

The Augustan Ideal and the Pompeian Reality Clothing Choice in Julio-Claudian Pompeii

Public statuary commissioned and completed during the Julio-Claudian rule of the Roman Empire provided contemporary viewers with idealized images of how the elite classes, and more broadly all citizens of the Roman Empire, should be visually perceived (Olsen 2006, 86). However, the style of dress depicted in wall paintings found in homes and businesses in provincial cities such as Pompeii depict people in ways that are counter to the ideal image portrayed in public statuary. Using textual evidence from both Gaius Suetonius Tranquillius second book of *The Twelve Caesars*, which gave a biography of Augustus, and text from the second book of Ovid's *Tristia*, this essay provides a way in which to understand Augustan morality legislation which set the tone for how Romans, either in the capital, or provincial cities, such as Pompeii, were supposed to dress in a virtuous and moral manner. Wall paintings from homes and businesses within Pompeii will be analyzed against statuary representations of the imperial moral ideal put forth by Augustus to see if Roman citizens were influenced by the demands from their ruler or if they followed a more individualistic path.

First, an overview of Augustan Rome and the texts that present these edicts from Augustus to the public on moral Roman dress will be presented along with images of Augustus and Livia as exemplars of how the moral and pious Roman citizen should have presented themselves in public. Next, two public portrait statues one from Pompeii, the *Eumachia*, and the other from Herculaneum, *L. Mammius Maximus*, will be analyzed. These two statues were chosen due to their public nature of display in these neighboring provincial cities. These statues provide a bridge from imperial exemplar to that of elite citizens in the provinces and how they incorporated the Augustan mandate into their public images. These interpretations of the moral standard will be compared to nine different frescos, which were completed during a period starting with the reign of Augustus and ending in Nero's reign, from homes and businesses in Pompeii to portray the impact that the morality edicts had on Roman citizens in this particular city.

The late Roman Republic, for Augustus, was a geo-political entity that had lost its moral compass. When Augustus rose to power in 31 BCE, he brought a set of ideals with him on how to restore Rome and the provinces to a traditional and, thus, moral social bearing. Augustus created programs to bring traditional food, entertainment, peace and morality back to Rome (Zanker 1998, 1-2). At the start of his reign, the elite were unsure of Augustus' ability to correct the moral compass of the Roman state. Augustus first created a plan for the healing and restoration of Rome and the provinces that would help bring peace and prosperity back to the Romans. He created programs that renewed religion, customs and the honor of the people. These traditional and fundamentally imperative issues for Rome and the provinces were reinforced through public architecture and art programs. Architecture, reliefs, free standing sculptures, interior decorations and clothing displayed this new visual vocabulary financed by the emperor, state and wealthy provincial leaders (Zanker 1998, 101; Ray 2007, 31-3). The creation of this new visual program spanned the breadth of Augustus' rule. One of the key messages that these images conveyed was that of piety and a sense of moral honor (Zanker 1998, 101).

Starting in 29-28 BCE, Augustus enacted legislation regarding issues of public and private morality. This first set of laws dealt with piety. While they were not successful initially, Augustus continued to pass more legislation in regards to morality again in 18 BCE when laws concerning marriage were passed and successfully implemented. Throughout his reign, Augustus continued this trend of creating additional laws on morality. According to Suetonius in chapter 89 in his biography of Augustus in *The Twelve Caesars*, Augustus used examples from ‘ancient’ sources on moral behavior to try and sway Roman citizens on the importance of leading a moral life to create a strong and healthy empire. As emperor, he, therefore, modeled this behavior with his wife Livia so that the citizens understood that they should live as he actually lived and not just as he decreed (Zanker 1998, 157-9). An example of his public show of modesty and piety was in his choice to keep a small home on the Palatine in Rome for himself and his family instead of commissioning a grand palace for the ruling family (Favro 1996, 100). The written records of the Augustan mandates on morality are tenuous and those on morality in regards to clothing choice are no exception. In reference to the type of dress mandated by the emperor, Suetonius in book two, chapter forty, of *The Twelve Caesars* provided his directive:

“He took pains to reform the dress and form of public appearance of Rome’s forefathers and to honor them. When he saw a group of people at the public assembly wearing dark everyday clothes, he rose and cried out, ‘Look the Romans, masters of the world, people of the toga!’ (Aeneid 1:282) He commanded the aediles to allow no one into the forum or its vicinity unless he had removed his cloak and wore a toga” (Suetonius 1979, 40-4; Dennison 1898, 26-30; Shuckburg 1979, xxxi-xxxiii).

In addition to this edict, Augustus, in chapter 44, dictated that men also wear *togae* to the theater. Here, Augustus was determined that the *toga* represented the moral visual marker of the Roman male. He should wear this garment not only in public but also in meeting with clients at traditional morning *salutatio* held at the patron’s home (Harlow 2005, 145-7).

