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## VII. DPRESENTATIONS

### VII.1. requirements

One of the main problems in the processing of the Roman military belt is the reconstruction of the appearance and wearing of the belts. The archaeological finds are in most cases unsuitable for reconstruction, since - with the exception of rare individual finds - they are not completely preserved belts, but individual parts that got into the ground without their original connection.

The representations are therefore the main type of source for clarifying the appearance and wearing of the military belt. Of the various possible surviving image carriers of such representations, the reliefs are by far the most numerous. These can in turn be divided into two main groups based on who commissioned them: The first group contains the monuments with depictions of belts that were erected by soldiers or their relatives. As individual monuments, both the infantrymen and the horsemen are the largest group.<sup>530</sup> Grouped in the second group are various other representations of military belts. It is much more inhomogeneous for the infantrymen than for the cavalry and includes, among other things, official Roman state monuments, some of which depict soldiers on campaign, in triumph or during other duties (burning of control panels) and some of which are pure representations of weapons, so-called weapon friezes exist. In the case of the horsemen, the group of official monuments consists almost exclusively of triumphal reliefs.

Depictions that are not directly military in character were also taken into account when evaluating the visual sources on the appearance of the military belt. These include reliefs with depictions of gods that show soldiers' costumes or the sarcophagi of imperial officials who could be depicted with military belts. Finally, the most unusual and interesting part of this group are three Persian triumphal reliefs, which show, among other things, the defeated Roman emperors with military belts.

When evaluating these inhomogeneous representations, it is particularly important to distinguish between the different clients, since they may have had different requirements for the realistic representation of the belts. In addition, the monuments can also be divided into different categories. For example, the funerary monuments can be divided into tombstones and sarcophagus relief panels, while the second group, which is much more inhomogeneous, contains sarcophagi, triumphal reliefs and depictions of gods.

In addition, there is a difference between the depictions of the soldiers with their belts and depictions of the belts alone. These occur - but only with the infantrymen - both on state monuments and on the tombstones.

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<sup>530</sup>If one calculates the representations of each soldier individually on the state monuments, then there are of course many more soldiers to be seen there. The Traian column alone shows Roman soldiers in 1732. However, according to Coulston, this quantity alone probably led to a certain schematic representation. See Coulston 2007, 529.

In addition to the various groups of reliefs, depictions of soldiers on wall paintings, mummy portraits and mosaics are also taken into account in the evaluation. They are much rarer, but provide indispensable information about the color of the belt and fittings.

## VII.2. Catalog

In order to get an overview of the representations of infantrymen's military belts, a catalog with 295 entries was created. It is divided into two parts, which are numbered consecutively.

The first part lists the monuments depicting infantrymen. The members of the fleet soldiers were also included in this group, since their costume and armament did not differ from that of

other infantrymen - be they legionnaires or auxiliaries. The second part is dedicated to the monuments of horsemen. Only those riders were counted as horsemen who allow a clear

assignment through the depiction of horses in the scene or who can be clearly identified as riders based on their inscription. This is particularly important in the 3rd century AD, as many

tombstones of the period depict horsemen in the same garb as infantrymen. It is therefore quite possible that some of the uninscribed stones from the 3rd century were dedicated to

horsemen, but they can no longer be identified as such. These stones can be found on the infantrymen. Even in the case of state monuments, only those soldiers who are depicted on

horseback or holding the reins of a horse were counted as riders. Among the soldiers, for example, in an *adlocutio* scene, there can also be riders who remain unrecognized. The state

monuments, which represent both groups, were also listed in both parts as catalog numbers, so that the Traian column, for example, has the catalog numbers DKat. No. 222 (infantry) and

287 (cavalry) has. It is therefore quite possible that some of the uninscribed stones from the 3rd century were dedicated to horsemen, but they can no longer be identified as such. These

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Within this division, the monuments are divided into two groups based on who commissioned them: The first group contains the (grave) monuments commissioned by the soldiers themselves or by their relatives or comrades. The second group is made up of various monuments, which have in common that their patrons were apparently not Roman soldiers or their direct relatives.<sup>531</sup>

With a few exceptions, only published tombstones are included in the catalogue.

These unpublished tombstones can be distinguished from the published tombstones by the catalog numbers in italics. Since the unpublished tombstones were only accessible to me through a few photos, a range of data, for example on the dimensions and the exact location of the stones, was not available, and the inscriptions are also missing.

Only those monuments were included in the catalog that make statements that go beyond the mere existence of a belt. This includes e.g. B. most representations of riders or soldiers, where the *paenula*

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<sup>531</sup>In contrast to officers, all ranks up to centurion are referred to as Roman soldiers.

hangs over the belt. In these illustrations, one can only infer the presence of a belt from the presence and manner of carrying the sword.

All monuments known to me that met the above requirements were included. A record of all soldiers' gravestones with a depiction of the soldier in military costume would be desirable. Many funerary monuments stand unrecognized in depots or have not yet been published, although some of them are well known and publicly accessible, e.g. B. the long one in the courtyard of the Qa'lat al-Mudik-*apamea* (Syria) erected tombstones. The catalog therefore does not claim to be complete, but it is large enough to be able to make general statements about the appearance of belts on various monuments.

The catalog of the representations and the associated tables can be found on the CD inserted at the back of the book.

### VII.3. depiction

The various problems related to the fidelity of the representations have been known for some time. These are mainly from the sources of the sculptor about the equipment on the one hand and the artistic *koine*, determined in which he worked on the other side.<sup>532</sup>

Model books, sketches of the campaign, observations of troops triumphant or stationed there (e.g. Praetorians) as well as weapons captured and carried in the triumphal procession can be assumed for the monuments of the city of Rome. The weapons and pieces of equipment known from personal observation could therefore have been "correctly" represented.

This is counterbalanced by the artist's various reasons for stylizing what is depicted. These include e.g. B. the scale and position of the figure on a monument, which necessitates a reduction or enlargement of certain pieces of equipment. Another reason for stylization is the artist's intentions in depicting what happened. It may be that he B. tries to heroize the events and therefore shows the participants in a battle unarmed. The depiction of emperors riding into battle without helmets corresponds to heroic iconography *topos* and most likely not the reality.

Another factor was artistic tradition, which led to the miniaturization of shields, cheekpieces, horses and landscapes on reliefs. In the Hellenistic conception of art, in the tradition of which the Roman artists also followed, the focus is on the human body and it should be recognizable as unhindered as possible. Therefore, the shields and cheekpieces covering the body were reduced in size, and in one scene the landscape and animals were shown smaller than to scale.

This artistic tradition is also a reason for the fascination of ancient artists with the folds of clothing, which they used to make the body underneath visible. This penchant for draping has shape

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<sup>532</sup> Coulston 1983a, 24f

of the puff of the tunic hanging over the belt in many monuments, mainly Roman cities, means that the actual belt cannot be seen.

However, it is unknown - since it cannot be inferred from the ancient sources - whether these details were of importance to the ancient observer. It may be that certain well-known schemes were also used here, which evoked certain associations familiar to the ancient viewer and were therefore more important than a realistic depiction.

Another peculiarity of statecraft is its predilection for anachronistic depictions of equipment and dress. This is illustrated by the example of the belt through the depiction of hanging aprons and belt fittings with a central hump well after the middle of the 2nd century AD or of swords worn on the belt on the Arch of Severus, which can be dated to the early 3rd century AD clarified. All of this was demonstrably no longer worn by the soldiers by the time the monuments were erected, but is evidence of the conservative character of statecraft, which apparently favored old-fashioned equipment and armament over realistic representations. This can be explained by a certain reverence on the part of Roman society, which is guided by tradition *majores* be explained.<sup>533</sup>

In theory, provincial depictions were modeled on the border armies. The artist probably knew the equipment of his clients from his own daily observations and was able to depict them "correctly" - taking into account his skills, which were not always on a par with those of the sculptors of the city of Rome.

On the one hand, this leads to the often precise representation of details such as e.g. B. the rivets on the apron straps or the construction of the scabbard. But it is also possible that the joint knowledge of the sculptor and the client (often also a soldier *ex testamento*) led to time and cost-saving simplifications of details. Thus, the square rosette in representations of dagger sheaths and military belts can be both a correct replica of the belt of the deceased, whose fittings were decorated with (nielloed) rosettes, and the preference of the sculptor for a motif that is easy to reproduce. The possibility of such "gap fillers" not provided by the object but by the sculptor must be taken into account in the interpretation.

On the other hand, it can be seen from some details, which are often oversized, that special value was placed on certain things. These are mostly objects with a high symbolic value, such as the sword. This was often either oversized as a whole or the handle as a *pars pro toto*. Also the symbol of a rank like e.g. B. a standard, order (*phalerae*) or the *vitae* can be particularly large or detailed.<sup>534</sup> Other peculiarities derive from the (non)existent space, e.g. B. the reduction of a horse, so that it in a

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<sup>533</sup>However, the depiction of heroized fighters with old-fashioned equipment and weapons and clothing is also known from other cultures.

<sup>534</sup>See e.g. B. the tombstones of C. Allius Oriens, C. Marius, Cn. Music, etc. cf. VA Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, London 1981, pl. 6 a, 10a, 11a, 11b.

*aedicula* fits, distorted shield shapes and shield sizes and the like. All of these things can easily mislead in interpretation.

What the reliefs of the state monuments and the private gravestones have in common is that at first glance they appear to be a true representation of reality. On closer inspection, however, they let the viewer down: the exact construction of the equipment, which is at least partially depicted would have to be, is not recognizable in most cases.

Nevertheless, the reliefs are particularly suitable for clarifying the role and position of various small finds, in particular metal leather fittings (such as military belts or bridles) and more ephemeral objects (such as clothing, leather equipment or shields).

### **belt shapes**

In order to keep the description as short as possible and to simplify the analysis, different belt shapes have been defined:

**Belt Shape A:** Infantryman decorated with plain belt with D-buckle and undecorated hardware, straps cut from strap tongue are decorated with charms.

**Belt Shape B:** Infantryman with two crossed belts with D-shaped buckles, decorated with ornamented fittings, sword (r) and dagger (l) on each belt.

**hanging apron a:** Long hanging apron, studded with rivets and provided with pendants.

**Belt Shape C:** Infantryman with simple belt decorated with ornate fittings, with D-shaped buckles on it, sword (r) and possibly dagger (l).

**hanging apron b:** like a, but turned over.

**Belt Shape D:** Infantryman with plain studded belt and narrow sword belt (left shoulder to right side), sword carried on right. As the sword is still shown carried on the right side between the waist and hips, it is not clear whether the sword is carried on the shoulder strap or on the belt.

**Belt Shape E:** Rider with a belt from which the sword hangs on two straps of different lengths ("Gallic" belt form).

**Belt Shape F:** Rider without belt, sword on shoulder strap right.

**Belt Shape G:** Rider without belt, sword on shoulder strap left.

**Belt shape H:** Infantryman or rider with belt with ring or frame clasp, sword on the wide shoulder strap on the left.

#### VII.4. Evaluation: infantrymen

The tombstones of legionnaires and auxiliary infantrymen up to and including the rank of centurion could have aniconic forms or include civilian depictions, which include the so-called funeral feast scenes and busts depicting family members. There is also a group of tombstones showing the deceased in military costume.<sup>535</sup> The general layout of these tombstones is stereotyped across provinces: the men are shown standing frontally, legs apart, dressed in the standard soldier's garb of short-sleeved tunic, overcoat and *caligae*. Apparently they are deliberately not shown in armour, but in a costume that research has dubbed an "interim costume" or "service uniform".<sup>536</sup>, "*fatigue*"<sup>537</sup> or (now mostly) "*camp dress*"<sup>538</sup> referred to as.

Most are armed only with a sword and a dagger. Shields and lances or helmets are also shown less frequently. The military clothing and in particular the military belt were apparently felt to be distinctive enough to visually identify the deceased as a soldier. Higher ranks or soldiers in or after additional training, on the other hand, were always depicted with an attribute that made their rank clearer. Added to these visual features was the inscription giving the unit and rank and often the years of service of the deceased.

If one examines the differences in the equipment and armament of legionnaires and auxiliaries on the basis of the tombstones, only a few differences can be identified<sup>539</sup>: Since the eagle as a signum was only due to legions, representations of signifers with eagles can clearly be seen as legionnaires. According to Wieland, the depiction of soldiers with a pilum can also clearly be attributed to legionnaires, while auxiliaries were depicted with lances. However, on many tombstones there is again a sign of a spear or a pilum. If the inscription is also missing here, it cannot be decided whether it is a legionnaire or an auxiliary.<sup>540</sup>

The representation of the naval soldiers corresponds to the representations of legionnaires and auxiliaries: they are also shown standing frontally, wearing a tunic with short sleeves and a coat (most wear the *paenula*<sup>541</sup>). Some are armed with a sword and/or dagger. All soldiers wear their tunic with a military belt, some have a belted apron (2-4 belts) visible. While simple

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<sup>535</sup> For the history of research and the origin and development of the "standing soldier" motif, see Boppert 1992, 47-52. - Wieland 2008, 7-11, 16-17.

<sup>536</sup> Both terms according to Ubl 1989, 62.

<sup>537</sup> De Haas 1991, 7. - Sumner 2002, 3.

<sup>538</sup> Speidel 1976, 124.

<sup>539</sup> Of course, only the tombstones that name the soldier's unit were taken into account. In the following after: Wieland, 2008, 45-49.

<sup>540</sup> Wieland, 2008, 45-49.

<sup>541</sup> Bishop-Coulston (1993) 100, 119.

soldiers their weapons or *tesserae* or one *codex ansatus* carry as proof of education, higher ranks hold rank-specific badges like that *vitis* in the hand. Neither clothing nor armament nor attributes give any indication that the deceased were marines and not infantrymen. Their armament was identical to that of the land forces. They differed from these only by a longer period of service and the fact that the Martine troops consisted mainly of Peregrines.<sup>542</sup> They did not have their own designation, nor did their tombstones have their own iconographic type.

Depictions of Roman soldiers with belts are already known from republican monuments. The oldest of these is the frieze of 168 BC. erected pillar monument for L. Aemilius Paullus.<sup>543</sup> The warriors depicted wear contemporary armament with chain mail and a belt above it, which is simply depicted smooth - no fittings or signs of stitching are discernible. Two of the figures have holes drilled into their belts on the side, presumably for the attachment of a bronze sword.

