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Roman *Clavus* Decoration on Gallic Dress: A Reevaluation Based on New Discoveries

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New evidence for color decoration on garments calls into question previously held assumptions about the nature of local dress styles in Roman Gaul. So-called Gallic dress, consisting of a sleeved, unbelted tunic for both men and women, accompanied by a hooded cape for men and a rectangular mantle for women, was especially popular in the northwestern provinces from the late first to the late third century CE. Most recent research on the subject has seen it as entirely local in origin and the result of the development of a Gallic/northwestern regional identity. However, recently published evidence, including a detailed study of paint remains on a corpus of funerary reliefs in eastern Gaul, a reconstructed second tunic from the textile find site at Les Martres-de-Veyre (France), and wall painting fragments from Maasbracht (Netherlands) have revealed that the sleeved Gallic tunics could in fact be decorated with two vertical parallel bands, *clavi*—a typically Roman tunic decoration. As a result, it is necessary to reevaluate our understanding of how Gallic dress developed, what it signified, and ultimately the extent to which we can reconstruct local dress styles in the Roman provinces when so little of the original paintwork on stone monuments survives.[1]

INTRODUCTION

The area that became the Roman provinces of Gallia Belgica, Gallia Lugdunensis, and Gallia Aquitania (known together in antiquity as the Tres Galliae),[2] was originally inhabited by mainly Celtic-speaking people with late La Tène material culture and organized into tribal groupings. The area was conquered by Rome during the course of Caesar's Gallic Wars in 58–50 BCE. It was only from the late first century CE onward, however, that the region was completely subjugated, the area along the Rhine frontier was separated and made into two extra provinces (Germania Inferior and Germania Superior), and the whole region began to experience significant urbanization and integration into the Roman economic and cultural world. The resulting period of peace and prosperity lasted until the mid third century and was the time in which the Gallic ensemble, a set of garments that constituted the most common dress style in Gaul, and eventually the entire Roman northwest,[3] developed (fig. 1).[4]

[1] The authors would like to express their thanks to all who helped with the writing of this article, including the anonymous reviewers for the *AJA*, and Fabienne Médard of Anatex for allowing us to use her as-yet unpublished reconstruction of the Les Martres-De-Veyre tunic. Figures are our own except as noted.

[2] E.g., in Caes., *BGall*. 1.1; Plin., *HN* 4.105–9.

[3] Wild 1968; 1985; Böhme 1985, 425–30; Rothe 2009, 36–37, 45–46; 2012a.

[4] Gallic dress as a distinctly regional type worn only in the northwest was first identified, and the term coined, by Wild in his seminal study of dress in the region: Wild 1968; 1985. The earliest publication on the dress on Gallic monuments simply calls the Gallic tunic a *manteau* and the cape after its Roman counterpart, the *paenula* (Langlois 1959).

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FIG. 1. Gravestone portrait from Arlon, Belgium, showing the female and male Gallic clothing ensembles, including the Gallic tunic. Luxembourg, Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art 524; acq. date n/a, doc. Espérandieu 5 4178 (courtesy Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art).

In an article in this journal in 2012, Ursula Rothe presented a detailed analysis, based on surviving funerary sculpture, of the female version of the Gallic ensemble.[5] While the male version of this—a sleeved, unbelted, calf-length body garment (the Gallic tunic) and a circular cape with an integral hood (the Gallic cape)—originated in pre-Roman male Gallic dress,[6] the female version, consisting of a similar but ankle- or floor-length Gallic tunic, a large, rectangular cape or long shawl wrapped around the shoulders, and a round bonnet,[7] was argued by Rothe to have developed at the end of the first century CE as a result of the social changes Gaul experienced as a consequence of integration into the Roman empire. Until then, female dress had been characterized by distinct, tribe-based variations of a set of garments worn throughout the Celtic parts of Europe in the Iron Age (often called "Menimane's Ensemble" after a stone from Mainz) consisting of a close-fitting and long-sleeved undertunic with a tube-shaped, sleeveless overtunic pinned at the shoulders using brooches, a soft, round bonnet covering the hair, and a large, rectangular cape.[8] Gallic dress for women was a newly created female version of the male Iron Age dress, which, like the latter, did not have localized variations and signified a shift from a tribe-based to a wider regional identity, probably as a result of urbanization and increased trade and travel within the northwest in the Roman period.[9]

The most distinctive and ubiquitous element of the Gallic ensemble for both men and women was the characteristic tunic: in its form it was decidedly un-Roman in character, as it was worn without a belt[10] and was usually sleeved, although it could sometimes be so wide that the body of the tunic reached almost to the wrists, covering the arms but with only stunted sleeves (called end-sleeves by modern scholars).[11] The fact that the male version of the tunic reached down to the mid calf was also un-Roman: Roman male tunics reached to below the knee at their lowest.[12] As a result, even though the creation of female Gallic dress was

[5] Rothe 2012a, based on the author's doctoral thesis, Rothe 2009.

[6] See the reasoning in Rothe 2012a, 240, and, more extensively, in Rothe 2009, 31–34; see also Böhme 1985; Wild 1985; Boppert 1992; Roche-Bernard 1993; Noelke 1998. Cf. Langlois 1959; Kolb 1973; Andrikopolou-Strack 1986; Freigang 1997, who identified the Gallic cape with the Roman soldier's *paenula* and the Gallic tunic with the Roman *tunica*, largely based on the assumption that pre-Roman male dress in the area had consisted only of a trouser ensemble.

[7] Böhme 1985, 430–36; Wild 1985; Rothe 2009, 34–36, 42–43, 45. The shawl and the Gallic tunic could be fringed at the hem. Footwear consisted of closed leather boots, and men sometimes wore a scarf around the neck.

[8] Böhme 1985, 425–30. Wild's (1968; 1985) typology is standard to this day. See Rothe 2009, 36–37 and 45–46, for updates, including the switch from the term "Gallic coat" to "Gallic tunic."

[9] Rothe 2012a. In contrast to the northwest, the more localized Iron Age women's dress styles continued to be worn in the Danube provinces throughout the Roman period: see Rothe 2012b.

[10] Except by servants at work, presumably for practical reasons; see the work scenes on gravestones such as the Avitus-pfeiler from Neumagen (Espérandieu 6.2 5145, 5222; Rothe 2009, cat. no. T60 and pl. XI). By contrast, not wearing a belt was considered highly inappropriate for men and women in both Greek and Roman culture; see Rothe 2012a, 241; Lee 2015, 135–36; Olson 2017, 144.

[11] The various forms of the Gallic tunic were "variations on a theme" rather than entirely different items of clothing (Rothe 2012a, 239). For patterns and more illustrations, see Wild 1985.