In the Augustan model, men wore the *toga*, but women also had a clothing protocol. In looking at what was prescribed as proper clothing for a moral Roman woman, Ovid provided the textual source about this issue. This explanation of women’s wear comes from book two of Ovid’s *Tristia* which he wrote while in exile for writing the *Art of Love* that was in violation of Augustus’s morality edicts, which promoted such anti-Augustan values as taking lovers instead of monogamy in marriage and licentious acts. This exile poetry, a set of five books, included an entire second book, which was an apology to Augustus (Williams 2002, 223). Modern analysis of the poem splits it into two sections. The first half of the poem was a plea for clemency by Ovid to Augustus. The second half of the poem was supposed to be an apology for writing the *Art of Love* but it turned into a literary manifesto (Nugent 1990, 242-3). In book two, Ovid openly mocked women in their ‘moral’ Roman dress:

“Away with you fillets (*vittae*), you sweet tokens of shame;
 Away with you, *stola*, trailing down to your feet.
 I sing of carefree love, of legal thievery.”

From this excerpt, Ovid presented the sanctioned female Roman garment in a satirical manner (Zanker 1998, 164-5; Ovid *Tristia* 2, 2:247-49; Williams 2002, 223; Yavetz 1984, 242-43). In

this section of text Ovid, provided an example of known Augustan morality legislation during the time period in which he composed the poem, from 9 to 12 CE.(Williams 2002, 223).

In creating moral standards in dress for both men and women, Augustus created a visual means by which to distinguish a proper Roman citizen in easily identifiable terms. This way of visually displaying one's morality through clothing did not end at the borders of the capital but was taken into the Roman provinces and their cities, such as Pompeii.

By the late first century BCE and the coming of Augustus to power, there was a new 'orientation' between Rome and the provinces. This new orientation markedly changed the cultural construct of towns and cities. In explaining this new social construct, Paul Zanker phrased it in this manner: "Every citizen had two patriae: his own city and the Roman state as a whole, found direct and material expressions in extravagant outward display..." (Zanker 1999, 77). While Zanker was primarily referring to architectural construction, this statement, on a more mundane level, can also refer to the clothing that citizens chose to wear to display both their status and their adherence to the morality legislation created in Rome.

Another connection between Rome and the provincial cities dealt with the diaspora of Roman military personnel after wars had been fought. On multiple occasions the Roman government gave land to former military personnel in provincial cities such as Pompeii. This created a direct link between Rome and those citizens living in a particular province. With the installation of provincial governors in cities such as Pompeii, all legislation, including social laws, came down to these cities and was known to the citizens (Purcell 2005, 100; Zanker 1999, 4). In provincial cities including Pompeii, the cult of the Emperor was employed. Thus, new building projects with images of Augustus, Livia, and the ruling family in their modest and traditional garments, were used as exemplars to be incorporated into a citizen's style of dress. There was meaning in this traditional choice of vestments. This emphasis on the morality through clothing choice will prove influential in the creation of public statuary.

Clothing, since its inception, has been a conveyer of social meaning (Barber 2007, 176). It can show social rank through color, embellishments, design and materials. Therefore, clothing can announce specific messages to members of a particular societal group (Barber 1994, 149-150). These broad definitions can be used when referring to the clothing of both Roman men and women during Julio-Claudian reign. Dress defined and established one's character to both fellow citizens and foreign guests. Their dress reflected their status and their particular role in society (Harlow 2005, 145). In addition to the ability to show one's status, clothing also embodied rank and wealth to those who understood how to interpret the color, material and embellishments of the garments worn (Olsen 2006, 186).

For example, the *toga* defined its wearer as a pious and therefore civilized Roman male who was an active participant in the Roman state. The *toga* symbolized what Roman citizenship demanded (Olsen 2006, 206). The proper Roman *toga* was made of white wool and hung to the ground and was primarily draped over the left shoulder. A knee length *tunica*, which could be belted and also white, was worn underneath the *toga*. Purple was used to designate status within, primarily, political circles (Dupont 1993, 260). *Curule magistrates* wore a thin purple stripe on the border of their *toga* but in the case of those running for office, a bright white *toga* was worn (Vout 1996, 213). Citizens, not in the public spotlight, usually wore *togae* that had a natural

beige coloring from the wool that had not been extensively processed, other than the removal of natural oils (Dupont 1993, 258).

