdieu’s definition of *habitus*, which includes a broader range of embodied behaviors and practices than simply a person’s visual appearance.

¹⁷ Entwistle 2000: 7.

created, as “forms of abstract thought and mental representation take the shape suggested by objects, rather than objects simply manifesting pre-existing forms of thought.”¹⁸ Dress is both “a series of layers of signs”¹⁹ and “an embodied practice that is embedded within the social world,”²⁰ but importantly for this study, dress is also an assemblage of things whose material qualities shape how these practices are performed. Melissa Rothfus, a historian of Roman dress, rightly notes that “items of adornment have agency to take those qualities with which they are associated and impress them on the wearer.”²¹ In Kelly Olson’s words, “fashion literally shaped the wearer.”²²

The ubiquitous literary and artistic use of the toga as a marker of peace, of citizenship, of masculinity, and of Romanness is, I argue, shaped by the physical and visual qualities of its materiality, the interactions of the toga-as-object with the wearer’s body, and the effect of these interactions on the representation of the wearer. In addition, literary or visual narratives often create new shades of meaning by representing a wearer’s manipulation of his toga’s materiality in nuanced ways.²³ I also analyze the diverse ways by which variations in the material of the garment and in the bodies that wear it could create new connotations in the meaning of the toga beyond the basic denotation of Roman citizen status.

¹⁸ Gosden 2005: 196; cf. Harris and Cipolla 2017: 76.

¹⁹ Lee 2015: 24.

²⁰ Entwistle 2000: 325.

²¹ Rothfus 2010: 429.

²² Olson 2008b: 1.

²³ Since nearly all toga-wearers were male, I use the pronoun “he” throughout this study, except where a wearer is clearly female. I assume that Roman female readers, though the vast majority did not wear togas themselves, would still have been well acquainted with the toga-wearing experiences of their male associates and family members.

The Toga and Roman Dress: the Scholarship

Few monographs have been written on the Roman toga in the last century. The main goal of Lillian Wilson's *The Roman Toga* (1924), like most research in dress history until recent decades, was to reconstruct togas from the commemorative statues and reliefs of various periods. Through her efforts to recreate the sculpted garments using modern materials on living models, Wilson was able to determine the dimensions of the toga's fabric and draping methods within each of the major changes in style over time. Her conclusions and diagrams remain foundational for any study of the Roman toga and have rarely been contested since, except on details such as the placement of the purple border on the *toga praetexta*.²⁴ Wilson also gives an overview of the most basic information which can be derived from textual sources, such as which categories of people wore the different types of toga. The other monograph on the Roman toga is primarily a catalogue of togate statues with brief discussions of chronological or regional differences. Hans Rupprecht Goette's *Studien zu Römischen Togadarstellungen* (1990) is an excellent reference which includes a fairly comprehensive catalogue of togate statues, busts, and other artistic depictions, and a limited selection of literary passages. He supports Wilson's overall conclusions about style trends but also provides data about the number of representations of certain types of dress (e.g. only fourteen girls in *praetextae*) and the small variations within each major style period. Shelley Stone (1994) provides a shorter overview of the toga's style changes in her chapter in *The World of Roman Costume*.

²⁴ Wilson believes the borders were woven onto the curved lower edge (1924: 52-56); Granger-Taylor argues that they were woven on the straight edge (1982: 10-16).

Looking at dress as an expression of identity has been the primary approach of dress history of the last several decades. Instead of thinking about the toga as an actual garment that changed over time, for instance, Caroline Vout (1996) examines the toga synchronically as a literary subject and an ideological symbol of Romanness, of political and civic duty, of peace and civilization. Scholarship in the twenty-first century looks at the ways in which the togate representations that can be seen in art reflect the socio-historical ideologies of identity expressed in texts. Rothfus (2010) delves into the ideological underpinnings of the shift from smaller and Hellenizing styles in the late Republic to the larger togas of the Augustan period, linking this change to a desire on the part of elites to differentiate themselves sartorially from other togate citizens at a time when Augustus was enforcing the wearing of togas and other forms of socially identifying dress.

Some scholars choose to explore the toga as a purely literary phenomenon, looking especially at the ways in which individual authors or texts depict various types of clothing and the purpose of such representations in context. For instance, both Julia Heskell (1994) and Andrew Dyck (2001) examine the nuances of how Cicero used sartorial missteps in negative characterizations of his political opponents or sought to excuse those of his clients. Some ancient texts represent different emperors as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ by their dress, as Jean-Pierre Callu (2004) and Mary Harlow (2005) have shown for the *Historia Augusta*, Valérie Huet (2008) for the biographies of Suetonius. Marie-Laure Freyburger-Galland (1993) catalogues the mentions of all the different types of garments in the work of Cassius Dio, though with little analysis.

Another current trend in scholarship on the Roman toga is the narrow focus on one specific type of toga, one ritual involving a toga, or a certain category of toga-wearer. Judith Lynn Sebesta (2005), for example, argues that the sacredness of the *toga praetexta* was suited to the genderless quality of children. Élisabeth Deniaux (2003) brings together all the literary anecdotes regarding the *toga candida* as a garment, not merely as a metonym, and discusses its role in the election process. Michel Blonski (2008) looks at the different circumstances when someone would change to dirty clothing called *sordes*, arguing that it was such a common phenomenon that it was a sort of “work dirt” for Roman politicians in the late Republic. Fanny Dolansky (2008) examines coming-of-age rituals, including the roles which specific garments such as the *toga praetexta* and *toga virilis* played in these rites of passage. The clothing of Roman prostitutes and adulteresses, including the possibility that they wore togas, is discussed by Thomas McGinn (1998: 156-171), Kelly Olson (2002), and Jessica Dixon (2014). Michelle George (2008) argues that satirists use negative depictions of toga-wearing experiences to illustrate the hardships suffered by dependent clients and the degradation of patronage in the Empire. The clothes worn in various provinces, including the proportion of togas to native dress, are the focus of the anthology *Die Macht der Toga* (ed. Tellenbach, 2013) and Ursula Rothe’s (2012) report on northern Gaul. Studies like these are extremely valuable when analyzing the myriad uses of the toga in Roman society, but they are only glimpses into the complex social role of the Roman toga.

The most recent monograph on Roman men’s dress, Kelly Olson’s *Masculinity and Dress in Roman Antiquity* (2017), is an excellent and well-researched reference. She covers the changes in style over time, the different types of togas, and how fashion—including

togas—is used to characterize social phenomena such as poverty, social rank (juridical order), social status (prestige), and effeminacy. For instance, she describes how high status is expressed through silken fabric, purple dye, and jewelry, or how effeminacy is represented through certain types of clothes, adornment, gesture, and grooming. In this book, she collects an invaluable amount of primary evidence. Still, Olson’s analysis tends to treat garments as symbols which signify a more abstract idea like ‘Roman,’ ‘poverty,’ and ‘elite,’ through their role as components of the performance of identity: she concludes that “the self for the Romans was literally a projection of exterior signs.”²⁵ However, she does not delve deeper and discuss what it is about the garments which enables and shapes these representations and practices, especially nuances and complexity of meaning. The semiotic and New Materialist approach I take here, by contrast, enables me to answer these questions for the toga. The process that occurred between toga-as-sign and the interpretation of the embodied self, as the physical qualities of the toga and its material components interacted with the wearer, is explored for the first time in this study.

More general studies of Roman clothing can be helpful as references or for looking at the role the toga plays within an overall picture of social representation through dress. Jonathan Edmondson (2008) looks at prescriptive dress codes and regulations as a means of social control. Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (2007) offer an encyclopedia of dress terms, while Alexandra Croom (2010) gives an overview of Roman dress and its changes throughout the Empire.

²⁵ Olson 2017: 10.

A Burden? Ceremonial?

In all these examples of modern scholarship, however, the only discussions of how the materiality of togas affected the experience of wearing them, much less their social meanings, center on how difficult the garment was to wear. Wilson remarks that “the Romans were accustomed to wearing draped garments, and naturally managed them with less difficulty than is conceivable to us.”²⁶ This view, however, has been unpopular in the more recent scholarship on the toga. Vout, for instance, asserts that if modern Shakespearian actors find it difficult to keep their togas from falling off, the Romans would have too.²⁷ Stone argues that while artistic representations do reveal changes in fashion, they cannot be interpreted as representations of everyday life, since by the Imperial period it was too large, unwieldy, and hot to wear on a regular basis; she concludes that most Romans wore the toga largely on ceremonial occasions.²⁸

Stone’s view prevails in most subsequent scholarship on dress.²⁹ Many scholars argue that for the majority of Roman citizens (i.e., non-elites), the toga was their ‘Sunday best,’ worn only to court appearances or religious occasions, while on an everyday basis, most people were largely indistinguishable from slaves.³⁰ Even Wilson argues that “the toga was worn by Roman citizens on all formal occasions, and omitted when permissible or when

²⁶ Wilson 1924: 49.

²⁷ Vout 1996: 205-6.

²⁸ Stone 1994: 13-17.

²⁹ E.g., Edmondson 2008: 22; George 2008: 99; Bingham 2013: 186 n. 210; Olson 2014b: 426, 429, 432.

³⁰ ‘Sunday best’: Graham 2015: 51.

one's occupation made such a garment impossible."³¹ George and Edmondson argue that by the late Roman Republic, the toga was "very much the ceremonial, public dress of Roman citizens, by no means their everyday wear."³² Vout calls the notion that most Romans regularly wore them "the myth of the toga."³³ As a result, the argument that the toga was too much of a burden, especially for non-elites, to be worn more frequently than on ceremonial occasions must be addressed from the start and throughout this study.

First of all, actors' toga-wearing experiences in modern theater productions should not be used as evidence for Roman daily life. European and American bodies simply do not know how to move in draped clothing, as sewn and tailored clothes have been customary in Western society since late Antiquity. Harlow is the first to approach this problem from a new perspective, by looking at contemporary Middle Eastern and Indian women to better understand the habits of people who wear draped clothing on a daily basis.³⁴ She notes that the small adjustments necessary to keep drapery in place become second nature, unconscious and habitual, for those who wear them regularly, and that such garments only become difficult to wear in rather extreme situations. Though Harlow is only concerned with women's clothing, these practical experiences are instructive for the study of how the toga and the wearer's body interact with each other. As we shall see, oft-quoted Roman complaints of the 'burden' of the toga are usually regarding unusual or exaggerated situations, which is similar to the lived experience of Harlow's subjects.

³¹ Wilson 1924: 83.

³² George 2008: 95 (quote); Edmondson 2008: 22, 39. Stone points out that the toga lost even its popular ceremonial use after the fourth century C.E. (1994: 38).

³³ Vout 1996.

³⁴ Harlow 2014.

Furthermore, the main primary sources for the idea that the toga was hot, burdensome, and difficult to keep on are often those with a critical point to make. For example, the satirists Juvenal and Martial subtly equate the toga of a client with the shackles of servitude, since they assert that wearing the toga is one of many labors and hardships a client must undertake for his patron.³⁵ While Olson remarks that “many passages in ancient literature attest to the joys of not donning the toga,” the sources she cites usually describe a life *sans toga* as one of leisure, vacationing in the countryside, living off of inherited wealth—a life not typical for most Italians.³⁶ One passage she uses as evidence, Livy’s depiction of the legendary Cincinnatus, shows that even this imagined and idealized citizen is shown not wearing a toga while doing grueling and dirty labor like plowing a field (which should not be considered a “joy”), but still needing to don one before engaging in civic business.³⁷ Furthermore, the increased size of the toga in the Empire may have been adopted by the upper classes only, since spun thread and cloth were labor-intensive and expensive. As is shown in Chapter 3, the lower classes had the option of wearing smaller and thus cheaper togas.³⁸

Another favorite source for the “too cumbersome” argument, Tertullian waxes eloquent on the advantages of the *pallium* for Christians in the early third century C.E. He contrasts the *pallium* with the encumbrance and excess care required of the toga of his day, the *toga*

³⁵ George 2008; see Ch. 3, pp. 144ff. In this dissertation, I do not limit the genre of satire to poems written in dactylic hexameter (i.e., those by Horace, Persius, and Juvenal). I choose to include Martial’s epigrams under the label ‘satire’ due to the similarity of their social and political themes, irony, and humorous invective.

³⁶ Olson 2014b: 429; Mart. 10.47.5, 12.18.5; Pliny *Ep.* 5.6.45; Juv. 1.203-4.

³⁷ Livy 3.26.7-10.

³⁸ See Ch. 3, pp. 150ff.

contabulata, which had a folded band across the chest (figs. 15, 16).³⁹ This style required someone to set the folds the night before and to help with putting it on and may even have needed hidden clips or stitches to hold it together when worn.⁴⁰ George thereby declares that donning a toga took “a second pair of hands (the slave *vestipicus*),” without qualifying that it was for the later and more complicated style.⁴¹ The *pallium* itself, moreover, was not easy to wear and “required a great deal of attention on the part of the wearer to manage the garment properly.”⁴² In addition, Tertullian praises the simpler togas of the Republic and the clear distinctions of dress enforced by the censors, and thus his grumbling about the *toga contabulata* should not be projected back to earlier styles.⁴³ Quintilian remarks that a man of his day (over a century earlier) could even put his toga on anew if it became disarranged

³⁹ Tert. *Pall.* 5.4: “*adeo nec artificem necesse est qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet et inde deducat in tiliis totumque contracti umbonis figmentum custodibus forcipibus assignet, dehinc diluculo, tunica prius cingulo correpta, quam praestabat moderatiorem texuisse, recognito rursus umbone et, si quid exorbitavit, reformato, partem quidem de laevo promittat, ambitum vero eius, ex quo sinus nascitur, iam deficientibus tabulis retrahat a scapulis et, exclusa dextera, in laevam adhuc congerat cum alio pari tabulato in terga devote, atque ita hominem sarcina vestiat* (“Indeed, there is no need for an *artifex*, who the day before forms wrinkles at the upper edge and from there draws them down into pleats, and places the entire formation of the contracted *umbo* into the protective forceps; who at dawn first shortens the tunic, which preferably was woven to moderate length, with a belt, checks the *umbo* again and reshapes it if anything has gone out of place, then sends a part of the toga down on the left, and the encircling part from which the *sinus* comes he draws back from the shoulders with the very end of the folds and, with the right shoulder left free, he piles it once more onto the left with another section of folds destined for the back, and so he clothes the man in a burden”).

⁴⁰ Goette 1990: 57; Wilson, in her reconstruction, stitched the folds in place (1924: 78). Wilson notes that togas of this period were also shorter (75).

⁴¹ George 2008: 99, though Tertullian calls this assistant an *artifex*.

⁴² Lee 2015: 115.

⁴³ Tert. *Pall.* 3.7.3, 4.8.3; cf. Hunink 2005: 171-173, 223-226. He also hates a belted tunic (*Pall.* 5.3.3) and prefers going barefoot to *calcei*, calling the shoe-boots “the particular torment of the toga...” which make a man “fetter-footed” (*proprium togae tormentum... in calceo vincipedem*, 5.2.3).

when he stood up to speak in public.⁴⁴ Reliefs from the Augustan period to the third century show a mix of styles being worn concurrently: short togas, enormous togas, and togas with varied draping (e.g., figs. 3, 14, 15).⁴⁵ Clearly, Tertullian's harsh comments and those of the satirists should be weighed carefully and not viewed as representative of all toga-wearing experiences.

In addition, Romans developed ways to make the larger togas easier to wear. The *umbo* or 'knob,' for instance, was a handful of fabric drawn up from the bottom layer (the end which was draped over the front of the body) and pulled over the cross-drape of the *sinus*; it helped keep the large Augustan togas in place (figs. 7-11).⁴⁶ This developed into a 'shoulder *umbo*' toward the end of the first century C.E., also called the *balteus*, where the fabric of the bottom layer was rolled together with the fabric of the top layer from the *sinus* on the left shoulder to prevent slipping; many togas also became slightly shorter at this time, falling to the top of the boot (or even the calf) instead of the ankle (figs. 13, 14, 29).⁴⁷ Some Romans may have secured their togas with hidden pins, which are plentiful in archaeological finds, but no pins are visible in art or mentioned in literature.⁴⁸ Likewise, the north frieze of the Ara Pacis reveals that small weights could be attached at the bottom two corners near the left ankle to help the toga stay on the shoulder—though no literary sources mention them, either (fig. 3).⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.156.

⁴⁵ Birk 2013: 72-73; Olson 2017: 38-39. For a discussion of these styles, see Ch. 3, pp. 131ff.

⁴⁶ Olson 2014b: 426, 2017: 31-32.

⁴⁷ Wilson 1924: 74; Olson 2017: 33.

⁴⁸ Wilson 1924: 48-49.

⁴⁹ Olson 2017: 25.

Modern scholars may be over-emphasizing the heaviness of the toga as well. George, for instance, remarks that it was “made of wool and therefore heavy,” a premise which deserves closer scrutiny.⁵⁰ The toga was, indeed, a very large woolen garment. Using measurements derived from reconstructing the togas represented on statues, Wilson figures that in the Republican era of the late second to early first century B.C.E., a toga for a man of 5’8” would have measured 12.5 feet by 5 feet at the widest point of the semicircle (figs. 1, 2); the larger togas depicted on the Ara Pacis would measure 13.75 feet by 8 feet (figs. 3, 14); and the largest Imperial toga, from the late Augustan era onward, would be 15 feet by 9 feet (figs. 7-11).⁵¹ Even when the shorter style emerged in the late first-century C.E., the largest Augustan toga remained popular among the upper echelons as well (figs. 11, 27, 39).⁵²

Yet the fine and delicate thread that Florus asserts was suitable for weaving a master’s toga would have made light and smooth fabric.⁵³ Light-weight woolen flannel, the fabric recommended by Wilson as the best for most closely reproducing the folds seen on Roman statues, weighs approximately 4-5 oz. per 15 sq. ft. (1 yard of 60” wide fabric). Even without subtracting the curved corners, the fabric needed to make a Republican toga would weigh under 1.5 lbs (62.5 sq. ft.), an early Augustan toga less than 2 lbs (110 sq. ft.), and the largest toga of the Empire around 2.25 lbs (135 sq. ft.). For comparison, a recent study

⁵⁰ George 2008: 99.

⁵¹ Wilson 1924: 73, 121-122; cf. Granger-Taylor 1982: 19. For comparison, a 6th century C.E. hooded semi-circular cloak found in Philadelphia, Egypt measures 10 feet by 6 feet (Granger-Taylor 1982: 20-21).

⁵² Olson 2017: 33.

⁵³ Cf. Fronto, *De Nep. Am.* 2.3.16: *nulla profecto tam sit importuna et insciens lanifica, quae herili togae solidum et nodosum, servili autem subtile et tenue subtemen neverit* (“Certainly, no wool-worker would be so insolent and unskillful that she would spin for her master’s toga a dense and knotted thread, but for a slave’s clothing a delicate and fine one”).

shows that without shoes, men’s typical clothing today weighs about 2.6 lbs (1.2 kg).⁵⁴ In addition, several of the sources which remark on the heavy weight of the toga are referring to the garment when wet.⁵⁵ Moreover, the Greek *pallium* was similar to the toga in size and contained more material, being rectangular instead of semicircular, and yet it is still considered the more convenient garment by ancient and modern sources alike.⁵⁶ It is arguably not the actual weight of the fabric that constitutes the ‘burden’ of the toga.

The realization that the toga was less of a physical burden than many scholars recognize, therefore, affects their claim that except for a small group of elites, most people rarely wore togas, on ‘ceremonial occasions.’ Tertullian’s ultimate proof that togas are an excessive burden is that people take them off as soon as they get home—but modern people do the same thing with their jackets and coats.⁵⁷ The Romans never believed the garment was supposed to be worn all the time, even for the politically-active elite. The toga was outerwear, to be worn by Roman male citizens when they were out in public, especially when conducting public business or participating in community activities. It was not meant to be worn in the private spaces of the house or at dinner; even Augustus is said to have worn informal clothing at home most of the time, and he would change into a toga and *calcei* that he kept ready in his bedroom when he had to deal with public matters.⁵⁸ This

⁵⁴ Wigham *et al.* 2013.

⁵⁵ Mart. 5.22.11: *exitus hic operis vani togulaeque madentis*, “this is the result of empty effort and a dripping little toga”; Dio 42.40.4-5: Caesar falls in the sea and is weighed down by his toga. In Mart. 12.18.1-6, “Juvenal” wears a “sweaty toga” (*sudatrix toga*) as he wanders around Rome visiting powerful people, but it is *maior Caelius et minor*, the hills of the city, which exhaust him.

⁵⁶ Tert. *Pall.* 5; Bieber 1959: 415; Cleland *et al.* 2007: 92; Olson 2014b: 432.

⁵⁷ Tert. *Pall.* 5.2.2.

⁵⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 73. Cf. Wardle 2014: 460.

prescriptive dress code endured through much of the Imperial period. An important part of Hadrian's program of "civic discipline" (*disciplinam civilem*) was that senators and *equites* wear togas at all public occasions except banquets.⁵⁹

Several Roman sources do imply that only the politically-involved senatorial elite wore togas on a regular basis, and that other citizens, from the *equites* to slaves, wore dark tunics and cloaks. Tacitus' *Aper* contrasts senatorial orators with the Roman *populus* by calling the latter "common and tunic-wearing," while Horace mentions an auctioneer selling cheap things to the "little tunicate people."⁶⁰ Appian complains that, except for senators, masters dress just like slaves, while Seneca says that a proposal to distinguish free from slave by their clothing was abandoned for fear that the slaves would realize their numbers.⁶¹ Paintings in the Inn of Salvius in Pompeii show customers playing games and drinking in unbelted red-brown tunics.⁶² Cicero calls the natural color of wool from reddish-brown sheep "plebeian purple" (*purpura plebeia*).⁶³ George plausibly argues that Romans "of lower social status... were apparently less concerned about marking themselves off from one another" and therefore "might cherish the right to wear the toga in the abstract despite simultaneously eschewing it on a daily basis."⁶⁴

Some of the literary sources, however, must be examined more carefully. Many of these authors are complaining about the degradation of the Roman state and life, of which the

⁵⁹ SHA *Hadr.* 22.2.

⁶⁰ Tac. *Dial.* 7: *vulgus... et tunicatus hic populus*; Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.65: *vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello*.

⁶¹ App. *B Civ.* 2.120; Sen. *Clem.* 1.24.1.

⁶² Beard 2007: plate 13; Croom 2010: 35.

⁶³ Cic. *Sest.* 8.19.

⁶⁴ George 2008: 96.

absent toga is a powerful sign, while also sneering at the *plebs*.⁶⁵ For instance, Appian's complaint about the supposed homogeneity of dress is part of an overall argument about the corruption of Roman society through the integration of foreigners and freedmen.⁶⁶ From the perspective of senatorial elites, moreover, even the equestrian class could be called poor: Statius describes the *angustus clavus* on their tunics as the "pauper's stripe" (*paupere clavo*).⁶⁷ Dyck's assertion that "the Romans' flight from the toga was unstoppable" is largely based on invective literature, from Cicero's characterization of political opponents as un-Roman for not wearing togas to Juvenal's satire about a disgruntled urban Roman daydreaming about life *sans toga* in the Italian countryside.⁶⁸ Yet invective often exaggerates and distorts in order to make a point. These same authors have a different stance elsewhere, such as when Cicero defends certain Romans for abandoning the toga *in extremis*.⁶⁹ Juvenal, in another satire mocking the pretensions of those of high pedigree, praises the "lowest *plebs*" (*ima plebe*) for being the "togate group" (*de pube togata*) from which come eloquent, clever lawyers and energetic soldiers.⁷⁰ Consequently, anecdotes about non-elites or toga-wearing in the country should not be used as evidence of actual practice without taking into account their rhetorical purpose in the narrative.

It is not feasible to state with any certainty what "non-elite Romans" (which were never a homogeneous group in the first place) wore "in everyday life." One can, however, push

⁶⁵ Cf. Olson 2002: 390.

⁶⁶ App. *B Civ.* 2.120.

⁶⁷ Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.18.

⁶⁸ Dyck 2001: 124; Juv. 3.171-172. Pausch uses the same anecdote and also Plautus as evidence for a lack of toga-wearing in Italy (2003: 26, 33).

⁶⁹ See pp. 79-80.

⁷⁰ Juv. 8.47-52.

back against the notion that togas were *rarely* worn by most Romans—a claim that is itself a reaction to the antiquated idea that everyone wore togas all the time—by looking at the cultural expectations, practicalities, and adaptations possible for toga-wearing. Certainly, the laboring classes would not wear togas while working, and Rome was also home to many slaves and free but non-citizen people, such as women, foreigners, and freedmen of Junian Latin status. Yet despite the claims of some elite sources, a large number of non-elites in Rome, including the free poor and formally-freed men, may have worn a toga for at least part of their day, many days of the year.⁷¹ Togas were necessary at the morning *salutatio*; an aristocrat’s entourage of clients and freedmen could be called his *togati*.⁷² Varro uses the toga as one of his examples of “things assumed for use in daily life” (*quaecumque usus causa ad vitam sint assumpta*).⁷³ The jurist Celsus, too, includes the toga among “things obtained for the everyday use of the head of household” (*patris familiae rerum ad cotidianum usum paratarum*).⁷⁴

Moreover, not all non-elites were poor laborers. Many citizens, such as “the more respectable elements within the urban *plebs*”—artisans, merchants, shopkeepers, and other businessmen—may have found it advantageous to put on togas under various circumstances.⁷⁵ It would be a marker of their potential voting power when they attended

⁷¹ For togas in the provinces, see Ch. 2, pp. 77ff. For togas in the Italian countryside, see Ch. 3, pp. 155ff.

⁷² E.g., Mart. 14.125. See discussion of clients in Ch. 3, pp. 144ff. On freedmen and clients, see Saller 2000: 842-846. Both types of dependent could live with their patrons, and the difference between the two was “not as distinct in practice as in law” (Saller 2000: 845). See also Mouritsen 2011: 148-159.

⁷³ Varro, *Ling.* 8.28.

⁷⁴ *Dig.* 33.10.7; cf. also *Dig.* 34.2.23.

⁷⁵ Yakobson 1999: 42.

games and feasts sponsored by ambitious politicians or the latest political speeches in *contiones* in the Forum.⁷⁶ A toga could also signify pride in one's work. On a painting in Pompeii in a private home, the proprietor of a bakeshop is depicted in a toga while seated on the counter, handing a loaf to a customer (fig. 17).⁷⁷ Pliny the Elder illustrates the seriousness of an artist by stating that the man always wore a toga when painting, despite working only a few hours a day.⁷⁸ This implies that the toga was viewed as professional dress more than formal or ceremonial: a business suit, not a tuxedo.

There were also many ceremonial occasions for wearing togas in Roman city life, and so the implication that ceremonial means infrequent must be questioned. Circus races took place three to fourteen times a year, and by the reign of Marcus Aurelius, there were as many as 135 days of *ludi* annually.⁷⁹ Sacrifices, festivals, and other religious holidays were very much part of everyday life as well; the Roman calendar was full of events.⁸⁰ Livy's Camillus remarks that "there are as many days fixed for annual sacrifices as there are places in which they can be performed."⁸¹ Though it is uncertain how much sartorial rules and customs were enforced, many people do seem to have followed them, from the Republic through the high Empire. Plautus' audience included men in togas long before the *lex Roscia*

⁷⁶ On popular participation in campaigns, *contiones*, and *comitia*, see, e.g., Q. Cic. *Comment. Pet.* 29; Cic. *Att.* 1.16.11, *Flacc.* 18, *Mur.* 35-39, *Off.* 2.55-60; Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.37-38; Plut. *Caes.* 5.9; Jakobson 1999: 20-64; Morstein-Marx 1998, 2004: 160-179, 2013.

⁷⁷ Silver 2009: 176-177. Naples Museum Inv. 120299; see Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1978: 194, fig. 228.

⁷⁸ Plin. *HN* 35.120.4.

⁷⁹ Latham 2016: 13; Scheid 2003: 107.

⁸⁰ On the Roman calendar, see Ov. *Fast.*; Rüpke 2011.

⁸¹ Livy 5.52.2: *sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis stati quam loca sunt, in quibus fiant.*

theatralis of 67 B.C.E., which reserved the rows closest to the orchestra for senators and the middle rows for togate citizens.⁸² Seneca implies that the toga was still a common sight among the “thronging multitude” in the Forum, the *comitia*, and the Circus, places that Augustus and others tried to spatially apportion by rank and clothing.⁸³ Martial remarks upon the jarring sight of a single man wearing a black *lacerna* amidst a togate crowd at a spectacle.⁸⁴ Juvenal hints that most people did wear togas to the chariot races when his aging speaker says such entertainment is for the unwashed masses and the young, whereas he would rather escape the noise—and the toga.⁸⁵ When Commodus forced spectators at gladiatorial shows to wear cloaks (*paenulae*) instead of the customary togas while he himself wore dark clothes, it was seen as a sign of his madness and a bad omen.⁸⁶ A large part of the activities which comprised Juvenal’s “bread and circuses,” therefore, seemed to have encouraged toga-wearing on a rather frequent basis, even if not all day, every day, for more than just the politically-active senatorial elite.⁸⁷ As professional dress, the toga may have been the ‘Sunday best’ for laboring-class Romans, but there were many such ‘Sundays’ in Roman lives.

⁸² Plaut. *Amph.* 68; on the *lex Roscia theatralis*: Hor. *Epod.* 4.15-16; Juv. 3.159; revived by Domitian: Suet. *Dom.* 8.3, Mart. 5.8.3. Cf. Braund 1996: 200.

⁸³ Sen. *Ira* 2.8.1-2; see also Mart. 14.124, 14.135; Olson 2017: 53. On Augustan reforms, see Suet. *Aug.* 40.5, 44.2, and Ch. 2, pp. 64-65.

⁸⁴ Mart. 4.2.2.

⁸⁵ Juv. 11.201-4.

⁸⁶ SHA *Comm.* 16.6.

⁸⁷ Juv. 10.81: *panem et circenses*.

Materials and limitations of sources

The materials I examine are varied. Olson admits that for a dress historian of the ancient world, the only solution to these limitations is to use a “mosaicist” approach, drawing from a wide variety of sources, genres, and time periods.⁸⁸ Wherever possible in this dissertation, I attempt to make clear the relative chronology and generic considerations of the different sources I must use for any given topic.

The sources in art consist of togate figures in Roman funerary sculpture (with inscriptions where possible), monumental relief sculpture, and commemorative statuary. I rely upon the dates and identifications generally accepted by art historians for my analysis of trends in togate sculpture from the Republic to the third century C.E. My main source for these artistic representations of the toga, the catalogue by Goette (1990), is still accepted by scholars in art history as authoritative.

The literary texts are mainly limited to authors writing in the later Republic (first century B.C.E.) to the mid-Empire (late-second to early-third century C.E.), though some later antiquarian sources which refer to these periods have been consulted as well. The Greek sources must be used with caution, especially since they are only partly reliable on clothing. Dio, Appian, and Plutarch probably had the works of Augustan historians like Asinius Pollio or Cremutius Cordus in front of them as they wrote, but relied on memory for other readings.⁸⁹ Errors and inconsistencies could have come from these original sources or be the result of faulty recall, though they themselves also conflate, condense, rearrange, and

⁸⁸ Olson 2008: 3-4; cf. Dixon 2001: 12-13.

⁸⁹ Millar 1964: 28-46; Gowing 1992: 39-50; Pelling 2011a: 1-44, 91-115; Westall 2016.

remove items to suit their narrative. While Dio is attentive to social distinctions in clothing, he does not always differentiate togas from tunics, or changes to mourning from those to military cloaks.⁹⁰ In fact, Greek and Latin authors often seem to assume either that their readers are familiar with the social norms for which garments were needed on various occasions or that they do not care about such details. For example, different types of changes of clothing are described with general terms such as *vestis*, ἐσθής, ἱμάτια, or στολαί.⁹¹ As a result, in this study I use context and comparison with other sources (where available) to help corroborate events and grasp the details.

The most significant limitation in this project is the fact that most of the sources, from literary to artistic, are representations of toga-wearers and not observations, and they often are separated in time from the subjects they depict. While this must be taken into account, I do make the assumption that the (mostly elite male) Roman authors and audiences are acquainted with both wearing togas themselves and regularly seeing togas on others. They would know, from practical experience, how a depiction of a toga could manifest as a physical object on a body—what it would look like, how it might feel—and they would thereby interpret the toga’s social meaning through their own familiarity with social practices and the citizen *habitus*. Regrettably, neither ancient nor modern sources examine

⁹⁰ Freyburger-Galland 1993: 120-128; Golden 2013: 48-51. In analyzing clothing in Dio, Freyburger-Galland (1993: 125-128) does separate changing to the *sagum* from wearing mourning in anger or for a disaster, but discusses individual, group, and public uses together. Under “mourning” she combines *sordes*, down-dressing, and rending garments, and she does not compare Dio with other sources like Cicero to judge his accuracy.

⁹¹ E.g., ἐσθής: Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 10.7, *Cic.* 30.4, *Pomp.* 59.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.15; Dio 38.14.7, 39.28.4, 40.46.1, 40.50.2. ἱμάτια: Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.5, *Cic.* 31.1, *Pomp.* 53.3; Dio 37.43.3. στολά: Dio 39.28.2, 41.3.1. Cf. Freyburger-Galland 1993: 117-120 on Dio.

closely the process which underlies the meaning of dress. Statements about ritual, custom, tradition, or social norms, rarely explain whether they describe “the real mechanics of the schemes immanent in practice or the theoretical logic of the models constructed in order to account for practices.”⁹² In other words, to differentiate between practice and prescription is rarely easy. Woodward argues that “in everyday practice this distinction between discrete physical, embodied, and ideational elements of material culture is indistinguishable and artificial—objects are culturally powerful because *in practice they connect physical and mental manipulation.*”⁹³ In ancient texts, however, we can only see representations of such elements, one step further removed, making it even more difficult to distinguish them. One solution to this problem used in this study is to implement literary criticism of sources, examining the narrative purpose of the representations within the text.

Ancient sources, especially, rarely comment on the practices which they take for granted, nor do the elite sources directly explain or describe why they do what they do. Mary Beard observes that “ancient authors do not often pay more than passing attention” to details of clothing, such as what triumphal dress actually looked like.⁹⁴ When they do describe a practice, they do not always make it clear whether this is former or current prescription, much less former or current practice. This is a common phenomenon in material culture studies: objects (and the practices involving them) which are commonplace, routine, and traditional rarely excite comment, being taken for granted by those who use

⁹² Bourdieu 1977: 20.

⁹³ Woodward 2007: 15.

⁹⁴ Beard 2007: 228.

them.⁹⁵ Figurative and metaphorical uses of language, for example, can give a glimpse into the interpretive framework around social practice but do not indicate how widespread such ideas and practices were. Quite often, only those authors for whom the distance of time makes those objects and practices a curiosity discuss them in any detail. Thus, texts written centuries after certain practices have vanished, such as antiquarian texts and commentaries from Late Antiquity, are frequently the only sources which describe many elements of dress, as the result of having to explain them to their readers. The reliability of such sources, however, cannot be verified except in those rare instances for which earlier corroborative evidence exists; this study aims to rely primarily on earlier evidence, and where this is not possible, to use these late works only as one source among several when making a particular argument.

Roman historians and other authors of the Imperial period are themselves not always ‘accurate’ when they do describe clothing, practices, and wearers. Dio, for instance, is known to have shaped his narrative to show continuity between the Augustan era and his own day.⁹⁶ He says Cicero wore equestrian dress during his protest against Clodius’ legislation, whereas Cicero himself states that he wore filthy clothing at the time.⁹⁷ Dio is clearly ascribing a later practice to the late Republic. Livy states that Romans set aside the broad stripe in a time of mourning while Seneca says they discarded the toga, but neither says who exactly did these things or what they put on instead.⁹⁸ It is also uncertain whether

⁹⁵ Latour 2005: 80-81.

⁹⁶ Reinhold 1988: 12-13.

⁹⁷ Dio 38.14.7; cf. mourning in 10 B.C.E. for Octavia (54.35.5), 14 C.E. for Augustus (56.31.2); Cic. *Sest.* 27; Plut. *Cic.* 30.6, 31.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.15.

⁹⁸ Livy 9.7.7; Sen. *Ep.* 18.2.

Livy is referring to the practices of the fourth century B.C.E. or using Augustan-era practices to illustrate the scene for his readers. When Seneca complains that Romans of his day only take their togas off to dine, several questions arise: when were Seneca's 'good old days'—the Augustan era? the Republic? Was he being accurate with regard to the practices of the past or just making something up to complain about the present? Invented traditions are common throughout history, and with so few contemporaneous sources for clothing in the Roman era, we must remain cautious about representations of earlier social practices and norms.

As a consequence of these limitations, some frequently-asked questions often cannot be answered with any certainty, such as when the custom that senators wore the broad purple stripe (*clavus latus*) and *equites* the narrow stripe (*clavus angustus*) emerged or was commonly practiced.⁹⁹ Livy certainly claims the broad stripe and gold ring existed as distinctions in the fourth century B.C.E., but does not say who wore them.¹⁰⁰ Suetonius says that Augustus allowed the adult sons of senators to wear the broad stripe and attend Senate meetings after donning the *toga virilis* to give them experience in politics before becoming senators in their own right.¹⁰¹ This seems to indicate that Augustus is not establishing a new practice entirely but simply extending the scope of an older practice, the distinction of senators by a broad stripe, to their adult sons who had not yet held office. Later in the text, however, Suetonius declares that Augustus had worn a broad-striped tunic during his own

⁹⁹ Pliny simply says the distinction emerged "late" (*sero*; *HN* 33.29); cf. Olson 2017: 19-20. For more on tunics and *clavi* in general, see Appendix, pp. 278f.

¹⁰⁰ Livy 9.7.9: *lati clavi, anuli aurei positi*.

¹⁰¹ Suet. *Aug.* 38.2.

coming-of-age ceremony, which obviously would have preceded his aforementioned expansion of the practice to the newly-adult.¹⁰² Later in life, furthermore, Augustus is said to have worn a stripe that was “neither broad nor narrow” (*clavo nec lato nec angusto*), which raises the issue of whether the ‘rule’ was a customary practice which only some people followed.¹⁰³ The medium-width stripe is but one of several sartorial examples of Augustus’ virtue of moderation, but we cannot know whether Suetonius made up these elements to illustrate the moral character of the *princeps* in his narrative or whether Augustus did in fact wear these clothes to show off his virtuous lifestyle more than his rank. Even within a single biography, and one that is unusually full of sartorial information, the use of *clavi* to depict rank remains unclear. Artistic representations do not help: while decorative stripes are common in painted depictions and surviving examples of tunics worn by people of all classes, color and width vary widely and include purple stripes of many sizes.¹⁰⁴ Statues lack the original paint which would have depicted stripes or borders. The stripe on the right side of the tunic of the bronze Arringatore statue is made in a different alloy, but we do not know if it is the particular mix that ancient sculptors used to depict murex-purple dye.¹⁰⁵

Chapter Overviews

Chapter 2, “*Tegere: To Cover or Conceal*,” analyzes the Roman idea of how the toga functioned as the primary object which covers and conceals the body, in both tactile and

¹⁰² Suet. *Aug.* 94.10.

¹⁰³ Suet. *Aug.* 73.

¹⁰⁴ Bender Jørgensen 2011; see, e.g., the tunics on mummy portraits from Egypt (Walker 1997).

¹⁰⁵ Granger-Taylor 1982: 7. Pliny says that on bronze statues, the purple of *praetextae* was represented by an alloy of lead and ‘Cyprian’ copper (*HN* 34.98.8).

visual senses. In doing so, the toga emphasized citizenship and masculinity, while it protected the body from the environment and physical attack. Exposure of the body complicated the toga's social connotations, implying vulnerability, effeminacy, or lasciviousness.

“The Citizen Body” demonstrates with greater detail just how much of the bodily aspect of the *habitus*—standing, gesturing, walking—is determined through the physical interaction of the moving body with the toga. The analyses of material and literary representations of the elite citizen, as a fighter or an orator, the client, the freedman, and the rustic give a better understanding of how variations in togas and in bodies in motion affect social meaning.

The final main chapter, “Toga Types and Transitions,” focuses on different togas and the practices which involved changing from one type of toga to another, or into or out of a toga, further highlighting the interactions between the materiality of the garment, the body, and the expression of social meaning. The varying materials—fibers, dyes, or surface treatments—of each type of garment helped to shape its significance for the wearer and the viewer. A change of togas, therefore, served to mark new phases of the life-cycle, a new public identity, or a calamitous disruption of civic life.

More detailed information about togas, including cost and who wore different types of toga under what circumstances (*pura/virilis/libera, candida, praetexta, purpurea, picta, pulla*), and tunics which does not appear in the chapters themselves can be found in “Appendix: The Basics.”

Chapter 2 – *Tegere*: To Cover or Conceal

The “double function of clothing,” according to Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, is “physical protection as well as media of communication.”¹⁰⁶ Most contemporary scholars, as seen in the literature review, have focused on the latter function; the purpose of this chapter is to show how the physical and visual protection provided by the toga’s material and its social meaning are inextricably intertwined. The degree to which the fabric of the toga covered and protected the body, and how much of the wearer it concealed and how much it exposed, shaped the expression of various components of the wearer’s identity, such as *Romanitas* and citizenship, masculinity, wealth, and even promiscuity or effeminacy.

The first part of this chapter looks at how the Roman concept of the toga’s role as cover or concealment manifests in literary representations of togas, especially when the togas are being used as a form of protection. For instance, clothes perform crucial functions such as keeping in body heat or blocking the sun, protecting the body from physical damage, and blunting sensations from the external environment. People experience the environment through the body, and clothing, as a physical border between the body and the environment, mediates much of this experience.¹⁰⁷ The inside surface of clothing sits upon the skin of the body, while the outside surface defines the outer boundary of the space occupied by the individual person, creating an internal environment through which the body senses the world and, importantly, through which the outside world perceives the body. Garments can also

¹⁰⁶ Harlow and Nosch 2014: 3. Cf. Vout 1996: 215.

¹⁰⁷ On perception being embodied, see Merleau-Ponty 2002; on the application of Merleau-Ponty’s approach to the study of dress, see Entwistle 2000: 333-334.

hold objects, keeping things in an inner space which is closest to the body and hidden from the outside world. As a result, the capacity of a toga to fulfil these material functions in various contexts often leads to different connotations in meaning, which can be used for narrative purposes as well as to explain certain social practices.

The second part of this chapter demonstrates that the ways in which the fabric of the toga visually emphasizes certain parts of the wearer's body, while simultaneously concealing most of the body from view, establish its use as a sign denoting 'Roman,' 'citizen,' and 'male.' In combination with secondary sex characteristics and gendered ideas of decency, the materiality of the fabric's drape and color marks which bodies belong within the Roman citizenry. These two elements obscure most individual bodily characteristics and tend to create a visual similarity among citizens. On the other hand, nuances of these characteristics reveal to a discerning audience who does not belong among the Roman elite. The section ends with a discussion of how these meanings manifest in literary and artistic representations of Romans in the provinces.

In the last part of the chapter, I show how uncovering the body affects the toga's meaning. Careful exposure of the upper body could signify both bravery and humility—a combination which was useful in Roman politics. Even if the body was technically covered by the material of a tunic, the toga's fabric still had to conceal the wearer's body visually in order to signify that its wearer was a moral, masculine, Roman citizen. If the toga failed to perform its concealing function, nearly the exact opposite meanings, effeminacy and vice, were the result.

Covering the Body

In contrast to the Greeks, for whom nudity was heroic and masculine, Romans “had a strong and persistent taboo against being seen naked in public,” so much so that even slaves wore a breechclout (*subligaculum*).¹⁰⁸ Being covered was a social necessity, and the toga is the garment which Romans believed encoded this most basic function in its very name. For example, M. Terentius Varro, the comedian Titinius, and modern etymologists all point out the word ‘toga’ is derived from *tegere*, “to cover, conceal, protect”; Varro much more fancifully derives *tunica* “from guarding” (*a tuendo*).¹⁰⁹ Isidore explains that the toga is so-called because “by its own fabric it covers and conceals the body” (*velamento sui corpus tegerat et operiat*).¹¹⁰

In his comedy *Fullonibus*, Titinius gives the etymology and emphasizes that the toga “is what we customarily wear in the Forum” (*sicut in consuetudine habetur, vestimentum quo in foro amicimur*). Titinius also illustrates that the toga could be considered the sartorial equivalent of a roof, covering what is beneath it. For example, a fragment from the comedy *Gamina* includes a pun on the word’s origin. The wife of a philandering husband demands

¹⁰⁸ Petersen 2009: 195; cf. Olson 2003: 205-208; Hallett 2005.

¹⁰⁹ Varro, *Ling.* 5.114.3: *Tunica ab tuendo corpore, tunica ut <tu>endica. Toga a tegendo* (“Tunic from *tuendo*, ‘protecting’ the body, as if it were *tuendica*. Toga from *tegendo*, ‘covering’”). Titinius: *toga dicta est a tegendo. et est toga, sicut in consuetudine habetur, vestimentum quo in foro amicimur* (“Toga is so-called from covering, and it is the toga, just as is customary, in which we are clothed in the Forum”; Non. 653L). Ernout and Meillet (1967: 693, s.v. *toga*) confirm the *tegere* derivation for *toga*. They do not use Varro’s etymology for *tunica* (1967: 707 s.v. *tunica*), but note that the word poses problems since it does not fit its predecessors, whereas Greek χιτών is clearly from the Phoenician kəthōneth. Ernout and Meillet propose there may have been an Etruscan intermediary for *tunica*.

¹¹⁰ Isid. *Etym.* 14.3: *toga dicta quod velamento sui corpus teget atque operiat*.

that the keys to the country home be hidden, so that her husband “cannot have a toga.”¹¹¹ This supposedly implies that she believes that he is going to bring along a prostitute—such women were said to wear the garment and were thus called *togata*.¹¹² Nonius comments on the pun for those of his readers who might not get the grammatical joke, stating that “a toga is called also a roof.” The playwright, however, likely assumed that his own audience would understand that a roof and a hooker can be equated through their linguistic and cultural connection to the toga. Moreover, centuries after Varro and Titinius and in a very different literary context—a discussion of legal terminology—Pomponius quotes Ofilius as saying “a hut is named by its tiled roof, just as a toga is named because we are covered by it” (*tegamur*).¹¹³ The toga was clearly thought to be etymologically and functionally similar enough to the roof of a building in the Roman mind that the word could be the basis of both a joke that native Latin speakers would get and an explanation of legal language.

Just as a roof physically covers and protects a house and the people within it, the fabric of the toga performs a similar material function for the body of its wearer. Romans recognized that the toga functioned primarily as a barrier to protect the wearer’s body from factors in the external environment, and in the most prosaic sense, from sun, heat, and

¹¹¹ *dicitur et tectum*. Titinius Gemina (43): ...*abstrudi iubeo rusticae togai nec sit copia; id est, tecti* (Non. 653L). Cf. McGinn 1998: 158; Olson 2002: 394.

¹¹² For prostitutes in the toga, see below, pp. 97ff.

¹¹³ *Dig.* 50.16.180.1.2. Llewellyn-Jones (2017) has shown that the Greeks conceptualized women’s veils in a similar way. The veil acted like a substitute house, its enclosing ‘walls’ concealing her from the gaze of men and maintaining a private space around her body. Thus a respectable woman could go out in public as long as she was fully veiled.

cold.¹¹⁴ For example, the toga could be used as a literal shelter from the sun: during the spring feast of Anna Perenna, plebeian couples would create shade-structures for themselves by covering reeds with their togas.¹¹⁵ However, Roman citizens who were engaged in public life were ostensibly required to wear the toga all year long, no matter the weather. Only under extenuating circumstances, such as ill health, was a public figure like the emperor exempt from wearing a toga.¹¹⁶ The *habitus* of an elite Roman man included wearing the toga every day, but society did not necessarily require that the wearer suffer to do so. The fabric of the toga could be modified to reflect seasonal conditions and protect the body from environmental extremes.

In cool weather, the toga's large volume served to keep warmth in and cold out. In Horace's *Sermones*, the fickle Tigellius says that the bare necessities of life are a table, salt, and a toga "that can keep out the cold."¹¹⁷ Yet for winter conditions, too, the fabric could be adapted to external conditions. Workers in a *fullonica* would brush the surface of a toga to raise a nap in the wool—this may have made the fabric look like modern flannel—which

¹¹⁴ The word "toga" could be used figuratively as a metaphor for other types of physical covering. For instance, Martial calls the purple paper wrapping for the scrolls of his book of epigrams a "toga" (*purpurea toga*, 10.93.4). His poems are satirical statements about Roman life—it is only fitting that a toga should cover them. A purple toga could also be an allusion to the emperor, whose power covered the Roman Empire and to whom the book was dedicated.

¹¹⁵ Ov. *Fast.* 3.525-530. The March 15th feast of Anna Perenna was the original start to the Roman year (*Fast.* 3.146; cf. *Macr. Sat.* 1.12.6). It may have been a fertility ritual, since it involved couples and the girls sang obscene songs (3.675-76; cf. *Mart.* 4.64.17; Fantham 2002b: 31-32; Moreno Soldevila 2006: 441-443). In his discussion of who the goddess could be, including Dido's sister, Io, and Luna, Ovid deepens the plebeian connection with an Anna from Bovillae, who fed the *plebs* cakes called *liba* when they seceded in 494 B.C.E. (3.663-674; cf. Miller 2002: 208).

¹¹⁶ Suet. *Claud.* 2.2.8.

¹¹⁷ Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.14-15.

would increase the insulating properties of the fabric. For temperate weather, this nap would be trimmed down evenly, but winter togas possibly retained the full nap and were thus called the *toga pexa*.¹¹⁸ Augustus supposedly wore four tunics and a ‘fat’ toga in winter (*pinguis toga*).¹¹⁹ Cicero notes that less-hardy men could cover their heads with a fold of their toga in rain or cold weather.¹²⁰ A Roman could also wear a cloak such as a *laena* or a *lacerna* over his toga; some *lacernae* were made in white wool to wear over togas in the amphitheater.¹²¹

For the hot weather of Italian summers, there were several ways to modify the toga to adapt it for the heat. For example, the nap could be completely shaved down to make the fabric thinner and increase air circulation; one such style, possibly developed in the late Augustan era, was called a *toga rasa*.¹²² Some fashionable Romans seem to have used seasonal heat as an excuse to wear an expensive gauze or silk toga.¹²³ The younger Cato, a notoriously traditional Roman, supposedly took his tunic off during one sweltering summer and wore the toga over just a breechclout; he also is known for wearing the shorter style which had been popular much earlier in the Republic.¹²⁴ For these fashionable and old-fashioned Romans, the toga stayed on when in Rome, even if the tunic did not, no matter

¹¹⁸ E.g., Mart. 2.44.1-4.

¹¹⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 82.1.1.

¹²⁰ Cic. *Sen.* 34.

¹²¹ Juv. 3.148-149; Plin. *HN* 18.225; Mart. 8.28.22, 12.29.10-11, 12.36.2, 14.135.2; cf. Kolb 1973: 124-125; Olson 2017: 71-72.

¹²² Plin. *HN* 8.195; Mart. 2.85.4; Juv. 2.97. Cf. Olson 2017: 107.

¹²³ Juv. 2.68-78. For more on the transparent toga, see below, pp. 95ff.

¹²⁴ Asc. 29C; Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.13; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 6; Val. Max. 3.6.7.3; cf. Olson 2014b: 435. For more on the toga without the tunic, see below, pp. 86ff, 199ff. For more on changing styles in the Republic, see Ch. 3, pp. 119ff.

how hot it got in the city. Status and authority seem to have been more important than comfort or even health. As Jan Meister puts it, “a lack of practicality rarely plays a role in prestigious clothing.”¹²⁵ Yet Roman togas may not have been all that miserable to wear in the summer. An experiment in reconstructing ancient Roman clothing during a summer workshop for the American Academy in Rome led the costume designer in charge to conclude that the garments were “elegant and comfortable, despite the 100-degree weather in Rome. The ancient Romans knew how to dress suitably for their climate.”¹²⁶

Importantly, however, only those who could afford multiple togas could adapt the fabric of individual garments to suit the physical needs of their bodies in the different seasons of the year. Wearing comfortable (i.e., materially altered) togas in hot or chilly weather, therefore, would have been a subtle sign of a certain level of wealth. People who were not so fortunate are depicted wearing togas which do not protect them from the weather. A toga that had been laundered many times eventually became faded and threadbare, and thereby marked a man who could not afford to replace his toga.¹²⁷ Martial makes an ironic comparison when he implies that a *toga pexa* could be a mark of ownership, as a luxurious gift for a dependent client, by contrasting it to the threadbare toga of a poor yet independent man.¹²⁸ Like a roof that has holes in it, letting rain and cold inside, a threadbare toga is targeted by a critical audience for leaving its wearer freezing—in other words, for not

¹²⁵ Meister 2017: 194.

¹²⁶ N. Goldman 1994a: 213.

¹²⁷ Mart. 9.57.8: *pallens toga*; 9.100.5: *trita quidem nobis togula est vilisque vetusque*; on the damage of laundering, see Bradley 2002: 29-30.

¹²⁸ Mart. 2.74. For more on the depiction of clients in satire, see Ch. 3, pp. 144ff.

performing its most basic duty of covering.¹²⁹ By failing in its material function as an object, as the physical barrier between the body inside and the environment outside, such a toga marks its wearer as non-elite. The materiality of his toga shows that he does not conform with the elite *habitus*, for elites can wear their togas comfortably.

From a Roman viewpoint, the toga did more than just cover and conceal the body from passive external factors such as weather, since many authors describe a toga's fabric being manipulated in some way to provide physical protection. Several anecdotes concern certain occasions when someone would use a toga to protect himself or another person from attacks. In some cases, the material protection which the fabric provided for the body seems flimsy but was in fact powerful in an ideological way, while in others, the sheer bulk of the material becomes an effective physical defense. Either way, literary representations of the use of the toga to protect a person from attack demonstrate the significant role of the toga as a material object which served to cover, conceal, and protect the wearer's body from the outside world.

In several narratives, the fabric of the toga is, for the most part, physically ineffective against weapons but still manages to function as a form of protection, since the toga does tangibly encircle the one being protected under the guardianship of the wearer. For instance, when the Senate met in 63 B.C.E. to decide the punishment for the Catilinarian conspirators, Caesar spoke out against execution, but Cato prevailed in persuading the wavering Senate to condemn the accused as enemies of Rome.¹³⁰ In Suetonius' version of events, Caesar persisted until the armed troop of *equites* who were acting as guards began threatening him

¹²⁹ Cf. Mart. 2.74, 4.34.2, 6.50.2, 8.28, 9.49.8.

¹³⁰ Sall. *Cat.* 50-55; Suet. *Iul.* 14.

with their swords.¹³¹ A few of Caesar's friends were barely able to shield him with their arms and with their togas thrown over him as an obstacle (*vix pauci complexu togaque obiecta protexerint*).¹³² Not only is the toga a sign of peace, but the phrase *toga obiecta* implies that the intent of his friends' actions was to use the togas as a physical defense, just as much as they used their bodies, in the hope that the bulk of the fabric would somehow block the blows.¹³³ The flimsy quality of their togas adds to the *pathos* of Suetonius' account and the shock of a violent attack in the heart of Rome.

The toga's success as a form of protection in a narrative, however, could have had more to do with the perceived social and political power of the friend, though represented in a tangible way by the encircling material of the toga, than with any practical considerations or its meaning of peace. Suetonius does not name Caesar's friends and emphasizes the ineffectiveness of their gesture by pairing *vix* and *pauci* at the beginning of the clause: "the few scarcely could protect..." Plutarch names C. Scribonius Curio (cos. 76) as the friend in

¹³¹ Suet. *Iul.* 14.2: *ac ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit, quoad manus equitum Romanorum, quae armata praesidii causa circumstabat, inmoderatus perseveranti necem comminata est, etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans, ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, vix pauci complexu togaque obiecta protexerint. tunc plane deterritus non modo cessit, sed et in reliquum anni tempus curia abstinuit* ("Not even thus did [Caesar] stop hindering the matter, until a band of Roman *equites*, who were standing around armed as a guard, threatened him with death for persevering too much. They even drew their swords and aimed them toward him, so that his close friends sitting next to him abandoned him, while a few scarcely protected him with their arms and togas thrown around him. Then, clearly terrified, he not only yielded, but he also stayed away from the Curia for the remainder of the year"). Suetonius' version is rather implausible, since the guard would not have been standing inside the building; Sallust and Plutarch state that an armed attack happened as Caesar emerged from the meeting (Sall. *Cat.* 49.4; Plut. *Caes.* 8.2-4; cf. Ramsey 2007: 189; Pelling 2011b: 169-171).

¹³² I am interpreting *obiecta* to mean that the togas were thrown in the way of the blows as defense or hindrance (Lewis & Short, s.v. *obicio* l.b.).

¹³³ On the toga and its meaning of peace, see Ch. 3, pp. 136ff.

question but doubts that the attack happened at all.¹³⁴ In another anecdote, during the climax of the conflict between Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos and the younger Cato, both tribunes, over recalling Pompey to Rome in 62 B.C.E., Plutarch says that the consul L. Licinius Murena held his toga over Cato to protect him from sticks and stones thrown by the populace and Metellus' men, and finally wrapped Cato in his arms and led him off to safety.¹³⁵ The drapery of a toga could have blunted the force of such small thrown objects in a physical manner, but there is a strong ideological component in the shielding fabric in this narrative as well. Cato had previously charged Murena with securing the consulship by bribery, but Plutarch is careful to note that after he was acquitted, Murena did not carry a grudge but in fact asked Cato's advice and treated him with respect and trust.¹³⁶ As a result, Murena's protective gesture also implies that the consul was sheltering Cato under the aegis of his friendship, the authority of his high office, and the sanctity of his *toga praetexta*, in

¹³⁴ Plut. *Caes.* 8.2-4. Plutarch says that he doubts the story because Cicero does not mention it in his account of his consulship (*Caes.* 8.4). Pelling calls this an “inconsequential argument” because Cicero would probably omit an event for which he was later criticized; moreover, this elder Curio was a supporter of Cicero and a “bitter and vocal enemy” of Caesar (Pelling 2011b: 170).

¹³⁵ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 28.2-3: [2] ὁ Μέτελλος . . . ἐκέλευσεν ἄποθεν ὀπίτας μετὰ φόβου καὶ κραυγῆς ἐπιτρέχειν. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ πάντων διασκεδασθέντων ὑποστάντα μόνον τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ βαλλόμενον λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις ἄνωθεν οὐ περιεΐδε Μουρήνας ὁ τὴν δίκην φυγῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς, [3] ἀλλὰ τὴν τήβεννον προῖσχύμενος καὶ βοῶν ἀνασχεῖν τοῖς βάλλουσι, καὶ τέλος αὐτὸν τὸν Κάτωνα πείθων καὶ περιπτύσσων, εἰς τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀπήγαγεν (“Metellus ordered soldiers to come near and run up with fearsome shouts. When this was done and everyone scattered, Cato stood alone and was struck with sticks and stones from above. Murena, who had been charged and brought to trial by him, did not overlook Cato but, holding his toga in front of him, shouting to those hitting him to stop, and finally persuading Cato himself and folding him in his arms, he led him away into the temple of the Dioscouri”).

¹³⁶ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 21.6.

opposition to violent attacks against a sacrosanct tribune.¹³⁷ With this powerful ally, Cato and his supporters soon rallied the people and forced Metellus' supporters to flee, breaking up the assembly. This symbolic protection may arguably have arisen from an idea that the protector included the victim of attack literally and ideologically in his 'circle,' represented in a material way by the boundary of the toga's enveloping fabric.

Roman authors often take advantage of the meager quality of the toga's physical protection for a narrative purpose. Historical accounts of the assassinations of prominent men often depict a poignant final gesture—the victim draws his toga over his head as he is being murdered. Caesar briefly evaded his assassins in the Curia on the Ides of March, 44 B.C.E., but when he saw Brutus with drawn dagger and realized his death was inevitable, he drew his toga over his own head, covering himself as he was stabbed.¹³⁸ Some authors assert that he also pulled his hem over his legs to preserve his modesty as he fell.¹³⁹ Whether completely covering his body in his toga was an effort at self-protection, maintaining modesty, or simply a sign of despair and dejection, the materiality of the fabric proved no obstacle. Caesar's killers easily pierced the toga's inadequate barrier. A more ideological meaning can also be added to a narrative: Appian highlights the violation of Caesar's sacred *toga purpurea* during the impious misdeed, increasing the righteous outrage against Caesar's murderers.¹⁴⁰ In a list of the transgressions which Brutus and Cassius committed in

¹³⁷ On the *toga praetexta*, see Sebesta 2005 and Ch. 4, pp. 164ff.