[12] See images of Roman men in tunics in Roman artwork, such as the working scenes from Ostia and Rome (e.g., Zimmer 1982), but also Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.3.138 for Roman rules on tunic lengths.

an innovation that took place in the Roman period, in Rothe's 2012 study the Gallic tunic was described as "in no way Roman or 'Romanized' dress."[13] Although the possibility had been suggested that both local and Roman fabrics might have been used for Gallic garments, the lack of painted features on the stones meant that information about the colors, fabric styles, and possible decorative elements of the garments remained out of scholarly reach.[14] A further distinctive feature of the Gallic dress ensemble—and especially the tunic—is the fact that it appears to have been worn in virtually all sectors of society, from wealthy landowners and merchants to office clerks, market vendors, slaves, and agricultural laborers.[15] The possibility had been suggested that class and status distinctions were expressed in the quality and color of the fabric used to make the garments.[16] But again, without surviving paintwork, there was no way of exploring this further.

All in all, the long, wide, sleeved, and unbelted Gallic tunic was assumed, in its clear divergence from Roman tunic forms and wearing styles, and in the absence of other evidence, to have been a thoroughly indigenous garment. It was envisaged by some to have been made out of fabric in multicolored checks, which were popular among the Gauls and, according to Pliny, invented by them.[17] Alternatively, it was considered to have had one plain color: either the bright greens, reds, and blues found on a statue from Nieder-Ingelheim or a range of the gray to brown and black colors of undyed natural fleece.[18]

The above ideas—extrapolated from very little and often indirect evidence—about the appearance and nature of the Gallic tunic must now be reevaluated in light of new evidence provided, among other things, by surviving paintwork on several funerary monuments from eastern Gaul, the recently reconstructed textile remains of a Gallic tunic from the site of Les Martres-de-Veyre, France, and newly discovered Roman wall paintings in the Netherlands. The following does not present an exhaustive overview of dress in Roman Gaul, nor of the types of evidence presented;[19] rather, it serves to show, based on these new discoveries, that Gallic tunics, in contrast to their thoroughly indigenous shape and cut, bore a decoration very similar to the characteristically Roman *clavi*.[20] Due to the sparseness of the evidence, the question of how widespread the use of this decoration was must remain unanswered for now.

PAINT REMAINS ON GALLO-ROMAN MONUMENTS

Although studies of polychromy on Graeco-Roman sculpture have been developing apace over the last 20 or so years, much of this has been focused on Greece and Rome;[21] work on pigment remains in the Roman provinces, and especially in the context of Gallo-Roman sculpture, is still very much in its infancy. This is all the more perplexing as, in the case of Gaul, painted remains on many stones were observed as early as the 19th and early 20th centuries.[22] They reveal a multitude of details, some of which were depicted only in paint (i.e., were not worked into the stone), giving us a glimpse of the amount of information that has been lost with the disappearance of the color decoration.[23] In the case of figurative funerary monuments, pigment remains give us important information on the daily life of the Gallo-Romans, such as hairstyles, ornaments, objects, and, what interests us here, clothing.

Among the corpus recently gathered in France for eastern Gaul and published for the first time by Delferrière and Edme,[24] several architectural blocks and

[13] Rothe 2012a, 241. See also Wild 1985, 413: "This disregard for metropolitan fashion can be seen at all social levels. Yet clothing fashion displays an unexpected resistance to change, and one is inclined to class it, not with material culture such as pots and pans, but with the Gallic religious beliefs and practices which maintained a similarly independent character." Cf. Freigang 1997, 306–7.

[14] Rothe 2012a, 241.

[15] Rothe 2009, 54; 2012a, 241.

[16] Rothe 2009, 57; 2012a, 241.

[17] Diod. Sic. 5.31.1; Plin., *HN* 8.196, 35.150; Wild 1970, 53–54; 1985, 408–9; 1964 on the term *scutulatus* (checkered).

[18] Schoppa 1960; Wild 1970, 79–81.

[19] See Wild 1985, Rothe 2009, and Rothe 2012a for full details on dress in Roman Gaul.

[20] At the moment, the evidence presented here of color on Gallic tunics is all the authors are aware of, but more will almost certainly emerge in the future, especially with closer scrutiny of funerary art held in storage in museums.

[21] See, e.g., Bankel and Liverani 2004; Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004; Jockey 2013; 2014; 2018; Liverani and Santamaria 2014; Bracci et al. 2018; Bourgeois 2019; Mulliez 2019.

[22] Thiollet 1847–59; Julliot 1898; Blanchet 1918–24; Grenier 1904; Von Massow 1932. For further details, see Delferrière and Edme 2018a, 269; 2018b, 7–8; 2019a, 94–96.

[23] When writing his *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, Émile Espérandieu already observed the remains of polychromy on certain sculptures, in particular on funerary stelae, some of which is now lost: Espérandieu 4.2 2767, 2770, 2775, 2789, 2791, 2798, 2826, 2833, 2850, 2932.

[24] Delferrière and Edme 2018a; 2018b; 2019a; 2019b.

complete funerary monuments present particularly well-preserved remains of paintwork. Its preservation, in some cases to a quite remarkable extent, is due in particular to the reuse of many of these blocks as building materials in the castra of late antiquity, which protected both the sculpture and the paint. The dismantling of the Late Antique fortifications in Burgundy was carried out during the 19th century, and the sculpted fragments thus recovered were deposited in the museums of the local learned societies. Between then and now, some paint remains have irretrievably disappeared, but others have been able to withstand the passage of time and the not-always-optimal conservation conditions in provincial museums. The comparison between what François Thiollet was able to identify at the time of the destruction of the late rampart of Sens, for example, which he then represented in a series of watercolors,[25] and what we can observe today, shows that a large part of the paint remains have disappeared.[26] The macroscopic observations presented below were made on blocks that are known to have been untouched when in the 19th century some sculpture was embellished with painted details (especially the inscriptions).[27]

Among the corpus of relief fragments gathered, four present remains of the original paintwork that are of especial interest for research on ancient Gallic clothing. One piece, a limestone monument discovered in 1834 during work carried out on the city barracks (Couvent des Ursulines) of Langres (Andemantunnum, capital of the civitas of the Lingoni, Haute-Marne), is known as the Divixta stele (fig. 2).[28] It measures 1.62 m high, 0.70 m wide, and 0.47 m deep and is currently on display in the Guy Baillet museum in Langres. The stele is flat-topped and on the main face has a triangular pediment with acroteria, which surmounts a cartouche with a pelta to each side. The

FIG. 2. The Divixta stele. Langres, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Guy Baillet 845.18; found 1834, doc. Luquet 1838, cat. no. 16.

cartouche bears the following inscription:[29] D(IIS) DIVIXTA M(ANIBUS) | SCOTTUS M(ARITUS) P(ONEDUM) C(URAUIT) (To the gods of the departed. To Divixta. Her husband, Scottus, saw to it that [this monument] was installed). Beneath an arched niche framed by two pilasters with capitals is the representation of a standing woman. She is dressed in two tunics, the innermost one is fringed, and the outermost one is a Gallic tunic with end-sleeves. Divixta also wears a scarf draped across her upper body that descends to her mid calf. In her left hand, she is holding

[25] Thiollet 1847–59.