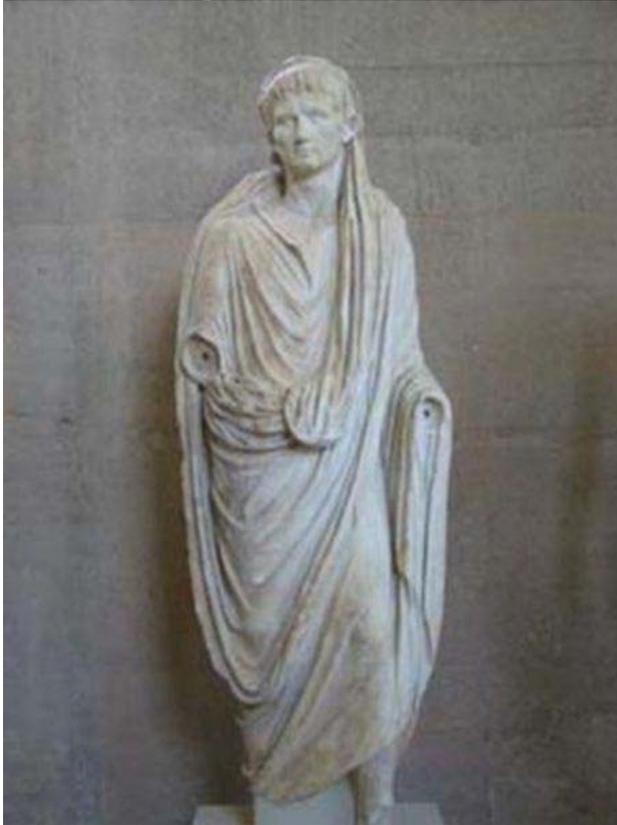


Figure 1. *Statue of Augustus*, Corinth, after 4 CE.

The model for this style of dress was Augustus (Figure 1). Here in this statue of the Emperor found in Corinth, Augustus wears a *toga*, with its end piece pulled over his head, and a short-sleeved *tunica* underneath. The *toga* drapes over the left shoulder, covering his arm and gracefully falls around his body, forming a *sinus* fold mid torso and then sweeping up to cover his head. While there are folds across his chest, later depictions of the *toga* will have more fabric and, thus, intricate draping. Here the emperor is portrayed as a modest and moral citizen. This is the image that the emperor encouraged all citizens in the empire to emulate.

The clothing of female citizens was also an important component of the traditional moral and pious image that Augustus propagated. In the case of female vestments, the garments also visually told not just their social status but also their rank within the family hierarchy. The reason for the importance placed on costume and its meaning for Augustus came from the lack of interest by women of traditional Roman ways or values, including how one should properly dress, during the late Republic. At this time, interest was in the cultural aspects of the Greek East. Women were devoted to their own ‘selfish desires.’ They had left behind their role as *custos doni* or the preserver of the household (Sebesta 1994, 46-8). While the ideal Roman wife should have increased the family through bearing children, protected the household and her husband’s possessions and created new wealth for the household through her labor, this was not a priority for women in the late Republic (Sebesta 1997, 529). When Augustus came to power, he sought to change this trend and return to traditional Roman virtues. Therefore, he used his wife Livia as both a physical and demonstrable standard for the model Roman wife. She bore

him children, wove cloth, and taught her daughters to do the same (Ibid. 1997, 530). By using Livia as a model Augustus' goal was to demonstrate that peace and social stability could be attained through proper conduct of women through modesty in dress, how they conducted their domestic lives and the practice of solely productive sexuality (Ibid. 1997, 531).

In creating a specific protocol for dress of the chaste married women in Roman society, Augustus provided a visual marker that was easily understood by Roman citizens



Figure 2. *Statue of Livia*, Pompeii, First Quarter First Century CE.

(figure 2). A married female citizen wore the white *stola* which was sleeveless and fastened at the shoulders and fell to the ground. A *girdle* or belt could be worn around the waist with some of the material pulled over the belt to create a blousing effect. This was worn over a white *tunica* that fell to the ground as well and usually had short sleeves. The matron also wore *fillets* or *vittae* in her hair which were woolen bands that went around her head. Over her head, in public, she wore a *palla* or cloak. The *palla* was rectangular in shape and draped over the head and shoulders and was worn, as with the rest of the garments, as a symbol of modesty. In addition, the *palla* also symbolized honor and the sanctity of family life (Sebesta 1994, 48).

Given this description of proper women's wear, Augustus provided images of Livia to teach Roman women how a chaste matron of a Roman home should be attired. This statue of the Empress Livia found in the garden of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii and completed in the first half of the first century CE (Figure 2) wears a *tunica* with long sleeves under her *stola*,

which falls to the ground covering her feet. The long sleeved *tunica*, if worn, was usually by women and was considered morally appropriate (Johnston 1903, 159). The empress wears a *palla* which covers her head and wraps around her right arm. The left shoulder is left uncovered by the *palla* but the edge of the cloak can be seen behind her left leg. In portrait statues, women could wear their *palla* in more than one way just as with the draping of the male *toga* (Cleland 2007, 136). In this portrait, Livia models the attire deemed morally appropriate for a female Roman citizen. In this image, she becomes the visual exemplar of a proper wife and citizen.