¹³⁸ App. *B Civ.* 2.117; Plut. *Caes.* 66.12, *Brut.* 17.5.

¹³⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 82.2.4. Tempest says this gesture is "the only thing dignified" about Caesar's death (2011: 114).

¹⁴⁰ *Purpurea*: App. *B Civ.* 2.117 (τῆς πορφύρας). Other sources, however, do not describe Caesar in the *toga purpurea*: *praetexta*: Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.31; unspecified toga: τὴν

assassinating Caesar, the historian remarks that they acted “against a sacred priest, even covered in his sacred clothing.”¹⁴¹ Antony famously used the blood-stained toga as a dramatic prop during his funerary oration; some sources claim he even brandished it during the speech.¹⁴² Caesar’s futile protective gesture is a familiar one in Roman literature: Pompey, too, is said to have drawn his toga over his face as he was stabbed to death.¹⁴³ In these instances, the toga provides little protection but instead serves to heighten the poignancy of the story.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the bulky fabric of the toga could be rather effective as physical protection when wrapped strategically around a body part and could even be considered an impromptu substitute for armor. One anecdote in Appian’s history represents the toga both as material protection against attackers and as ideological concealment from divine scrutiny. In this narrative, as the *pontifex maximus* Cornelius Scipio Nasica rallied people to join him in marching to the Capitol against Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C.E., he pulled his toga onto his head, twisting the fabric awry by pulling the straight edge up from across the back, as priests did.¹⁴⁴ Appian proposes three possible

τήβεννον (Plut. *Caes.* 66.6); τὸ ἱμάτιον (Plut. *Caes.* 66.12, *Brut.* 17.4; Dio 44.19.4); στολῆς (Dio 44.49.4); *toga, veste* (Suet. *Iul.* 82.1, 82.2, 84.1).

¹⁴¹ App. *B Civ.* 4.134: καὶ ἐς ἱερέα καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον. See also the murder of the praetor Asellio in his sacred vestments (App. *B Civ.* 1.54).

¹⁴² Plut. *Cic.* 42.4, *Brut.* 20.5; App. *B Civ.* 2.146, 3.34; Suet. *Iul.* 84.2; Dio 44.49.4; Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.34. On the theatrical nature of Antony’s gesture, see Hall 2014: 134-40.

¹⁴³ Plut. *Pomp.* 79.4. Centuries later in the *Historiae Augustae*, Pertinax, facing an angry mob of soldiers, prays to Jupiter the Avenger and then covers his head with his toga as he is being stabbed by the crowd (SHA *Pert.* 11.10.2).

¹⁴⁴ App. *B Civ.* 1.16; also Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.4; Linderski 2002. The *sinus* was not added until the Augustan era, possibly to make it easier for priests to cover their heads. For further discussion of Scipio Nasica’s actions, see Ch. 2, pp. 54ff.

justifications for this strange act: to increase the number of his followers by his distinctive appearance, to make a sort of “helmet as a sign of battle,” or to “hide himself from the gods because of what he was going to do.”¹⁴⁵ Scipio’s action and Appian’s analysis demonstrate the complexity of the ways the toga could be used as a physical object. It covered and concealed the wearer from physical attack and from an unwelcome gaze—human or divine—and thereby fulfilled its most basic function as a boundary between the body and external forces. It was a tangible piece of fabric which could be manipulated and controlled by wrapping it around the body in different ways. It could also be a very visible sign: by being worn in such an atypical manner, the toga presented various atypical meanings, including violence instead of peace.

Wrapping the arm in fabric as an impromptu shield may have been a rather practical method of physical protection. The gesture is not limited to the toga in historical narratives, since wrapping the left forearm with a shirt or jacket is also common advice for self-defense from a knife attack.¹⁴⁶ It can certainly underscore the drama of a written account. Latin sources written before Appian depict Scipio Nasica wrapping the hem of his toga around his left arm, not his head, as he shouts, “let those who wish for the safety of the *res publica*

¹⁴⁵ ἐβόα τε μέγιστον ἔπεσθαί οἱ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν περιεσύρατο, εἴτε τῷ παρασήμῳ τοῦ σχήματος πλέονάς οἱ συντρέχειν ἐπισπώμενος, εἴτε πολέμου τι σύμβολον τοῖς ὄρῳσιν ὡς κόρυθα ποιούμενος, εἴτε θεοὺς ἐγκαλυπτόμενος ὧν ἔμελλε δράσειν (“He shouted loudly at those who had come to follow him to save the fatherland. He drew the lower edge of his toga around his head, either to persuade a greater number to go with him by the distinctiveness of his appearance, or as if making a helmet as some symbol of battle for those who saw him, or veiling himself in shame before the gods for the things he was about to do”). For translation of the last clause, see LSJ s.v. ἐγκαλύπτω A.II.2.

¹⁴⁶ See, e.g., everything2.com/title/How+to+win+a+knife+fight; www.quora.com/How-do-I-protect-myself-in-a-knife-fight.

follow me!"; his followers may have done the same.¹⁴⁷ In Appian's portrayal of the immediate aftermath of Caesar's assassination, the murderers run through the streets of Rome, "wrapping their togas around their left arms just like shields," holding their blood-stained swords in their right hands.¹⁴⁸ Plutarch describes Alcibiades as wrapping his cloak around his left arm, seizing his sword in his right hand, and then leaping dramatically out through the flames of his burning house to die valiantly fighting his enemies.¹⁴⁹ The fact that Alcibiades has no armor or shield highlights the treachery of the ambush—he is unprotected except for his clothing—while his adaptation of his cloak to serve a similar purpose shows that he is skilled, clever, and resourceful. Likewise, Roman soldiers had to wrap garments around their arms when rebels broke into their camp in the Batavian revolt of 70 C.E.¹⁵⁰

Not only have these men controlled the drapery of their outer garments in order to increase mobility, they are also taking advantage of the very materiality, the object-ness, of the bulky clothing. Being constrained to use their clothing for protection in these scenes, furthermore, implies that these men were not prepared for combat. Lacking visible shields or armor, they seemed to have been going about their daily business in a peaceful way—thus Scipio Nasica needed to turn the toga into a helmet as a sign of battle when rallying other citizens to join the fight. Since they lacked weapons as well, Scipio Nasica and his followers

¹⁴⁷ *deinde laevam manum <im>a parte togae circumdedit, sublataque dextra proclamavit 'qui rem publicam salvam esse volunt me sequantur,'* (Val. Max 3.2.17.16); *circumdata laevo brachio togae lacinia ex superiore parte Capitolii summis gradibus insistens hortatus est, qui salvam vellent rem publicam, se sequerentur* (Vell. Pat. 2.3.1.5).

¹⁴⁸ App. *B Civ.* 2.17: τὰ ἱμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ὥσπερ ἀσπίδας περιπλεξάμενοι.

¹⁴⁹ Plut. *Alc.* 39.3. For more on the death of Alcibiades, see Perrin 1906; Verdegem 2010: 387-394.

¹⁵⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 5.22: *plerique circum brachia torta veste.*

were reduced to breaking apart benches in the Forum to create clubs so they could beat—and kill—Tiberius Gracchus and his supporters. The fact that the toga, the sartorial marker of civil life as well as peace, was being turned to such violent purposes within the city and against fellow Roman citizens further accentuates the tension and drama of Appian's account. By utilizing their togas in such a way, the aggressors could imply that although their deeds were violent, they were carrying them out as civic duties for the *res publica*.

Clearly, altering the drape of the toga to control the fabric and cover the body in an unusual way can transform how the toga expresses meaning, as well. When the toga is worn in the typical manner, draping the bulky folds of the toga with both ends over the left shoulder and arm hindered the movement of the upper body and thereby shaped its significance as the garb of peace.¹⁵¹ In the example of Nasica and his followers, however, they took advantage of the physical material from which the toga is made by using the bulky fabric quite literally as protective armor while committing violent acts. Although the narratives highlight the spontaneous and pragmatic nature of such gestures, using the toga as physical covering for the body in this atypical fashion changes it from a sign of peace to one of violence and civil conflict.

Not only could togas (sometimes) physically protect the bodies of their wearers during an attack, it seems the garments were also used—again rather pragmatically—to hide weaponry from the sight of others. This was not simply a strategic manipulation of the toga as an object, for this method of physically concealing something also served to disguise the wearer's ulterior motives under the peaceful façade created by the toga. The underhanded

¹⁵¹ On the toga's meaning of peace, see Ch. 3, pp. 136ff.

nature of this act is emphasized in many narratives. Large groups could use this strategy for a surprise invasion, such as the Roman attacks on the Ausones.¹⁵² More commonly, individuals would hide weapons in their togas for an assassination or coup, such as when Tarquinius usurps the throne of Tullius, when Perolla Calavius intends to kill Hannibal, or when Brutus and Cassius prepare to kill Julius Caesar.¹⁵³ Milo removed his clothing in a Senate meeting to prove that he had no weapons, since it was rumored that he was trying to assassinate Pompey.¹⁵⁴

The accounts of the toga being used as armor mentioned earlier emphasize the impromptu nature of the gesture, the spontaneity of the need for protection, and the idea of violence as a civic duty. In the invasion and assassination narratives, however, the toga's function as a sign of peace is further undermined by the fact that the assassins had clearly planned their violence, for they had earlier hidden weapons under the togas they were now using as armor. In this sense, the fabric concealed not just the weapons, but also the wearer's inner motives from the outer world. Ironically, the toga's presence projected a falsely peaceful image to an outside viewer at the same time as it hid the wearer's murderous purpose. Again, the toga's primary role of physically covering the body served to separate the wearer from the outer world—his inner character, revealed to the reader by his actions in the narrative, was in direct contrast to the peace that his toga initially signaled.

¹⁵² Livy 9.25.7.

¹⁵³ Tarquinius: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.38.2. Perolla Calavius: Livy 23.8.10; Sil. *Pun.* 11.317. Brutus and Cassius: Plut. *Brut.* 14.4; 16.4; P. Sulpicius: App. *B Civ.* 1.56.

¹⁵⁴ Cic. *Mil.* 66: *frequentissimo senatu nuper in Capitolio senator inventus est qui Milonem cum telo esse diceret: nudavit se in sanctissimo templo* (“In a recent crowded Senate meeting on the Capitoline, there happened to be a senator who said that Milo had a weapon; Milo stripped himself in the most sacred temple”).

Despite how easily people could hide weapons under their togas, the ideology of peace and the idea that the toga effectively covered and protected the wearer remained so strong that there seem to be few instances of people taking more pragmatic counter-measures against physical attack within the city of Rome. In one notable example, Cicero went to the Campus Martius to attend the consular elections for 63 B.C.E. with a bodyguard and a breastplate beneath his toga, making sure everyone could see it, to illustrate that he was in danger of his life from Catiline's conspirators.¹⁵⁵ Even so, Cicero asserts that the breastplate was not being used as personal protection (*non quae me teget*) but was instead a sign to rally the citizens to defend him. He is using the dissonance between the breastplate's implication of anticipated violence and the toga's message of peace to create emotional distress in his audience. Despite Cicero's own claims, Plutarch and Dio do attribute the gesture partly to Cicero's fear for his safety in their narratives, heightening the sense of threat from Catiline's determined conspirators in their own narratives.¹⁵⁶ Augustus, mindful that the underhanded application of the toga's concealing function had aided the murderers of his predecessor, not only is said to have worn a small breastplate under his toga, but also

¹⁵⁵ Cic. *Mur.* 52: *quod homines iam tum coniuratos cum gladiis in campum deduci a Catilina sciebam, descendi in campum cum firmissimo praesidio fortissimorum virorum et cum illa lata insignique lorica, non quae me teget—etenim sciebam Catilinam non latus aut ventrem sed caput et collum solere petere—verum ut omnes boni animadverterent et, cum in metu et periculo consulem viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem praesidiumque concurrerent* (“because I knew that men, already conspirators with swords, were being led into the Campus by Catiline, I went down into the Campus with the most steadfast guard of the bravest men, and wearing that broad and distinctive cuirass, not so it would protect me—since I knew that Catiline usually aimed not at the torso and belly but the head and neck—but in fact so that all good men would notice it and, when they saw their consul in fear and in danger, would run together to my assistance and defense, which they did”).

¹⁵⁶ Plut. *Cic.* 14.7; Dio 37.29.4.

to have had senators searched before they could approach him.¹⁵⁷ Both Cicero and the later historians describe the act of wearing armor under the toga as unusual behavior, a sign of abnormally dire conditions in Rome.

Beyond hidden weaponry, other types of objects that are held within the toga can be emotionally or ideologically connected to the wearer. In the context of everyday Roman life, certain horizontal folds of clothing which fell across the torso were called the *sinus*, including the part of the toga which draped under the right arm. These folds formed pockets which were used to hold any personal items that needed to be carried around on a regular basis, such as money or scrolls.¹⁵⁸ Yet this prosaic use of the fabric can hide a deeper significance. Many of the things which men and women held within the *sinus* of their clothing were considered personal in a rather emotional way. When Catullus' *puella* plays with her pet sparrow and holds it in her *sinus* (the drape of her tunic at her collarbone, her lap, or perhaps the *sinus* of a toga), the poet feels rather shut out.¹⁵⁹ In Horace's *Satire* 2.3, Servius Oppidus, a rich man, says that when he saw one young son "keeping his dice and nuts in a loose *sinus*" while his other boy counted and buried his, he knew one was too profligate, the other too miserly.¹⁶⁰ The imagery illustrates both the boy's love of gambling

¹⁵⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 35.2; also Dio 54.12.3. Appian says that Antony wore a breastplate under his tunic after the assassination of Caesar (App. *B Civ.* 2.130).

¹⁵⁸ Scrolls: Plut. *Cat. Min.* 19.1; Cic. 49.5; Gell. *NA* 4.18.9-10.

¹⁵⁹ Catull. 2.2. On the togas of prostitutes and adulteresses, see below, pp. 97ff.

¹⁶⁰ Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.171: '*postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque / ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi / te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem*' ('After I saw you, Aulus, holding your dice and nuts in a loose *sinus*, giving gifts of money and gambling it away, and you, Tiberius, counting yours and anxiously hiding them in holes...'). Cf. Morris 1939: 187.

(keeping his dice and nuts in his *sinus*) and inability to hold onto his money (the looseness).¹⁶¹

Suetonius' narratives can also draw on this close ideological bond between the *sinus* and the wearer. L. Vitellius, described as marvelously talented in techniques of flattery (*miri in adulando ingenii primus*), supposedly charmed the empress Messalina into letting him remove her slippers, as if he were her lover.¹⁶² Yet he went further than a typical lover: he took one of the slippers and kept it "between his toga and tunics" (*inter togam tunicasque*), occasionally even kissing it, in order to impress her with his devotion and thereby gain favor with the emperor, since, as Suetonius says, Claudius "surrendered to his wives and freedmen."¹⁶³ Suetonius emphasizes the emotional connection between wearer and object by their physical proximity as he describes Vitellius as holding the slipper close to his body, beneath the outer surface of his toga (though the biographer could be striking a subtle false note with the marked mention of Vitellius' tunics, which would lie between the slipper and his skin). The ostentatious gesture of kissing the shoe may also have been a way for Vitellius to demonstrate publicly that he held the slipper close.¹⁶⁴ Roman authors use the imagery of holding something in the *sinus* of the toga, close to the body, to emphasize a personal

¹⁶¹ See also Ch. 3, pp. 124ff, on loose togas as a fashion.

¹⁶² Suet. *Vit.* 2.5. On removing the slippers as a lover's gesture, see Ov. *Ars am.* 2.211-212; Shotter 1993: 167.

¹⁶³ Suet. *Vit.* 2.5: *Claudium uxoribus libertisque addictum*. On *addictum* as enslavement for debt, see Shotter 1993: 166.

¹⁶⁴ Suetonius' narrative uses similar exaggeration to describe Vitellius' sycophancy toward Narcissus and Pallas, Claudius' two most powerful freedmen: he is said to have placed golden statuettes of them on his own household altar (*Vit.* 2.5).

connection between the object and the wearer and reveal an important facet of the character of the wearer.

Covering the Head

When fabric (from any garment) was used to cover and conceal a man's head, the social meaning gets complicated. The toga defined the wearer's bodily personal space by the material boundary created by its fabric—but the individual identity of the wearer would always be apparent from his facial features. When men's heads and faces are covered, therefore, such an act seems to have been an attempt to use the material as a boundary to contain, envelop, and remove a man from the social world. For instance, covering the entire head, including the face, was part of an ancient sentence for those who committed treason or killed a parent; the criminal would then be tied to a tree and whipped to death.¹⁶⁵ Carlin Barton says that “the community might deny personhood to those they shamed by covering or wrapping the head, the focus of one's social being.”¹⁶⁶ Once the convicted man had been effectively removed from the citizen body, he could be subjected to torture and capital punishment, as if he were a slave or enemy combatant; he was socially dead.¹⁶⁷ Cicero calls such a sentence archaic and cruel, while Livy remarks that Horatius' father begged for the boy to be acquitted to avoid condemning a hero of Rome to such a horrible punishment.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ E.g. *caput obnubito*, Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 4.13; *caput obnube*: Livy 1.26.6, 11; *caput eius obnubere*: Fest. 174L; cf. Ogilvie 1965: 114-117. Verres is said to have executed Roman citizens and pirates alike, with their heads covered (*capitis involutis*: Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.156-7).

¹⁶⁶ Barton 2002: 230 n. 26.

¹⁶⁷ On slavery as a form of social death, see Patterson 1982.

¹⁶⁸ Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 4.13; Livy 1.26.10-11.

Covering someone completely by concealing their head and face seems to have been a way to cut them off from society.

Under other circumstances, covering the face has more ambiguous meanings. Ovid gives three reasons why a statue of Servius Tullius in the temple of Fortuna had its face covered in multiple layers of togas: for the shame the goddess Fortuna felt for sleeping with him, to relieve the overwhelming grief the people felt at his death, or because the statue itself did not want to look upon the abominable face of his daughter.¹⁶⁹ The goddess decreed that “the first day Servius appears with his face revealed will be the day that *pudor* is set aside.”¹⁷⁰ Whose *pudor*, however, is unclear: is it Servius’ honorable sense of modesty? or the humiliation felt by the goddess or the father? Is it meant to block her from seeing him, the people from seeing him, or him from seeing his daughter? According to Barton, the concept of *pudor* encompasses both the inhibition of the harmful gaze and the modesty of averting one’s own gaze.¹⁷¹ Using the toga’s fabric as a veil, increasing its scope as a boundary which covers and conceals the inner world from the outer by extending its protection over the head, serves both purposes.

Covering one’s own head, as well, could be interpreted as an attempt to preserve one’s dignity and modesty under humiliating circumstances. As previously noted, Julius Caesar covered his head and legs while his enemies were stabbing him in the Curia; the assassination was a sacrilegious act on their part but a shameful death for him.¹⁷² Dio notes

¹⁶⁹ Ov. *Fast.* 6.570-624.

¹⁷⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 6.619-620: ‘*ore revelato qua primum luce patebit / Servius, haec positi prima pudoris erit.*’

¹⁷¹ Barton 2002: 216. On *pudor*, see also Kaster 2005: 28-65.

¹⁷² See above, pp. 41-42.

that Sejanus tried to cover his head with his toga as he was being dragged off to prison, and his captors kept uncovering him.¹⁷³ This is rather the opposite of the ancient sentence of wrapping a convicted parricide or traitor, but in a practical sense, uncovering Sejanus' head would increase his humiliation and remove the toga's protection from the glares and jeering of the crowd.¹⁷⁴ This gesture is certainly not limited to togas or Roman literature: Odysseus, too, signals his emotional anguish by covering himself up, both when Alcinous' bard is singing of the Trojan War and when he finds that his companions' curiosity has blown them far away from home.¹⁷⁵ People committing suicide are sometimes depicted covering their heads as they do the deed.¹⁷⁶ Douglas Cairns uses such examples to show that "[m]en regularly veil out of embarrassment, shame at their own actions, vicarious shame at the behaviour of others... [or] to express grief or anger."¹⁷⁷ Veiling was not simply a manifestation of womanly *αἰδώς/pudor*, but in a larger sense it "demonstrates separation from the group in a situation in which the status and the identity of the individual are in question."¹⁷⁸ Whether by a toga or some other fabric, covering the wearer's face and thus his identity separates him from the rest of society.

Covering the head but not the face seems to have a related but generally more positive protective meaning, especially in a religious context. In the everyday world, Pliny remarks, men were supposed to uncover their heads in the presence of magistrates, implying that their

¹⁷³ Dio 58.11.2.

¹⁷⁴ This may have been similar to the contemporary practice of using jackets thrown over defendants' heads to thwart photographers.

¹⁷⁵ Hom. *Od.* 8.83-103, 10.48-55.

¹⁷⁶ E.g., Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.37; Livy 4.12.11.

¹⁷⁷ Cairns 2002: 75.

¹⁷⁸ Cairns 2002: 76.

heads could be covered with the toga on a regular basis, perhaps to protect them from inclement weather.¹⁷⁹ In the world of religious ritual, purple-bordered togas and pure white fabrics were used to establish tangible barriers between priests, the divine, evil influences, and other humans. Roman priests performed sacrifices with their heads partially covered by the purple-bordered edge of their *togae praetextae*; this method of draping the toga was a common visual marker of priesthood in art from the late republic through the Empire.¹⁸⁰ *Flamines* performed sacrifices to Fides in the *praetexta* and with their hands covered in white cloth because “Fides must be secret”; touching the Sibylline books also required covered hands.¹⁸¹ In Livy’s account of Decius performing the ritual of *devotio*, he covered his head with the *toga praetexta* while declaring the sacrifice of his person to the gods in exchange for victory in battle.¹⁸² Livy depicts him as wearing his *praetexta* even in battle, possibly as an indication that the ritual had rendered his body the property of the gods from that point onward.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Plin. *HN* 28.60: Pliny claims Varro says such a gesture was “not a mark of respect but for the sake of their health.” Cf. Cic. *Sen.* 34 (but see also Sall. *Hist.* 5.20); Fantham 2008: 160.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 12.16.4; cf. Tellenbach 2013b: 284. Priests did not veil their heads except during the ceremony itself (Mommsen 1887 I³: 422; Linderski 2002: 351). On the differences between Roman rites (veiled) and Greek rites (unveiled but with a wreath), see Huet 2012. The addition of the *sinus* in the Augustan era made such ritual covering of the head much easier (Wilson 1924: 44-45; Richardson and Richardson 1966: 261; Olson 2017: 31).

¹⁸¹ Serv. *Aen.* 1.292: *Fidem debere esse secretum*; Livy 1.21.4; Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.21-22; SHA *Aurel.* 19.6; Clark 2007: 168.

¹⁸² Livy 8.9.5.

¹⁸³ For his special “Gabinian” manner of draping the toga for ease in fighting, see Ch. 3, pp. 138ff.

Roman authors also could construe the fabric covering a man's head as having an apotropaic meaning, as if it were turning away evil in addition to separating human from divine. In the *Aeneid*, Helenus advises Aeneas that he should cover his head and wrap himself in purple "lest any hostile appearance happens amidst the sacred fires in honor of the gods and disturbs the omens."¹⁸⁴ The *pontifex maximus* had to be separated by a veil from a corpse passing by in a funeral procession; such a barrier was believed to protect him from the pollution of death.¹⁸⁵ Plutarch claims that Romans cover their heads when worshipping either to humble themselves before the gods or to keep them from hearing bad sounds while praying.¹⁸⁶ In fact, having the head covered as protection from evil was such a central ritual practice in Rome that even late into the Imperial period, a writer in the *Historia Augusta* claims that one of the omens of Hadrian's death manifested when the emperor's *praetexta* slipped off his head during a ritual.¹⁸⁷

Jerzy Linderski proposes that when Scipio Nasica wrapped his head in the edge of his toga, as mentioned previously, he may have intended to look like a priest, about to 'sacrifice' Tiberius Gracchus for the sake of the *res publica*.¹⁸⁸ Nasica was later nicknamed 'Serapio,' a slave-assistant at sacrifices, and scorned as "he who murders a man in place of a pig" (*qui pro sylia humanum trucidet*).¹⁸⁹ However, Appian also suggests that Nasica sought

¹⁸⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 3.405-7: *purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu, / ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum / hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet*. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 12.16.2-3; Serv. *Aen.* 3.407.

¹⁸⁵ Sen. *Marc.* 15.3; Johanson 2011: 415.

¹⁸⁶ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 10.

¹⁸⁷ SHA *Hadr.* 26.6.2.

¹⁸⁸ Linderski 2002: 346-348. *Contra* Stockton 1979: 76 n.43.

¹⁸⁹ Linderski 2002: 346, quoting Charisius, *Artis Grammaticae Libri V*, ed. C. Barwick (Lipsiae 1925 [1964]), pp. 255-256 (= Keil, *GL I*, 196).

to “veil himself in shame before the gods for the things he was about to do,” hinting that the man’s deeds could be seen as a transgression, not a religious rite.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, as we have seen, the act of covering the head at the moment of sacrifice was thought to protect the body of the priest from both divine power and evil influences. The *toga praetexta* covered and concealed the ritually-sanctified but still-human body; the purple border, it seems, possibly indicated (or facilitated) the priest’s sacred state.¹⁹¹ When Appian proposes that Nasica perhaps sought to increase the number of his followers by his distinctive appearance, he could be implying that Nasica was indeed using characteristic dress cues to take on the visual role of a priest, as Linderski argues.

However, since Nasica was *pontifex maximus* and not a curule magistrate, he was not entitled to wear the *toga praetexta* on a regular basis, only when sacrificing. He would have had to change quickly into a *praetexta* for the occasion, as if for a religious ritual, if he wished to look like a priest; this was hardly feasible. Moreover, Appian and Plutarch only mention that he put the edge of his toga on his head (τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου)¹⁹²—there is no word indicating the purple color which gave the border of the *toga praetexta* its religious significance. The Latin sources for this event merely say that Nasica’s toga was twisted, or that he wrapped his toga around his left arm, not his head.¹⁹³ In declaring that Nasica sought to increase his followers, Appian may have drawn upon the common use of the toga as a

¹⁹⁰ App. *B Civ.* 1.16: θεοὺς ἐγκαλυπτόμενος ὧν ἔμελλε δράσειν. For connotations of shame, see LSJ s.v. ἐγκαλύπτω A.II.2.

¹⁹¹ For more on the sacred qualities of the purple border for priests, see Ch. 4, pp. 183ff.

¹⁹² App. *B Civ.* 1.16; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.4.

¹⁹³ *Rhet. Her.* 4.68 (*contorta toga*); Val. Max. 3.2.17.16 (*laevam manum <im>a parte togae circumdedit*); Vell. Pat. 2.3.1.5 (*circumdata laevo brachio togae lacinia*).

metonym for civic duty to imply within his narrative of events that Nasica was himself using his toga to indicate that the violent acts he and his supporters were about to perform were a public service to Rome. According to Plutarch, Nasica and other senators framed their opposition to Tiberius as getting rid of a tyrant, not as performing a sacrifice.¹⁹⁴ The nicknames Nasica acquired later may only have derived from his office as *pontifex maximus*, not because he changed to the clothing of a priest.

Covering the Roman Citizen

The toga is arguably the object most closely associated with the representation of Roman identity. Emma Dench remarks that the “unitary projections of Roman identity” in the Augustan age, especially, were “blood, Latin, and togas.”¹⁹⁵ The shape of the garment’s material provided a vital distinction from rectangular garments like the Greek *pallium*. In fact, out of all the different garments worn by Romans, the toga was the only one that was native to Italy.¹⁹⁶ The curved lower hem of the *tebenna* rapidly emerged in Etruscan art of the mid-sixth century B.C.E.¹⁹⁷ Roman authors show that the toga was thought to have been

¹⁹⁴ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 14.2, 19.3; see also Sall. *B Jug.* 31.7; Cic. *Amic.* 41; Comber and Balmaceda 2009: 210. ‘Tyrant-slaying’ was a common justification for political assassination: see Pina Polo 2006 and, e.g., the justification for the murder of Julius Caesar: Plut. *Caes.* 57.1, 67.3, *Brut.* 10.6 (though Plutarch also frames it as a sacrifice: *Caes.* 66.11, *Brut.* 10.1; cf. Pelling 2011b: 482); App. *B Civ.* 2.119.

¹⁹⁵ Dench 2005: 274.

¹⁹⁶ Tellenbach 2013b: 284. It was worn by non-Roman Italians as well as Roman citizens prior to the Social Wars; see, e.g., App. *B Civ.* 1.44; *CIL* 1².585; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 45; Olson 2017: 60 n. 109.

¹⁹⁷ Bonfante 2003: 48-53, though Bonfante observes that it seems to have been personal choice, not ethnic association, which determined the choice of *tebenna* or *pallium* in representative art (2003: 51-52). *Tebenna* (ἡ τρίβεννα) is a Greek word for toga, but in modern scholarship it is commonly used, as here, to denote the Etruscan garment.

adopted by the Romans during the time when the Etruscans ruled the city, along with foundational elements of the government apparatus of the *res publica* like the curule chair and lictors, and thus the semicircular garment was an important part of the Roman narrative of its history.¹⁹⁸ The toga's distinctive physical appearance became inextricably intertwined with even earlier legends of both the people and the city of Rome, as seen in Augustan-era artistic and literary representations of pre-Etruscan founder-heroes. Aeneas wears a toga in a sculptural panel next to the entrance of the Ara Pacis (fig. 22), while in the *Aeneid*, Jupiter calls the future Romans the *gens togata*.¹⁹⁹ By the time of Plautus, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill remarks, "it suited the Romans to point to the Etruscans for a 'native,' and by implication non-hellenic, origin," which probably played a significant role in the further development of the toga's association with *Romanitas*.²⁰⁰ Unfortunately, there is no way to know exactly when this social meaning emerged.²⁰¹ But even when Romans wrapped their togas *pallium*-style in a Hellenizing fashion of the Late Republic, the curved edges would have clearly advertised its Italian origins and the Roman status of the wearer.²⁰² The unique physical shape of the toga enabled it to signify Roman-ness.

The toga's function as a material object which physically covers the body was often integrated with the curved hem's visual signification of Roman-ness. As shown above, an

¹⁹⁸ Livy 1.8.3; Plin. *HN* 8.197; Tert. *Pall.* 1.1; Serv. *Aen.* 2.781; See e.g. Stone 1994: 13; Sebesta 2005: 113; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 43; Goette 2013: 42; Olson 2017: 29.

¹⁹⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 1.224.

²⁰⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 43; cf. Dench 2005: 274-279.

²⁰¹ An agrarian law from the late second century B.C.E. provides an early use of *togati* as a term for a group of people, but in reference to the Italian allies of Rome and not Romans (*CIL* I² 585 = Crawford 1996: Law 2, line 21; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 45).

²⁰² On the *pallium*-style, see Ch. 3, pp. 122ff.

object held in the *sinus* of a Roman man's toga, between the outer boundary of the fabric and his body, had a demonstrably close bond with the wearer.²⁰³ Consequently, if someone was described as holding a Roman object in his *sinus*, it could be interpreted as a sign of the wearer's future role in Rome. For example, in Suetonius' account of the many omens of Augustus' greatness, Quintus Catulus dreamed that Jupiter placed an image or seal of the Republic (*signum rei publicae*) in the *sinus* of young Augustus, and on the next night the boy sat in the lap of Jupiter Capitoline.²⁰⁴ Both visions were taken to predict that Augustus would become the guardian of the Republic (*tutelam rei publicae*). Likewise, when Vespasian as aedile had neglected his duty of cleaning Rome's streets, his punishment was to be covered with mud which was piled into his *sinus*; according to Suetonius, some interpreted this as an omen of his future guardianship of Rome.²⁰⁵ Literally enclosing the soil of Rome in his toga was seen by these people as a precursor to holding Rome figuratively in his embrace as its emperor. The tangible, everyday practice of holding personal items in the *sinus* thereby becomes part of the toga's metaphorical representation of Rome in such anecdotes. When a Roman *eques* from Narbonensis was caught in a law court with a druidic charm (*urinum*, "wind egg") in the *sinus* of his toga, Pliny says, "he was executed by the deified *princeps* Claudius for no other reason."²⁰⁶ The dissonant

²⁰³ See above, pp. 48ff.

²⁰⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 92.8.

²⁰⁵ Suet. *Vesp.* 5.3: *quandoque proculcatam desertamque rem publicam civili aliqua perterbatione in tutelam eius ac velut in gremium deventuram.*

²⁰⁶ Plin. *HN* 29.54: *Druidis ad victorias litium ac regum aditus mire laudatur, tantae vanitatis ut habentem id in lite in sinu equitem R. e Vocontii a divo Claudio principe interemptum non ob alius sciam* ("It is marvelously praised by the Druids for victories in lawsuits and access to kings, of such worthlessness that a Roman *eques* of the Vocontii who

performance of identities, lawful Roman and superstitious Gaul, was seen as subversive; his actions were “recognizably ‘druidic’ and ‘other’ to a Roman audience,” emphasized by the personal bond implied by the location of the charm in his *sinus*.²⁰⁷

Formal rituals involving citizenship—gaining or losing it—demonstrate similar ideological links between the toga and Roman-ness. Suetonius claims that the emperor Claudius, when asked what clothing a man charged with usurping Roman citizenship must wear in court, decided that he should wear a toga when being defended, a Greek *pallium* when being accused.²⁰⁸ Although the *pilleus* signified that a freedman was no longer a slave, after the manumission ceremony was over, he could wear the toga as the universal garment of all citizens, freed or freeborn, and ostensibly proclaim a self-identity that did not hint at his servile and non-Roman origins.²⁰⁹ Exiles lost the right to wear the toga along with their other rights of citizenship.²¹⁰ Clifford Ando points out that the legal idiom for going into exile was “to change the soil” (*solum vertere*), demonstrating “[t]he deep interdependence between these conceptual domains, ... territoriality, materiality, and political belonging.”²¹¹ The right to wear the toga was similar to a Roman citizen’s ideological connection to the very soil of Rome itself. When a Roman man traveled outside Italy, he could still wear a

held it in his *sinus* in court was executed by the deified *princeps* Claudius for no other reason I know”).

²⁰⁷ Johnston 2017: 255.

²⁰⁸ Suet. *Claud.* 15.2; Bablitz 2007: 84; Olson 2014b: 433.

²⁰⁹ Elite authors scrutinized other subtle cues in the *habitus* of freedmen that exposed their former slave status; see Ch. 3, pp. 150ff. For more on manumission, see Ch. 4, pp. 180ff. Informal manumission did not confer Roman citizenship, only Junian Latin rights.

²¹⁰ Plin. *Ep.* 4.11.3; Suet. *Claud.* 15.3; *Dig.* 49.14.32; Reinhold 1971: 282; Vout 1996: 213-214.

²¹¹ Ando 2015: 22; cf. Cic. *Caecin.* 98-100, *Dom.* 78, *Quinct.* 86; Livy 21.63.9, 43.2.10.

toga to mark his civic status (or shed his toga in order to conceal it).²¹² The toga was a powerful metonym which enabled a toga-wearer to carry ‘Rome’ physically around with him no matter how far away he traveled. Roman-ness may be rooted in the soil of Latin Italy, as Ando observes, but the toga is arguably its ‘roof.’²¹³

Furthermore, in everyday Roman life, the toga’s fabric and drape interacted with the wearer’s body by visually concealing his individuality in order to assimilate him within the Roman citizen body as a whole, what Ahmed calls “the disappearance of the subject under the sign of the universal.”²¹⁴ The fabric obscured many bodily features, rendering anything below the neck largely indistinguishable from those of other men. Richard Brilliant notes that the toga consequently “dematerializes the body while it creates the iconic image of civil status.”²¹⁵ Furthermore, Roman statues were “very solid and straightforward to carve in marble, thanks to their upright frontal poses and the all-enveloping nature of their dress.”²¹⁶ Indeed, the togate bodies of commemorative statuary were often pulled from pre-made, mass-replicated stock, carved using “well-established techniques for reproducing the garment’s elaborate folds.”²¹⁷ Only the portrait bust was carved when the statue was ordered, which would be fitted into a hole left between the shoulders of the stock body, to

²¹² Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.5.1-6.1; Athen. *Deip.* 5.213. See discussion of the toga in the provinces below, pp. 77ff.

²¹³ Ando 2015: 20.

²¹⁴ Ahmed 2010: 249.

²¹⁵ Brilliant 1963: 69.

²¹⁶ Claridge 2015: 109.

²¹⁷ Trimble 2011: 60. Brilliant asserts that “the many headless togate statues that survive from antiquity are analogous to stage-sets without actors” (1974: 168).

mark the individual being commemorated.²¹⁸ This sameness of statues reflected the largely similar dress of people, for senators, freedmen, *plebs* and patricians all wore the same white toga as their outer garment.²¹⁹ The visual signaling of elite status for *privati* had to be accomplished by less prominent parts of their dress: the tunic, shoes, and a ring.²²⁰ In its most basic form, the toga was supposed to mark the wearer only as a citizen—nothing more, nothing less. As Lauren Petersen puts it, “the toga, as a cultural symbol, securely identifies [the wearer] as a Roman body within the citizen body... but one of many togate citizens.”²²¹ When “immersed in a sea of identically dressed individuals,” the individual becomes invisible.²²² As discussed in the next section, elites also took advantage of small variations in the toga, such as differences in tint, to define and differentiate the elite *habitus*. Yet even these distinctions had to be subtle, so as not to transgress the parameters which defined a

²¹⁸ This technique can be seen in Greek commemorative statuary as well; most sculptors of Roman statuary were in fact Greek (Claridge 2015: 117-120).

²¹⁹ Cf. Petersen 2009: 209 (freedmen). Apuleius complains that the town crier and the proconsul are indistinguishable by their dress, both being *togatus* on the tribunal; the only difference is that the *praeco* is loud and walks around while the proconsul speaks quietly and sits (*Flor.* 9.30-31).

²²⁰ On *clavi*, see Ch. 1, pp. 28-29 and Appendix, p. 279; Wilson 1938: 60-65; Pausanias 2003: 112-114; Cleland *et al.* 2007: 35; Bender Jørgensen 2011; Olson 2017: 18-23. Patricians wore calf-high boots dyed red with an attached crescent-shape and four straps wrapped and knotted around the ankles (Fest. 128L; Isid. *Etym.* 19.34.4, 10; Sen. *Tranq.* 9.11.9; Mart. 2.29; Plin. *HN* 9.65; Dio 43.43.2; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.28). Senatorial shoes had two ankle straps and were perhaps black (Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.27-28; Juv. 7.191-192), while equestrian shoes had a leather piece draped over the ankle. On footwear, see Goette 1988: 445-464, 2013: 49-50; N. Goldman 1994b: 116, 119; Cleland *et al.* 2007: 28-29; Croom 2010: 70-71; Olson 2017: 83-86.

²²¹ Petersen 2009: 209.

²²² Joseph 1986: 50.

garment as a toga: its curved hem, white color, wool fabric, basic drape, and its function of covering and concealing the body.²²³

Nathan Joseph states that “within the complex urban setting . . . identification of another’s position must be made within seconds.”²²⁴ As the city of Rome was home to approximately 800,000 to a million people by the early empire, interactions with total strangers were inevitable.²²⁵ The toga and tunic clearly served the necessary function of identifying the legal status of the wearer for the Romans. In public situations which required a man to have the authority of citizen status or higher, such as performing official duties or speaking before an audience, his clothing made this clear to “the entire viewing world” without any explanation (or even a closer look) needed.²²⁶ In a culture in which “seeing was the privileged source of knowledge,” the toga-wearer’s external appearance mediated the initial contact between the wearer and a stranger, silently expressing the social meanings necessary to the most basic interactions.²²⁷ By eliminating many individualities in bodily appearance and enforcing a certain type of movement, the toga’s enveloping folds were able to create a visual and physical sameness among Roman citizens, no matter their origins.

Whiteness, Citizenship, and the Elite *Habitus*

The material characteristics of the fabric of the *toga pura* also enabled it to signify the quality of character which a Roman citizen was supposed to possess. As is well-known, the

²²³ A toga which transgressed even one of these parameters was problematic; see the transparent toga, below, pp. 95ff.

²²⁴ Joseph 1986: 10.

²²⁵ De Ligt 2012: 218.

²²⁶ Joseph 1986: 50.

²²⁷ Bartin 2002: 231 n.33; cf. Miles 1995: 9-12.

whiteness of undyed woolen fabric clearly demonstrated that it lacked dye or dirt, and thus white wool was thought to be “pure and uncontaminated,” its whiteness “an expression of stainlessness” for both fabric and wearer.²²⁸ Its material purity enabled white fabric to be used as a sign of moral and ritual purity, as seen in Roman religious practice. The cloth which covered the hands of the *flamines* in the rites of Fides, for instance, had to be white to preserve the sanctity of the ritual objects.²²⁹ Many participants in religious processions wore white: for example, when Roman soldiers brought the statue of Juno Regina to Rome in 396 B.C.E., they wore white clothing (*candida vestis*).²³⁰

The white color of the adult man’s toga likewise served an important purpose in the visual expression of citizenship. The fabric of the *toga pura* was supposed to be woven from purely white, undyed woolen fiber—thus the use of the adjective *pura*.²³¹ The materiality of the white fabric enabled it to embody some of the ideal qualities of a Roman citizen: moral purity, cleanliness, and simplicity. Thus, a white toga signified a good character, while a man’s depravity could be illustrated in sartorial terms: “his whitened toga made dark with stains of turpitude.”²³² The white color of the toga also marked out a Roman citizen in a very practical manner. In a crowd of darker-clothed people—such as women, foreigners, and other non-citizens—a togate figure would stand out distinctly, visually establishing his special status relative to the others. In a crowd of other togate citizens, however, his white

²²⁸ Zollschan 2011: 48; Olson 2017: 113; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 26; Clarke 2003: 17-21.

²²⁹ Livy 1.21.4; Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.21-2; Serv. *Aen.* 1.292; see Clark 2007: 167-168.

²³⁰ Livy 5.22.4.

²³¹ There may have been togas from other materials: Pliny says that in archaic times, there were togas made of “poppy-cloth” (*crebrae papaveratae*, Plin. *HN* 8.195); there may also have been togas of silk (below, pp. 95ff). Cf. Olson 2017: 107-108.

²³² Val. Max. 3.5.1.12: *candidam togam adeo turpitudinis maculis obsolectam*.

toga would fade into a backdrop of similar clothing, so that the individuality of the one would for the most part be concealed within the whole.²³³

Due to the importance of color in the visual expression of citizenship, it was the focus of many of the Augustan social reforms aimed at “bringing back the traditional appearance and clothing,” with a clear contrast made between white and dark garments.²³⁴ In Suetonius’ biography of Augustus, after the *princeps* saw a crowd in dark clothes (*pullatorum turba*) at a *contio*, he sarcastically called them the *gens togata* and ordered the aediles to ensure that everyone standing around in the Forum was wearing a toga without the *lacerna* (*nisi positis lacernis togatum*).²³⁵ This anecdote has been used as evidence that most citizens did not wear togas on a regular basis, but the group in question could have been wearing togas underneath their dark cloaks.²³⁶ It is clearly the concealing *lacernae* and dark colors which presented the main problem, since a viewer could not immediately tell at a distance who was a citizen. As David Wardle points out, furthermore, the scope of the restriction may have been rather limited, since “standing still” (*consistere*) would not apply to people walking through or doing business in the shops around the Forum, only to those who were actively

²³³ On subtle differentiations of social status based upon shades of white, see below.

²³⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 40.5: *habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere studuit*.

²³⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 40.5. Wardle translates the phrase *nisi positis lacernis togatum* as “unless he had taken off his cloak and put on a toga,” but *togatum* just means wearing one, not necessarily putting one on (2014: 56). Wardle does rightly state that this “was not designed to deprive the ordinary people of any political role (*contra* Cordier 2005: 88) but to inculcate in them a sense of their place within Roman society” (2014: 308). Cf. Olson 2004/5: 111-112; Rothfus 2010: 446-448; Olson 2017: 94.

²³⁶ For the anecdote as proof of a lack of toga-wearing, see George 2008: 96; Wardle’s translation (2014: 56); for the possibility that the dark cloaks were being worn over togas, see Wardle 2014: 308; Olson 2017: 94. Rothfus rightly states that “Augustus’ remark is of no value in determining the actual daily toga-wearing habits of the late Republic” (2010: 446 n. 48).

engaged in political activities such as assemblies.²³⁷ Augustus not only enforced the custom that *equites* and senators alone could sit in the first fourteen rows at games, but he also decreed that anyone in dark clothing (*quis pullatorum*) could not sit in the middle of the amphitheater but was instead consigned to the upper seats with the women.²³⁸ In an epigram of Martial, a single man stands out at a spectacle by wearing a black *lacerna* in contrast to the togate crowd of all ranks of Romans; the snowy weather soon ‘fixes’ his cloak by turning it white as well.²³⁹ Augustus himself is said to have worn multiple tunics under a thick toga, with no cloak, to keep warm in cold weather.²⁴⁰ Clearly, whiteness and its ability to blend together a crowd of citizens visually was a critical component in the toga’s civic meaning.

Yet the label ‘white’ can be used to describe a near-infinite number of tints and shades. The basic color of the toga had one social meaning—the moral citizen—but slight variations in the surface tint took on subtler meanings, using an elite standard of whiteness as the benchmark against which other shades of white could be measured. These differences, and their resulting social interpretation, were the direct consequence of practical, material qualities of the toga’s fabric. Therefore, not only does the fabric’s ability to protect from the

²³⁷ Wardle 2014: 308.

²³⁸ On seating at games and shows, with separation of ranks instituted in 194 B.C.E., see Cic. *Har. resp.* 24; Suet. *Aug.* 40.1; Livy 34.44.4-5, 34.54.4; Val. Max. 2.4.3, 4.5.1; on togas or dark clothing at gladiatorial shows: Suet. *Aug.* 44.2; SHA *Comm.* 16.6.

²³⁹ Mart. 4.2: *spectabat modo solus inter omnes / nigris munus Horatius lacernis, / cum plebs et minor ordo maximusque / sancto cum duce candidus sederet. / toto nis cecidit repente caelo: / albis spectat Horatius lacernis* (“Horatius was watching the game, alone amidst everyone, in a black cloak, while the *plebs* and the lesser order and the greatest order with the sacred leader were sitting there in white. Suddenly snow fell from the entire sky: Horatius is watching in a white cloak”).

²⁴⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 82.1.1.

environment mark social status, but also, since brilliant white fabric required more expensive wool, judicious laundering in a fullery, and especially newness, a high degree of whiteness was a major component of the elite *habitus*.²⁴¹

Most togas were not bright white, since sheep fleeces were off-white at best. This material reality is reflected in art: an Egyptian painting of a Roman officer “intentionally refers to a material that is not of a bright-white shade, just like non-pigmented woolen textiles... evident when looking at the bright white eyeballs.”²⁴² Sheep in the Roman era tended to have more variegated fleeces than the sheep of today, to the extent that certain regions of Italy and Gaul were famous for the whiteness of their fleeces.²⁴³ The relative rarity of whiteness corresponded to the cost: pure white wool with no dark hairs was more expensive. The Romans made deliberate use of this fact to create social distinctions marked by degrees of whiteness, subdividing the overarching identity of ‘citizen’ into elite versus non-elite, wealthy versus poor.

After a toga was woven, it could be processed in a fullery (*fullonica*) to increase its whiteness and luster. The fulling process was extensive. A worker would trample the garment in a vat filled with urine and fuller’s earth to remove oils and grease, a process which would also slightly felt the wool fibers and make the fabric more durable.²⁴⁴ After the fabric was rinsed thoroughly in a series of basins, white fabric would be treated with the

²⁴¹ For more on cleanliness, see Blonski 2014; Olson 2008b: 7, 2017: 113-114.

²⁴² Schieck 2012: 98.

²⁴³ Mart. 8.28, Plin. *HN* 8.190-191; Colum. *Rust.* 7.2.3-3.2; Granger-Taylor 1987: 117. Selective breeding achieved ever-increasing whiteness and fineness: woolen fibers and textiles found at Vindolanda in Britain (ca. 100 C.E.) are 40% white, 50% grey (a mix of dark hair and white undercoat), and 10% black or brown (Wild 2002: 2).

²⁴⁴ Flohr 2013: 61-62.

fumes of burning sulfur to add even more brightness and softness; sulfur could be used for colorfast dyed fabric, but the color would be dulled (*contristatos*) and require an additional application of *creta Cimolia*.²⁴⁵ The last stage of fulling involved brushing the cloth to raise the nap, then shearing the nap evenly to give the fabric a smooth, even surface that was lustrous and soft.²⁴⁶ Men who were running for political office wore the *toga candida*, which was rubbed with an additional layer of white chalk to make them stand out even further from those who had had their *togae purae* artificially whitened in the fullery.²⁴⁷ A toga fresh from the fullery would also display fold lines, the result of meticulous pressing and storing.²⁴⁸ Fulling was the Roman version of dry-cleaning: the same process was used to clean and launder wool clothing after it was worn. Nevertheless, as Mark Bradley observes, even though the value of whiteness was based on an ideal of cleanliness, the whitest togas did not conform to modern definitions of ‘clean,’ having been washed in urine and rubbed with white clays.²⁴⁹ Unfulled togas, laundered in baking soda or soda ash, would probably have been closer to modern standards of cleanliness.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Apul. *Met.* 9.24; Plin. *HN* 35.175, 196-198; Bradley 2002: 29; Flohr 2013: 117-118.

²⁴⁶ Flohr 2013: 62.

²⁴⁷ See Ch. 4, pp. 198ff, for more on the *toga candida*.

²⁴⁸ Granger-Taylor 1987.

²⁴⁹ Bradley 2002: 23.

²⁵⁰ On washing linen, see Flohr 2013: 63. Romans used baking soda (*nitrum*) or soda ash (*aphronitrum*, lit. “the foam of baking soda”) for medicine, cosmetics, bathing, dyeing, and laundry (e.g., Cic. *Fam.* 8.14.4; Val. Max. 2.1.5; Mart. 14.58; Plin. *HN* 31.106-122; Gal. *Meth. Med.* 8.4 (=10.569K); see Blonski 2014: 269-280). They would mix soda ash or wood ash with oil or animal fat to make true soap (*sapo*), used for washing linens and dyeing hair, but this type of detergent was considered Gallic and not commonly used in Rome until late Antiquity (e.g., Mart. 14.27; Plin. *HN* 28.191; see André 1956; Blonski 2014: 280-284). It is likely that soda ash by itself would naturally mix with the body oils already found on dirty fabric to create soap. *Lomentum* may be a type of bean flour, used for cosmetics, medicine,

Miko Flohr argues that it was the surface shine of the fabric and not whiteness that was the desired outcome of fulling, but it seems that either brighter hues or brighter whiteness, along with surface luster, seem to have been the desired effects.²⁵¹ Flohr asserts that togas are only referred to as *candida*, which he translates as “shining and glittering,” and not *albus* “dull, lustreless.”²⁵² Yet Persius uses the word *albus* to describe a fresh white toga, and both *albus* and *candidus* describe high-quality white wool, so the terms do not seem to have differentiated unfulled from fulled fabrics.²⁵³ Flohr also argues that because fulleries also processed dyed clothing, whiteness was not the point of the process. His conclusion, however, seems to underestimate the fuller’s skills. Pliny clearly contrasts white clothing (*candidis vestibus*) with dyed (*coloribus*) when discussing which type of *creta Cimolia* to use.²⁵⁴ He notes that three types of fuller’s earth were used for different colored fabrics, called *Sarda*, *Umbrica*, and *saxa*, and that *Sarda* and *saxa* were the ones used for white fabrics.²⁵⁵ White fabrics clearly received separate treatment from dyed fabrics, and so surface shine could not be the only criterion for the quality of fulling.

Moreover, the fulling process was damaging to woolen fabric, so a toga that had gone through it many times would become threadbare and yellowed.²⁵⁶ As a consequence,

and bathing (e.g., Mart. 14.60; see Blonski 2014: 286-292). For a complete discussion of types of detergent with citations, see Blonski 2014: 267-304.

²⁵¹ Flohr 2013: 60-61.

²⁵² Flohr 2013: 60.

²⁵³ Pers. 1.15-16; Plin. *HN* 8.190; Colum. *Rust.* 7.2.3, 7.3.1.

²⁵⁴ Plin. *HN* 35.198.

²⁵⁵ Plin. *HN* 35.195-196, 198. It is unclear if one was used exclusively for the extra-white *toga candida* or if this special garment simply received an extra treatment with the chalk.

²⁵⁶ Bradley 2002: 29-30; Olson 2017: 124-125.

wealthy, fashionable, and urbane Romans displayed their financial ability to buy new clothing on a frequent basis by means of their brilliantly white togas, likened to untouched snow.²⁵⁷ A new toga, woven from the fleeces of all-white sheep and fulled but once, would be the brightest white—and the most expensive. As Flohr points out, “fulling was not essential even for woolen garments... [it] satisfied aesthetic needs [which] puts it firmly into the realm of luxury,” though it was not so expensive that it was out of reach for all but the very rich.²⁵⁸ Even so, unless someone was wealthy enough to have their own fuller, the process was available only in cities and larger towns.²⁵⁹ A pressed, very white toga would stand out amidst the untreated and thus naturally off-white woolen garments of less fortunate citizens, marking social status by its newness and whiteness.

As a high standard for elites that would be less ostentatious, on the other hand, Seneca recommends that his fellow Stoic wear a toga that is neither bright white nor dirty.²⁶⁰ Ovid advises the aspiring *amator* that the toga should simply fit well and not be stained.²⁶¹ As Olson points out, “adjectives with the primary meaning of cleanliness and neatness became a way of describing this social stratum.”²⁶² The togas praised by moralizing authors are instead described as “rough” (*hirta, crassa*).²⁶³ This could mean that the thread was not very finely spun and therefore homemade or cheaper, or perhaps the fabric was laundered but not

²⁵⁷ E.g., Mart. 2.29.4: *toga non tactas vincere iussa nives*. Cf. Olson 2017: 122-123. On the cost of a toga, see Appendix, pp. 271-272.

²⁵⁸ Flohr 2013: 69.

²⁵⁹ Flohr 2013: 70-71.

²⁶⁰ Sen. *Ep.* 5.3.1: *non splendeat toga, ne sordeat quidem*.

²⁶¹ Ov. *Ars am.* 1.514: *sit bene conveniens et sine labe toga*.

²⁶² Olson 2008b: 7.

²⁶³ Luc. 2.387; Sil. *Pun.* 1.613; Tac. *Dial.* 26.1.5; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 4.1-3.

brushed, trimmed, and smoothed by the fullers. Such a toga is equated with the simple life and with the clothing of the ancestors. Yet even this ‘middle course’ of a rough but clean toga signified a certain level of wealth. Elites who wished to show that they were not luxurious or fashionable but moral and frugal still did not wear threadbare or yellowed togas, so their garments were also clearly distinct from those of poor citizens.

Poor men’s togas were conspicuously *not* very white. A brand-new toga could have been worn straight off the loom, and togas could be laundered with soda ash and water, but saving money by not having a toga fulled would mean that it would not undergo the whitening effects of *creta Cimolia* and sulfur. A man in a dirty or grey toga was seen as impoverished, since he apparently could not afford to have his one and only toga washed at all; such togas made the wearer the butt of jokes.²⁶⁴ Even a clean but greyed or yellowed toga marked a poor man who could not afford to replace his toga after several launderings, especially if the toga had undergone the damaging process of fulling too many times. The more *pura* the toga was visually, the higher the social status it implied. Martial, of course, puns on the trope of the “white as snow” elite toga by commenting that an old and threadbare toga could also be called “snowy”—in the sense of being freezing.²⁶⁵

The whiteness of a toga did not always reflect the wearer’s own personal wealth, however. Clients had to wear togas every day to the morning *salutatio* and throughout the day in the patron’s entourage.²⁶⁶ The toga could therefore signify client status as much as

²⁶⁴ Cf. Juv. 3.147-51.

²⁶⁵ Mart. 4.34.2, 9.49.8.

²⁶⁶ On patronage, see Wallace-Hadrill (ed.) 1989; Saller 1982, 1983, 2000. For more on the togas of clients, see Ch. 3, pp. 144ff.

citizenship, and clients are often simply called *togati*, a homogeneous crowd in white. As a result, Roman authors, especially the satirists, used variations in the appearance of clients' togas to represent the quality of the patrons in a tangible manner. A patron could give his client a bright new toga that the client would wear as an embodied sartorial display of the patron's generosity and influence.²⁶⁷ A miserly patron, by contrast, would hand down his old used togas to his clients instead. Clients would otherwise have to buy their own togas, but many could only afford them if they were given a sufficient monetary allowance in the *sportula*. A patron could be scorned as so cheap that his support was not worth the effort and expenditures in togas that were required to be in his service.²⁶⁸ Martial and Seneca both use the image of a worn-out toga to allude to lengthy client service.²⁶⁹ In the case of clients, therefore, the condition of their togas corresponded to their status as dependents, and so they are represented "not as independent consumers but as appendages of their patrons whose public image they enhanced."²⁷⁰

The degree of whiteness (and implied cleanliness) marked how new a toga was, displaying the wealth and status of the purchaser—who may or may not be the wearer—to the discerning viewer. The *toga pura* itself visually covered and identified a citizen of Rome, but variations in surface appearance and materiality marked more subtle gradations in social status. Just as the wearer's degree of physical comfort in environmental extremes

²⁶⁷ Mart. 8.28, 9.49. Slaves, too, could be dressed in expensive clothing and jewelry (but not togas) to show off the wealth of their owners (Petr. *Sat.* 30, 60.8; Sen. *Tranq.* 1.8; Mart. 9.22.9; Apul. *Met.* 2.19; Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.128-136; Heliod. *Aeth.* 7.27; *Dig.* 15.1.25; cf. Bradley 1994: 87-88; Olson 2017: 121-122).

²⁶⁸ Mart. 9.100.

²⁶⁹ Mart. 10.96.11, 12.72.4, 14.125; Sen. *Ep.* 4.11.2.

²⁷⁰ Rothfus 2010: 427-428; cf. George 2008: 102.

revealed his status, the closer his toga was visually to the ideal of pure whiteness, the more it conformed to the elite *habitus*.

Masculinity

While citizenship was conveyed by how much a toga differentiated Romans from non-Romans while subsuming the individual within the whole citizen body, the masculine qualities expressed by the toga were determined in a different visual way. Lacking the simplicity of the Greek masculine ideal of heroic nudity, the Roman concept of a bodily appearance of masculinity may arguably be sought in how the body is covered. However, many scholars of Roman literature have argued that, in large part, “masculinity appears in purely negative terms.”²⁷¹ In other words, masculinity, as the norm, rarely requires comment, whereas effeminacy is the subject of frequent invective. Likewise, scholars who set out to explain masculinity in Roman dress do so through an examination of effeminate clothing and adornment.²⁷² As a result, even though the toga is frequently called the “quintessential Roman male garment,” little has been said about what made the toga, in particular, masculine.²⁷³ This section shows that the masculinity of the toga may be based

²⁷¹ Graver 1998: 616; cf. Christ 1997: 24-25; Hallett 2005. Williams says, “[w]hen I inquire into *effeminacy*, my ultimate goal is to attempt a reconstruction of the various possible meanings of *masculinity* for the writers and readers of ancient texts... Effeminate men constitute a negative paradigm” (2010: 137). McDonnell proposes that the masculine quality of *virtus* was traditionally related to aggressive martial courage, but had no sexual or familial denotations and thus has been underemphasized in many studies of masculinity (2006: 165-168). Even so, *virtus* is often presented in contrast to *mollitia* (Williams 2010: 145-148).

²⁷² E.g., Richlin 1992: 92-93; Corbeill 1996: 159-63; Davies 2005; Olson 2014a, 2017: 135-154.

²⁷³ See p. 1, n.1 for citations.

upon what parts of the body the garment's material covered, or more specifically, how much of those parts it covered, and also upon what other parts it emphasized and revealed.