[26] Delferrière and Edme 2019a, 95.

[27] For blocks that were repainted in the 19th century, the fact is usually mentioned in the archives of the Burgundian museums. Most of these cases are clear from the fact that the inscriptions have been repainted in red. In the case of the *clavi*, it would in any case be surprising if this detail had been added in the 19th century, as knowledge of clothing in Gaul was minimal at the time.

[28] Espérandieu 4.2 3280; Luquet 1838, 303–5, cat. no. 16; Péchin d'Autebois 1847a; 1847b, cat. no. 24; Péchiné 1847–60, cat. no. 4; Brocard 1873 and 1886, cat. no. 45; Royer 1902 and 1931, cat. no. 45; Decorse 2000, cat. no. 8; Joly 2001, 133.

[29] *CIL* 13 5759; Mowat 1890, cat. no. 45; Drioux 1934, cat. no. 330; Guyard 1961, cat. no. 76; Le Bohec 2003, cat. no. 454.

a basket of fruit, and her right hand is resting on the upper part of this basket.

The original paint of this stele is very well preserved. In addition to the green niche background and the red hair, other painted details were added without having been carved or engraved into the stone. This is particularly visible on the face of the deceased: the eyebrows, pupils, and the relief of the eyelids are marked by red brushstrokes. In addition, the temples are adorned with two wavy red strands of hair.[30] The clothes are also painted: the scarf yellow and streaked with two brown/black lines at regular intervals, and the fringed edge of the tunic also painted in yellow. Most important for the current study is a red stripe running vertically down the outer tunic from the figure's right knee to ankle height, the end of the scarf covering the upper part of this stripe (fig. 3). While this was initially interpreted by the restorers as the only remaining part of an all-over stripe decoration,[31] it is now thought to be what would be visible below the shawl of two vertical red lines running parallel from the shoulder to the hem. According to the epigraphy and typology of the stele, a date in the second century CE has been proposed.[32]

A second stele of a woman from eastern Gaul has preserved remains of painted details that allow us to better understand the appearance of her clothing. The limestone stele was discovered in the vicinity of Beaune (territory of the Aedui, Côte-d'Or) before 1910 and is now kept in the Beaune fine arts museum (fig. 4).[33] The top of the stele is broken; it currently measures 1.10 m high, 0.45 m wide, and 0.10 m deep. In a curved niche, the deceased is depicted standing. She is dressed in a Gallic tunic with end sleeves. In her right hand, which has been brought to her chest, she is holding a cup and in her left hand the handle of a jug. Her hair is treated in fine locks pulled to the back of her head. Traces of red paint are still visible in the contour lines around the features, the hair, and in a vertical line down each side of the tunic currently only preserved from the hips to the hem.[34] The style of the stele and the representation of the deceased suggest that it can be dated to the end of the second century CE.[35]

FIG. 3. Detail of the Divixta stele showing the vertical red line at the bottom of the Gallic tunic.

The third stele of interest here was discovered in the northeastern rampart of Langres at an unknown date but before 1911. It is made of Lingon limestone and is 1.36 m high, 0.67 m wide, and 0.32 m deep. It is currently located in the storage area of the Guy Baillet museum.[36] In a flat niche stands a (probably bearded) man. He turns his head to the left of the stele and is dressed in a Gallic tunic with end sleeves that goes down to below the knees. His hairstyle is quite bushy and is made up of large wavy strands, falling down to the nape of his neck. In his right hand he is holding what appears to be a diagonal strap (of a bag?) and in his left the handle of a wicker basket filled with fruit. Numerous traces of paint are still visible on the stone: parts of the niche background are painted in light red,

[30] Delferrière and Edme 2018a, 277–78, fig. 12; 2018b, 20–21, fig. 14; 2019a, 104–5, fig. 13; Delferrière 2020, 179–80, fig. 4.

[31] Delferrière and Edme 2019a, 104, fig. 13.

[32] Edme 2018, 3:535, cat. no. Ling-297.

[33] Espérandieu 3.1 2103; Imbert 1970, cat. no. 18; Thévenot 1971, cat. no. 44; Provost et al. 2009, 21–22, 51; Lamy 2015, 3:108, cat. no. 21.195; Edme 2018, 3:182, cat. no. Éd-346; Delferrière and Edme 2018b, 9–10, cat. no. 1.

[34] Delferrière and Edme 2018b, 9–10, cat. no. 1; 2019a, 99 and 105.

[35] Lamy 2015, 3:108, cat. no. 21.195; Menec 2015, 3:69, cat. no. 239; Edme 2018, 3:182, cat. no. Éd-346.

[36] Langres, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Guy Baillet 845.17; acq. before 1911. Espérandieu 4.2 3279; Royer 1902 and 1931, cat. no. 188; Guyard 1961, cat. no. 188; Decorse 2000, cat. no. 10; Menec 2015, 3:65, cat. no. 225; Edme 2018, 3:555, cat. no. Ling-337; Delferrière and Edme 2019a, 98.

FIG. 4. Grave stele from the vicinity of Beaune, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Beaune 44.795; acq. date n/a, doc. Espérandieu 3.1 2103.

there is a large dark red line surrounding the body of the figure and, on the lower part of the tunic, there are the clear remains of a thin, red stripe decoration (fig. 5); there are also some traces of polychromy on his top left shoulder, which are difficult to perceive on a macroscopic level. The date of this funerary monument is difficult to determine, but is estimated to be between the first and third centuries CE.[37]

The fourth, another Lingon stele in fine oolitic limestone (Asnières stone), of which only the right part remains, was discovered before 1911 in Dijon. The dimensions are 1.47 m high, 0.52 m wide, and 0.40 m deep. It had probably been cut to be reused in the Late Antique castrum. It is now preserved in the Dijon archaeological museum (fig. 6).[38] It shows two

FIG. 5. Detail of a grave stele from the northeastern rampart of Langres showing a thin red stripe on the lower part of the tunic. Langres, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Guy Baillet 845.17; acq. date n/a, doc. Espérandieu 4.2 3279 (A.-L. Edme).

male figures standing, but the figure on the left is almost entirely broken away. The one on the right has a shaggy hairstyle and wears a calf-length Gallic tunic with end-sleeves. He holds his right hand out to the other figure. Recent restoration work has revealed extensive remains of paintwork.[39] The hair of the extant figure was painted orange/red, and the details of the clothing and shoes were painted in red lines: the straps of the sandals, the neckline, the armholes, the seams along the sides of the tunic, and two thin, decorative bands on the tunic running from the shoulders to the waist, where they disappear behind an arm and folds of fabric (fig. 7). It is likely that these lines would have continued down to the hem, but the paint has faded in this area. At first glance, these lines at the shoulders suggest the seams of inset sleeves, but due to the width of the tunic, these sleeves start midway down the upper arm. This is why the red lines on the shoulders cannot be seams for sleeves.[40] As a result, the red lines running down from the shoulders must be decorative bands. In addition, what appear to be reinforcement devices are shown as red crosses at the points of the tunic where tearing would be an issue: at the bottom

[37] Edme 2018, 3:555, cat. no. Ling-337.