These images of the emperor and empress provided citizens, whether in Rome or in provincial towns such as Pompeii, an important didactic tool as to how they should comport themselves in matters of dress within society. The Augustan propaganda program in regards to city planning, the building of monuments, and the sculptural programs that went with these monuments in the provinces has been well documented by modern scholarship (Zanker 1998; Zanker 1999; Ray 2007; Grant 1975). This program brought the cult of the emperor to cities such as Pompeii and with it the cult statuary of the emperor and empress (Zanker 1999, 81-82). These statues, along with the new social legislation, told the public how moral Roman citizens should comport themselves. This campaign had the ability to influence how decorative motifs such as sculpture, mosaic work, pottery decoration and paintings portrayed Roman citizens. In the following examples of wall painting from homes and business in Pompeii, the styles and colors of clothing that men and women wore will be addressed to see if Augustan morality legislation had an impact on how the citizens of Pompeii portrayed themselves in decorative art.

Through the first part of this essay, the argument has been put forward that the reign of Augustus fostered a society in which all citizens adhered to Augustan legislation and followed the example set forth by emperor and empress. This idealized version of Roman society, of course, does not function in the reality of how people and their apportioning of their monetary wealth function. Pompeii and the visual programs it left behind to posterity bear out this statement (Olsen 2006, 187). While in numerous cases, public statuary did model the Augustan ideal, other examples, such as wall paintings, do not present a clear sense of borrowing from the Augustan example. When reading both Suetonius and Ovid, perhaps their statements could be seen as prescriptive rather than reality (Sebesta 2006, 191).

Commemorative portrait statues from Pompeii and its neighboring city, Herculaneum, provide a bridge between the world of the ideal and the imperial versus the reality when it came to choosing styles of dress and more importantly, clothing, to represent oneself to the public. Examples from Pompeian and Herculaneum public portrait sculpture will be used to show how men and women of means wanted to be remembered by the public. These two statues of Eumachia and L. Mammius Maximus can be seen as archetypes of how the wealthy ruling class families wished to be portrayed. Figure 3 is a statue titled *Eumachia* from the first quarter of the first century CE. Eumachia came from humble ancestry but became wealthy due to her father's brick business and her marriage into a prominent Pompeian family. Due to her new position,



Figure 3. *Eumachia*, Pompeii, 14-37 CE

she became both a priestess and a patron for the town's fullers and dyers. She sponsored the construction of a large public building titled the Eumachia in the forum of Pompeii in 4 CE. These circumstances made her a prominent figure in the city and worthy of publically placed statuary. In this depiction of her, she wears a full *tunica* which hangs to the ground and a *stola* which fastens on her shoulder. The *palla* and its voluminous material drapes over her head and both shoulders. She holds some of the *palla's* fabric in her right hand while the rest of the material that would normally fall down her right side drapes over her left forearm and down to her lower calf. The drapery treatment is both detailed and luxurious. This depiction of this elite citizen patron of Pompeii befits her social standing. She follows the style of dress prescribed in the Augustan legislation on morality. Here, she is a citizen who brought wealth to her marriage, bore children to enrich her husband's household, and was an active patron to the fullers and dyers as well as her sponsored building project in the forum. She is an outstanding example of

what a moral Roman woman should be and her public statue reinforces this point through the conscious choices in clothing (Sebesta <http://www2.cnr.edu/home/araia/eumachia.html>).

This female statue when compared to the commemorative statue of a Herculaneum city benefactor shows striking similarities. This bronze statue of L. Mammius Maximus (Figure 4) from the first quarter of the first century CE depicts a city benefactor who supported such architectural projects as the building of the basilica where he dedicated several statues of the imperial family during the reign of Augustus (Daehner 2007, 17). In this depiction of



Figure 4. *Statue of L. Mammius Maximus*, Bronze, Herculaneum, First Quarter First Century CE.

a city benefactor he wears a short sleeved *tunica* under his very full *toga* with which a large *sinus* drapery pocket is created that hangs mid torso. The *sinus* is a pocket created with the drapery folds of a toga that wrap around the front of the body before the fabric passes over the left shoulder. Then men used the pocket to store objects needed throughout the day (Cleland 2007, 136). This public statue of a prominent benefactor once again adheres to the Augustan morality mandate for public dress of citizens. L. Mammius Maximus is shown in a luxurious but proper traditional Roman dress. Here, he is modeling to the public not only his beliefs on moral public deportment but also the emperor's. This would set him in solid standing with the emperor if he were to visit the province and his city. In both these examples, prominent city benefactors depict themselves in the prescribed dress of the emperor. In doing this, they create an ideal image of themselves to be remembered by those whose pass their statues. In both cases, they were people of wealth. They could afford to build and have themselves depicted in public in such a traditional and moral manner. This sets them apart from those who did not have the means for such dress or depictions of themselves in these guises. These statues stand as examples of how the elite wished to be portrayed in public. However, these same elite present different depictions of themselves and those of lower classes in frescoes commissioned for their homes and businesses. This shift in style will be presented in seven fresco examples from homes and businesses in Pompeii.