Another relief, probably from the first half of the 1st century B.C. B.C. and is now in the Louvre shows a *census*.<sup>544</sup> It is about determining the assets of all citizens for classification into the five different tax classes and for mustering into the army together with the associated sacrifice to Mars. All but one of the soldiers shown in the relief are positioned so that only part of the mail armor and belt can be seen as a smooth strip down the middle. However, one soldier can be seen to have his sword attached to his belt on his right side. This soldier's belt appears to have thickened top and bottom edges, suggesting a leather belt with stitching along the long sides.<sup>545</sup>

The girdles on the western base relief of the Julier tomb in St. Remy/Glanum, which dates to 35-25 BC, are similarly depicted. is dated.<sup>546</sup>

The motif of the frontal standing soldier in military costume first appeared in Italy and reached its peak in the Tiberian period with the army of the Rhine.<sup>547</sup> The oldest tombstone of this type is that of Minucius Lorarius, who died around 42 BC. is dated.<sup>548</sup> Since the deceased is shown here as a full figure, the belt is visible in a particularly prominent place. By the visual characteristics of the belt, armament with a dagger and sword, as well as the insignia of the rank of the *vitis* the sitter becomes recognizable as a soldier and centurion.<sup>549</sup> This would not have been possible with a representation as a portrait or half-length figure. Apparently it was important that the deceased could be immediately and unequivocally identified as a soldier through the depiction of the belt and weapons, which was made possible by the extension of the field of view downwards and also space

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<sup>542</sup> Quadrangle 1975, 93-94.

<sup>543</sup> Kähler 1965. - Fischer 2012, 34-35, fig. 12, 14.

<sup>544</sup> Kähler 1966. - Miks 2007, pl. 294. - Fischer 2012, 35-37, ill. 16-17. The relief has long been thought to be part of an altar to Domitius Ahenobarbus. See Arachne #24409.

<sup>545</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>546</sup> Rolland 1969, pl. 25. - Miks 2007, pl. 296-299.

<sup>547</sup> Boppert 1992, 48-50. - Wieland 2008, 16-17.

<sup>548</sup> Dcat. No. 91.

<sup>549</sup> Wieland 2008, 16.



for rank insignia like that *vitis* bot, which optically identifies him as a centurion.<sup>550</sup> However, the motif does not seem to have caught on directly, since it was no longer handed down in the following one or two generations.

On the basis of the general Upper Italian stele tradition, the pictorial motif of the "standing soldier" was further developed in the Rhineland in the first half of the 1st century AD<sup>551</sup>: After the Upper Italian sculpting tradition had reached the Rhineland with the military, sculpting centers formed in Cologne and Mainz. Initially, only half-length portraits were produced here, although the soldiers in Cologne could even be depicted as civilians in togas and can only be identified as soldiers by the inscription.<sup>552</sup> From the Tiberian period, the niche stele, which was used for full-figure depictions, was apparently developed as a Rhenish development.<sup>553</sup> This form was preferred by soldiers who had their gravestones depicted in military attire and equipment. Presumably, the type of image spread through troop transfers outside of the Rhineland in the direction of Britain and the Danube region and "back" to northern Italy.<sup>554</sup> However, the number of examples there is much smaller and the quality is usually much worse.<sup>555</sup> From the Flavian period, the soldiers in the Rhineland then increasingly choose new types of pictures.<sup>556</sup>

Even in the 2nd century AD, soldiers are still depicted in the same image type. However, the number is significantly smaller and the representations are not particularly productive for the study of the girdle, since the girdle appears on many tombstones of the period due to the way it was worn *paenula* completely obscured - these were not included in the tombstone catalogue.<sup>557</sup> Only the tombstones on which a piece of the belt or the straps of the hanging apron can still be seen were recorded. Interestingly, the majority of tombstones from this period are of Mediterranean naval soldiers, who apparently adopted the "standing soldier" motif but reduced the figure by about half. The smaller number of representations of this type of image can probably be attributed to the preference for other types of images (see below).<sup>558</sup>

From the Severan period, the number of tombstones with figurative military representations increased again significantly. This testifies both to the greater financial power of the soldiers and to their significantly increased self-confidence.<sup>559</sup> In addition, can

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<sup>550</sup> Wieland 2008, 16.

<sup>551</sup> In the following according to Wieland 2008, 16.

<sup>552</sup> Wieland 2008, 16.

<sup>553</sup> Wieland 2008, 16.

<sup>554</sup> Wieland 2008, 16.

<sup>555</sup> Wieland 2008, 16.

<sup>556</sup> Wieland 2008, 17.

<sup>557</sup> For example on the tombstones with the Lupa numbers 79, 15522, 2836, 2837, 2839, 2875, 3265, 4677, 4981, 5042, 5987, 7079, 10456, 11636, 15572, 16467, 16625, 15572, 16467, 16625, 15572, 6139, 618990 and the RIB numbers and CSIR numbers D II,14,52 and 14,54; DIII,1,10.

<sup>558</sup> Wieland 2008, 17.

<sup>559</sup> The pay rises under Septimius Severus led to many soldiers, according to Speidel, "having a considerable amount of money and assets". In addition, Septimius Severus granted them, among other things, the right to marry during their service, so that the children of the soldiers who were born during their service became their legal heirs. Even after their period of service had expired, various privileges made it easier for them (waiver of the *munera*) life in the civil community. As a result, the military had become a new elite. Speidel 2000a, 91-93. - Grant 1996, 35.

from the 3rd century AD, a renewed tendency towards full-length depictions on soldiers' tombstones can be observed as a phenomenon throughout the empire.<sup>560</sup>

As already mentioned, troop movements were probably the reason for the widespread use of the motif "standing soldier" on tombstones as early as the 1st century AD. Depictions of this type are known from most of the frontier provinces and also from places where soldiers often marched through on campaigns. An example of such a region worked up by Cornely is the Propontis, which functioned as a transit point for troops against the background of the wars of the 3rd century AD against the Parthians and Sassanids.<sup>561</sup> The troops brought together from the north-west provinces passed through this region on their way to the east and - as some tombstones testify - some of the soldiers died on the way. In Rome there are also soldiers' tombstones with the motif of the soldier standing in front; these are attributed to imperial elite troops (*Equites Singulares Augusti*), who brought this sepulchral form from their homeland on the Danube.<sup>562</sup>

It is interesting that differences in the representation preferred for the tombstone according to Cornely can also be explained by the situation of the soldier at the time of death.<sup>563</sup> Depictions that emphasize the civilian aspect, such as the so-called funeral meal depictions, tombstones with busts of family members or friends, and depictions of victims are particularly common from the 2nd century onwards, when the soldiers died at a time when they were in their civilian and family environment involved, ie at their usual place of deployment.<sup>564</sup> However, when they died on campaign, a depiction in full military garb is by far the most common. Cornely justifies this with the various donors of the grave monuments: At home, most of the soldiers were buried by their relatives, who understandably wanted the gravestones to emphasize the civilian and family aspects more. On the campaign, however, the majority of soldiers were buried by comrades, who of course attached particular importance to the portrayal of the deceased as a member of their common professional group. The soldier should be immediately recognizable as such, and his rank and professional success (awards) within the army were also given special iconographic emphasis.

In my opinion, this thesis drawn up by Cornely for the soldiers' gravestones of the 3rd century AD can also partly explain the change in the manner of representation on soldiers' gravestones at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The Domitian reorganization of borders in the Northwest Provinces has made unit deployments relatively static. This increases the opportunities for the families of the soldiers in the *vicina* and *canabae* of the stationing locations - and thus in the immediate vicinity - to live. Another consequence was that many soldiers died where they were stationed. There her grave monuments were donated by her relatives. These tended to choose topics with which aspects related to the family

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<sup>560</sup>Boschung 1987, 34f, note 541.

<sup>561</sup>Cornely 2003, 70.

<sup>562</sup>Speidel 1994. - Busch 2003.

<sup>563</sup>In the following according to Cornely 2003, 103-106.

<sup>564</sup>According to Speidel, the number of tombstones on which the soldiers are not depicted in full armor and weapon equipment has generally increased over the centuries. See Speidel 2006, 237.

The representation of women and children, for example, could be better expressed visually.

#### VII.4.1. Tombstones from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD

The representations dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD differ in many details in the shape of the belt. In order to provide a better overview, the monuments have been grouped here based on the two main characteristics of their belt shapes and analyzed separately. First, all gravestones that show the belt on the man are grouped by the number of belts. Then the tombstones are analyzed, which show the belt not on the body but as a kind of still life. Finally, all tombstones are differentiated according to the type of hanging apron (hanging down, turned over).

Some tombstones show such an unusual belt shape or combination of features that they are not included in a group, but are dealt with individually. This also applies to the oldest known soldier's tombstone of Minucius Lorarius, which dates back to the second half of the 1st century BC. dated.<sup>565</sup>The sitter wears a simple, seemingly unstudded belt over his tunic, from which the sword hangs on the left, with three straps hanging from its attachment.

The belt is slightly curved in the middle and bound at the edges, indicating that it is a lined leather tube with seams on the long sides.<sup>566</sup>The buckle, which sits over the middle of the body, is D-shaped and the spike is clearly visible. The strap tongue leading out of the buckle initially curves downwards and reveals two more strap holes. The course of the strap is covered by the wick attached underneath. The dagger is carried below the belt and parallel to it in front of the stomach. The strap tongue reappears on the other side of the dagger and now consists of several thin straps. The dagger is apparently attached to the tongue of the strap with the help of several of the straps mentioned. The exact construction is unclear, but several straps are wrapped around both the dagger and the overlying belt, and hanging from below the dagger are either three relatively broad straps with an ornament following the lengthwise direction, or, more likely, three groups of four straps each. The relief presumably represents a fashion for belts which, due to the lack of metal fittings, has not yet been documented in the finds. It is also possible that the depiction was obscured by an incompetent stonemason.

The oldest (certainly datable) Rhenish tombstone is the Tiberian stone of C. Musius.<sup>567</sup>His belt is studded with undecorated rectangular plates. It ends in four strap tongues, the topmost of which is pulled through the D-shaped buckle. The rest hang down in the middle of the body almost to the hem of the tunic. All end in teardrop-shaped pendants, but are not otherwise studded. The pommel, grip and crossguard of a horizontally mounted weapon are on the

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<sup>565</sup>Dcat. No. 91.

<sup>566</sup>This construction appears for the first time at the already mentioned *census*-Relief from the 1st half of the 1st century AD. For implementation in leather see Chapter VIII.

<sup>567</sup>D.Cat. #40

shown on the right side on the belt. It is therefore not possible to judge whether this is a sword (CSIR) or a dagger (Franzoni).

This seems to be the earliest belt form (belt form A). Since the period between the two stones - from the 40s of the 1st century B.C. BC to the Tiberian period is very long, and only two tombstones from it are known, the developments cannot be well understood. However, it seems certain that at the beginning of the period the belt was unshod but had a belt buckle. The strap of the belt was worn longer than was necessary to gird the buckle, and the excess part was cut lengthwise into several straps. The tombstone of Minucius Lorarius shows these straps still without a pendant (and wrapped around the dagger). At the end of the period indicated by the tombstone of Cn. music is represented

#### **VII.4.1.1. Belt Shape B: Two belts**

First, all tombstones showing soldiers with two belts should be analyzed (see Table VII.1). There are 35 monuments from the early Julio-Claudian to Flavian times (15 to 96 AD). Most (18) were found in the province of Germania Superior, followed by 10 in Germania Inferior. Only a few tombstones have been found outside the Rhine area: two come from Italia and one each from Achaea, Britannia, Dalmatia, Mauretania Caesariensis and Pannonia.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD
48	attitude	probably Mainz	"July-Claudian"
24	stranger	binge	tiberian
27	bato	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Early Claudian
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian
23	stranger	binge	claudian
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Ilasi	claudian
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic
40	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic
74	M. Favonius Facilis	colchester	43 to max. 60 AD

64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)
50	stranger	Voerde-Moreum	neronic (?)
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian
45	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD
44	C. Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD
13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown
105	stranger	Cavtat	unknown
		<i>all in all</i>	35

*Table VII.1: Belt Form B - Depictions with two belts.*

Of these 35 tombstones, in 22 cases the two belts are shown crossed (“cowboy fashion”, as Bishop and Coulston aptly call it).<sup>568</sup>, and in 13 cases in parallel (see Table VII.2).

The gravestones with belts worn in parallel are often rather simple in their sculptural quality, so that this may be a simplification of the representation of the costume with crossed belts rather than a specific way of wearing the belts (see Table VII.2).

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	cross	parallel
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD		x
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD	x	
48	attitude	probably Mainz	"July-Claudian"	x	
24	stranger	binge	tiberian		x
27	bato	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Early Claudian	x	
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	x
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	x	
23	stranger	binge	claudian	x	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian		x

<sup>568</sup>Bishop/Coulston 1993, 96

84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian	x	
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD	x	
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.		x
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic	x	
41	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic	x	
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic		x
74	M. Favonius Facilis	colchester	43 to max. 60 AD	x	
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD		x
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x	
49	stranger	Voerde-Moreum	neronic (?)		x
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD	x	
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	x	
45	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian		x
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian		x
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x
44	C.Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD	x	
13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown		x
105	stranger	Cavtat	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	28	22	13

*Table VII.2: Belt Form B - belts worn crossed versus worn parallel.*

With five representations of the group, no statement can be made regarding the fittings on the belts.<sup>569</sup> In 21 depictions, it can be seen that (at least one) belt was studded with metal plates, even without the painting, while nine depictions show an apparently unshod belt that is smooth and sometimes fringed by thickening on the long sides (see Table VII.3 ).<sup>570</sup> Although six representations reveal metal plates, these are shown as undecorated plates. In two cases a framing of the belt fitting can be seen. About half of these 13 representations date to the first half of the 1st century AD. However, the tombstones without metal plates or with undecorated metal plates from the second half of the 1st century AD are of poorer sculptural quality . This could be the reason for the lack of metal plates depicted in stone. The plates were probably painted on, which was much easier and therefore probably cheaper.

Of the decorated belt plates, rosettes can be seen on the fittings on twelve belts and central humps on another four, while eight belts show different types of decoration (rhombuses, rectangles with indented sides). Since the decorations are described here by belt and not by representation, there are of course multiple entries.

<sup>569</sup> Dcat. No. 18, 27, 49, 50, 105. These are therefore not shown in the table.

<sup>570</sup> For construction see pp. 151-152.