Throughout the history of Western European fashion, social standards of 'decency,' of how much of the lower body must be covered by clothes, have been differentiated by gender. Women's garments give the silhouette of a smooth column or cone from the waist to the feet, in order to hide the division of the legs completely. In this way, the sexual and fertile lower bodies of women were meant to become invisible. No matter how much women's fashion emphasized secondary sexual characteristics like breasts or hips as signs of fertility, a glimpse of ankle—the mere hint that a woman had two separate legs—was viewed as a scandalous sign of overt sexuality until within the last century.²⁷⁴ This gendered standard held true in Roman culture as well. The stola, for instance, was an outer tunic distinguished by shoulder straps and an extra decorative band sewn onto the lower hem to cover the legs of Roman *matronae* all the way to the ground, with only the instep and toes visible (figs. 24, 25).²⁷⁵ Even when the stola had vanished from use as a visual sign of status in commemorative sculpture, women's garments continued to be floor-length; women's

²⁷⁴ Hollander observes that "the separation of women's legs, even by a single layer of fabric, was thought for many centuries to be obscene and unholy," to the extent that underwear did not become respectable for women until 1850 (1978: 133). At the same time, the "reform dress" of the early 1850s—a full calf-length skirt with billowy ankle-length pants called "Bloomers" underneath (with the same corseted upper-body as traditional contemporary styles)—was criticized as being perverse and aggressively sexual by detractors; pants were associated with prostitutes and low-class women. Within four years, the leaders of the feminist movement were back in conventional dress (Matthews 1997: 73-75; Nelson 2000: 23-24; Smith and Greig 2003: 14-15, 27-35).

²⁷⁵ See, e.g., *Ov. Am.* 3.2.27-28, where "envious clothing" (*invida vestis*) hides the legs of the speaker's girlfriend, or *Hor. Sat.* 2.94-102, where the matron's stola and *palla* conceals all but her face in contrast to the transparent silks of the prostitute.

hemlines did not change.²⁷⁶ Sebesta notes that “[t]o see a woman’s ankles and feet uncovered was essentially equivalent to seeing her ‘naked,’ a right reserved only to her husband.”²⁷⁷ Roman religious practice took the precept to an extreme: the *flaminica Dialis*, the priestess whom Sebesta calls the “archetypal *matrona*,” was “specifically forbidden to climb higher than three steps of any staircase or ladder that had no risers to block the view of her limbs.”²⁷⁸

By contrast, until the Renaissance, the male body was almost always covered by the length of the upper garments to a few inches above the knees or longer, concealing the junction of the legs but still showing that such a divide existed through the visible presence of two legs.²⁷⁹ For Roman men, the hem of the toga, whether calf-length or ankle-length, was held up by the wrist on the left side and kept the shorter hem of the tunic and the left leg in sight. On statues, both feet are always visible from lower calf (showing the entirety of the high boots of senators, for example). Even when the toga was its most voluminous in the Imperial period, visual representations of the toga maintained the visibility of separate legs and differentiated man from woman. This seems to have been true for the everyday Roman world as well; long tunics and longer togas were both read as signs of effeminacy in Roman invective.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Cleland *et al.* 2007: 182; Olson 2002: 391.

²⁷⁷ Sebesta 2017: 396.

²⁷⁸ Sebesta 2017: 396; Serv. *Aen.* 4.646.

²⁷⁹ From the fourteenth century onward, as secular powers competed with the Church and determined high fashion, the lower half (‘skirts’) of men’s outer garments grew ever shorter while hose or tailored pants of some form enabled the legs to be both covered and visibly separate. By the mid-sixteenth century, skirts were no longer acceptable for men, with only a few regional exceptions like Scottish kilts (Nunn 1984: 7).

²⁸⁰ See Ch. 3, pp. 124ff.

Covering most (but not all) of the lower body was only one way the toga shaped the expression of the wearer's masculinity; many different garments did this, not just the toga. However, the special draping of the toga served another important visual function: showcasing the male secondary sexual characteristic of expanded breadth in the chest and shoulders which signals adulthood.²⁸¹ Quintilian, for instance, states that the toga should never cover the right shoulder and the entire throat area, "lest the draped clothing become narrow and ruin the dignity which lies in the breadth of the chest."²⁸² The bulky fabric of the toga created a wide rectangular silhouette that became progressively expansive as the Empire itself grew. Though the Arringatore bronze has a somewhat slender shape, similar to the youthful *epebes* which were popular in contemporary Hellenistic statuary, the statue still features a broad chest and shoulders which are emphasized by the lines of the tunic and toga (fig. 2). Unfortunately, not enough commemorative statuary survives from the early or mid-Republic to gauge if there was a parallel trend for a broader, more mature ideal, like the Laocöon statue of the Hellenistic era. In the late Republic, a fad for the Hellenized "arm-sling" pose briefly narrowed the silhouette, as the upper edge of the toga wrapped and bound the right arm to the chest (figs. 9, 10), but the representation of the ideal togate body soon widened after the Augustan era. Davies notes that in contrast to the tightly-wrapped

²⁸¹ Garments from the medieval era onward enhanced the upper body by means of layers of padding, part of the "long history of the addition of breadth across men's shoulders" and chest (Bruna 2015a: 33; Bruna 2015b: 39-45). With the ancient Greeks (especially the Athenians), the slender nude youth was certainly one ideal in art, but mature male figures that emphasized a well-muscled chest and shoulders are also prevalent (e.g. images of Zeus and Poseidon).

²⁸² Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.141: *Operiri autem umuerum cum toto iugulo non oportet, alioqui amictus fiet angustus et dignitatem quae est in latitudine pectoris perdet.*

“Herculaneum Woman” styles which were very popular in women’s commemorative statuary throughout the Imperial period, “open and wide gestures [were] generally adopted for statues of Roman men.”²⁸³ The shoulders are squared, the chest is open, and arms are often bent outward from the waist in spite of the material difficulties of supporting extended limbs in marble, as opposed to being held close to the body across the torso (e.g., fig. 10). Furthermore, the upper edge of the toga which crosses the back is drawn to the outer point of the shoulder before being allowed to drop into the *sinus*, widening the silhouette with fabric at the right side of the body as well as the left.

In addition to the sheer bulk and deliberate width of the silhouette, the visual appearance of the toga calls specific attention to the upper body. The distinctive curved hem of the toga creates an upward sweeping line from the right ankle to the left shoulder, a clear contrast to the *pallium*’s rectangular corners which create horizontal lines near the ankles. The hem and folds of the various styles of the toga serve to produce strong diagonal lines that draw the gaze upward and outward. This accentuates height as well as width while making the shoulders look broader, though the emphasis on width or height changed over time. The Augustan introduction of the *umbo*, which helped to manage the additional fabric of the *sinus*, interrupted some of the upward lines across the chest and created a focal point toward the waist, increasing the perception of width as well as height (figs. 8-11). This also allowed for a “considerably larger expanse of upper torso” to become visible to the viewer.²⁸⁴ The *umbo* was transformed into a folded roll of fabric layers on the left shoulder by the end of

²⁸³ Davies 2002: 237.

²⁸⁴ Christ 1997: 26.

the first century C.E. (the *balteus*), eliminating the central focal point and re-establishing a sweeping diagonal line from waist to shoulder (figs. 13, 14, 28, 29). By the third century C.E., the style became a flat-folded horizontal band across the chest and left shoulder (the *contabulata*), drawing more attention to the width of the upper torso (fig. 16).

The visual appearance of the toga, therefore, created social meaning by integrating the wearer within the citizen body and emphasizing his mature masculine body. As a result of the particular ways it covered and concealed the wearer's body, from the purity of its undyed woolen fibers to its emphasis on masculine shoulders, the toga materially embodied Roman concepts such as citizenship, Roman-ness, and masculinity: thus its role as a sign of these ideals in Roman culture. As shall be shown in the next chapter, many Roman authors express the idea that the physical restrictions which the toga placed upon the wearer's moving body would inculcate and enforce the manly values of self-discipline, dignity, and decorum.

Togas in the Provinces

Beyond the basic meanings created by its materiality, the toga takes on a more complicated role in representing the identity of people living outside of Italy in the provinces of the Empire. There, the toga suggests identification with the city of Rome and its power more than legal citizenship. Evidence for coming-of-age ritual of putting on the *toga virilis* has been found in places like Libya, Chaeronea, and Antioch, and in such places the practice "served as a highly visible demonstration of Romanitas for those living far from Rome," as Dolanksy puts it, "part of the fabric of Roman life in many provincial

milieux.”²⁸⁵ Yet toga-wearing in the provinces varies greatly in both literature and commemorative sculpture, even when comparing the eastern and western areas of the Empire.

In Roman literature, the toga is a metonym for Roman control over the expanding boundaries of the Empire. Cisalpine Gaul was called Gallia Togata because its people, though the last group south of the Alps to receive citizenship, had adopted Roman styles of clothing in contrast to the “long-haired” Gauls of Gallia Comata.²⁸⁶ In Seneca’s satirical portrayal of Claudius, the emperor describes his vision of an expanded empire as a wish to see the Greeks, Gauls, Britons, and Spaniards in togas.²⁸⁷ Tacitus claims that the Britons adopted the toga wholeheartedly once the garment had been introduced by Agricola, but as Woodman points out, this would have applied only to those few local elites who had become Roman citizens—the rest of the British population does not seem to count.²⁸⁸ Tacitus’ portrayal of the Britons who did adopt the toga and other elements of Roman culture is not flattering, either. They are represented as wholeheartedly engaging in the mechanisms of their own servitude, submitting their warlike vigor to the enervating effects of Roman luxury.

Roman men living in the provinces may have worn their togas on public occasions as a “badge of hegemony” which “advertised their association with the ruling power.”²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ Dolansky 2008: 52.

²⁸⁶ Cic. *Phil.* 8.27; [Caes.] *B Gall.* 8.24.3, 8.52.1-2; Dio 46.55.5.

²⁸⁷ Sen. *Apol.* 3; cf. Woodman 2014: 204.

²⁸⁸ Tac. *Agr.* 21.2: *inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga*. Cf. Woodman 2014: 203-206 (see also Tac. *Hist.* 4.64.3, *Germ.* 23).

²⁸⁹ Kallet-Marx 1995: 156.

According to Cicero, Roman men were honored “due to the reputation of the toga” (*propter togae nomen*) even among the barbarians in Syria and Egypt.²⁹⁰ He also defends those who exchanged their togas for Greek dress by claiming they did so only under extreme duress. For instance, he says P. Rutilius Rufus changed out of his toga into a *pallium* to hide his Roman origins when Mithridates was attacking Romans in Mytilene in 88 B.C.E. (though Rutilius probably should not have been wearing a toga in exile anyway).²⁹¹ According to Posidonius, other Roman citizens changed back into their ‘native’ dress (which hints they may have been Greeks with Roman citizenship) under these dire circumstances as well.²⁹² Cicero excuses another client, C. Rabirius Postumus, for donning a *pallium* in Egypt in his efforts to regain the money he had lent to the king: he was “wearing a *pallium* in Alexandria so that he could wear a toga in Rome.”²⁹³

For governors of provinces and other Roman officials, the toga was prescribed dress, since they were performing a public duty. Augustus decreed that the governors of senatorial provinces were not to wear military uniforms but the distinguishing insignia of office, presumably including the *toga praetexta*, as soon as they left the city boundary, and they

²⁹⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.157: *qui apud barbaros propter togae nomen in honore aliquo fuissent.*

²⁹¹ Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27: *qui cum a Mithradate Mytilenis oppressus esset, crudelitatem regis in togatos vestitus mutatione vitavit... soccos habuit et palliam, Flacc.* 61: *nam, quoscumque potuerunt, togatos interemerunt, nomen civium Romanorum quantum in ipsis fuit sustulerunt.*

²⁹² Ath. 5.213b = Posidonius, *FGrH* 87 F36 = fr. 253.82-84 Edelstein-Kidd: τῶν δ’ ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι προσπεπτώκασιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταμφιεσάμενοι τετράγωνα ἱμάτια τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσι. Cf. Hessel 1994: 135-136; Kallet-Marx 1995: 156.

²⁹³ Cic. *Rab. Post.* 26: *erat aut pallium sumendum Alexandriae, ut ei Romae togato esse liceret, aut omnes fortunae abiciendae, si togam retinuisset.*

were “ordered to wear them the entire time until they came back.”²⁹⁴ Statius says of a good governor that he ruled with great power, but “with the toga moderating his *imperium*” (*imperium mulcente toga*), emphasizing the toga’s role as a metonym and enforcer of peace.²⁹⁵ Heskell observes that “magistrates wore Roman clothing abroad because Romans at home generally thought they should,” and “they wished to maximize the distance between themselves and [those] under their jurisdiction... [It was] a way of obtaining respect from both elements of the population.”²⁹⁶ Again, however, the rhetoric changes later in the empire: Dio’s contemporary, Alexander Severus, is represented as a “good” emperor by the fact that he wore a toga in Italy, but he wore other clothing in the Greek East without censure.²⁹⁷

In many sources, it is impossible to determine if a description of someone discarding his toga in the provinces is a metonym for abandoned responsibility, a reflection of the subject’s chosen practice, or both. Suetonius states that Tiberius, when living retired in Rhodes from 6 B.C.E., was “every day more contemptible and hated” for setting aside the toga in favor of the *pallium*—and for rejecting his duties in Rome in favor of a life of relative leisure in Greece.²⁹⁸ In other contexts, however, or perhaps simply in later sources, the rhetoric of toga-wearing in the East alters. In contrast to Suetonius’ critical depiction of Tiberius in

²⁹⁴ Dio 53.13.4: τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἅμα τῷ ἔξω τοῦ ποιμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέχρις ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσιν ἔχειν ἐκέλευσε.

²⁹⁵ Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.58; cf. Olson 2017: 52. On the toga and peace, see Ch. 3, pp. 136ff.

²⁹⁶ Heskell 1994: 136, with comparison to British colonial uniforms.

²⁹⁷ SHA *Alex. Sev.* 40.7-9.

²⁹⁸ Suet. *Tib.* 13.1: *redegitque se deposito patrio habitu ad pallium et crepidas atque in tali statu biennio fere permansit, contemptior in dies et inuisior* (“with the clothing of his homeland set aside, he lowered himself to a *pallium* and sandals, and he remained in such a state for nearly two years, every day more contemptible and hated”).

Rhodes, Dio praises Claudius for living like a private citizen in Neapolis, wearing Greek dress at musical performances and at the gymnasium.²⁹⁹ Accusing a political opponent of not wearing a toga when representing Roman authority, therefore, was a way to denigrate his character, not just his clothing, as un-Roman. “Eyebrows were... raised,” as Dyck puts it, when the elder P. Scipio (Africanus) wore a *pallium* and sandals, as if on vacation, when he was in Syracuse preparing for the invasion of Carthage.³⁰⁰ Dio asserts that Romans were upset when Publius Scipio Nasica “used Greek manners, wore his toga thrown upward [over his shoulder], and frequented the *palaestra*.”³⁰¹ Cicero criticizes Verres for wearing Greek dress in Sicily and behaving as if he were on vacation (and licentiously) instead of governing the province.³⁰² Much of the invective against Antony included depicting him as having discarded the toga, either for Gallic clothes while canvassing for the consulship in Gaul, or for Greek dress as part of seeking kingship while governing the East.³⁰³ Vitellius’ general Alienus Caecina was censured for donning Gallic-style garments when speaking to togate citizens in northern Italy.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ Dio 60.6.2.

³⁰⁰ Dyck 2001: 122; Livy 29.19.12 (*etiam imperatoris non Romanus modo sed ne militaris quidem cultus iactabatur: cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio*, “even his dress was being criticized, not in the fashion of a Roman general, not even that of a soldier: that he walked in the gymnasium in a *pallium* and sandals”); Val. Max. 3.6. 1 (*gymnasio dedit, pallioque et crepidis usus... quo plus recessus sumunt*, “he attended the gymnasium, he wore a *pallium* and sandals... [active men are more vigorous] the more they take vacation”).

³⁰¹ Dio 17.62: ὅτι τῆ τε Ἑλληνικῆ διαίτη ἐχρῆτο καὶ ὅτι ἱμάτιον ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅτι τε ἐς παλαίστραν παρέβαλλεν. Nero apparently did the same thing with his toga in footraces (Dio 62b.9).

³⁰² Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.54-55, 86-87, 2.5.31, 40, 137; cf. Heskell 1994: 133-135.

³⁰³ E.g., Cic. *Phil.* 2.76; Plut. *Ant.* 33.4, 54.5-6; Flor. 2.21.3. See Heskell 1994: 136-137.

³⁰⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 2.20.1 (*municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori sagulo, bracas barbarum tegumen indutus togatos adloqueretur*, “the towns and colonies

For non-Italian Roman citizens in the provinces, toga-wearing seems to have been a sign of elite status more than citizenship, since only elites became citizens prior to 212 C.E. Being granted Roman citizenship was “the highest possible honor for provincial *peregrini* and [one] which the members of the local elite were proud to acquire.”³⁰⁵ Having the right to wear a toga did not mean that a man shed his provincial identity. In the Greek East, for instance, while many leading citizens actively sought ties with the imperial administration, especially with provincial governors, and became priests of imperial cult, they also maintained their traditional, local cults.³⁰⁶ Even those who left home for provincial or imperial positions elsewhere would “remain deeply attached to their tiny native cities and engaged in the affairs of their own homeland” and serve as “a channel of communication” between their hometown and Rome.³⁰⁷ Martial describes his hometown in rural Spain in a manner similar to that of other elite Romans speaking about the Italian countryside: a place of leisure, rest, and no togas.³⁰⁸ He claims that “the toga is unknown” in Bilbilis, where he has become a rustic and sleeps hours past dawn, in contrast to Juvenal who trudges up the hills of Rome in a sweaty toga.³⁰⁹ Dio Chrysostom and Plutarch also remained strongly tied to their hometowns of Prusa and Chaeroneia, especially through acts of euergetism.³¹⁰ In

thought him arrogant, because he would speak to the togate citizens wearing a multi-colored little cloak, *bracae*, barbarian trousers”); cf. Ash 2007: 129-130.

³⁰⁵ Rizakis 2007: 327.

³⁰⁶ Rizakis 2007.

³⁰⁷ Rizakis 2007: 318, 322.

³⁰⁸ Mart. 1.49, 12.18. On rustics and elite Romans in the countryside, see Ch. 3, pp. 155ff.

³⁰⁹ Mart. 12.18.17: *ignota est toga*. On Martial and his Celtiberian identity, see Johnston 2017: 265-269.

³¹⁰ Plut. *Dem.* 2.1-2; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 47; Rizakis 2007: 318.

fact, Dio Chrysostom praises the men of Borysthene for their Greek customs and especially their beards, whereas shaving was perceived as the disgraceful habit of men seeking thereby to flatter and befriend the Romans.³¹¹ Nevertheless, it may have been advantageous, both in their home province and at Rome, for certain local elites to wear the marker of Roman citizenship while engaging in political activities connected with Roman authority.

The frequency of togas in commemorative sculpture from the eastern provinces varies greatly. In honorific statues in Greece, most aristocratic men preferred to be portrayed in the *pallium*, though some appear togate to commemorate a Roman magistracy.³¹² For example, in Herodes Atticus' nymphaeum in Olympia (ca. 150 C.E.), the male figures wear a variety of clothing: the senior members of his family and his wife's Roman family wear togas, his sons are in Greek dress, and the imperial families of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius appear in Roman military dress.³¹³ One palliate statue and one togate statue are headless, representing Herodes and his father; scholars continue to debate which one wore what, but the majority believe Herodes was probably depicted in the *pallium*, while his father—the first of the family to be consul—was the one wearing the toga.³¹⁴ Other portraits of Herodes Atticus depict him palliate and bearded, in the style of statues of fourth-century B.C.E. orators such

³¹¹ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36.17.

³¹² Smith 1998: 64; see also Havé-Nikolaus 1998; Benda-Weber 2013: 105; Spathi 2013: 110-111. Some studies of provincial dress do not differentiate between Greek and Roman styles but instead contrast Greco-Roman clothing with local fashions, and so the adoption of Roman styles as opposed to other styles of dress is difficult to ascertain (see, e.g., B. Goldman 1994 on Syria).

³¹³ Smith 1998: 76-77; Gleason 2010: 131-132.

³¹⁴ Herodes in *pallium*: Walker 1987: 61; Smith 1998: 77; Gleason 2010: 132-133. Herodes in toga: Bol 1984: 165.

as Demosthenes and Aeschines.³¹⁵ In fact, the number of togate statues in Greece remained consistent even as the number of statues overall increased greatly from the first to the second centuries C.E.; Rowland Smith notes that “with the wider spread of citizenship among the elite, [the toga] became something less unusual and therefore less worth parading in the context of Greek city politics.”³¹⁶

Nevertheless, in Egypt, which was heavily Hellenized prior to Roman rule, most of the male mummy portraits show them with Roman hairstyles, wearing Roman-style white tunics with purple, red, or dark-brown *clavi*, and a white mantle worn over the left shoulder (which could be either a white *pallium* or a toga), with a few wearing dark military cloaks.³¹⁷ While other cultural markers (writing, names, painting style) are Greek, the subjects seem to have adopted the dress of the Roman civic elite. Tellenbach states that the “seemingly unproblematic adoption of Roman structures in Egypt... is puzzling.”³¹⁸ Walker proposes that “the close relationship of the mummy portraits to metropolitan Roman fashion may be explained by the strong likelihood that the subjects of the portraits themselves were engaged in local administration on behalf of the imperial authorities.”³¹⁹

In the commemorative art of northern and western provinces, the toga’s role is even more complicated. In second-century C.E. funerary portraiture from the Balkan province of Pannonia, women appear in local fashions while men wear either togas or Roman military cloaks, but the inscriptions reveal that this form of commemoration seems to have been used

³¹⁵ Smith 1998: 78-79.

³¹⁶ Smith 1998: 65.

³¹⁷ Walker 1997: 14-16; Croom 2010: 159; Tellenbach 2013b: 286-287.

³¹⁸ Tellenbach 2013b: 287.

³¹⁹ Walker 1997: 14.

mainly by local magistrates and former Roman soldiers.³²⁰ On the other hand, textile finds in this region show a high degree of adoption of Roman production techniques. In Gaul in the late second-century C.E., even the local styles of women were replaced by a regional “Gallic” costume.³²¹ Even after Caracalla’s expansion of citizenship to all free adult males in the empire, the toga did not flourish as a marker of legal status on commemorative sculpture in the northern provinces; the *tria nomina* seem to have been more popular, and in many places portraiture is quite rare.³²² However, the toga did continue to distinguish members of the local elite who had held public office or traveled throughout the Roman Empire on business. Rothe points out that for men depicted in togate portraits from northern Gaul in the third century C.E., “their choice of the toga reflects an identification with the wider cultural sphere of the Roman Empire” in contrast to the regional dress adopted by the majority of men on gravestones.³²³ The overall conclusion made from a recent interdisciplinary study of dress and textiles in the provinces is that the Iberian peninsula is the *only* region of the empire in which surviving monuments consistently depict residents of both sexes in Roman clothing, not local fashions.³²⁴

³²⁰ Carroll 2013a; Tellenbach 2013b: 288.

³²¹ Rothe 2012: 64; Carroll 2013b; Revell 2016: 107-108.

³²² Hope 2001: 21-22; Rothe 2012: 64.

³²³ Rothe 2012: 64; see also Rothe 2009; Carroll 2013b: 225.

³²⁴ Tellenbach 2013b: 287. The anthology from the five-year International Research Project “Clothing and Identities – New Perspectives on Textiles in the Roman Empire (*DressID*)” is Tellenbach, Schulz, and Wiczorek, eds., *Die Macht der Toga: DressCode im Römischen Weltreich* (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 2013).

Uncovering the Body

For Romans, unlike the Greeks, public nudity was taboo. Even in the baths, apotropaic devices were placed around the room to draw the harmful gaze (*invidia*) to themselves and away from the bodies of bathers; people who went to look at other bathers drew scorn from Roman authors.³²⁵ According to Plutarch, Romulus decreed that men should not appear naked “as an honor for the women” (ταῖς γυναῖξιν εἰς τιμὴν); a violation of this was to be judged in homicide court.³²⁶ But ‘public exposure’ can be a more complicated idea than simply stripping naked in front of other people. Exposing the upper body or even just the tunic could, depending on the context, signal vulnerability, humility, and bravery, or a lack of self-control and wantonness. Deliberate acts of uncovering the body had to be done carefully: they could be used strategically for their visual and dramatic value in Roman politics, but such gestures could very easily backfire against their users. Moreover, in some cases the toga covered the body in an ideological way much better than did the tunic, though both materially covered the private parts of the body, thus strengthening the argument that it was the toga which most encapsulated the idea of covering and concealing for the Romans.

As mentioned above, when draped in the usual way, the toga left a large part of the chest and shoulders exposed. In typical circumstances, this part of the body was covered by the surface of the tunic, but when there was need for a more direct emphasis on masculinity and Roman-ness, even the tunic would be set aside, leaving the upper chest and right shoulder

³²⁵ Sen. *QNat.* 1.16; Mart. 1.23, 1.96, 11.63; see Barton 2002: 217. On *invidia* as the ‘evil eye,’ see also Barton 1993: 91-98.

³²⁶ Plut. *Rom.* 20.3. Cf. Barton 2002: 219.

bare. The visual arts which surrounded the Romans in their everyday lives often represent the greatest Roman ancestors in only the toga, making the toga by itself and the exposure of the upper torso a characteristic of these heroes. On the Ara Pacis, for example, Aeneas is seen wearing the toga alone (fig. 22). Pliny and Asconius remark that statues of Romulus and Tatius on the Capitol and of Camillus on the Rostra also wore the toga *sine tunica*; Cato copied the fashion as “the ancient custom.”³²⁷ Etruscan statuettes dated from the second half of the sixth to the late fifth century B.C.E. do, in fact, show that the *tebenna* could be worn without a tunic.³²⁸ Wearing the toga this way was considered the ‘original’ way the toga was worn, the *mos maiorum* of men’s fashion.

Publicly exposing oneself for the approval of others, both verbally and visually, seems to have carried strong components of humility and courage; Barton states that “Roman honor was a willingness to be exposed.”³²⁹ According to Plutarch, the elder Cato wrote that candidates for office also wore the toga without a tunic in the early Republic; Plutarch wonders if the practice was intended to prevent bribery, to show off scars earned in service to Rome, or to be a sign of humility.³³⁰ Sallust has Marius declare in a *contio* that his scars and military honors are his qualifications for the consulship he holds, to be revealed if

³²⁷ Plin. *HN* 34.23.3; Asc. 29C: *idque repetierat ex vetere consuetudine*. Pliny believes these were erected as early as the seventh century B.C.E. Sehlmeier says any attempt at dating royal statues can be only speculation, especially since the *sine tunica* style is older but some archaic statues do have tunics (1999: 69-71).

³²⁸ Bonfante 2003: 50; Sehlmeier 1999: 70.

³²⁹ Barton 2002: 221.

³³⁰ Plut. *Coriol.* 14.1-2; *Quaest. Rom.* 49. On candidacy as supplication, see Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.71; Morstein-Marx 1998: 267-270. For further discussion of the *toga candida*, see Ch. 4, pp. 198ff, and Appendix, pp. 272-273.

necessary, since as a new man he lacks ancestral masks, offices, or triumphs.³³¹ Candidates, so named for their specially whitened togas, were also required to walk around the Forum, conversing and shaking hands with other citizens, in order to solicit votes by promoting the candidate's worthiness.³³² L. Crassus was said to have claimed that the necessity of such public and widespread canvassing could be seen as abasing oneself in supplication or as making a fool of oneself by talking about one's accomplishments.³³³ Plutarch's description of the supposed practice in the early Republic meant that scars would be visible, as well, as silent testimonies to a man's valor in war, while the display of the upper body would give witness to a man's maturity and physical development.

The sudden exposure of the chest to reveal scars could also be used in the context of a trial for dramatic effect, in order to bring about a similar display of a man's inner

³³¹ Sall. *Iug.* 85.29-30; see also Plut. *Mar.* 9.2.

³³² Deniaux 2003: 50; cf. Morstein-Marx 2004: 275.

³³³ Cf. Cic. *De or.* 1.112: "when seeking office, in soliciting I used to send Scaevola away from me, so I would say to him that I intended to be absurd: that is to solicit rather charmingly; which if not done absurdly, could not be done well. . . . For what is more absurd, than to speak about speaking, since to speak itself is never not absurd, except when it is necessary? (*cum peterem magistratum, solebam in prensando dimittere a me Scaevolam, cum ei ita dicerem, me velle esse ineptum: id erat petere blandius; quod nisi inepte fieret, bene non posset fieri. . . . Nam quid est ineptius, quam de dicendo dicere, cum ipsum dicere nunquam sit non ineptum, nisi cum est necessarium?*); Val. Max 4.5.4: "when L. Crassus was seeking the consulship, compelled to go around the Forum as a suppliant to the people in the custom of all candidates, he could never be led to do this with his father-in-law Q. Scaevola, a most serious and wise man, present. And so he used to ask Scaevola to go away while he humbled himself in the absurd business, feeling a greater sense of shame for Scaevola's dignity than respect for his own *toga candida*" (*consulatum petens L. Crassus, cum omnium candidatorum more circum forum supplex populo ire cogeretur, numquam adduci potuit ut id praesente Q. Scaeuola grauissimo et sapientissimo uiro, socero suo, faceret. itaque rogabat eum ut a se, dum ineptae rei inseruaret, discederet, maiorem uerecundiam dignitatis eius quam candidae togae suae respectum agens*).

character.³³⁴ Former soldiers would tear their clothing and bare their chests to show the wounds they had received in the service of Rome.³³⁵ In Cicero's *de Oratore*, Marcus Antonius (grandfather of Antony) describes the sartorial elements of his defense of Manius Aquilius against a charge of extortion: the jury was greatly moved both by the sight of Aquilius in filthy mourning clothes and the moment when Antonius himself became so overcome that he tore open the defendant's tunic (no toga is mentioned) in order to show off his scars.³³⁶ The display of battle scars—on the front of the body—was clearly meant to show that the defendant had placed the welfare of the *res publica* above his own and fought bravely, without turning his back, and therefore had so sterling a character that he could not possibly have done the crime (or, in Aquilius' case, that his bravery and service to Rome outweighed the crime).

³³⁴ Heskell 1994: 137-139.

³³⁵ Dio 54.14.3-4 (Licinius Regulus in 18 B.C.E., erased from the list of senators by Augustus; outcome unknown); Cic. *De or.* 1.175, Val. Max. 7.7.1 (a soldier, whose father believed him dead, found his inheritance dispersed when he returned home; he won his case); Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.62.3 (491 B.C.E. trial of Cn. Marcius Coriolanus for attempted tyranny; the majority wanted to acquit him at that point, but he was eventually condemned and exiled. For the trial, see also Livy 2.35.6, Plut. *Coriol.* 20). The sight of an old man in *squalor* with scars from battle on his breast and from whips on his back incites a popular uprising in 495 B.C.E. (Livy 2.23). No source specifies which garments are worn or torn.

³³⁶ Cic. *De or.* 2.195: *sensi equidem tum magnopere moveri iudices, cum excitavi maestum ac sordidatum senem et cum ista feci... non arte... sed motu magno animi ac dolore, ut discinderem tunicam, ut cicatrices ostenderem* ("Indeed, I sensed that the jurors were greatly moved when I called out the sorrowful old man dressed in filthy mourning clothes and when I did [the following] deeds... not by art... but from great emotion and pain, I ripped open his tunic so that I could display his scars"). The commentators Wilkins (1962: 324) and Leeman *et al.* (1989: 152) have brief notes on *sordes*, but only grammatical remarks about tearing the tunic. Aquilius was acquitted, though he was in fact guilty. See Cic. *De or.* 2.124, 188, 194-196; *Flacc.* 98; *Verr.* 2.5.1.3; Livy, *Per.* 70; Quint. *Inst.* 2.15.7. On *sordes* in court, see Ch. 4, pp. 219ff.

In a twist on this strategic gesture, Cicero demands that Verres bare his breast to show his scars, since, the orator claims, this will uncover marks from the love bites of a woman, wounds earned in the bedroom instead of on the battlefield.³³⁷ He calls these “the traces of lust and wickedness” (*vestigia libidinis atque nequitiae*), explicitly revealing that scars were thought to be marks of character, not just of past deeds. The gesture of revealing the upper body, enabling the viewing public to read any visible marks thereupon, was an important strategy for exhibiting a person’s inner character.

Yet a distinction remained: exposing the upper body in certain circumstances could be honorable, but exposing the lower body was not. In most anecdotes of tearing open the tunic to show off scars, only the chest is revealed to the audience (the subjects’ togas are absent from the narratives, even when they would clearly be wearing one). When M. Servilius (cos. 202 B.C.E.) stripped off his clothing (*nudasse deinde se*) in a *contio* to show off the scars on his chest, he obviously removed both toga and tunic, for he accidentally exposed a growth near his groin, much to the amusement of the crowd.³³⁸ To recover his dignity, Livy tells us, Servilius claimed the tumor was acquired through long hours on horseback, and thus it was a mark of his military service just like the scars on his chest. The social consequences of exposing his lower body had to be carefully re-negotiated through equating the marks thus revealed to those on his upper body.

Prescriptive literature, as well, carefully delineated under what circumstances and how much of the body could be revealed to an audience. Quintilian argues that if a man should

³³⁷ Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.32.

³³⁸ Livy 45.39.17-18: *quae dum ostentat, adapertis forte quae velanda errant, tumor inguinum proximis risum movit*. See Briscoe 2012: 746; Hall 2014: 5-7.

gesture with his arm too broadly, this could accidentally expose his side to view, and an orator must avoid such a movement.³³⁹ He uses the phrase *introspiciatur latus*, implying that the lower torso and upper part of the legs could be looked at closely. Though the tunic would have remained in place and no skin would actually show, the lower part of the body which the toga was supposed to cover and conceal would still be open to the external gaze. The shame associated with this sort of bodily exposure confirms that Quintilian, at least, believes such actions display a lack of self-control on the part of the orator. He goes on to describe other careless hand gestures, both wild and timid, in a similarly derogatory way.³⁴⁰ These movements would reveal to the viewer that a man lacked the controlled and honorable character needed for public service. Quintilian's description of the proper way to manage the toga through the course of a speech includes specific moments when it is appropriate to let the toga slip from the shoulder, rearrange it, or even have it nearly fall off by the end.³⁴¹ Indeed, Alice Christ notes that though Quintilian's recommendation "amounts to a staged disrobing," taking off the toga constituted "a demonstration of social vulnerability that must be carefully framed."³⁴²

³³⁹ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.118: *ut brachio exerto introspiciatur latus*.

³⁴⁰ See Ch. 3, p. 135-136.

³⁴¹ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.124: (almost from the beginning) *togam quoque inde [pectore] removeri non dedecet*, "it is not indecent to remove the toga also from the breast"; 11.3.144: (during arguments) *sinus ab umero recte velut sponte delabitur*, "the sinus will slip from the shoulder, properly as if it were spontaneous"; 11.3.147: (by the end) *neglentior amictus et soluta ac velut labens undique toga*, "the wrapping rather disordered and the toga loose, as if it were falling everywhere"; 11.3.156: (when getting up to speak) *tum in componenda toga vel, si necesse erit, etiam ex integro inicienda*, "then you must arrange the toga, or, if necessary, even put it on afresh"; cf. Christ 1997: 29 and Ch. 3, p. 134.

³⁴² Christ 1997: 29.

Many historical accounts describe the ways in which spontaneously exposing the body by removing the toga or tearing one's clothing could be a powerful show of humility or grief, especially when the gesture is portrayed as impulsive and dramatic. Their narratives show that revealing the body to the gaze signified that a person was no longer independent, self-contained, and self-sufficient, but instead vulnerable and dependent upon an external other. Christ asserts that "exposing the body can constitute a claim... of self-sacrifice and submission to elite male judgment."³⁴³ Yet this gesture was not performed only before an audience of peers. For instance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that in the midst of the struggle of the orders, the consul Publius Servilius prevented a revolt of the *plebs* in 494 B.C.E. by throwing off his *praetexta* and tearfully prostrating himself before the crowd.³⁴⁴ According to Appian, Cinna came before an assembly of Roman soldiers at Capua with the consular insignia (i.e., in a senatorial tunic and *toga praetexta*), where he laid down his *fasces*, tore his clothing, and prostrated himself at their feet in order to stir up their support against the Senate who had voted to remove him from the consulship.³⁴⁵ These shows of humility seem to have played into the ideology that even the highest patrician was dependent upon the opinion of other citizens for the honor of his high office, an acknowledgment that the power of a consul was a gift from the *populus* to a man they recognized as superior.³⁴⁶

³⁴³ Christ 1997: 29.

³⁴⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.26.3. Cf. Livy 2.23, though clothing is not mentioned.

³⁴⁵ App. *B Civ.* 1.65-66; Morstein-Marx 2011.

³⁴⁶ On the ideology that government officials were recipients of gifts of honor from the masses, see Polyb. 6.14.4; Morstein-Marx 2004: 258-278, 2011; Yakobson 2010. See also Pina Polo 1996; Hölkeskamp 2004; Sumi 2005: 1-46.

In a similar way, Suetonius says that Augustus threw off his toga and laid bare his chest in order to persuade the Roman people not to force him to become dictator.³⁴⁷ Although Augustus was appealing to the populace in supplication by baring his chest like a defendant or early-Republican candidate, he was rejecting the honor of an office, not soliciting for one. The Augustan author Livy claims that Cincinnatus, in order to accept the dictatorship bestowed on him, first had to don his toga; Augustus himself showed that he could not accept such a powerful position by discarding his own.³⁴⁸ Such a display of humility and strong emotion before the people may have had even greater persuasive power than the supplication of the defendant, and it is certainly used for dramatic effect in Suetonius' narrative. Yet such moves could also backfire: Cicero describes a contemporary's theatrical gesture of throwing off his toga to fling himself at a tribune's feet in supplication as "his same old act" (*suam veterem fabulam*).³⁴⁹ He seems to imply that repetition of the act and an obvious lack of spontaneity stripped it of its social meaning of humility and turned a man into nothing more than a stage actor.³⁵⁰

An attacker could forcefully remove someone else's toga as a way to expose their victim to assault. Even if such an action seems prosaic enough, an author could add subtle nuance to his narrative by focusing specifically on the loss of the toga. Plutarch's Brutus has his

³⁴⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 52.1.8: *dictaturam magna vi offerente populo genu nixus deiecta ab umeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est*; Dio, relating the same event in a less dramatic fashion, says that Augustus tore his clothing (τὴν δὲ δικτατορίαν οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσκατερρήξατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλως σφᾶς ἐπισχεῖν, μήτε διαλεγόμενος μήτε δεόμενος, 54.1.4).

³⁴⁸ Cincinnatus: Livy 3.26.7-10.

³⁴⁹ Cic. *Att.* 4.2.4 (Cn. Oppius Cornificius, his own father-in-law, even in spite of the fact that the man was acting in support of the restoration of Cicero's house); see Hall 2014: 69.

³⁵⁰ For more on the relationship between acting and oratory, see Ch. 3, pp. 118-119.

lictors tear the togas from his sons in order to whip them and then cut their heads off as punishment for their conspiracy with the Tarquins.³⁵¹ In a pragmatic sense, the youths must have been stripped of all their clothes for whipping, but Plutarch's sartorial detail draws on the civic meaning of the toga to underscore the point of the story: in their treason against the Republic, Brutus' sons have become *hostes*, not *cives*. In other anecdotes, the victims are represented as becoming vulnerable, unprotected, and exposed the moment that they are stripped of their togas. In the climax of Plutarch's biography of Tiberius Gracchus, the tribune is grabbed by his clothing as he turns to flee; he lets his toga drop and tries to escape in just his tunic, at which point he stumbles, falls, and is clubbed to death.³⁵² Seneca informs his reader that a seditious mob tore the toga from Cato's shoulders when he was about to speak in the Forum, heaping verbal and physical abuse upon him.³⁵³ According to multiple ancient sources, Tillius Cimber pulled Caesar's toga away from his neck and shoulders as the signal to begin the fatal attack.³⁵⁴ A toga-wearer could also use this same sort of gesture to provoke an aggressor, daring his opponent to take physical action instead of simply making verbal assaults. Plutarch takes advantage of the heightened tension of such an act when he asserts that Caesar pulled his toga from his neck and invited his detractors to kill him after he affronted the Senate and people by refusing more extravagant honors, a grim foreshadowing of his assassination.³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ Plut. *Publ.* 6; cf. Livy 2.5.

³⁵² Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.5-6.

³⁵³ Sen. *Constant.* 2.1.3, 2.2.3.

³⁵⁴ App. *B Civ.* 2.16; Plut. *Caes.* 66.6; Suet. *Iul.* 82.1.6; Dio 44.19.4.

³⁵⁵ Plut. *Caes.* 60.6; cf. *Ant.* 12.4.

Transparent togas

The argument that it is the materiality of the toga's covering and concealing function which determined much of its meaning is also borne out by examining a type of toga which happens to have had the opposite social significance from the male citizen's *toga pura*. A transparent toga effectively subverted the toga's most basic function of covering, concealing, and protecting—thus this toga was a non-toga, a denial of the toga as the physical equivalent of *tegere*. The negation of material function transferred into negation of signification. As Glenys Davies memorably declares, a toga was not always *virilis*.³⁵⁶ Where a normal toga signified equality and masculinity, a transparent toga implied luxury and effeminacy.

See-through togas are described as *perluces*, *multicia*, *tenues*, or *vitrea*, and they were most likely made of loosely-woven, finely-spun thread (to make gauze), using wool, linen, or silk fiber.³⁵⁷ Such a garment would be very expensive, and only the wealthy and fashionable Roman could wear one.³⁵⁸ A fragment of Varro states that certain men would

³⁵⁶ Davies 2005: 121.

³⁵⁷ Wild silk may have been produced in small quantities the Greek island of Cos as early as the fourth century B.C.E. (but see Hildebrandt 2017: 35-37); it would have been woven into rough, semi-translucent fabrics that were difficult to dye. Silk from the Far East was much more translucent, smooth, and glossy, and common enough in China that rural farmers paid their taxes in silk. Trade in silk fabric and thread from China to Rome began in the first century B.C.E., by sea from India to Egypt and Arabia and by land through Parthia. These thickly-woven, pale-colored fabrics would be unravelled into thread and bleached white by textile workers in the Middle East. The thread was then usually respun with other fibers like wool or linen, then dyed in vivid red, purple, and blue colors. Then it would be rewoven into lighter cloth before being sent to Rome (Liu 2010: 20-41; McLaughlin 2016; Hildebrandt 2013, 2017).

³⁵⁸ Cf. Harlow 2014: 15

wear “glass-like togas” to show off the stripes of their tunic.³⁵⁹ If these stripes were the purple *clavi angusti* of the *equites* or *clavi lati* of members of the Senate, the transparent togas were being worn by ostentatious elites. Horace, too, associates “fine-spun togas and shining locks” with greed and luxury.³⁶⁰

Transparent fabric, in general, was worn by women. For example, a wall painting at the Getty Villa shows a woman in a transparent tunic (fig. 23).³⁶¹ In Plautus’ *Epidicus*, the so-named slave includes gauze tunics, *tunicae rallae*, among the fashionable fabrics and colors worn by women such as his young master’s new girlfriend.³⁶² Tiberius banned men from wearing silk due to its association with women.³⁶³ In Roman literature, licentious women, such as prostitutes, adulteresses, and the *puellae* of elegiac poetry, wear transparent fabric and expensive Coan silk, luxuries that would reveal the body. Such women were also supposed to be marked by female togas; thus, a transparent toga on a male body transfers social meaning from the whore to the man. In Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*, the speaker warns good girls to avoid the well-groomed man who wears a transparent toga, one which *puellae* shout he has stolen from them, for he is not only a thief, but he is also promiscuous and tells smooth lies.³⁶⁴ In a similar vein, the speaker of Juvenal’s second satire chastises the lawyer Creticus, who claims he wears a gauze toga due to the July heat, by declaring that not even

³⁵⁹ Varro, *Sat. Men.* 313.1: *toga vitrea*.

³⁶⁰ Hor. *Epist.* 1.14.32: *quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli*; cf. Olson 2014a: 196.

³⁶¹ Cf. Harlow 2014: 15.

³⁶² Plaut. *Epid.* 229; cf. Sebesta 1994b.

³⁶³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.33; cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 90.15; Plin. *HN* 11.78; Olson 2017: 140.

³⁶⁴ Ov. *Ars am.* 3.441-450.

an adulteress would wear such a garment.³⁶⁵ The speaker goes on to claim that this disgusting dress leads gradually, like the progression of a disease, to the abomination of crossdressing in private worship of the Bona Dea, an exclusively female religious practice.³⁶⁶ These texts compare the man's gauze toga with clothing worn by women, especially adulteresses, and associate the garment with the vices of promiscuity and sacrilege.

Prostitutes' togas

The toga's enveloping folds both obscured and widened the male form and, ideally, served to integrate the individual body within the masculine citizen body. Yet despite its supposedly unisex origins and this virtuous meaning on male bodies, the toga is used in literature of the late Republic and Empire to mark a woman as *infamis* and sexually promiscuous, as either a prostitute or a convicted adulteress. In contrast to a *stolata*, a wife who is sexually available to only one member of the Roman citizen body, a *togata* is a commodified sexual body shared by the male population. Though the materiality of the female toga cannot be ascertained from the scant available evidence, several possibilities show how the toga's interaction with a female body may have led to this reversed signification.

Like all forms of identifying dress, especially since most of our sources are poetic, there is no way to know if prostitutes and convicted adulteresses actually wore the prescribed

³⁶⁵ Juv. 2.66-70.

³⁶⁶ This is a conscious echo of Cicero's accusations against Clodius (*Dom.* 139, *Mil.* 55, *Har. resp.* 8). Cf. Corbeill 1996: 162-163; McGinn 1998: 163; Olson 2002: 393.

toga. It is debatable, moreover, if they were legally required to do so.³⁶⁷ Even if prostitutes did not wear togas, however, they clearly wore something identifiable. The jurist Ulpian indicates that there are visible differences among the clothing of slave women, prostitutes, and matrons, since attacks on women resulted in varying charges based on different types of clothing, no matter their actual legal status.³⁶⁸ Unfortunately, Ulpian does not mention specific identifying garments like the toga. Still, this legal evidence implies that women did not always wear clothing appropriate to their status, and that they were held responsible for whatever happened to them as a result. In addition, there is no way to determine conclusively what a female toga may have looked like, or if it was the distinguishing dress worn by prostitutes or adulteresses at all. In fact, Olson argues that the *infamis togata*, like the ancestral togate matrons, may have been part of the distant legendary past, and just the metonym continued into Republican and Imperial literature.³⁶⁹ The only certain conclusion that can be made from such evidence is that prostitutes and adulteresses wore a variety of clothing, which possibly included some sort of toga and definitely excluded the stola.³⁷⁰

As shown above, the *toga virilis* signified masculinity, Romanness, and citizen status in Roman literature—rather the legal, social, and moral opposite of an *infamis* promiscuous woman. Cicero highlights this contrast in the *Second Philippic*, the first surviving mention of a female toga. The orator mockingly depicts Antony as having turned his *toga virilis* into

³⁶⁷ McGinn argues this was part of the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* (1998: 171). However, the toga is not mentioned as punishment in any of the extant texts mentioning the law, nor is it conclusively linked with the *lex Iulia* in other sources (Jörs and Spagnuolo 1985: 41-42; Olson 2008b: 49; Dixon 2014).

³⁶⁸ *Dig.* 47.10.15.15. Cf. Olson 2008b: 51.

³⁶⁹ Olson 2002: 396-397; 2008b: 50.

³⁷⁰ Cf. Olson 2008b: 49.

a *toga muliebris* by prostituting himself as a whore, but then, Cicero sneers, Curio gave him a *stola* and made him a faithful wife.³⁷¹ In the early Augustan era, as the marriage and procreation of citizens increasingly became a concern of the Roman state, both Horace in his first book of satire (30s B.C.E.) and Sulpicia of Tibullus' third book (c. 19 B.C.E.) contrast poor or slave togate girls to elite married women, arguing that it is better to dally with prostitutes than rich adulteresses.³⁷² This earlier evidence seems to indicate that prostitutes wore the *toga* and adulteresses did not before the passage of the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* in 18 B.C.E., at which point there was no distinction between the two in Roman law—but then again, the married women in the poems seem not to have been caught in the act yet.³⁷³ Promiscuity, not a commercial transaction, may have been the significant factor in making a woman *infamis* and *togata*.³⁷⁴

What the *toga* of the prostitute or adulteress signified, however, has been the subject of scholarly debate. Edwards argues that female togas were “a blatant display of their exclusion from the respectable social hierarchy... antithetical to the male Roman citizen.”³⁷⁵ Heskell posits, by contrast, that licentious women “were believed to behave like men, that is, in their promiscuous actions.”³⁷⁶ Vout argues that denying a matron her *stola* would “deny her her

³⁷¹ Cic. *Phil.* 2.44.

³⁷² Tib. 3.16.3-4: *sit tibi cura togae potior pressumque quasillo / scortum quam Servi filia Sulpicia*; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.62-63: *quid inter/est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?*; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.80-82: *nec magis huic inter niveos viridisque lapillos / sit licet, hoc, Cerinthe, tuum, tenerum est femur aut crus / rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est*. For dating of these two poems, see Hallett 2006: 41.

³⁷³ Prior to the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*, adultery was purely a domestic family matter and not the concern of the courts (McGinn 1998: 140-147).

³⁷⁴ Olson 2002: 394.

³⁷⁵ Edwards 1997: 81.

³⁷⁶ Heskell 1994: 141.

femininity,” and Dixon similarly concludes that, like a missing stola, the adulteress’ toga was “an outward symbol of her sexual transgression and loss of feminine virtue and chastity.”³⁷⁷ Yet the absence of a stola arguably means something different from the presence of a less-hindering toga, especially since even in commemorative statuary, *stolae* are relatively infrequent and women most often wear floor-length tunics.³⁷⁸ I agree with Andrew Gallia that for both men and prostitutes, “the *toga* marked an absence of external constraints on an adult wearer’s sexuality.”³⁷⁹ Gallia observes that the toga “held shameful associations for women, not because in wearing it they acted as men per se, but because it marked their bodies as lacking the chastity that was necessary for them to secure a respectable position in society.”³⁸⁰ I go further, however, and demonstrate that the interaction between the toga’s materiality and a sexualized female body which is displayed as a commodity is a significant factor in the expression of this social meaning—much the same way as the *toga virilis* does on a male citizen body, but with the opposite result.

Unfortunately, the literary sources tend to be inconclusive as to what a female toga may have looked like—most descriptions of prostitutes mention various types of luxurious clothing (or none), but only a few may be describing the female toga.³⁸¹ The small clues that

³⁷⁷ Vout 1996: 215; Dixon 2014: 298.

³⁷⁸ In contrast to the proliferation of togate statues throughout much of the Roman Empire from the Republic to the fifth century C.E., women wearing *stolae* are rather infrequent and limited to the early first century B.C.E. to late second century C.E. in Roman commemorative statuary (Olson 2002: 391; Strong 2016: 21).

³⁷⁹ Gallia 2014: 231.

³⁸⁰ Gallia 2014: 231.

³⁸¹ For the adornment, incl. the wraps, of prostitutes, see also, e.g., Plaut. *Cis.* 113-115 (*amiculum*), *Mos.* 159-312 (*palla*), *Truc.* 269-274 (*pallula*), 479 (*pallium*); Juv. 6.120-123; Olson 2002: 396; Olson 2008b: 49-50; Dixon 2014: 302. The elder Seneca implies that such clothing is supplied by the pimp (*Contr.* 1.2.7).

remain do hint, albeit inconclusively, that it may not have been the same large, white, woolen garment that male citizens wore. Considering how many small variations in size and drape there were for men's togas, there is no reason to assume that women wore the same togas that are seen on contemporary honorific statues of men. Any semicircular garment with similar dimensions and draping, but of any color or fabric type, could still have been considered a toga.

The female toga, in a practical sense, could have been intended to have a corporeal effect similar to that of the stola and the male toga, garments which physically enforced moderation in bodily action and thus embodied the quality of self-control.³⁸² The weight-dependent drapery would have been an impediment to bending over or lying down, just as it was for the men's toga. Thus, a prostitute's toga could have been thought to be a tangible enforcement of chastity even as it marked promiscuity. Still, Dixon argues that the bulky toga "does not make sense" for a prostitute "who needed to advertise herself and be accessible."³⁸³ The job required that she display her body while working.

However, even in a large toga a woman could reveal or conceal her body as she chose. All it took to expose the entire left side of the body was to raise the left arm and let the bulk of the toga slide down to the shoulder.³⁸⁴ If a woman wore the toga alone, the entire right side of her torso would be exposed to view as well, unless she pulled up the upper edge over both her shoulders like a Greek *pallium*. In addition, the large elite togas do not seem to have been a significant hindrance to casual sexual activity for the men who were habituated

³⁸² See Ch. 3, pp. 114ff.

³⁸³ Dixon 2014: 302. Cf. Croom 2010: 108.

³⁸⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.118.

to them, such as the lover-poet of elegy who equates assuming the *toga virilis* with sexual freedom.³⁸⁵ Unlike women's floor-length tunics, the toga did not cover the legs entirely: this emphasized the masculinity of men, as shown above, but the sight of two legs would also showcase a prostitute's availability—the ankle as erogenous zone. The distinctive rounded corners of the toga would also work rather well as advertisement due to their visible contrast to the rectangular *palla* of matrons. Even poor prostitutes could wear small cheap togas on the scale of those worn by poor non-elite men.³⁸⁶

In terms of color, the sources are contradictory. Prostitutes in prose wear bright clothing: Seneca mentions “the colors of whores,” and Tacitus speaks of the “red-dyed clothing of whores.”³⁸⁷ On the other hand, Martial contrasts expensively dyed scarlet and violet-colored clothing with a toga, arguing that the toga is a more fitting gift for an adulteress.³⁸⁸ This suggests a cheap, neutral-colored toga, like the dull white ones worn by non-elites. Anise Strong proposes it may have been colored yellow, an inexpensive but bright dye, which would have increased its visibility.³⁸⁹ A third-century scholiast claims that adulteresses wore only dark togas, *pullis togis*, to differentiate them from matrons, though he does not seem to

³⁸⁵ Prop. 3.15.3-4.

³⁸⁶ For the togas of non-elite poor men, see Ch. 3, pp. 150ff.

³⁸⁷ Sen. *QNat.* 7.31.2: *colores meretricios*; Tac. *Dial.* 26.1.5: *fucatis et meretriciis vestibus*.

³⁸⁸ Mart. 2.39: *coccina famosae donas et ianthina moechae: / vis dare quae meruit munera? mitte togam*. Elsewhere the speaker advises a pampered slave that he really does not want to be freed, since he would be forced to wear a cheap toga like the speaker's own (Mart. 2.53). This implies that even slaves could wear luxurious clothes, which are seen as a stark contrast to a cheap toga.

³⁸⁹ Strong 2016: 21-22.

be a reliable source at this point.³⁹⁰ Since the formal *toga pulla* had a very specific ritual use in funerary custom, it is unlikely that a prostitute wearing a sacred garment made from the wool of all-black sheep would not excite comment in earlier literature. Still, *pullus* could simply refer to the dark-dyed clothing which is generally associated with poor laborers, who could not afford to keep white or light-colored clothes clean. While a cheap dark or yellow toga may have suited a poor street prostitute, this does not seem to be the case with the *meretrix* of literary fame, in her scarlet and silk.

As an alternative to a cheap, dull-colored toga, some female togas may have been of a different type of fabric, one which revealed the body even more. The *puellae* in Augustan elegy and the prostitutes in satire show off their bodies in revealing garments, often made of transparent Coan silk, which are materially the opposite of both the concealing toga of the male citizen and the stola of the *matrona*.³⁹¹ After Horace states that he will discuss the

³⁹⁰ [Acro], *schol. Hor. Sat. 1.2.63: Peccesne togata] Matronae, quae ob adulterium [a maritis] repudiabantur, togam accipiebant sublata stola propter ignominiam. ...Toga autem meretrici apta. Ita enim solebant prostare cum solis pullis togis, ut discernerentur a matronis; et ideo quae adulterii damnatae fuerunt, hac veste utebantur. Aliter: togatae dicebantur in publicum procedere feminae adulterii admissi <convictae>. Alii togatam dicunt libertinam, quia antea libertinae toga utebantur, stola vero matronae. In his interpretation of Hor. Sat. 1.2.63, *togata* applies to *matrona* instead of the closer word *ancilla* (*quid inter/est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?*). I, however, agree with Gowers that the entire satire emphasizes a duality between an adulterous matron in a stola and a brothel prostitute, and that there are only two women discussed in this line, not three (see Gowers 2012: 104-105). Ps.-Acro also claims that freed and not freeborn women wore the toga in the distant past, which contradicts other sources (Non. 541M, citing Varro, *Vit. pop. Rom.* 44.1; Serv. *Aen.* 1.282). Cf. Olson 2008b: 48-49; Dixon 2014: 304.*

³⁹¹ For references to female lovers in Coan silk, see Tib. 2.4.29-30: *addit auaritia causas et Coa puellis / uestis et e Rubro lucida concha mari*; Prop. 1.2.2: *tenuis Coa veste movere sinus*; Prop. 2.1.3-4: *sive illam Cois fulgentem incedere cogis / hac totum e Coa veste volumen erit*; Prop. 4.2.23-24: *indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella: / meque virum sumpta quis neget esse toga?*; Prop. 4.5.23: *Eurypyliisve placet Coae textura Minervae*; Hor. *Carm.* 4.13.13: *nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae*; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.99-102: *ad talos stola*

differences between a *matrona* and an *ancilla togata*, he contrasts the long, concealing stola and *palla* of the Roman matron with the revealing Coan silks of a brothel prostitute.³⁹² The poet of Propertian elegy claims that his nature changes with his adornment, for if he wears Coan silks he becomes a promiscuous girl, while in a toga he is a man.³⁹³ Davies convincingly proposes that prostitutes' togas could have been made in bright colors and luxury fabrics instead of the plain white wool of the *toga pura*.³⁹⁴ Such garments would suit both practical considerations of self-advertisement and the literary descriptions of brothel prostitutes.

Perhaps some *infamis* women even wore the transparent togas which are associated with effeminacy, luxury, and vice in Roman satire. The elegiac *puella* goes out in public wearing Coan silk clothing with “a sheer *sinus*” (*tenuis sinus*), which may imply the drapery of a transparent silken toga.³⁹⁵ As previously mentioned, Juvenal mocks Creticus' gauzy clothing (*multicia*) by saying even a convicted adulteress would not wear such a toga.³⁹⁶ The fact that a transparent toga, and prostitutes' clothing generally, contradicted the toga's basic material function of covering and concealing the body may have been a major factor in the reversed significance of the female toga. Where the *toga virilis* concealed the man's body in order to

demissa et circumdata palla, / plurima, quae invideant pure adparere tibi rem. / altera, nil obstat: cois tibi paene videre est / ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi; / metiri possis oculo latus; Ov. Ars am. 2.298: sive erit in Cois, Coa decere puta. Cf. Keith 2008b: 194-195.

³⁹² Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.62-63, 99-102. While the *puella* of elegy may be an independent courtesan, not a street or brothel prostitute, Horace here seems to indicate a slave prostitute in similarly luxurious and revealing clothing. On the elegiac *puella*, see James 2003: 36-41.

³⁹³ Prop. 4.2.23-24.

³⁹⁴ Davies 2005: 128.

³⁹⁵ Prop. 1.2.2: *tenuis Coa veste movere sinus.*

³⁹⁶ Juv. 2.66-70: *talem / non sumet damnata togam.*

assimilate him within the Roman citizen body, marking him as a member of a homogeneous group and not as an individual, the fabric of a female toga could easily have revealed a woman's body, visibly indicating that it was a sexual object available to anyone.

The togas worn by *infamis* women, prostitutes and adulteresses, expressed the exact opposite meanings of togas worn by elite men, because these women's togas interacted with commodified, objectified, and sexualized female bodies. In a very practical sense, a poor prostitute's toga would probably have been short, cheap, and not covered much, and could be draped or manipulated in ways that would advertise her body as available. The more expensive prostitutes and rich adulteresses, on the other hand, could have worn sheer or transparent togas whose very materiality exposed the body instead of concealing it. Since the basic ideological function of the toga is to cover and conceal, as encapsulated in the name's derivation from the word *tegere*, the revealing material of such togas would consequently also reverse the expression of the toga's normal social meaning.

Conclusion

The materiality of the toga enabled the garment to perform its basic function of covering and concealing the wearer in a variety of complex ways—physically and visually, practically and ideologically—which, as this analysis has revealed, shaped the expression of the toga's social meaning. In Roman literature and art, no other garment served these purposes in quite the same way. Authors from the late Republic to the late Empire construed the toga as shelter for the body, linking it etymologically with *tegere* and *tectum*. Beyond the basic meaning of the word, representations of the toga depict the material of the garment acting as a physical and ideological boundary between the wearer and the external other.

Even objects held within the fabric of the toga would be closely connected to the identity of the wearer. As a result, how much of the body and which parts were covered and concealed had specific social meanings which have been explored in this chapter.