The following images date from late in the reign of Augustus through the reign of Nero. The images fall broadly into the categories of second and third styles of Pompeian wall painting which together lasted from 80 BCE until 62 CE. For the purposes of this essay, the second style can be dated from c.80 BCE to 14 CE while the third's dates range from c.14 CE to 62 CE although there is room for movement in either direction on the start and end dates of each style (Ramage 1996, 79-112).

The reason these images can be used to show citizens choosing not to follow the morality legislation in reference to dress lies in the adherence of the Julio-Claudian imperial line not repealing the morality legislation set forth by Augustus. Both Tiberius and Claudius out of respect for the rule of Augustus declared these laws valid. In the case of Caligula and Nero, they both did not concern themselves with matters of governance on morality and instead focused on the entertainments and other personal pleasures (Grant 1975, 88,115,131 and 149-175). Therefore, the morality legislation enacted by Augustus had not officially been repealed and was still imposed on citizens in the Empire when the paintings were commissioned and produced. These frescos from the first century CE in Pompeii show scenes of both men and women engaged in different tasks and socializing in different venues. The first figure titled,



Figure 5. *Woman Playing a Lyre for her Lover*, Fresco, Pompeii, First Century CE.

Woman Playing A Lyre for Her Lover, is a fresco dated to the first century CE and presents a standing woman seen on the right and a woman seated with a lyre behind a half draped man who is her presumed lover. While this scene is set indoors and all three are primarily wearing white, there are variances in how their clothing is styled from the Augustan ideal. The woman who is standing on the right wears both a *stola* and *tunica* undergarment. The *stola* does fall to the ground and is loose fitting in form. She also wears a white band in her hair perhaps a *fillet* which

women were prescribed to wear in their hair. On the left, the male, seated in front of the lyre player, is half draped in a white rectangle of cloth that wraps around his waist and thighs. He also wears a wreath in his hair. His dress lacks the modesty and traditional command of a statesman such as a *tunica* and *toga* would pronounce.

While this is an indoor scene, the man's dress seems to be less than the *tunica* usually worn by men in the home. The title of the fresco states that this man is a lover of the lyre player. His closeness to her may denote this but the wreath in his hair and the lack of drapery may also portray him as an athlete. His touching of the lyre player's arm does put him on an intimate basis with the female. The female lyre player, although difficult to assess, wears white as well. In this case, she wears a *tunica* and *stola* that fall to her feet even while seated. Over her left shoulder is a purple swath of cloth which could be a *palla*. The cloth falls into her lap and around her legs. Her hair also has a white band or *fillet* which could be worn under a *palla*. In the case of these women, they both are wearing part of the proper Roman citizen vestments. The placing of a half clad 'lover' in the scene plays counter to the women's moral behavior. If the seated woman is wearing a *stola*, this denotes her as married. If so, the hosting of this man at their home goes in direct contrast to the Augustan morality legislation on marriage (Guhl 1989, 490). This fresco displays an interpretation of how the citizens of Pompeii could show their independence from the social reform that had been put in place in 28-27 BCE.

Continuing with this trend of personal selectivity shown through both garment and personal family morality is (Figure 6). The title for the fresco is, *Two Women in Conversation*, and it



Figure 6. *Two Women in Conversation*, Fresco, Pompeii, First Century CE

depicts a seated and a standing woman who are speaking to each other. The standing woman wears a short sleeved green-gray *tunica* which has a belt or girdle pulling it close to her waist. The *tunica* falls to the ground and she wears a yellow *mitra*, which was a piece of cloth worn around the head (Guhl 1989, 485). She has a piece of purple fabric draped over her left shoulder,

which could be a *palla* that has nearly slipped off her body. The seated woman wears a green-gray *tunica* and *stola* combination with a large yellow *palla* which covers most of the dress and undergarment except for a section of her torso and neckline. She also wears a diadem on her head which holds the *palla* in place. Here, both color and style of dress are important components in showing how women in Pompeii could or did dress themselves. These women chose to differ from the Augustan model and chose clothing of color. In the case of both the women, they selected ensembles of multiple colors. This stylistic choice displays the wealth from which they both must have come. The lack of *stola* with the standing figure also shows her breaking with prescribed protocol of modesty and opting for a statement that was physically cooler, through her lack of a woolen *stola* which would take extra weight off her and create clothing that was more comfortable since the fabric of choice for *tunicae*, when worn as a undergarment, was linen not wool (Guhl 1989, 480). Again, this image, which was found in a set of domestic frescoes, along with the previous example, shows an iconographic choice in decorating the elite homes of Pompeii. This portrayal of both woman and men in colorful and distinctive clothing styles is not merely limited to these two works as the next example shows.