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	shown unshod	unadorned metal plates	framed metal panels	Metal plates with rosette	Metal plates with central hump	Metal plates with other patterns
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD		x				
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 AD		x				
24	stranger	binge	tiberian		x				
16	Firmus	Andernach	tiberian-claudian				x		x
17	stranger	Andernach	tiberian-claudian				x		x
25	T. Jul. Abdes panther	Bingerbrueck	tiberian-claudian						x
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	tiberian-claudian				x		
36	stranger	Koblenz	tiberian-claudian						x
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian				x		
23	stranger	binge	claudian				x	x	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian					x	
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian	x		x			x
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century A.D.						x
37	stranger	Cologne	1st century AD.				x		
46	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	claudian until early neronic	x	x		x		
41	stranger	Mainz Gustavsburg	claudian neronic	x			x		
29	Q. Petilius secundus	Bonn	late claudian early neronic					x	
74	M Favonius facility	colchester	43 to max. 60 A.D.				x		
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD						x
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	late Claudian, before 54 AD				x	x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x			x		
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD	x		x			
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian						x
45	ingenious	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x					

46	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x					
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian	x					
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; about 70 to 82 AD		x				
44	C. Valerius secundus	Mainz	Flavian; about 70 to 82 AD		x				
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD				x		
13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown	x					
		<i>all in all</i>	30	9	6	2	12	4	8th

*Table VII.3: Belt Form B – Belt Fittings.*

These are made by combining a decorated and an undecorated belts<sup>571</sup>, the use of different patterns in the fittings of a belts<sup>572</sup> or the differentiation of the two belts by different decoration<sup>573</sup> caused. While the rosette patterns begin in the Tiberian period and continue into the Neronian period, the central hump decorations only appear from the Claudian period. This fits with the dating of the belt plates with a central hump, which had their heyday in the Claudian period.

The question, briefly mentioned above, whether the depictions of metal sheets with rosette decorations are depictions of belt plates decorated with niello (with a star/cross motif or similar) or a sculptural “trick” (the sheet metal should be depicted decorated and this decoration was relatively easy to make) cannot be decided with certainty. The dating of the nielloed metal sheets with a star/cross motif (Augustan-Tiberian to early Neronian, see pp. 187-190) and the representations of rosette metal sheets (Tiberian-Claudian to Neronian) agree relatively well. Both ornaments belong to the standard repertoire of Greco-Roman art. It is therefore quite possible that the choice of two such similar decorations is a matter of coincidence.

This circumstance and the mentioned similarity of the two decorations make it seem somewhat more likely that the rosette decorations on belt plate representations are a converted representation of niello-decorated belt plates with a star/cross motif.

In 27 cases it can be seen to which belt the dagger or sword is attached (see Table VII.4).<sup>574</sup>Of these, 17 soldiers wear the sword on the outer belt and 10 on the inner.

<sup>571</sup>Dcat. Nos. 40, 41, 46, 54.

<sup>572</sup>Dcat. Nos. 16, 31, 36, 83.

<sup>573</sup>Dcat. Nos. 17, 30, 41.

<sup>574</sup>This is not recognizable with the DKat. No. 27, 50, 54, 64, 105. These are therefore not shown in the table.



cat	name/designation	locality	dating	on the outer / upper belt	on the inner/lower belt
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	x	
48	attitude	probably Mainz	"July-Claudian"		x
24	stranger	binge	tiberian		x
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		x
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	x	
23	stranger	binge	claudian	x	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian	x	
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Ilasi	claudian		x
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD	x	
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.	x	
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic		x
41	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic		x
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic	x	
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)		x
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD	x	
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	x	
45	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian		x
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian	x	
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x
44	C.Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x
		<i>all in all</i>	27	17	10

*Table VII.4: Belt Form B - Sword on outer/upper versus inner/lower belt worn.*

The manner of carrying the sword on the body can be seen in 34 depictions and can be deduced from one (see Table VII.5).<sup>575</sup>With five exceptions, the sword is always carried on the right hand side. The sword sits quite high, so that the pommel of the sword is approximately level with the lower ribs.

<sup>575</sup>At the DKat. No. 23, the right side of the soldier's body is no longer preserved. However, since he carries a dagger on his left side, it can be assumed that the sword hung on his right side. At DKat. No. 54 is worn because of its state of preservation and is therefore not shown in the table.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	sword on the right	sword on the left
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	x	
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD	x	
48	attitude	probably Mainz	"July-Claudian"	x	
24	stranger	binge	tiberian		x
27	bato	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Early Claudian	x	
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		x
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	x	
23	stranger	binge	claudian	x (?)	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian		x
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian	x	
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD	x	
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.	x	
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic	x	
41	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic	x	
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic	x	
74	M. Favonius Facilis	colchester	43 to max. 60 AD		x
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD	x	
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x	
49	stranger	Voerde-Moreum	neronic (?)		x
105	stranger	Cavtat/HR	unknown	x	
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD		x
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	x	
44	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
45	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian		x
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	x	
44	C.Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	x	
13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	34	28	6

*Table VII.5: Belt Form B - Sword worn on the right versus left.*

The dagger appears in 30 depictions and is always shown carried on the left side, with four exceptions (see Table VII.6).<sup>576</sup>In seven cases, the fastening of the dagger with the help of a button clasp is clearly visible.<sup>577</sup>

<sup>576</sup>No dagger is recognizable in the DKat. No. 13, 24, 50, 54. These are therefore not shown in the table.

<sup>577</sup>For the appearance and construction of button clasps, see the Finds chapter.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	dagger left	dagger right	Button clasp recognizable
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	X		
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 AD	X		X
48	attitude	probably Mainz	"July-Claudian"	X		
27	bato	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Early Claudian	X		
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	X		X
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	X		
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		X	
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	X		
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	X		
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	X		
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	X		X
23	stranger	binge	claudian	X		
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian		X	
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Ilasi	claudian	X		
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD	X		X
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.	X		X
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic	X		X
41	stranger	Mainz Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic	X		
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	late claudian early neronic	X		
74	M. Favonius Facilis	colchester	43 to max. 60 AD		X	
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD	X		
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	X		
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	X		
105	stranger	Cavtat	unknown	X		
42	C Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD		X	
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	X		
45	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	X		
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	X		
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian		X	X
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	X		
44	C.Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	X		
		<i>all in all</i>	30	26	4	7

Table VII.6: Belt Form B - Dagger worn left versus right.

Carrying the sword on the right and the dagger on the left is therefore the norm in the depictions, from which only five stones deviate. These are different in terms of dating and regional distribution, so that a chronological or regional variant cannot be assumed here. Other explanations must be found for the deviating presentation. Only the tombstone of the signifer Pintaius reveals a reason: Since it bore the signum on the right, the sword was logically attached on the left.<sup>578</sup> The tombstone from Voerde- Mehrum is badly damaged on the right side, and on the left side only the pommel of the sword shown horizontally is visible - the attribution is therefore not certain and the depiction is also unusual.<sup>579</sup> The sword on the tombstone from Bingen is also shown horizontally and only the pommel is visible.<sup>580</sup> The tombstone of Favonius Facilis, on the other hand, is unusual for other reasons: the sitter carries his sword on a shoulder strap on the left, and he also wears two very unusually depicted belts.<sup>581</sup> However, on the other two tombstones, both the sword and the dagger are shown vertically.<sup>582</sup> There is no reason for the reverse carrying method to be seen here.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	after right	after Left
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	x	x
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD		x
24	stranger	binge	tiberian	x (2)	
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	?	?
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	?	?
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian		x
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian		x
83	stranger	Cassacco	1st half of the 1st century AD		x (2)
41	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic	?	?
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic	?	?
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x	
49	stranger	Voerde-Moreum	neronic (?)	x	
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian		x
44	C.Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	?	?
		<i>all in all</i>	17	7	7

*Table VII.7: Belt shape B - belt buckle D shape.*

All 17 recognizable belt buckles are shown in a D-shape (see Table VII.7). The buckles are shown centered over the body or worn to the right or left of the apron. Of the representations, the direction of the 12 representations is

<sup>578</sup>Dcat. #28

<sup>579</sup>Dcat. No. 49.

<sup>580</sup>Dcat. No. 24

<sup>581</sup>Dcat. No. 74.

<sup>582</sup>Dcat. No. 18 and 41.

Buckle visible. This means which one is pointing towards the tip of the buckle. Two buckles can be seen in each of two images, so 14 buckles could be evaluated, exactly half of which point to the right or half to the left.<sup>583</sup>

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	belt tongue of a belt	Strap tongues of both belts	Strap tongue with tag
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD		x	
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 AD		x	x
24	stranger	binge	tiberian	x		
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x		x
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x		x
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	x		
23	stranger	binge	claudian			
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian	x		
29	Q. Petilius secundus	Bonn	late claudian early neronic	x		
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD	x		x
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early neronic	x		
41	stranger	Mainz Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic		x	x
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x		
50	stranger	Voerde-Moreum	neronic (?)	x		
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	x		
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x	
44	C. Valerius secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x	x
		<i>all in all</i>	19	13	5	6

Table VII.8: Belt Form B – Strap Tongues.

The depiction of D-shaped buckles makes it clear that many of the details originally depicted are probably missing due to the lack of painting on the stones. Among the finds are simple, D-shaped ones from the middle Augustan period

<sup>583</sup> Right-pointing buckles are now more commonly worn by left-handers, as they make it easier to tighten the strap.

Buckles are present, but from the Tiberian period these seem to have been increasingly replaced by buckles with volutes in the infantryman's belt form, which remained the dominant buckle form well into the 2nd century AD. It is therefore likely that most of the D-shaped buckles described here were originally decorated with painted volutes.

The representations of the belts show real strap tongues in 18 cases, ie the remainder of the belt strap pulled through the buckle (see Table VII.8). Of these, 13 depictions show only the strap tongue of one belt, five show the strap tongues of both belts. The strap tongues are tagged in six cases, five of which are leaf-shaped and one is semi-circular.<sup>584</sup>

cat	name/designation; locality	locality	dating
59	Largennius	Strasbourg- Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian
23	stranger	binge	claudian
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic
41	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian
		<i>all in all</i>	12

*Table VII.9: Belt Form B – Sash.*

In one case the belt ends in seven narrow straps, only the top one of which passes through the buckle.<sup>585</sup>The remaining straps fall down like a drape and are fitted with round metal fittings. In this respect this representation resembles that of Cn. music.<sup>586</sup>Both tombstones date to the first half of the 1st century AD.

Three other depictions also integrate the strap tongues into the hanging apron.<sup>587</sup>The tabs of the strap tongues are then the same as those of the hanging apron straps.

In some cases, a fold can be seen below the belt, which cannot have belonged to the tunic because of its more or less horizontal direction, nor to the belt because of the clearly textile character of the depiction (see Table VII.9). It is now considered proven that this is an abdominal bandage wrapped around the body several times. She was first by

<sup>584</sup> Dcat. No. 16.

<sup>585</sup> Dcat. No. 83.

<sup>586</sup> Dcat. #40

<sup>587</sup> Dcat. No. 28-30.

Ubl recognized by the tombstone from Cassacco.<sup>588</sup> The bandage was probably used as a *ventral fascia* referred to, a term that is used at least for similar bandages from civil contexts (see also Chapter VI.2, 62).<sup>589</sup> Comparable illustrations of this type of lower third are also found on civil reliefs from the Rhineland.<sup>590</sup> In addition, the warrior of Vachères (see above) wears a cloth bandage under his belt.

The sash can be seen particularly well in two depictions: A double layered strip of fabric rich in folds is looped around the middle of the body.<sup>591</sup> Due to the doubling, one of the two ends forms a loop through which the other end is pulled. The newly discovered tombstone of an unknown person from Cologne shows another variant.<sup>592</sup>

cat	name/designation; locality	locality	dating
59	Largennius	Strasbourg- Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian
23	stranger	binge	claudian
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic
13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown
		<i>all in all</i>	10

*Table VII.10: Belt form B - writing tablets shown.*

Here the abdominal bandage according to Wieland is "mainly represented by a 5 to 5.7 cm high, smooth and slightly indented surface, which is separated from the top by a horizontal edge *tunicis* deposited. [...] Also] to the left and right of the "little writing tablet" behind the upper belt, against the smooth background of the lower third, a larger piece of fabric can be seen"<sup>593</sup>

In seven cases, a rectangular plate was pushed into the sash in the middle of the body from above "behind" the belt (see Table VII.10). In analogy to the writing tablets of the magistrate's clerks on northern Italian reliefs, these can be identified as folded writing tablets.<sup>594</sup>

<sup>588</sup>Dcat. No. 83, Ubl 1989.

<sup>589</sup>See Rich 1892, below *ventral*, and Müller 1873, 21.

<sup>590</sup>Two depictions have already been mentioned by Wieland (Wieland 2008, 23, note 111): On the one hand, a helmsman on what is probably a late Flavian relief fragment from the banks of the Rhine in Cologne (Neu 1989, 342-348, no. 43), on the other hand a slave leader on the Relief on the left side of the Nickenich family tomb (Bauchhenß 1975, pl. 37,2). Like the soldiers, both men wear a tucked-up tunic under the cummerbund and a tunic over it *paenula*.

<sup>591</sup>Dcat. No. 35, 46.

<sup>592</sup>Dcat. No. 37.

<sup>593</sup>Wieland 2008, 28.

<sup>594</sup>Schäfer 1989, 123ff and Baatz 1983.

The depiction of the writing tablet is evidence of one's own education in pictorial form, as is also the case on other tombs. Soldier gravestones of later periods show writing materials in a similar way, either *volume*(scrolls) or *tesserae*, several writing tablets tied together in a bundle.