The material of the toga kept the external environment away from the body. For the most basic protective function of clothing, the fabric of a toga could be adapted for the weather. The wearer's degree of comfort became part of the elite *habitus*, since only the wealthy could afford multiple seasonal togas. An overheated or shivering man was seen as a poor man, as his only toga failed to cover him in an appropriate manner. The idea of covering and concealing could be extended to other people or objects. If the toga-wearer was protecting another person within the fabric of his toga, his own social and political power became a major factor in the effectiveness of his gesture. Objects in a toga could have enhanced social meanings, too. While the folds of the *sinus* made a rather practical pocket to carry things like money or scrolls around on an everyday basis, an author who wished to signify a toga-wearer's allegiance or devotion would depict him as keeping an associated object in his *sinus*, within the boundary defined by the toga's fabric.

Using the physical fabric of the toga to protect someone's body, especially in an atypical way, could sometimes shift the garment's customary social meanings to serve the purpose of a particular literary narrative. The fabric in a single layer did not provide much protection from an armed attack, but its significance as a boundary could, when physically penetrated, heighten the poignancy of assassination narratives, especially if the toga was the sacred *praetexta* or *purpurea*. Some pragmatic men are described as wearing armor under their togas or wrapping fabric around parts of their bodies to serve as helmet or shield in hand-to-

hand fighting. Narratives which feature such a practical use of the materiality of the bulky toga as a means of self-defense often drew on the toga's peaceful image to emphasize the impromptu nature of the deed. For an aggressor who used this gesture, the toga was not only aiding an act of violence, subverting its message of peace, but could also be seen as implying that the violent act was the performance of a civic duty. Concealing weapons within the folds of a toga projected a false image of peaceful intent while disguising the wearer's murderous plans. By including such practical manipulations of the toga's materiality in his narrative, an author could add a variety of nuances of meaning to his description of events.

More specific types of self-identification, such as Roman-ness, also seem to have been linked with how the physical properties of the toga interacted with the wearer's body. The distinctive curved edge of the toga was thought to be native to Italy, borrowed from the Etruscans in the regal period, and it visually distinguished a Roman from a non-Roman. The association of Roman-ness with the toga could be carried over into the personal connection with objects held between the wearer's body and the external boundary of the toga's fabric: if a man held an object that symbolized Rome in the *sinus* of his toga, in a vision or in the streets, this could be construed in the interpretation of an omen that he would eventually become emperor. By contrast, holding a druidic charm in one's toga to affect the outcome of a trial could result in a death sentence. The expanding boundary of the Roman empire could be envisioned as the sight of all its diverse new inhabitants being wrapped in togas, while an exile lost the right to wear one. Whatever was physically within the boundary of a toga was simultaneously part of the wearer and part of Rome.

The toga not only marked a Roman citizen by its curved edge, but its bulky folds and white color visually assimilated the wearer into the citizen body. A *toga pura* denoted only that the wearer was of citizen status, its most basic ‘meaning.’ The fabric obscured any individual differences in bodily features, making one toga-wearer’s body seem much the same as any other’s. The white material not only signified the moral purity of a toga-wearer through the purity of its fiber, it also required high standards of cleanliness. A toga-wearer would blend into a crowd of other white-garbed citizens but stand out starkly against a background of foreigners or women, who wore dark or brightly-colored clothing. In this particular way, he was visually equal to any other Roman citizen but clearly differentiated from those who were not.

On the other hand, the practicalities of maintaining white clothing meant that subtle differences in the materiality of the toga’s color expressed status distinctions. Purely white wool itself was rather rare, and thus more expensive, than darker wool. Brighter whiteness and surface luster were the desired effects of fulling, a complex process which would have added to the costs of wearing a toga, both in terms of payment for the service and of its damaging effects on the fabric. A bright-white and freshly-pressed toga displayed not just that the wearer could afford a toga, but that he (or his generous patron) could afford a *new* one. Poor men, on the other hand, wore threadbare and either stained or yellowed togas, showing signs of much wear and washing. The more a toga’s material conformed to an ideal of pure whiteness, itself a sign of the moral character of the Roman citizen, the more the fabric indicated the wearer’s elite status.

While the color and shape of the fabric gave the toga its ability to mark the Roman citizen, other visual aspects emphasized the wearer's masculinity. In this case, which parts of the body were covered by the toga's material was an essential factor in the expression of social meaning. Covering the lower body while still clearly demarcating the bifurcation of the legs served to indicate that the body beneath the toga was male. Women who were not sexually available concealed their legs entirely, while prostitutes exposed them. Consequently, the length of a man's hemline was crucial: men who were represented in togas or tunics longer than the current norm were thus marked as effeminate. Anyone who accidentally exposed his lower body (or even too much of his tunic) to public view was thought to be careless at best, sexually depraved at worst. Moreover, the drape and bulk of the toga emphasized the adult male's upper body by drawing the gaze upward and outward to the chest and shoulders—the broader, the better. In fact, showing off a broad chest and shoulders in a toga alone was the perquisite of ancestral heroes and candidates of the early Republic, along with those who had earned scars in military service to Rome. Showing the upper body in such a way was meant to reveal an honorable character to the Roman public while still preserving the wearer's dignity and independence. Taking off the toga, on the other hand, displayed humility and vulnerability, a show of placing oneself in the hands of another, and such a gesture could be used either by the wearer to generate pity in a viewer or by someone else to expose the wearer to attack.

In examples of covering the head with the toga, the distinction of which parts are covered is, again, critical in the expression of meaning. In Greco-Roman literature, if a man's face is covered by his outer garments, he is separated from the social world. Such a

use of the toga could be punishment for a serious crime, or a sign of shame, grief, anger, or modesty. Covering just the back of the head also served to create a boundary between the body and an external force, but in a much more ritualized context. Priests covered their heads with the purple border of the *toga praetexta* when sacrificing, possibly to protect their sacred but human bodies not only from things that were profane, evil, or harmful, but also from the presence of the divine beings they were invoking.

Clearly, the degree to which the wearer's body was covered and concealed by the fabric of his toga determined many of its meanings in Roman culture. When the body was *not* sufficiently concealed by the toga, the garment sent the exact opposite message to the viewer. In invective literature, especially, transparent togas signify luxury and effeminacy instead of civic equality and masculinity. Whether made of silk or finely-spun wool, the fabric of a see-through toga would have been much costlier than the simple wool of the standard toga, and transparent fabric is also the typical dress of prostitutes or elegiac *puellae* in Roman literature. Wearing such a toga was thought to infect the wearer with licentiousness and lead to other forms of sexual misbehavior. Furthermore, a toga was ostensibly the prescribed garment for prostitutes and (in the Imperial period) adulteresses. Poor prostitutes may have worn the same cheap, short togas as other poor citizens wore, while the wealthier *meretrices* could have worn colorful silk versions. No matter what size, fiber, or color the wearer chose, the toga's curved hem marked that such a woman was not off-limits, serving as advertisement and enabling her to cover or reveal her body as she chose. Consequently, the toga itself marked a sexually liberated body for both men and women. A transparent toga on a man, moreover, added the negative connotations of lewd

and effeminate behavior. It did this by failing to perform the toga's basic function of covering the necessary parts of the body. The transparent toga, whether on men or women, is an anti-toga, reversing the expression of the toga's typical meaning.

In sum, the toga was a medium of social communication by means of its ability to perform as a material object which covers and conceals the body. The two functions were inseparable. The basic ways in which the toga visually and tangibly separated the wearer's body from the outside world led to its ability to demarcate the physical and ideological space occupied by the person wearing it. Certain aspects of the toga's physical appearance, such as color and drape, determined how the toga functioned as a marker of citizenship, Roman-ness, and masculinity. Further nuances within these categories, moreover, enabled the toga to express other elements of identity, such as social status, which were related to the elite *habitus*. The next chapter explores these subtleties even further, by looking at how different representations of the toga on moving bodies serve to demarcate the rank and origin of the wearers by their degree of conformity to the elite *habitus*.

Chapter 3 – The Citizen Body

While Romans thought of the toga as a boundary which protected the person inside it from the outer world, the garment shaped and was shaped by the movement of the wearer's body in rather nuanced ways. The physical material of clothing greatly affects the embodied aspects of the *habitus* of a person, such as the subtleties of how a person moves and walks and stands, and thus it also plays a key role in the expression of the social self.³⁹⁷ It has already been demonstrated in several instances that the materiality of the toga, especially as it interacted with the body, largely determined a toga-wearer's degree of conformity to the elite *habitus*, which in turn influenced the social interpretation of the individual being represented. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify further the role of the toga-as-object in the process of meaning-creation by looking at how the materiality of the toga and its interaction with the wearer's body shape the representations of different social groups and classes of Romans.

The *habitus* is both culturally structured and culturally structuring: the performances and prescriptions which reflect social meaning also create and reinforce those meanings. If a Roman man chose to deviate from the elite *habitus*, such as by preferring more expansive gestures, he could don a style of toga which allowed such movements; the toga by itself would then signal his shift away from the elite norm. In consequence, the influences of the embodied expression of the *habitus* and of the toga-as-object upon each other could be seen as mutual or even simultaneous. The previous chapter focused on the Roman conception of

³⁹⁷ Cf. Bourdieu 1984, 1990; Ch. 1, p. 5.

the toga as a material garment which covered and concealed the wearer's body in a visual or physical way. This chapter approaches the issue from another perspective, arguing that the material considerations of how a wearer would move in his toga, the interaction between the toga and a *moving* body, shaped the representations of different social groups in Roman literature and art (and probably shaped Romans' behaviors in life as well).

The shifting agencies between body and object become readily apparent when those bodies are in motion—the body pushes the fabric, and the fabric pushes back. As a result, changes in the drape and size of the garment affected certain bodily movements; moving the body in non-habitual ways altered how the toga sat on the body. To make clear this aspect of the relationship between the materiality of togas and their social meaning, this chapter first examines artistic and literary representations of the elite male citizen over time, especially when such a man speaks in public or fights while wearing a toga. Since gait, posture, and gesture are major components of the citizen *habitus*, deviations in the toga–body interface thereby expose important aspects of the wearer's social identity to a discerning Roman audience. The second part looks at depictions of other social groups, such as clients, non-elites, freedmen, and rustics, to show that the degree to which their toga-wearing behaviors conform to the elite *habitus* creates many of the connotations involved in the expression of these identities.

The Elite Citizen

Vergil famously described the Romans as the *gens togata*, the race that wears the toga, and Roman scholars from the late Republic to Late Antiquity believed that both women and

men of all social classes had worn it in their distant past.³⁹⁸ As the universal garment worn by every single Roman, the *mos maiorum* in terms of dress, it was a sign of *Romanitas* even though it was a privilege exclusive to citizen men by the late Republic. Because of its legendary origin narrative, preserved in both literature and prominent commemorative statuary, the toga alone provided the wearer with a “tangible, visible link to the past and... a sense of who he was and the role he played in the world,” as Rothfus rightly points out.³⁹⁹ The key word for this chapter is “tangible.” A boy of citizen status, growing up in a *toga praetexta*, would learn to negotiate through bodily interactions with the material of the toga how his embodied self interacted with his environment, acquiring the body techniques characteristic of the *habitus* of his class.⁴⁰⁰ Ancient Romans from the late Republic through the Empire have a slightly different take on these interactions amongst the toga, the body, and the external environment. In their view, the toga not only displays the social identity of the wearer but in some ways also has the agency to influence his inner character, imprinting the ancestral values it represents upon the body—as long as that body is that of an elite urban citizen who wears the toga on a daily basis.

Draped clothing, much more than tailored clothing, interacts with the moving body in specific ways, since the body must behave in a certain way in order to maintain the garment’s position. The Roman toga was typically draped so that it would limit the body movements of the wearer in a very particular manner and force the wearer to hold himself

³⁹⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 1.282; cf. Non. 541M, citing Varro, *Vit. pop. Rom.* 44.1; Serv. *Aen.* 1.282. Cf. Stone 1994: 13; Sebesta 2005: 113; Davies 2005: 121; Dixon 2014: 301.

³⁹⁹ Rothfus 2010: 445-446.

⁴⁰⁰ For girls in the *toga praetexta*, see Ch. 4, pp. 176ff.

upright. One end was placed in front of the body over the left shoulder, then the center wrapped underneath the right arm and across the body back up to the left arm. The ends and hem sometimes reached almost to the ground; the length of this hemline was as closely watched by fashionable Romans and moralizing conservative writers as skirt hemlines have been in the modern period. Any rapid movement would be difficult in this style of wearing the toga, since the material is held on the left shoulder and arm primarily by the naturally clinging quality of wool fabric.⁴⁰¹ The weight of the fabric would tend to pull it down the shoulder onto the forearm. Various methods were used to make the drapery easier to manage. In the early empire, a handful of the end that hung in front was brought forward over the *sinus* to help hold the toga in place; this ‘knob’ was called the *umbo*. The *umbo* later became an entire section of the lower layer that was pulled up and folded over the top layer to hold the toga in place on the shoulder; by the late second century, this in turn became an elaborate pleated band that characterized the *toga contabulata*. Even with such aids, Quintilian says the wearer either had to stand still, or, if moving, press his upper left arm to his side over the folds or hold them with his left hand.⁴⁰² He could still gesture freely with his right hand, but his left was supposed to be dedicated to controlling the toga.⁴⁰³ Bending over would dislodge the material on the left shoulder; sitting down could lift a

⁴⁰¹ Stone 1994: 16; Wilson 1924: 62. Personal bodily functions were still possible since the garment is completely open on the left side underneath the arm. Quintilian observes that if an orator gestures too broadly, he will accidentally expose his side to view (*Inst.* 11.3.118).

⁴⁰² Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.145-146. This gesture appears frequently on funerary monuments. The left arm of the *pallium*-wearer had to be constantly bent to keep the end from falling to the ground, though the arm could be moved away from the body.

⁴⁰³ Davies 2002: 237.

man's toga off his shoulder if he was not careful to tuck the end beneath him.⁴⁰⁴ The garment thus requires an upright posture, which Seneca explicitly associates with masculinity and control.⁴⁰⁵

Bodily stiffness and moderation in gesture, however, were not the only factors in maintaining the drapery of the toga. Togate statues show that the fabric seems to have been “soft, fine, and clinging.”⁴⁰⁶ Wool has a tendency to stick together due to the rough scales of protein which make up the fiber. The fulling process, in addition, resulted in a brushed, napped surface much like flannel. If the nap was brushed in opposite directions on the top and bottom surfaces of the fabric, then in draping the toga with the long ends overlapping on the left shoulder, the folds would have clung together. In fact, on many Imperial-era statues and reliefs, the drape which is drawn behind the back and then under the right arm can be seen clinging to the tunic on the right shoulder, up to where a modern shoulder seam lies (e.g., figs. 8-10). If the right arm can freely gesture, as the literary sources attest, the toga must stick onto the right shoulder of the tunic simply by the cling of the woolen fibers and the nap, fighting gravity. Bending over would still be difficult, so the toga definitively precluded any labor which required this sort of gesture. When the wearer was upright, however, it may have taken rather strong movement, such as standing or brushing past another person in a narrow passage, to dislodge the folds of a toga completely.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁴ The *pallium* did the same: Lee 2015: 115.

⁴⁰⁵ Sen. *Ep.* 46.2. Cf. Graver 1998: 617. The armor and clothing of Roman soldiers required a similar upright posture and an unhurried swaying gait, so that the wearer would not be constantly struck in sensitive areas by the distinctive belt (Hoss 2012: 30-31).

⁴⁰⁶ Wilson 1924: 62.

⁴⁰⁷ Standing up: Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.156; brushing past someone: Macrob. *Sat.* 3.13.4.

Cicero and the elder Seneca both associate good posture, self-control, and seriousness with the toga of the elite citizen male, as seen in their discussions of the very first years of adulthood, marked by the ritual assumption of the *toga virilis*. Despite living over a century apart, both authors claim that young men newly in the *toga virilis* were supposed to keep the right arm as well as the left restrained by draping their togas in a special way that would teach them bodily and emotional self-control.⁴⁰⁸ Dolansky calls this a sort of probationary period, since the toga would allow young men to make only small gestures.⁴⁰⁹ The materiality of the toga, in this particular manner of wearing it, enabled an ideal of self-control and moderation to be imprinted physically on the body of young Roman men through habituation. Quintilian asserts that wider arm movements indicated high emotion—anger, indignation, joy, or terror—and should be used only sparingly.⁴¹⁰

The corresponding theory seems to be that restraining the body will encourage the development of self-restraint. This method of draping the toga also strongly resembles a popular way in which young boys wore the *pallium* in Classical Greece. Since the enveloping fabric of the garment completely covers the body up to the neck, in Athens this was how a desirable young boy showed modesty, like a woman, by concealing his chest and

⁴⁰⁸ Cic. *Cael.* 11.5: *annus erat unus ad cohibendum brachium toga constitutus* (“a year for restraining the arm in the toga was established”); cf. Sen. *Con. ex.* 5.6: *nefas putabatur brachium extra togam exserere* (“it was thought wicked to stretch the arm outside the toga”); Richardson and Richardson 1966: 266-267. The one- or two-year period after formally coming of age also included extended training in public and military service, called the *tirocinium* (cf. Dixon 1992: 101-102). In the *Pro Caelio*, Cicero is contrasting the single year prescribed in his youth for the *tirocinium* with the many years Caelius Rufus spent as a *tiro* (*tot igitur annos... aliquot annos*; Cic. *Cael.* 11-12; Dyck 2013: 76-77).

⁴⁰⁹ Dolansky 2008: 55. On the right arm in oratorical gestures, see Aldrete 1999: 11-12.

⁴¹⁰ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.116, 118, 123; see also, e.g., Cic. *Orat.* 59-60; *De or.* 3.213-227. Cf. Aldrete 1999: 11.

arms.⁴¹¹ In Rome, however, there was less emphasis on such visual modesty. Instead of needing to hide a body from the desiring gaze, the ‘arm-sling’ style of toga enforced behavioral restraint through physical constraint and thereby aided the body in developing the self-controlled posture that was intrinsic to the elite *habitus*.⁴¹²

Orators

A common modern concept of the Roman statesman is of a man who was supposed to move slowly and deliberately, enveloped in a voluminous and cumbersome toga whose “folds had to be arranged in a prescribed manner, and were not supposed to be changed by movement.”⁴¹³ For Cicero, a man’s physical expressions and actions constituted “the language of the body” (*sermo corporis*); his appearance, gesture, and dress (*species, motus, amictus*) caught the attention of an orator’s audience, and not only spoke for him when much of his audience could not hear him, but also could reveal his character.⁴¹⁴ The orator’s degree of control over his body and toga seems to be a marker of his delivery skills as he was giving speeches in court or amidst the many statues placed on the rostra, as a demonstration of the elite *habitus* (in contrast to the actor on the stage and other unsuitable

⁴¹¹ Ferrari 2002: 135-138.

⁴¹² This process of “self-cultivation” in “denying and overcoming ‘base’ impulses” to differentiate themselves from others is characteristic of elite groups (Crossley 2005: 106).

⁴¹³ Olson 2014b: 432; cf. Bieber 1959: 415; Gleason 1995: 60-62; Davies 2005: 121; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 46-48.

⁴¹⁴ Cic. *De or.* 3.222: *est enim actio quasi sermo corporis*; Cic. *Brut.* 224: *magis specie tamen et motu atque ipso amictu capiebat homines*. According to Cicero, *dignitas virilis* is expressed by simple and straightforward gestures, neatness, and moderation in dress (*Off.* 1.130). Seneca likewise asserts that inner character is expressed through bodily movement, speech, and dress (*Ep.* 114.3-4). Cf. Corbeill 2004: 132 (=2002: 203); Laurence 2012: 73.

models).⁴¹⁵ Yet despite the prescriptions of moralizing authors, there was not one universally approved style of wearing the toga. As Rothfus points out, small variations in the size and draping of the toga “made it capable of more subtle messages and manipulation.”⁴¹⁶ For the senatorial elite, these nuanced ways of handling the toga’s fabric demonstrate a “nascent (though incomplete) development of ‘fashion.’”⁴¹⁷ Three different styles, here called traditional, Hellenizing, and dandy, are represented in the sculpture and literature of the late Republic. I argue that the material of each style, in practice, affected gestures and bodily comportment in ways that are reflected in the literary representation of orators, their dress, and their delivery styles.

The togas in the earliest statues from the Republic wrap tightly around the body and fall to mid-calf; the straight upper edge is rolled tightly beneath the armpit instead of forming the drape of the *sinus*.⁴¹⁸ Such togas appear on statues, sculptures, terracotta and bronze figurines dating from the third to the late first centuries B.C.E.; the most famous example is the Arringatore bronze mentioned in the previous chapter (fig. 2).⁴¹⁹ Quintilian also tells us that Republican togas were short and lacked a *sinus*.⁴²⁰ As seen on the Arringatore, the right arm could be left completely free, but the right leg and left arm would be hampered by the fabric’s closeness to the body. The tunic is narrow as well, woven just large enough to form

⁴¹⁵ On the complicated relationship between acting and oratory, see, e.g., Cic. *Brut.* 141, 325-327; Gell. *NA* 1.5; Graf 1994; Dutsch 2002, 2013; Fantham 2002a; Richlin 2003: 212-218; Corbeill 2004: 115-116 (=2002: 189-190); Hall 2014: 27-30.

⁴¹⁶ Rothfus 2010: 438.

⁴¹⁷ Rothfus 2010: 438.

⁴¹⁸ Goette 1990: 22-23, style A a; Davies 2005: 126-127.

⁴¹⁹ Goette 1990: A a 2, late 2nd to early 1st century B.C.E.; cf. Richardson and Richardson 1966: 255, 259-260; Granger-Taylor 1982.

⁴²⁰ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.137.

short sleeves. A wide stride would be difficult in such a tunic, since the space for the legs is reduced. Davies remarks that this emphasis on narrowness is rather unusual, since men's dress in general, and in Rome from the Augustan period on, usually emphasizes width in order to take up more space as an individual, to have a more dominant presence.⁴²¹

The bodily techniques displayed by Roman statues are significant, because many orators may have modeled their own comportment on statues which depicted the heroic men of the past and commemorated honors in the present. The elite Roman man could evoke this status by mimicking these images with his own body, attempting to recreate the *habitus* of the ancestors in his self-representation. Both Corbeill and Rothfus note the artificiality of the stiff gestures and poses which are popular in honorific statues of Roman statesmen, and Rothfus proposes that “a man of the late Republic who struck this pose in his toga would surely have been conscious of the degree to which he resembled togate statuary.”⁴²² Not only the stiff pose but also the short, tight style of toga and tunic, which shapes the body into this pose, could be imitated. As previously mentioned, the younger Cato is said to have taken tradition to extremes by wearing a much shorter toga without any tunic at all to emulate the clothing seen on statues of ancestral heroes like Romulus and Camillus.⁴²³ This particular connection between the Republican-era toga and its wearer's character continued into the early Augustan era, for in Horace's epistles, one speaker asks whether a man in a

⁴²¹ Davies 2005: 121-122, 126-127. On masculinity and width, see Ch. 2, pp. 75ff.

⁴²² Rothfus 2010: 435; Corbeill 2004: 129 (=2002: 201). On the limited poses and gestures of togate statues, see Brilliant 1963: 69. While bronze statues can extend the arms without breaking due to internal supports, the bodies of marble statues are rather limited by the medium; a restrained pose with the arms close to the body can be carved from a single block (Claridge 2015: 109-110).

⁴²³ Asc. 29C; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 6. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.137; Olson 2014b: 435.

short toga will also display Cato's virtue and morals.⁴²⁴ It is not difficult to believe that Roman politicians who drew on tradition for their authority attempted to copy the body techniques and the clothing of their imagined ancestors and heroes, seen in the statues which crowded public spaces, in order to turn the "living model into a political icon."⁴²⁵

Likewise, bodily stiffness also seems to be part of the comportment advocated in contemporary rhetorical theory. Cicero declares that an orator was to keep his torso and lower body fairly still, and he criticizes Curio for swaying his body back and forth and tossing himself around on the platform when speaking.⁴²⁶ He also rejects the practice of walking around while speaking, except on rare occasions.⁴²⁷ This seems to conform with the idea of looking like a statue on the platform, yet Cicero's ideal of restraint is not equivalent to a total lack of movement, at least to some extent. He asserts that certain dramatic gestures are necessary because they serve to express and to rouse emotions. For example, Cicero disparages one speaker whose delivery style lacked emphatic gestures such as striking the forehead or slapping the thigh to rouse the emotions of his audience; he claims he nearly fell asleep watching the man.⁴²⁸ He also recommends extending the arm "like a sort of spear of speech" (*quasi quoddam telum orationis*), stamping the foot for emphasis, puffing out the chest in a manly way, and making small hand gestures.⁴²⁹ Such upper-body motions were possible even in a tightly-wrapped toga and a narrow tunic, so long as the right arm was

⁴²⁴ Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.30, 1.19.12-14.

⁴²⁵ Corbeill 2004: 129 (=2002: 201).

⁴²⁶ Cic. *Brut.* 216-219.

⁴²⁷ Cic. *Orat.* 59.

⁴²⁸ Cic. *Brut.* 278; cf. Val. Max. 8.10.3; Cic. *De or.* 1.230; Hall 2004: 146.

⁴²⁹ Cic. *De or.* 3.59.220. E.g. the right arm of the Arringatore bronze (fig. 2).

free. Even so, some orators seem to have eschewed even upper body movements to repress any emotional display, and Cicero ridicules these orators, commenting that they refuse to speak or gesture in a passionate manner “lest they be reported to the Stoics.”⁴³⁰ In practice, Cicero and many of his contemporaries seem to have been rather dramatic when speaking in court and in *contiones*, making use of elements such as bodyguards, children, and filthy clothing to set the scene: Jon Hall even calls this “judicial theater.”⁴³¹

In contrast to the smaller, tightly-wrapped toga seen on the Arringatore statue, many statues of the late Republic show togas whose ends and hem reached to the lower calf, while often the upper edge is wrapped around both shoulders in the arm-sling style with the right arm held bent to the chest (figs. 3-5).⁴³² Despite some rhetorical denunciations of things Greek, these togate images seem to show the adaptation of a style of *pallium* seen on statues of Greek orators whom many Roman orators strove to emulate, such as a fourth-century B.C.E. statue of Aeschines (fig. 6).⁴³³ Two rhetoricians of Cicero’s day, Plotius Gallus and Nigidius Figulus, are said to have recommended the longer hemline in their own writings on gesture for this very association with the Greek *pallium*.⁴³⁴ The style thus is most likely an allusion to a Greek education (and the Greek elite *habitus*), accessible only to elites.⁴³⁵ The longer hem would materially display the elite status of the wearer through its effect on his

⁴³⁰ Cic. *De or.* 1.53.230.

⁴³¹ Hall 2014; on filthy clothing in court and other political stages, see Ch. 4, pp. 215ff.

⁴³² Goette 1990: 24-27, style A b; Davies 2005: 126-127.

⁴³³ Richardson and Richardson 1966: 256; Stone 1994: 16; Davies 2005: 126-27; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 50; Rothfus 2010: 426; Olson 2014b: 431, 442. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.21. On attitudes toward Greekness in oratory, cf. Wisse 2013: 183-184.

⁴³⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.143.

⁴³⁵ Rothfus 2010: 433, 436; Corbeill 2004: 124-125 (=2002: 197-198).

expression of *habitus*, since it would hinder walking slightly more, get dirtier faster, and require more expensive fabric than the shorter fashion. As for the arm-sling, the restriction of the arms was thought to imbue the body with self-control, as noted above, and any toga without a large *sinus* could be draped with the right arm free or bound, depending on the level of physical activity at the moment. The Hellenizing look thereby enabled a statesman to show off his education and elite status, as well as his self-control and moderation.

Our best literary source for statesmen in the late Republic, Cicero, rarely describes or gives his own opinion of what he and his fellows wore; all he says is that “the middle course is best,” which seems to conform to his preferred delivery style of moderately vigorous gestures combined with staying in one spot on the platform.⁴³⁶ His advocacy of the Rhodian school of oratory may mean that he, too, wore the *pallium*-style toga that is popular in contemporary statues; Jakob Wisse points out that “general criticisms of Cicero’s Greek leanings are well known.”⁴³⁷ The first-century C.E. Capitoline bust of Cicero depicts the orator in a toga which lacks the *sinus* and *umbo* of the Augustan toga and is loosely draped around both shoulders, similar to the *pallium* style but without the right arm bound to the chest in the ‘sling’ style; unfortunately, the sculpture does not show the length of his toga (fig. 26). Whether or not Cicero actually wore his toga *pallium*-style, with either the arm-sling or the longer hem, it is likely that for any Roman politician, choosing between the

⁴³⁶ Cic. *Off.* 1.130. Cicero mainly discusses dress in a figurative way: men whom Cicero describes as waiting for “the dyer” in 49 B.C.E. are anticipating that Caesar will grant them certain priesthoods, which were marked by double-dyed purple and red clothing (*Fam.* 2.16.7).

⁴³⁷ Wisse 2013: 183. On Cicero’s own Rhodian style as modeled on the Demosthenic ideal, the perfect mean between the sparse neo-Attic style or the excessive and florid Asiatic style, see Cic. *Brut.* 51, 283-291, 315-316.

Hellenized toga and the short traditional toga, as Rothfus argues, “was part of a political power game, played by those who chose to demonstrate their broad education and mastery over a conquered people’s culture on the one hand, and those who preferred to emphasize their conservative allegiance to the *mos maiorum* on the other.”⁴³⁸

No contemporary literary sources explicitly censure the *pallium*-style toga, and it is extremely popular in commemorative sculpture. Yet authors writing later in the Empire claim that Cicero was criticized for wearing his toga with a longer hem. Dio states that in 43 B.C.E., Quintus Fufius Calenus declared that Cicero wears delicate cloaks, perfumes his hair, and “lets his clothing drag all the way to his ankles” to hide his ugly legs.⁴³⁹ A similar anecdote appears in Quintilian’s work, for he notes that the younger Pliny ascribed Cicero’s adoption of the longer style to a wish to cover his varicose veins.⁴⁴⁰ Therefore, Rothfus asserts that this would have been construed as “unmanly vanity” by Roman conservatives.⁴⁴¹ The Imperial-era authors, consequently, seem to be conflating the Hellenistic toga with a third style which was even longer and criticized as effeminate.

An enormous, loosely-draped style of toga emerges in the literature of the late Republic and early Augustan period, making the Hellenizing style seem more likely to be Cicero’s “middle course.”⁴⁴² Orators would employ criticism of the new fashion as a rhetorical weapon against their political opponents, citing the larger style of toga as one among several

⁴³⁸ Rothfus 2010: 435.

⁴³⁹ Dio 46.18.2: ὁ καὶ μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν τὴν ἐσθῆτα σύρων.

⁴⁴⁰ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.143.

⁴⁴¹ Rothfus 2010: 435.

⁴⁴² Rothfus 2010: 433. The stricter Roman moralists, however, may have conflated the longer hem of the Hellenizing toga with the enormous dandy style and considered both styles disgraceful.

external signs of a bad moral character. Cicero declares that Catiline’s friends are “wrapped in sails, not togas,” along with long-sleeved, loosely-belted tunics.⁴⁴³ Clodius supposedly roused the mob by mimicking Pompey’s allegedly “foppish demeanor”—he shook out his toga in a way that may have been meant to mimic the flapping of a large toga.⁴⁴⁴ Olson uses the label ‘dandy’ for such urban sophisticates, who seem to have ascribed to careful personal grooming and enjoyed expensive luxuries such as perfumes, jewelry, and over-large togas; her term has been adopted here.⁴⁴⁵

Fashionable togas, loose belts, and expansive gestures came to be closely associated with effeminacy, immorality, and an appeal to a popular audience in literary representations of orators.⁴⁴⁶ In a discussion of several such men, Cicero associates the “loose” (*solutus*) gestures of Sextus Titius together with effeminacy and dancing.⁴⁴⁷ Tacitus claims that Calvus and Brutus criticized Cicero’s own moderately vigorous oratorical style as “loose” and effeminate in their letters.⁴⁴⁸ Plutarch says Gaius Gracchus was the first in Rome to

⁴⁴³ Cic. *Cat.* 2.22: *velis amictos, non togis*. Cf. Corbeill 1996: 161-162. Loosely-belted tunics are discussed below, pp. 128ff.

⁴⁴⁴ Plut. *Pomp.* 48.7: οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ χορὸς εἰς ἀμοιβαῖα συγκεκροτημένος, ἐκείνου τὴν τήβεννον ἀνασεῖοντος ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ μέγα βοῶντες ἀπεκρίναντο: ‘Πομπήτιος.’ (“And they, like a chorus well-trained in alternating verses, while he shook his toga up and down, would answer each question by shouting loudly ‘Pompey’”); Corbeill 1996: 164-165, though Aldrete (1999: 42) asserts that Clodius is simply using an approved oratorical gesture, rearranging the folds of his toga, as a secret pre-arranged signal. Cicero and Atticus also mock Pompey’s boots and leg-wraps as foppish (*et Epicratem suspicor, ut scribis, lascivum fuisse. etenim mihi caligae eius et fasciae cretatae non placebant, Att.* 2.3.1). Clodius himself often receives criticism from Cicero for being feminized, a result of his female disguise during a Bona Dea ritual (*Dom.* 139, *Mil.* 55, *Har. resp.* 8; Corbeill 1996: 162-163).

⁴⁴⁵ Olson 2014a.

⁴⁴⁶ Wisse 2013: 172-182; Morstein-Marx 2004: 270-273.

⁴⁴⁷ Cic. *Brut.* 225. Cf. David 1983; Corbeill 1996: 167. Seneca similarly associates Maecenas’ loose speech (*oratio soluta*) with his loose dress (*discinctus*, *Ep.* 114.4).

⁴⁴⁸ Tac. *Dial.* 18.5: *solutum et enervem ... fractum atque elumbem*.

adopt a rather energetic delivery style, walking around the rostra and removing his toga from his shoulder as he was speaking, just like Cleon, the notorious warmongering demagogue of Athens.⁴⁴⁹ The populist tribune Saturninus, too, is said to have “captivated men with his appearance, his movement, and his very clothing,” but Cicero unfortunately gives no more detail.⁴⁵⁰ As previously noted, broader gestures and more active movement of arms and legs could express high emotion and be used to rouse the speaker’s audience. Yet in a very practical sense, such actions would have been more difficult in the tightly-wrapped traditional toga. A loose toga, by contrast, would have more fabric curving from the right ankle to the left wrist, giving the left arm more room to move away from the body. The legs would have more space for a wider step. This style would thereby facilitate the expansive movements and the active stride which are the hallmark of so-called demagogues in Roman invective.

Despite the negative associations with demagogues, many orators successfully used the “aggressive, ‘popular’ style of delivery” and claimed, in their public speeches, to be working for the benefit of the Roman people.⁴⁵¹ The practicality of such a style in public speaking is undeniable: Cicero says that the number of people and noise in the Forum meant that an

⁴⁴⁹ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 2.2: ἔντονος δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ Γάϊος, ὥστε καὶ δημηγορεῖν ... τὸν δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος περιπάτω τε χρήσασθαι καὶ περισπάσαι τὴν τήβεννον ἐξ ὧμου λέγοντα, καθάπερ Κλέωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἰστόρηται περισπάσαι τε τὴν περιβολὴν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀλοῆσαι πρῶτον τῶν δημηγορούντων. Cf. Plut. *Nic.* 8.3; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.123 on Cleon.

⁴⁵⁰ Cic. *Brut.* 224: *magis specie tamen et motu atque ipso amictu capiebat homines.* Cf. also Cic. *Sest.* 105; Morstein-Marx 2004: 271, 273.

⁴⁵¹ Wisse 2013: 175-178. Cf. Morstein-Marx 2004: 204-240; van der Blom 2016: 36-37.

orator had to be “fierce, fiery, active, and loud.”⁴⁵² In the distinctive fashion of the much larger toga, the movements of body and cloth would be more visible for those people in the audience who could not hear but only see the orator. Even some conservative orators combined expressive and elaborate gestures with fashionable dress. Hortensius was well known from the late Republic to Late Antiquity both for his ornate rhetorical style and for his “effeminate delivery and dress.”⁴⁵³ Though Cicero recognizes the power and popularity of Hortensius’ delivery, he says this style was not appropriate for a man past youth, despite its success with audiences, and criticizes that Hortensius’ movements and gestures “have more artfulness than is sufficient for an orator.”⁴⁵⁴ Similar remarks against Hortensius surface in Imperial literature, demonstrating the continuity of the association between an energetic delivery style, fashionable clothing, effeminacy, dancing, and acting: various anecdotes say the orator was copied by actors, compared to a dancing girl in court, and excessively careful of his dress.⁴⁵⁵ It seems that being charged with effeminacy and ‘looseness’ by critics was neither a sufficient deterrent nor very detrimental to the career of a

⁴⁵² Cic. *Brut.* 317: *acrem enim oratorem, incensum et agentem et canorum, concursus hominum forique strepitus desiderat.*

⁴⁵³ Wisse 2013: 175.

⁴⁵⁴ Cic. *Brut.* 303: *motus et gestus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat oratori satis; cf. Brut.* 325-326.

⁴⁵⁵ Valerius Maximus claims that Hortensius’ carefully planned body movement was greatly admired by audiences and by the famous actors Aesopus and Roscius, who sought to copy him (8.10.2). Gellius says that during the trial of P. Sulla in 62 B.C.E., in which both Hortensius and Cicero appeared for the defense, the prosecutor Torquatus compared Hortensius to a famous dancing girl of the day for his excessive gestures (Gell. *NA* 1.5.2-3). Macrobius claims he sued another man for dislodging his toga when brushing by him in a narrow passage (Macrobius *Sat.* 3.13.5). Cf. Wisse 2013: 175; Morstein-Marx 2004: 271 n.121.

man who strove for success as a public speaker. Being distinctive and highly visible was more important.

Another significant way a public figure would gain notoriety through invective against his unusual dress was how he wore his tunic.⁴⁵⁶ Just as the much-criticized dandified toga does not appear in late Republican statuary, tunics that are shorter or longer than the ones seen on statues are targets of Roman invective. Such differences would not have been due to variations in the size of the garment, determined at manufacture like the toga, but rather to the wearer's deliberate choice of how he belted his tunic when getting dressed. As Quintilian says, the tunic should be pulled up over the belt so that the hem will fall a little below the knees in front and to the upper knee in back, "for to wear it lower is characteristic of women, higher of centurions."⁴⁵⁷ Thus, just as loose togas are associated with effeminacy and demagogic speech in Roman invective, any significant deviation in the length of a man's tunic from the norm is seen as an indicator of immorality by judgmental Roman authors. Cicero, for example, remarks that L. Quinctius, a man of humble birth and a popular tribune in 74 B.C.E., soon became hated for his arrogant behavior and his purple

⁴⁵⁶ For basic information on tunics, see Appendix, pp. 278-279.

⁴⁵⁷ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.138: *nam infra mulierum est, supra centurionum*. This is actually a couple inches shorter than the tunics represented on statues. A short tunic is characteristic not only of soldiers but also of the working classes; however, while soldiers' tunics were standard length and tucked up short under their distinctive belt, the tunics of the poor were woven short and often worn beltless to be cheaper and easier to work or run in (Cleland *et al.* 2007: 200; Sumner 2009: 17-70; Olson 2017: 16). Soldiers wore loincloths to avoid exposure (Olson 2003: 206).

tunic “sent down to his ankles.”⁴⁵⁸ In the 30s B.C.E., the satirist Horace chides one man who wears his tunic too low and another who wears his so short his genitalia are exposed.⁴⁵⁹

Here again, the interactions between the fabric of the toga and the wearer’s moving body was a major factor in the social identity expressed by these styles. Authors throughout the Imperial era claim that Julius Caesar and Maecenas were believed to be effeminate for wearing their tunics loosely-belted.⁴⁶⁰ Seneca explicitly associates Maecenas’ speech with his dress: “Is not the looseness of his speech equivalent to him being wrongly belted?”⁴⁶¹ This style was often associated with oversize togas, and a loose belt would enable the tunic

⁴⁵⁸ Cic. *Clu.* 111: *facite enim ut non solum mores et adrogantium eius, sed etiam voltum atque amictum atque etiam illam usque ad talos demissam purpuram recordemini.* Cf. Morstein-Marx 2004: 273.

⁴⁵⁹ Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.23-28. On long tunics and effeminacy, see also Cic. *Cat.* 2.22, *Clu.* 111, *Verr.* 2.5.86; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.23-28; Sen. *Ep.* 114.4, 6, 21; Sen. *QNat.* 7.31.2-3; Suet. *Iul.* 45; Gell. *NA* 6.12.5. Cf. Richlin 1992: 92-93; Corbeill 1996: 159-63; Davies 2005: 124-125; Olson 2014a: 192-193, 2017: 142-143.

⁴⁶⁰ On Caesar, see Suet. *Iul.* 45.3: *usum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato nec unquam aliter quam ut super eum cingeretur, et quidem fluxiore cincture*; Dio 43.43.2, 4: τῆ τε γὰρ ἐσθῆτι χαυνωτέρῃ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐνηβρόνετο ... τὸ δ’ οὖν χαῦνον τοῦ ζώματος αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ὑπετόπησεν; Macrob. *Sat.* 2.3.9: *post victoriam Caesaris [Cicero] interrogatus cur in electione partis errasset: respondit “praecinctura me decepit.”* On Maecenas, see Sen. *Ep.* 114.4, 6: *quomodo ambulaverit, quam delicatus fuerit ... qui solutus tunicis in urbe semper incesserit? ... signum a discincto petebatur.* I do not find Dio’s “rather loose clothing” (ἐσθῆτι χαυνωτέρῃ) to be sufficient proof that Caesar wore a loose toga as well as a loosely-belted tunic. Most representations of Caesar make no mention of a dandy-style toga, but instead mention the ill-girt tunic (Dio 43.43.4-5; with long sleeves: Suet. *Iul.* 45.3), red shoes (Dio 43.43.1-2), and effeminate gestures such as scratching his head with one finger (Plut. *Caes.* 4.9, 17.2); cf. Corbeill 1996: 194-195; 2004: 134-137 (=2002: 204-8); Olson 2014a: 182. According to Valerius Maximus and Suetonius, Caesar used his hands to drop his toga to cover his lower body as he fell from the blows of his assassins, “obeying modesty” (*verecundiae obsequeretur*, Val. Max. 4.5.6), “to fall more honorably” (*quo honestius caderet*, Suet. *Iul.* 82.2.4). Such a move would not have been necessary in an enormous ankle-length toga.

⁴⁶¹ Sen. *Ep.* 114.4: *non oratio eius aequae soluta est quam ipse discinctus?* Cf. Richlin 2003: 207.

to drop down toward the ankles, making it look more like the floor-length tunics and *stolae* worn by Roman women.⁴⁶² Such a fashion would still allow broad gestures and freedom of movement; long, unbelted tunics are also said to have been worn by banqueters in *convivia*, by dancers, by *tibia* and *cithara* players, and by low-brow entertainers, often along with women's *pallae* or Greek *pallia*.⁴⁶³ These anecdotes attest not only to the style's connotations of effeminacy and Greekness, but also to its comfort and ease. Loosely-belted, ankle-length, or long-sleeved, an effeminate tunic was one element among many of the dandified dress—hairstyle, perfume, jewelry, and clothing—which moralizing writers ascribed to the young urban sophisticate.

Corbeill has persuasively shown that Cicero, among others, integrated contemporary ideas about how bodily movement indicated one's character in his speeches, and “attempts to represent physically the dominant political agendas of his period.”⁴⁶⁴ He also convincingly argues that Caesar's unusual behavior was an example of how “popular politicians appealed directly to the assembled people—through self-consciously

⁴⁶² Women's tunics were floor-length, forcing them to shuffle their feet so as not to trip on their hems, which was probably a main factor in the association of a slow, short, gliding step with womanliness; see, e.g., Sen. *QNat.* 7.31.2; Corbeill 1996: 166. Women's tunics could be the width of the arm-span, giving them the longer sleeves which are also a sign of effeminacy on men. On the long-sleeved *tunica manicata/manuleata*: Plaut. *Pseud.* 738, *Aul.* 511; Cic. *Cat.* 2.22; Verg. *Aen.* 9.616; Suet. *Iul.* 45.3, *Cal.* 52; Isid. *Etym.* 5.27.10, 19.22.8; Pausch 2003: 172-180.

⁴⁶³ On the *tunica talaris* (ankle-length, either loosely belted or unbelted): Cic. *Cat.* 2.22; *Verr.* 2.5.31, 86; *Att.* 1.16.3; *Off.* 1.150; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.58; Suet. *Cal.* 54.2; Isid. *Etym.* 19.22.7. See Pausch 2003: 168-172; Morstein-Marx 2004: 273 n. 131. For other negative portrayals of unbelted tunics, see Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.132, *Epod.* 1.34; Ov. *Am.* 1.9.41; Suet. *Aug.* 24.2; Olson 2017: 16.

⁴⁶⁴ Corbeill 2004: 111 (=2002: 185-186).

untraditional dress, gestures, and speaking styles.”⁴⁶⁵ This *habitus* may have emerged during the late Republic as a visual contrast to the ‘proper’ circle of so-called *boni*, who denigrated the loose style as effeminate in their rhetoric and writings.⁴⁶⁶ Robert Morstein-Marx agrees that “demagogic fashion... suggested a ‘breaking of ranks,’ taking up a position just a bit, but significantly, askew of the ‘suits’ of the senatorial order.”⁴⁶⁷ While Olson states that the fashionable ‘effeminate’ appearance was linked simply to “youth, urbanity, and heterosexual activity” and not to politics, all these elements were arguably linked together in Roman society.⁴⁶⁸ The looser togas associated with dandies would have enabled their wearers to use the gestures and bodily comportment that were popular with audiences and characteristic of those labelled demagogues, in contrast to the more constrictive traditional and Hellenizing styles.

Elite Style in the Empire

Throughout history, fashion extremes soon become fashion norms as more and more people seek to adopt elite styles and *habitus*. Indeed, the enormous togas of the fashionable urbane Roman of the late Republic became the standard in elite commemorative sculpture in the Augustan period and remained popular through the late second century C.E. (figs. 8-11, 27).⁴⁶⁹ A new feature of a deep draped section, the *sinus*, emerges under the right arm in the Augustan era, and the ankle-length hem also becomes typical. Such a toga would be much

⁴⁶⁵ Corbeill 2004: 137 (=2002: 207-208).

⁴⁶⁶ Corbeill 2004: 135 (=2002: 206); cf. Edwards 1993: 90.

⁴⁶⁷ Morstein-Marx 2004: 273.

⁴⁶⁸ Olson 2014a: 183.

⁴⁶⁹ Wilson 1924: 43-60; Goette 1990: 20-42, style B a; Stone 1994: 17-21; Rothfus 2010 *passim*; Olson 2014b: 426.

larger and thus also would increase in weight, cost, and unwieldiness.⁴⁷⁰ Quintilian prescribes that the *sinus* should be large enough to reach nearly to the hem of the tunic (e.g., fig. 11).⁴⁷¹ Like the togas of fashionable urban elites in the late Republic, the togas of the Empire could not be tightly wrapped and are as long or even longer than the Hellenizing togas. The arm-sling disappears from commemorative art; even in statues of the transitional Augustan period, only a few show the Hellenistic arm-sling combined with a deep *sinus*.⁴⁷²

The disappearance of the distinctive *pallium*-style may have been meant, as Wallace-Hadrill argues, to polarize the cultural markers of ‘Roman’ and ‘Greek,’ with Augustus enforcing toga-wearing as part of his program of expressing a particularly Roman identity.⁴⁷³ However, the traditional short and tight style of the earlier Republic also vanished from elite fashions.⁴⁷⁴ The new large toga became standard, with only small variations appearing in group scenes such as the Ara Pacis or the *Vicomagistri* reliefs of the Julio-Claudian period (cf. figs. 3, 18).⁴⁷⁵ Suetonius declares that Augustus himself went the

⁴⁷⁰ Rothfus 2010: 444. See Ch. 1, pp. 17-18 on weight and size, Appendix pp. 271-272 on cost.

⁴⁷¹ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.140.

⁴⁷² Goette 1990: 27, style A c. Quintilian does say that some orators “do not dare to extend their arm beyond the *sinus*,” which seems to indicate the survival of the practice of the arm-sling into the Imperial period (*manum alius ultra sinum proferre non audeat*, *Inst.* 11.3.118). The Ara Pacis shows some men in the *pallium*-style, others with a small *sinus* (fig. 3).

⁴⁷³ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 38-57. Elites would continue to use dress to show off their bilingualism, not by making their togas look like *pallia*, but by changing their outer garments entirely. Augustus, entertaining visitors from Alexandria while vacationing in Capreae, is said to have had the Romans wear *pallia* and speak Greek, the Greeks wear togas and speak Latin (Suet. *Aug.* 98.3). A speaker in one of Seneca’s *controversiae* asserts that some witty orators would switch between a toga and a *pallium* depending upon what language they were declaiming in (Sen. *Contr.* 9.3.13).

⁴⁷⁴ Some older styles continue among certain non-elites; see below, pp. 150ff.

⁴⁷⁵ On the *Vicomagistri* reliefs, see Pollini 2012: 309-353.

middle course in togas that were “neither tight nor loose.”⁴⁷⁶ Perhaps Augustus strove to show sartorially that all the factions which had split the Roman empire were now united, the civil wars were over, by choosing a fashion which was neither conservative, Hellenizing, or associated with the delivery style of demagogues. On the other hand, this may simply be an idealizing description that relied more on the historian’s knowledge of togate fashion in the late Republic than on documentation or report, since statues of the *princeps* tend to show him in the fuller style (fig. 8).⁴⁷⁷

By the end of the first century C.E., several material and bodily elements of the elite *habitus* seem to have changed at nearly the same time. Quintilian declares that a looser toga means a visually broader chest and thereby more *dignitas*.⁴⁷⁸ Even when the slightly shorter *balteus* style was popular from the late first to the late second centuries C.E., the emperor and other elites were often represented still wearing the large Augustan toga (figs. 27, 28).⁴⁷⁹ Several statues in the large toga, like that of Titus Vespasian in the Vatican, show more extended gestures with the arms and an emphasis on width (fig. 10).⁴⁸⁰ The practice of copying the comportment of statues of Greek and Roman statesmen continued, and the images presented in the statues, coins, and public appearances of the emperor himself were modeled after earlier Roman statuary.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 73: *togis neque restrictis neque fuisis.*

⁴⁷⁷ Goette 1990: 31, 115 (B a 32); Stone 1994: 21; Olson 2014b: 426 n.19.

⁴⁷⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.141: *alioqui amictus fiet angustus et dignitatem quae est in latitudine pectoris perdet.*

⁴⁷⁹ Olson 2017: 33-36.

⁴⁸⁰ Rome, Vatican Museums, Chiaramonti Museum, New wing, 26.

⁴⁸¹ Stewart 2003: 112-113; Laurence 2012: 73-74; Olson 2017: 36.

Not only does Quintilian recommend a looser, broader toga, he also endorses a delivery style that is slightly more dynamic. Unlike Cicero, who advocates standing in place, Quintilian says the orator should make short, controlled steps and even walk up and down if delayed by long applause.⁴⁸² In addition, he reveals that for his ideal orator, an immobile body and neat toga are only recommended at the beginning of one's discourse; it is indeed expected that "progressive—though artfully planned—dishevelment" was to accompany the orator's progress through his speech.⁴⁸³ Quintilian asserts that by the narrative the toga is supposed to slip from the shoulder, and during arguments the speaker can throw the toga on or off his shoulder, draw it back from his chest, or tuck it under the left arm, "as if in battle" (*velut proeliantem*).⁴⁸⁴ He also notes that although it is characteristic for slaves, parasites, and fishermen to move with speed in plays, sometimes the orator, too, must employ quick movements for certain passages in his speech.⁴⁸⁵ Therefore, the idea of a Roman orator standing still in his toga and gesturing slightly, taken mainly from the stiff pose of Roman statuary and some of Cicero's statements about delivery, is but a snapshot of a single moment in time, like a 'still' from a movie, and not the embodied practice of wearing the toga.

After the larger togas associated with the young and popular in the late Republic were adopted by the senatorial elite in the Augustan period, even more exaggerated togas developed among the fancy and fashionable.⁴⁸⁶ Yet even as the toga grew ever larger, as

⁴⁸² Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.125-127.

⁴⁸³ Davies 2005: 125.

⁴⁸⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.144-146.

⁴⁸⁵ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.111-112.

⁴⁸⁶ On dandies, cf. Olson 2014a; Rothfus 2010: 440.

standard hemlines dropped and fashionable hemlines dropped further, the conservative associations between the looser fashion and a ‘loose’ moral character stayed consistent. Horace criticizes a wealthy freedman walking on the Sacred Way in a toga measuring six *ulnae*, or nine feet, which would be extremely long with a full *sinus*.⁴⁸⁷ In comparison, this same measurement on the Arringatore statue (ca. 130-80 B.C.E.) is approximately 4.25 feet.⁴⁸⁸ The elegiac poets Tibullus and Ovid associate amorous and licentious behavior with men who carefully arrange their hair and, as Tibullus puts it, wear a toga that “flows loose with a billowing *sinus*.”⁴⁸⁹ Seneca the Elder cites a case wherein a father argues that he learned the vices of perfumed hair, “a toga that is let down too loosely, all the way to the feet,” and debauchery from his extravagant young son, seeking a softer life in his old age.⁴⁹⁰ The son is charging his father with madness; such a trailing hem could also be a sign of slovenliness.⁴⁹¹ A sophisticated urban Roman had to wear an increasingly more extreme toga to remain fashionable.

As the togas grew larger, some orators employed gestures that were even more expansive than the moderately dynamic style Quintilian recommends. Quintilian includes

⁴⁸⁷ *bis trium ulnarum toga*: Hor. *Epod.* 4.8. An *ulna* is approximately 18 inches, 1.5 feet. This must mean the measure of the depth of the toga from top edge to the fullest part of the bottom curve, not the end-to-end length of the top edge, since the smallest togas on Republican-era statues are at least 12 feet long (Wilson 1924: 81; Granger-Taylor 1982: 19). For more on freedmen, see below, pp. 150ff, and Ch. 4, pp. 180ff.

⁴⁸⁸ Granger-Taylor 1982: 19.

⁴⁸⁹ *fluit effuso cui toga laxa sinu*: Tib. 1.6.40, wherein the speaker tells those who arrange their hair with skill and wear a loose toga to go far away from him and Delia, as he would rather be the slave of love and thus faithful; Ov. *Rem. am.* 680, in which the speaker tells the interlocutor that when meeting his former love, he must not arrange his hair or wear a distinctively loose toga (*nec toga sit laxo conspicienda sinu*).

⁴⁹⁰ *laxior usque in pedes demittitur toga*: Sen. *Contr.* 2.6.2.4.

⁴⁹¹ On the insanity of Tuditanus, Val. Max. 7.8.1; on slovenliness, Mart. 7.33.

many examples of orators who practice the exact bad habits he censures; they are seen swaying back and forth, shuffling the feet, or constantly adjusting their toga.⁴⁹² He states that even experienced orators will often stretch their arms to full length or wave them around when gesturing, to the extent that they are dangerous to those standing near them.⁴⁹³ As in the late Republic, some orators in Quintilian's day continued to take advantage of the popularity of the emotional gestures associated with acting. He describes Manlius Sura as "over-acting" (*satagere*), since his delivery style consists of leaping and running around the platform, gesticulating wildly with his hands, and dropping and replacing his toga, rather like earlier demagogues such as Sextus Titius and Gaius Gracchus.⁴⁹⁴ The dynamics of such a performance clearly included taking advantage of the fact that the material of the large Imperial toga would *not* stay in place on a moving body, which would accentuate the emphatic gestures and active movements; both body and toga were in continual motion.

The Toga in War

Cicero notes that an orator could use the word 'toga' as a metaphor to signify peace, often opposed to *arma*; this usage is very commonplace in the literary record, as is referring to a civilian as *togatus* in opposition to *dux* or *miles*.⁴⁹⁵ "The toga is a sign of peace and

⁴⁹² Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.54; 11.3.122; 11.3.128-129.

⁴⁹³ Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.118.

⁴⁹⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.54; 11.3.126.

⁴⁹⁵ Cic. *De or.* 3.167, *Pis.* 28. See, e.g., Cic. *Cat.* 2.28.4, 3.23.7, *Sen.* 11.6, *Off.* 1.79.8, *Fam.* 6.1.6, *Dom.* 99.3; *Marc.* 14.5, *Sest.* 52.6; Val. Max. 5.3.2e.2, 7.7.1.11, 8.15.1.5; Ov. *Pont.* 2.1.61, *Met.* 15.746; Livy 3.50.3, 4.10.8, 6.18.9, 22.23.3, 22.39.7, *Per.* 80.1; Sen. *Ira* 4.2.6.2; Mart. 1.55.2, 6.67.1.

leisure,” Cicero says, “whereas arms are one of disorder and war, in the custom of poets.”⁴⁹⁶ He even wrote his own poem about his career, of which one oft-quoted (and mocked) line was “Let arms yield to the toga, let the laurel concede to the tongue” (*cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae*).⁴⁹⁷ This significance was more than simply figurative usage; it emerged in cultural practice as well. Livy records that in 381 B.C.E., after some Tusculans had been caught among the Volsci, Camillus marched on Tusculum for breaking their alliance, but the citizens signaled their peaceful intentions by wearing their togas (their native dress, too); they were soon granted Roman citizenship.⁴⁹⁸

The interaction between the material of the toga and the body in motion is arguably the main factor in its signification of peace. While military cloaks were pinned or knotted in place, the toga relied only on gravity and friction to maintain the position of the two ends of the toga on the left shoulder.⁴⁹⁹ The fabric which draped down the left arm from the shoulder not only hampered free movement, but it would have prevented its wearer from using a shield. In addition, swift movement such as running would be difficult, since the fabric is not only wound around the lower body (rather tightly in the Republican period), but it could also be easily dislodged from the shoulder, increasing the danger of tripping on the hem. Bending over would be similarly problematic. As a result, it would be rather awkward, if not impossible, to engage in any form of hand-to-hand combat while wearing a toga in the

⁴⁹⁶ Cic. *Pis.* 73.8: *pacis est insigne et otii toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli, poetarum more.*

⁴⁹⁷ Cic. *Phil.* 2.20, *Off.* 1.77.3, 4, *Pis.* 73; Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.24.3; Juv. 10.123.

⁴⁹⁸ Livy 6.25.7-26.8; Val. Max. 7.3(ext).9.6; Plut. *Camil.* 38.3-4.

⁴⁹⁹ On military cloaks, see Ch. 4, pp. 201ff.

standard style. The constrained interaction between the toga and the moving body made it the garb of peace.

However, the toga could be wrapped in a particular way to accommodate a body in motion, for a method called the Gabinian style, probably after the nearby Latin town of Gabii, left the arms and legs free for action. From descriptions by Servius and Isidorus, Wilson worked out that the part of the fabric that typically crosses the back would be brought over the head (as a priest does), while the long end that was usually thrown back over the left shoulder could instead be wrapped around the waist with the end tucked in, much like one secures a towel by wrapping it around the body.⁵⁰⁰ She observes, based on her reconstruction of the method, that this manner of draping “produces a firm, stable garment.”⁵⁰¹ Wrapping the toga tightly around the waist left both arms free to move; Antony girds his toga around himself “for the ease of his arms” when performing a dramatic eulogy in front of Caesar’s bier.⁵⁰² The lower half of the fabric that fell toward the feet may have been tucked up as well in order to increase the mobility of the legs.

In fact, the Gabinian method of draping the toga could make the normally unwieldy garment suitable even for fighting.⁵⁰³ Graham Sumner points out that some sources describe soldiers of the early Republic as wearing togas wrapped Gabinian style.⁵⁰⁴ For example, Plutarch explains Coriolanus’ preparations for battle by stating that “it was a custom for Romans, when arranging themselves in their ranks and about to take up their shields and

⁵⁰⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 5.755, 7.612; Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.7; Wilson 1924: 86-88.

⁵⁰¹ Wilson 1924: 87.

⁵⁰² App. *B Civ.* 2.20: περιζωσάμενος ἐς τὸ τῶν χειρῶν εὐκόλον.

⁵⁰³ Stone 1994: 13.

⁵⁰⁴ Sumner 2009: 71-72.

gird their toga around them” (περιζώννυσθαι τὴν τήβεννον), to make their wills.⁵⁰⁵ Later Roman scholars concur: Festus and Servius both say that in ancient times the army would gird their togas Gabinian style before fighting.⁵⁰⁶ Livy and Valerius Maximus depict an episode during the Gallic sack of Rome in 390 B.C.E., when, despite the fact that the city was full of Gallic enemies, C. Fabius Dorsuo walked from the besieged Capitol to the Quirinal to perform an annual family sacrifice, “girded in the Gabinian style” and with the cult objects in his hands.⁵⁰⁷ The tense situation, not the ritual itself, merited using the Gabinian style—he had to be prepared for combat even though he was performing a normal religious practice. Another famous example, Livy’s description of the *devotio* performed by the consul Decius in 340 B.C.E., with the *toga praetexta* veiling his head and a spear

⁵⁰⁵ Plut. *Coriol.* 9.2: ἦν δὲ τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένοις καὶ μέλλουσι τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ περιζώννυσθαι τὴν τήβεννον...