Figure 7. *Women Giving Water to a Traveler*, Fresco, Pompeii, First Century CE.

Figure 7 titled, *Woman Giving a Traveler a Drink of Water*, is a fresco from the House of the Discouri in Pompeii and is dated to the first century CE. This is an outdoor image which makes the actions of the woman and the clothing she wears bear significance in the argument that people in the provincial cities such as Pompeii chose clothing of color and a style that did not coincide with the Augustan ideal set forth in his morality legislation. Here, the seated woman on the left wears a full off white short sleeved *tunica* that has another piece of off white material that wraps across her chest and falls down her right side. The *tunica* falls over her knees and calves and her feet are not shown. She reaches over to hand a male traveler a cup of water. He wears an off white *tunica* as well which is girded to middle of his thigh and a burgundy colored cloak which is clasped on his shoulder. This type of rectangular cloak, which could be fastened in various manners besides on the shoulder, is a *lacerna* (Cleland 2007, 200). Military personnel and male travelers used the shortened *tunica* due to issues of maneuverability and

comfort (Johnston 1903, 159). The use of a colored cloak by the male may demonstrate his economic status as that of one who has some expendable funds. However, this may be questionable due to his lack of shoes and his wearing of only one *tunica* to protect him from the weather he was sure to encounter. In addition, the woman also wears only a *tunica*. This lack of *stola* or a discernible *palla* in public could mark her as someone who was of limited means. The full length *tunica* she wears is not pure white. It instead has an off white cast as if made from wool that had not been bleached. This could be due to the fact of cost associated with bleaching and cleaning at a *fullonica* where the wealthy had their clothing laundered. Both these figures seem to be people of modest means and not of the elite class. Instead of the woman giving the man water, perhaps she was selling it, since she is sitting down outside with a bucket of water to her left. These pictorial markers help to support this reading of the image.

Here, in a Pompeian home, a fresco displays scenes of how people of modest means both carry out their days and dress themselves. This scene reinforces how Roman citizens, of less than elite status could afford to dress. They do not spend money on expensive dyes and multiple garments. They dress in a modest and utilitarian manner. This goes in contrast to the ideal means of dress put forth by Augustus. The majority of Romans who did not have the disposable wealth to buy and decorate multiple pieces of clothing lived in a similar manner. This scene presents the reality of everyday life in Pompeii in a clear and honest portrayal.

The final fresco in this series of non-consumer related activities which also displays a conscious choice that citizens in the provinces made in regards to clothing style is a fresco titled, *Dinner Party*, (figure 8) from The House of the Chaste Lovers and dated in the first century CE. In this example, there are three sets of heterosexual couples. The standing couple on the left has the



Figure 8. *Dinner Party*, Fresco, Pompeii, First Century CE. House of the Chaste Lovers.

female in front of the male which obscures the view as to what he is wearing. The female, however wears a white *palla* which is pulled tightly around both her shoulders and over her head. This *palla* obscures what she wears underneath, although some green-gray material shows below her waistband. The couple, who are reclining, in the center of the work suffer from the same issue as the standing couple. Much of the male body, except for part of the torso and all of the head are obscured by the female. The female wears a yellow modified *stola* with a thin purple banding running along the neckline. The dress has one shoulder strap which sets on the right shoulder while the left shoulder and arm are bare. There is a swatch of purple cloth which wraps around her hip area. It is unclear whether this is a part of her ensemble or whether it was a part of the man's vestments. She also wears a white band or *fillet* in her hair. The male, reclining behind her is nude from the torso up. It is unclear what he may be wearing below the waist. The couple placed on the right has the woman in a white short sleeved *tunica* with a *fillet* in her hair and the male companion is nude from the waist up.