#### **VII.4.1.2. Belt Shape C: A belt**

All tombstones depicting soldiers with only one belt are analyzed below (see Table VII.11). There are 18 monuments from the Claudian to the Antonine period (40 to 160 AD); However, the dating of four gravestones (= 21%) is unknown. Also, one can doubt the dating of the tombstone of Rufus Lucilius, since it rests between the middle of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the Flavian period, mainly due to the missing cognomen and the absence of his unit from Carnuntum.<sup>595</sup>The belt shape and in particular the way of carrying the shown *paenula* in Rufus Lucilius, however, can in my opinion be dated at the earliest in the Flavian period. The tombstone would then date from the second phase of the legions at these sites from Flavian times.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	with paenula	With tunic bulky
124	Q. Philippicus	Celei	claudian		
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD	X	
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian	X	
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian	X	
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muč	late Flavian	X	
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	domitian		
57	C. Valerius crispus	Wiesbaden	domitian		
174	M Lucillus germanus	Budapest	around 100 AD	X	
90	stranger	Novara	1st-2nd century AD	X	
61	M. Julius Sabinianus	Athens	late Hadrian- antonine	X	
66	M.Valerius Capito	Athens	2nd third of the 2nd century AD	X	
63	Q. Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD		X
175	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.	X	
12	Balaterus	Cherchel	unknown		
67	stranger	Athens	unknown	X	
68	T. Flavius Maximus	Athens	unknown	X	
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown	X	
		<i>all in all</i>	17	12	1

*Table VII.11: Belt Form C - with one belt.*

<sup>595</sup>Dcat. No. 117. See Lupa no. 12.



The geographic origin is very inhomogeneous in this group. Six tombstones each were found in Achaea and Pannonia, two in Germania Superior and two in Italia, and one each in Dalmatia, Mauretania Caesariensis and Moesia Inferior (or Dacia).

In general, it can be said that the sculptural quality of most of the tombstones is inferior to that of the previous group, resulting in few representations being sufficiently detailed to answer the following questions.

Also, the view of the belt in many representations is either through the *paenula* or the tunic puff prevents. While on most tombstones either the girdle itself, or some girdle straps between or below the ends of the *paenula* are recognizable is on a tombstone of the belt through the *paenula* completely hidden.<sup>596</sup> The depiction is relatively small and dates to the Antonine period. Neither the shape of the belt buckles, nor any *ventral fascia* Writing tablets still tucked into the belt are recognizable in the representations of this group. Only in the case of the strap tongues can it be stated that two depictions show strap tongues; one is unstudded and one is studded with round rivets and decorated with a leaf-shaped pendant.<sup>597</sup>

cat	name/designation Hungarian	locality	dating	shown unshod	unadorned metal plates	Metal plates with rosette	Metal plates with central hump
124	Q. Philippicus	Celei	claudian		X		
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD (flavian)		X		
92	montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian	X			
173	C. Castricius victor	Budapest	domitian				X
57	C Valerius crisp	Wiesbaden	domitian			X	
90	stranger	Novara	1st-2nd century AD		X		
63	Q. Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD	X			
		<i>all in all</i>	7	2	3	1	1

Table VII.12: Belt Form C – Belt Fittings.

The belt fittings can only be identified on seven gravestones (see Table VII.12). Of these, two are without fittings and three with undecorated fittings

<sup>596</sup> Dcat. No. 177.

<sup>597</sup> Unshod: DKat.Nr. 57. – With rivets and pendants: DKat.Nr. 175

shown. Rosette decorations or a central hump can be seen in each depiction. None of the depictions show framed belt plates or other patterns than the two mentioned. As already mentioned for belt form B, the dating of the belt plates with the central hump (flowering in the Claudian to early Flavian period) agrees with the representations of the type.

On the basis of the analysis of the belt form B, it was also possible to determine that the dating of the representations of rosette sheets agree relatively well with the dating of the niello-decorated sheets with a star/cross motif (Tiberian to Neronian). However, this does not apply to the tombstone of C. Valerius Crispus considered here, whose belt is decorated with rosettes. Due to the troop history of the unit, the tombstone is dated Flavian - preferably Domitian - and thus falls outside the dating framework of the nielloed sheet metal. The depiction on the stone corresponds well - apart from the decoration with rosette plates - to other depictions that are dated at the same time, so far I see no reason to doubt this.

A belt buckle is shown on only one belt, it is D-shaped.<sup>598</sup>

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	sword on the right	sword on the left
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	AD 39-40/44 (Flavian)		x
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian	x	
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian		x
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian	x	
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	domitian		x
57	C. Valerius crispus	Wiesbaden	domitian	x	
90	stranger	Novara	1st-2nd century AD	x	
61	M. Julius Sabinianus	Athens	Late Hadrianic-Antonian	x	
175	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.	x	
189	Aelius Septimus	Budapest	171/172 AD	x	x
12	Balaterus	Cherchel	unknown	x	
67	stranger	Athens	unknown	x	
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	14	10	4

*Table VII.13: Belt Form C - Sword worn on the right versus left.*

The sword can be seen in 14 representations, of which all but four soldiers carry the sword on the right (see Table VII.13).

A dagger is also evident in eight cases, carried on the left, with the exception of three tombstones (see Table VII.14). Button closures cannot be identified in any representation.

<sup>598</sup>Dcat. No. 92.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	dagger left	dagger right
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	AD 39-40/44 (Flavian)		x
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian	x	
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian		x
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	domitian		x
61	M. Julius Sabinianus	Athens	Late Hadrianic-Antonian	x	
12	Balaterus	Cherchel	unknown	x	
67	stranger	Athens	unknown	x	
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	8th	5	3

*Table VII.14: Belt Form C – Dagger worn left versus right.*

#### **VII.4.1.3. Belt shape B and C: still life**

Nine girdles are represented as still lifes on the tombstones (see Table VII.15). The group should be summarized here, since they all do not show the belts "on the man". They date relatively imprecisely to the 1st century AD or its second half. Only one representation is clearly dated later, namely Antonine, while one is undated.<sup>599</sup> One stone comes from Istanbul, three were found in Pula / Croatia and five come from northern Italy.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	one belt	two belt
78	C. Firmidius Rufus	Aquileia	1st century AD		x
82	Father Marcius Probus	Bergamo	1st century AD	x	
110	C. Caulinus maximus	Pula	1st century AD	x	
111	stranger	Pula	1st century AD	x	
80	Cottiedius Attianus	unknown	2nd half of the 1st century AD		x
88	L. Sinicius	Monselice	2nd half of the 1st century AD	x	
109	stranger	Pula	2nd half of the 1st century AD	x	
160	Severus Acceptus	Kadikoy/Istanbul	antonine	x	
79	stranger	Aquileia (?)	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	9	7	1

*Table VII.15: Belt shape B and C: still life.*

<sup>599</sup> Antonine: DKat. No. 160.

Belt fittings can be seen in four cases (see Table VII.16). However, none of the representations is so well preserved or so detailed that the decoration of the belt plates can be identified.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	belt fittings recognizable
78	C. Firmidius Rufus	Aquileia	1st century AD	X
82	Father Marcius Probus	Bergamo	1st century AD	
110	C. Caulinus maximus	Pula	1st century AD	
111	stranger	Pula	1st century AD	X
80	Cotiedus Attianus	unknown	2nd half of the 1st century AD	
109	L. Sinicius	Monselice	2nd half of the 1st century AD	
79	stranger	Pula	2nd half of the 1st century AD	
160	Severus Acceptus	Kadikoy/Istanbul	antonine	
79	stranger	Aquileia (?)	unknown	
		<i>all in all</i>	9	4

Table VII.16: Still Life - Belt Fittings.

Six belt buckles are shown in D-shape while, interestingly, two are rectangular in shape (see Table VII.17).<sup>600</sup>The main shape of the rectangular belt buckle dates to the Flavian to Hadrianic period, which would match the dates given for the two stones. It could therefore be a reflection of this fashion.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	D shaped	rectangular
78	C. Firmidius Rufus	Aquileia	1st century AD	X	
82	Father Marcius Probus	Bergamo	1st century AD	X	
110	C. Caulinus maximus	Pula	1st century AD		X
111	stranger	Pula	1st century AD	X	
80	Cottiedus Attianus	unknown	2nd half of the 1st century AD	X (2)	
88	L. Sinicius	Monselice	2nd half of the 1st century AD	X	
109	stranger	Pula	2nd half of the 1st century AD	X	
160	Severus Acceptus	Kadikoy/Istanbul	antonine		X
79	stranger	Aquileia (?)	unknown	X	
		<i>all in all</i>	11	8th	2

Table VII.17: Still Life - Belt Buckles.

<sup>600</sup>Dcat. Nos. 110, 160.

None of the belts have a hanging apron. Two stones have no strap tongues, three have one strap and one each has two, three and four straps (see Table VII.18). One depiction shows two belts, one with four strap tongues and the other with five. Another depiction shows four strap tongues with different pendants, one leaf-shaped and two lunulae.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	belt tongue	fan
78	C. Firmidius Rufus	Aquileia	1st century AD	1	
82	Father Marcius Probus	Bergamo	1st century AD	3	leafy
111	stranger	Pula	1st century AD	3 & 1	lunulae and leafy
80	Cottiedius Attianus	unknown	2nd half of the 1st century AD	4 and 5	leafy
88	L. Sinicius	Monselice	2nd half of the 1st century AD	2	lunulae
109	stranger	Pula	2nd half of the 1st century AD	1	lunula
79	stranger	Aquileia (?)	unknown	1	leafy

*Table VII.18: Still Life - Strap Tongues.*

#### **VII.4.1.4. summary**

The oldest way of wearing the belt is certainly belt form A, in which the belt was initially bare and later decorated with undecorated fittings. It features the strap tongue cut into multiple straps with charms.

This belt form is followed by belt form B, which, according to the representations, dates at least from the Tiberian period and ends towards the end of the 1st century AD. In it two belts are crossed (*cowboy fashion*), both of which feature ornate hardware and D-buckles. However, the strap tongues of these buckles are not cut into separate straps, but simply fall down, sometimes adorned with a single pendant. The sword is worn on the right on one belt (usually the outer/upper one) and the dagger on the left on the other belt (usually the lower/inner one), on the latter in some cases the round attachment buttons are recognizable.

According to previous dating, representations of belt form C begin in the middle of the 1st century AD and only end after the middle of the 2nd century AD. As before

mentioned, but at least the dating of one of the two tombstones can be questioned, here a Flavian dating seems more likely.<sup>601</sup>

This would mean that in the years of the civil wars and the Jewish war - probably initially only for a group of soldiers - belt type B was replaced by belt type C in fashion. In the course of the following thirty years, this belt shape became more and more popular.

Most of the "still life" depictions also seem to date to the second half of the 1st century AD. In this period, therefore, representations of the soldiers with their belts were significantly more frequent than in the periods directly before and after. Two stones each represent two belts (one with a sword and one with a dagger) and can therefore be counted as part of the two-belt form (B), the rest only represent one belt with a sword. Whether it is belt form C with only one belt and acts without a dagger or the dagger belt was worn by the soldier but not shown cannot be decided.

In summary, it can be said of the belt fittings that the decorated belt plates represent the majority and that of these, the rosettes represent the largest group with twelve times, while only five belts have central humps and eight belts have other types of decoration.

As already mentioned, the appearance of the rosette design and the central boss decoration agrees well with the dating of the belt plates with star/cross motifs in niello and the central boss, respectively.

Of the 25 recognizable belt buckles of belt forms A, B and C, 23 are shown in D-shape and a total of 29 belts have strap tongues that are shod in 14 cases.

It is repeatedly claimed in the literature that belt form B with double belts was used for chain mail, while belt form C was worn with only one belt over splint armor or scale armor.<sup>602</sup> To check this, a table was created in which the armor was connected to the belt (see Table VII.19). Twelve tombstones show soldiers in tanks. The tanks are smooth on all reliefs (they were probably painted accordingly). However, small clues to the cut (slits on the sleeves and hips, doubling of the shoulders, turned-down neckline) indicate that most of them are chain mail. Of the soldiers depicted, nine are wearing belt type B with two belts and only two are wearing belt type C with one belt. In only one case is a muscular armor with a shoulder strap shown.<sup>603</sup> This suggests that the type of girdle did not depend on the type of armor. However, the statement is not unambiguous, since no depictions of rail or scale armor have survived on the soldiers' monuments.

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<sup>601</sup>Dcat. No. 117.

<sup>602</sup>Ubl 1989, 61-62. – Beck/Chew 1991, 57f. – Grew/Griffith 1991, 51f. – Bishop/Coulston 1993, 96. – Deschler-Erb 1996b, 86.

<sup>603</sup>Dcat. No. 92. If it really is a case of muscle armor, then it would be shown here in a - to put it mildly - extremely unusual combination together with a belt and hanging apron. D'Amato/Sumner 2009.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	Tank: K=chain, S=scales, M=muscle	Two belts	a belt with sword and dagger	a belt with a narrow shoulder strap
16	Firmus	Andernach	tiberian- claudian	K	x		
17	stranger	Andernach	tiberian- claudian	K	x		
18	stranger	Andernach	tiberian- claudian	K	x		
36	stranger	Koblenz	tiberian- claudian	K	x		
40	cn. music	Mainz-zahlbach	before 43 AD.	K		x	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian	K	x		
45	ingenious	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	K	x		
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	K	x		
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic early Flavian	K	x		
74	M. Favonius Facilis	colchester	probably before 60	K/ S	x		
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; about 70 to 82 AD	K			
44	C.Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; about 70 to 82 AD	K			
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian	M?			x
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	last quarter 1st century AD	K		x	
			<i>all in all</i>	14	9	2	1

Table VII.19: Representation with armor: double or single belt?

If we compare the two belt forms B and C, the way the sword is carried on the right and the dagger on the left can be determined as a constant. The most recent tombstones with this method of carrying date from the Antonine period. A total of 46 representations of belt forms B and C show whether the sword is worn on the right or left; they were discussed above. In addition, there are eight tombstones from the catalogue, which date to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD but were not included in either of the two groups (see Table VII.20).<sup>604</sup>

<sup>604</sup> These are mainly representations in which the *paenula* or the tunic puff covers the belt or belts to such an extent that hardly any further statements can be made. Some representations have also been treated individually for other reasons.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	sword on the left	sword on the right
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian		X
75	"Camomile Street soldiers"	London	Flavian		X
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian		X
55	stranger	trier	1st century AD	X	
52	L. Valerius Albinus	Offenburg	70-100		X
32	stranger	Bonn	late 1st to early 2nd century		X
62	Q. Staius Rufinus	Athens	Hadrianic		X
93	stranger	Rome	2nd century AD		X
		<i>all in all</i>	8th	1	7

Table VII.20: Sword worn on the left.

Of these 55 representations, only 10 (= 18%) show the sword on the left. In the case of the stones compiled here, the method of carrying the sword on the left can usually be explained by the dating of the stones: From the late Flavian-early Traian period, the sword was increasingly carried on a shoulder strap and more and more often on the left. However, the shoulder strap is often under the *paenula* hidden.