⁵⁰⁶ Serv. *Aen.* 7.612: ‘*Gabinus cinctus*’ est toga sic in tergum reiecta, ut una eius lacinia a tergo revocata hominem cingat. hoc autem vestimenti genere veteres Latini, cum necdum arma haberent, praecinctis togis bellabant: unde etiam milites in procinctu esse dicuntur. hoc rursus utebatur consul bella indicturus ideo quia, cum Gabii, Campaniae civitas, sacris operaretur, bellum subito evenit: tunc cives cincti togis suis ab aris ad bella profecti sunt et adepti victoriam: unde hic ortus est mos (“Gabinian cincture” is a toga that has been thrown back thus onto the back, so that one end, brought around from the back, binds the man in front. Moreover, in this type of dress, the ancient Latins, when they did not yet have weapons, used to fight in battle with their togas bound up in front: as a result, soldiers were said to be “in girding.” In turn the consul used to use this for declaring war because when the Gabinians, a city of Campania, were performing sacred rites, a war suddenly happened: then the citizens bound up in their togas went out from the altar to war and obtained victory”). Paul. ex Fest. 251L: *Procincta classis dicebatur, cum exercitus cinctus erat Gabino cinctu confestim pugnaturus. Vestutius enim fuit multitudinem hominum, quam navium, classem appellari* (“a division used to be called “girded up” when the army was girded in the Gabinian style immediately before going to fight. For in the old days, a large number of men, rather than the navy, was called a division”).

⁵⁰⁷ Livy 5.46.2: *Gabino cinctu incinctus*; Val. Max. 1.1.11: *Gabino ritu cinctus*. Stone asserts that the Valerius Maximus passage is “the only ancient reference which seems to associate [*cinctus Gabinus*] directly with battle” (1994: 13), but this is clearly not the case.

beneath his feet, shows how Romans imagined the Gabinian style in action.⁵⁰⁸ Once the ritual had been completed, Decius rode into battle on horseback, fully armed and with his toga “girded up in the Gabinian way,” striking fear into the Latins and encouraging his fellow Romans before dying under heavy missile fire.⁵⁰⁹ A toga wrapped Gabinian style clearly enabled the free movement of arms and legs and stayed in place during vigorous activity.

Though the Gabinian style is not explicitly named outside of religious ritual after this event, the practice of girding up the toga to fight seems to have continued for many centuries. Appian and Plutarch note several instances in the tumultuous years of the late Republic when Romans were preparing to fight in the city streets; the citizens would “completely bind up their togas” before they seized their weapons.⁵¹⁰ Unfortunately, the Greek sources do not specifically mention “Gabine” or “Gabinian.” Even so, they may indeed mean draping the ordinary toga in something like the Gabinian style, since, just like wrapping the toga’s fabric around the left arm as a quasi-shield, tucking and girding up the toga would have been an eminently practical way to adapt everyday civic clothing for urban fighting.

The fact that the toga could be adapted for fighting sheds light on a debate among scholars about whether one cohort of the Praetorian Guard wore togas while guarding the emperor within the city of Rome, for it means that such a group is more plausible than many

⁵⁰⁸ Livy 8.9; cf. also the similar account of Decius’ son in Livy 10.7.3.

⁵⁰⁹ Livy 8.9.9: *incinctus cinctu Gabino*.

⁵¹⁰ App. *B Civ.* 1.15: οἱ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι, ῥάβδους καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀρπάσαντες τε καὶ διακλάσαντες ἐς πολλὰ; *B Civ.* 1.30: οἱ πολιτικοὶ τὰ τε ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ξύλα ἀρπάσαντες. See also Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19.1.

scholars admit. A special togate cohort within the city makes sense ideologically. Boris Rankov asserts that this unit wore the toga “to avoid antagonising the population of Rome and in accordance with Roman custom.”⁵¹¹ Guy de la Bédoyère agrees that “[g]oing about in civilian dress would certainly have accorded with Augustus’ own personal image.”⁵¹² In the Republic, at least, soldiers could only wear their uniforms and weapons within the *pomerium* under the special ritualized circumstances of a triumphal procession; having the city cohort wear togas would help them seem to follow the customary ritual practice of changing to togas at the *pomerium*.⁵¹³ Tiberius placed the permanent camp of the Praetorian Guard in the suburbs of Rome, perhaps to maintain an image of peace within the city itself but certainly to keep the Guard in close proximity; togas on the city cohort would further contribute to this impression.⁵¹⁴

The primary evidence for togate praetorians consists only of two passages by Tacitus. At the trial of Nero’s opponent Clodius Thrasea Paetus in 66 C.E., “two fully-armed praetorian cohorts settled within the temple of Venus Genetrix. A mass of *togati* with unconcealed swords had settled in the way of the entrance of the Senate, and units of soldiers were dispersed through the fora and the basilicae.”⁵¹⁵ The identity of the second group is the

⁵¹¹ Rankov 1994: 5; cf. Durry 1938: 207.

⁵¹² De la Bédoyère 2017: 48

⁵¹³ Triumph: Livy 45.40.4; Plut. *Aem.* 34.4, *Marc.* 8.2; Beard 2007: 244. The custom of changing out of military dress at the border continued into the Empire: cf. Suet. *Vit.* 11.1; SHA *Marc.* 27.3. For more on this custom, see Ch. 4, pp. 201ff.

⁵¹⁴ On the Castra Praetoria, see, e.g., Tac. *Ann.* 4.2.1; Suet. *Tib.* 37.1; Bingham 2013: 69-75, esp. 71.

⁵¹⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 16.27.1: *duae praetoriae cohortes armatae templum Genetricis Veneris insedere. Aditum senatus globus togatorum obsederat non occultis gladiis, dispersique per fora ac basilicas cunei militares.*

subject of debate: Sandra Bingham argues that the *togati* are civilian supporters of Nero, while Henry Furneaux proposes that they may be off-duty soldiers.⁵¹⁶ De la Bédoyère, on the other hand, proposes that all three groups are Nero's praetorians, dressed differently, with those guarding the Senate wearing togas "to avoid creating the impression they were trying to force the outcome" of the trial.⁵¹⁷ The naked blades, however, certainly would create this impression, and indicate that this group of men had not donned togas as any special sign of peaceful intent to their viewers, but were in their usual dress.

The second passage is more helpful. In the *Histories*, when Galba is being held in the palace in early 69 C.E., Tacitus' Otho declares: "not a single togate cohort is defending Galba now, but detaining him": in other words, the Praetorian Guard has him in custody.⁵¹⁸ De la Bédoyère states that the cohort was "dressed as normal... in togas, and thus (incidentally) clearly not ready for fighting."⁵¹⁹ Bingham proposes that Otho may simply be disparaging these praetorians by calling them civilians, but there is no reason why Otho would insult those who were helping his own cause against Galba.⁵²⁰ This passage rather clearly supports the idea that there was, in fact, a togate cohort of the Praetorian Guard.

⁵¹⁶ Bingham 2013: 78; Furneaux 1907: 462, though Furneaux also says that togas were the usual dress of the praetorian guard.

⁵¹⁷ De la Bédoyère 2017: 138.

⁵¹⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 1.38.2: '*Non ad bellum vos nec ad periculum voco; omnium militum arma nobiscum sunt. nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam sed detinet*' ("I call you not to war nor to danger; the arms of all soldiers are with us. Not a single togate cohort is defending Galba now but detaining him"). Cf. Damon 2003: 179.

⁵¹⁹ De la Bédoyère 2017: 148. The urban cohorts with the emperor seem to have worn military tunics, belts, and cloaks by Domitian's day (de la Bédoyère 2017: 184).

⁵²⁰ Bingham 2013: 78.

Yet these scholars assume either that no on-duty soldiers would wear togas or that even if one cohort did wear them in the city, they were not expected to be able to fight. Bingham in fact cites Stone in her assertion that togas were too cumbersome to allow such movement.⁵²¹ As we have seen, however, the drapery of the toga could be adapted for combat, even enabling the wearer to fight from horseback. If there had indeed been a cohort of praetorians who wore togas as a sign that they were part of this civic palace guard, they could have worn them girded up and wrapped in the Gabinian style to show that they were also prepared to fight. Even if they did wear their togas in the regular fashion, the fabric would be fairly easy to throw off for close fighting. Either way, there is no reason to believe that the Praetorian Guard absolutely could *not* have worn togas while on duty in the imperial palace, and such dress would also follow older Roman rituals of soldiers changing to togas at the *pomerium*.

The functionality of the Gabinian style and its association with fighting, both in the legendary ancestral period and in historical accounts, most likely contributed to its role in martial ritual. Vergil notes that in his day, a consul would have worn the purple- and red-stripped *trabea* tucked up in the Gabinian style as he opened the gates of the Temple of Janus and called for war.⁵²² Plutarch pictures Romulus in the very first triumph as wearing his

⁵²¹ Bingham 2013: 186 n. 210, citing Stone 1994: 17.

⁵²² Verg. *Aen.* 7.611-614. According to Augustus' *Res Gestae*, the gates had been closed only twice before he became *princeps*, but the Senate had decreed the closure three times under his leadership (*Mon. Anc.* 13). Only three emperors after Augustus used the ritual (Rich 2013: 544-545). As a result, the ritual of opening the gates, as well, would have been just as rare.

clothes girded around himself, which may refer to something like the Gabinian style.⁵²³

Likewise, he asserts that Marius girded his *toga praetexta* for a sacrifice celebrating the defeat of the Teutones, and though again the Greek confuses the issue, here referring simply to “the custom,” the close correlation with references to Gabinian style in Latin may mean that this is another example of this special method of wearing the toga.⁵²⁴ Furthermore, the fact that Gabinian style was customarily used in ritual, in battle, and in street-fighting indicates that there was fairly widespread awareness of the fashion.

What is clear is that the toga did not always prove such a hindrance to fighting that the garment itself mandated peaceful action—the way it was typically draped, however, created physical restraints on motion. Manipulating the material of the toga so that it interacted with the body in a different way, by changing it from a garment that hindered the limbs to one that enabled their movement, establishes a corresponding reversal of its ideological function, turning the toga from a metonym for peace into a component of rituals of war.

Clients

As we have seen, elite togas made a slower stride and upright posture habitual; this deportment became part of the embodied *habitus* of the upper classes. The small

⁵²³ Plut. *Rom.* 16.5: τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα περιεζώσατο. While ἐσθής is a vague term for clothing and may not indicate any toga at all, Romulus is also associated with the adoption of various other customs regarding togas. Plutarch credits him with the adoption of the *toga praetexta* for children and magistrates (20.3, 26.2), and Livy claims that Romulus took the customs of the curule chair, the *toga praetexta*, and the twelve lictors from the Etruscans (1.8). Dionysius of Halicarnassus instead attributes these customs to L. Tarquinius Priscus, the first Etruscan king of Rome (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61.1).

⁵²⁴ Plut. *Mar.* 22.2: περιζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον.

adjustments necessary to maintain the toga's folds during this typical movement would therefore be largely subconscious. I argue that if an elite citizen had to move in ways that were unusual, such as to hurry around the city of Rome in service to a patron, it would have disrupted his habitual experience of wearing a toga. The toga's material would be consciously felt as a tough bodily burden under such circumstances. As a consequence, for their elite audience of experienced toga-wearers, moralizing authors like the poets of Roman satire use this troubled interaction between the toga and body as a rather visceral way to illustrate the humiliating experience of being a client.

The toga and patronage were closely associated in Roman society. Any citizens who received the daily *sportula* from their patron ('on the dole') were supposed to wear a toga as part of the morning ritual of greeting their patron, the *salutatio*. Many then became part of the patron's entourage as he went about the city on his own daily business, to the extent that *togati* became a common way of referring to such a group. The uniform appearance of the *toga virilis* meant that clients could be perceived as a singular mass or mob, mocked by Juvenal as a *turba togata*, instead of as an assemblage of individuals.⁵²⁵ The whiteness of the tunics and togas, furthermore, would stand out in the midst of a crowd dressed in dark and colored clothing. As a result, when Martial complains about "togate work without end" (*operam sine fine togatam*), he is referring to the daily routine of clients and comparing it with the service a patron requires of his freedmen.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁵ Juv. 1.96.

⁵²⁶ Mart. 3.46.1. This phrase recalls Vergil's *Aeneid* 1.279, *imperium sine fine*, but utilizes the epic's reference to the limitless power of the Roman Empire to infer that it is built on the endless labors of the client in urban Rome (George 2008: 103; Vout 1996: 216). On the duties of a client, see Mart. 10.82, 12.18.1-6, 14.125. *Operae* were days of service,

A client–patron relationship could be seen as either empowering or exploitative, based on the character of each man, and by the first century C.E., some members of the Roman elite viewed the life of a client as one of degradation and subservience.⁵²⁷ Martial and Juvenal develop this theme by using the toga “metonymically to represent the broad range of indignities inflicted on the client,” depicting the garment as a “token of social subordination” forced on clients by their patron.⁵²⁸ Though the patronage system had multiple levels of dependence, these elite Roman satirists focus on the client who is wholly reliant upon the patron for subsistence, like the parasite of comedy.⁵²⁹ In this genre, especially, the state of the client’s toga becomes an indicator of the nature of his relationship with his patron; the purpose of such critical representations is to underscore the degradation of Roman patronage. The financial cost of the large Imperial toga would be a strong contribution to its metaphorical burden, since if his patron was too cheap to give one as a gift, the client had to purchase his toga (along with rent, bath fees, other clothing, fuel, and food) out of the *sportula*.⁵³⁰ For example, Juvenal’s Umbricius laments his condition in Rome as a poor client for an uncaring patron, reduced to wearing a “dirty toga and a broken

though most freedmen served their patrons without a legal contract or limited terms (Mouritsen 2011: 224-226). Freedmen would be part of a patron’s entourage alongside his free but poor clients; Fronto compares the two (*ea illum oboedire mihi, quae clientes, quae liberti fideles ac laboriosi obsequuntur*, “that man could obey me in the ways in which clients and faithful and hardworking freedmen obey,” *Ep.* 2.7.2).

⁵²⁷ Vout 1996: 215-216.

⁵²⁸ George 2008: 99.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Damon 1997.

⁵³⁰ Mart. 3.30; Juv. 1.118-120; cf. George 2008: 101-102. Martial mentions gifts such as money, dinners, foodstuffs, clothing, rural estates and apartments in the city, and even roof tiles and silver plate (Saller 1983: 252-253). On cost, see Appendix, pp. 271-272.

shoe.”⁵³¹ As a result, the satirists suggest that “the costs, in tedium and in togas, of performing a client’s duties are not worth the effort.”⁵³² This feeds into a common belief among Roman authors of the late first and early second centuries C.E. that patronage was in decline after the Julio-Claudian emperors.⁵³³

The poets of satire especially emphasize the plight of clients who had to dress in the high-fashion togas of elites while their bodies were treated like those of the laboring classes. They write from the perspective (and toga-wearing experience) of the educated upper classes, not from that of freeborn but lower-status clients, and thus they are primarily concerned with violations of the expectations of their class. Small adjustments under normal conditions, with unhurried movement, are rather common and subconscious for those who wear draped clothing on a regular basis, such as the elite authors of satire. As shown above, orators could perform broad gestures and quick movements or stride around in the large Imperial-era toga if necessary to add emphasis to particular passages, but they deliberately manipulated the fabric to do so, for a brief time and in a limited space. The gestures needed to maintain the toga while running over a distance, by contrast, would be conscious but not voluntary, and therefore obtrusive, for a man who was used to the dignified comportment of the elite *habitus*. Having to hurry or even run, gripping the folds of the toga on the shoulder

⁵³¹ Juv. 3.149. Cf. George 2008: 103. Juvenal generally depicts the client–patron relationship of (what he claims is) the recent past as a caricature of obsequious flatterers and wealthy misers, while lamenting that in his day, there are no patrons for writers and the Emperor is his only hope for income (see esp. Satire 7; cf. Damon 1997: 172-191).

⁵³² George 2008: 101.

⁵³³ Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.21; Mart. 3.36; Tac. *Ann.* 3.55; Juv. 7. Saller argues that “there is no clear evidence for a trend” and that in satire, especially, “everything must be unrelievedly bad for effect” (1983: 255).

with the left hand and holding up the hem with the right to keep it out of the dirt, would be much more difficult than performing the same movement in the short, dark tunic of a slave. Working-class freedmen and other non-elite clients, in fact, may have had fewer problems due to their habituation to physical activity and their smaller, shorter togas.⁵³⁴

An elite body wearing an elite toga but moving in a non-elite way violates the wearer's normal body techniques, the expression of his *habitus*, and thus the representation of his social identity. As a result, Juvenal can illustrate that a client-patron relationship is a bad one by representing the clients as having to run in togas to perform their duties.⁵³⁵ In a similar manner, Suetonius says that Caligula would humiliate high-ranking senators by forcing them to run for miles beside his chariot (like slaves) while wearing their togas.⁵³⁶ His violation of the boundaries between free elite and slave, both in terms of dress and actions, mark him as a 'bad' emperor in Suetonius' narrative. Being a client for a harsh patron—or, for someone of senatorial status, for a bad emperor—could thus be viewed as worse than slavery.⁵³⁷ The toga's materiality and interaction with an elite body moving in a non-elite way would exacerbate the humiliation of the deed, signaling the degradation of a citizen and the disruption of the social order represented by the elite *habitus*.

Outside of satirical poetry, a visually striking entourage is still seen as a status symbol for patrons and a sign of subservience for the client. Though Juvenal quips that a lawyer

⁵³⁴ On the shorter togas of non-elites, see below. Tacitus implies that fewer urban *plebs* were clients to elites than were reliant on the *annona* and other imperial handouts (*Hist.* 1.4; Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 80).

⁵³⁵ Juv. 3.127-128

⁵³⁶ Suet. *Calig.* 26.2.

⁵³⁷ On the representation of the relationship between 'bad' emperors and their subjects as that of masters and slaves, see MacLean 2018: 75-81.

must have numerous attendants just to get hired by a litigant, Tacitus considers a large retinue of clients (*togatorum comitatus*) to be one of the rewards of eloquence, a sign that a man possesses a talent beyond wealth or power.⁵³⁸ Wallace-Hadrill points out that in Republican politics, clients contributed to the grandeur of an elite man's visual public presence, "by which the majority of voters themselves had to judge."⁵³⁹ Suetonius states that Augustus' allied kings would discard their royal regalia, dress in the toga, and perform daily duties "in the manner of clients" (*more clientium*) while accompanying the emperor through Rome and the provinces.⁵⁴⁰ While kings may have obtained great advantages by being *togati* in close contact with the emperor, Suetonius is following a tradition of representing them in this unflattering manner in order to demonstrate both the power of Augustus and the obsequiousness of the kings. Polybius goes even further and represents King Prusias of Bithynia as behaving and looking like a freedman, wearing a *pilleus*, not just a toga like a (freeborn) client.⁵⁴¹ In these other genres as well, the toga no longer signifies Roman citizenship but instead emphasizes a relationship of dependency. The physical constraints of the toga, made noticeable when a body is forced to act in ways which transgress the elite *habitus*, become metaphorical shackles. These circumstances undo the dignified deportment

⁵³⁸ Juv. 7.142; Tac. *Dial.* 6.4.1.

⁵³⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 83.

⁵⁴⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 60.1.7; see also Livy 45.44.19.

⁵⁴¹ Polyb. 30.18. King Prusias welcomed Roman ambassadors to his court while wearing the *pilleus* of a freedman, and in Rome he acted like a similarly servile manner. The author asserts that "because he appeared completely contemptible, he gained a favorable answer" (φανείς δὲ τελέως εὐκαταφρόνητος ἀπόκρισιν ἔλαβε δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο φιλόανθρωπον, 30.18.7). On freedmen as clients, see below.

which the toga shapes physically and, as a result, the dignity of the elite Roman citizen whom the toga represents ideologically.

Non-elites and Freedmen

In both elite invective against non-elites and non-elite self-representation in funerary monuments, the interactions between their bodies and the toga reveal the subtle ways in which they did not conform to the embodied *habitus* of the elite. Although the toga was ostensibly a marker of citizen status, not high social status, many scholars argue that the expense and size of the toga added a subtle layer of meaning by keeping working-class citizens from wearing the garment in their everyday lives.⁵⁴² For example, Olson asserts that “the encumbrance of the voluminous and demanding toga” made the necessary slow and deliberate movement “the hallmark of the upper classes.”⁵⁴³ The toga, the wearer’s body, and social status are indeed inextricably intertwined through the expression of *habitus*. The materiality of the toga for non-elites, too, contributed to the representation of their identity. The interaction between the toga and the body, however, affected the self-representation of non-elites, as seen in material culture, in a very different way from their depiction in elite literary sources.

As seen with orators, not everyone wore identical togas: various groups utilized minor changes in size and draping to differentiate themselves from others. Evidence from material culture shows that non-wealthy and non-elite citizens seem to have ignored the escalating

⁵⁴² Stone 1994: 17; Vout 1996: 211-212; George 2008: 96; Rothfus 2010: 427; Olson 2014b: 426, 429.

⁵⁴³ Olson 2014b: 432.

extravagance of fashion competition among the rich and kept to the styles of the Roman Republic. Garments were made to order and to measure in antiquity, and non-elites seem to have taken into account material considerations of embodied physicality and cost.⁵⁴⁴ The large Imperial togas worn by elites on statues and in literature were simply not practical for those who needed to work hard and move quickly or who did not have the money for large quantities of fabric. Even so, there is some evidence that less wealthy people had the option to wear short togas which were less of a hindrance but still marked them as citizens, though non-elite ones. Most freedmen retained the “older and simpler toga types” in their representations on funerary reliefs through the Augustan era.⁵⁴⁵ Antonine and Trajan-era reliefs of large groups of people show some wearing togas that barely reach the knees, whom art historians plausibly assume to be lower-class (figs. 27-29).⁵⁴⁶ Not only is the short toga closer to traditional Republican-era fashion, it is cheaper. Horace gives the advice that “a narrow toga suits a client of sense,” describing a man of lesser means who lives within them.⁵⁴⁷ Martial refers to a poor man wearing a “short toga” both night and day.⁵⁴⁸ While the absolutely impoverished probably could not afford any garments beyond a dark tunic and perhaps a cloak, it is likely that many working-class urban Roman citizens would own at

⁵⁴⁴ Granger-Taylor 1982.

⁵⁴⁵ Kleiner 1977: 153, 187.

⁵⁴⁶ Wilson 1924: 83. Since the short togas appear in group images commissioned by the emperors, not on commemorative portraits of individuals, the possibility that their appearance is the self-representation of an ideal and not a reflection of practice is reduced.

⁵⁴⁷ Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.30: *arta decet sanum comitem toga*. Cf. Rothfus 2010: 439; Stone 1994: 17.

⁵⁴⁸ Mart. 11.5.

least one short toga to wear for public business, games, the theater, and the numerous religious ceremonies that crowded the Roman calendar.⁵⁴⁹

Rothfus notes that “relatively humble Romans... would have had less to gain [than elites] by changes in the size or style of the toga,” though she, too, concludes that this meant non-elites were less likely to wear them.⁵⁵⁰ Freedmen, even of the wealthier artisan class, seem to have been slow to adopt styles of self-representation which elites made popular in the Augustan period, as seen on their funerary reliefs.⁵⁵¹ From the second half of the first century B.C.E. to the end of the first century C.E., these monuments still display the appearance, hairstyles, and fashions of the late Republic, including the simpler and smaller toga.⁵⁵² For example, a gravestone from the early first century C.E. shows the upper body of a silversmith with his shoulders and arms framed by a *pallium*-style toga, with the drape loosened to show both his lower arms and hands (fig. 30).⁵⁵³ He is represented working with the silver cup and tools he holds, though in practice it would have been rather difficult to do his craft in the arm-sling, no matter how loose. Diana Kleiner observes that only one freedman in her study is shown wearing “the most up-to-date garments worn by the men of the Augustan court.”⁵⁵⁴ Importantly, while the lack of a *sinus* would make this style of toga less costly in a material sense, there is no way to know if freedmen regularly wore any toga

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. Scullard 1981; Warrior 2006: 62-78, and Ch. 1, pp. 22-23. The *plebs* wear their togas even to the festivals of minor deities (Ov. *Fast.* 3.523-542).

⁵⁵⁰ Rothfus 2010: 427.

⁵⁵¹ Mayer 2012: 115.

⁵⁵² Kleiner 1977: 153, 186-187; Borg 2012: 34-35.

⁵⁵³ Grave Monument of Publius Curtilius Agatho, Silversmith. Roman, early 1st century. Getty Villa, Malibu. 96.AA.40.

⁵⁵⁴ Kleiner 1977: 187.

in living practice, though some may have worn one as part of their patron's entourage along with his other togate clients.

The overall conservatism in such commemorative depictions instead seems to be an expression of Republican-era values.⁵⁵⁵ As Barbara Borg argues, a togate depiction of a freedman was less about presenting oneself as freed and more about displaying “the *habitus* of the ‘correct citizen’” and the ideals shared by all Romans.⁵⁵⁶ Their frontal, static, quiet postures echo the stiff poses seen in many commemorative statues of Roman statesmen; their frequent depiction side-by-side in family groups seem to be “emphasizing the virtues of *Romanitas* and family unity.”⁵⁵⁷ Moreover, not all freedmen strove to copy the imagery of the elite. In contrast to elite biases against work and the mythological scenes seen in elite funerary monuments, many freedmen are clearly proud of their occupations, especially in the provinces, and they often display symbols or scenes of their working lives.⁵⁵⁸

Some literary representations of wealthy freedmen, on the other hand, do show them using elite dress and other markers of high status; the elite authors then ridicule these

⁵⁵⁵ Rothfus 2010: 441-442.

⁵⁵⁶ Borg 2012: 28, 40; cf. Petersen 2009: 204; Birk 2013. Freedmen do not copy the idealized Hellenistic-ruler portrait style seen in the head of Pompey or of young Octavian, since freedmen had no need to demonstrate the *virtus imperatoria*; instead they choose the “realistic” style that emphasizes advanced age and its associated virtues (Borg 2012: 34-36). Mouritsen argues that the toga is simply the “obvious costume for a funerary portrait” and should not be over-interpreted as having an external agenda (2011: 281-282).

⁵⁵⁷ Kleiner 1977: 6; cf. George 2006: 20-21.

⁵⁵⁸ George 2006 (on the tension between the social integration represented by family groups versus the labor of slave existence, see p. 21); however, Mouritsen points out that there is no comparable material for the freeborn *plebs*, making it difficult to determine what is particular to freed people (2011: 290 n. 37). On depictions of work, cf. also Kampen 1981; Joshel 1992; Young 2000; Larssen Lovén 2002; Mayer 2012; Petersen 2015: 446. On contrast with mythological scenes of elites, see Kleiner 1992: 80; George 2006: 21.

subjects for the dissonance between their assumed clothing and their servile bodies. In such depictions, the freedman's physical body takes away from the toga's ability both to conceal the body and to represent the social self, counteracting the wearer's attempt to display an elite identity. In satirical literature, especially, freedmen whose wealth rivals that of the *equites* are shown usurping the status symbols of that order, such as front seats in the theater, golden rings, and the enormous togas, along with other dandified elements, of the fashionable urban Roman.⁵⁵⁹ Horace's speaker contrasts himself with a wealthy freedman who "measures the Sacred Way with his three-yard-wide toga," "walks around arrogant with wealth," and sits with the *equites* in the theater as if he were one of them, declaring that "Fortune does not change your kind."⁵⁶⁰ Although these fictional freedmen mimic the 'rules' of the elite *habitus*, the discerning audience knows better.

The poets imply that the long hem of a toga or beauty patches on the face are feeble attempts to conceal the visible signs of shackles and whips and tattoos on the body.⁵⁶¹ These freedmen can never truly hide the scars of a slave. Martial tells his friend, just "lift off the patches, you will read" what he is, implying the man had been branded on the forehead as a slave.⁵⁶² These freedmen are also depicted trying to mimic the bodily deportment of the elite—lounging and striding around—but their adopted habits also somehow fail to conform

⁵⁵⁹ Hor. *Epod.* 4; Mart. 2.29; Petr. *Sat.* 32.

⁵⁶⁰ Hor. *Epod.* 4.7-8: *Sacram metiente te Viam / cum bis trium ulnaria toga*; 4.5: *superbus ambules pecunia*; 4.5-16: *sedilibusque magnus in primis eques / Othone contempto sedet*; 4.5: *Fortuna non mutat genus*.

⁵⁶¹ Hor. *Epod.* 4.3-4: *Hibericis peruste funibus latus / et crura dura compede* ("your side branded by Spanish ropes and your legs hardened by shackles"); Mart. 2.29. Freedmen who had been in irons or tortured as slaves were not allowed to become citizens, even after manumission (Suet. *Aug.* 40.4; cf. Petersen 2009: 204). See Ch. 4, pp. 180ff.

⁵⁶² Mart. 2.29.9: *ignores quid sit? splenia tolle, leges*.

to the elite *habitus* and further reveal their servile origins. Such representations are not meant to portray any real difficulty freedmen may have experienced in donning togas for the first time, but to signify that such ‘social climbers’ can never truly achieve the social status they desire. Wealthy freedmen, the satirists imply, will never rise to the elite class by wearing expensive togas and other high-status adornments; their physical bodies, having once been the property of another person, negate their attempts to imitate the elite. In fact, they can be interpreted as the counterpart to clients, whose freeborn elite bodies are so accustomed to the deportment required of togas that they find it difficult to move like slaves. The toga and body must be in harmony.

Rustics

It is rather a commonplace in Roman literature that public life and the city require a toga. Pliny praises Titius Aristo for his moderation and simple lifestyle while also being active “in the toga and in business” (*in toga negotiisque versatur*).⁵⁶³ Ovid’s advice to the young man-about-town includes a well-fitting toga that does not slip (*sit bene conveniens et sine labe toga*), a professional haircut, and well-made shoes as crucial components to being the perfect medium between an effeminate dandy and a disgusting brute.⁵⁶⁴ Good grooming clearly requires the services of expert tailors, barbers, fullers, and other craftsmen, services which would have been less accessible outside the city. Cicero criticizes elite citizens who wore dark-colored tunics, Gallic sandals, and cloaks instead of togas “for the sake of love

⁵⁶³ Plin. *Ep.* 1.22.6.5. Titius Aristo was a famous lawyer and judicial adviser to Trajan (Sherwin-White 1966: 138-139)

⁵⁶⁴ Ov. *Ars am.* 1.514.

affairs and pleasure” when on holiday in the populous city of Naples, though it seems such clothes would be more acceptable in their country or suburban homes.⁵⁶⁵ As late as the third century C.E., the emperor Alexander Severus is represented as a ‘good’ emperor by the fact that he always donned a toga when in the cities of Italy.⁵⁶⁶

By contrast, another oft-repeated trope is that citizens who live in the Italian countryside rarely wear togas. Martial claims a country life means wearing a toga only on occasional Ides and Kalends, while Juvenal’s Umbricius asserts that no one in much of Italy wears a toga unless he is dead.⁵⁶⁷ Umbricius dreams of a countryside where even the local aediles only wear white tunics as they produce plays in a theater that is nothing but grass; elsewhere Juvenal contrasts the *praetextate* Sejanus with the image of an “aedile in rags” in a deserted town in Latium.⁵⁶⁸ Of course, this is the fantasy of urban elites, for whom the countryside is envisioned as a place of leisure and escape from their daily grind in the city.⁵⁶⁹ Even so, not everyone could shed their responsibilities in the country. Marcus Aurelius laments in a letter to Fronto that even on vacation he must deal with “that business which is characteristic of life in the toga.”⁵⁷⁰

It is more likely that rural citizens did not wear togas on an everyday basis because their daily labor involved tasks like digging ditches and ploughing fields, for which they probably

⁵⁶⁵ Cic. *Rab. Post.* 26: *deliciarum causa et voluptatis*. Cf. also Gell. *NA* 13.22.1.7.

⁵⁶⁶ SHA *Alex. Sev.* 40.8-9.

⁵⁶⁷ Mart. 4.66.3; Juv. 3.171-172.

⁵⁶⁸ Juv. 3.178-179; 10.99-102: *pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris*.

⁵⁶⁹ E.g., Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.45.4, 7.3.3.1. Cf. George 2008: 103.

⁵⁷⁰ Fronto, *Ep.* 3.9.1.4: *negotium illud est vitae togatae*.

wore the same tunics or breechclouts as their slaves.⁵⁷¹ Pliny contrasts his city friends, *togati et urbani*, with “someone tough and rustic” (*durum aliquem et agrestem*) who is not afraid of the hard work and loneliness of managing a country estate.⁵⁷² Even the most idealized citizen of Roman legend, Cincinnatus, is depicted at the plow in nothing but a breechclout when the envoys from Rome show up at his farm.⁵⁷³ He has to wash off and have his wife bring out his toga before they can even address him. Such evidence hints that many rural Romans may have felt it necessary to put on togas before participating in public business, and they certainly did for important religious festivals, even if they did not do so every day. Regardless of the actual reason—leisure or hard labor—togas are not seen as the usual clothing for citizens living in the countryside.

Correspondingly, some Roman authors also promote the idea that rustic people do not even know how to keep their togas on, making apparent their woeful lack of city polish. The rhetorical claim to have little experience in public affairs could be illustrated by the declaration that “my very toga does not settle on my shoulder.”⁵⁷⁴ Horace caricatures a ‘friend’ who has a rustic haircut, a toga that does not fit, and loose shoes, and later pokes fun at himself for his own bad haircut, worn undershirt, and slipping toga.⁵⁷⁵ Such statements

⁵⁷¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.17.4; Livy 3.26.9. On rural slave dress, see George 2002: 43-45; on the breechclout (*perizoma*), see Bonfante 2003: 19-29, 164-165. De Ligt has recently shown that large-scale farming with slave labor, foreign wars, and army reform did not significantly reduce the free rural population in Italy (2012: *passim*, esp. 162-165, 187-191).

⁵⁷² Plin. *Ep.* 6.30.4.1.

⁵⁷³ Livy 3.26.9; cf. Schultze 2007.

⁵⁷⁴ Plin. *Contr.* 1.8.5.14: *toga ipsa umeris non sedet*.

⁵⁷⁵ Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.30-32; *Epist.* 1.1.94-97. Horace often represents himself as a man more comfortable at his Sabine farm than in the city, a non-elite who does not get involved in the lofty civic affairs of those elites with whom he associates (cf. *Sat.* 1.5, 1.9).

imply that because country folk do not wear a toga on a regular basis, they have forgotten, or never learned in the first place, the subconscious body techniques that are necessary to maintain the folds of fabric properly. Even if they are wearing the correct garment for the occasion, the discordant interaction between the fabric of the toga and the rustic body still marks such Romans by their ignorance of the elite *habitus*.

Conclusion

The materiality of the toga physically molded the wearers body into the ‘proper’ shape and guided the direction and extent of possible movements. In this way, freeborn Roman men were ideally trained in the body techniques of the citizen *habitus*, especially the habitual postures and gestures required to wear a toga, during a childhood spent wearing the *toga praetexta*. For elite Romans of the late Republic and early Empire, this is clear in the prescription that young men wear their togas with both arms wrapped, *pallium*-style, for the first year after they assume the *toga virilis*. The toga’s typical draping enforced an upright posture, moderately restrained gestures, and a measured gait, physical characteristics which precluded violent movement and contributed to the toga being used as a metonym for peace. Moreover, any small adjustments needed to maintain the proper folds were seemingly natural for an adult who was habituated to the garment through a lifetime of wearing it. In Roman literature, the body techniques of the citizen *habitus* expressed the upright, restrained, and measured moral fiber of the man.

Yet not all citizens wore the same style of toga, nor did every citizen wear one every day; subtle variations in the interaction between the body and fabric thereby expressed social meanings as well. Both the marble of the statues and the material of the short, tightly

wrapped style of toga seem to have influenced the adoption of a stiff style of movement by those who deliberately modeled their comportment on the perceived *habitus* of commemorative statues from the Republic. In the late Republic, elite Romans increasingly tended to wear a longer toga wrapped around both arms like the *pallium*. While this was ostensibly to promote self-discipline through the fabric's restraint on the body, it also demonstrated elite status materially through the use of more expensive fabric and an inability to work with the hands, while also alluding to a Greek education. A loose toga that allowed upper body movement or a loosely-belted tunic became components of the *habitus* of a certain group of urban sophisticates, and by deviating from the traditional elite *habitus* these men were also associated with loose speech, effeminate character, and the broad emotional gestures of demagogues, dancers, and actors in Roman invective.

Despite these criticisms, the larger toga became acceptable among elites in the Augustan era. Taking up more physical space as an individual, broadening the masculine silhouette of the wearer, was thought of as a very manly, Roman thing to do.⁵⁷⁶ Yet Juvenal and Suetonius could characterize cruel patrons as those who forced elite citizens in these same togas to move in non-elite ways; their elite male readers would understand from their own toga-wearing experiences how the subconscious body techniques of the elite *habitus* would be rendered ineffective, making the interaction between body and toga rise to the conscious level and resulting in an increasing physical awareness of the toga as a very real burden. The body must fight against the material of toga, and this conflict exacerbates the social degradation of the wearer's actions. Roman satirists thus use the toga, already a metonym

⁵⁷⁶ See Ch. 2, pp. 75ff.

for the client–patron relationship, to illustrate the humiliating servitude of being a client and the breakdown of Roman society as a whole.

For rustic Italians and former slaves in satirical literature, the interaction between the toga and their bodies is represented as being conspicuously different from that of elites. No matter what style of toga they wore, they fail to conform to the elite *habitus* in ways that expose their inferior place in Roman society. The bodies of rustic Italians in literature reveal their ignorance of the elite *habitus*; because they are assumed to wear togas rarely and are not habituated to them, their togas do not fit and tend to fall off. Likewise, the satirists suggest that freedmen’s once-slave bodies override the fashionable toga’s expression of elite status, no matter how many status symbols they usurp, how many ‘rules’ they follow, or how much they try to copy the deportment of an elite man. Since they have not worn the toga every day since childhood (in contrast to elite urban Romans such as the satirists and their readers), their bodies cause their togas to betray their lower social status and, in the case of freedmen, their non-Roman and servile origins. Yet in the commemorative art of freedmen, the toga is very much an expression of basic Roman values, worn more conservatively than those of the elites, as a sign of the person’s adoption of the traditional values of the Roman world. In other artistic representations, non-elites appear in short togas more like those worn during the Republic, which were more suited to the bodily movements of working men.

Romans would also physically manipulate the toga’s material, such as using the *cinctus Gabinus* or wearing a shorter version, to render the garment easier for a body in motion to wear. Harlow reveals that working-class women in many places in the modern world who

wear draped clothing every day, such as the *pallu* (the decorative end of a sari) or the *chador*, “find ways of making it work in their everyday lives.”⁵⁷⁷ She also observes that “in activities where the free flowing nature of the *pallu* might be a hindrance or simply impractical, it is tucked into the waistband, or its extra fabric can be bunched and used to carry things.”⁵⁷⁸ Though Harlow compares these garments with the Roman woman’s *palla*, it is clear from the evidence presented here that Roman men manipulated the toga in a nearly identical manner—they wrapped it around their waists and tucked it in for mobility, even for fighting in battle. Therefore, the notion that working people could not wear the toga, simply because of how impractical it was for a body that needed to move freely, may not be the case.

⁵⁷⁷ Harlow 2014: 21.

⁵⁷⁸ Harlow 2014: 21-22.

Chapter 4 – Toga Types and Transitions

A current approach to material culture, as mentioned in the Introduction, is “the study of how signs or symbols actually shape the world through their material properties.”⁵⁷⁹ Olsen states that the connection between signs and their interpretation in a particular context “is far from an arbitrary quality” but “depends on their intrinsic characteristics.”⁵⁸⁰ This chapter shows that the social meanings of the different types of toga were not simply arbitrary but shaped by the materiality of their individual components. Variations in the surface and composition of the fabric of each type of toga had a logic to their significance which influenced how the body underneath was interpreted.

The first purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how the materiality of the substances which make up the different togas—the physical qualities of the dyes, wool, fabric, and surface treatments—contributed to the social messages expressed by each type of toga. The source and properties of a substance, its appearance and placement on the body, and its contribution to the toga’s physical interaction with the body, are aspects of the toga which produced specific meanings. In some cases, just as broader gestures were facilitated by larger styles of togas, a changing bodily state or physical needs could require a new type of toga or a different garment entirely. In other instances, a change in toga types, and thus in the materials which comprised them, could result in a corresponding transformation of how

⁵⁷⁹ Woodward 2007: 74.

⁵⁸⁰ Olsen 2010: 157.

the wearer's body was conceptualized. In fact, these two directions of influence could sometimes be mutual and simultaneous.

Analyzing these transitions, especially the shifts in agency between the body and the materials of the toga in the creation of different meanings, is the second aim of this chapter. Over the course of his life, a Roman man would sometimes change from one type of toga to another during a ritual that marked a change in social status, which itself could be a response to bodily change: when he reached adulthood, for example, he would change from the *toga praetexta* to the *toga pura* as part of becoming a Roman citizen. A change of togas, or a change to or out of a toga, was also a vital component of the spectacle of certain rituals which marked a shift in a man's public role, such as taking office or performing a triumph. The participant's altered visual appearance explained what social transition he was performing within the event. The materials of the new clothing, moreover, often facilitated his ability to carry out the requirements of the new position he was assuming. This chapter, therefore, examines how meaning changed when one type of toga was changed for another, put on for the first time, dirtied, or even set aside, in order to illustrate further the key role that the interactions between the body and toga played in the expression of social identity.

The first three sections discuss purple dye and how its blood-like materiality led to the special meanings of the *toga praetexta*, *toga purpurea*, and *toga picta*. I also analyze the ways these meanings interacted with those determined by the white woolen fiber of the *toga pura*. The next two sections show how different combinations of a fabric's color and its physical effect on the moving body generated their own unique meanings, for the *toga candida* and for the change from togas to military cloaks. The two types of mourning dress,

the dark *toga pulla* and the filthy clothing of *sordes*, are addressed in the following section, which explains not only how the material components of such dress express the social consequences of death and disaster, but also how these meanings could be strategically manipulated to communicate a political message. The last section concerns the final transition: the toga worn in death. In each section, the shifts in the socio-political role of the wearer, marked by changed clothing, are directly connected to differences in the fabrics of each type of toga and their effect on the body, both physically and semiotically. As we shall see, because the interactions between the wearer's body and the different types of toga are largely determined by what fibers are in the fabrics, what substances are added to change the appearance of the toga, and how all those components of the fabrics behave as materials, those physical properties contribute to the expression of social meaning.

The toga praetexta to the pura

The physical characteristics of purple dye and the location of the stripe had an important influence on the special meanings of the *toga praetexta* for all who wore it—freeborn children, priests and priestesses, and certain magistrates. In addition, since only one or two drops of dye come from each shellfish, the dye was extremely expensive, so despite its notorious smell (which also never washed out), shellfish purple was the most prestigious of dyestuffs.⁵⁸¹ Wool could be dyed twice in purple or overdyed with kermes red, also a

⁵⁸¹ On the smell: Plin. *HN* 9.127; Mart. 1.49.32, 2.16.3, 4.4.6, 9.62. Approximately ten thousand shellfish are needed to make one gram of dye (Croom 2010: 26). Evidence of industrial levels of dyeing with *murex* (and other purple-bearing molluscs) goes back to the Bronze Age Aegean (Barber 1991: 228). Colored wool was dyed in the fleece (Verg. *Ecl.* 4.42-45; Plin. *HN* 8.197).

colorfast dye, for a deeper color and even greater expense.⁵⁸² Certainly, any garments dyed with Tyrian purple indicated wealth, luxury, and high status, as the frequency of moralistic censure and sumptuary laws throughout the late Republic and Empire suggest.⁵⁸³ Yet the purple border in the *toga praetexta* signified much more than that, and thus the cost of the dye was arguably not the only component which contributed to its social meaning.

The *toga praetexta* had an ideological quality that was rather different from the physical protection or moral purity ascribed to the *toga pura*; the garment was often represented as being inherently sacred. The statue of the goddess Fortuna was dressed in a *praetexta*; the one surviving pictorial representation of the *praetexta* happens to be on a Genius in a *lararium* in Pompeii (fig. 12).⁵⁸⁴ As discussed below, priests wore the *toga praetexta* when making sacrifices, and there was even a praetextate version of the dark *toga pulla* to be worn during funerary ceremonies. In a declamation attributed to Quintilian, the author remarks that the Romans use “the very sacredness of *praetextae*” to “make the weakness of childhood sacred and venerable”—he seems to give the sacred quality of the garment significant power.⁵⁸⁵

Since the purple border is the only difference between the *toga pura* and the *praetexta*, it is logically the element which signified its special meaning. The satirist Persius, for

⁵⁸² Plin. *HN* 9.137, 141; Bessone 1998: 170-171. On kermes red, see below, pp. 205-206.

⁵⁸³ E.g., Cic. *Flacc.* 29.70, *Cluent.* 111, *Scaur.* 45, *Phil.* 2.85; Suet. *Caes.* 43, *Nero* 32; Dio 49.16.1; Sen. *Ep.* 16.8, 76.31, 90.41, 94.70, *et al.* See Reinhold 1970: 41-61 for more citations.

⁵⁸⁴ Plin. *HN* 8.197; cf. Sebesta 2005: 119 n.25.

⁵⁸⁵ [Quint.] *Decl.* 340.13: *ego vobis allego etiam ipsum illud sacrum praetextarum... quo infirmitatem pueritae sacram facimus ac venerabilem.*

example, calls the color purple a “guard” (*custos purpura*).⁵⁸⁶ Olson notes that the purple border of the *toga praetexta* most likely had a general apotropaic meaning, warding evil away from the wearer’s body.⁵⁸⁷ The significance of the *praetexta* was arguably more complex than just its color, however, due to the material process of making the garment. The header band, namely the very first weft (crosswise) threads on the loom, both evenly spaces and anchors the vertical warp threads and creates a strong base for the remainder of the fabric. The act of weaving the header of the toga with wool that has been dyed purple seems to have given the entire garment its special meanings; the purple *clavi* on tunics marked wealth and social rank but did not have the same sacred connotations.

Moreover, the physical location of the color as the garment sat upon the wearer’s body arguably contributed to the garment’s special significance. While the *praetexta* was being worn, the purple border would stretch from shoulder to ankle, both front and back, and encircle the torso (figs. 7, 12). As a result, the wearer’s body was quite literally surrounded with the tangible line made by the purple border. Sebesta plausibly concludes that the border “denoted the weaving of a religious garment, as well as protecting the act of its weaving from religious pollution by warning by-standers to refrain from sacrilegious words, gestures, or activity.”⁵⁸⁸ The dye gave sacred meaning to the rest of the garment as it was being woven, and then to the person who wore it after completion. As the author of Quintilian’s declamation implies, the *praetexta*’s borders may have had some agency in rendering a body ritually protected in the first place.

⁵⁸⁶ Pers. 5.30.

⁵⁸⁷ Olson 2008a: 141; cf. Harrill 2002: 256.

⁵⁸⁸ Sebesta 2005: 116.

The reason for these special meanings of the purple dye in the border of the *toga praetexta* may lie in the remarkable physical properties of the dye itself. As Charlene Elliott has observed, “*the materiality of the color is originally of much significance.*”⁵⁸⁹ Tyrian purple dye was one of the few colorfast dyes in the ancient world, meaning that it could be exposed to sunlight and washed without fading.⁵⁹⁰ This color-fastness was not only unusual, but it also enabled purple-wearers to have a high standard of cleanliness, a major sign of elite status, since compared to other dyed clothing it could be laundered more often.⁵⁹¹ It needed no extra chemical substances called mordants to fix the dye in the fabric—wool pressed to a crushed *murex* would immediately stain with the color—and thus it was a pure dyestuff as well.⁵⁹²

Another significant factor in the sacred meaning of the shellfish purple dye was likely the fact that it was thought to look like blood, as attested in Greco-Roman literature since Homer.⁵⁹³ The droplets of dye are colorless when extracted from small glands in a living *murex* shellfish, but they quickly turn red-purple when the mollusk dies or the dye is

⁵⁸⁹ Elliott 2008: 192, original emphasis.

⁵⁹⁰ Lucr. 6.1074-77; Cic. *Flacc.* 70; Reinhold 1970: 11, 44 n.3, 53; Bradley 2009: 190-193. The color of fabric that was heavily dyed, however, could fade somewhat, as dye in excess of the amount which could chemically bond to the woolen fibers would still wash out (e.g., the *dispensator*'s birthday gift of Tyrian purple clothing, washed once: Petr. *Sat.* 30.11).

⁵⁹¹ Cic. *Flacc.* 70: *purpuram Tyriam, in qua tibi invideo, quod unis vestimentis tam diu lautus es*; Bradley 2009: 198. On whiteness, cleanliness, and the elite *habitus*, see Ch. 2, pp. 62ff.

⁵⁹² Cf. Ach. Tat. 2.11.7.

⁵⁹³ E.g., Hom. *Il.* 16.330-331, 17.360, 21.326-327; Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.3; Ov. *Tr.* 4.2.6; Verg. *Aen.* 9.349; Val. Flacc. *Argo.* 3.107. Cf. Longo 1998; Dolansky 2008: 54; Elliott 2008: 177-178; Bradley 2009: 190-192; DiLuzio 2016: 37 n. 108.

exposed to water or light and air.⁵⁹⁴ The dye rather spectacularly transforms into ‘blood’ at the very moment of the creature’s death. Achilles Tatius describes the dye streaming from a crushed shellfish as blood (τὸ αἷμα) that looked like it was coming from a wound (τραῦμα); he says it made wool look “blood-stained” (ἡμαγμένα).⁵⁹⁵ Pliny, too, describes the dye as “the color of a dark rose” (*nigrantis rosae colore*) coming from a “white vein” (*candida vena*) in the center of the murex.⁵⁹⁶ Murex-dyed wool, though the color could in fact be highly varied, would also have had an iridescent sheen in sunlight.⁵⁹⁷ Still, the more the color imitated the dark red of blood, the better: the best color, according to Pliny, is the blackish-red of “coagulated blood.”⁵⁹⁸ Cato the Younger is said to have been made so upset by a trendy bright-red shade of purple that he made a point to wear the darkest available color.⁵⁹⁹ For Ovid, Tyrian purple makes wool “blush red” (*lana, rubes*).⁶⁰⁰ Elliott asserts that the blood-like materiality of the dye meant that the color purple “embraced *all* these myriad concepts, of light and life and divinity and of blood—the very substance of life and death

⁵⁹⁴ Kanold 2017: 69-70; Sorriga 2017: 77.

⁵⁹⁵ Ach. Tat. 2.11.5-8.

⁵⁹⁶ Plin. *HN* 9.126.

⁵⁹⁷ Sen. *QNat.* 1.5.12; Bradley 2009: 50; Olson 2017: 110.

⁵⁹⁸ Plin. *HN* 9.135: *laus ei summa in colore sanguinis concreti, nigricans aspectu idemque suspectu refulgens; unde et Homero purpureus dicitur sanguis* (“the greatest praise [is] in the color of congealed blood, blackish in appearance and glowing when seen from below; from this also comes Homer’s phrase, ‘purple blood’”).

⁵⁹⁹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 6.3: ἐπεὶ πορφύραν ἐώρα τὴν κατακόρως ἐρυθρὰν καὶ ὀξεῖαν ἀγαπωμένην, αὐτὸς ἐφόρει τὴν μέλαιναν (“when he saw that a purple which was excessively red and sharp was highly fashionable, he himself wore a nearly-black purple). Cf. Cic. *Cael.* 77, *Sest.* 19. Different shades may also have been used as markers of populist or elitist politics (Bradley 2009: 197).

⁶⁰⁰ Ov. *Ars am.* 3.170: *nec te, quae Tyrio murice, lana, rubes.*

and lineage, and the spillage of battle and conquest.”⁶⁰¹ Whether or not Romans recognized all these nuances, three material qualities of shellfish-purple dye—its purity, colorfastness, and remarkably blood-like properties—combined to give it a more special meaning for the Romans than simply “expensive.”

Freeborn Children

The custom that freeborn children wear the *toga praetexta* was heavily based upon the sacred qualities that stemmed from the purple dye’s materiality. The *toga praetexta* ostensibly signified only that the child was freeborn and did not indicate to what order or other prestigious social rank he or she belonged.⁶⁰² Thus, for children, at least, its significance was equally or more important to the meaning of the *praetexta* than the prestige-value of the purple dye. The encircling line of the *praetexta*’s reddish-purple border arguably functioned much like other sorts of red borders placed around the necks of children’s clothing throughout the ancient Mediterranean world.⁶⁰³ Harlow states that such a border “had amuletic powers, warding off evil in a world where many died before they reached the age of one,” and that red colors seem to have been thought especially powerful in protecting new life.⁶⁰⁴ As a result, children who wore the *toga praetexta* had the sacred protections of the purple.

⁶⁰¹ Elliott 2008: 178, original emphasis. On blood, hybridity, and lineage in Rome, see, e.g., Suet. *Aug.* 40.3; Dench 2005: 251-259.

⁶⁰² Plin. *HN* 9.127; [Quint.] *Decl. Min.* 340.13; Livy 34.7.2; Macrobian *Sat.* 1.6.13-14; Tert. *De idol.* 18.3.

⁶⁰³ Harlow 2017: 50; Brøns 2017: 115.

⁶⁰⁴ Harlow 2017: 50. Dolansky also observes that “in many cultures, shades of red are believed to protect babies, children, and pregnant women—in essence to protect nascent life” (2008: 53).

In addition, as Sebesta has shown, that since the *praetexta* was ostensibly worn by both boys and girls, it was a gender-neutral garment for those whose bodies were not yet supposed to be sexualized.⁶⁰⁵ Girls of this age did not veil their heads, even when they are depicted on funerary monuments in the adult garments of *stola* and *palla*, indicative of the mature status they will never reach.⁶⁰⁶ Praetextate children were not supposed to engage in sexual activity, either. Juvenal’s list of egregious sexual violations includes daughters-in-law who commit adultery for money, brides who are no longer virgins, and, at the end of the tricolon, praetextate adulterers.⁶⁰⁷ Social custom regulated the behavior of others, as well, for lascivious acts or lewd speech were frowned upon, perhaps even prohibited by law, in the presence of children in the *praetexta*.⁶⁰⁸ Such sexualized acts would have constituted a violation of their bodily non-sexuality. Indeed, the connection between the *praetexta* and children’s *pudicitia* continued even into Late Antiquity: in Macrobius’ *Saturnalia*, Vettius Praetextatus declares that boys had been given the right to wear the *toga praetexta* “so that they would be guided by the blush of the purple in the modesty befitting their free birth.”⁶⁰⁹ The host of this rather antiquarian dialogue thus attributes the very color of the purple dye with its own prominent role in enforcing the non-sexualization of free children.

⁶⁰⁵ Sebesta 2005. Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 24.1; *Dig.* 47.11.1.2; Gai. *Inst.* 3.220.

⁶⁰⁶ Sebesta 1994a: 47; Olson 2008a: 147.

⁶⁰⁷ Juv. 1.77-78: *quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae, / quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?* Cf. Sebesta 2005: 115-116.

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. Cicero’s criticism of the lewd behavior of Verres and his guests in front of his praetextate son (*Verr.* 3.23, 5.137); see also *Dig.* 47.11.1.2; Fest. 282-284L; Sebesta 2005: 114-116; Olson 2008a: 142.

⁶⁰⁹ Macrob. *Sat.* 1.6.17: *ut ex purpurae robore ingenuitatis pudore regerentur*; cf. Dolansky 2008: 55.

This pre-sexual state between infancy and adolescence seems to have contributed to freeborn children's suitability for certain religious rituals. Sebesta points out that such children with two living parents were "extremely appropriate attendants (*camilli, camillae*) for the Flamen and Flaminica Dialis whose ritual purity would otherwise have been imperiled if they were served, instead, by adults who, *ipso facto*, were gendered, sexual beings."⁶¹⁰ Even everyday tasks may have required bodies which were ritually pure enough to interact with the gods, tasks for which praetextate children were suitable.⁶¹¹ Columella remarks that only children or the absolutely chaste should handle food or drink for the household, which meant children were the only ones who could bring provisions from the storeroom (*penus*) where the *Lares* were thought to dwell.⁶¹² Underage boys would lead a bride to her new husband's home, their ambiguous state perhaps helping her to make her own transition.⁶¹³ Significantly, however, the boys were required to set their *togae praetextae* aside for the ceremony, since part of their role seems to have been shouting sexually obscene words during the ritual procession.⁶¹⁴ Like the fictional Praetextatus' statement about the "blush of the purple" enforcing modesty, this ritual practice also indicates that the physical presence of the garment played an important part in the expression of the non-sexual identity of children.

⁶¹⁰ Sebesta 2005: 118; Cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1.730; Warde Fowler 1920: 43-44; Mantle 2002; Mackey 2017.

⁶¹¹ Warde Fowler 1920: 46-47; Mantle 2002: 101.

⁶¹² Colum. *Rust.* 12.4.3; cf. Warde Fowler 1920: 46-47.

⁶¹³ Varro, *Sat. Men.* 95 Riese; Catull. 61.174-176; Fest. 179L, 282L; cf. Mantle 2002: 99-100, Sebesta 2005: 116.

⁶¹⁴ Catull. 61.120; cf. Fordyce 1961: 247-248.

In commemorative sculpture, however, the representation of practice does not always follow prescription. Harlow's study of Roman art has shown that despite the unisex dress codes, "children in Antiquity dressed like miniature versions of their parents."⁶¹⁵ The freeborn boys of freedmen are frequently depicted in *praetextae* and *bullae* on funerary monuments.⁶¹⁶ Some boys on the Ara Pacis similarly wear *praetextae* and *bullae*, though others wear girded tunics and two are dressed in barbarian torques (figs. 18-20).⁶¹⁷ Boys on the column of Trajan also wear togas (figs. 21, 31).⁶¹⁸ This hints that elite freeborn boys, at least, may have worn the purple-bordered toga on those occasions when their fathers wore the *toga pura* or *praetexta*. Boys who were destined for an active public life would have needed practice in putting on and wearing the garment, since "even the wearing of the most complex garment loses its difficulty with use and habitude."⁶¹⁹ They had to become accustomed to the body techniques of the toga which were a key component of the elite *habitus*. Whether or not children wore the *toga praetexta* on a regular basis in actual practice, unfortunately, is impossible to ascertain.

There remains the question of whether freeborn children from non-elite Roman families could have ever shared in the sacredness and prestige of the *toga praetexta* due to the high expense of Tyrian purple dye from shellfish. However, purple wool may not have been as expensive as formerly thought. Shellfish-purple textiles have been found in a cemetery of

⁶¹⁵ Harlow 2017: 55.

⁶¹⁶ Kleiner 1977: 185; Petersen 2006: 95-96; Huskinson 2011: 531-533.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Wilson 1938: 130-131; Currie 1996: 157; Laurence 2000: 447-450.

⁶¹⁸ Currie 1996: 161.

⁶¹⁹ Harlow 2017: 55. In more recent times, upper-class children have worn backboards or walked around balancing books on their heads to learn the correct posture for their social status and corresponding clothing.

Etruscan quarry workers in Tuscany, dating to the second to first centuries B.C.E., and in the first-century C.E. Roman military fortress of Didymoi in Egypt.⁶²⁰ In the Egyptian find,

the fact that shellfish purple dye was identified exclusively in the weft of garment ornaments such as *clavi* indicates that small quantities of purple-dyed wool could suffice for the purpose. . . . low rank officers and even soldiers in such a far-off place had access to and could afford to use shellfish purple dye in their garments.⁶²¹

On the smaller togas of children, the border of the *praetexta* would require less wool, possibly putting the garment in financial reach of many non-elites. In addition, purple dye could be made in much cheaper ways, such as using a Gallic berry plant (*vaccinia*) or combining the abundant plant dyes of madder (red) and woad (blue), to the extent that slaves could be dressed in purple.⁶²² Even though dyers could achieve the same exact colors as Tyrian purple, such plant-based dyes do not come from the tiny glands of animals, do not look like blood in their raw state, and were neither pure nor color-fast, though they would certainly smell better. As a result, these dyes lacked the distinctive properties which gave shellfish-purple its meanings of sacredness and prestige.