In this scene, there is an air of relaxation portrayed by those reclining in the center of the picture plane. The women on the left and right of the depiction seem to be reacting to the actions of the two in the center of the room. The woman in yellow and purple wears a costume that does not conform in color or style to the desired white *tunica* and *stola*. This dress is out of place in the Augustan model. While the woman on the left is wearing a green dress and not white, the *palla* which covers her and creates a sense of modesty, seems to pull closer to the Augustan ideal. The woman on the right wears a white *tunica* alone and clearly has no cloak. Here, again this is breaking with Augustan protocol and is displaying a sense of individuality among women in the

provinces. The men pull even further away from the morality code that had been prescribed. In all three cases, they wear nothing above the waist. In the case of this type of social event, the understood dress code for a banquet was to wear comfortable clothing. While the *palla* and *stola* combination and *toga* were not required dress in the home, the lack of clothing in the case of the male and the one shoulder yellow *stola* of the woman create a sense of individuality for people in the provinces. These Roman citizens broke with legislation already passed on morality and dress in Rome. Through these four examples, breaks in protocol have been shown in the portrayal of Roman citizens in paintings within domestic settings. The next three wall frescos came from businesses in Pompeii and depict working scenes to show citizens completing daily tasks and enjoying the evening within the city while wearing their everyday clothing.

Figure 9 a fresco titled, *Bakery Scene*, from the House of the Baker completed circa 50-75 CE depicts two men and a boy buying bread from the local baker. This public scene



Figure 9. *Bakery Scene*, Fresco, Pompeii, 50-75 CE. House of the Baker.

shows the two purchasers of the bread both wearing cloaks, called *lacernae*, one dark and the other yellow with a *cucullus* or hood (Guhl 1989, 480). They also wear dark *tunicae*, perhaps purple or black. The young boy also wears a dark colored *tunica* with an equally dark cloak and hood. The man selling the bread in the stand wears a full white *tunica*. This image displays the lack of everyday use of the off white *tunica* and *toga* for appearances in such places as the market and forum area. These men wear no *toga* and instead are attired in colored cloaks and *tunicae*. The seller, while he wears white, does not don the *toga*. While Augustus desired Roman citizen men to wear the *toga* in public, the reality does not mirror the ideal.

A factor in the decision by these citizens to wear comfortable clothing in colors suited to their tastes could have been due to cost. Per year, a Roman citizen needed 2500 denarii to survive. A cloak cost about three fifths of the total earnings for a year. A *tunica* could cost 2000 denarii and would have taken four fifths of one's yearly income (Vout 1996, 212). The cost for a *toga* would have been higher. Therefore, if the men in this scene could afford to purchase the material to weave woolen fabric needed for a *toga* or even purchase the fabric outright, it is likely that they did not wear such a garment unless it was a special occasion tied to a high priority state event. If citizens had the expendable income to buy the large amount of wool or cloth needed for the creation of a *tunica* or *toga* did they do so. The majority of Roman citizens could not afford to purchase such luxuries and therefore abstained from this practice. Many men and women both wore the fabric that could be made at home for the lowest possible expenditure. Therefore, the dress of the men in this scene fits with the norm of the everyday dress and routines followed by the citizens of Pompeii.

The next business fresco (figure 10) titled, *Fullonica Scene*, is dated to the first century CE, was found on a pillar in a *fullonica* in Pompeii, and depicts how the lower classes in the city dressed while working. This scene depicts men inspecting fabric, combing



Figure 10. *Workers in the Fullonica*, Fresco, Pompeii, First Century CE

of fabric to raise the nap, and a man carrying a frame to hang cloth over for a bleaching process. The seated cloth inspector wears a light blue, short-sleeved *tunica* while the child next to her watching the process wears a short sleeved colored *tunica*, either off white or yellow. The two standing men, the brusher and the man carrying the frame both wear light blue sleeveless *tunica*. Their *tunicae* are both short, the brusher wears a yellow *girdle* around his waist and the *tunica* comes to his upper thigh. The man carrying the frame has a *tunica* that falls to the waist. The shortness of this piece of clothing may better be defined as a *subucula tunica*, which was worn

by both men and women. This was a *tunica* in the form of underwear made of light material and was short (Olsen 2003, 209). The choice to wear this garment makes sense, since the worker's ability to both move and stay cooled was important. In addition, since he is seen from the side, it is unclear whether he wears a loincloth or not. As well, the child and two standing workers do not wear shoes. This could either be an issue of the cost for shoes or more likely due to the type of work they are undertaking which at certain points required the workers to tread on the material in the cleaning process (Bradley 2002, 21-27). This scene depicts not only part of the process of fulling but also the manner in which these workers dressed for their jobs. Here, completing the task at hand in the most comfortable and efficient manner is of concern and not the idealized or moral dress code. The reality for those who worked daily to survive is shown along with the manner in which they dressed to partake in evening entertainments.