[38] Espérandieu 4.2 3479; Deyts 1976, cat. no. 232; Edme 2018, 3:460, cat. no. Ling-148.

[39] Desroches and Sawatzky 2015.

[40] Both Roman and Gallic tunics were usually woven to a T shape on the loom without the subsequent addition of sleeves, but Gallic tunics appear to have been made in both ways. For tunics woven to shape, see Granger-Taylor 1982; 2007. For a fuller discussion of tunic sleeves in general, see Pausch 2003, 84–86.

FIG. 6. Grave stele from Dijon, Musée Archéologique de Dijon Arb. 165; acq. date n/a, doc. Espérandieu 4.2 3479 (A.-L. Edme).

of the side seams and the opening of the armholes.[41] The date of this funerary monument is difficult to determine, but is estimated to be between the first and third centuries CE.[42]

A NEWLY RECONSTRUCTED GALLIC TUNIC FROM LES MARTRES-DE-VEYRE

In addition to the recent collation and publication of the pigment remains on Gallic relief sculpture, and especially the recent reconstruction of decoration on the Gallic tunic, a textile find from Les Martres-de-Veyre in France also sheds light on the matter. The textile evidence for Gallic dress is extremely sparse, and this is the only archaeological site that has yielded complete garments from the Gallo-Roman period. The most famous find here is an astoundingly well preserved female Gallic tunic, which was excavated from Grave D at the site in 1851.[43] It dates to circa 180 CE and was plain in color (brown, in this case), reinforcing the idea that the Gallic tunic was a plain-colored garment. However, recently, a second, almost complete Gallic tunic from the same site, dating to 110–150 CE, has been pieced together from fragments and subjected to scientific dyestuff analysis, which has identified a red striped decoration.[44] The reconstruction drawing indicates it was 110 cm in length, with two thin, woven-in bands of red thread from the shoulders to the hem (fig. 8).[45]

FIG. 7. Detail of the grave stele from Dijon showing the red vertical stripes painted at the shoulders (A.-L. Edme).

Anique Hamelink recently reconstructed the full garment (fig. 9), using premade fabric of the same

[41] These details reveal that the tunic was made from a large sheet of cloth, pierced in the center for the head opening; the ends are sewn together to create the sleeves: Delferrière and Edme 2018a, 275–76, fig. 7; 2018b, 20, 22, fig. 15; 2019a, 97, 105, fig. 14.

[42] Edme 2018, 3:460, cat. no. Ling-148.

[43] Audollent 1923; Fournier 1956; Breniquet et al. 2017.

[44] The textiles are in Clermont-Ferrand, Musée Bargoin 997.5.1.ax.1; Breniquet et al. 2017. Lorente et al. 2020 identifies the red as purpurin dye. This could have come from several species of plants in the Rubiacae family, including madder, which was widely used in antiquity; Nowik et al. 2005, 843–45.

[45] See most recently Lorente et al. 2020.

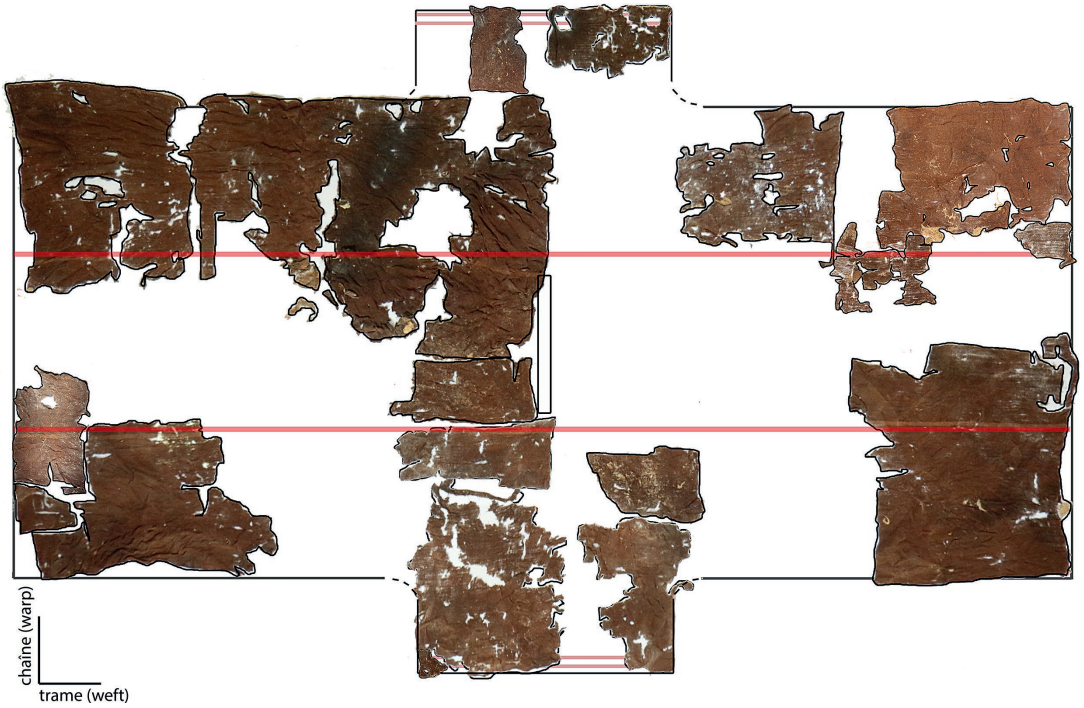

FIG. 8. Reconstruction from the fragments of the Gallic tunic from Grave A/E at Les Martres-de-Veyre (Clermont-Ferrand, Musée Bargoin 997.5.1.ax.1) (© Fabienne Médard, unpublished reconstruction, used with permission).

weave and density as the original.[46] Since the height and size of the original wearer are unknown, the reconstruction was adapted to fit the model in imitation of the fit seen on the funerary monuments.[47] This reconstruction thus combines the archaeological and visual sources for Gallic tunics with *clavi* to illustrate the overall look of the garment as it would have been worn in real life, and the placement of the *clavi* on the garment. What can clearly be observed is the effect of the *clavi* on the silhouette: elongation and narrowing of the body. The drape of the fabric is also very similar to that observed on the funerary monuments, indicating that the fineness and drape of the fabric is a reflection of reality and not merely the result of the sculptor's training. As the Gallic tunic was commonly worn with

FIG. 9. Model wearing the reconstruction of a Gallic tunic, combined with a draped scarf similar to the scarf depicted on the monument of Divixta.