In the case of the dagger, too, in addition to the 38 representations already discussed, two further tombstones were not included in either of the two groups of belt forms; these two show the dagger on the left.<sup>605</sup> Of the now 41 depictions, seven (=17%) show the dagger on the right. Again, the dating can serve as an explanation in most cases.

In five cases a combination of a belt and a shoulder strap is shown visible (see Table VII.21). A further eleven tombstones from the catalog could also be worn with a shoulder strap. With these tombstones, however, it is because of the way they are carried *paenula* (which falls over the belt in front) it is not possible to tell whether this is the case. But since the cloak (*sagum*) often covers the shoulder strap, it can be concluded here by analogy that in the representations that only the *paenula* and the sword presumably also indicate a shoulder strap was worn.

<sup>605</sup>Dcat. No. 21, 52.



cat	name/designation; locality	locality	dating	sword on the right	sword on the left	Shoulder strap secured	Shoulder strap possible under coat
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian	X			X
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian	X			X
57	C. Valerius crispus	Wiesbaden	domitian	X		X	
52	L. Valerius Albinus	Offenburg	74 to about 100 AD	X			X
90	stranger	Novara	1st-2nd century AD	X			X
61	M. Julius Sabinianus	Athens	late Hadrian- antonine	X			X
175	stranger	Budapest	antonine, 130-160. n. Chr.	X			X
67	stranger	Athens	unknown	X			X
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown	X			X
74	M. Favonius Facilis (centurion)	colchester	43 to max. 60 A.D.		X	X	
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 n. Chr.		X		X
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian		X	X	
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	domitian		X	X	
55	stranger	trier	1st century AD		X		X
189	Aelius Septimus	Budapest	171/172 AD		X	X	
		<i>all in all</i>	16	5	11	10	6

Table VII.21: Shoulder strap / sword (catalogue).

The sword is in most cases seen at the hip at the same level as it would be if it were belt mounted, so it is not certain whether the sword was worn on the belt or on the shoulder strap. Here, in addition to being attached to the shoulder strap, the shoulder strap—shown relatively narrowly—can also function as an auxiliary strap. In this form, for example, it could have been attached to the belt next to the sword, either firmly or detachably, thus preventing the heavy sword from pulling the belt down at this point.

The difference in the way the sword is carried - right or left - results in a difference in the way the sword is drawn and pointed

thus pointing to changed tactics in combat. Therefore, the difference between carrying the sword on the right and on the left is important.

The group of tombstones with a sword probably carried by the shoulder strap (2nd century AD) is divided by the side on which the sword is carried (see Table VII.21). The combination of belt and narrow shoulder strap from the left shoulder to the right side, where the sword is carried, is belt form D. The tombstones depicting this belt form are dated from late Flavian to Antonian times (AD 96-161). . The tombstone of M. Favonius Facilis, which dates before 60 AD, is an exception because it depicts a centurion.<sup>606</sup>As early as the early 1st century AD, they carried the sword on a shoulder strap on the left.

The combination of a belt with a wide shoulder strap from the right shoulder to the left side, on which the sword hangs, is belt form H. In representations of the 3rd century AD, it will be the norm and date the first representations of such a belt form however earlier. Of the tombstones on which the shoulder strap is visible, however, it is shown rather narrow in three cases.<sup>607</sup> The tombstone of Aelius Septimus, on the other hand, shows a broad shoulder strap, but the soldier is depicted in muscle armor and is not wearing a belt. The representations with the sword on the left side appear to be a different way of wearing the belt, which is occasionally shown.

In order to check whether carrying the sword on the left side was perhaps more common, the tombstones that were not included in the catalog were compiled in a further table, since the *paenula* in the representations completely covered the belt and only the attachment of the sword was visible (see Table VII.22).

Here it can be stated that, with the exception of one tombstone, all representations show the sword on the right. Also with these representations a way of carrying the shoulder strap is possible, which is then through the *paenula* covered. It can be stated that a total of 30 gravestones are secured or that there is the possibility that a shoulder strap will be worn.

Also, out of a total of 69 tombstones from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, only 11 (= almost 16%) have the sword fastened on the left side.

If one tries to describe the narrow shoulder strap more precisely, one notices not only that it runs from the left shoulder to the right hip on the tombstone of Castricius Victor, but also that it is studded with round rivets.<sup>608</sup> A similarly decorated shoulder strap is also depicted on a statue with muscle armour.<sup>609</sup> The muscle armor and the sash knotted around it (*cinctoria*) suggests that the statue represents an officer. The narrow shoulder strap runs from the right

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<sup>606</sup>Dcat. No. 74.

<sup>607</sup>Dcat. Nos. 74, 92, 173.

<sup>608</sup>Dcat. No. 173.

<sup>609</sup>Lupa #4518.

Shoulder to the left and is adorned with round studs at regular intervals.

source	name/designation	locality	dating	sword on the right	sword on the left
CSIR D II,14,52-54	scene	Bingerbrueck	claudian neronic	x	
Lupa no. 79	L. Plotidius Vitalis	Carnuntum	75-100		x
Lupa no. 15572	stranger	Bonn	Turn 1st / 2nd century AD	x	
fist 184	Oclatius	Neuss	Turn 1st / 2nd century AD	x	
Lupa no. 2839	soldier family	Budapest	Traian	x	
CSIR D III,1,10	stranger	Xanten	Traian	x	
RIB 619	cintusmus	Templeborough	first third 2. century AD	x	
Lupa no. 5042	Claudius Secundus	Budapest	120-140 AD	x	
Lupa no. 4981	C Attius quadrate	Budapest	120-160 AD	x	
Lupa no. 5987	stranger	esztergom	100-150 AD	x	
Lupa no. 2875	soldier family	Budapest	antonine	x	
Lupa no. 2938	Father Aelius Mestrius	Budapest	antonine, 130-160. n. Chr.	x	
Lupa no. 4677	stranger	Budapest	antonine	x	
Lupa no. 10456	stranger	Tác	unknown	x	
Lupa no. 16467	stranger	Mainz	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	15	14	1

*Table VII.22: Shoulder strap / sword (other).*

These shoulder straps also resemble those found in a number of mummy portraits from the Fayyum period in Egypt.<sup>610</sup> The portraits are half-length portraits of men in their prime, which Paetz gen. Schieck classified into two type groups: The first group consists of ten portraits, which could be identified as soldiers mainly based on the depiction of a fibulaed sagum with fringes. The men in nine portraits of the second group all wear shoulder straps with rivets. you are with

<sup>610</sup>In the following according to Speidel 1999 and Paetz gen. Schieck 2010, 92-93.

a white tunic with blue ones *clavi* clothed. A dark blue coat lies on her left shoulder – never worn but with a brooch. A narrow red strap, studded with gold-colored rivets at regular intervals, runs across the chest from the right shoulder to the left side. The strap leads to the lower right corner of the picture, in which a rounded shape can be seen, the pommel of the sword. This is worn horizontally by the soldiers - similar to the representations on some reliefs - so that the pommel appears from above.

There is only one exception to this type of representation in this group: the man in this portrait also wears a white tunic, but a brown-red coat, which is closed on the left shoulder with a golden bow brooch.<sup>611</sup> The shoulder strap runs across the chest, just below the collarbone, from the left shoulder to the right side. It is red and decorated with gold, oval-looking rivets. Some explanations have been offered regarding the different direction of the shoulder strap, which also occurs in one of the portraits of the men in blue coats, but none of them have been convincing so far. The portraits are dated from Hadrianic times to the middle of the 2nd century AD.<sup>612</sup>

These portraits show not only that the narrow (about 5 cm wide) shoulder strap running from the left shoulder to the right hip was already established in the Roman army in Hadrianic times, but also that it was dyed red and decorated with round rivets, whose golden color probably meant brass or bronze in most cases.

#### **hanging aprons**

After considering the belt shapes, the hanging apron should now be analyzed. Here the depictions can be divided into those with a hanging apron and those with a folded-down apron.

#### **VII.4.1.5. Drape a — drooping.**

The regional distribution of the 41 depictions with hanging aprons is relatively wide (see Table VII.23): more than half come from the Rhineland, while the rest were found in the Danube region, Italy and the Mediterranean region. They can be classified between the latest Tiberian period and the middle of the 2nd century AD.

The kilt appears to begin at the so-called "kid plate" in nine depictions (see Table VII.24).<sup>613</sup> So far, this lower part of the hanging apron is only known from depictions.

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<sup>611</sup> Catalog moments, cat. no. 86,

<sup>612</sup> Paetz gen. Schieck 2011b, 95-96.

<sup>613</sup> In six cases, no statement could be made about the type of depiction or the condition (DKat. Nr. 27, 49, 50, 64, 83, 105). These are therefore not shown in the table.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD
49	attitude	probably Mainz	"July-Claudian"
24	stranger	binge	tiberian
27	bato	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Early Claudian
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian
23	stranger	binge	claudian
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic
41	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)
50	stranger	Voerde-Moreum	neronic (?)
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian
75	stranger	London	Flavian
52	Lucius Valerius Albinus	Offenburg	74 to about 100 AD
55	stranger	trier	1st century AD
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian
32	stranger	Bonn	late 1st to early 2nd century
175	stranger	Budapest	first half of the 2nd century AD
63	Q. Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD
93	stranger	Rome	2nd century AD
66	M.Valerius Capito	Athens	2nd third of the 2nd century AD
81	Sal. Viscus	Belgioioso	mid 2nd century AD
13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown
67	stranger	Athens	unknown
68	T. Flavius Maximus	Athens	unknown
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown
105	stranger	Cavtat	unknown
		<i>all in all</i>	41

Table VII.23: Representations with hanging apron a.

The plate has been cautiously interpreted by Bishop as an attempt to depict multiple matching rectangular studs on the upper part of the straps.<sup>614</sup> Such fittings have not yet been found in sufficient numbers.

In my opinion it is a representation of a rectangular piece of leather which, according to the representations, was attached to one of the belts by its upper edge. The apron straps in the depictions begin without a transition at the bottom edge of the piece, indicating that the lower part of the leather rectangle was cut into strips and thus functioned as a hanging apron. The straps formed in this way were additionally shod and attached with pendants. The apron is framed in five cases and decorated in two cases.<sup>615</sup>

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian
23	stranger	binge	claudian
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic
		<i>all in all</i>	9

Table VII.24. Hanging apron a with versus without a visible apron panel.

Without a visible apron plate, other depictions show the apron straps. They then start right at the bottom of the belt and appear to be attached to the inside. Since the dates of the depictions with and without the apron are comparable and no regional groupings are apparent, the hanging apron may have been attached to two different methods at the same time. It seems more likely to me, however, that in the depictions without a recognizable apron plate, it is only as wide as the belt to which the hanging apron is attached. It thus disappears completely behind the belt.

The hanging apron is always shown attached to the dagger belt, with four exceptions, both in the specimens with apron plates and in those showing the straps attached directly to the belt (see Table VII.25). Such attachment makes it easier to take off the ringing apron in situations where acoustic signals of the presence of soldiers were undesirable, but the sword was still necessary.

The number of apron straps may vary, and not all of the apron straps are preserved in all depictions (see Table VII.26).<sup>616</sup> Of the 18 depictions that allow a statement, six pieces have eight apron straps and five depictions have six

<sup>614</sup>Bishop 1992a, 98

<sup>615</sup>Framed: DKat. Nos. 16, 17, 22, 23, 25. – Decorated with rosettes: DKat. No. 36, with diamonds DKat. No. 59.

<sup>616</sup>In seven cases, no statement could be made about the type of depiction or the condition (DKat. Nr. 23, 24, 27, 49, 50, 83, 105). These are therefore not shown in the table.

apron straps. Four and five apron straps occur three times each, while three apron straps occur only once.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	on the dagger belt	on the sword belt	on the only belt
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	x		
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 AD	x		
24	stranger	binge	tiberian	x		
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		x	
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	x		
23	stranger	binge	claudian	x		
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian		x	
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian		x	
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD			x
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	x		
47	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic	x		
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic		x	
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	x		
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x		
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian			x
75	stranger	London	Flavian			x
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian			x
63	Q Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD			x
93	stranger	Rome	2nd century AD			x
175	stranger	Budapest	first half of the 2nd century AD			x
81	Sal. Viscus	Belgioioso	mid 2nd century AD			x
66	M.Valerius Capito	Athens	2nd third of the 2nd century AD			x
12	Balaterus	Cherchel	unknown			x
67	stranger	Athens	unknown			x
68	T. Flavius Maximus	Athens	unknown			x
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown			x
		<i>all in all</i>	31	14	4	13

Table VII.25: Attachment of hanging apron a to the belt.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	1	2	3	4	5	6	8th
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD							x
35	P Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 AD						x	
24	stranger	binge	tiberian							x
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian							x
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian				x			
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian				x			
25	T. Jul. Abdes panther	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian						x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian							x
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian						x	
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian							x
23	stranger	binge	claudian							x
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian				x			
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian					x		
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	late Claudian, <small>before</small> 54 AD						x	
47	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	claudian <small>until</small> early neronic						x	
29	Q Petilius secundus	Bonn	late claudian early neronic				x			
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD					x		
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	late Claudian, <small>before</small> 54 AD						x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)						x	
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian				x			
75	stranger	London	Flavian	x						
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian			x				
52	Lucius Valerius albinus	Offenburg	74 to about 100 AD	x						
55	stranger	trier	1st century AD	x						
66	M.Valerius Capito	Athens	2nd third of the 2nd century AD		x					
63	Q Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD				x			
93	stranger	Rome	2nd century AD							
81	Sal. Viscus	Belgioioso	mid 2nd century AD			x				
175	stranger	Budapest	first half of the 2nd century AD			x				
67	stranger	Athens	unknown				x			
68	T Flavius maximum	Athens	unknown		x					
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown		x					
		<i>all in all</i>	32	3	3	3	7	2	7	6

Table VII.26: Hanging apron a - number of apron straps.