From the boy's *praetexta* to the man's *pura*

When boys came of age, usually around fourteen to sixteen years old, the transition was marked by a specific ritual involving an important change in clothing.⁶²³ First, the boy

⁶²⁰ Gleba *et al.* 2017.

⁶²¹ Gleba *et al.* 2017: 134. Dio says Augustus ordered that sea-purple clothing (τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀλουργῆ) be restricted to magistrates alone, “for some of the common people were already using it” (ἤδη γὰρ τινες καὶ τῶν τυχόντων αὐτῆ ἐχρῶντο; 49.16.1).

⁶²² Plin. *HN* 16.77, 22.3-4, 35.45; Strabo 13.4.14; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4.6.5; cf. Reinhold 1970: 44, 53; Martínez Garcia 2013; Gleba *et al.* 2017: 134.

⁶²³ On the boys' rite of passage, see Torelli 1984: 23-31; Laurence 2000: 444; Harrill 2002: 255-266; Dolansky 2008.

would dedicate his *bullā* and *praetexta* to the household gods.⁶²⁴ On the day of the ceremony he wore a *tunica recta*, an unusual garment which was most likely woven from undyed wool in a single piece on an archaic upright loom.⁶²⁵ To finish the domestic part of the ceremony, the boy's father gave him the all-white *toga pura* of the Roman citizen. After that, the newly adult man went with family and friends to the Forum, registered his name on the records of citizenship, and performed sacrifices on the Capitoline hill.⁶²⁶ He would also distribute gifts (*sportulae*) to the community, completing his integration into society as an adult.⁶²⁷ The ritual was often scheduled so that the ceremonial procession would coincide with the March 17th feast of *Liberalia* for the god Liber, a fertility deity often identified with Dionysus.⁶²⁸ Trimalchio makes a pun on the god Liber and free status in Petronius' *Satyricon*; likewise, *toga libera* was an alternate name for the *toga pura* as a marker of freedom, discussed below.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁴ Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.118-20.

⁶²⁵ Fest. 342-343L, 364L; Plin. *HN* 8.194; Wilson 1938: 57-58; Olson 2008b: 21; Hersch 2010: 65-66; Gallia 2014: 229. Tunics were normally woven in two pieces and sewn together on the shoulders. The peculiar construction of the *tunica recta* may have been believed to help facilitate the bodily transformation from child to adult; both boys and girls wear it during their rites of passage "because of the omen" (*ominis causa*, Fest. 364L).

⁶²⁶ App. *B Civ.* 4.5.30; Sen. *Ep.* 4.2; *PMich* 7.433; Purcell 1993: 139-141; Dolansky 2008: 51. In the Augustan period, boys started performing their sacrifices at the new temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum instead of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Rawson 1997: 215). They may also have made sacrifices at the temple of Iuventas near the Circus Maximus after its dedication in 191 B.C.E. (Livy 36.36.5-6; Tert. *Ad nat.* 2.11; August. *De civ. D.* 3.11; see Scullard 1981: 208).

⁶²⁷ Ov. *Fast.* 3.787-788.

⁶²⁸ Ov. *Fast.* 3.771-791; Eyben 1993: 6; Harrill 2002: 258; Dolansky 2008: 55; Latham 2016: 76.

⁶²⁹ Petr. *Sat.* 41.8; cf. Kritzinger 2003. For the *toga libera*'s meaning of freedom for manumitted slaves, see below, pp. 180ff.

In terms of dress, the coming-of-age ceremony meant a change from the purple-bordered *toga praetexta* to the all-white *toga pura*, which is often called the *toga virilis* in this transitional context. Assuming the *toga virilis* was a tiny material change but an enormous social transition, thus proving the importance of the purple dye in the meaning of the *praetexta*. A pure white *toga pura* meant that the wearer could afford higher-quality wool, get his togas fulled, and replace them often, but this would hold true for the mostly-white *praetexta* as well. The size and shape of the toga did not change. The physicality of wearing a toga, the small shifts and gestures and postures needed to maintain its position on the wearer's body, would be the same as before, and it would not feel any more cumbersome or restraining (unless draped in the arm-sling style) than the *praetexta*. Even so, the social meaning of the toga changed quite a bit. The coming-of-age ceremony marked the beginning of public life for a Roman citizen; it was so central to Roman life that the ritual of assuming the *toga virilis* was also performed by non-elites and by Romans in the Greek East.⁶³⁰ A praetextate child would have stood out against a backdrop of adult men in white togas or women in long colored tunics and *pallae*, showcasing the child's special status, but in a *toga pura* he blended with other *togati*. The undyed woolen fabric of the *toga pura* was meant to signal that the wearer, too, was 'pure and uncontaminated,' a suitable member of the citizen body.

The key point of the transition, therefore, was that without the presence of the purple border, the body of a new *iuvenis* was no longer ritually protected. As a result, he gained

⁶³⁰ Non-elites: Cic. *Mur.* 69; Phaed. 3.10.10. Greek East: Cic. *Att.* 5.20.9; Plin. *Ep.* 10.116; Plut. *Ant.* 71.3; cf. Harrill 2002: 257, 262-266.

new responsibilities and rights in the everyday world: he could inherit from his father, spend his own money, and serve in the military.⁶³¹ The white toga was *libera* in another sense, for the assumption of the *toga virilis* also meant “the inauguration of freedom.”⁶³² His newly gendered body was freed from the ideological constraints against sexual behavior by the change from the *toga praetexta* to the *toga pura*. Persius says that “as soon as the purple guardian left timid me ...my now-white toga allowed me to sprinkle glances over the whole Subura with impunity.”⁶³³ Propertius’ lover-poet remarks that coming of age meant that “the binding modesty of the *praetexta* was lifted away from me / and freedom was given to learn the path of love.”⁶³⁴ The social significance of the purple borders seems to have been more of a restraint on the wearer’s behavior than the physicality of the voluminous toga.

Girls: from the *praetexta* to the stola

Though ostensibly freeborn boys and girls both wore the *toga praetexta*, Olson stresses that the unisex practice was probably more prescriptive than descriptive.⁶³⁵ Though praetextate girls sometimes appear in honorific sculpture (e.g., the Ara Pacis, fig. 19), they are rarely depicted so on funerary monuments, while girls’ accessories such as amulets,

⁶³¹ Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.2.16-17; Cic. *De or.* 1.180, *Cael.* 5.11-12; Dio 61.34.1-2; Suet. *Aug.* 38.2, 66.4; Vell. Pat. 2.29.5; Eyben 1993: 19-21; Harrill 2002: 270-272.

⁶³² Eyben 1993: 6; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.777-778, *Tr.* 4.10.28; Juv. 14.4-10, Plut. *Mor.* 37c-f (*De recta ratione audiendi* 1-2); Apul. *Apol.* 98; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.68-69; Laurence 2000: 444; Harrill 2002: 266-271.

⁶³³ Pers. 5.30, 32-33: *cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit... totaque impune Subura / permisit sparsisse oculos iam candidus umbo.*

⁶³⁴ Prop. 3.15.3-4: *ut mihi praetexti pudor est relevatus amictus / et data libertas noscere amoris iter.* On *pura*, see *OLD* s.v. *purus* 3 and 5; Dolansky 2008: 54.

⁶³⁵ Olson 2008a: 139-149; Olson 2008b: 17, 41. Goette lists only fourteen examples of statues or sculpture depicting praetextate girls (1990: 80-82, 158-59).

lunulae, and *vittae* are much rarer still. This may indicate that girls did not wear these prescribed elements of dress even on ceremonial occasions. On the other hand, children are often depicted as they would have been if they had lived to adulthood, and indeed, children are represented in the gendered garments they would wear as adults: boys in togas and short tunics, girls in *pallae* and long tunics. Girls, like boys, had to become habituated to the bodily behaviors and physical constraints of their socially appropriate clothing in order to demonstrate the correct *habitus* when they grew older. They may have worn the same clothes as their mothers in daily life, not just on their funerary sculpture.

In the sparse literary sources for togate girls, however, the materiality of the purple border and its symbolic sanctity can enhance the narrative when *praetextae* are mentioned in a context of physical transgression by an attacker.⁶³⁶ For example, when Verres was urban praetor, he passed an edict that expanded the *lex Voconia*, which forbade those who were registered on the census as owning a certain amount to name a woman as heir, to those who were not registered on the census.⁶³⁷ This effectively denied the daughter of the wealthy P. Annius Asellus the right to inherit the property willed to her by her father, and consequently, Cicero accuses Verres of figuratively stripping the girl: “will you, therefore, tear the *toga praetexta* from the orphaned girl, will you drag away the ornaments not only of her fortune but also of her freeborn status?”⁶³⁸ Cicero uses this violent image to illustrate “the particular

⁶³⁶ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.113; Prop. 4.11.22-34; Fest. 282-284L; Arn. *Adv. nat.* 2.67. Cf. Olson 2008a: 142, 2008b: 15.

⁶³⁷ See Mitchell 1986: 205-206.

⁶³⁸ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.113: *eripies igitur pupillae togam praetextam, detrahes ornamenta non solum fortunae sed etiam ingenuitatis?*

cruelty” of Verres’ deeds.⁶³⁹ Similarly, in one of the declamations recorded by Quintilian, the defendant supposedly “stormed a house, tore the *praetexta* of a maiden, and dragged the girl into that injury than which wars hold nothing more grievous,” namely rape.⁶⁴⁰ The speakers both use the vision of the torn *toga praetexta* to emphasize the horror of these violations and thereby rouse the outrage of the audience.

Coming-of-age for girls involved dedicating their childhood accoutrements on the eve of marriage. There is no evidence for a separate ritual of passage for girls, nor did girls have a period of extended adolescence before they entered full adult responsibilities; they went straight from child to wife around the age of 15. The dead Claudia of Propertian elegy describes her passage into adulthood as the moment “when my *praetexta* yielded to wedding torches.”⁶⁴¹ Consequently, the sartorial elements of the marriage ritual were very similar to the coming-of-age ceremony for boys.⁶⁴² Like boys, girls dedicated their dolls and childhood clothing, possibly including a *praetexta*, to the Lares or Venus as part of their ceremony.⁶⁴³ During this transition, girls would also wear *tunicae rectae* which they had woven themselves, perhaps sleeping in these special tunics on the night before their wedding.⁶⁴⁴

⁶³⁹ Mitchell 1986: 209.

⁶⁴⁰ [Quint.] *Decl. Min.* 349.6.4: *expugnasti domum, et virginis praetextam scidisti, et puellam usque in eam iniuriam traxisti qua nihil gravius bella habent.*

⁶⁴¹ Prop. 4.11.33-34: *ubi iam facibus cessit praetexta maritis.*

⁶⁴² Dolansky 2008: 47; cf. Torelli 1984: 31-50.

⁶⁴³ Pers. 2.69-70; [Acro], *schol. Hor. Sat.* 1.5.65-66; Arn. *Adv. nat.* 2.67; cf. Wilson 1938: 136; Rawson 2003: 145; Olson 2008a: 142; Hersch 2010: 65-68; Dolansky 2012: 274.

⁶⁴⁴ Plin. *HN* 8.194; Fest. 342-343L, 364L; Olson 2008b: 21; Hersch 2010: 108-109; Sebesta 2017: 392-394. Vestals and brides wore a similar hairstyle, but Vestals substituted the *suffibulum* for the *flammeum* and the matron’s stola for the *tunica recta*, since they were perpetually liminal and would not complete the transition to full adulthood at all (Gallia 2014: 228-229).

Thus the *tunica recta* was a critical part of the ritual of transition from praetextate child to gendered adult for both girls and boys.⁶⁴⁵

When young women came of age, they were supposed to change from the *toga praetexta* into the stola, worn over a long tunic, as a sign of their married status and chastity. Though *stolae* were probably rarely (if ever) worn by Tertullian's day, little more than a metaphor, he still calls the stola both sign and guardian of a woman's *dignitas* (*indices custodesque dignitatis habitus*), which implies that it was thought to have enforced chastity as well.⁶⁴⁶ As an extra layer of clothing, the stola would have seemingly provided increased modesty. In addition, since a woman's stola was floor-length with an extra border added to the hem, it would have hindered the free movement of her legs much more any girlhood *toga praetexta* had done—if she did not shuffle her feet or lift the hem, she would trip on it. Tertullian makes the connection between the materiality and the social meaning of the stola explicit when he remarks that in Tiberius' time, the Senate tried to enforce proper dress among matrons by punishing them for promiscuity (*stuprum*) if they were in public without a stola, for it was assumed that such women discarded the stola “because it was an impediment to performing illicit sexual activity.”⁶⁴⁷ It seems that in practice, however, many women chose not to wear one, instead wearing layers of loose, floor-length tunics.

⁶⁴⁵ See above, p. 174 n. 625.

⁶⁴⁶ Tert. *Pall.* 4.9.

⁶⁴⁷ Tert. *Pall.* 4.9: *ut lenocinii factitandi impedimenta*. Cf. Hunink 2005: 228-229.

The *toga libera*: manumission

The *toga libera* was not just for young adolescents making the transition to adulthood. Slaves would become Roman citizens when formally manumitted, just as freeborn boys did during a coming-of-age ceremony; both freedmen and *iuvenes* also gained the right to don the *toga pura*.⁶⁴⁸ The similarities do not end with citizenship and new clothes, either. Slaves were often infantilized, referred to as children, and thus manumission could be thought of as an acknowledgement that the necessary level of maturity had been achieved.⁶⁴⁹ Furthermore, just as Roman men were not legally independent from their *patres familias* until their fathers died, freedmen likewise took on their masters' family *nomina* and continued to have to behave with respect and subservience (*obsequium*) and to perform services (*operae*) for their patron in exchange for the gift of freedom.⁶⁵⁰

The new *toga pura* did, however, seem to be a marker that the former slave now had the same right to bodily integrity as any other Roman citizen.⁶⁵¹ The slave's physical violability and bodily possession by another was "central to the creation of the servile person."⁶⁵² In donning the *toga pura*, the wearer gained control of his body. Furthermore, after the passage

⁶⁴⁸ The first *manumissio vindicta*, with citizenship rights, is part of the legendary history of the founding of the Roman Republic in 509 B.C.E.; the slave Vindicius reveals to Brutus the conspiracy of the Tarquins with several young Romans, including Brutus' own two sons, and Vindicius is freed in this way (Livy 2.5.9-10; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.6-13; Plut. *Publ.* 3-8). The *lex Terentia* possibly granted full rights to freedmen's sons in 189/8 B.C.E. (Plut. *Flam.* 18.1), but on the logical problems with freedmen having rights and not their freeborn sons, see Mouritsen 2011: 264-265. Augustus passed several laws restricting manumission, which may have contributed to its legendary origins (cf. Kleijwegt 2009).

⁶⁴⁹ Mouritsen 2011: 31.

⁶⁵⁰ Joshel 2010: 41-47; Mouritsen 2011: 36-65.

⁶⁵¹ Joshel 2010: 44.

⁶⁵² Mouritsen 2011: 27.

of the *lex Aelia Sentia* in 4 C.E., slaves whose bodies had been permanently marked in some disfiguring way—by being branded, tattooed, tortured, whipped, or kept in chains—were not allowed to become Roman citizens or live in Rome, even after they had been freed.⁶⁵³ Since such marks were ostensibly punishments for ill behavior or crime, this law and other Augustan reforms seem to have sought to limit citizenship only to ‘deserving’ former slaves.⁶⁵⁴ As a consequence, the *toga pura* could not be put on a body that was irreversibly marked as once having been that of a ‘bad’ slave. As much as the *toga pura* signaled the bodily integrity which was the right of the Roman citizen, to wear the garment also required the outward appearance that the wearer’s body had possessed a certain standard of moral and bodily integrity all along.

The ideology behind the *lex Sentia* may simply have been a logical extension of some of the peculiarities of legal rituals of manumission. Henrik Mouritsen calls manumission rituals “a set of procedures designed to negate that any transition had taken place at all... [which] served to uphold the illusion of stable, ideally immutable categories.”⁶⁵⁵ In the *manumissio vindicta*, a magistrate formally decreed that the enslavement was a mistake, while the *manumissio censu* meant the person was simply enrolled (as free) in the census; only slaves who were freed at their master’s death had an explicit change from slave to freed status.⁶⁵⁶ If the former slave’s body was in a sufficient state to maintain the strange fiction that he had been free all along, what had once been considered the property of another could enter the

⁶⁵³ Suet. *Aug.* 40.4; Gai. *Inst.* 1.13-16; cf. Mouritsen 2011: 33.

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. Kleijwegt 2009; Mouritsen 2011: 33-35.

⁶⁵⁵ Mouritsen 2011: 11, 12.

⁶⁵⁶ Mouritsen 2011: 11.

Roman citizen body. As mentioned in Chapter 2, a freedman could dress in the same *toga pura* as every other male citizen, from the poorest farmer to the wealthiest *privatus* senator; the demarcation of elite status relied on the tunic, shoes, and even subtler signals.⁶⁵⁷ In other words, by donning citizen dress, the (newly created) individual assimilated into the whole: he was “visible as a citizen but virtually indistinguishable as a freed slave.”⁶⁵⁸ The “stain of slavery” (*macula servitutis*) did affect freedmen’s clothing options somewhat, for they had the status of *proletarii*, which meant they were not supposed to become senators or *equites*, serve as magistrates, or perform military service—so opportunities to wear purple insignia were limited to certain priesthoods, and only while performing rituals.⁶⁵⁹ For the most part, however, while a servile past could have serious effects on the freedman’s attempts to integrate into the elite social classes, it did not affect his physical appearance in much of his everyday life once he had made the change into the *toga pura*. In Roman literature, as we have seen, elite Roman authors strove to differentiate freedmen from the upper classes by their failure to perform correctly the subtler aspects of the elite *habitus*, since the *toga pura* alone did not do so.⁶⁶⁰

In practice, only the soft, peaked felt cap called the *pilleus* would mark someone as a freedman. During the manumission ceremony, the former slave would shave his head and

⁶⁵⁷ See Ch. 2, pp. 60ff.

⁶⁵⁸ Petersen 2009: 209.

⁶⁵⁹ Mouritsen 2011: 12-32, 71-79; George 2006: 19; Scheid 2003: 144. Many freedmen in Roman literature wore purple clothing and usurped insignia: see Reinhold 1971 with citations. The fictional freedman Trimalchio has broad purple stripes on his napkin, not his clothing, though he perhaps could be buried in a *praetexta* for having been one of the *seviri Augustales* (Petr. *Sat.* 32.2, 78.1; cf. Schmeling 2011: 115, 326).

⁶⁶⁰ See Ch. 3, pp. 150ff.

don the *pilleus*.⁶⁶¹ As a result, the *pilleus* was originally connected with freeing slaves and the divinity Libertas to the extent that it was metonymic for manumission.⁶⁶² By the late Republic, it came to indicate a more politicized freedom. The 42/3 B.C.E. denarius minted under the direction of Brutus, for example, commemorated the assassination of Julius Caesar with the image of a *pilleus* between two daggers, while after Nero's death, the Roman *plebs* supposedly ran through the city streets in *pillei*.⁶⁶³ On the other hand, it seems that freedmen may have worn the *pilleus* infrequently, mainly when mourning their patrons.⁶⁶⁴ While inscriptions often proclaim a person's *libertus/a* status proudly, representations of people wearing the *pilleus* in commemorative art are few.⁶⁶⁵ As Adrastos Omissi points out, "the hat was an immediately recognizable symbol, marking its wearer out both as being of low status but also [as] having won the considerable honour of his freedom."⁶⁶⁶ Only the *toga pura* and the *pilleus* in combination alluded to the formerly servile status of the freedman.

The toga pura to the praetexta: priesthood

Priests received no special training and were otherwise ordinary citizens.⁶⁶⁷ They had no particular qualifications for their religious duties beyond being elected to the priesthood.

⁶⁶¹ Serv. *Aen.* 8.564.

⁶⁶² See, e.g., Plaut. *Amph.* 460; Livy 24.16.18-19, 24.32.9; Val. Max. 8.6.2; Plut. *Flam.* 13.6; App. *Mith.* 1.2; cf. Clark 2007: 142-146, 149-150, 178-179. For the phrase *servos ad pilleum vocare* or *pilleum capire* for manumission, see, e.g., Plaut. *Amph.* 462; Livy 24.32.9; Sen. *Ep.* 47.18; Suet. *Tib.* 4.2; Macrib. *Sat.* 1.11.12; cf. Olson 2017: 80.

⁶⁶³ Suet. *Nero* 57.1; Clark 2007: 149; Omissi 2016: 272-273; MacLean 2018: 77-78.

⁶⁶⁴ Petersen 2009: 204; Omissi 2016: 272; Olson 2017: 80.

⁶⁶⁵ Kleiner 1992: 196-199. On commemorative inscriptions of freedmen, see, e.g., Joshel 1992; Mouritsen 2005; Borg 2012: 27-30.

⁶⁶⁶ Omissi 2016: 272.

⁶⁶⁷ Scheid 2003: 130-131.

Even so, a priest somehow had to mediate between human and divine worlds while in the midst of performing a ritual.⁶⁶⁸ Significantly, he would change out of the *toga pura* to the *toga praetexta* in order to perform sacrifices and changed back again when the ceremony was done.⁶⁶⁹ His clothing was arguably crucial to his ability to perform this role, since, just as for children, the *toga praetexta* meant that:

anyone who had been polluted by sexual and obscene acts . . . had to keep their distance. . . . [T]he attire of Roman priests served to ensure the purity of their rituals. . . . [P]riestly garments were an outward show that they were separate from the profane. They were *sacerdotes*, with the emphasis on *sacer*, that is, ‘set apart.’⁶⁷⁰

Some priestly garments were explicitly made from the material products of sacrificial rites: the *flamen Dialis* wore, in addition to his *toga praetexta*, a cap (*galerus*) that had to be made from the pure white wool of a sacrificial sheep.⁶⁷¹ This practice hints that there was a close connection between animal sacrifice and the physical materials used in the ritual clothing of priests and priestesses, a connection which arguably included the blood-colored border of the *toga praetexta*.

The blood-purple dye was an important component of its religious significance. As mentioned earlier, Vergil says that Helenus instructed Aeneas to “veil [his] hair, covered with purple clothing,” to perform his sacred vows as soon as he steps foot in Italy; the covered head and purple clothes, according to the seer, will protect him and the ritual from

⁶⁶⁸ Scheid 2003: 26.

⁶⁶⁹ E.g., Livy 1.18, 1.36, 27.37.13, 33.42.1. See Mommsen *Röm. Staat*. I³: 422; Linderski 2002: 351; Zollschan 2011: 49.

⁶⁷⁰ Zollschan 2011: 48.

⁶⁷¹ App. *B Civ.* 1.65; Gell. *NA* 10.15.32; Serv. *Aen.* 2.683; Fest. 17L; Vanggaard 1988: 92-93.

hostile influences.⁶⁷² According to Pliny, Tyrian purple dye was “called upon for appeasing the gods.”⁶⁷³ The apron-like garment called the *limes*, worn by fœtal priests over the *toga praetexta*, and the *suffibulum* that covered the hair of Vestal Virgins were also made of white wool with a purple border, while the *flaminica Dialis* wore a purple head scarf (*rica*) and floor-length dress called the *venenatum*.⁶⁷⁴ Linda Zollschan notes that the social meaning of the *toga praetexta* was based on the blood-like dye, though she does not make the connection between the color and the physical properties of the dye itself: “the red on its border signified the life and strength that was found in the blood shed in the sacrificial act; hence, it came to be worn by priests at sacrifices.”⁶⁷⁵ The presence of the red-purple dye—and the materiality of its blood-like appearance, purity, and colorfastness—contributed to its suitability for priests as they performed their rituals.

Significantly, except for the *flamen Dialis*, priests wore their purple-bordered garments only during sacrificial ceremonies.⁶⁷⁶ That blood-colored band, therefore, did more than simply mark the wearer’s body as being ritually pure—it was arguably a crucial component of the rituals which enabled an adult body to transition into this state in the first place. In

⁶⁷² Verg. *Aen.* 3.405-7: *purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu, / ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum / hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet*; cf. *Aen.* 3.544: *et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu*.

⁶⁷³ *dis advocatur placandis*, Plin. *HN* 9.127.

⁶⁷⁴ *limus*: Zollschan 2011: 57-59 with citations; *suffibulum*: Varro, *Ling.* 6.21; Fest. 474-475L; la Follette 1994: 57; Wildfang 2006: 16; Gallia 2014: 228; DiLuzio 2016: 171-172; *venenatum*: Varro *Ling.* 5.130; Fest. 342-343L, 368-369L; Gell. *NA* 10.15.28; Serv. *Aen.* 4.137, 12.602; Pötscher 1968: 236-237; Vanggaard 1988: 93; Flemming 2007: 104-106.

⁶⁷⁵ Zollschan 2011: 48.

⁶⁷⁶ E.g., Scheid 1998: 146-152 (no. 55), 331-337 (no. 114). The *flamen Dialis* had to perform daily sacrifices (*Dialis cotidie feriatu est*: Gell. *NA* 10.15.16); cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.552, 12.169; Pötscher 1968: 226-227; Vanggaard 1988: 40-42, 90. Vestals: Fest. 474-475L; Beard 1980: 13; Warde Fowler 1920: 43.

studies of special objects used in divination rituals throughout the world and through history (including the Greco-Roman era), researchers have found that the ‘magical’ power of these objects is inseparable from the material thing itself, while the diviner has no power without the physical presence of the object.⁶⁷⁷ Several Roman sources maintain, for instance, that a *flamen Dialis* who took off his *galerus* (or dropped it) ceased to be the *flamen*.⁶⁷⁸ When a young man shed his *toga praetexta*, the protections of childhood, and the immunity from profanity during the coming-of-age ceremony, his body gained a new sexualized status along with his *toga virilis* as he entered the world of adult society. As a consequence, his body was no longer ritually pure, either. Simply washing the body was not enough to return it to a sanctified state—baths were plentiful and well-frequented in Rome. It was only when a man’s body was both clean and encircled by the purple dye of the *praetexta* that he could perform sacred rites.

Priests also veiled during sacrifices, covering their heads with the very portion of their togas that was edged with purple by pulling it up from the back. The *flamen Dialis* could never take off his *praetexta* and special cap except indoors, according to later commentators, because “he must not be naked beneath the sky, just as under the eyes of Jupiter.”⁶⁷⁹ These practices imply that the border of the *toga praetexta* not only was thought to separate priests from the profane world but also to conceal them from the terrible gaze of the gods looking

⁶⁷⁷ Holbraad 2002 (Cuban); Nakamura 2005 (Neo-Assyrian); Gordon 2017 (Greco-Roman).

⁶⁷⁸ App. *B Civ.* 1.65, 74; Val. Max. 1.1.5; Plut. *Marc.* 5.3-4, *Quaest. Rom.* 40; Vanggaard 1988: 42-43.

⁶⁷⁹ Gell. *NA* 10.15.16-20: *ne sub caelo, tamquam sub oculis Iovis, nudus sit* (§20); cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.552, 664; Vanggaard 1988: 92-93.

down on the proceedings from above.⁶⁸⁰ In a more practical sense, priests needed utmost concentration to perform the rituals correctly, and the fabric blocking their ears and peripheral vision may have muffled any distractions; the fabric was thought to keep bad sounds and influences away. However, while the fabric did not require a purple stripe to perform this function, the special border endowed the *praetexta* of the priest, as well as the child, with its protective sacredness.

Praetexta and *Purpurea*: the Magisterial Insignia

In contrast to the priests' special-occasion donning of the *toga praetexta*, a certain number of magistrates, once they had changed from the *toga pura* to the *praetexta* upon being inaugurated, wore the *praetexta* for the entire term of their office for as long as they were in Rome. Rights to the *praetexta* and to the curule chair seem to have gone together.⁶⁸¹ William Warde Fowler and Sebesta propose that the right to the *praetexta* was based on the fact that curule magistrates often performed religious rituals and sacrifices as part of their official duties and thus needed the same sacred clothing as priests.⁶⁸² Auspices, namely the interpretation of bird behavior and other natural signs, had to be taken before any public act, from calling assemblies to passing laws.⁶⁸³ Magistrates were in charge of the auspices

⁶⁸⁰ See Ch. 2, pp. 53ff.

⁶⁸¹ See Appendix, pp. 274-275.

⁶⁸² Warde Fowler 1920: 43-44; Sebesta 2005: 116-118. On the role of magistrates in Roman religion, see, e.g., Szemler 1972, 1986: 2323-2324; Pina Polo 2011.

⁶⁸³ On auspices and auguries, see Linderski 1986; Scheid 2003: 111-126; Rosenberger 2007: 298-300; Dalla Rosa 2011. Auspices were valid for a day; the results were either good or bad, yes or no. Magistrates would hold auspices before important public decisions or events like assemblies. Auguries had no time limit and required specialized knowledge and interpretation by the augurs; they could also halt public business.

specific to the duties of their office. Only consuls, for instance, had the authority to take the auspices for elections of the next year's consuls and praetors. Aediles were responsible for various Roman religious festivals and temples.⁶⁸⁴ On the other hand, the quaestorship, a financial and administrative office without patrician origins, religious duties, or *imperium*, did not grant its holder the right to wear the *toga praetexta*.⁶⁸⁵

Unlike the part-time responsibilities of Roman priests, therefore, the higher magistrates seem to have performed some sort of state religious rituals almost daily and so always wore the *praetexta* when in the city. The only full-time priest, the *flamen Dialis*, also wore the *toga praetexta* every day, had a lictor, and could sit in the curule chair and in the Senate.⁶⁸⁶ The line between magistrate and priest was blurry indeed, for as George Szemler points out, “with few exceptions all priests held some form of magistracy.”⁶⁸⁷ As for tribunes, though they took auspices, their bodies were sacrosanct by law and oath: they did not wear the *toga praetexta*.⁶⁸⁸ Moreover, consuls and praetors originally stayed in the city only for a few weeks or months after taking office, for they left Rome for their military commands as soon as they had completed their religious duties, changing out of the *praetexta* into the

⁶⁸⁴ On aediles, see Lintott 1999a: 129-133.

⁶⁸⁵ Consular quaestors assisted consuls and praetors by organizing supplies for the navy and army, while urban quaestors had archival and financial duties in Rome (Harris 1976; Lintott 1999a: 134-135).

⁶⁸⁶ Livy 1.20.2, 27.8.8; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 113; Serv. *Aen.* 8.552; Ogilvie 1965: 97; Vanggaard 1988: 63.

⁶⁸⁷ Szemler 1972: 34.

⁶⁸⁸ Scheid describes the tribunes as holy (*sanctus*), a status that is neither sacred nor profane (2003: 25-26). On tribunal auspices, see Lintott 1999a: 103; but *plebiscita* were carried out without auspices (Linderski 1986: 2166). The aedile *plebis* may originally have been sacrosanct like the tribunes, and thus needed no *praetexta*, but by the late Republic, the aedile *plebis* was no longer sacrosanct and may have worn the *praetexta* (Taylor 1939; Lintott 1999a: 129).

paludamentum at the *pomerium*.⁶⁸⁹ It was only from Sulla onward that they normally stayed in Rome for nearly the full year of their term.

Membership in the Senate was arguably linked to the ideology of the *toga praetexta*, despite the fact that *privati* senators wore the same white *togae purae* as all other citizens. Cicero declares that rights to the curule chair, the *toga praetexta*, a seat in the Senate, and ancestral *imagines* were granted together, even though by his day, senatorial membership usually came with the (non-curule) quaestorship.⁶⁹⁰ Even a patrician had to be a consul, praetor, dictator, *magister equitum*, or curule aedile in order to become a senator in the early to mid-Republic; tribunes possibly did not gain more-or-less automatic senatorial membership until the mid-second century, while quaestors may not have been automatically enrolled as late as (or even later than) Sulla's reforms.⁶⁹¹ A curule magistracy may have been prescribed for senatorial membership, even if in practice admission was more open. Curule magistrates certainly took precedence, no matter the number of seats which needed to be filled.⁶⁹² Livy mentions that at several points during the Republic, the only men ejected

⁶⁸⁹ Lintott 1999a: 100; Beck *et al.* 2011: 6; Beck 2011: 88-89; Pina Polo 2011: 115. On the change to the *paludamentum*, see below, pp. 202ff.

⁶⁹⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.36, though he may still have been aedile *plebis*; see Appendix, p. 275.

⁶⁹¹ Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* II³: 413-422; Develin 1978; Astin 1985a: 181; Millar 1984: 14-15; Vishnia 1989; Lintott 1999a: 69; Mouritsen 2001: 13; North 2006: 266. Mitchell argues that membership in the Senate was hereditary, but he bases this on the mistaken premise that the *toga praetexta* was “worn only by the sons of priests and magistrates” as a sign that they had the “right both to attend and to automatically succeed to the Senate seat on their fathers’ demise” (1986: 146).

⁶⁹² To fill 177 empty seats in the Senate after the disaster at Cannae, the censors of 216 B.C.E. enrolled new senators in the following order of preference: curule magistrates, aediles *plebis*, tribunes and quaestors, and those with certain military or civic honors (Livy 23.23.5-7; cf. Millar 1984: 14). Dio reports that the censors of 61 B.C.E. enrolled all ex-magistrates and thereby exceeded the legal number of senators (Dio 37.46.4; Astin 1985a: 187).

from the Senate had explicitly not held curule office.⁶⁹³ Only a curule magistracy (and thus the *toga praetexta* and other insignia) consistently ensured membership in the Senate prior to Sulla's reforms.

Like consuls and praetors, censors wore the *toga praetexta* and sat in curule chairs—yet like quaestors and tribunes, censors had no *imperium*, lacking lictors and *fasces*.⁶⁹⁴ Of all the offices, however, censors had some of the most important religious duties in Rome. Censors performed the ritual purification of the entire Roman people, called the *lustrum*, once the census had been completed to validate the new lists.⁶⁹⁵ In fact, as Andrew Lintott argues, “the performance of the ritual was a major reason for the creation of the magistracy.”⁶⁹⁶ The censors were in charge of the composition and the moral and ritual purity of the entire *populus Romanus*. The immense responsibility of the censors and the absence of an entourage of lictors meant they, especially, required the visual impact of the purple-bordered *toga praetexta* to signal their moral authority, bodily sanctity, and prestige. In fact, Polybius asserts that at aristocratic funerals, ancestors who had achieved a censorship were

⁶⁹³ Livy 24.18.3, 29.37.1, 34.44.4, 38.28.2.

⁶⁹⁴ On censors, esp. their insignia, see Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 386, 395, 403, II³: 331-463; Warde Fowler 1920: 42; Suolahti 1963: 20-79; Astin 1982, 1985a, 1985b; Lintott 1999a: 115-120; also Appendix, p. 275-276, for citations.

⁶⁹⁵ Varro, *Ling.* 6.93; Cic. *Leg.* 3.7, *De or.* 2.268. The census was taken every five years, though there were none between the two censuses of 86/5 and 70/69 (Suolahti 1963: 457; Lintott 1999a: 116; de Ligt 2012: 80). None of the censors of the 60s and 50s completed the census and performed the *lustrum* (Astin 1985a). Between the censorships of 50 and 42, Caesar himself performed many of the censorial duties as dictator (Suolahti 1963: 489-494). Augustus had three performed (de Ligt 2012: 120; *Mon. Anc.* 8.2-4).

⁶⁹⁶ Lintott 1999a: 116. The office of censor seems to have begun in the second half of the fifth-century B.C.E.; prior to that point, kings and consuls most likely conducted the census (Livy 4.8.2-7; Fest. 358-359L; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom* 11.63.1-3; Zonar. 7.19.6; *Dig.* 1.2.2.17; Lintott 1999a: 115).

represented in all-purple togas (ἐὰν δὲ τιμητής, πορφυράς), not the *praetexta*.⁶⁹⁷ Perhaps, though this is purely speculative, the censors regularly wore the *toga praetexta* but donned the *toga purpurea* as the ceremonial garment in which they performed the *lustrum*, granting them the right to be cremated in a *toga purpurea*.⁶⁹⁸ This most important religious ritual thus involved a toga with the largest possible amount of purple dye. In the Empire, moreover, emperors took on the office of censor—and the *toga purpurea*—for themselves.⁶⁹⁹

Dictators wore the *toga purpurea* while in office, arguably because the position necessitated an even higher level of visible authority and prestige than censors.⁷⁰⁰ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the envoys who offered this emergency office to Cincinnatus presented him with “twenty-four *fascēs*, the *toga purpurea* (lit. “sea-purple clothing,” ἐσθητά ἀλουργή), and the other insignia with which the authority of kings had once been adorned.”⁷⁰¹ The *purpurea* and the extraordinary number of *fascēs*, twice that even of kings,

⁶⁹⁷ Polyb. 6.53.7. For censors in *praetexta*: Zonar. 7.19; Athen. 14.660C; Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 411 n. 3; Suolahti 1963: 71.

⁶⁹⁸ On the idea of censors being cremated in the *purpurea*, see Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 411; Suolahti 1963: 72-73; Walbank 1957: 739. Priests may have been cremated in the *praetextae* as the highest insignia they wore in life; the fictional Trimalchio can be buried in one for having served as *sevir*, though he held no office (Petr. *Sat.* 78.1).

⁶⁹⁹ E.g., Augustus: *Mon. Anc.* 8.2-4; Dio 52.42.1-4, 53.1.3; Claudius: Tac. *Ann.* 11.13, 12.4; *Hist.* 3.66; Suet. *Claud.* 16; Plin. *HN* 7.159, 10.5, 33.33. See Suolahti 1963: 495-517 for full citations for imperial censors from 29 B.C.E. to 73 C.E. The censorship was probably abolished after Domitian (Suolahti 1963: 25).

⁷⁰⁰ On the issue of whether dictators wore the *praetexta* or *purpurea*, see Appendix, pp. 276 n. 921. A dictator’s second-in-command, the master of horse, also had *imperium*, wore the *toga praetexta* and had six lictors. The dictatorship may have been largely replaced with the rise of the *senatus consultum ultimum*. Cf. North 2006: 263-264; Drogula 2007: 445-451.

⁷⁰¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.24.2: καὶ πελέκεις ἅμα ταῖς ῥάβδοις εἰκοσιτέτταρας παρέστησαν ἐσθητά τε ἀλουργή καὶ τᾶλλα παράσημα, οἷς πρότερον ἢ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκεκόσμητο ἀρχή. Cf. Livy 3.26.9-12, though Livy focuses on the toga he puts on before he speaks to the envoys, not on his clothing once dictator. For more on Cincinnatus’ clothes,

granted significant power to the wearer. Dictators may have originally had the right to exercise military *imperium* within the *pomerium*—a power greater than that of consuls—as part of their role of suppressing sedition in Rome.⁷⁰² Where a magistrate’s typical religious duties necessitated just a purple border, having this sort of near-total authority in Rome meant the dictator required the most prestigious (and highly visible) all-purple toga. It is significant, furthermore, that within the city boundary, even a dictator was still required to be under the physical bodily restraint of the toga’s drapery; a comparable ritual occurs when a triumphant general enters the *pomerium* (see below).

Cicero says the *imperium* of the dictatorship was comparable to that of a king; the dictator’s *toga purpurea*, too, was associated with the prerogatives of kings.⁷⁰³ Meyer Reinhold observes that around the end of the second century B.C.E., there began to be hostility against the *toga purpurea* (and all-purple clothing in general) due to the fact that purple robes were the insignia of Hellenistic kings.⁷⁰⁴ Tiberius Gracchus was accused of receiving the royal diadem and purple robe of Attalus “since he was going to be king in

see Schultze 2007. On the *fascēs* of a dictator, see also Polyb. 3.87.7-8, Livy 2.18.8; Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 383.

⁷⁰² On the dictator, sedition, and *provocatio*, see Livy 2.18.8, 3.20.8; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.58.2; Plut. *Fab.* 9.1; *Dig.* 1.2.2.18. On differing views of the extent of the dictator’s *imperium domi*, especially concerning *provocatio*, see Stavely 1955: 427-428, 1956: 101-107; Lintott 1999a: 111; Drogula 2007: 445-447; Straumann 2016: 64-88.

⁷⁰³ Cic. *Rep.* 2.56: *novumque id genus imperii visum est et proximum similitudini regiae*. Cf. Drogula 2007: 445. Due to the doubled lictors, Ogilvie (1965: 261) argues “[it] was no evolution of some regal office.”

⁷⁰⁴ Reinhold 1970: 42-43. The *lex Oppia* of 215 B.C.E. restricted purple-wearing only for women, not for men, as a measure of wartime austerity (Livy 34.1-7). The dictatorship, too, was rarely held after the third century B.C.E.

Rome.”⁷⁰⁵ Lucretius says that fears and cares respect “neither the gleam of gold nor the brilliant splendor of the purple clothing” of kings and rulers.⁷⁰⁶ The connection between the dictatorship, royal power, and the *toga purpurea* made it easy for Cicero to attack Antony for having tried to crown Julius Caesar king at the Lupercalia of February 44 B.C.E., as Caesar had been wearing an all-purple toga, either the *picta* or the *purpurea*, while seated on a golden throne (he refused the crown).⁷⁰⁷ Caesar had been given the honor of wearing the *toga picta* during sacrifices and games, and he also had just been granted the dictatorship for life, so he had every right to wear either type of purple toga on this special occasion—but Cicero was able to accuse him of revealing a desire to overthrow the *res publica* by his appearance.⁷⁰⁸ For a prominent citizen to wear all-purple garments in the Republic was to walk a fine line due to purple’s connotation of royal power: a combination of wealth, political and religious authority, and military prowess.

⁷⁰⁵ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 14.2: ἀντῶ... τῶν βασιλικῶν διάδημα δεδωκότα καὶ πορφύραν, ὡς μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

⁷⁰⁶ Lucr. 2.50-52: *audacter inter reges rerumque potentis / versantur neque fultorem reverentur ab auro / nec clarum vestis splendorem purpureai.*

⁷⁰⁷ Cic. *Phil.* 2.85-87 (*toga purpurea*); *Div.* 1.119.2 (*purpurea veste*), 2.37 (*vestitu purpureo*); Val. Max. 1.6.13 (*purpurea veste*); Plin. *HN* 11.71.186 (*veste purpurea*); Dio 44.11.2 (royal clothing); Plut. *Ant.* 12.1, *Caes.* 61.4 (triumphal dress). Cf. Reinhold 1970: 45 n.5; Pelling 2011b: 453 on triumphal dress as regal. Caesar may also have been wearing the *toga purpurea* when he was assassinated shortly afterward (App. *B Civ.* 2.117: τῆς πορφύρας).

⁷⁰⁸ Cic. *Phil.* 2.87; Livy *Per.* 116; App. *B Civ.* 2.106; Dio 43.1.1, 43.14.4, 43.43.1, 44.4.2, 44.6.1, 44.8.4. On Caesar’s dictatorships, see Straumann 2016: 86-88. Cicero attacks Lentulus for royal aspirations and Gabinius for joining him as his *purpuratus* (*regnantem Lentulum... purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, Cat.* 4.12). On Cicero using purple dress to accuse others of arrogance and ostentation, see Cic. *Cat.* 2.5; *Flacc.* 29.70; *Cael.* 77; *Cluent.* 111; *Scaur.* 45; Reinhold 1970: 43-44.

The toga picta: royalty, divinity, victory

Triumphal clothing materially added the gold of spoils to the prestigious and kingly all-purple fabric of the *toga purpurea*. By the mid-Republic, the prescribed ritual outfit consisted of the purple-and-gold *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*.⁷⁰⁹ The triumphing general kept his *imperium* and command of his troops, but he still had to change out of his military dress and into the drapery of a toga, which physically discouraged violent gestures in its usual style, before entering the city as “king of the day.”⁷¹⁰ He would then ride in a chariot through the center of Rome as the center of a procession to dedicate the spoils of war to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. His soldiers would follow in their military uniforms: this was the one and only occasion when soldiers were allowed to wear their arms and armor within the *pomerium*.⁷¹¹

The materials which make up the fabric help to delineate the specific social role of the garments. It is well-known that when a garment was colored purple and woven or embroidered with gold in the ancient world, the implications of sanctity and royalty increased greatly. Eastern royalty in the Hellenistic period famously wore purple-dyed silk fabrics woven or embroidered with gold.⁷¹² Carmen Alfaro Giner notes that “the concept of *gold and purple dresses* is common in ancient literature from all over the world” as “the

⁷⁰⁹ No visual representations of the *toga picta* survive. For sources and conjectures about its appearance, see Appendix, pp. 276-277.

⁷¹⁰ This phrase appears in Östenberg 2009: 282. On kingship and the triumphal procession, see Östenberg 2009: 279-283.

⁷¹¹ Livy 45.40.4; Plut. *Aem.* 34.4, *Marc.* 8.2; Beard 2007: 244.

⁷¹² See, e.g., Lucr. 3.1423-1429. Cf. Reinhold 1970; Gleba 2008: 62. On silk, purple, and gold fabrics in Roman Britain, see Wild 2013.

attire worthy of kings.”⁷¹³ By the late Republic, both the *toga purpurea* and the purple-with-gold *toga picta* were thought to have been the ceremonial garments of Roman kings, in the style of wealthy Etruscan kings.⁷¹⁴ In fact, the regal honors of a *triumphator* were equivalent to, and sometimes came into conflict with, those of the consuls, with the result that consuls would be invited to the celebratory banquet and then asked not to come.⁷¹⁵

In addition, the spectacle of the *triumphator* in gold-and-purple clothing seems to have contributed to a common notion among Christian authors and some modern scholars that he was thought to have become a god for the day when he donned the triumphal regalia.⁷¹⁶ This idea may have stemmed from the fact that Etruscan kings and gods alike were represented wearing purple or purple-and-gold outfits, as attested in sixth-century Etruscan frescoes and statuary.⁷¹⁷ Larissa Bonfante Warren proposes that the terracotta cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, made by Vulca of Veii, may have looked similar to a surviving cult statue, the Apollo of Veii, but was dressed in an all-purple *tebenna* instead of a bordered one (fig. 35).⁷¹⁸ Servius claims that Suetonius, in a book on types of clothing, had written that

⁷¹³ Alfaro Giner 2013: 77-78 (original emphasis); cf. Dido, Verg. *Aen.* 4.139.

⁷¹⁴ Livy 28.4.11, 30.15.11, 31.11.12; Plut. *Rom.* 25; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.34; 3.61.1; Plin. *HN* 8.4; Florus 1.5.6; Wilson 1924: 84-85; Alföldi 1935: 26; Reinhold 1970: 45; Stone 1994: 13; Olson 2017: 49.

⁷¹⁵ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 80; Beck 2011: 78; Haimson Lushkov 2015: 8-9.

⁷¹⁶ Tert. *Apol.* 33; Jer. *Ep.* 39.2.8; Versnel 1970: 56-93; refuted by Bonfante Warren 1970: 61, and Beard 2007: 85-92, 225-238, 280-284; cf. Rich 2013: 554-555.

⁷¹⁷ Bonfante Warren 1970: 59. The Apollo of Veii, for example, wears a purple-bordered *tebenna* and has painted red skin (fig. 35), while the figure of Vel Saties in the François Tomb at Vulci wears a diadem, a purple tunic, and a purple mantle with gold-figured borders.

⁷¹⁸ Bonfante Warren 1970: 63.

the all-purple toga was only for gods.⁷¹⁹ Indeed, the particular suit of clothing worn by generals during the triumphal procession may have been stored in the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter—though it is doubtful that the *triumphator* donned the cult statue’s actual outfit for the occasion, as some have proposed.⁷²⁰ To add to the implications of divinity in triumphal adornment, one of Pliny’s sources claimed that in the archaic era, both the face of the statue of Jupiter (on holidays) and the body of the general were painted red with cinnabar, though Pliny himself finds the second questionable.⁷²¹

Nevertheless, pagan Romans themselves were reluctant to attribute any sort of godhood to the triumphing general, despite his appearance, and the *Fasti triumphales* only refer to the *triumphator* by the magistracy he held.⁷²² In fact, the sacred garments of the triumphal regalia which were kept in the temple were not the only set extant at any given time. *Togae pictae* and other parts of the outfit could also be gifted to non-Roman allied kings.⁷²³ Those who were awarded the right to wear the *toga picta* on certain occasions, like Pompey and Caesar, may have had their own made.⁷²⁴ There were enough outfits in Polybius’ day that

⁷¹⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 7.612. He also notes that his source says the toga for kings was purple with a little white, which is unlikely, but his statement about the divine connection demonstrates the plausibility of the idea.

⁷²⁰ Livy 10.7.10; Juv. 10.38; SHA *Alex. Sev.* 40.8, *Gord. Tres* 4.4. Kiechle 1970: 260 n. 3; Versnel 1970: 59-93, refuted by Bonfante Warren 1970: 62, 1974: 576; Beard 2007: 226-231; Olson 2017: 51.

⁷²¹ Plin. *HN* 33.111, 35.157-158; see Beard 2007: 231-233. Rüpke (2006) argues that both the reddened skin of the *triumphator* and the ancestral *imagines* are imitations of statues, with the *triumphator* representing a terra-cotta statue of Jupiter that is dedicated at the Temple.

⁷²² Östenberg 2009: 281.

⁷²³ Livy 5.41.2, 30.15.12, 31.11.12; Tac. *Ann.* 4.26; cf. Bonfante Warren 1970: 59; Beard 2007: 274.

⁷²⁴ On Pompey and Caesar, see Vell. Pat. 2.40.4; Dio 43.43.1; Östenberg 2009: 281-282.

they could be worn by actors in aristocratic funerals to represent those ancestors who had triumphed.⁷²⁵ Even so, anyone who did actually wear the special regalia in public after his triumphal procession opened himself up to great criticism for excess arrogance and ostentation.⁷²⁶ Consequently, while a general may not have been thought of as the incarnation of Jupiter during the triumph, it seems the divine and royal connotations of the purple-and-gold clothing still remained strong throughout the Republic.

This particular significance of the *toga picta* also contributed to its changing use in the Empire. Augustus allowed many generals to have a triumph until about 19 B.C.E., after which victorious generals would get only an *ovatio* or “triumphal honors” (*ornamenta triumphalia*) instead.⁷²⁷ When Tiberius approached Rome in 9 C.E. after victory in Pannonia, he wore the laurel wreath but only a *toga praetexta* as he was accompanied by Augustus in a procession from the city gates to the Saepta Julia in the Campus Martius; in Tiberius’ triumph for this victory three years later, his legates, who themselves had earned the *ornamenta triumphalia*, walked next to his chariot and wore *praetextae*.⁷²⁸ After

⁷²⁵ Polyb. 6.53.7; Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 437-441.

⁷²⁶ Aem. Paul. *De vir. illus.* 56.5. Pompey: Vell. Pat. 2.40.4; Dio 37.21.3-4; Marius: Livy *Per.* 67; Plut. *Mar.* 12.5; Plin. *HN* 34.33. Metellus Pius: Val. Max. 9.1.5; Plut. *Sert.* 22.2; Sall. *Hist.* 2.59. See Beard 2007: 273-274.

⁷²⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 38.1, *Tib.* 9.2; Dio 54.24.18, 54.31.4; cf. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 135-136; Beard 2007: 68-71, 295-305; Sumi 2011; Rich 2013: 555-557. In an *ovatio*, the victor wore a myrtle wreath instead of laurel, the *toga praetexta* instead of the *picta*, and entered the city on foot, not in a chariot; they could also be celebrated for peace agreements instead of military victories (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.47.2-4; Plin. *HN* 15.125; Gell. 5.6.20-23; Plut. *Marc.* 22; cf. Sumi 2011: 93, Rich 2013: 553). Precisely what *ornamenta triumphalia* were is unknown, but may have involved the right to wear the laurel wreath and have a commemorative statue erected in the Forum (Sumi 2011: 92 n. 34; cf. Boyce 1942: 131-134; Rich 2013: 556).

⁷²⁸ Suet. *Tib.* 17.2-3, 20; Dio 56.1.1. Cf. Sumi 2011: 82-84.

Augustus, *togae pictae*, along with infrequent triumphs, were reserved for the emperor and his relatives, and the *toga picta* became the emperor's official ceremonial clothing while in Rome.⁷²⁹ Thus, the emperors took on the once-royal military honors and the once-royal dress and made both of them their own exclusive prerogatives, no matter who had been the victorious commanding general in the field. The writers of the *Historia Augusta* claim that Gordian I, before he became emperor, was the first private citizen to have his own set, but perhaps he was simply the first in a very long time.⁷³⁰

The toga candida: running for office

In sartorial terms, a Roman had to change from the *toga pura* to the *candida* in order to compete for the opportunity to wear the purple border of the *praetexta*.⁷³¹ References to the *toga candida* are more frequent in literary descriptions of elections than any other part of the process of canvassing.⁷³² The garment thus was a metonym for candidacy and the candidate was called *candidatus*. The competition for office was normally not over differing political positions on policy, but “over the *dignitas* or ‘worthiness’ of individuals according to a

⁷²⁹ E.g., Suet. *Cal.* 52; Dio 59.26.10, 67.4.3, 60.6.9; Tac. *Ann.* 4.26; SHA *Alex. Sev.* 40.6. Cf. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 416-417; Reinhold 1970: 59; Campbell 1984: 133-142; Stone 1994: 39 n. 12; Beard 2007: 277; Olson 2017: 49. The *toga picta* also would have looked clearly different from the *paludamentum*, which emperors commonly wore outside the *pomerium* (see below, pp. 202ff).

⁷³⁰ SHA *Gord. Tres* 4.4: *palmatam tunicam et togam pictam primus Romanorum privatus suam propriam habuit, cum ante imperatores etiam vel de Capitolio acciperent vel de Palatio.*

⁷³¹ Quaestors did not wear the *toga praetexta*, but Tacitus believes they were appointed, not elected, until 447 B.C.E., so they would not originally have worn the *toga candida*, either (Tac. *Ann.* 11.22). However, Zonaras says quaestors were elected from the beginning of the Republic (Zonar. 7.13.3). On the contested origins, see Lintott 1999a: 134.

⁷³² Deniaux 2003: 52.

traditional and unquestioned ideological standard.”⁷³³ This quality was visually expressed and physically enforced by the material properties of the candidate’s distinctive outfit—the bright-white, chalked toga, which Plutarch claims may have been worn without a tunic in the early Republic.⁷³⁴

As discussed in chapter 2, the white quality of undyed wool helped to establish the *toga pura*’s social meaning of both elite status and morality.⁷³⁵ As a consequence, one purpose of changing from the *toga pura* to a toga that was even more brilliantly white seems to have been “to stress his purity,” to illustrate that the candidate was, correspondingly, more morally pure and stainless than the average citizen and thus more suited to wear the *toga praetexta*.⁷³⁶ The ideological connection between the whiteness of the toga and moral character went both ways: an immoral candidate could be described as having stained his *toga candida* with his awful behavior.⁷³⁷ The candidate’s *species in re publica*, his “political presence,” was in a sense visually indicated by his outward appearance in public.⁷³⁸

The artificial whiteness of the candidate’s toga may have had a very practical function as well. The *Handbook of Electioneering* states that one major component of a successful campaign was its spectacle: it was to be “full of conspicuous display, brilliant, splendid, and

⁷³³ Morstein-Marx 1998: 265.

⁷³⁴ Pers. 5.177; Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.6.; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 49; *Coriol.* 14.1-2.

⁷³⁵ It is rather ironic that the more elite levels of whiteness beyond a natural off-white had to be accomplished by adding extra substances to the pure wool of the *pura* in the fulling process. See Ch. 2, pp. 66ff.

⁷³⁶ Croom 2010: 27.

⁷³⁷ Val. Max. 3.5.1.12.

⁷³⁸ *species in re publica*: Q. Cic. *Comment. pet.* 53, as translated by Morstein-Marx (1998: 265).

popular,” with “the greatest visual presence and dignity.”⁷³⁹ The look of the *toga candida*, in contrast to the *toga pura*, was arguably a critical factor in this exhibition. Though it is impossible to determine when the process of fulling became popular among the Roman elite, the rise of fulled togas, which were whiter than the natural off-white of wool, may have rendered the extra application of *creta Cimolia* for the candidate’s toga more practical. During the fulling process, a toga would be rubbed with white clays or chalk to restore the brightness of its color after being bleached with sulfur, but the powder would have been mostly removed afterwards when the fuller brushed the fabric to raise the nap. Isidore says the added chalk made the candidate’s clothing “brighter and more distinctive,” (*candidior insigniorque*), so he would visually stand out even in a crowd of togate supporters.⁷⁴⁰ The simple technique of “adding white to one’s clothing” (*album in vestimentum addere*) was so politically effective a way “to attract attention” to a candidate that the tribunes of 432 B.C.E. forbade it in an attempt to eliminate canvassing and thereby reduce patrician success in winning the higher offices; this created an uproar.⁷⁴¹

Moreover, if Plutarch’s claim about the early Republican practice is valid and candidates had once worn the *toga candida* without a tunic while walking around the Forum shaking hands with potential voters, the materiality of the outfit would have affected their bodies in a very physical manner. Later Romans certainly believed that wearing the *toga sine tunica* was the standard ‘ancestral’ dress, as it appeared on statues of Roman heroes all around the

⁷³⁹ Q. Cic. *Comment. pet.* 52: *tota petitio cura ut pompae plena sit, ut inlustris, ut splendida, ut popularis sit, ut habeat summam speciem ac dignitatem.*

⁷⁴⁰ Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.6. A large retinue was very important to amplifying a candidate’s *dignitas* (Q. Cic. *Comment. pet.* 36).

⁷⁴¹ Livy 4.25.13; Mouritsen 2017: 51.

public spaces of the city.⁷⁴² Such an outfit would have also revealed the scars of battle, visual evidence of martial valor which defendants of later eras often used to their advantage.⁷⁴³ During an electoral campaign, wearing an extra-chalked toga without a tunic would have required greater bodily awareness and an even stiffer posture than usual just to keep it on the body. When worn with a tunic, the wool of the toga would have clung to that of the tunic slightly, helping to hold the folds upon the left shoulder and to distribute the weight of the toga's fabric around the body. Since Plutarch's early *toga candida* lay directly on the wearer's skin and was covered in powder, the fabric would have much more easily slipped around on the left arm and off the shoulder, exposing the wearer's body to view. Consequently, the outfit of Plutarch's early-Republican candidate would have necessitated bodily self-restraint, moderation of gesture, and straightness of spine far beyond the degree an elite man of a later era would show on an everyday basis. In other words, those familiar with wearing togas may have imagined that such a candidate would have demonstrated the elite *habitus* to an extreme as he canvassed the Forum for votes, simply by the need to keep his toga in place. Such a stiff comportment would have visually embodied his dignity and worthiness for the honor of a magistracy, a public display of moral character for the voters.

From the toga praetexta or pura to military cloaks

As discussed in Chapter 3, the toga is frequently used as a metonym for peace in literature, and the contrast between the toga and military arms is just as frequent; the two are

⁷⁴² See Ch. 2, p. 87.

⁷⁴³ See Ch. 2, pp. 87ff.

antithetical in Roman ideology.⁷⁴⁴ Consequently, when a Roman went to war, he took off his all-white or purple-bordered toga and donned a military cloak. Most military cloaks were red or red-purple in color due to the visual similarity to blood. The Spartans famously wore red tunics in battle so that an enemy could not tell if they were wounded and thus be encouraged by the sight of their blood; Roman soldiers wore off-white tunics for everyday but red ones for battle.⁷⁴⁵ The materiality of red dyes and these consequent practical applications of their color create their meaning directly: red fabric is for war.

Paludamentum

When a curule magistrate left the city to take on a military command, he had to take part in a spectacular ritual with strongly symbolic elements, including changing out of his toga. After a religious ceremony of auspices, sacrifices, and vows, the new general, his lictors, and his supporters would process to the gates of the city. At the threshold of the *pomerium*, the magistrate set aside his *toga praetexta* and put on the military cloak called the *paludamentum* (figs. 32, 33), and his lictors would change from *togae purae* into *saga* and put axes into the *fasces*, to signify that the new general now had military *imperium*.⁷⁴⁶ A ritual reversing his change of outerwear had to take place when he re-entered the *pomerium*

⁷⁴⁴ See Ch. 3, pp. 136ff.

⁷⁴⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 68; Isid. *Etym.* 19.22.10; cf. Sumner 2009: 114-118; Alfaro Giner 2013: 85 n. 62.