[46] A fabric density of around 140 gr/m^2, 16 threads/cm, woven in plain weave, which is a very fine, light woolen fabric. The red *clavi* were made from prewoven fabric dyed with modern red dyes.

[47] As the model is quite tall (1.75 cm) the length of the tunic from shoulder to hem was adapted from 110 to 140 cm, resulting in a hem touching the arch of the foot. The width of the garment was adapted to fit the arm length of the model, from 135 to 150 cm. Another adaptation was that the *clavi* were attached separately rather than woven into the fabric, due to budget and time constraints.

either a cloak or scarf, the picture of Gallic dress is here completed by the addition of a yellow scarf, of which the color, shape, and draping are based on the funerary monument of Divixta (see fig. 2).

Today, the fabric of the original fragments is brown in color, at least partly due to its time in the ground. No traces of dye were discovered on the fabric samples taken from the body of the garment, which makes it likely that it was a natural wool color: white, gray, or (reddish) brown. Because natural white is one of the most commonly attested base colors for tunics in the Roman empire, it was therefore selected as the color for the reconstructed tunic.[48]

WALL PAINTING FRAGMENTS FROM MAASBRACHT

A Roman villa site at Maasbracht in the Netherlands, excavated in the 1980s but only recently published, contained multiple fragments of painted wall decoration dating to the late second or early third century CE, now housed in the Limburgs Museum, Venlo. In addition to mythological and gladiatorial scenes, several fragments of what seems to have been a portrait scene depicting the family who owned the villa were also discovered. It is clear from what remains that the scene showed aspects of daily life, possibly office work, rent collecting, or eating, corresponding to similar scenes on larger Gallic grave reliefs.[49] As the scene seems to be indoors, no hooded cloaks are in evidence, but several figures, both male and female, wear Gallic tunics. The first two (Panel 12; fig. 10) are male figures. One wears a purple Gallic tunic with yellow/orange fringes at the cuffs of the sleeves and at the hem, and the second wears a cream/white Gallic tunic with a white fringe at the hem and two sets of three thin vertical purple stripes from the shoulders to the hem.[50] Panel 13 (fig. 11) shows part of the torso of a man wearing a yellow tunic with a thin purple stripe running down from the shoulder.[51] Panel 14 shows the bottom of an orange/yellow, ankle-length (and as such, female) Gallic tunic with vertical purple stripes.[52] Panel 15 shows the top left part of a figure wearing a purple tunic with a pale green stripe, and over that a cream-colored cloak diagonally across the chest (toga? *pallium*?).[53] Finally, Fragment 32 shows the shoulder of a figure wearing an orange tunic with a set of two (or three?) thin vertical purple stripes starting at the

FIG. 10. Panel 12 of the wall painting from the villa at Maasbracht. Venlo, Limburgs Museum (Thijn van de Ven; courtesy Louis Swinkels and Limburgs Museum).

FIG. 11. Panel 13 of the wall painting from the villa at Maasbracht. Venlo, Limburgs Museum (Thijn van de Ven; courtesy Louis Swinkels and Limburgs Museum).

[48] See, e.g., Apul., *Met*. 8.27.2; Juv. 3.178–79; Petron., *Sat*. 60.8; Plin., *HN* 14.103; Plin., *Ep*. 7.27.13. For this and colors of tunics more generally, see Pausch 2003, 100–2.

[49] E.g., Rothe 2009, cat. nos. T16, T24, T30, T33, T35, T43, T44, T56, T60, T62, T103, T117, T128, T185.

[50] Swinkels 2019, 96, 97 fig. 5.28.

[51] Swinkels 2019, 98, 99 fig. 5.29.

[52] Swinkels 2019, 98, 99 fig. 5.30.

[53] Swinkels 2019, 98, 99 fig. 5.31.

shoulder under a draped white cloth.[54] In Swinkels' extensive discussion of this scene, he clearly—and rightly—identifies these garments as Gallic tunics.[55]

GALLIC TUNICS WITH CLAVI?

The evidence presented above shows that the wide, unbelted tunics that were commonly worn in, and served as a sartorial identity marker of, the Gallic region could sometimes be decorated with two vertical stripes or sets of stripes, possibly commonly in a reddish color. It is also clear that such a decoration bears a striking resemblance to the typical Roman style of tunic decoration: the so-called *clavi*.

Clavi generally consisted of two parallel, plain bands of a color in various widths running down from the shoulders to the hem of the Roman *tunica*. They were often woven into the fabric, although some of the more elaborate *clavi* of late antiquity were sewn on. Red and purple were popular colors, but both textile and pictorial evidence attest to a wide range of possible hues, including blues, greens, black, and pink.[56] In Rome, specific types of purple *clavi* on male tunics were the legal prerogative of the two ranks of Roman nobility: the *angustus clavus* (narrow stripe) for equestrians and the *latus clavus* (broad stripe) for senators. Roman tradition had it that their use was introduced under Etruscan influence by the early Roman king Tullus Hostilius,[57] but as Goette has pointed out, the *angustus-latus clavus* distinction at the very least must postdate the creation of the senatorial and equestrian orders in the second century BCE.[58] Given that early Romans apparently wore their togas without tunics underneath,[59] it is likely that both the *tunica* and its characteristic decoration were a later development. An Etruscan impetus is nonetheless conceivable, as *clavus*-like decorations were sometimes used to adorn the tunics of Etruscan men and women,[60] but they were also occasionally used in Greek dress and have been attested in central and southern Italy in the pre-Roman period.[61]

By the Imperial period, *clavi* could be used as both status markers and as general tunic decorations, in a variety of widths; even the *latus clavus* was used by ordinary people, apparently without fear of legal repercussions.[62] They were also worn by women, although in the absence of both written evidence and paintwork on statues and reliefs, it is hard to know when this began. Among the earliest depictions of Roman women in tunics with *clavi* are some very few Pompeian frescoes.[63] *Clavi* may not have been a common fashion for women until late antiquity, when they became the staple decoration of contemporary tunics like the *dalmatica* and the *tunica manicata*,[64] although only with more evidence such as paint residue on statues and reliefs from places like Italy can we be certain. We do find *clavi* as tunic decoration on both male and female tunics throughout the Imperial period in the Egyptian mummy portraits, as well as in Syria, and these may reflect Roman fashions in the wider empire.[65]

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[54] Swinkels 2019, 98, 99 fig. 5.32a.