However, in two cases the tongue of a belt is integrated into the hanging apron.<sup>617</sup>In both cases it is a matter of hanging aprons with an odd number of apron straps, which get the more usual, even number of apron straps through the integration of the strap tongue. The other two depictions with an odd number of apron straps come from the Mediterranean region.<sup>618</sup>

The representations with eight or seven apron straps date early, up to the Claudian period, from the late Claudian period there are at most six apron straps.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	shod	unshod
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD	x	
24	stranger	binge	tiberian		x
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian	x	
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Ilasi	claudian		x
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	x	
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic	x	
41	stranger	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic	x	
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic	x	
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD	x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)		x
50	stranger	Voerde-Moreum	neronic (?)	x	
75	stranger	London	Flavian	x	
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian	x	
52	Lucius Valerius Albinus	Offenburg	74 to about 100 AD		x
55	stranger	trier	1st century AD	x	
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian	x	
32	stranger	Bonn	late 1st to early 2nd century	x	
66	M.Valerius Capito	Athens	2nd third of the 2nd century AD	x	
63	Q. Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD		x
81	Sal. Viscus	Belgioioso	mid 2nd century AD	x	
175	stranger	Budapest	first half of the 2nd century AD	x	
12	Balaterus	Cherchel	unknown		x
13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown		
67	stranger	Athens	unknown	x	
68	T. Flavius Maximus	Athens	unknown	x	
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	30	24	6

*Table VII.27: Hanging apron a - straps shod versus unshod.*

<sup>617</sup>Dcat. No. 28, 30.

<sup>618</sup>Dcat. No. 64, 84.

In the majority of cases, the apron straps are shown fitted with round or square rivets (see Table VII.27). In some particularly well-crafted representations, the rectangular end fitting can also be seen, as well as the small, tapered plate underneath. This in turn ends in a thickening, under which there is a clearly visible hinge on which the pendant hangs.<sup>619</sup>

In 16 cases the shape of the apron strap pendants is also discernible – all but seven are leaf-shaped (see Table VII.28).<sup>620</sup>

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	leaf shaped	lunulae
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	x	
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 AD	x	
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
25	T. Jul. Abdes panther	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x	
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	x	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian		x
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian	x	
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic	x	
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic		x
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic	x	
41	stranger	Mainz Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic	x	
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD		x
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD	x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x	
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian	x	
75	stranger	London	Flavian		x
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muć	late Flavian	x	
32	stranger	Bonn	late 1st to early 2nd century		x
63	Q Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD		x
175	stranger	Budapest	first half of the 2nd century AD	x	
12	Balaterus	Cherchel	unknown	x	
67	stranger	Athens	unknown		x
68	T. Flavius Maximus	Athens	unknown	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	27	20	7

<sup>619</sup> See also the descriptions of the DKat. Nos. 16, 17, 22, 25, 59.

<sup>620</sup> In nine cases, no statement could be made about the type of depiction or the condition (DKat. Nr. 23, 24, 27, 36, 49, 50, 64, 83, 105). These are therefore not shown in the table.

Table VII.28: Hanging apron a - Form of apron strap pendants.

The leaf-shaped pendants obviously represent the norm. Pendants in *lunula*-Form seems to be typical for the loincloths of the Lower Germanic soldiers, although some of the depictions come with it *lunulaefar* outside of *Germania Inferior* before (Athens, Corinth, London).<sup>621</sup>

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	Beginning of thighs	mid-thigh	knee
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD		x	
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	Klein-Winternheim	between 15 and 43 AD			x
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		x	
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		x	
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian		x	
25	T. Jul. Abdes Pantera	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian		x	
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian		x	
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian			x
47	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian to early Neronic		x	
29	Q. Petilius Secundus	Bonn	Late Claudian-Early Ronic		x	
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD	x		
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD			x
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian		x	
52	Lucius Valerius Albinus	Offenburg	74 to about 100 AD		x	
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muč	late Flavian		x	
55	stranger	trier	1st century AD	x		
93	stranger	Rome	2nd century AD	x		
66	M.Valerius Capito	Athens	2nd third of the 2nd century AD	x		
		<i>all in all</i>	18	4	11	3

Table VII.29: Garter a - Length.

The hanging apron ends in most cases in the middle of the thighs, only in a few cases it falls only to the beginning of the thighs or is longer and falls to the knees (see Table VII.29).

#### VII.4.1.6. Hanging apron b - folded over.

<sup>621</sup> Wieland 2008, 32. The very poorly preserved depictions DKat. Nos. 32, 75 show (each one) a hanging apron with a pendant in the shape of a *lunula*.

The fourteen depictions with folded draperies date from the mid to late 1st century AD, but one depiction in Athens is dated to the late Hadrianic-Antonine period and one in Budapest to the Antonine period (see Table VII.30).

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian
45	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD
44	C. Valerius Secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	domitian
57	C. Valerius crispus	Wiesbaden	domitian
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD
61	M. Julius Sabinianus	Athens	Late Hadrianic-Antonian.
176	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.
		<i>all in all</i>	14

Table VII.30: Representations with hanging apron b.

The tombstones come mainly from the Rhineland, with only five tombstones from the Danube region and the Mediterranean area. Folding over the hanging apron is achieved by looping the downwardly hanging straps over the inside of the belt and letting them hang over the outside. As can be clearly seen from the better-worked representations, this is still the same design as the hanging apron a, but the way it is worn is different.

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	2	3	4	5	6
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD		x			
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.					x
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD			x		
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian		x			
45	ingenious	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian			x		
56	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian			x		
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD			x		
44	C. Valerius secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD			x		
92	montanus Capito	Ravenna class	late Flavian	x				
173	C. Castricius	Budapest	domitian				x	

	victor							
57	C. Valerius crisp	Wiesbaden	domitian			x		
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD			X		
61	M Julius Sabinianus	Athens	late Hadrian- antonine.		x			
176	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.	x				
		<i>all in all</i>	14	2	3	7	1	1

Table VII.31 Hanging apron b - Number of apron straps.

The number of visible apron straps varies (see Table VII.31): seven times four apron straps were shown, three times three, two times two and one each of five and six apron straps.

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	shod	unshod
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD	x	
37	stranger	Cologne	mid 1st century AD	x	
42	C Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD	x	
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	x	
45	ingenious	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
46	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	x	
44	C Valerius secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	x	
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian	x	
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	domitian	x	
57	C. Valerius crispus	Wiesbaden	domitian	x	
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD	x	
61	M Julius Sabinianus	Athens	Late Hadrianic-Antonian.		x
175	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	14	13	1

Table VII.32: Hanging apron b - straps shod versus unshod.

With the exception of one late depiction, all illustrations show apron straps studded with rivets (see Table VII.32).

The shape of the pendants is leaf-shaped in five cases and is in six cases *lunulae*—however, only half of these came from Lower Germany (see Table VII.33).

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	leaf shaped	lunulae
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD		x
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.		x
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian		x
45	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x	
43	Q Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x
173	C Castricius victor	Budapest	domitian		x
57	C Valerius crisp	Wiesbaden	domitian	x	
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD		x
61	M Julius Sabinianus	Athens	late Hadrian- antonine.	x	
175	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	14	5	6

Table VII.33: Hanging apron b - Form of apron strap pendants.

With the exception of two tombstones, the apron ends in all cases at the beginning of the thighs. This length is consistent with the shortening caused by folding the hanging apron (see Table VII.34).

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	beginning thigh	center thigh	knee
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD	x		
37	stranger	Cologne	mid 1st century AD	x		
42	C. Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD	x		
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	x		
45	ingenious	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x		
46	stranger	Mainz-Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian	x		
43	Q Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	x		

44	C Valerius secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD	x		
92	montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian	x		
173	C. Castricius victor	Budapest	domitian			x
57	C Valerius crisp	Wiesbaden	domitian	x		
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD	x		
61	M Julius Sabinianus	Athens	late Hadrian- antonine.	x		
175	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.		x	
		<i>all in all</i>	14	12	1	1

Table VII.34: Hanging apron b - Length

#### VII.4.1.7. summary

A precursor to the hanging apron can be seen in belt form A, in which the tongue of the strap was cut into several straps and attached with tags. This way of wearing the strap tongue already anticipates the two outstanding visual and acoustic features of the hanging apron (glittering and ringing) through the pendant.

Similar in the decoration of the belt tongue, the belts are also depicted on four other tombstones, which show the belt as a still life.<sup>622</sup> Also in these representations, the belts are studded with metal plates, have D-shaped buckles, and the strap tongues are cut into several straps decorated with pendants. However, the representations differ in that the belt fittings are decorated here. In one case two belts are shown on one stone (belt shape B).<sup>623</sup> The depictions come from north-east Italy and neighboring Croatia and are more generally dated to the 1st century AD or the second half of the 1st century AD. While the hanging apron was already worn in the provinces north of the Alps, the slit strap tongues seem to have been in fashion here for a longer time.

The simply hanging way of wearing the hanging apron is clearly the older of the two possibilities, it occurs from the Tiberian period at the latest. From the middle of the 1st century AD, the hanging apron is then also shown folded over. According to the tombstones, both ways of carrying existed side by side. The most recent representations on tombstones date to the middle of the 2nd century AD.

With the help of the depiction of an 'apron plate' in the illustrations of the hanging apron a, in my opinion it can be concluded that a long rectangular piece of leather was used, which was firmly attached to the inside of a belt

<sup>622</sup>Dcat. Nos. 80, 82, 88, 111.

<sup>623</sup>Dcat. No. 80.

and the lower two-thirds of which were cut into straps and decorated with rivets, rectangular fittings, and charms. Some representations also show the apron straps apparently attached directly to the belt, presumably on the inside. Although this would certainly be possible, for technical reasons it seems more likely to me that the apron plate here is only the width of the belt to which the hanging apron is attached. It thus disappears completely behind the belt. The reason for this assumption is due to the extra work involved in attaching each individual strap to the inside of the belt. On the other hand, it is much easier to sew a rectangular piece of leather on the inside. The assumption that the hanging aprons were sewn on is based on the fact that they were attached to the inside of the belts, where rivets would have caused painful pressure points. The representations with and without a visible apron plate differ neither in their dating nor in their regional grouping. Therefore, there are probably two simultaneous attachment methods of the hanging apron.

The depictions of the hanging aprons also clearly show that in most cases the hanging aprons were attached to the dagger belt. This attachment is also to be assumed for folded aprons where it is concealed by the apron.

The number of apron straps seems to have decreased over time: early representations still show up to eight apron straps, from the late Claudian period there are at most six apron straps and from the Flavian period there seems to be a tendency towards four apron straps.

It is noticeable that care is taken to ensure that there is an even number of hanging apron straps.<sup>624</sup>The quantity of straps is odd only if the strap tongue (of either belt) is incorporated into the drape, which occurs twice. Both stones come from Bonn - perhaps this is a specialty of a local stonemason.

The apron straps are shown as studded with rivets in 36 out of 43 cases. In some particularly well-crafted representations, the rectangular end fitting can also be seen, as well as the small, tapered plate underneath. This in turn ends in a thickening, under which there is a clearly visible hinge on which the trailer hangs.

In the representations where the pendants can still be seen, they are either leaf-shaped or have the shape of *lunulae*, the leaf-shaped ones far predominating (25:13). trailer in *lunula*-shape seem to be typical for the garb of the Lower Germanic soldiers - even if some of the depictions with *lunulae* occur far outside the main distribution area.<sup>625</sup>A depiction of a belt as a still life shows that not all belt pendants always had to be of the same type: on the tombstone from Pula (DKat. No. 111) no loincloth is shown, but the belt ends in four belt tongues, three of which have lunula pendants, while one ends in a leaf-shaped pendant.

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<sup>624</sup>Of these, only two depictions are the exception, both are from the Mediterranean region (DKat. Nr. 64, 84).

<sup>625</sup>Wieland 2008, 32.



The hanging aprons usually reach about the middle of the thighs, while the folded aprons only reach about the beginning of the thighs. This is an indication of the purpose of this wearing style, namely to shorten the hanging apron, which should make walking and running easier.

The hanging apron was folded over by looping the hanging straps from below over the inside of the belt and letting them hang over the outside. The straps thus form a loop around the belt. As can be clearly seen from the better-worked illustrations, the hanging apron is still made in the same way, only the way it is worn has changed. This means that the folded hanging apron does not differ from the hanging hanging apron, both in its construction and the individual elements.<sup>626</sup> Only the way it is carried – hanging or folded – is different. Perhaps it was a matter of personal preference or a fad of certain units. In the tables produced here (see Tables VII.35 and VII.36) no geographic concentration could be identified, so perhaps these were smaller units within a legion or auxiliary unit. These sub-units could have specific assignments or other distinctions, such as the first century of a legion.

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<sup>626</sup>Many belt reconstructions indicate that the construction of the folded hanging apron was misunderstood.

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	with hanging apron a	with hanging apron b	not recognizable
59	Largennius	Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	x		
35	P Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 AD	x		
49	attitude	probably Mainz	"July-Claudian"	x		
24	stranger	binge	tiberian	x		
27	bato	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Early Claudian	x		
16	Firmus	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
17	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
18	stranger	Andernach	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
25	T. Jul. Abdes panther	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
36	stranger	Koblenz	Tiberian-Claudian	x		
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian	x		
23	stranger	binge	claudian	x		
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian	x		
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian	x		
83	stranger	casacco	1st half of the 1st century AD	x		
37	stranger	Cologne	Mid 1st century AD.	x		
47	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	claudian early neronic	x		
41	stranger	Mainz Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic	x		
29	Q Petilius secundus	Bonn	late claudian early neronic	x		
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD	x		
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	Late Claudian, before 54 AD			x
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)	x		
50	stranger	Voerde more	neronic (?)	x		
42	C Faltonius secundus	Mainz	around 60 AD			x
31	stranger	Bonn	neronic - early Flavian	x		
45	ingenious	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian		x	
46	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian or Flavian		x	
186	crescendos	esztergom	early Flavian			x
43	Q. Luccius Faustus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x	
44	C Valerius secundus	Mainz	Flavian; approx. 70 to 82 AD		x	
54	stranger	remagen	1st century AD		x	

13	stranger	Cherchel	unknown	x	x	
105	stranger	Cavtat	unknown			x
		<i>all in all</i>	34	25	6	4

Table VII.35: Belt form B and hanging apron variants a and b.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	with hanging apron a	with hanging apron b	not recognizable
117	Call. Lucilius	kerosene	39-40/44 AD		x	
125	Q. Philippicus	Celei	1st half of the 1st century AD			x
21	stranger	Baden-Baden	Flavian	x		
92	Montanus Capito	Ravenna Classe	late Flavian		x	
108	ser Ennius Fucus	Muč	late Flavian	x		
173	C. Castricius Victor	Budapest	Last quarter of the 1st century AD		x	
57	C. Valerius crispus	Wiesbaden	domitian		x	
174	M Lucillus germanus	Budapest	around 100 AD			x
90	stranger	Novara	1st-2nd century AD			x
61	M. Julius Sabinianus	Athens	Late Hadrianic-Antonian		x	
66	M.Valerius Capito	Athens	2nd third of the 2nd century AD	x		
63	Q Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD	x		
175	stranger	Budapest	Antonine, 130-160. A.D.			x
12	Balaterus	Cherchel	unknown			x
67	stranger	Athens	unknown	x		
68	T. Flavius Maximus	Athens	unknown	x		
69	T. Taronius Celer	Piraeus	unknown	x		
		<i>all in all</i>	20	8th	5	6

Table VII.36: Belt form C and hanging apron variants a and b.