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. Livy 41.10.5, 45.39.11; Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.9; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 5.7.3. See Wilson 1938: 100-104; Marshall 1984: 121-123; Rich 2013: 545-547; Olson 2017: 77, 79. Officers usually changed back to the *praetexta* to perform religious services in the field, though images of Aeneas sacrificing in *lorica* and *paludamentum* appear beginning in the late Republic, while emperors are sometimes depicted sacrificing in armor as well (Sumner 2009: 10; Kleiner 1983; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.166-221).

as well, unless he entered through the special triumphal gate to keep his *imperium* and his troops for the duration of his triumphal procession. Even so, a triumphing general would change from the *paludamentum* to the *toga picta* and *tunica palmata* before he entered the city—crucially, he still had to wear a toga within the *pomerium*. Like the *toga picta*, moreover, the *paludamentum* (dyed Tyrian purple) was exclusive to emperors by the end of the first century C.E. and became a “symbol of imperial sovereignty... used in a sort of ceremony of investiture in the imperial power.”⁷⁴⁷ In Imperial literature, emperors are represented as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ by whether or not they continued to change from the *paludamentum* to a toga at the boundary of the city.⁷⁴⁸

Like the *toga picta*, this special cloak signified royalty, military honor, and glory in Roman literature and art. Livy states that the controversial aftermath of the legendary Battle of Champions is sparked by the fact that Horatius brought back as a trophy the very *paludamentum* that his sister had woven for her beloved, whom he had slain.⁷⁴⁹ Florus reports that this style of military cloak, like various types of togas, also had ancient Etruscan origins and was introduced to the Romans by Tarquinius Priscus.⁷⁵⁰ As one of Valerius Maximus’ *exempla of humanitas*, Antony supposedly requested that the body of Brutus be cremated at Philippi in his own purple *paludamentum* to make it more honorable.⁷⁵¹ High-ranking officers in the Republic and early Imperial period sometimes wore *paludamenta* on

⁷⁴⁷ Reinhold 1970: 59; cf. Alföldi 1935: 8-10, 26-32, 43-51; Morgan 1991: 140.

⁷⁴⁸ Suet. *Vit.* 11.1; Tac. *Hist.* 2.89-90; Plin. *Pan.* 56.4; SHA *Hadr.* 22.8, *Marc.* 27.3, *Alex. Sev.* 40.7; Marshall 1984: 122.

⁷⁴⁹ Livy 1.26.2.

⁷⁵⁰ Florus 1.5.6.

⁷⁵¹ Val. Max. 5.1.11; Plut. *Ant.* 22.4, *Brut.* 53.4.

their tombstones, while emperors often wore them in commemorative statuary and coins.⁷⁵² The cloak was likened to the crown of a king in Apuleius' *Apologia*, while statues of Mars or Roma could be depicted in one—much like the *toga picta*.⁷⁵³ For a general to be stripped of his *paludamentum* and lictors, even before being sent under the yoke, is described by Livy as the “degradation of such great dignity just like... a sacrilegious spectacle.”⁷⁵⁴

The cloak was mainly rectangular in shape with a slightly curved hem, some possibly with fringed edges.⁷⁵⁵ Pinned in front of the right shoulder or pulled forward in a bunch on the left shoulder, it fell down the back and was wrapped around the left arm, with the hem falling mid-calf.⁷⁵⁶ Unlike any form of the toga, however, the rectangular *paludamentum* was identical to the Greek *chlamys* and thus it could not serve as a sign of Romanness.⁷⁵⁷ According to Varro, the *paludamentum* was so named because the cloak made the general “plainly” conspicuous.⁷⁵⁸ Even though Varro’s etymology is rather farfetched, Caesar also states that the cloak’s visibility was critical in identifying the commander.⁷⁵⁹ Yet the

⁷⁵² Bishop and Coulston 2006: 68, 111; Croom 2010: 52; Speidel 2012: 2-3.

⁷⁵³ Apul. *Apol.* 22; Marshall 1984: 123.

⁷⁵⁴ Livy 9.5.13: *ab illa deformatione tantae maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo averteret oculos.*

⁷⁵⁵ Wilson 1938: 100-104; Olson 2017: 77; cf. Livy 25.16.21.

⁷⁵⁶ Sumner 2009: 72.

⁷⁵⁷ Harlow 2005: 146.

⁷⁵⁸ Varro, *Ling.* 7.37: *quae propter quod conspiciuntur qui ea habent ac fiunt palam, paludamenta dicta.* Isidore says some people thought the cloak was also named the *bellicum pallium* because the emperor “publicly” (*palam*) declares “war” (*bellum*) is coming by putting it on (*Etym.* 19.24.9). The etymology is either *palla* + *mentum* (*OLD* s.v. *paludamentum*) or derived from *Paluda*, an old epithet for Minerva (Ernout and Meillet 1967: 677 s.v. *paludatus*).

⁷⁵⁹ *Caes. BGall.* 7.88.1: *Eius adventu ex colore vestitus cognito, quo insigni in proeliis uti consuerat* (“his approach was recognized by the color of his clothing, the distinguishing sign which he wore in battle”); cf. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 432.

materiality of the dyes used for the *paludamentum*, just like the purple of the *toga praetexta*, arguably contributed more to its meaning than simply making its wearer stand out. Many generals (and emperors) favored ones dyed with Tyrian purple, probably to take advantage of the dye’s connotations of prestige, authority, and blood. Alfaro Giner notes that a purple which looked like dried blood may have had a similar effect to the red dyes which Spartans and Romans alike used in the tunics they wore in battle: good “for hiding blood stains.”⁷⁶⁰ Isidore mentions imperial *paludamenta* that were dyed with both kermes red and Tyrian purple and then woven or embroidered with gold—the ultimate in luxury.⁷⁶¹ The diverse meanings of color could enhance a literary narrative as well, for Valerius Maximus deepens the shadow over Crassus’ doomed campaign by saying that he received a dark *paludamentum* instead of a purple or white one as he left the city of Rome.⁷⁶²

According to Pliny, the wool of the *paludamentum* was usually dyed with *coccina*, or kermes.⁷⁶³ This dye was a bright, deep bluish-red, both colorfast and extremely expensive like Tyrian purple, but beyond its hue, the materiality of the dyestuff was not as remarkably similar to that of blood. Pliny remarks that kermes dye was the same color as highly-prized

⁷⁶⁰ Alfaro Giner 2013: 85; on red Roman tunics for battle, cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 68; Isid. *Etym.* 19.22.10.

⁷⁶¹ Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.9: *cocco purpuraque et auro distinctum*. Agrippina may have worn one woven entirely of gold thread as a spectator at a mock naval battle, though she may have considered it a *chlamys*, which was identical but Greek (Plin. *HN* 32.63; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.56.5, where she is described as wearing a golden *chlamys* while Claudius sits near her in a *paludamentum*).

⁷⁶² Val. Max. 1.6.11: *pullum ei traditum est paludamentum, cum in proelium exeuntibus album aut purpureum dari soleat*. This is also the only mention of a white *paludamentum* that I have found.

⁷⁶³ Plin. *HN* 22.3. The modern term “crimson” is derived from kermes (Ziderman 2004: 41). In ancient sources the kermes dye is often called κόκκος or *coccina* (e.g., Hesychius, s.v. φοινικοῦν; Isid. *Etym.* 19.22.10).

cinnabar, which was not just the pigment used on statues of the gods, but also the only one appropriate for painting blood.⁷⁶⁴ Yet it was much less ostentatious than murex-purple dye, despite its expense. For example, in the sartorial moderation characteristic of ‘good’ emperors, Alexander Severus is said to have worn a cochineal cloak, not a purple one.⁷⁶⁵ This may have been because Romans like Pliny believed kermes dye came from the juice of plant grains (*grano languidus sucus*) and not from living animals like the *murex*.⁷⁶⁶ Unlike Tyrian purple dye, which oozed from the crushed body of the mollusc exactly like blood from a wound and could be used directly from the animal, kermes had to be powdered, so a crucial similarity with the materiality of blood was missing. Furthermore, Pliny was somewhat mistaken in the dye’s origins: it actually was made from crushed insects.⁷⁶⁷ Kermes insects do look like berries or grains, both when alive and later when they are dried before being crushed into dye-powder, so even fairly close knowledge of the process of making the dye would not correct this mistake. Even so, the kermes dyestuff only shared the color of blood with Tyrian purple, not its appearance and behavior.

Nevertheless, in its dyestuff and in its style, the material interaction between the fabric of the *paludamentum* and the wearer’s body is foundational to its social meaning of military prowess. Its manner of draping meant that it would not cross the front of the body except at the shoulders, so it would allow much freer movement of the lower body than the typical

⁷⁶⁴ Plin. *HN* 33.111, 114-117, 121.

⁷⁶⁵ SHA *Alex. Sev.* 40.7.

⁷⁶⁶ Plin. *HN* 9.141, 22.3.

⁷⁶⁷ Kermes was derived from the crushed eggs and bodies of a certain tiny insect of the family *Kermesidae*, found in southern Europe, the Near East, and Egypt (Barber 1991: 230-231; Martínez Garcia 2013: 152 n. 5; Brøns 2017: 111).

toga did, enabling the general to ride on horseback.⁷⁶⁸ The pure white wool, sacred purple border, and wrapped style of the *praetexta* enforced the peaceful and religious nature of the magistrate's duties within the city. The crimson or red-purple wool and open drape of the *paludamentum* hid any bloodstains, increased the officer's visibility on the field, and allowed his body to ride and move in battle. Consequently, the act of changing from the *toga praetexta* to the *paludamentum* played a meaningful role in the ritual of assuming military *imperium*, in large part due to the differing physical properties of the garments' materials.

Saga sumere

The same material considerations were relevant in the meaning of a change to the military cloak called the *sagum* (e.g., figs. 33, 34). Roman soldiers and lictors changed from the *toga pura* of peace to the *sagum* when they went to war. In addition, under certain circumstances, all adult male citizens set aside their white togas and put on this soldier's cloak. This was a formal civic ritual: when Rome was under attack, the Senate would declare a state of emergency (*tumultus*) and call for the practice of *saga sumere* (also *ad saga ire, in sagis esse*).⁷⁶⁹ For instance, the Romans changed clothes when Catiline went to Faesulae and collected Manlius' troops against Rome; they changed back when Catiline's head was brought to the city.⁷⁷⁰ While Olson proposes that "in the Republic, citizens would mourn a [military] defeat by assuming the *sagum*... and celebrate a victory by taking it off,"

⁷⁶⁸ But see togas worn Gabinian style, Ch. 3, pp. 138ff.

⁷⁶⁹ E.g., Polyb. 2.28.7, 2.30.1; Cic. *Verr.* 5.94, *Phil.* 5.31, 6.9, 8.32, 12.16, 14.1, 14.3; Livy *Per.* 72, 73, 118; Vell. Pat. 2.16.4; Dio 41.17.1, 50.4.4. Cf. Wilson 1938: 105; Heskell 1994: 142-143; Golden 2013: 48-52; Hall 2014: 44 n. 23; Olson 2017: 77-79.

⁷⁷⁰ Dio 37.33.2-3, 37.40.2.

it seems more likely that a current external threat to Rome itself merited changing to military cloaks.⁷⁷¹ Gregory Golden remarks that *saga sumere* “was a public display that the state was on a war-footing.”⁷⁷² While the *toga pura* integrated the individual citizen within the citizen body and was a sign of peace, the *sagum*, when worn by Roman citizens inside the city boundary, demonstrated the threat to the entire *res publica*.⁷⁷³ Olson phrases it well: “assuming the *sagum* or putting it aside was a visualization of the patriotic solidarity the citizens felt in their fortunes in war.”⁷⁷⁴ Importantly (and pragmatically), it gave them the bodily freedom to fight invaders if necessary.

The cloak was part of the characteristic uniform of Roman soldiers: pinned in front of the right shoulder, it could be worn over body armor with a white padded undertunic (*subarmalis*) and a distinctive belt.⁷⁷⁵ It was a simple rectangle, easily woven, and could also function as a blanket, factors which probably contributed to its widespread use; even poor men and slaves could wear *saga*.⁷⁷⁶ *Saga* were most likely dyed with plant-based dyes—red

⁷⁷¹ Olson 2017: 78, with citations.

⁷⁷² Golden 2013: 52.

⁷⁷³ On citizenship, see Ch. 2, pp. 56ff. On peace, see Ch. 3, pp. 136ff.

⁷⁷⁴ Olson 2017: 79.

⁷⁷⁵ Isid. *Etym.* 19.22.10; Bishop and Coulston 2006: 63, 68; Speidel 2012; Breeze 2016: 102. On the belt: Bishop and Coulston 2006: 67-68, 106-107; Hoss 2012. Soldiers frequently appear on tombstones just in the belted tunic and *sagum* (Speidel 2012: 4-5). The standard kit also included a bright white tunic (*tunica alba*) and possibly a red tunic for battle (*tunica russa militaris*; Isid. *Etym.* 19.22.10; SHA *Claud.* 14.5, *Aur.* 13.3; Speidel 2012: 10).

⁷⁷⁶ Mart. 6.11.7-8; *Dig.* 34.2.23.2; cf. Sumner 2009: 81-85. There were also more expensive versions of the *sagum* for people of higher rank, dyed with richer dyes but still the same basic style (e.g., Livy 30.17.13; Val. Max. 5.1.ex.6). The *sagum* was possibly Gallic in origin and worn by peoples throughout Europe (Gauls: Varro, *Ling.* 5.167; Caes. *BGall.* 5.42; Diod. Sic. 5.30.1; Verg. *Aen.* 8.660; Strabo 4.4.3, 4.6.3. Germans: Pompon. 3.3.2; Tac. *Germ.* 6, 17). On the *sagum* in general: Wilson 1938: 104-109; Sumner 2009: 72, 81-85; Olson 2017: 77-78.

is most popular in the pictorial sources, followed by a yellowish brown—not with the highly expensive cochineal from crushed insects.⁷⁷⁷ Madder and lichen are extremely common red dyes in the Mediterranean world, and “the majority of dyed textiles in archaeological contexts are dyed with madder.”⁷⁷⁸ Such plant-dyed fibers would have produced fabric that was more orange-red than the purplish-red of kermes or the reddish-purple of murex. Consequently, like the cheap plant-based dyes which imitated shellfish purple but lacked its blood-like materiality, the reddish dyes of common soldiers’ cloaks visually mimicked the blood of battle but not did not materially embody blood itself.

The toga pulla and sordes: mourning dress

Death entails a disruption of social networks by the removal of a family member or close friend; the relationship with the now-dead person must also be renegotiated.⁷⁷⁹ Consequently, funerary ritual and mourning dress mark “a scenario in which [the mourner’s] social self, the public identity to which one has been committed hitherto, is challenged or threatened.”⁷⁸⁰ The clothing that covers mourners and shrouds the body of the dead often becomes a metonym for death itself. Dark clothing and veils are tangible manifestations of the metaphorical idea that “the shroud of grief which envelops the mourner is complemented by the cloud or the darkness that covers the dying or deceased.”⁷⁸¹ The mourner and the deceased alike are dislocated from normal society during the mortuary rituals—they are both

⁷⁷⁷ Sumner 2009: 118.

⁷⁷⁸ Nosch 2004: 36; cf. Barber 1991: 232.

⁷⁷⁹ Graham 2009; Fowler 2013.

⁷⁸⁰ Cairns 2009: 54.

⁷⁸¹ Cairns 2009: 52; 2016: 25-36. On mourning dress in western European history, see Taylor 2010.

covered in darkness—but mourners are supposed to return back from this liminal state into a restored social network in which the dead person plays a different role from before, while the spirits of the dead themselves cross over the threshold to the afterlife.⁷⁸²

Funerary mourning: the *toga pulla*

Mourning dress seems to have played a key role in facilitating both the liminal state of the mourner and his eventual return to normal life. In ancient Rome, as in many cultures, “[f]unerary rituals marked the mourners as temporarily different and the appropriate enactment of grief was expected before their reintegration back into society.”⁷⁸³ For Roman male citizens, the state of mourning was signaled by a dark version of the toga called the *toga pulla*, woven from the wool of black sheep, which was to be worn during the funerary procession and burial.⁷⁸⁴ Though men would let their beards and hair grow unkempt, changing from the *toga pura* to the *toga pulla* would not change how they walked, stood, or gestured, so some of the bodily performances of the elite *habitus* would have stayed the same. The *toga pulla* may also have had a praetextate version, so distinctions of office and priesthood could be maintained as well.⁷⁸⁵ After the ritual bath which purified the body from its contact with the dead, male mourners indicated that they had begun to return to society by resuming the *toga pura*, though they were still required to abstain from all public duties for nine more days until the final rituals.⁷⁸⁶ When the mourner’s body had been made pure,

⁷⁸² Cf. Fowler 2013: 516-517.

⁷⁸³ Hope 2017a: 86.

⁷⁸⁴ See Appendix, p. 278.

⁷⁸⁵ Fest. 272L; Olson 2017: 95.

⁷⁸⁶ Change after the bath: Cic. *Vat.* 31. Nine days: Tac. *Ann.* 6.5; Petr. *Sat.* 65. On the funerary ritual, see Toynbee 1971: 43-64; Treggiari 1991: 493-494; Bodel 1999; Graham

the toga had to be as well. Since the change in clothes came days before the resumption of public life, the *toga pura* itself seems to have played a vital role in enabling the wearer's transition back into society.

It was probably inappropriate to wear a *toga pulla* after the purification bath of the funerary rituals.⁷⁸⁷ Cicero strongly rebukes P. Vatinius and his supporters for having worn one at a funerary banquet that was held for Q. Arrius by his son in 59 B.C.E.⁷⁸⁸ He asks, "to whom except you, upon exiting the bath, has the *toga pulla* ever been given?" and points out that even the son of the deceased was in white at the banquet (*albatus*).⁷⁸⁹ While Vatinius had apparently claimed he was protesting a *supplicatio* being held concurrently, Cicero declares it not just against custom, but even sacrilegious to wear the *toga pulla* at this time.⁷⁹⁰ He calls Vatinius and his men in black "furies," malevolent spirits who "had violated the Temple of Castor, the name of the public banquet, the eyes of the citizens,

2009 (esp. for the *os resectum*); Hope 2009: 65-96; 2017a: 93-94. Women, on the other hand, continued to wear mourning clothes for ten months, marking their extended period of social dislocation; widows could not remarry during this time.

⁷⁸⁷ Wilson 1924: 50-51; Stone 1994: 15; Heskell 1994: 141-142; Lott 2012: 224-228; Olson 2017: 95-96.

⁷⁸⁸ Cic. *Vat.* 12.30-32: *quo consilio aut qua mente feceris, ut in epulo Q. Arri, familiaris mei, cum toga pulla accumberes; quem umquam videris, quem audieris; quo exemplo, quo more feceris?* ("With what plan or intent did you do this, that you sat in the feast of my friend Quintus Arrius in the *toga pulla*? Had you ever seen or heard of someone [doing this]? By what example, what custom did you do this?"). Taylor (1951: 263) says Vatinius' "failure to put on festal attire" incites Cicero's anger, but the *toga pulla* is Cicero's focus, not an absent *toga pura*.

⁷⁸⁹ Cic. *Vat.* 31: *cui de balineis exeunti praeter te toga pulla umquam data est? Cum tot hominum milia accumberent, cum ipse epuli dominus, Q. Arrius, albatus esset...*

⁷⁹⁰ Cic. *Vat.* 31-32. Custom: *hunc tu morem ignorabas?... morem veterem* (*Vat.* 32). The scholiast says the *supplicatio* was for the victories of C. Pomptinus, but the connection between the *supplicatio* and the funeral celebration for Arrius is unclear (Pocock 1967: 116). If Vatinius had been performing a protest, he probably should have been wearing *sordes* (discussed below), not the *toga pulla*.

ancient custom, and the prestige of the man who invited you.”⁷⁹¹ Use of the *toga pulla* may have become even more strictly regulated in the Augustan period. Inscriptions establishing the annual public funerary rituals for Lucius Caesar in 2 C.E. and Germanicus Caesar in 19 C.E. state that certain officials were to be “wrapped in the *toga pulla*, of those for whom it is lawful and religiously sanctioned (*ius fasque*) to wear such clothing on this day.”⁷⁹² By the Augustan period, at least, there must have been fairly clear rules as to who could wear the *toga pulla* and when; a violation was *nefas*. Cicero’s censure of an opponent for wearing a *toga pulla* impiously was perhaps a rhetorical exaggeration, but it seems to have been based on Roman custom.

Emotional mourning: *sordes*

Valerie Hope defines “grief as the emotional, uncontrolled and primarily private reaction to loss, and mourning as the public expression, or processes and actions that accommodate loss.”⁷⁹³ For elite Roman men, the expression of grief was ideally restrained, even in mourning. During the funeral, women could wear filthy garments and tear their hair and clothing, but male family members were only to let their hair and beards grow and to shed a few tears.⁷⁹⁴ Elite Roman men were also supposed to stay secluded or hide their grief after

⁷⁹¹ Cic. *Vat.* 31, 32: *ceterisque tuis furiis . . . violasses templum Castoris, nomen epuli, oculos civium, morem veterem, eius, qui te invitarat, auctoritatem.*

⁷⁹² For Lucius: *per magistratus eosve, qui ibi iure dicendo praerunt, togis pullis amictos*, (vac. c. 6) *quibus eorum ius fasque erit eo die eius vestis habendae* (*CIL* 11.1420 = DPL frag. b, 18-19; Lott 2012: 64). For Germanicus: *per magistros sodalium Augustalium pullis amictos togis, quibus eorum ius fasque esset habere eo die sui coloris togam* (TS frag. b, col. I.3-4; Crawford 1996: 516; Lott 2012: 92).

⁷⁹³ Hope 2017a: 86.

⁷⁹⁴ Treggiari 1991: 493; Richlin 2001; Olson 2004/5; Mustakallio 2013; Hope 2017a: 90, 2017b: 42-44.

the funerary ritual, not go around in public wearing mourning dress.⁷⁹⁵ No more than a couple weeks after the death of his beloved daughter, Cicero wrote to Atticus that despite social expectations and obligations, his continued struggle with grief was making it difficult to return to public life, but he also remarks that he would be resuming any necessary correspondence.⁷⁹⁶ Months later, Servius Sulpicius Rufus wrote to Cicero that his prolonged absence should be construed as mourning for the unsettled political times, not for his daughter.⁷⁹⁷ Keeping busy through public service was considered the best consolation for personal grief.⁷⁹⁸ As shown below, Roman elite men were only supposed to express grief publicly for a public cause.

Just as the body is covered by the dirt of the grave or becomes ash in an urn, so too is the grieving mourner covered in dirt and ash. Thus grief, like death, can be seen as the destruction of the self. In his *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero says that grief, sorrow, mourning, and sadness are forms of distress or sickness (*aegritudo*), emotions which arise from a loss of mental self-control.⁷⁹⁹ He asserts that such distress involves “decay, torture,

⁷⁹⁵ Cic. *Att.* 12.13-18, 20.1, 21.5, 23.1, 28.2, 38a.1, 40.2-3; *Tusc.* 3.70-84; *Mart.* 1.33; *Sen. Ep.* 63.13; *Tac. Ann.* 3.2-3; Toynbee 1971: 50-51; Treggiari 1991: 493-498; Erskine 1997; Wilson 1997; Olson 2004/5: 96; Hope 2017b.

⁷⁹⁶ Cic. *Att.* 12.15. On the circumstances, see Mitchell 1991: 282-288; Treggiari 1998; Baltussen 2009.

⁷⁹⁷ Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.6: *ut quisquam te putet non tam filiam quam rei publicae tempora... lugere.*

⁷⁹⁸ *Sen. Polyb.* 8.1; *Tac. Agr.* 29.1; cf. Hope 2017b: 51-53. Men who were in positions of political or military authority would earn praise for returning to work earlier than nine days (cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 3.6.3; *Fam.* 4.6.1; *Tusc.* 3.70; *Sen. Marc.* 13.3-15.4; *Tac. Ann.* 3.6.2), but see also Graver 2017 on the rhetorical advantages of a performance of grief.

⁷⁹⁹ Cic. *Tusc.* 4.16-18, 22. See Graver 2002: 146-148.

torment, foulness; it tears and consumes the spirit and clearly destroys it.”⁸⁰⁰ Cairns points out that common gestures of grief such as veiling, cutting hair, self-mutilation, and ritual defilement are part of the “identification between mourner and deceased... the general homology between dying and mourning as complementary rites of passage.”⁸⁰¹ In addition, the gestures of grief constitute a significant behavioral deviation from the normal expression of the *habitus*. The materiality of this form of emotional mourning may have originated in the neglect of personal appearance, hygiene, and bodily needs which frequently occurs during times of severe psychological distress.⁸⁰² Clothing that is not changed becomes filthy and torn over time, just as the beard and hair grow long and unkempt when not barbered.⁸⁰³

In Rome, this type of mourning dress could be called *sordes* or *squalor*. Leanne Bablitz and Michel Blonski show that technically, *sordes* may refer to the dirty clothing and *squalor* to the unkempt hair and beard.⁸⁰⁴ However, Blonski also notes that *squalor* or *sordes* can mean the total appearance of disheveled hair and beard, dirty clothes, pale face, and tears.⁸⁰⁵ Cicero, Livy, and Valerius Maximus seem to use *squalor* and *sordes* interchangeably; Cicero also pairs them for rhetorical effect.⁸⁰⁶ *Obsoletus* seems to have been used to describe

⁸⁰⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.27: *tabem cruciatum adflictationem foeditatem, lacerat exest animum planeque conficit*; cf. Hope 2017b: 42.

⁸⁰¹ Cairns 2009: 50-51.

⁸⁰² Olson 2004/5: 100; Hall 2014: 41-42. Cf. Cic. *Mur.* 86. On signs of grief and deep distress, see Konstan 2006a: 244-258; Libero 2009; Munteanu 2017: 82-92.

⁸⁰³ Unkempt hair and beards: Livy 6.16.4; Mart. 2.36.3, 2.74.3; Suet. *Cal.* 24.2; Verg. *Aen.* 3.593; *Dig.* 47.10.15.27; Bonnano 1988: 159; Lintott 1999b: 16-18, 2013: 178; Blonski 2014: 39-44.

⁸⁰⁴ Bablitz 2007: 226 n. 85; Blonski 2014: 38-39.

⁸⁰⁵ Blonski 2014: 45-47.

⁸⁰⁶ Cic. *Sest.* 144-145: *sordidatum et reum . . . in hoc misero squalore et sordibus . . . atque hic tot et talium civium squalor, hic luctus, hae sordes susceptae*; *Mur.* 86: *squalore et sordibus*; *Verr.* 2.5.128: *aspicite, aspiciate, iudices, squalorem sordesque sociorum*; 2.1.152:

the clothing alone when juxtaposed with an unkempt hair and beard.⁸⁰⁷ Yet despite the fact that rolling in filth, tearing garments, or pouring dust over the head were common expressions of extreme grief for elite men in Greco-Roman literature (e.g., Priam mourning Hector, Latinus for his wife, Pompey defeated at Pharsalus), Roman men were not supposed to do such things when mourning their dead, either during the funeral or afterwards.⁸⁰⁸ During the funerary rituals, men wore naturally-dark *togae pullae*, not filthy *sordes*, though they did have untrimmed hair and beards.

Mutatio Vestis

Nevertheless, there could be strategic political reasons for appearing publicly in a state of dishevelment and in dirtied clothing. The *toga pulla* did not express the same degree of social dislocation for elites as *sordes*, since *sordes* could also refer to the dirty, worn-out clothing of the unwashed masses—for an elite man to wear *sordes* thus represented a significant drop in status as well as distress.⁸⁰⁹ There may have been a slight differentiation between poverty and elite *sordes*: the poor were simply filthy (*sordidus*), whereas those who

obsoletius vestitum; Livy 27.34.12: *tonderi et squalorem deponere . . . sordidati rei*; Val. Max. 6.4.4: *obsoletam vestem*; 6.5.2.9: *pro rostris iuraverunt in squalore se esse*; 7.8.7.2: *amavit enim sordes suas*.

⁸⁰⁷ Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.13: *vestitu obsoletiore, corpore inculto et horrido, capillatior quam ante barbaque maiore*; Livy 27.34.12: *sed erat veste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa*. For more on terminology, see Heskell 1994: 141-145; Kaster 2006: 111; Blonski 2008: 46-47, 2014: 27-48.

⁸⁰⁸ Hom. *Il.* 22.414-415; Verg. *Aen.* 12.609-611; Luc. 8.56-57.

⁸⁰⁹ E.g., Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.152; Quint. *Inst.* 6.4.6; Mart. 10.76.8; Isid. *Etym.* 12.7.5. See Richlin 2001: 241-243; Olson 2004/5: 110-112, 2017: 93-94, 100-101; Blonski 2014: 62-63; Hall 2014: 57-60. On *pullus*, see André 1949: 71-72; Goldman 2013: 65-68.

donned *sordes* in response to a civic crisis deliberately made themselves so (*sordidatus*).⁸¹⁰ In fact, the defendant's *sordes* may have been more squalid than the typical clothing of the poor. Cicero says the boy Iunius appeared in court as a minor wearing a normal *toga praetexta*, but without a *bullae* to represent the fact that he had had to wear *sordes* for many years after being stripped of his fortune—and yet the *sordes* of the defendant, his persecutor Verres, was even shabbier (*obsoletius vestitum*).⁸¹¹ Even more than the dark *toga pulla*, which maintained a certain level of bodily cleanliness along with the insignia of high office and priesthood, wearing *sordes* put the wearer firmly in a liminal state of half-death and social dislocation, marking a disruption of status equivalent to losing one's entire fortune or a close family member. When an elite Roman citizen wore this form of mourning, it took on even greater meaning as a visible sign of a threat to the individual's civil status within the Roman state or to the cohesion of the *res publica* itself. The public expression of grief through wearing *sordes*, therefore, was appropriate only for a civic crisis, not for a familial one.

The entire Roman *populus* would change clothes when public mourning was decreed in response to a civic calamity, a formal practice called *mutatio vestis* or *vestem mutare*. An

⁸¹⁰ Cic. *Pis.* 99: *nec minus laetabor, cum te semper sordidum quam si paulisper sordidatum viderem* (“nor will I be less happy, when I see you always filthy [after conviction] than if I were seeing you dirtied for a little while [as a defendant]”); cf. Blonski 2008: 52-53.

⁸¹¹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.151, 152: *pupillum Iunium praetextatum venisse in vestrum conspectum... ut eum cuius opere ipse multos annos esset in sordibus paulo tamen obsoletius vestitum videret... neque te tam commovebat quod ille cum toga praetexta, quam quod sine bulla venerat* (“The young Iunius came before before you in a *toga praetexta* ... so that he himself could see the man whose actions for many years kept him in *sordes* wearing clothes even a little shabbier... nor did the fact that he was in a *praetexta* move you as much as that he came without a *bullae*”).

inscription from the early Empire includes what may be the official Latin terminology for the decree: it says the death of Gaius Caesar in 4 C.E. was a “great and unforeseen calamity” (*tantae ac tam improvisae calamitatis*), marked with changed clothing and the cessation of public business (*iustitium*).⁸¹² Citizens discarded the insignia which marked their social rank; in the Republic, at least, they may have worn only plain tunics and dirt. Cicero claims the entire citizen body was in *sordes* after a decree of *mutatio vestis* was passed on his behalf.⁸¹³ Livy mentions that Romans observed “every form of mourning” after the defeat at the Caudine Pass in 321 B.C.E.: business halted, men of rank set aside their wide-striped tunics and their gold rings, and the citizenry was “almost more sorrowful than the army.”⁸¹⁴ Seneca states that in earlier times, people removed their togas in times of military crisis (*tumultus*) and mourning (*tristi tempore*)—the rituals of *saga sumere* and *vestem mutare*—and he regrets that they only do so in his day to dine.⁸¹⁵ Tacitus asserts that curule magistrates were “without their insignia” when lamenting that the *res publica* had died with Augustus.⁸¹⁶ Lucan, likewise, says that when news of Pompey’s death reached Rome,

⁸¹² *pro magnitudine tantae ac tam improvisae calamitatis... veste mutata templisque deorum immortalium balneisque publicis et tabernis omnibus clausis* (CIL 11.1421= DPG 57-61; Lott 2012: 73-74). It may have been an Augustan innovation that the sudden death of an individual would be a national crisis; Lott (2012: 202) states that this is the first time *iustitium* was declared as a funerary honor. Golden (2013: 87-103) notes that in the Republic, *iustitium* was typically announced during wartime. See also Fantham 1992: 83, 1999: 223; Scalia 1999.

⁸¹³ Cic. *Sest.* 32: *squalebat civitas publico consilio veste mutata.*

⁸¹⁴ Livy 9.7.7-8: *in omnem formam luctus... lati clavi, anuli aurei positi; paene maestior exercitu ipso civitas esse.* Cf. Val. Max. 6.6.4. On rings, see Plin. *HN* 33.8-36; Livy 23.12.2; Marshall 1907; Reinhold 1971: 280-282; Olson 2017: 65-67.

⁸¹⁵ Sen. *Ep.* 18.2.

⁸¹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 3.4: *sine insignibus magistratus.*

“every office was hidden, covered in plebeian dress, purple accompanied no *fascēs*.”⁸¹⁷ In short, by removing all markers of rank, covering their bodies in ashes and dirt, and ceasing all public activity, the Roman people not only signaled their severe emotional distress through this death-like state, but through the condition of their own bodies they also materially displayed the crisis that was threatening the *res publica*.

By the mid-first century C.E., however, *mutatio vestis* for Roman senators may have meant a change to equestrian dress instead of *sordēs*. Though Cicero himself says he wore *sordēs* when appealing to the public against Clodius’ proposed legislation, Dio states that he “put off his senatorial dress and went around in the clothing of the *equites*.”⁸¹⁸ Dio later remarks that consuls informally changed to equestrian dress prior to convening the Senate as a protest in 53 B.C.E.⁸¹⁹ Yet *equites* simply wore tunics with narrower stripes and plainer shoes than senators—both orders wore gold rings and white togas—and such small changes would have meant much less visual and material alteration of the body’s appearance than the filth and dishevelment of *sordēs*. However, Dio tends to “mould his account of the Principate of Augustus so as to emphasize its continuity into his own times,” so he may in fact be assuming that the public mourning ritual of the late Republic was the same as the

⁸¹⁷ Luc. 2.17-19: *latuit plebeio tectus amictu omnis honos, nullos comitata est purpura fascēs*. See Fantham 1999: 222-223; Keith 2008a: 234-236; Lott 2012: 202. Depending on what Lucan meant by “plebeian dress,” curule magistrates may have worn plain white or dirtied togas and tunics; the sacred purple dye probably was not supposed to be fouled with dirt and ash. Seneca does mention a boy in mourning wearing a *sordida praetexta* (*Contr.* 9.5.1), but perhaps this was excusable for a child.

⁸¹⁸ Dio 38.14.7: καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῇ ἱππᾶδι περιενόσται. Cicero in *sordēs*: Cic. *Sest.* 27; Plut. *Cic.* 30.6, 31.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.15.

⁸¹⁹ Dio 40.46.1. This refutes Hall (2014: 46-47), who proposes that equestrian dress was only for the first phase of petitions to individuals at home.

ritual in his day.⁸²⁰ Seneca's lament implies that the ritual of changing into *sordes* for public mourning may have been largely gone by the mid-first century C.E. Switching to the clothing of a slightly lower rank could still be a manifestation of social disruption, a threat to Roman society, but without the material presence of ashes and dirt such an outfit would not place the individual bodies of the mourners in a liminal state of half-death. Moreover, Augustus and his successors allowed a public decree of *mutatio vestis* only when a member of the imperial family had died.⁸²¹ What constituted a calamity for the *res publica* under the emperors, therefore, was rather different from before as well.

Informal change to mourning

Sordes could also be used as a political strategy by an individual or a group to express extreme concern about a current situation, seeking to gain the endorsement of spectators by manipulating their emotional responses.⁸²² The practice was a way "to cry for help and to supplicate" the people, "begging the people" for support by rousing their pity.⁸²³ Private individuals or groups would voluntarily change to *sordes* in response to a major threat to their civic status or even their lives as an informal form of *mutatio vestis*. Though Cicero calls an informal change to *sordes* a private decision, it took place in rather public spaces.⁸²⁴

⁸²⁰ Reinhold 1988: 12-13.

⁸²¹ Cf. mourning in 10 B.C.E. for Octavia (Dio 54.35.5), 14 C.E. for Augustus (56.31.2); for Drusilla (Suet. *Cal.* 24.2); Edmondson 2008: 29-30.

⁸²² See Lintott 1999b: 20; Hall 2014: 44. On emotions and emotional manipulation in rhetoric, see Wisse 1989; Webb 1997; Katula 2003; Konstan 2006b, 2007; Remer 2013; Halliwell 2017.

⁸²³ Cic. *Dom.* 55: *plorare et supplicare mutata veste*; *Att.* 3.15.5: *in populo rogando*. On political uses of supplication, see Hall 2014: 64-98.

⁸²⁴ Informal change: *Sest.* 26: *privato consilio*; *Sest.* 27: *privato consensus*; *Pis.* 18: *privato officio aut misericordia*. On Cicero and *publicus/privatus* forms of *mutatio vestis*:

The mourners could appeal to people directly in their homes or in the streets, or march *en masse* through the heart of the city in a display of group solidarity and what Hall calls “an intimidating show of strength.”⁸²⁵ Indeed, a group of men marching through the Forum in *sordes* would arguably have been more visually and emotionally striking than a funerary procession of elite men in *togae pullae* in the same space.⁸²⁶ Because an elite man could wear *sordes* in response to a civic crisis, as a defendant in court, or as a form of political protest, Blonski proposes that such men may have worn *sordes* frequently enough that it was “part of the almost daily political landscape,” a sort of civic “work dirt.”⁸²⁷

Adding filth to the distinctive garment of the Roman citizen, making the *pura* impure, was a visible and tangible way to indicate a critical threat either to the wearer’s own civic status or to one’s socio-political network. Especially for an elite man, the death-like state signaled (and arguably facilitated) by covering the body in ashes and dirt combined with the concept of filth as poverty to represent a state of social disruption and tension, not just emotional grief. An elite citizen marked his disturbed social state with his body and his dress, not simply by avoiding his barber and wearing a dark version of his normal dress, but by covering himself in the filth which characterized the poor. Representing himself as low-status in this way constituted a show of humility, of submission to the *potestas* of the

below, p. 228 n. 860. Cf. Livy 9.7.8. On the ambiguities of public versus private, see Russell 2016: 1-42.

⁸²⁵ Hall 2014: 15. Visiting influential persons at home: Dio 38.14.7. In the streets: Plut. *Cic.* 30.6, 31.1; App. *B Civ.* 2.15. Procession: Cic. *Sest.* 26, *Red. sen.* 5.12.

⁸²⁶ On the Forum as political space, see Russell 2016: 43-76. For funeral processions through the Forum, see Favro and Johanson 2010.

⁸²⁷ Blonski 2008: 53.

jurors.⁸²⁸ The implication is that the social disruption created by the threat to his civic status or to the *res publica* could only be mended by his viewing audience.

Defendants often adopted *sordes* upon being indicted, and their supporters could do so as well, though it seems that for this purpose they may not have discarded their togas but worn dirtied ones instead.⁸²⁹ Cicero only says that Manius Aquilius had his tunic torn to reveal the scars on his chest, with no mention of a toga at all; Plutarch describes Licinius Macer as “putting on a clean toga as if acquitted,” which may imply by contrast that he had worn a dirty toga during the trial.⁸³⁰ The use of *sordes* in court has been the focus of several scholars who discuss the politics of changed dress.⁸³¹ Heskell’s excellent evaluation deserves quoting at length:

As soon as an accusation was launched, the defendant, his family, and his friends put on sullied togas. . . . The donning of such clothes, therefore, was a very dramatic gesture that was made only in times of legal crisis. The symbolic significance of this ritual is clear: a guilty verdict of a capital charge brought the punishment of exile, which was tantamount to the demise of one’s citizenship.⁸³²

⁸²⁸ *potestas* of jurors: *Rhet. Her.* 2.50 (*si supplicabimus et nos sub eorum quorum misericordiam captabimus potestatem subiciemus*, “If we will supplicate and submit to the power of those whose pity we capture...”); Hall 2014: 65.

⁸²⁹ Defendants: *Cic. Mur.* 86 (*in squalore et sordibus*); *Sul.* 88 (*ipse ornatum ac vestitum pristinum recuperabit*, “he will recover his insignia and his former clothing”); *Verr.* 2.1.152, 2.5.128 (*squalorem sordesque sociorum... cum hoc capillo atque veste*); *Sest.* 144 (*sordidatum et reum*); *Livy* 6.20.2 (*sordidatum reum viderunt*); *Tac. Ann.* 2.29 (*Libo interim veste mutata*), 8.37 (*suscipere sordes*). Supporters: *Livy* 3.58.1, 4.42.8, 6.16.4, 6.20.2; *Cic. Lig.* 33, *Fam.* 5.1.2; *Q fr.* 2.3.1-2; *Mart.* 2.24.2; *Diod. Sic.* 36.16.1.

⁸³⁰ *Cic. De or.* 2.195 (*maestum ac sordidatum... ut discinderem tunicam*); *Plut. Cic.* 9.2 (κέιρασθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ τάχος καὶ καθαρὸν ἱμάτιον ὡς νενικηκῶς λαβῶν, “he trimmed his hair and, putting on a clean toga as if acquitted...”).

⁸³¹ Heskell 1994: 141-142; Lintott 1999b: 16-21; Dyck 2001: 120; Richlin 2001: 240-243; Bablitz 2007: 84-85; Blonski 2008: 50-53, 2014: 47; Edmondson 2008: 30-31; Kaster 2009: 312; Hall 2014: 40-63; Olson 2017: 97-98.

⁸³² Heskell 1994: 141-142.

When a defendant adopted *sordes* and put on the garb of the lowest classes, it meant that his political career and civic status—his public life as an elite Roman—were at risk. Defendants could be in *sordes* for months.⁸³³ Even in the early Empire, Quintilian considers *sordes* to be as effective in gaining the sympathy of a jury as the display of wounds or bloodstained swords and garments, stating that “the force of such things is for the most part enormous, as [it directs] the minds of people who are drawn into the present circumstances.”⁸³⁴

Edmondson rightly notes that “Roman politicians clearly expected that dramatic, highly symbolic gestures such as this would bring them advantage in the stormy politics of the period.”⁸³⁵ Wearing *sordes*, among the many forms of what Hall calls “judicial theater,” was in clear contrast to ideals of elite deportment and dignity.⁸³⁶

In fact, when a defendant refused to change to *sordes*, he or his lawyer had some serious explaining to do. Valerius Maximus reports that around 92 B.C.E., P. Rutilius Rufus did not put on *sordes* because he claimed his trial was “more because of the conflict of the orders than any fault of his own,” and so he would not stoop to acts “more lowly than the splendor

⁸³³ Milo’s trial in 56 B.C.E. was postponed from February through to May; he even appeared in *sordes* at the trial of P. Sestius in March (Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2.3.1-2, 2.6.4; *Sest.* 144). Augustus disapproved of accusers who lay charges but then delayed in order to draw out the defendant’s humiliation in *sordes*, and so he struck all lingering cases, as did Caligula and Vitellius (Suet. *Aug.* 32.2; *Cal.* 15.4; *Vit.* 8.1); Claudius declared he would automatically decide against people who refused to show for their lawsuits (Suet. *Claud.* 15.2; Dio 60.28.6). See Bablitz 2007: 85; Hall 2014: 52; Wardle 2014: 263; Olson 2017: 97.

⁸³⁴ Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.30-31: *qui periclitentur, squalidos atque deformes et liberos eorum ac parentes institutum, et ab accusatoribus cruentum gladium ostendi et lecta e vulneribus ossa et vestes sanguine perfusas videmus, et vulnera resolvi, verberata corpora nudari. quarum rerum ingens plerumque vis est velut in rem praesentem animos hominum ducentium.* See also Sen. *Contr.* 10.1.7. While *sordes* may no longer have been prescribed for public mourning by this time (see pp. 218-219), it was clearly still being worn in court.

⁸³⁵ Edmondson 2008: 31; see also Tempest 2011: 121; Hall 2014: 62.

⁸³⁶ Hall 2014.

of his previous years.”⁸³⁷ When T. Annius Milo refused to wear *sordes* in his trial in 52 B.C.E., Cicero had to characterize him as facing his trial with bravery and courage, refusing to beg for pity, due to his “incredible strength of mind.”⁸³⁸ Since they did not mark the social disruption they were experiencing with the humble clothing of mourners and the lowest classes, they also did not acknowledge the power of the jurors to determine their civic future. Both defendants were convicted.⁸³⁹

Cicero, by contrast, quickly adopted *sordes* in 58 B.C.E. when the tribune P. Clodius Pulcher sought to pass legislation which would, by means of its retroactive clause, effectively exile Cicero.⁸⁴⁰ Though not officially indicted and thus not a defendant, he “changed his clothing and went around supplicating the people with his hair long,” and the *equites* and many young men did the same to support him.⁸⁴¹ During this informal *mutatio*

⁸³⁷ Val. Max. 6.4: *quod magis ordinum dissensione quam ulla culpa sua reus factus... quicquam splendore praeteritorum annorum humilius*. For sources, see Alexander 1990: 49-50. Kallet-Marx (1990: 126-127) contests the traditional date of 92 B.C.E. for this trial, arguing it took place around 94.

⁸³⁸ Cic. *Mil.* 101: *incredibili robore animi*; also *Mil.* 92, 95. Cf. Dyck 2001: 120; Tempest 2011: 145; Hall 2014: 60-61, 89-93; Meister 2017: 192-193. Appius Claudius is also said to have refused to wear *sordes* for his trial in 470 B.C.E. (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.54; Livy 2.61; Suet. *Tib.* 2.4).

⁸³⁹ Cicero credits Rutilius’ conviction to the idealism and pride exemplified by such an act (*De or.* 1.231; *Brut.* 115). For other reasons, see Kallet-Marx 1990; Candau 2011: 140-142. Plutarch also attributes Milo’s condemnation largely to his sartorial (mis)behavior (*Cic.* 35), though Asconius says the jury understood that Clodius was wounded without Milo’s knowledge but killed by his order (Asc. 53C). The fact that his enemy Pompey surrounded the court with soldiers, while Milo himself angered many by pushing his candidacy despite causing so much chaos in Rome, could also have contributed to his conviction. See Lintott 1974; Gruen 1974: 338-342; Alexander 1990: 151-152.

⁸⁴⁰ On the *lex Clodia de capite civis Romani* and Clodius’ motives, see Tatum 1999: 153-154.

⁸⁴¹ Plut. *Cic.* 30.6, 31.1: κινδυνεύων οὖν καὶ διωκόμενος ἐσθῆτα μετήλλαξε καὶ κόμης ἀνάπλεως περιῶν ἰκέτευε τὸν δῆμον. Cf. App. *B Civ.* 2.15; Dio 38.14.7; Moles 1988: 177. Cicero later regretted his haste (*Att.* 3.15.5).

vestis, Cicero describes himself and his supporters as *sordidati*.⁸⁴² Appian, too, says Cicero supplicated passersby wearing “lowly clothing” while “covered in dirt and filth.”⁸⁴³ This was “not a request for pardon—as it would have been in a law-court—but a protest and appeal for support.”⁸⁴⁴ Regardless, Cicero’s status as a Roman citizen was at stake.

Moreover, because a public decree of *mutatio vestis* signified that Rome had suffered some calamity, some Romans would don mourning dress to imply that the current political situation put the *res publica* at similar risk, using it as a strategy of protest. For example, the tribune Tiberius Gracchus proposed an agrarian bill in 133 B.C.E. that would redistribute public lands currently being held by private individuals to the less fortunate.⁸⁴⁵ Many wealthy Roman landowners had used these public lands as their own for generations. Plutarch reports that in protest, property-owners “changed their clothing and went around the Forum looking pitiful and lowly,” while plotting in secret to murder Gracchus.⁸⁴⁶ Appian, too, notes that they went around *en masse* in lamentation, though he does not specifically mention their clothing.⁸⁴⁷ Cicero construes such land reforms as a danger to the Roman state itself, for he believed that the bill would have “stirred up civil discord” and, as

⁸⁴² Cic. *Sest.* 27.

⁸⁴³ App. *B Civ.* 2.15: ταπεινὴν ἐσθῆτα; γέμων τε ἀύχμοῦ καὶ ῥύπου. Appian does not mention Cicero’s supporters but instead mocks him as a solitary, laughable figure who soon slinks out of Rome.

⁸⁴⁴ Lintott 2013: 177.

⁸⁴⁵ Stockton 1979: 10-11. Public land held by an individual in excess of 500 *iugera* would be redistributed to landless Romans, to the disadvantage of the wealthiest landowners, while all private holders of public land would have to pay taxes (*vectigal*) and could not sell the land. On the land distributions of the *lex Sempronia agraria*, see Roselaar 2010: 230-243.

⁸⁴⁶ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 10.5-7: ἐντεῦθεν οἱ κτηματικοὶ τὰς μὲν ἐσθῆτας μετέβαλον καὶ περιήεσαν οἰκτροὶ καὶ ταπεινοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐπεβούλευον δὲ τῷ Τιβερίῳ κρύφα.

⁸⁴⁷ App. *B Civ.* 1.10.

a violation of the rights to private property, “robbed the *res publica* of its defenders.”⁸⁴⁸

Although Harriet Flower states that “Tiberius’ enemies left public speaking to others and relied on the veto of the tribune Octavius” and that “few *nobiles* may have courted the urban poor directly and in person at this time,” the wealthy landowners’ public assumption of mourning was arguably a non-verbal political strategy for entreating the Roman *populus* to oppose Gracchus and thereby aid the *res publica* (and themselves, of course).⁸⁴⁹

Formal decree of the Senate

The senatorial ritual of *mutatio vestis*, in contrast to the informal forms used voluntarily in court and as political protest, was the result of a formal decree. After one was passed, it seems the senators all went home, changed into *sordes*, and returned to march through the Forum in a public display of communal sorrow due to great misfortune.⁸⁵⁰ Like a decree of public mourning, the filth and ashes and dishevelment were meant to signify that the *res publica* itself was in danger, but in this manifestation the Roman state was physically embodied by the members of the Senate. Cicero equates the senatorial version with the public decree when he calls the practice an expression of “the grief of the country” (*luctum civitatis*).⁸⁵¹ Unlike public mourning, however, there was no *iustitium*, though a *senatus*

⁸⁴⁸ Cic. *Sest.* 103: *nitebantur contra optimates, quod et discordiam excitari videbant et, cum locupletes possessionibus diuturnis moverentur, spoliari rem publicam propugnatoribus arbitrabantur*; cf. also Cic. *Off.* 2.78-79. See Stockton 1979: 10-11, 31; Kaster 2006: 328-329; Roselaar 2010: 237-239.

⁸⁴⁹ Flower 2013: 91, 98. She mentions the *mutatio vestis* of Gracchus’ opponents only in a footnote (2013: 88 n. 21).

⁸⁵⁰ Cic. *Sest.* 144-145; Plut. *Pomp.* 59.1; Dio 39.28.2-4, 41.3.1. Cf. Dighton 2018.

⁸⁵¹ Cic. *Red. sen.* 12; see Hall 2014: 46. Greek authors of the Empire also often include some version of “as if on an occasion of grief”: Dio seems to use grief (πένθος) and misfortune (συμφορά) interchangeably, while Plutarch prefers πένθος (Dio 38.16.3: ὡς καὶ

consultum ultimum often accompanied the senatorial change to mourning dress.⁸⁵² In the Republic, therefore, *mutatio vestis* was one way for the senators to inform the Roman people with a visual spectacle of mass mourning that it was a time of misfortune (*calamitas*) which threatened not just the Senate, but the entire *res publica*. Because it was so similar to a decree of public mourning, moreover, a senatorial decree of *mutatio vestis* could be seen as an attempt to sway the emotions of the Roman people into a similar state of communal grief.

By changing to the filthy, low-class clothing of *sordes*, the Senate could appeal emotionally to the Roman people as a group without ever saying a word, making themselves a spectacle of humility, wretchedness, and societal disruption. The practice seems to have been an acknowledgement that the masses had power over them just as a jury controlled the fate of a defendant. This was a powerful form not just of political protest, but of recognizing the people as a force capable of influencing the course of politics.⁸⁵³ Lintott observes that senators and *equites* employed the ritual “to indicate their disapproval of certain events which endangered the public interest and to inspire popular hostility and resistance.”⁸⁵⁴ Hall calls it “an intimidating show of strength.”⁸⁵⁵ Yet the senatorial *mutatio vestis* was an important political strategy, not just for indicating the Senate’s displeasure with events and pressuring the tribunes, but also for emphasizing a sense of solidarity between the Senate

ἐπί τινι κοινῇ συμφορᾷ; 39.28.2: καθάπερ ἐν συμφορᾷ τινι; 39.39.2: ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ; 40.46.1: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τινὶ πένθει. Plut. *Cic.* 31.1: ὡς ἐπὶ πένθεισι; *Pomp.* 59.1: ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει; *Caes.* 30.3: ἐπὶ πένθει).

⁸⁵² Dio 37.43.3-4 (against Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos in 62 B.C.E.), 40.49-50 (riots after Clodius’ death in 52); 41.3.1-2 (Caesar, Jan. 49). See also *Cic. Fam.* 16.11.2; Plut. *Caes.* 31.2, *Ant.* 5.8-10; *App. B Civ.* 2.33; Raaflaub 1974: 321-326.

⁸⁵³ Morstein-Marx 2004: 174, 283-284; Alexander 2007: 100-101.

⁸⁵⁴ Lintott 1999b: 20.

⁸⁵⁵ Hall 2014: 15.

and the Roman people—reminiscent of public mourning in a time of *calamitas*. The spectacle of the senators *en masse* in the filth and disarray of *sordes* could arouse deep emotions in their viewers: fear in targeted individuals and sorrow in the masses who were called upon to feel pity and grief for the harm being done to the Senate and thus to the *res publica*.⁸⁵⁶

The most heavily documented and best example of the senatorial *mutatio vestis* is, again, that which concerns Cicero and his potential exile for the executions of the Catilinarian conspirators.⁸⁵⁷ Yet Cicero had simply carried out the will of the Senate, as expressed by its vote. Thus, when the Senate voted to change dress in protest of Clodius' law, not only were they publicly supporting Cicero against Clodius, but they were also arguably defending their authority to act autonomously in this way. Robert Kaster points out that the Senate for the first time believed that “a threat against the civic status of a single man was tantamount to a threat against them all.”⁸⁵⁸ Like a defendant under a capital charge, the Senate itself was being threatened, a potential crisis to the constitution of the *res publica*. While Dio is vague as to whether the proposal of *mutatio vestis* passed or was blocked by consular edicts before being carried out, Cicero clearly states several times that it was an official decree and that the senators did, in fact, change to mourning dress; Plutarch agrees.⁸⁵⁹ Cicero also contrasts

⁸⁵⁶ Inspiring fear: Dio 37.43.3-4, 39.28.2-4. Communal sorrow: Cic. *Sest.* 27; Dio 39.28.4-5.

⁸⁵⁷ None of Cicero's letters for the months immediately before his exile survive. For issues with reconstructing this period from his later speeches and other sources, see Lintott 2008: 175-176.

⁸⁵⁸ Kaster 2009: 313. Cf. Cic. *Planc.* 87; Kaster 2006: 181.

⁸⁵⁹ Cic. *Sest.* 26, 32; *Red. sen.* 12; *Planc.* 87; Plut. *Cic.* 31.1; *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 4.2; Dio 38.14.7; Cf. Lintott 2013: 215.

the informal, private choice of his supporters to wear mourning with the formal decree which affected the entire Senate.⁸⁶⁰ Furthermore, he asserts that although it was a strategic political use of the ritual, in this case it was still a manifestation of genuine grief.⁸⁶¹ The Senate manifested the threat to the *res publica* visually and physically by their filthy clothing and disheveled bodily state, just as the Roman people did as a whole following a decree of public mourning.

In order to echo the spectacle of a public decree, moreover, the visual representation of solidarity was foundational to the senatorial version of *mutatio vestis*. Regardless of their emotional state, all senators, regardless of which side they were on in the dispute over his fate, were supposed to change under a formal decree of *mutatio vestis*. In speeches Cicero gave after his return, he reminds the Senate that the vote was carried in a “full House” and that “all of you changed your dress,” *cunctique mutassetis*, by decree.⁸⁶² He emphasizes that

⁸⁶⁰ Informal change: *Sest. 26: privato consilio; Sest. 27: privato consensus; Pis. 18: privato officio aut misericordia*. Formal decree: *Sest. 27: universum senatum publico consilio; Sest. 32: civitas publico consilio; Planc. 87: publico consilio; Dom. 99: ex senatus auctoritate; Pis. 18: publico consilio patres conscripti*.

⁸⁶¹ *Sest. 27: quid enim quisquam potest ex omni memoria sumere inlustrius quam pro uno civi et bonos omnis privato consensu et universum senatum publico consilio mutasse vestem? quae quidem tum mutatio non deprecationis est causa facta, sed luctus* (“for indeed, who is able to take anything more illustrious from all memory than the fact that, on behalf of one citizen, all good men by private consensus and the entire senate by public decree had changed clothing? Indeed, then that *mutatio* was not done for the sake of entreaty, but out of grief”); cf. Kaster 2006: 182, 191.

⁸⁶² *Cic. Sest. 26: senatusque frequens vestem pro mea salute mutandam censuit; Pis. 18: senatus frequens cencuisset; Red. sen. 12: et cum vos vestem mutandam censuissetis cunctique mutassetis atque idem omnes boni iam ante fecissent*. The phrase *senatus frequens* may be a technical term for a senatorial quorum, the minimum number required to vote for important matters such as consular elections and thanksgivings (Ryan 1998b: 37-39).

the entire Senate, *universum senatum*, changed clothes.⁸⁶³ This implies that even his enemies, those he would have considered the ‘bad’ senators, should have been compelled by the decree to change as well. In fact, Cicero goes on to say that the whole citizen population, the *civitas*, had to participate in the official ritual, which means either that Cicero is exaggerating or that the decree was for public mourning, not just the Senate-only version.⁸⁶⁴ Plutarch similarly claims the decree would have included the citizenry, the *demos* in his Greek.⁸⁶⁵ The formal decree, therefore, seems to have compelled every member of the Senate, and perhaps also the Roman people, to change to mourning, no matter what their personal views were about the issue at hand.

A major element of the ritual seems to be the visual spectacle of a unified Senate covered in the ashes and dirt of *sordes*, but this show was fragile if proven false. For instance, the consul Gabinius stayed in his *toga praetexta* as a counter-protest against Cicero.⁸⁶⁶ During a *mutatio vestis* against the tribune C. Cato in 56, Clodius as curule aedile

⁸⁶³ Cic. *Sest.* 27: *universum senatum publico consilio mutasse vestem*. See also Dio 39.28.2-5: τὰς στολὰς καθάπερ ἐν συμφορᾷ τιμὴ μετεκδῦναι ἐψηφίσαντο . . . καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλαξάμενοι ἐπανήλθον ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸν καταπλήξοντες. προῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἅμα πάντες, καὶ συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς πᾶν κατηφείας αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν (the senators “voted to change out of their togas just as if during some misfortune . . . and after they changed clothing they assembled in order that they could terrify Cato. They went forth all together into the Forum, and brought the multitude into utter dejection”).

⁸⁶⁴ Cic. *Sest.* 32: *squalebat civitas publico consilio veste mutata*. See also *Red. Quir.* 8; Lintott 2008: 177.

⁸⁶⁵ *Plut. Cic.* 31.1: ἔπειτα τῆς βουλῆς συνελθούσης ὅπως ψηφίσαιτο τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθεσι μεταβαλεῖν τὰ ἱμάτια (“Then the Senate came together in order to vote that the people change their togas as if on an occasion of mourning”). On Plutarch’s inconsistencies and errors in his adaptation of sources, see Pelling 2011a: 91-115.

⁸⁶⁶ Cic. *Red. sen.* 12. See Heskell 1994: 142; Kaster 2009: 320 n. 17. Lintott (2008: 177) says the man in his *toga praetexta* was Piso, and Edmondson (2008: 31) says he was Clodius, usurping the *praetexta* though not a curule magistrate. Cicero does not name him,

decided to change back into his *praetexta* and oppose the Senate in a *contio* outside the Curia.⁸⁶⁷ The purple stripes and brilliant white fabric of the garments these curule magistrates wore would have stood out like a beacon amidst the *sordes* of the others, and so their defiance visually undermined the ritual's declaration of senatorial unity. Both *mutationes vestis* failed to achieve the desired change in the political situation. With visual unanimity, senators embodied the *res publica* in a darkened state reminiscent of death; without it, it seems, they simply became individuals concerned about their civic status, just like defendants. With varying degrees of success, the Senate used the strategy several times in the last few years of the Republic.⁸⁶⁸ After the Civil Wars were over, however, Augustus allowed a decree of *mutatio vestis* only for mourning deaths in the imperial family, thus equating harm to his family with harm to the *res publica*.⁸⁶⁹ The significant power of *mutatio vestis* as a political protest, as an appeal to the *Populus Romanus* to join with the Senate in a state of communal grief, vanished.

but says he is the same *consul imperiosus* who proposed the law giving Pompey command to deal with pirates in 67, namely the *lex Gabinia* (*Red. sen.* 11).