[55] Swinkels 2019, 113–17.

[56] Pausch 2003, 112; Bender Jørgensen 2011, 76, 79; Borg 1996.

[57] Macrob., *Sat.* 1.6.7; Plin., *HN* 9.63, 9.136.

[58] Goette 1990, 9.

[59] See, e.g., Gell., *NA* 6.12; Livy 1.8.13; Plin., *HN* 34.23; Plut., *Vit. Cat. Min.* 6.3.

[60] But apparently just decorative, not as a symbol of status like at Rome: see, e.g., the Tomba Golini in Orvieto (Pausch 2003, 257 fig. 75); the Vel Saties scene in the François Tomb at Vulci (Pausch 2003, 244 fig. 34); a statuette of a woman in the Walters Gallery, Baltimore (Bonfante 2003, 182 fig. 82).

[61] Pausch 2003, 105–8. According to Pausch, band decoration on Greek tunics was merely decorative rather than symbolic. For further discussion on the origins of the *clavi*, see Bonfante 2003, 41; Pausch 2003, 106–7.

[62] See, e.g., Hor., *Sat.* 1.5.35: *scriba* wearing the *latus clavus*; Plin., *HN* 33.29: herald with *latus clavus*; bronze statue of a sacrificial attendant in Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Pausch 2003, 261 fig. 86); *fullo* in a fresco from Pompeii (Gell 2010, vol. 2, pl. 51). Even for the emperor, a range of options was apparently available, as Augustus' *clavi* are described by Suetonius as "neither too wide nor too narrow" (*Aug.* 73). For further discussion, see Pausch 2003, 60, 104, 117.

[63] E.g., the *fullonica* scene from the House of Veranius Hypsaeus now in the Naples Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Coarelli 2002, 136) and possibly the first scene in the Villa of the Mysteries frescoes (the so-called Reading of the Rituals; Sauron 1998). See also Ov., *Ars Am.* 3.269: "Pallida purpureis spargat sua corpora virgis" (Let a pale woman adorn her person with purple stripes).

[64] See, e.g., Pausch 2003, 118–24.

[65] E.g., the *loculus* portrait of a woman from Palmyra in the Landesmuseum Mainz (Pausch 2003, 236 fig. 13); a tunic in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg (inv. no. 4219), radiocarbon dated to 50–232 CE (Schrenk and Knaller 2004, 158); a mostly complete Tunic A (MC 1100) from Mons Claudianus dated to 100–120 CE with purple *clavi* (Bender Jørgensen 2018, 17 fig. 3); two early mummy portraits, 55–70 CE, in the British Museum showing women in tunics with *clavi* (www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA74713 and www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA74716). For more on Egyptian mummy portraits: e.g., Borg 1995; 1996; Corcoran 2021.

In contrast to the Mediterranean area, such decorative bands appear to have been absent from the pre-Roman dress of northern and western Europe, where textile fragments indicate that common fabric patterns were stripes, tartan, herringbone, and lozenge, as well as plain cloth with or without the addition of decorative (tablet-woven) borders at the hems. Colored stripes appear as a general overall pattern in Bronze Age and Iron Age fabrics, but not as just two bands.[66] The presence of *clavi* on Gallic tunics in Gallo-Roman funerary art, therefore, constitutes a foreign element on an otherwise indigenous item of clothing.

Clavi do occasionally appear in figurative art in other parts of the northern provinces as well. Several Roman-period reliefs from Pannonia, for example, have extant paintwork that shows the use of *clavi* on tunics, including at least one piece in the care of the Bundesdenkmalamt in Vienna[67] and a so-called *Diener* scene now housed in the museum in the castle at Tata in Hungary.[68] The latter shows the bottom halves of three figures, two of whom wear tunics with remaining painted *clavi* on them. One is a short white tunic with red/orange *clavi*, the other is longer and orange/yellow with dark red *clavi*. However, as this is outside the area of Gallic dress, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the tunics depicted here should, on the balance of probability, be seen as Roman garments; they may indeed represent Late Roman garments, on which *clavi* were ubiquitous throughout the empire. Unfortunately, text-free relief monuments from Pannonia like this one have proven almost impossible to date.[69]

Together, the newly published paintwork on the eastern Gallic stones described above, along with the newly discovered decoration on the tunic from Grave A/E from Les Martres-de-Veyre and the wall painting fragments from Maasbracht, allow us to draw significant conclusions. We can now join up the dots and show that *clavi* were used as decoration on a demonstrably indigenous garment, the Gallic tunic, in the Roman northwest, long before the ubiquity of *clavi* in Late Antique clothing.[70]

The evidence also leads us to reevaluate other finds that might otherwise have been assumed to have represented Roman tunics. A prime example is a woolen tunic in Bourges' Musée du Berry, dated to the third century CE and found in the Fin Renard cemetery in Bourges in 1908.[71] It was found in a lead coffin in a stone sarcophagus with a mummified child of 6 years (sex unknown). The remaining fragment constitutes the chest and shoulder part of the tunic. Two horizontal edges on the sides of the fragment attest to the fact that the tunic originally had sleeves. It has two green bands—identified as *clavi* by the museum's textile researcher in 1984—running from the shoulders vertically down to the edge of the torn cloth. Two things stand out about this object: the fact that the *clavi* are green, not red like all the other known examples, and the fact that these were painted on, rather than woven into the fabric. In light of the discussion above, this tunic should now most probably be seen as a Gallic tunic, not a Roman *tunica*.

Several mosaic images from Gaul representing people wearing *clavus*-decorated tunics in scenes from everyday life can also now be at least suggested to depict Gallic, rather than Roman, tunics, especially where the exact shape of the garment is unclear. One example is the so-called rustic calendar from Saint-Romain-en-Gal preserved in the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Dated between the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century CE, it shows various agro-pastoral scenes taking place within a Roman villa.[72] If the tunics are Gallic, we may infer that the people in these rural scenes

[66] Examples of such striped textiles are the olive green and dark brown striped veil from Franzhausen (Grömer 2016a, 40) and the Dürrnberg striped textiles (Grömer 2012, 41). For a full discussion of the types of decorations on Bronze and Iron Age textiles, see Wild 2002, 11, 18, 21; Grömer 2012; 2016a, 171–98; 2016b.

[67] Inv. no. W 9565.

[68] Lupa database cat. no. 5924 (http://lupa.at/5924). These kinds of *Diener*, or servant, figures are common on Norican and Pannonian stones, but it is as yet unclear who exactly they represent. Possibilities include actual servants of the house, sacrificial attendants, and the children of the family displaying their respective roles in the household. For further discussion, see, e.g., Walde 2001; Pochmarksi 2003.