Table VII.36 for belt form C shows a different development. Girdle shape C begins later than girdle shape B, the oldest gravestones with girdle shape C are dated from the middle of the 1st century AD. The two ways of carrying B and C therefore existed side by side from the middle of the 1st century AD until the Flavian period.

Overall, it can be stated that the hanging apron is worn much more rarely than it is worn hanging down: Of the 44 depictions in which the wearing of the hanging apron is recognizable, 33 show it hanging down (=75%) and only 11 (=25%) folded aprons. This small number is probably due to the fact that from the beginning of the 2nd century AD - and thus while the folded carrying method was still common - tombstones with frontal depictions of the soldiers became rarer.

A table was also drawn up (see Table VII.37) to answer the question of whether certain apron pendants were frequently combined with certain decorations on the belt plates in the depictions. This shows all gravestones where both the decoration of the belt plates and the shape of the pendant can be seen. Here it becomes clear that no groups can be formed, the only peculiarity is that *lunulae* not appear together with rosette decorations and only twice with central boss decorations.

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	undecorated metal plates	framed metal panels	metal plates with rosette	metal plates with central hump	metal plates with other patterns	leaf shaped	lunulae
59	Largennius	Strasbourg- Koenigshoffen	9 - 43 AD	x					x	
35	P. Flavoleius Cordus	small winter home	between 15 and 43 n. Chr.	x					x	
16	Firmus	Andernach	tiberian- claudian			x		x	x	
17	stranger	Andernach	tiberian- claudian			x		x	x	
25	T. Jul. Abdes panther	Bingerbrueck	tiberian- claudian					x	x	
26	hyperanor	Bingerbrueck	tiberian- claudian			x			x	
22	Annaius Daverzus	binge	claudian			x			x	
28	Pintaius	Bonn	claudian				x			x
84	L.Sertorius Firmus	Cellore d'Illasi	claudian		x			x	x	
46	stranger	Mainz Weisenau	Claudian to early neronic	x		x			x	
29	Q. Petilius secundus	Bonn	late claudian early neronic				x			x
64	C. Valerius Valens	Corinth	45-70 AD					x		x
56	Licarius	Wiesbaden	late Claudian, before 54 AD			x	x		x	
30	stranger	Bonn	neronic (?)			x			x	
63	Q Calpurnius Eutyclus	Athens	2nd century AD	x						x
		<i>all in all</i>	15	4	1	7	3	5	11	4

Table VII.37: Belt plate motifs versus apron hangers.

#### VII.4.2. State monuments of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD

Another category of monuments to be used for reconstruction are the city-Roman and provincial state monuments. Although, for the reasons already mentioned, they are not suitable as models for exact reconstructions, they can at least provide clues.

Like the tombstones depicting belts as "still lifes", the depictions of weapon friezes and tropaia on the Augustan Arch of Carpentras and the Tiberian Arch of Orange show belts studded with metal plates and having D-shaped buckles.<sup>627</sup> The metal plates are almost square and decorated with circular grooves. The belt ends are divided into three but undecorated. All the soldiers depicted in the base reliefs wear an unshod belt over their armor.

This also corresponds to the depiction of a belt on the "Congeries armorum" relief from Marseille (first half of the 1st century AD), on which even the rivets in the corners of the metal plates can be seen.<sup>628</sup> The belt here has four strap tongues that end in heart/leaf shaped pendants.

These representations can be described as belt shape A because of the slotted strap tongues. The representation of the belt plates could refer to belt fittings with turned circular grooves (type B.3.2 Tekija), the earliest representatives of which were already found in Haltern and in early layers on the Magdalensberg, even if they only flourished in the Claudian-Flavian period.

In contrast to these representations, the relief of the Arch of Claudius in Rome shows the narrow and unshod belt "on the man".<sup>629</sup> In one case a sword can be seen on the right. The soldiers' hanging aprons consist of three heart/leaf-shaped or "double caterpillar"-shaped straps that are slung over the belt but are shown unshod<sup>630</sup> followers.

On the other hand, the relief of a Loricatus with a horse, also dating to Claudian, shows a belt fitted with square metal plates, the plates of which are adorned with a star-shaped decoration.<sup>631</sup> It could be a depiction of the nielloed belt fittings with a 'star/cross motif', which were very popular in the Claudian period. Here, too, the sword is carried on the right.

The Domitian-dated Cancelleria relief depicting a profectio of Domitian shows a soldier - perhaps a praetorian - of whose belt only the rest of the hanging apron is visible through the tunic puff.<sup>632</sup> It consists of three straps, each with three flat round rivets and ending in heart/leaf-shaped pendants.

The three representations can be described as belt form C with a folded hanging apron.

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<sup>627</sup>Dcat. No. 205, 210.

<sup>628</sup>Dcat. No. 208.

<sup>629</sup>Dcat. No. 216.

<sup>630</sup>Bishop 1992, 91.

<sup>631</sup>Dcat. No. 217.

<sup>632</sup>Dcat. No. 218.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	Belt Shape C	Belt Shape D	Belt Shape F	Belt Shape G	belt shod
321	monument Adamclisi	Adamclisi	108/109	x	x		x	
215	Arch of Traian	Puteoli	traian	x				
219	Plutei anaglypha Traiani	Rome	traian		x			
220	size Traian. battle frieze	Rome	traian	x				x
221	Chatsworth relief	Rome	traian		x			
222	Traian's Column	Rome	113 AD	x	x	x		x
223	Relief Mark Aurelius	Rome	between 161-180 A.D.	x	x	x		
224	St. Mark's Column	Rome	after 180 AD Chr.	x	x	x	x	
226	relief fragment loricatus	Rome	aurelic-Severan		x			x
227	bow of honour severus	Rome	Severan	x	x	x	x	
		<i>all in all</i>		7	8th	4	3	3

*Table VII.38: State Monuments - Belt.*

In the representations of the belt shape on the state monuments of the 2nd century AD, four belt shapes can be distinguished (see Table VII.38):

- (C) Infantryman with only one belt, sword on right hip (apparently attached to belt)
- (D) Infantryman with a belt and a sword belt (from left shoulder to right), sword carried on right<sup>633</sup>
- (F) Rider without belt, sword on right shoulder strap.
- (G) Rider without belt, sword on left shoulder strap

The shape of the belt is usually associated with certain clothing or equipment, which gives the impression that different "types" of soldiers are to be characterized in this way.<sup>634</sup> On the great Traian battle frieze and the Traian Column, however, when infantrymen are depicted in splint armor they usually wear belt form C, with the sword fastened to the right hip.<sup>635</sup> It is likely that one of the splints refers to the belt. This assumption is based on the obvious similarity between the bands depicting the armored rails around the body of the soldiers and the depiction of a belt.

<sup>633</sup> As the sword is still shown carried on the right side between the waist and hips, it is not clear whether the sword is carried on the shoulder strap or on the belt.

<sup>634</sup> Coulston 1989, 31.

<sup>635</sup> Dcat. Nos. 220, 222.



*Figure VII.1: Traian's Column Rome: Soldier with four belts.*

The representation of the hanging apron also contributes to this, which usually begins on the second rail from the bottom (sometimes also on a higher rail) - which is impossible due to the construction. Therefore, this splint must represent the belt, which originally was probably different in color from the rest of the splint armor and is also shown shod with rectangular metal plates on some soldiers. This assumption can be confirmed by a depiction on Traian's Column, in which the sculptor erroneously turned four rails of the armor into belts by working out metal plates (see Figure VII.1).

In some scenes on Traian's Column, soldiers in rail armor also carry their swords on their shoulder straps. Here, too, the second-lowest rail probably represents the belt (belt shape D).<sup>636</sup>

Soldiers in mail or scale armor can theoretically represent both infantrymen and riders, the latter can only be distinguished by the depiction of a horse. Therefore, all soldiers who are not shown mounted or holding the bridle of a horse are classified as infantrymen. On the large Traian battle frieze and the Traian column, they carry the sword on the shoulder strap on the right and very high (belt form F).<sup>637</sup> It is shown particularly large and is as long as the rider's body.

On the Marcus Column, most infantrymen in rail armor still wear belt form C, with the sword attached to the right hip.<sup>638</sup> They also wear a four-strap hanging apron. This corresponds to the

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<sup>636</sup>Dcat. No. 222.

<sup>637</sup>Dcat. No. 288.

<sup>638</sup>Dcat. No. 224.

Depiction of a soldier on the Portonaccio battle sarcophagus, which is dated to the 1990s of the 2nd century AD.<sup>639</sup>In two scenes from the Column of St. Mark, however, soldiers with rail armor wear a shoulder strap from which the sword hangs on the right (belt shape D). This costume is also depicted on a relief fragment in the Villa Albani.<sup>640</sup>There, the narrow shoulder strap is decorated with rivets at regular intervals.

The soldiers in chain mail or scale armor usually carry the sword on the right side of the shoulder strap (belt shape F) on the Marcus column. Only in five scenes does a soldier in chain or scale armor carry the sword on the left shoulder strap (belt shape G).<sup>641</sup> The riders on the Marcus Column usually carry the sword on the right shoulder strap (belt shape F), only in one scene does a rider carry the sword on the left shoulder strap (belt shape G).<sup>642</sup>

Only the depictions of infantrymen on the Arch of Honor of Septimius Severus (consecrated 203 AD) survive from Severan times.<sup>643</sup>Here, too, infantrymen in rail armor wear their swords on their belts, from which a folded hanging apron hangs (belt form C). Some soldiers in rail armor also wear belt form D with a shoulder strap and the sword on the right side.

Soldiers in mail always wear a shoulder strap, not a belt. However, the number of soldiers with swords on the right shoulder strap (belt shape F) and swords on the left shoulder strap (belt shape G) is almost the same here.

From the character of the scenes and the occupation of the soldiers it can be concluded that the soldiers in the rail armor are legionnaires, while the soldiers in chain or scale armor are supposed to represent auxiliaries. The soldiers in tunics with belts are also supposed to represent legionnaires (probably even praetorians), since they are busy burning the control panels of Roman citizens. These depictions can be considered as conventions used to facilitate identification of the soldiers on the historical reliefs. One cannot in any way conclude from this that the corresponding troop units actually only used the corresponding tanks, as finds prove.<sup>644</sup>

The longevity of the representations, especially of the two types "Legionnaire"<sup>645</sup>and "auxiliaries"<sup>646</sup>, which are still used on the Arch of Severus, suggests that these are schemes. These are used on the historical reliefs, which Coulston rightly called "propaganda art", to depict the relevant troop units.<sup>647</sup> The representation of the type "legionnaire" with belt form C was still relatively current on the Traian dating monuments, as can be concluded from the simultaneous representations on the tombstones. Around the middle of the 2nd century AD

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<sup>639</sup>Dcat. No. 225. However, the sarcophagus is neither a state monument nor a soldier's tombstone.

<sup>640</sup>Dcat. No. 226.

<sup>641</sup>Dcat. No. 224.

<sup>642</sup>Dcat. No. 288.

<sup>643</sup>Dcat. No. 227.

<sup>644</sup>Fischer 2012, 165-166.

<sup>645</sup>With splint armor and belt with hanging apron, on which the sword hangs on the right (belt shape C).

<sup>646</sup>With chain or scale armor and shoulder strap, on which the sword hangs on the right (belt shape F).

<sup>647</sup>Bishop and Coulston 2006, 2.



BC, however, the hanging aprons are no longer depicted on the tombstones and one can assume that the shoulder strap is now generally common.

Also, the three depictions of fittings certainly do not correspond to contemporary fittings: two Traian depictions show rectangular fittings with a central hump, while the Aurelian-Severian depiction only shows rectangular fittings. According to the finds, the fittings with a central hump were already being phased out in the Flavian period.

On the other hand, contemporary representations seem to "creep in" over time, in which legionnaires are also shown with shoulder straps and auxiliaries carry their swords on the left shoulder strap. This is particularly evident in the Bow of Severus, where the two ways of carrying the shoulder strap, F and G, are about equally common. The contemporary tombstones, on the other hand, consistently show belts with ring clasps and the sword on the left shoulder (belt shape H).

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	turned over	Quantity apron straps	shod	with trailer
230	Monument Adamclisi	Adamclisi	108/109				
214	Arch of Traian	Puteoli	traian		4	x	x
218	Plutei anaglypha Traiani	Rome	traian		4		x
219	size Traian. battle frieze	Rome	traian		6	x	x
220	Chatsworth relief	Rome	traian	x	3	x	x
221	Traian's Column	Rome	113 AD	x	3 or 4	x	x
223	Relief Mark Aurelius	Rome	between 161-180 A.D.				
222	St. Mark's Column	Rome	after 180 AD Chr.	x	4		
225	relief fragment loricatus	Rome	aurelic- Severan	x	4	x	x
226	Arch of Honor Severus	Rome	Severan				
		<i>all in all</i>		4		5	6

*Table VII.39: State monuments - hanging aprons.*

When the junction of the drape and belt is not covered by the tunic puff, the drape is shown turned up (see Table VII.39). He may have 3-6 apron straps, but most pictures show 4 pieces. The straps are studded in five cases and also end in five cases in heart/leaf-shaped pendants and one in *lunulae*.

### **VII.4.2.1. summary**

The state monuments of the Augustan period apparently show girdle form A and those of the Claudian period girdle form C. Belt form B with two girdles does not occur on state monuments and seems - with four exceptions - to be restricted to the area north of the Alps.<sup>648</sup>In the Mediterranean area, after the Augustan period, belt form C seems to predominate.