Staying in the public sphere, but moving towards the social instead of the work setting, is (figure 11) a fresco titled, *Bar Scene*, which was found in a bar in Pompeii on the Via di Mercurio and dates to the first century CE. The two men in the center play either a board or dice game on



Figure 11. *Bar Scene*, Fresco, Pompeii, First Century CE.

the table. The two men standing away from the table on the left and right sides watch the game in progress. All four men wear short sleeved *tunicae* which fall just below their knees, and are of various colors. The standing man on the left wears a dark colored *tunica* that is either purple or black. The seated man next to him wears an off white *tunica*. His opponent in the game wears a yellow *tunica* and the onlooker behind him on the right wears a blue *tunica* with a red cloak on his shoulders and an orange robe or *endornis* under the cloak. This example of men partaking in a social ritual shows again the individuality in regards to their clothing selection when going out in public. Here, the textiles are either dyed in various colors or left a natural off-white of the wool. No one in this scene has taken the time to carefully dress in the manner prescribed by the emperor. Instead they let comfort and their sense of personal style dictate how they adorn themselves when going out to socialize. Here is an example of men of modest means meeting to

drink and play games in a relaxed setting and apparently not concerned about the Augustan mandate. This scene clearly illustrates when viewed with the previous eight frescos the thesis that Roman citizens in provincial cities such as Pompeii did not dress according to Augustan law but rather dressed according to their own stylistic, economic and comfort guidelines.

In conclusion, the Augustan legislation on morality set forth an idealized social construct in terms of dress that was not routinely followed by Roman citizens in the provincial city. The examples presented in this essay create an understanding of how the statuary propagated the edict of the prescribed dress code concerning the wearing the traditional *tunica* and *toga* for men and the *tunica*, *stola* with *palla* combination for women, which marked one's standing in the community and created order in society and a unity amongst its members which had not been achieved since before the first century BCE (Edmondson 2008, 26). Since the morality legislation strove toward this goal the question becomes, "How are the fresco paintings in Pompeii explained?" The answers are one's expendable funds and the citizen's reaction to Augustan legislation.

Variations in both clothing style and color came back to a person or families' ability to buy the materials needed in order to create clothing of varying colors and the utilization of more or less expensive material. The type of material was an issue, because imported goods such as linen and silk cost more than wool (Jongman 1988, 155). Therefore, the less affluent classes used either the most inexpensive cloth they could buy or produce in order to clothe themselves. Those who had the means, however, could afford to not only buy more expensive materials in larger quantities but also dyes to decorate them.

While the issue of personal does cover part of the explanation as to why people chose to wear garments other than those prescribed by the Augustan mandates, other variables such as personal reaction to these edicts could be seen in the types of images created for both public and private display.

The other reason for the discrepancies between official mandate and the images described could be that private citizens were reacting against the legislation and portraying this reaction through their commissioning of frescoes that showed citizens as they actual dressed and lived their lives in Pompeii. The people in these frescos could also portray their angst over the Augustan edicts and, therefore, the citizens are depicted in dress counter to those reforms. Since exact dates cannot be given to these works, they must be seen in the light of Julio-Claudian produced images and not necessarily ones produced in the time of Augustus. Even if this is the case, the works are great visual representations of dress during the period, since the morality legislation that Augustus passed was not repealed. Therefore, these home and business frescoes analyzed from Pompeii provide an understanding of how Roman citizens in the provinces dressed on a daily basis.

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Figures:

- Fig.1. Potrait Statue of Augustus, Corith, After 4 CE, National Archaeological Museum of Naples. Reprinted from the New York Public Library Digital Image Gallery, Image ID: 1103389.
- Fig.2. Statue of Livia, Pompeii, Villa of Mysteries, 1st Century CE. Photo Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.
- Fig.3. Statue of Eumachia, Pompeii, 14-37 CE. Reprinted from Coarelli, Filippo. *Pompeii*. New York: Riverside Book Company Inc., 2002,133.
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- Fig.65 *Woman Playing a Lyre for Her Lover*, Fresco, Pompeii, 1st Century. Photo Courtesy of the British Museum.
- Fig.6. *Two Women in Conversation*, Fresco, Pompeii, 1st Century CE. Photo Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.
- Fig.7. *Woman Giving Water to a Traveler*, Fresco from the House of Dioscuri, Pompeii, 1st Century CE. Photo Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.
- Fig.8. *Banquet Scene*, Fresco from the House of Chaste Lovers, Pompeii, 1st Century CE. Photo courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.
- Fig. 9. *Bakery Scene*, Fresco from the House of the Baker, Pompeii, 1st Century CE. Photo
- Fig.10. *Workers in Fullonica*, Fresco, Pompeii, 1st Century CE, National Archaeological Museum of Naples. Reprinted from Coarelli, Filippo. *Pompeii*. New York: Riverside Book Company Inc., 2002,137.
- Fig.11. *Bar Scene*, Fresco from Bar on the Via Di Mercurio, Pompeii, 1st Century CE. Reprinted from Coarelli, Filippo. *Pompeii*. New York: Riverside Book Company Inc., 2002,146.

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