⁸⁶⁷ Dio 39.29-31. On Clodius' role, see Tatum 1999: 222.

⁸⁶⁸ Against the tribune Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos in 62 B.C.E. (Dio 37.43.3-4); against Clodius in 58 B.C.E. (Cicero's case, see above); against tribune C. Porcius Cato in 56 (Dio 39.26-27); in response to riots after Clodius' death in 52 (Dio 40.49; Asc. 28C-29C); Dec. 50 B.C.E. after votes on disarming Pompey and/or Caesar (Plut. *Pomp.* 59.1); against Antony and Cassius in Jan. 49 B.C.E. (Dio 41.3.1). See Dighton 2018.

⁸⁶⁹ Dio 54.35.5, 56.31.2. Edmondson 2008: 29-30.

The toga as shroud: the final transition

In the funerals of elite Roman men, as previously mentioned, mourners wore the black or dirtied clothing which signaled social dislocation and a metaphorical burial—but the dead themselves seem to have been showcased at the peak of their lives. Hope points out that:

“expectations were reversed... the corpse was tidy and clean, the mourners were disheveled and dirty; the corpse wore pale clothing, the mourners dark; the corpse was silent, the mourners were noisy; the corpse was motionless, the mourners could move often and rapidly (raising arms, beating bodies, falling to the ground); the corpse touched nothing (although it may have had things brought into contact with it), the mourners touched multiple surfaces (the corpse, their hair, faces, bodies); the corpse experienced no physical pain, the mourners might cause themselves physical pain; the corpse was perfumed, the mourners were unwashed; the corpse could be offered food and drink, the mourners may not have eaten. In some respects the mourners were marked as more polluted, more abhorrent, than the dead and soon to be rotting body.”⁸⁷⁰

The dead would be buried or cremated in the insignia of the highest rank they had achieved in life (or had expected to achieve in adulthood): from the faded toga of a poor citizen or the rarely-worn toga of an Italian rustic, to the *toga praetexta* of a magistrate, the *toga picta* of a triumphing general, or the censor’s special funerary honor of the *toga purpurea*.⁸⁷¹

After the body had been washed, anointed, and laid out in the home for several days, the dead man would be propped up on the bier so as to be standing or reclining on an elbow, visible above the crowd of mourners.⁸⁷² The body of a particularly eminent man would be carried through Rome to the Forum and brought onto the Rostra for the eulogy (*laudatio*),

⁸⁷⁰ Hope 2017a: 95.

⁸⁷¹ Cic. *Leg.* 2.24.60; poor man: Mart. 9.57.8; Italian rustic: Juv. 3.171-172; consuls, praetors, censors, *triumphators*: Polyb. 6.53.7; magistrates: Livy 34.7.2-3. Cf. Wilson 1938: 149; Reinhold 1970: 41.

⁸⁷² Polyb. 6.53.1; Toynbee 1971: 44-46; Bodel 1999: 265; Favro and Johanson 2010; Johanson 2011: 412, 429 n. 5. If a Roman died outside Rome, his cremated remains could be brought to the city and an effigy used instead (Bodel 1999: 273; Johanson 2011: 426).

where he was accompanied by living representations of his ancestors and the togate statues of heroes and statesmen, and then the bier would be taken outside the city to the pyre.⁸⁷³ In this procession, the bier would be led by professional female mourners (*praeficae*) wearing *sordes* and singing the funeral chants (*neniae*) which both announced the death to the public and reminded the dead of his new state, helping his spirit to cross the border to the afterlife.⁸⁷⁴ Between the *praeficae* and the bier were actors who represented the dead man's most distinguished ancestors, wearing their *imagines* and the togas which signified their highest offices, while another actor possibly mimicked the deceased himself.⁸⁷⁵ In a sense, the dead were leading the newly dead into the afterlife, aided by their special dress, music, and song. The living family members followed behind, the men in *togae pullae* and the women in *sordes*, so that they were visually separate, in a state of half-death and pollution, from the living audience and the as-in-life dead.

In the procession, therefore, the line between living, dead, and even stone bodies would become blurred, while the sensory impact of the funeral—the smells, sounds, and sights—served to remind people of the past and bring it into the present.⁸⁷⁶ These funerary rituals, during which “a social being disappears, and a cadaver emerges,” helped to resolve the liminal state of the newly dead, effecting the spirit's transition from life to death and the

⁸⁷³ Bodel 1999: 264; Dutsch 2008: 264-265; Johanson 2011: 417. In the Empire, funerals were more private affairs, centered on the home and cemetery; the only public funerals were for the imperial family (Toynbee 1971: 56-61; Bodel 1999: 265-267).

⁸⁷⁴ On *praeficae* and the role of *neniae*, see Dutsch 2008.

⁸⁷⁵ Polyb. 6.53.7; Plin. *HN* 35.2.6; Diod. Sic. 31.25.2; Suet. *Vesp.* 19.2; cf. Flower 1996: 91-127; Sumi 2002; Bodel 1999: 260-261; Johanson 2011: 429 n. 12.

⁸⁷⁶ Bodel 1999: 264; Graham 2011; Dutsch 2008: 260.

body's transformation from person to object.⁸⁷⁷ The toga which tangibly indicated the man's civic status and highest accomplishments would be destroyed along with his body; only an *imago* and a memory would remain. Most importantly, the dress of the various individuals involved helped to enable this transition, especially the juxtaposition of prestigious purple and white or purple and gold clothing, worn by the elite dead man and those representing his ancestors as if they were at the highest point of their lives, with the dark and filthy clothing which placed the mourners in a deathlike state.

Not only is the corpse being represented as living during the funeral, but another reason underlying the use of the toga in the place of a shroud arguably goes back to the primary function explained in Chapter 2—its ability to cover and conceal the body. In many cultures, the ritual pollution of dead bodies must be contained through washing, anointing, and wrapping them in fabric, followed by a purification of the entire household after their removal; Rome was no different.⁸⁷⁸ In the Republic, preparing the body for cremation meant dressing it in the dead person's best clothes, with the face uncovered as in life, while the corpse's eyes would be opened once it was on the pyre.⁸⁷⁹ Thus the toga itself served as the shroud, perhaps simply because every citizen was presumed to have had one and it was large enough to cover the body. Even as it was worn for the final time, the garment continued to cover, conceal, and contain the body.

In the Empire, however, inhumation became popular, which seems to have led to an increase in the use of dedicated funerary shrouds and sarcophagi, possibly due to a desire to

⁸⁷⁷ Graham 2011: 23-24; cf. Bodel 1999: 263; Dutsch 2008: 259-260.

⁸⁷⁸ Toynbee 1971: 43, 50.

⁸⁷⁹ Plin. *HN* 11.55.150; cf. Hope 2007: 111-115; Graham 2015: 51.

protect the body in the ground.⁸⁸⁰ Especially for wealthier people who could afford another large textile, the body would have been wrapped fully in the specialty shroud with the appropriately-ranked toga and a wax portrait mask (*imago*) placed over it.⁸⁸¹ The shroud separated the clothing of the once-living man from his dead body, held the body together as it decomposed, and provided another opportunity for conspicuous display. In Petronius' *Satyricon*, Trimalchio has his guests examine the quality of wool in both his funeral shroud (*stragula alba*) and the *toga praetexta* which he wore previously in life as a *sevir Augustalis*, the garments in which he wishes to be carried out.⁸⁸² As Emma-Jayne Graham points out, "shrouds and coffins were also both capable of hiding the essential materiality of the body," concealing the slow transformation of the body as it decayed (as opposed to turning the corpse into ash fairly quickly on the pyre).⁸⁸³ Thus they came to replace the toga in its essential role of covering and concealing a body in its final state.

Over time, the corpses of the elite also became increasingly separated from their public role in the funeral procession and from the insignia of official dress. In a manner reminiscent of the legendary funerals of Verginia and Lucretia, the bloodied corpse of P. Clodius was carried through the Forum to incite public outrage.⁸⁸⁴ Caesar's wounded corpse was displayed on the Rostra with the blood-stained toga in which he had been murdered placed at the head of the bier—this was the dramatic backdrop for Antony's passionate funerary

⁸⁸⁰ Graham 2015, esp. 51-53.

⁸⁸¹ Shrouds for the dead were customarily made from linen (Apul. *Met.* 4.11; Zollschan 2011: 48).

⁸⁸² Petr. *Sat.* 78.1; cf. Schmeling 2011: 326.

⁸⁸³ Graham 2015: 52.

⁸⁸⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.71.2, 4.76.3-4, 11.38-39; cf. Livy 1.59.3; Bodet 1999: 273-274

oration, as mentioned earlier, with Antony perhaps brandishing the toga itself as he spoke.⁸⁸⁵ John Bodel argues, perhaps rightly, that such use of bodies as props for political demonstrations in the late Republic contributed to the shift to more private funerary ceremonies, focused on the home and tomb, in the Empire.⁸⁸⁶ Only the emperor and members of the imperial family had spectacular funeral processions through the public spaces of the city, and even in these ceremonies, the body itself had but a minor role. Augustus was represented by three different effigies—a wax one in triumphal dress, another made of gold, and the third placed in a chariot—while his actual body lay hidden in a simple coffin below an extravagant chryselephantine bier draped in purple and gold fabrics.⁸⁸⁷ Bodel points out that emperors were increasingly represented by lifelike effigies in elaborate ceremonies, while their bodies were quietly buried (if not missing).⁸⁸⁸ In a sense, the funerary toga continued to project the emperor's public persona, but a newly deified one without any corporeal existence, an image and a memory without substance.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the different toga types played crucial roles in Roman rituals of transition, such as rites of passage or taking office. The material properties of each type determined which roles it played through the tangible interactions of the individual substances of each toga type with the wearer's body. For instance, the purity, colorfastness,

⁸⁸⁵ See Ch. 2, p. 42.

⁸⁸⁶ Bodel 1999: 273. At the same time, a rise in inhumation over cremation and the rise of professional undertakers (*libitinarii*) may have diminished the role of the family in preparing the body (Graham 2015).

⁸⁸⁷ Dio 56.34.1; cf. Bodel 1999: 272.

⁸⁸⁸ Bodel 1999: 273; cf. Favro and Johanson 2010: 23; Graham 2015.

and blood-like materiality of shellfish purple—most remarkably that it behaves like blood when the *murex* dies—generated connotations of sanctity, in addition to its prestige value, for the *toga praetexta*, the *toga purpurea*, and the *toga picta*. The position of the blood-purple border on the *toga praetexta* was also intrinsic to its meaning. Since it was the first part of the garment to be woven, the border established the special sacred quality of the rest. As the purple dye stretched in a line from foot to shoulder (or the top of the head, when sacrificing) and encircled the torso, it marked the separation of the entirety of the wearer from both the profane and the divine. Plant-based purples, no matter their hue, simply did not have the same material properties as Tyrian purple nor, as a result, the same social meanings. Even the similarly expensive kermes dye did not have the sacred connotations, perhaps because Romans believed it, too, was plant-based.

Tyrian purple dye played a key role in Roman religious ritual, as it protected the bodies of children and adults who had sacrificial duties. When a boy or girl took off the *praetexta* during the coming-of-age ritual, the body lost its pre-sexual status and ritual purity along with the toga's purple border. A youth became a full citizen as he donned the *toga pura*, since its white wool and, sometimes, its arm-sling draping, enforced the moral and bodily discipline required of an adult male Roman. A similar process would have occurred following formal rituals of manumission, with the assumption of citizenship and the right to wear togas—but only as long as the slaves' bodies were as unmarked by corporal punishment as the bodies of freeborn boys. In the reverse of the coming-of-age ritual, when a priest was preparing to perform sacrificial rituals, he took off his *toga pura* and put on the *praetexta*. The purple dye of the border marked, and possibly facilitated, the return of his

body to its formerly sanctified state and he became ritually pure enough to carry out his religious duties.

In addition, shellfish-purple dye colored the *praetexta* of curule magistracies, the *purpurea* of the dictator and, when combined with gold, the *toga picta* of the triumphing general. The importance of changing to all-purple togas during the rituals of assuming the dictatorship or entering the triumphal gate at the *pomerium* was based upon two material elements of the togas: the toga enveloped the dictator and the *triumphator* in the sanctity, protection, and prestige conferred by the blood-like dye in the border, while the physical constraints of the fabric itself tempered that power within the boundary of the city. In non-Roman (especially Hellenistic Greek) and Etruscan cultures, however, kings and gods wore shellfish-purple and gold garments. Such connotations greatly complicated the civic meaning of the *toga purpurea* and *toga picta* in the Republic and contributed to their popularity with Roman emperors.

The fiber content of the fabric of the toga was likewise significant, especially for those who put it on for the first time during the formal ceremonies for coming of age or at the manumission of a slave. In these rituals, the body of the wearer and the undyed white wool of the *toga pura* played mutually significant roles as they interacted with each other. The wool was supposed to wrap a body that was unstained and unmarked by vice, to the extent that vice could be said to stain the toga, while a slave whose body had been marked for crimes was forbidden to wear a *toga pura* (or be a citizen). The wool embodied moral and civic virtue through its own material purity, and thus a new wearer of the *toga pura* gained new responsibilities in the public world and in the family, in addition to sexual liberties.

Moreover, the bright-white *toga candida*, with chalk added to the natural wool of the *pura* to create extra brilliance, indicated the high moral character of the candidate and his suitability to wear the *toga praetexta* in the future. The whiteness of the most visible layer of clothing represented not just civic status, but also the moral stature of the wearer.

Different combinations of color and the bodily friction of fabric also established the individual meanings of various types of togas and their role in Roman ritual. Wrapping the upper limbs of the *tiro* in his new *toga pura* was meant to instill greater bodily and moral discipline, above and beyond the habitual deportment established by wearing the *toga praetexta* in childhood. In addition, the extra chalk of the *toga candida* and the absence of a tunic, as described by Plutarch, would have combined in very practical ways to create some important elements of the social image the candidate wished to project as he canvassed for public office. The added whiteness of the fabric made him visually prominent in a crowd of other togate citizens. Without a tunic, his exposed chest and shoulders displayed both military *virtus* and humility. Finally, the addition of powder, especially on bare skin, would have resulted in a drastic reduction in the friction which helped keep the toga on the body, and therefore the physical properties of such a *toga candida* enforced a very restrained deportment, an exaggeration of the typical elite *habitus*. As a result, the *toga candida* made the wearer's body showcase the Roman values of dignity, discipline, and *virtus* for all (the voters) to see.

When the mostly-white toga was set aside for another garment entirely, especially a red one, the social meaning of peace and civic duty enforced by the hindering drape of the fabric was likewise exchanged for an image of war and valor, as the rituals of changing to military

cloaks demonstrate clearly. The magistrate changed from the *praetexta* to the *paludamentum* in the spectacular ceremony of taking up a military command, while soldiers and citizens put on the *sagum* as part of their own preparations for battle. Again, both color and physicality played a significant role in these practices. The red or purple dyes would help to hide any blood flowing from wounds the soldiers received as they fought, boosting their own morale and discouraging the enemy. Both types of cloak fastened at the shoulders with a brooch or pins, enabling a greater degree of body motion than the toga allowed. When soldiers returned home or the city returned to a peaceful state, the toga would be donned once more, since its enveloping drapery enforced non-violent gestures. Even the triumphant general, who kept his *imperium* and his army when he entered the city, had to change into the more restrictive *toga picta* during the rituals performed at the *pomerium* for his procession through Rome.

Dark-colored clothing, on the other hand, was part of the process of shifting the mourner out of society temporarily and into a liminal, death-like state. For Romans, the *toga pulla* was the dark counterpart of the *toga pura*, with the same undyed quality of its wool, the same size, shape, and (where applicable) purple borders. Consequently, while this garment was appropriate for the funerary rituals due to its color, the drape of the fabric maintained the wearer's bodily performance of the elite *habitus*, while the stripe continued to mark high office or priesthood. *Sordes*, by contrast, was an expression of grief and hardship, characterized both by the ashes and dust which cover dead bodies and mourners alike and by the bodily neglect caused by extreme distress or poverty. In times of public mourning during the Republic, the entire citizen body would don *sordes*, embodying the disturbed state of the

res publica with the disordered condition of their clothing and bodies. An elite man who voluntarily chose to wear dirtied clothing in public, whether it included a toga or not, signaled something slightly different—that his citizenship was at risk. A group of elite men who donned *sordes*, either informally or as the result of a formal decree by the Senate, seem to have been attempting to show the Roman people that the threats to the group had ramifications for the *res publica* that were just as serious as calamities which merited a decree of public mourning. Dress also played a key role in funerary practices, helping to blur the line between the living and the dead, between past and present, and thereby to create the liminal state necessary for the spirit to cross over to the afterlife. Not only did the toga represent the social life and social past of the dead man, but its primary function as the garment which covered and concealed came into play when it was used as a funerary shroud.

In sum, the different substances within the fabric of the toga were a key component of the social meanings of the distinct types of toga as they interacted with the body of the wearer. Consequently, if the wearer's role in society was changing, the ritual practices which facilitated that transition included a change in toga. The woolen fabric, whether the undyed white wool of the *toga pura* or the undyed black wool of the *toga pulla*, covered and concealed the wearer's body, enforced how much his bodily deportment conformed to the elite *habitus*, and visibly represented the quality of his character through its own pure fiber and color. Certain red or purple dyes added 'blood' to togas and cloaks in both a tangible and representative manner; the nuances of this significance were based on both the physical properties of the dyes themselves and what part of the garment was dyed (thus how much of

the body the dye covered). Adding bright-white chalk and removing the tunic increased the visibility of the wearer and exaggerated the rigid bodily deportment that was so important a component of the elite *habitus*. Changing from white to dark wool temporarily removed the wearer from his normal life in response to the disruption caused by a death in his close networks of family and friends. A layer of dirt and ashes put onto clothing, as if the wearer was dead—his body burned or buried—embodied a severe threat to civic status for both individuals and the *populus*. In changing from one type of toga to another, or changing into or out of a toga, the wearer altered how the materiality of the toga interacted with his body and, consequently, transformed the social identity he expressed through his dress.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion

Scholars mainly discuss the Roman toga as a signifier of an abstract concept, or at best as part of a performance of identity: the toga as a metaphor for peace or “the quintessential dress” of the elite Roman male citizen. This approach has insufficiently addressed how nuance, diversity, and complexity of meaning were created, the subtleties that lie beneath the performances. By using current approaches in material culture studies, and thereby treating the toga as a multifaceted object which interacted differently with its wearer in various contexts, I have found that the materiality of the toga not only substantially contributes to its primary meanings as a sign, but also creates a wide range of more subtle significances. The physical properties of its component materials, such as its undyed wool, create meanings which exist in the world outside the interpreter (i.e., its pure quality), and the interpreter makes a connection between the toga and its qualities and responds with a contextually and socially-dependent interpretation (a good moral character). Even the smallest changes in materiality establish different nuances of interpretation, especially distinctions of social status: an especially thick and fluffy toga signals not only that it would be a warm garment for winter, the result of its material properties, but also that its owner is wealthy enough to afford multiple seasonally-appropriate togas. As a result, this research adds to the body of knowledge about the complex role the Roman toga played in the expression of identity.

By looking at representations of the toga as an object in “*Tegere: To Cover and Conceal*,” I have found that the fabric of the toga is often depicted as a physical and social

boundary, in that it can protect the wearer from attack or demonstrate that someone else is contained within the wearer's personal or social sphere. Yet its function as a boundary between the body and the outside world is demonstrably complex: for example, when the back of the head was covered, the wearer was believed to be ritually protected from negative influences, whereas covering the face separated the wearer from the rest of society.

Exposing the body could demonstrate bravery and humility or a lack of self-control. In addition, while not wearing a tunic was an honorable ancestral custom, taking off the toga could be a fervent display of vulnerability.

It is also through specific nuances of covering and concealing the body that the toga expressed its most basic meanings—*Romanitas*, *civilitas*, and *virilitas*. The idea of the Roman citizen body is rooted in an image of *togati*: highly visible in white, individual bodily features concealed by the draping, Italian connections marked by the distinctive curved hem. This image can represent the outwardly-spreading boundaries of the Empire or, from the perspective of those looking in from the provinces, ties with the centralized power of the city of Rome. Gradations of social status could be represented by variations in the fabric that enable the wearer to be comfortable at all temperatures, or shades of whiteness which display the wearer's ability to have his toga fulled regularly and replaced when fulling has yellowed the fabric over time. The wearer's masculinity, as well, was visually established by the length of the toga, revealing a certain amount of the bifurcation of the legs, and accentuated by its emphasis on broad shoulders. Implications of effeminacy and lewdness resulted from too-long togas and tunics, which obscured the division of the legs,

and transparent or silken togas, which failed to obscure individual bodily features (perhaps to the advantage of prostitutes).

As an object on a moving body, the toga expressed other meanings through variations in the physical interactions between fabric and body. In “The Citizen Body,” I demonstrated how the wearer’s movement in his toga signaled his social status through his conformity to the *habitus* of the urban elite, both in ease of wearing and moderation of gesture. The toga’s typical style of draping enforced a certain way of moving, with a very specific level of bodily discipline and self-restraint. Diachronic changes in fashion went hand-in-hand with changes in the recommended styles of oratorical gesture; as Quintilian demonstrates, the toga was to be a carefully choreographed and dynamic prop, an active component of an orator’s delivery. Furthermore, the toga’s physical influence on body movement helped to maintain the idealized peaceful state that Romans sought within the city boundaries, and thus it visually represented peace and civic life in contrast to war. I have also discovered that several narratives take advantage of this primary meaning of the toga: by having the wearer manipulate his toga’s fabric to provide physical protection in an impromptu manner, an act of violence can be construed as a civic duty. Rituals of changing into some form of toga at the *pomerium*, even for generals celebrating a triumph, demonstrate this connection between the toga’s materiality and its meaning of peace. Only by draping the toga in a completely different manner, the Gabinian style, would the garment permit the violent movements of fighting and thereby represent a Roman at war, particularly in religious ritual.

Violations of the bodily movements of the elite *habitus*, in either effortlessness or gesture, led to similarly complex meanings. A toga that was larger and looser than the

current style, which would have required greater care to arrange but made broad, emotional gestures easier and more visible to an orator's audience, was perceived as the mark of an effeminate or a demagogue. Roman poets, especially satirists, claim that being unaccustomed to the toga could reveal a rustic from the Italian countryside or an ex-slave, while unusually swift lower-body movement, making a fashionable toga more difficult to wear, was an affront to the *dignitas* of an elite client. Non-elites may have worn shorter togas than elite taste dictated, which would have facilitated greater ease of lower-body movement but also thereby exhibited their lower social status.

In "Toga Types and Transitions," I have also found that the material components of the different types of toga, especially those which comprised its surfaces and colors, determined their role in Roman daily life and the rituals which marked a change in status. The material nature of *murex*-purple dye, from its colorfastness and purity to its very bloodlike characteristics, combined with the location of the purple border on both the garment and the wearer's body, contributed to the protective sacredness of the *toga praetexta* for children and those performing religious sacrifices. The rarity of the dye also determined its prestige-value: a purple border suited high magistrates, while entirely purple togas, either the *toga purpurea* or *toga picta*, were reserved for dictators, triumphing generals, kings, and even the statues of gods. By contrast, the material purity of the undyed wool of the *toga pura* made it the appropriate fabric for the private citizen, with adult moral, civic, and social responsibilities. Furthermore, as I have shown, the increased whiteness of the *toga candida* (and, if worn without a tunic, the exposed battle scars and heightened bodily control) served to demonstrate that the wearer was an ideal citizen and thus suited to advance through the

cursus honorum. The *toga pulla* maintained the material purity of the *pura* and the status distinctions of the *praetexta* while representing the darkness of death by its color; consequently, it was part of a formal ritual of transition, the funerary procession and burial, a process by which the wearer readjusted his social networks to compensate for a death and the dead transitioned to the afterlife. By adding dirt and ashes to his clothing, on the other hand, the wearer indicated a severe civic disruption: wearing *sordes* signaled that either his status as a Roman citizen or the *res publica* itself was in danger.

Throughout this study, it is clear that the materiality of the toga did not preclude non-elites from wearing one on a regular basis; it was not intrinsically so hot, expensive, and burdensome that the majority of Romans only wore it to the most formal ceremonies. On the one hand, even the most politically-active and highest-status elites did not wear a toga all the time: as professional outerwear, it was set aside when one entered the private spaces of the home or went on vacation. The most idealized image of the Roman citizen, Cincinnatus, dons a toga only when he needs to speak in a civic capacity—he certainly does not perform hard labor in one. On the other hand, all but the poorest working-class non-elites could have worn a toga at the many civic and religious occasions which encouraged (or even required) the garment. They had less-expensive options to choose from—a shorter length, no fulling, even inexpensive, plant-based purple dyes—but such options marked their lower social status in the eyes of a discerning viewer.

In sum, examining the role of materiality in how Romans used the toga as a sign of identity, especially how it affected their representations of social practices and performances, has added a wealth of complexity and nuance to the current stereotypical

image of the toga's use as a symbol. An important contribution of this study is the observation that the white *toga pura* marked a 'citizen' as someone integrated within a homogeneous group, not as an individual with a particular rank, origin, or status—except that subtleties in whiteness or comfort level could indicate wealth. It meant 'Roman' in different ways depending on where one was located in the Roman empire. The toga was usually a sign of 'masculinity,' accentuating bodily characteristics that were gendered male, but changes in the opacity of the fabric could instead imply an effeminate man or a sexually-promiscuous woman. The fabric of the toga both indicated and materially enforced 'peace'—except when it was adjusted for fighting, suggesting that the upcoming violence was a civic duty. The toga could mark its wearer as 'elite,' but just as often, it could also reveal him to be non-elite. Changes in fashion were not simply ways to differentiate the elite from non-elites or 'dandies' from more conservative dressers, as others have argued; they also reflected shifting ideas about ideal bodily movement. Furthermore, I have not only described the various types of toga and the rituals which marked social transitions, which several scholars have done, but also revealed the materiality which lies beneath their different meanings: a shift in status or a civic crisis required a very specific change in the toga's materials. The physical properties and behaviors of the toga, its substances and surface treatments, clearly shaped the garment's semiotic function of expressing Roman social identities in all their variety and subtlety.

Illustrations



1. Traditional Republican toga, senatorial *calcei* and tunic with *clavi lati*
(© 2018 Aerynn Dighton)



2. Republican toga. Aulus Metellus “L’Arringatore”, late 2nd to early 1st c. B.C.E., National Archaeological Museum, Florence ([CC BY 2.0], via Wikimedia Commons)



3. Variations in arm-sling drape and size of the *sinus*. North frieze of the Ara Pacis (photo by Sailko, CC BY 2.5, via Wikimedia Commons)



4. *Pallium* or “arm sling” style
(© 2018 Aerynn Dighton)



5. *Pallium*-style: Funerary Relief of Publius Aedius Amphio and his wife Aedia; Rome (Italy), Via Appia; 30 B.C.E., Altes Museum, Berlin State Museums (photo by Anagoria, CC BY 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons)



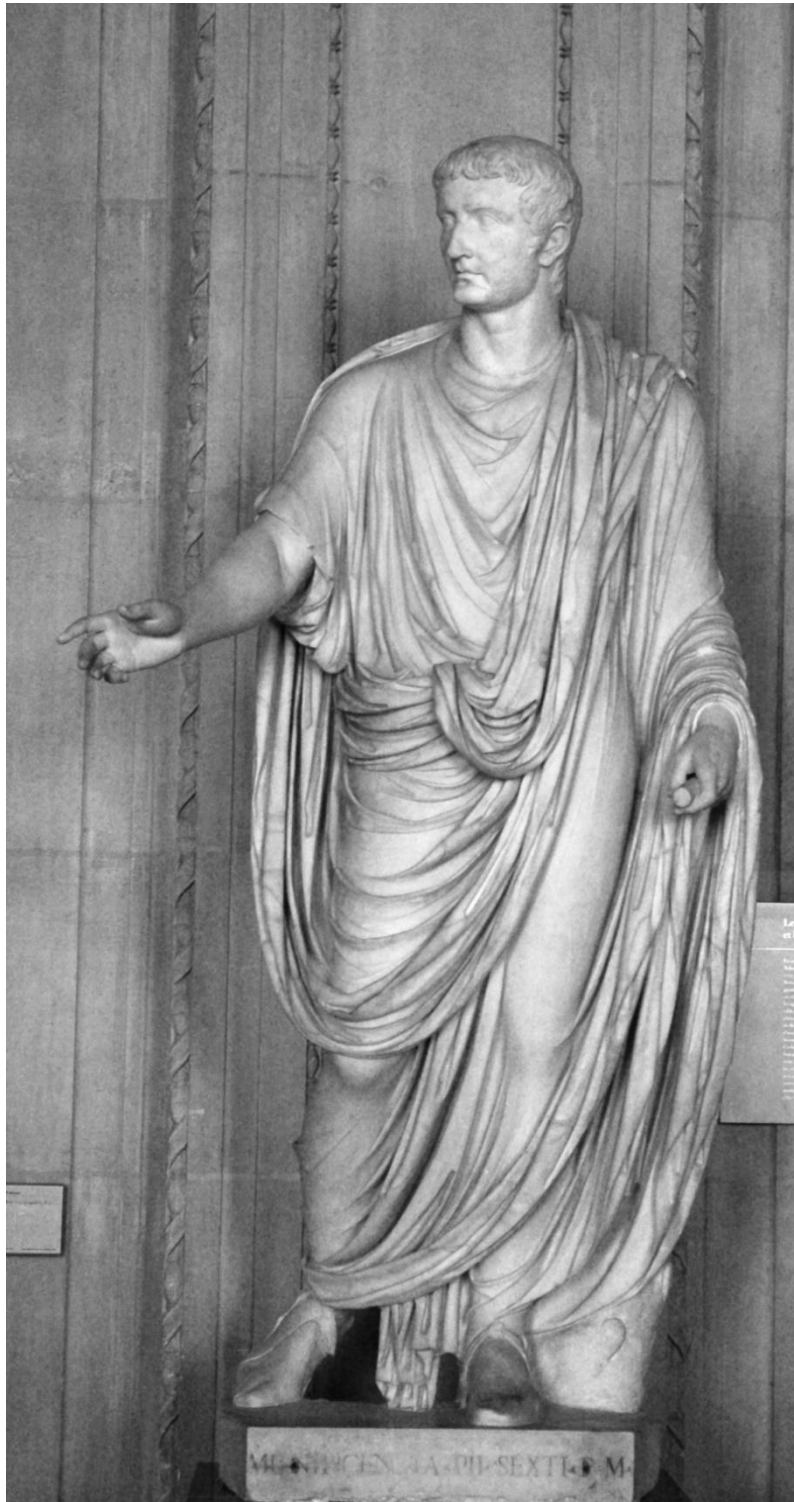
6. Statue of Aeschines, Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum (photo by Sailko, CC BY 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons)

7. Late Augustan – Imperial *toga praetexta*, senatorial *calcei* and tunic with *clavi lati*
(© 2018 Aerynn Dighton)





8. Augustus as *pontifex maximus*: the Via Labicana statue of Augustus, after c. 12 B.C.E., National Museum of Rome (photo by Marie-Lan Nguyen, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)



9. Emperor Tiberius at Capri, Louvre Museum Ma1248 (photo by Marie-Lan Nguyen, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)



10. Emperor Titus Vespasian, Museo Chiaramonti (Tito, da vicinanze del battistero lateranense, inv. 2282. Museo Chiaramonti, via Wikimedia Commons)



11. Togate Statue, ca. 125-200, National Museum, Warsaw (photo by BurgererSF, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons)

12. Praetextate figure, Altar of the Lares, House of the Vettii, Pompeii (via Wikimedia Commons)





13. *Balteus*-style *toga pura*, shoes and tunic with *clavi angusti* as worn by *equites*
(ca. late first century C.E.)
(© 2018 Aerynn Dighton)



14. Emperor Marcus Aurelius making a sacrifice (center left), with attendant (left) in *balteus*-style toga (Arch of Marcus Aurelius, Capitoline Museum in Rome [CC BY-SA 3.0], via Wikimedia Commons)



15. Sarcophagus of the Brothers, ca. 250 C.E., showing four styles of toga: (left to right): *contabulata*, *pallium*-style without tunic, *balteus*, Augustan-imperial; MAN Napoli Inv.6603 n.01 (photo by Marie-Lan Nguyen, CC BY 2.5, via Wikimedia Commons)



16. *Toga contabulata*: Bust of Philip the Arab, emperor 244-249 C.E., Castel Porziano, Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums (photo by Sailko, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons)



17. Bakeshop proprietor in a toga. Roman fresco from the Praedia of Julia Felix, Pompeii. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (photo by Wolfgang Rieger - Marisa Ranieri Panetta (ed.): *Pompeji. Geschichte, Kunst und Leben in der versunkenen Stadt*. Belser, Stuttgart 2005. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)



18. Children with the imperial family, south frieze of the Ara Pacis (By Amphipolis - Ara Pacis — Agrippa and Imperial Family, CC BY-SA 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons)



19. Detail: Two boys and a girl with the imperial family, south frieze of the Ara Pacis (photo by isawnyu, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons)



20. Children in procession, north frieze of the Ara Pacis, Louvre Museum (photo by Pascal Radigue, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons)



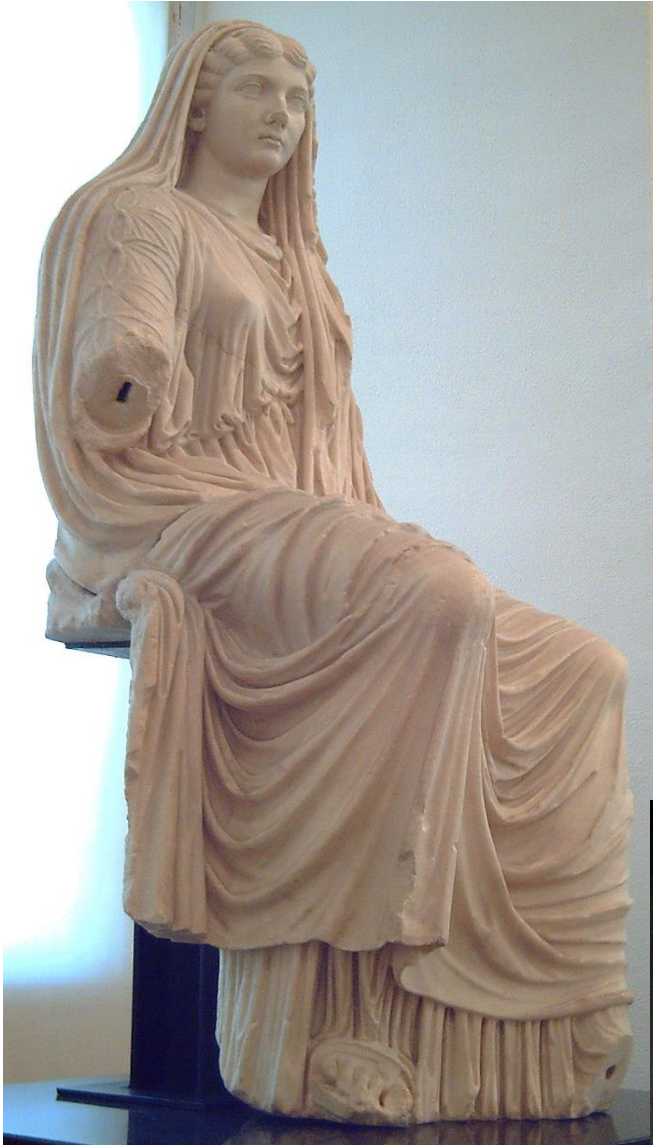
21. Praetextate children (center) and barbarians, Trajan's Column Panel XCI, attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus (Conrad Cichorius: "Die Reliefs der Traianssäule", Zweiter Tafelband: "Die Reliefs des Zweiten Dakischen Krieges", Tafeln 58-113, Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin 1900, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)



22. Aeneas in the toga, panel on the western side of the Ara Pacis, by Amphipolis ([CC BY-SA 2.0], via Wikimedia Commons)



23. Transparent fabric. *Wall Fragment with Two Women*, 1-75 C.E., Fresco, The Getty Museum: 96.AG.302, digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)



24. Statue of Livia Drusilla in *stola*, *chiton*, and *palla* at Paestum (National Archaeological Museum of Spain [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons)



25. Statue of Livia Drusilla as Ops, Louvre, Paris (National Archaeological Museum [CC BY 2.0], via Wikimedia Commons)



26. *Pallium*-style variation. Capitoline Bust of Cicero, first half of 1st c. CE
(photo by Carole Raddato [CC BY-SA 2.0], via Wikimedia Commons)

27. Short *balteus*-style togas (top right, bottom left), Imperial toga (top center), Monument of Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine (photo by Luciano Tronati [CC BY-SA 4.0], via Wikimedia Commons)



28. *Balteus*-style togas. Trajan's Column, Scene LXVI, attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus (Conrad Cichorius: "Die Reliefs der Traianssäule", Zweiter Tafelband: "Die Reliefs des Zweiten Dakischen Krieges", Tafeln 58-113, Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin 1900, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)



29. *Balteus* (two left) and Imperial style (right) togas. Arch of Trajan (VIII), Beneventum. (photo by Institute for the Study of the Ancient World from New York, United States of America - Beneventum, Arch of Trajan (VIII), CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons)



30. *Pallium*-style variation. Artist unknown. Grave relief of a silversmith, first quarter of 1st century C.E., Marble, 31 7/16 × 23 1/16 × 12 1/2 in. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, CA. 96.AA.40.



31. Praetextate boys at a sacrifice (lower right): Trajan's Column, Scene LXXXVIII, attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus (Conrad Cichorius: "Die Reliefs der Traianssäule", Zweiter Tafelband: "Die Reliefs des Zweiten Dakischen Krieges", Tafeln 58-113, Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin 1900, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)



32. Emperor Domitian in a *paludamentum*. Vatican Museums (photo by Steerpik, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons)



33. *Paludamentum* (left) and *saga*: Trajan's column Scene XVI, attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus (Conrad Cichorius: "Die Reliefs der Traianssäule", Erster Tafelband: "Die Reliefs des Ersten Dakischen Krieges", Tafeln 1-57, Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin 1896, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)

34. *Saga*: Roman advance-posts, Trajan's Column, Scene XXI, attributed to Apollodorus of Damascus (Conrad Cichorius: "Die Reliefs der Traianssäule", Erster Tafelband: "Die Reliefs des Ersten Dakischen Krieges", Tafeln 1-57, Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin 1896, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons)





35. Apollo of Veii, in purple-bordered *tebenna*. Etruscan, 6th c. B.C.E., terra-cotta. Rome, National Etruscan Museum (photo by Sergio D’Afflitto, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons).

Appendix – The Basics

Toga pura / virilis / libera

The terms *toga pura*, *toga virilis*, or *toga libera* all refer to the plain white toga that could be worn by male citizens after they became adults. The different labels are often tied to context; *virilis* and *libera* occur during references to coming-of-age ceremonies, for example.⁸⁸⁹ Usually, however, the *toga pura* is simply called a toga. The more specialized types of togas, described below, differ primarily in color and surface treatment.

The fabric of the *toga pura* was woven from undyed wool thread spun from the fleece of white sheep, the whiter the better. There may have originally been togas of mixed materials: in Pliny's description of the uses of woolen cloth, he says that Lucilius described Torquatus in a toga of "closely-woven poppy-cloth" (*crebrae papaveratae*), which would have given a gloss to the fabric.⁸⁹⁰ Since linen is easier to launder, it was used more for undergarments and the tunics of slaves.⁸⁹¹ It is still a matter of debate whether a toga was woven in one or two pieces, straight up or sideways on the loom; the upright looms of the Roman period (warp-weighted and two-beam) were probably, at most, around ten feet wide.⁸⁹² Further study of Roman looms and weaving techniques is needed.

⁸⁸⁹ See discussion on pp. 173ff.

⁸⁹⁰ Plin. *HN* 8.195; on the gloss, Plin. *HN* 19.21.

⁸⁹¹ Suet. *Calig.* 26.2.3; *Dig.* 34.3.23.2.4, SHA *Alex. Sev.* 10.8-9; cf. Olson 2003: 203. On laundering clothing, see Ch. 2, pp. 66ff.

⁸⁹² On the debate, see Wilson 1924: 71-72; Granger-Taylor 1982: 10, 19; Olson 2017: 23. On Roman looms, see Hoffman 1974: 321-333; Wild 1987: 470, 2002: 11.

It is difficult to determine how much a toga cost: they do not appear in Diocletian's Edict, nor do any sources do more than imply the cost.⁸⁹³ According to Plutarch, the elder Cato claims that he never wore clothing "worth more than a hundred *drachmae*," among other frugal behaviors.⁸⁹⁴ Juvenal's speaker complains that his toga, food, and fire have to come from a *sportula* of 25 asses.⁸⁹⁵ Martial emphasizes how cheap a patron is when he says a little toga (*togula*), meaning his service as a client, would cost more than the thirty to sixty sesterces of the man's annual *sportula*.⁸⁹⁶ Elsewhere the poet compares the cost of a *toga pexa* (or three), a thick winter toga that was combed but not trimmed at the fullery, to that of a slave boy or four pounds of silver dishware.⁸⁹⁷ The point of the epigram seems to be that the rich but stingy Sextus appears even more miserly by refusing to give so 'small' a loan. Likewise, Martial reproaches another patron for giving a few silver pounds, a "chilly toga and a short cloak" (*algentemque togam brevem laenam*), and a couple occasional gold pieces to his client.⁸⁹⁸ Unfortunately, we are unable to know the level of sarcasm in these

⁸⁹³ By the beginning of the fourth century, the cheapest linen tunic for a slave cost a maximum of 500 *denarii* while a man's sleeved woolen tunic could cost up to 2000 *denarii*; wool dyed a cheap purple cost a maximum of 300 *denarii* per pound. A farm worker earned 25 *denarii* a day, a stonemason 50 (Wild 1994: 30-31; Croom 2010: 29).

⁸⁹⁴ Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 4.3: Ἐσθῆτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε φησι φορέσαι πολυτελεστέραν ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν. In the first century C.E. an apprentice weaver could earn a tunic worth twelve *drachmae* when he left (*POxy.* 41.2917).

⁸⁹⁵ Juv. 1.119-120. On Juvenal's distortion of the *salutatio* and the *sportula*, see Cloud 1989.

⁸⁹⁶ Mart. 4.26. This works out to fifteen *denarii* a year at most, when the usual daily amount was a hundred *quadrantes* (a *denarius* and nine *asses*; Mart. 1.59.1, 3.7.1, 4.68.1, 6.88.4, 7.86.9, 8.42.1, 8.49.10, 9.85.4, 10.27.3, 10.70.13-14, 10.75.11); cf. Moreno Soldevila 2006: 240, 467. According to Tacitus, Roman soldiers were paid ten *asses* a day but demanded to be paid a *denarius* (*Ann.* 1.17.5).

⁸⁹⁷ Mart. 2.44. On the *toga pexa*, see Ch. 2, p. 36.

⁸⁹⁸ Mart. 12.36.

epigrams, to determine if he is also mocking the pretensions of a client who feels these are paltry gifts.

According to the satirists, moreover, all but the poorest of Roman citizens could afford one toga, at least. Martial characterizes a poor man as having only a home-bred slave boy and an old woman to watch his “little toga” (*togula*) at the baths.⁸⁹⁹ He chides another man for attempting to be socially active despite his utter poverty, characterized as lacking a toga, a hearth, a bed, a slave, or a cup.⁹⁰⁰ According to the poet, a man without a toga or property cannot even be considered a poor man, for he is a nonentity who has nothing. Still, keeping one’s only toga in decent shape by wearing it rarely is one way that these elite poets represent a frugal and happy life in the countryside.⁹⁰¹

Toga candida

The *toga candida* was a *toga pura* which had extra chalk added at the fullery to increase its whiteness and brilliance.⁹⁰² It was the required dress for men who were campaigning for public office; removing the *toga candida* meant immediately removing oneself from the ballot, as C. Cicereius did in favor of the son of his patron, Scipio Africanus, during the

⁸⁹⁹ Mart. 12.70.2. See also Plut. *Mar.* 44.1-3: even a poor *pleb* owns a slave.

⁹⁰⁰ Mart. 11.32.1-4: *Nec toga nec focus est nec tritus cimice lectus / nec tibi de bibula sarta palude teges, / nec puer aut senior, nulla est ancilla nec infans, / nec sera nec clavis nec canis atque calix* (“You have neither toga nor hearth, no bed worn away by bugs or mat of thirsty reeds, neither a boy slave nor an older one, neither a maid nor a baby, no bar or bolt for your door or dog or cup”).

⁹⁰¹ E.g., Mart. 4.66.3; 10.47.5; Juv. 3.171-185. For more on togas in the countryside, see Ch. 3, pp. 155ff.

⁹⁰² Pers. 5.177; Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.6. On the *toga candida*, see also Ch. 4, pp. 198ff.

centuriate election for praetor in 175 B.C.E.⁹⁰³ According to Plutarch, Cato wrote that it could be worn without a tunic underneath.⁹⁰⁴ Other sources mention only the whitened toga, no other garments, when referring to a candidate or using it as a metonym for an electoral campaign, so it is unclear if or when candidates wore tunics.⁹⁰⁵

Toga praetexta

This toga was mostly white with a purple border. While it is fairly certain that the border was woven into the garment, its location is the subject of much debate: on the upper straight edge, on the lower curved edge, or moved from the lower to the upper edge when the *sinus* was added in the Augustan era.⁹⁰⁶ Yet those who place the border on the lower edge in the Republic do so based entirely on the Arringatore bronze. Granger-Taylor has shown that the line a few inches up from the hem of the statue's toga is more likely reinforcement: it looks braided and only extends for a couple feet in the front, not the whole curved edge.⁹⁰⁷ Furthermore, though a different alloy is used to distinguish the stripe on the statue's tunic, the bottom edge of the toga is the same metal as the rest; Pliny says a special leaded-copper alloy was used for the purple border of *praetextae* on bronzes.⁹⁰⁸ Etymologically, the border

⁹⁰³ Polyb. 10.4.9; 26.1.5; Val. Max. 4.5.3. On the *biennium* of canvassing between offices, see Cic. *Fam.* 10.251-2; Astin 1958; Ryan 1998a.

⁹⁰⁴ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 49; *Coriol.* 14.1-2.

⁹⁰⁵ Used as a metonym: e.g., Val. Max. 4.5.4.8; Plin. *HN* 7.120; Cicero's *In Toga Candida* (Asc. 82C-94C).

⁹⁰⁶ Woven and not sewn: Wilson 1924: 55; Goette 1990: 4-5; Gleba 2008: 200; Olson 2017: 46. Upper edge: Granger-Taylor 1982: 10. Lower: Fittschen 1970. Moved: Stone 1994: 13-15; Wilson 1924: 54; Goette 2013: 42. For more on the debate, see Olson 2017: 45-46.

⁹⁰⁷ Granger-Taylor 1982.

⁹⁰⁸ Plin. *HN* 34.98.8; Granger-Taylor 1982: 7.

would have to be on the upper edge, since it was woven first (*prae-textere*).⁹⁰⁹ A painting from Pompeii clearly depicts the border only on the upper edge, outlining the extended *sinus* and framing the face of the wearer who is veiled for sacrifice (fig. 12).⁹¹⁰

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, freeborn children of both sexes could wear the *toga praetexta*.⁹¹¹ For boys, wearing the *toga praetexta* was an important part of teaching them the behaviors of adult society—and getting them accustomed to the elite *habitus*. In the early Republic, boys in *praetextae* may have visited the Senate with their fathers; Augustus is said to have revived the custom.⁹¹² If this custom were simply about getting boys used to wearing a toga, however, the purple border would be unnecessary to the habituation process.

As adults, however, only certain men could wear the *toga praetexta*, and only at certain times. Priests of all colleges wore a *toga praetexta* while sacrificing.⁹¹³ For magistrates, the right to wear a *toga praetexta* was awarded along with the ivory curule chair, a traditional pairing which many Roman authors believed was Etruscan in origin and brought to Rome in the regal period.⁹¹⁴ Consequently, curule magistrates (censors, consuls, praetors, and aediles *curulis*) could wear *praetextae*, while tribunes, quaestors, and aediles *plebis* could not.⁹¹⁵

⁹⁰⁹ Ernout and Meillet 1967: 690, s.v. *texo*; Granger-Taylor 1982: 10.

⁹¹⁰ House of the Vettii, Pompeii (VI, 15,1).

⁹¹¹ See Ch. 4, pp. 169ff.

⁹¹² Suet. *Aug.* 38.2; Gell. *NA* 1.23.pr.1-13.5; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.6; cf. Gabelmann 1985: 536-540.

⁹¹³ E.g., Livy 27.37.14, 33.42.1-2.

⁹¹⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.74.1; Diod. Sic. 5.40.1; Livy 1.8.3, 1.20.2; Plin. *HN* 8.195, 9.127, 9.136; Plut. *Rom.* 20.3; Florus 1.1.5.6; cf. Wilson 1924: 18-20; Stone 1994: 13; Laurence 2012: 79; Olson 2017: 45. The Etruscan cult statue called the Apollo of Veii wears a *tebenna praetexta* (see Bonfante Warren 1970: 63, 2003: 15)

⁹¹⁵ See Polyb. 6.53.7 (consul or praetor); Cic. *Red. sen.* 5.12 (praetor and aedile), *Vat.* 16 (aedile), *Verr.* 2.5.36 (aedile, not quaestor); [Quint.] *Decl.* 340.13 (magistrates); Livy 7.1.5 (praetor and curule aedile), Plin. *HN* 9.137 (curule aedile); Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 81 (not

There is some controversy over whether aediles *plebis* had the right to the *sella curulis* and *toga praetexta* prior to the Sullan reforms; they were superior to quaestors and tribunes and, though inferior to curule aediles, had similar responsibilities over religious festivals and temples.⁹¹⁶ Unfortunately, sources often do not differentiate between the two.⁹¹⁷ Even so, magistrates in colonies and towns, “the lowest type of magistrates” (*infimo generi*), wore the *praetexta* while performing duties connected with the local *ludi*.⁹¹⁸ The aediles *plebis*, therefore, may have had the right to wear the *praetexta* when occupied with similar tasks; otherwise, they possibly used the *toga pura* and the *subsellium*, as did tribunes.⁹¹⁹

Toga purpurea

The *toga purpurea* was entirely dyed in purple, and thus it was restricted to the highest offices. Censors seem to have worn either the *toga praetexta* or the all-purple *toga purpurea*; the *purpurea* may have been their dress for ceremonial occasions, giving them the right to be cremated or buried in one, while they wore the *praetexta* on a more regular

tribunes). Cf. Mommsen *Röm. Staats.* I³: 418-20; Warde Fowler 1896: 317-318; Sebesta 2005: 116 (though she includes tribunes, 119 n. 15); Edmondson 2008: 28-29; Olson 2017: 44-48 (also includes tribunes).

⁹¹⁶ Curule aediles were elected under the auspices of the consul and were responsible for the *ludi Romani* and *Megalenses*, while plebeian aediles were elected under the tribune and oversaw the *ludi Ceriales*, *Florales*, and *Plebeii*. See Livy 31.50; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.95.4; Mommsen *Röm. Staats.* II³: 480-522, esp. 517ff.; Taylor 1939. After Sulla: Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.36; Val. Max. 7.3.8.8; App. *B Civ* 4.47; Taylor 1939: 199.

⁹¹⁷ On the problems this causes, see, e.g., Ryan 1998a: 11-13, 2000.

⁹¹⁸ Livy 34.27.2. Cf. also *magistri collegiorum* and *magistri vicorum* at Compitalia (Asc. 7C). On *ludi*, see Scheid 2003: 106-108.

⁹¹⁹ Taylor 1939: 198.

basis.⁹²⁰ The *magister equitum* wore the *praetexta*, while the dictator wore the *toga purpurea*.⁹²¹ Who could wear the *toga purpurea*, and when, may have changed over the course of the Republic and Empire. Julius Caesar restricted shellfish-purple clothing and pearls to certain people only and on certain days, but Suetonius unfortunately gives no further details.⁹²² Augustus may have expanded the right to the *toga purpurea* to any senatorial magistrate in 36 B.C.E. while denying it to everyone else, but this also could have meant any all-purple garment: Dio's Greek text does not specify, but he says the "common" citizens were already wearing such clothing at the time.⁹²³

Toga picta

The general in a triumphal procession wore a special toga and tunic, both all purple and woven with gold motifs, which were called the *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*.⁹²⁴ The triumphal outfit may have originally been a *toga purpurea* and a matching tunic, but by the

⁹²⁰ In *praetexta*: Zonar. 7.19; Ath. 14.69; Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* I³: 411 n. 3; Suolahti 1963: 71. In *purpurea*, Polyb. 6.53.7. For further discussion of censors, see Ch. 4, pp. 190-191.

⁹²¹ *magister equitum*: Dio 46.16.5. Dictator: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 10.24.2. Mommsen includes dictators in his list of praetextate magistrates (1887 I³: 419). However, his example for a praetextate dictator is Claudius Glicia wearing the *praetexta* at games after he had abdicated the dictatorship (Livy *Per.* 19). For further discussion of dictators, see Ch. 4, pp. 191-192.

⁹²² Suet. *Caes.* 43.1: *conchyliaetae vestis et margaritarum nisi certis personis et aetatibus perque certos dies ademit*. Cf. Reinhold 1970: 45-46.

⁹²³ Dio 49.16.1: τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀλουργῆ μηδένα ἄλλον ἔξω τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων ἐνδύεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν: ἤδη γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν τυχόντων αὐτῆ ἐχρῶντο ("He ordered that no one except the senators who were in office could put on the sea-purple garment: for some even among the commoners were already wearing it").

⁹²⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61; Livy 31.11.11; Fest. 228L; Florus 1.5.6; Bonfante Warren 1970: 61-65; Goette 1990: 6; Olson 2017: 49-50. For more on the *toga picta*, see Ch. 4, pp. 194ff.

mid-Republic it consisted of purple-and-gold garments.⁹²⁵ Unfortunately, no ancient artistic evidence survives to show us what the outfit looked like; any reconstructions are mere conjecture. The motifs are uncertain: stars or palms on the toga, and perhaps a palm-width decorated border on the tunic.⁹²⁶ It is most likely that the gold designs were not embroidered in the *toga picta* but woven into the fabric, probably with supplemental weft. Pliny declares Helen’s weaving, with pictures of the battles of the Trojans of the Greeks, to be the origin of the Roman triumphal robes.⁹²⁷ Like the *praetexta*, this outfit also had legendary origins with Romulus or the Etruscans in the regal period.⁹²⁸ The presiding magistrate for circus games (a consul or praetor) may also have worn the triumphal outfit, with either the *toga purpurea* or *toga picta*, in the opening procession (*pompa circensis*).⁹²⁹ Though Livy says this privilege had been granted by the early fourth century B.C.E., Beard believes Augustus was responsible for this extension of the triumphal insignia.⁹³⁰

⁹²⁵ Fest. 228L; Bonfante Warren 1970: 61-65; Beard (2007: 228) argues that there was no fixed triumphal uniform.

⁹²⁶ App. *Pun.* 66; Suet. *Nero* 25.1; Mart. 7.2.8; Isid. *Etym.* 19.24.5; cf. Wilson 1924: 85; Bonfante Warren 1970: 64-65; Beard 2007: 81-82, 84, 230, 268.

⁹²⁷ Plin. *HN* 8.195, ref. Hom. *Il.* 3.125-128. He then states that the technique of embroidering images with a needle was invented by Phrygians, while embroidering with gold was invented by King Attalus in the second half of the third century B.C.E. (*HN* 8.196).

⁹²⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.34, 3.61.1; Plut. *Rom.* 16.

⁹²⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.95.4 (κοσμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πορφύρα καὶ θρόνῳ ἔλεφαντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις, οἷς εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς, “adorned by the Senate with the *toga purpurea* and ivory throne and the other insignia which the kings used to have”); Tac. *Ann.* 1.15 (*per circum triumphali veste uterentur*, “they wore triumphal dress through the circus”); Juv. 10.38-40 (*in tunica Iovis et pictae Sarrana ferentem / ex umeris aulaea togae*, “in the tunic of Jupiter and bearing from his shoulders the Tyrian-purple embroidered drapery of his *toga picta*); Dio 56.46.5 (τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἐπινικίῳ, “in triumphal dress”). See Latham 2016: 25.

⁹³⁰ Livy 5.41.2; Beard 2007: 280-284.

Toga pulla

The dark *toga pulla* was possibly woven from the unbleached, undyed wool of black sheep; men wore the garment as mourning dress during funerals.⁹³¹ There may even have been a purple-bordered version for priests and magistrates.⁹³² The *toga pulla* seems to have been worn during the funeral procession, burial, and games, but after the ritual bath for purification it was taken off and the *toga pura* put back on for the banquet.⁹³³ The *toga pulla* or its wearer could also be described as *ater/atratu*s or *niger*.⁹³⁴

The Tunic

The tunic was a fairly universal garment, worn by men and women of all classes and ethnic origins. It was rectangular, woven either in a single piece, folded in half and sewn down the sides with a hole cut for the head, or in two pieces which were sewn together at the shoulders and sides.⁹³⁵ In the Republic, the tunic for men was sleeveless, only as wide as the upper arms; by the late Republic, the tunic extended from elbow to elbow.⁹³⁶ Statues from

⁹³¹ Sheep from Pollentia, Tarentum, Liguria, and Laodicea were renowned for their black wool (Plin. *HN* 31.4; Colum. *Rust.* 7.2.4; Cic. *Sest.* 8.19; Strabo 12.8.16). Olson (2017: 95) proposes that some *togae pullae* may have been dyed black, but black dyes in the Roman era were caustic and weakened the fabric (Sebesta 1994b: 66).

⁹³² Fest. 272L; Olson 2017: 95.

⁹³³ During procession: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.17.2; during the games: Cic. *Vat.* 30; change to *toga pura* after the bath, for the banquet: Cic. *Vat.* 30-32. See Ch. 4, pp. 209ff.

⁹³⁴ *Atratus*: Apul. *Met.* 2.27; Prop. 4.7.28; Tac. *Ann.* 3.2; cf. André 1949: 44. *Niger*: Ov. *Ibis* 102; Juv. 10.245; cf. André 1949: 71. For more on the colors of mourning, see Olson 2004/5: 99-106, 2017: 95.

⁹³⁵ Varro, *Ling.* 9.79; for more on tunics, see Wilson 1938: 55-69; Pausch 2003; Croom 2010: 31-43; Olson 2017: 13-23.

⁹³⁶ For the earlier, narrower tunics, see Gell. *NA* 6.12.3; the Arringatore bronze (fig. #2).

the late Republic to the third century C.E. depict tunics that cover the upper arm, while their hemlines stay fairly consistent at the upper- to mid-calf (e.g., figs. 9, 10, 14).⁹³⁷

Stripes on the tunics (*clavi*) usually ran vertically down both sides from shoulder to hem, back and front. *Clavi* could ostensibly differentiate social rank: they were supposed to be purple and narrow (*angusti*) on white tunics for *equites*, wide (*lati*) on white tunics for senators.⁹³⁸ Nevertheless, stripes are common in painted depictions and surviving examples of tunics worn by people of all classes, and in these examples, color and width vary widely.⁹³⁹ Many fragments of tunics found in Egypt and the eastern Roman provinces have purple *clavi* of various widths, made from wool dyed with woad (blue) and madder (red).⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁷ Wilson 1938: 55-59; Granger-Taylor 1982: 5-10; Pausch 2003: 68-70; Croom 2010: 30-40. For invective against loosely-belted tunics and longer or shorter hems, see Ch. 3, pp. 128ff.

⁹³⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 38.2, 94.10; *Tib.* 35.2; *Claud.* 24.1; *Otho* 10.1; Plin. *HN* 33.29; Plin. *Ep.* 2.9.2; Vell. Pat. 2.88; SHA *Alex. Sev.* 27.4; for more on the differentiation of rank by *clavi*, see Ch. 1, pp. 28-29. Olson proposes that the conventional use of the singular (*latus/angustus clavus*), despite the fact that there are two stripes, may stem from the fact that only the stripe on the right shoulder shows beneath the toga (2017: 18-19).

⁹³⁹ Bender Jørgensen 2011; Olson 2017: 20-22; see, e.g., the tunics on mummy portraits from Egypt (Walker 1997).

⁹⁴⁰ Wild 1994: 14; Olson 2017: 21.

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