[69] See also gravestone portraits from farther south in Dalmatia, e.g., the ornate bands (*clavi*?) on a woman's tunic from Livno in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Lupa database cat. no. 29997 (http://lupa.at/29997).

[70] In this context it is hard to know what to make of the singular appearance of *clavi* (rendered in copper) on the short tunic worn with trousers by the Celtic god Sucellus in a Roman-period bronze statuette from western Switzerland (Leibundgut 1980, 41–43, cat. no. 37, pls. 42–45), although, here again, Roman influence must be at play.

[71] First published in Ferdière 1984, appx. 3, by textile specialist A. Michelet, 264–66. See also Roche-Bernard 1993, 8–9.

[72] Balmelle and Darmon 2017, 188–90, fig. 239.

are Gallic as well, rather than the scenes being Roman stock images.

The new understanding we are now gaining about the Gallic tunic is all the more interesting because the Tres Galliae as a region, although rich in Roman-period figurative art, especially funerary monuments, appears to have been particularly resistant to Roman clothing styles. It is of course the case that images on funerary monuments tend to represent an ideal rather than everyday reality. But this is what makes them especially valuable for questions of identity: they show what dress styles people deliberately chose to be depicted in, rather than what they happened to be wearing on any given day, which might have been the result of more practical, less symbolic, considerations. As such, the dress chosen for funerary images can be taken to especially reflect identity and cultural affiliations. In the funerary art of Gaul, very few depictions, usually only those of the very wealthy, show men or women in Roman dress like the toga or the *tunica* and *palla*; the vast majority depict both men and women in the local Gallic ensemble with its distinctive tunic.[73] Without the original paint, the impression given has been that very few Roman elements found their way into the dress of the majority of Gauls, and that the local garments were thoroughly indigenous in character.[74] The evidence presented above makes clear that the typical Gallic tunic was sometimes, in fact, decorated with a distinctively Roman decorative element, namely *clavi*.

The evidence from Gaul to date attests to red or purple as prime colors for the *clavi*, although the Fin Renard tunic shows that green could also sometimes be used. The predominance of red tones is perhaps unsurprising, as together with purple and shades between the two, it was a common color for *clavi* in Roman dress as well. It may, however, be due to the fact that the pigment used, mainly red ochre (madder is less common), for red paint on Gallic stone was particularly resistant to decay. It was used a great deal on the stones on which some paint survives, and not just for *clavi* but also to accentuate or add elements like hair, facial features, shoe straps, and clothing seams, as noted earlier in the descriptions of figures 2, 4, and 6.[75]

From the as yet meager evidence, it is difficult to establish exactly who in Gaul wore *clavi* and why. The pictorial and textile evidence presented here shows that gender was not a determining factor: they are shown decorating the Gallic tunics of both men and women. The Fin Renard child's tunic also attests that age was not a factor. Moreover, given that the tunic in Grave D at Les Martres-de-Veyre had no decoration, that some of the Gallic tunics in the Maasbracht fragments also did not, and that the depictions of now-lost painted features on eastern Gallic gravestones in the 19th-century Thiollet album show both men and women in Gallic tunics of plain red or yellow,[76] we can see that *clavi* were optional; not all Gallic tunics had this decoration. The gravestones illustrated by Thiollet are of a similar kind to those on which the *clavi* have been discovered, and they commemorate people from broadly the same societal group—the commercially successful Gallic "middle class."[77] It seems likely that rather than showing status, the decision to wear *clavi* was a matter of personal choice and represented a deliberate nod to Roman fashion.

CONCLUSION

With the evidence for Gallic tunics with *clavi* presented here, it is now clear that the conclusion that Gallic dress was "in no way Roman or 'Romanized' dress"[78] must be revised. That is not to say that at any point it was the norm for Gallic tunics to have *clavi*; the evidence is still too sparse to say either way. But it does illustrate that there were several options. A Gallic tunic could be plain (as the first tunic from Les Martres-de-Veyre or the first purple tunic at Maasbracht), or embellished with *clavi*, or in native fabrics such as checkered textiles, which continued to be produced in the Roman period.[79] It demonstrates

[73] See, e.g., Wild 1985; Freigang 1997; Rothe 2009; and in general Espérandieu's multivolume corpus of Gallic figurative art (Espérandieu, esp. 3.1 and 4.2).

[74] Roman hairstyles, on the other hand, did find more widespread adoption by men and especially women in Gaul.

[75] Delferrière and Edme 2018a, 282; 2019a, 103–5; Delferrière 2020, 180–81.

[76] Thiollet 1847–59.

[77] For this term in relation to the prosperous commercial and farming class in Gaul, see Drinkwater 1978, 837; 1983, 196; more recently, Leveau 2007.

[78] Rothe 2012a, 241.

[79] For Britain: Wild 2002, 21. Germany: Möller-Wiering and Subbert 2012, 157. Gaul: Desrosiers and Lorquin (1998, 60) mention a red and black checkered fragment from Les Martres-de-Veyre in addition to several other twill weaves (herringbone and diamond twill). In the Netherlands, twill fabrics declined in popularity in favor of plain tabby weaves in the Roman-occupied southern part, while twill fabrics were the most common weave in the unoccupied northern area (Kramer 2017, 57).

that the identification of the Gallic dress tradition with native or Roman fashions and culture is not clear cut. Moreover, it speaks to the options available to people in the provinces. The fact that not every Gallic tunic had *clavi* could mean that they served as some kind of identity or status marker, or they may simply have been a manifestation of fashion and innovation. Rather than being traditional dress, or even entirely symbolic of a regional identity, the Gallic tunic was evidently a dynamic garment that could be adapted in decoration—and presumably also fabric in general—to the tastes and cultural impulses of its wearers. Were we to have even more grave portraits with surviving paintwork, we would get an even better idea of these options, as well as the kinds of people who chose them. As it stands, the discovery of the *clavi* opens up a new range of possibilities as to the ways in which the Gallo-Romans saw themselves and expressed their identity on their gravestones.

The appearance of *clavi* on Gallic tunics also speaks to the means and organization of clothing trade or production on the provincial level. To have a garment with *clavi* woven into it might sometimes have required the prospective wearer to purchase a ready-made or custom-made complete garment. However, the Fin Renard tunic shows that in some cases, *clavi* could also be retrospectively added to a tunic, perhaps even long after it was produced, to reflect the taste of the wearer. Even the Gallic tunics with woven-in *clavi* did not need to be imported from Italy or elsewhere, and it is highly unlikely that they were. The northwestern provinces, and Gaul especially, were famous for their sheep flocks and sophisticated weaving skills, and they exported fabrics and garments throughout the Roman empire.[80]

The mixing of Roman and local elements of dress was not unknown in the northwestern provinces. However, until now, these so-called mixed ensembles were thought to consist of one item of dress from one dress tradition and another item from another dress tradition—for example, the wearing of a *palla* with a Gallic tunic by Treveran women or a fully Roman clothing set complemented by a typically Ubian necklace.[81] This way, the boundaries between what was Roman and what was indigenous appeared clearly distinguishable.

There are other aspects of Gallo-Roman culture that display a mixture of local and Roman elements. The local deities, for example, were often syncretized with Roman ones (e.g., Lenus Mars in the area of the Treveri, Mars Cicolius among the Lingoni, Mars Camulus among the Remi, and Mars Segomo among the Sequani).[82] Similarly, the region in which the Gallic tunic was worn was also the region of the Gallo-Roman (or in Britain, Romano-Celtic) temples. These were among the earliest stone buildings in the region and consisted of Roman elements in the form of porticoes and columns, but were unique to this region in their characteristic concentric form.[83] To find such elements from different dress traditions merged, we could say seamlessly, in clothing, however, is new. Though the tunics discussed here had *clavi*, they are not Roman *tunicae*. They are much wider, had sleeves, and were worn unbelted. They are garments that were indigenous Gallic in shape (wide and sleeved) and manner of wearing (unbelted) but the woven-in *clavi* were a consciously chosen Roman element. As such, they enabled the wearer to navigate between two contemporary cultures, fashions, and identities within Roman provincial society—the Gallic and the Roman—in a way that has evaded scholarly notice until now.

The combining of local garment types with decorative traits from outside the cultural area is not uncommon in dress history. Both the sari and the *shalwar kameez* in India, for example, are manifestly subcontinental garments that have sometimes used colors and patterns in their fabric inspired by non-Indian impulses to reflect the taste of their wearers. Likewise, as shown in a recent exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, while Europeans had traditionally thought the Japanese kimono to be unchanging in style, they had looked for fashion or innovation only in garment cut and construction. However, it is in the colors and patterns of the fabric that fashion, innovation, and taste have been, and still are, expressed. As curator Anna Jackson has noted, "The surface is the significant site of meaning in Japanese dress."[84] The fact that the distinctive Gallic form of tunic could apparently be decorated in a variety of ways, from more

[80] British and Gallic wool items of clothing are named in the Edict of Diocletian XIX 60; XXV 9; XIX 32, 54; Strabo (4.4.3) mentions sheep that produced particularly fine wool. See Wild 1970, 9; Sebesta 1994, 72.

[81] Rothe 2009, 75–76; appx. 2, tables 11–18; Rothe 2012a, 8.

[82] See, e.g., Derks 1998.

[83] See, e.g., Derks 1998, 200–14.

[84] Jackson 2020, 16.

local textile decoration to Roman *clavi*, combined with the fact that it was worn in identical basic form by virtually all classes of Gallo-Roman society, suggests that its surface was also a "significant site of meaning."

These new insights are a stark reminder of just how much of the original information contained in Roman provincial sculptural art has disappeared with the loss of the original paintwork: in addition to the *clavi,* for example, the monument of Divixta contains a small green dot between the index and middle finger on the right hand, which most likely represents the remains of a finger ring.[85] Finger rings were a common, if sometimes criticized as *luxuria*, item of jewelry among Roman men and women.[86] Their use extended from the decorative to the protective when worn as amulets;[87] they could also display wealth and—in the case of signet rings—ownership or authority.[88] Because of their role as a symbol of rank and social status, rings were often carved as part of a portrait in Italy.[89] This ring on Divixta's finger is significant because, unlike in Italy, finger rings are rare in funerary portraits in the provinces of Gallia, both Germaniae and Britannia.[90] Divixta's ring thus provides a rare example of a woman in Gaul wearing a finger ring. Moreover, its depiction on the portrait in paint only, instead of sculpted in relief, raises the question of how many finger rings we might be missing in provincial sculpture. It also leads us to ask whether the ring is another element taken from, and meant to represent, Roman fashion, like the *clavi*. Rings as objects and ring wearing as a cultural practice are said to have been introduced, or at least popularized, in northwestern Europe by the Romans either during or just before the conquest.[91]

It is heartening that more and more effort is now being devoted to discovering painted details in Roman provincial art.[92] With pigment-detecting technology developing apace, we hope that further new discoveries can be made and more information gleaned from this valuable body of evidence.

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[85] Desroches and Rigaud 1995–98, 2; Delferrière and Edme 2018a, 278.

[86] Macrob., *Sat.* 7.13.11–16; Plin., *HN* 33.22, 33.24–25; Fourlas 1971, 76; Hawley 2007, 106–7.

[87] Featuring *phalli,* Hercules knots, or eyes (see Johns 1996, 41–74); women wearing multiple rings: Pflug 1989, no. 226; Kockel 1993, no. I1.

[88] Plain gold rings were worn as a sign of senatorial and equestrian rank by Roman men (*anulus aureus*: Cass. Dio 48.45; Plin., *HN* 33.9.33; Suet., *Galb*. 14) and a sign of marital status by Roman women (*anulus pronubus*: Plin., *HN* 33.4.12; Tert., *Apol.* 6).

[89] Pflug 1989, 95, 100; Kockel 1993, 52–53; Stout 1994, 78; Alexandridis 2003, 13; Kunst 2005; Hawley 2007; Klöckner and Stark 2017, 236–37. Such was the importance of these items as symbols that even under the Lex Oppia (215 BCE), when senators were forced to give up their gold, finger rings for themselves and their wives and bullae were exempted, as well as an additional ounce of gold for wives and daughters for unspecified use (Livy 26.36.5).

[90] Klöckner and Stark 2017, 236.

[91] Finger rings are uncommon archaeological finds in Britain and in Gaul in the Iron Age (Guiraud 1989, 173; Johns 1996, 8, 30–31), although in some regions they appear slightly more frequently (e.g., the Durotrigan region of South Dorset; Philpott 1991, 142). In Gaul, the distribution of finger rings does speak to a rising popularity under Roman rule, starting from a concentration in locations where the Roman presence was most pronounced, and gradually dispersing in the later first and second centuries CE (Guiraud 1989, 205). Their typology is shared across the Roman empire (Guiraud 1989, 207; Riha 1990; Swift 2011, 209).

[92] See also, e.g., work being undertaken on the Norican and Pannonian stones by the Austrian Bundesdenkmalamt (www.oeaw.ac.at/oeai/forschung/altertumswissenschaften/antike-religion/polychromon) and a new project on the polychromy of Gallo-Roman sculpture and architecture (mainly funerary) based on the collections of the Musées de Sens and other museums in Burgundy, to be published by N. Delferrière, with the TRACES Laboratory, UMR 5608, at the University of Toulouse Jean Jaurès.

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