While the state monuments of the 1st and early 2nd century AD still show the contemporary belt forms C (for rail armor carriers) and D (for chains/scale armor carriers), apparently in the course of the 2nd century AD the both belt forms and become representation schemes for "Legionnaire" and "Auxiliary". These become so distinctive of their respective units that they continue to be used long after belt shapes have changed. On the large monuments from the period after the middle of the 2nd century AD (Marcus Column, Battle Frieze, Severus Arch) with their hundreds of soldiers, contemporary belt shapes can only be seen in a few depictions.

### **VII.4.3. Tombstones from the 3rd century AD**

The number of tombstones depicting soldiers in military costume exploded at the beginning of the 3rd century AD. In the catalogue, the tombstones from the period from around 200 to around 300 AD account for half of all tombstones.

Most depictions show the soldier with his legs apart and depicted more or less frontally in "camp dress".<sup>649</sup> He wears a long-sleeved tunic (*tunica manicata*), which is girded with a belt with a ring clasp and under which almost always knee- to ankle-length and relatively tight pants (*bracae*) to be carried. Over this he wears a knee-length coat, sometimes fringed (*sagum*), which is tied on the right shoulder and thrown back over the left shoulder. With one exception, the sword is always shown carried on the left.<sup>650</sup>

The depictions can be divided into four groups according to the manner in which the sword is carried, within which there are dates from the entire 3rd century. This does not mean a fundamentally different way of wearing the belt - it is always a question of belt shape H - but only different ways of representation.

The first group consists of just two tombstones with depictions of the sword clearly attached to the military belt worn around the waist. Only one of these two tombstones has survived.<sup>651</sup>It was found in Egypt and is dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD. In contrast to most other depictions, the sitter's cloak does not fall over his left arm, it is thrown back over his left shoulder. Therefore, the attachment of the sword to the left of the belt is clear

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<sup>648</sup>Dcat. Nos. 13, 80, 83, 84, 105.

<sup>649</sup>Speidel 1976, 124.

<sup>650</sup>Dcat. #16

<sup>651</sup>Dcat. #6

recognizable. However, it is quite likely that this is an error by the sculptor who "forgot" to indicate the shoulder strap.

The second tombstone was found in Mainz, but has been missing since the 17th century - only a copper engraving of the stone from Huttich has survived.<sup>652</sup>This is strongly influenced by the costume of the Landsknechts of that time. Therefore, the visual indication of the engraving that the sword was attached to the belt on the right without a sword carrying strap is to be regarded as improbable.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
7	vexillary	Egypt	2nd-3rd century AD
106	aura Naso	Drekovic / HR	212-222 AD
133	aura mucianus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	215 – 218 AD
3	dates	Alexandria	1st quarter of the 3rd century AD
158	Aurelius. Surus	Beyazit/Istanbul	1st quarter of the 3rd century AD
144	Felicius Victorinus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
148	Aurelius. ingenuity	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	242 – 244 AD
94	M. Aurelius Vitalis	Rome	2nd quarter of the 3rd century (230-250)
168	stranger	Marmara Ereglisi	2nd quarter of the 3rd century (230-250)
169	stranger	Marmara Ereglisi	2nd quarter of the 3rd century (230-250)
150	M. Aurelius	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	2nd quarter - mid 3rd century AD
130	fan. Florentine	Velika Nedelja near Ptuj / SRB	1st half of the 3rd century AD.
15	stranger	Teteven / Romania	Mid to 2nd half of the 3rd century AD
192	(Claudii)	Külsóvat /HU	250-300 AD
95	L Septimus Valerinus	Rome	3rd century AD (260-270 AD)
71	stranger	Carrawburgh / UK	3rd century AD.
97	M.Aur. Lucianus Horiundus	Rome	3rd century AD.
99	stranger	Rome	3rd century AD.
103	stranger	Rome	3rd century AD.
159	stranger	Beyazit/Istanbul	3rd century AD.
194	stranger	Pécs / HU	3rd century AD.
65	Flavius Maximus	Piraeus	-
73	stranger	Chester	-
116	stranger	Danielsberg / AU	-
118	stranger	? now Mus. Graz	-
119	Julius Aufidius	? now Mus. Graz	-
185	stranger	Dunaújváros /HU	-
104	stranger	Rome	First decades of the 4th century AD
		<i>all in all</i>	28

Table VII.40: Belt form H: Depictions with a sword on the shoulder strap.

The second group of 28 tombstones shows the sword clearly attached to the shoulder strap (see Table VII.40). The stones come from almost every province in the Roman Empire,

<sup>652</sup>Dcat. No. 47.

where troops were located. The first tombstone depicting this way of attaching the sword comes from Komáron (*Bridgetio*) and dated to the years 171/172 AD.<sup>653</sup> The soldier on the tombstone wears muscle armor and a wide shoulder strap over it, on which the scabbard hangs on the left – but no belt. By depicting the soldier in muscle armor, he is visually aligned with the depictions of senior officers, who are regularly depicted in muscle armor. Part of this costume is that they do not wear a belt and carry their sword on a shoulder strap on the left.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
163	aura Marcellus	Marmara Ereglisi	Late 2nd / early 3rd century AD
183	M.Aur. deisan	Dunaújváros	210-220 AD.
134	aura Moucianus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	215 – 218 AD
135	aura Zoilus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	215 – 218 AD
164	Paul	Marmara Ereglisi	215 – 218/9 AD
165	july Firmianus	Marmara Ereglisi	1st fifth of the 3rd century AD
166	Flavius Maximus	Marmara Ereglisi	1st fifth of the 3rd century AD
1	Aurelius Sabius	Alexandria	1st quarter of the 3rd century AD
10	stranger	Egypt	1st quarter of the 3rd century AD
4	Aurelius Alexandrus	Alexandria	2nd quarter of the 3rd century AD
8th	Lucius Kyro	Egypt	2nd quarter of the 3rd century AD
122	aura Victor Ailius Getulius	? probably Egypt	2nd quarter of the 3rd century AD
197	stranger	Szazhalombatta	220-270 AD
137	ael Longinus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
138	Sept Dardisanus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
139	Sept. Mucapor	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
140	Verinius Marius	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
141	aura Alexandros	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
142	aura Plotinus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
143	L. Vibius Ianuarius	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
145	aura Antigonos (?)	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
146	Claudius Urbicus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
147	Q. Novenius	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	231 – 233 AD
149	Felsonius Verus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	242 – 244 AD
129	aura victor	Sv. Miklavž near Dobrna / SRB	238-269 AD
127	Val. Castus	Dunareni / ROM	231 – 270 AD
9	stranger	Egypt	1st half of the 3rd century AD
11	stranger	Egypt	1st half of the 3rd century AD
151	Sept Gais	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	1st half of the 3rd century AD
152	ael Victorinus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	1st half of the 3rd century AD
153	stranger	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	1st half of the 3rd century AD
154	aura Alexandrus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	1st half of the 3rd century AD
155	stranger	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	1st half of the 3rd century AD
156	stranger	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	1st half of the 3rd century AD
167	Aprilius Lecterus	Marmara Ereglisi	1st half of the 3rd century AD

<sup>653</sup>Dcat. No. 189.

178	stranger	Budapest	200-260 AD
120	stranger	Vienna	268 AD
70	stranger	Bath	3rd century AD
107	M. Cocceius Sup. and Val. Lucilianus	Lobor / HR	3rd century AD
170	stranger	Marmara Ereğlisi	3rd century AD
177	C. Iulius Sabinus	Budapest	3rd century AD
181	M. Aur. sylvanus	Dunaújváros-Dunapentele	3rd century AD
182	M. Aurelius	Dunaújváros-Dunapentele	3rd century AD
198	stranger	Tác	3rd century AD
200	ael Serenos and ael Serenianus	Vertesacska	3rd century AD
39	stranger	Langenau	-
58	stranger	Saint-Ambroix-sur-Arnon / F	-
86	stranger	? now Mus. Florence	-
89	aura graduation	probably Naples	-
96	stranger	Rome	-
98	stranger	Rome	-
100	M. Aur. Vitalinus	Rome	-
101	stranger	Rome	-
123	stranger	Alba Julia /ROM	-
126	stranger	Sarmizegetusa	-
131	stranger	? probably Serbia	-
161	stranger	Karadeniz Ereğli	-
162	Apirilius Spicatus	? Mus Istanbul	-
188	stranger	Györszentmarton	-
193	stranger	Pecs	-
195	stranger	Szőny	-
199	L. Aelius [...Janus	Tatabánya	-
		<i>all in all</i>	62

*Table VII.41: Belt Form H: Representations covered by cloak or shield.*

However, the width of the shoulder strap shown here seems to be around 10 cm and is therefore similar to the shoulder straps of the 3rd century AD. The rest of the tombstones in the group date from the beginning to the end of the 3rd century AD, in in one case even at the beginning of the 4th century AD.<sup>654</sup>

In the third group, no statement can be made about the attachment of the sword (on the belt or on the shoulder strap?) due to the fall of the cloak, the fact that it was covered by a shield or the quality or preservation of the depiction. However, it is always depicted on the left hip (see Table VII.41). The 62 tombstones of this group were also found in almost all provinces where the Roman armies were stationed. They date - as far as can be determined more precisely - from the beginning to at least the third quarter of the 3rd century AD.

The fourth group is distinguished by the fact that the soldiers are depicted without a sword (see Table VII.42). The belt shape with a belt with a ring clasp is revealed

<sup>654</sup> Dcat. No. 104.

considered sufficient to identify the sitter as a soldier. The 32 monuments in this group also reveal no regional focus. They date from the turn of the 2nd to the 3rd century to the turn of the 3rd to the 4th century AD.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
196	Aelius Carus	Szaszar	150-330 AD
20	stranger	augsburg	late Severan (c. 145 – 211 AD)
34	stranger	Regensburg-Harting / D	late Severan
76	Vivius Marcianus	London	after 197 AD
33	Titus Flavius Felix	Neustadt-Eining / D	December 1, 211 AD
85	[...] teius Vitalis	? now Mus. fiseole	after 211 AD
172	2 unknowns	Budaórs	ca. 215 AD.
132	ael Verecundinus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	215 – 218 AD
179	aura bitus	Budapest	212-230 AD
136	Petro. proculus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	222- 235 AD
2	Gnaeus Damianus	Nicopolis/Alexandria	1st quarter of the 3rd century AD
5	Pompey Verinus	Nicopolis/Alexandria	1st quarter of the 3rd century AD
190	Father Aelius Mercator	komaron	230 – 270 AD
157	bottle Surillio	Beyazit/Istanbul	244-249. A.D.
121	stranger	? now Gollerdorf Castle / AU	250-300 AD
19	Titus Flavius Martialis	augsburg	3rd century AD
114	M.Aur. Glabrio	Sisak / HR	3rd century AD
115	stranger	Sisak / HR	3rd century AD
128	Restitutus Silvanus	Sremska Mitrovica /SRB	3rd century AD
171	aura Salvianus	sevastopol Khersones/UKR	3rd century AD
178	aura Bito and son	Budapest	3rd century AD
201	P. Ael. fronto	Verb (Fejer)	3rd century AD
38	stranger	Cologne	-
51	stranger	Oberdolling / D	-
53	stranger	regensburg	-
72	M. Aurelius Nepos	Chester	-
77	stranger	Aquileia	-
87	2 unknowns	probably Milan	-
102	stranger	Rome	-
113	aura Pontianus	Solin / HR	-
184	stranger	Dunaújváros	-
202	6 unknowns	?	-
		<i>all in all</i>	34

Table VII.42: Belt Form H: Representations without a sword.

In addition to these tombstones there is another (unpublished) circular stone monument in the Museum of Veliko Tarnovo in Bulgaria, which is believed to be from *Nicopolis ad Istrum*(Nikyup, near Veliko Tarnovo). Only the abdominal part of the

piece survives that resembles the two pieces from Alba Julia.<sup>655</sup> The deceased carries his sword on his right side, the sword belt is hidden by the cloak. In his right hand he holds a scroll. The belt has thickened edges, which presumably indicate sewn long sides. The ring clasp is very large and faceted. The rivets for attaching the belt ends can be seen on both sides of the buckle, the belt end is placed in a loop under the belt on the right side. From there it falls down and divides. A long triangular strap tongue with a hinge (similar to the Budapest-Sakrau type pendants) is attached to both straps.

A possible explanation for the depiction of the soldiers with a belt with a ring clasp but without a sword could be that the sitters were not soldiers of the fighting force, but administrative officials. From the beginning of the conquests of provinces, soldiers detachment from their unit provided most of the provincial administration.<sup>656</sup> They were seen as soldiers doing their duty *military*, up to her *honesta missoperformed*, even if they mostly did not take part in any fights.

The difference between the fighting force and the administrative officials was recognized in the 4th century AD with various bills intended to ensure that only the soldiers *sub armorum labore* (standing under arms) military clothing – i.e. the sword belt (*balteus*), which at that time was already the shoulder strap – were allowed to carry.<sup>657</sup> A representation without a sword would be one possibility of such a distinction before these laws.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
20	stranger	augsburg	late Severan (c. 145 – 211 AD)
130	fan. Florentine	Velika Nedelja near Ptuj / SRB	1st half of the 3rd century AD.
194	stranger	Pecs	3rd century AD.
198	stranger	Tác	3rd century AD
200	ael Serenos / Ael. Serenianus	Vertesacsá	3rd century AD
95	L. Septimus Valerinus	Rome	3rd century AD (260–270 AD)
86	stranger	? now Mus. Florence	-
101	stranger	Rome	-
123	stranger	Alba Julia /ROM	-
126	stranger	Sarmizegetusa	-
184	stranger	Dunaújváros	-
185	stranger	Dunaújváros	-
188	stranger	Györszentmarton	-
199	L. Aelius [...]anus	Tatabánya	-
		<i>all in all</i>	14

*Table VII.43: Belt shape H: Fastening rivets visible on belt.*

<sup>655</sup> Dcat. No. 123-124.

<sup>656</sup> Speidel 2006, 4-6.

<sup>657</sup> Cod. Theodos. VII, 20, 12 (400 AD) VII, 21, 1 (313 AD), XIV, 10 (382 AD). See also Chapter IV.

In addition to the above statements that the representations of the belt form of the 3rd century AD can make regarding the way of carrying the sword, other characteristics of the belt form can be observed. These are distributed relatively evenly across all groups.

The rivets next to the ring clasp on the belt, which were used to fasten the belt to fasten it, can be seen in 14 illustrations (see Table VII.43).<sup>658</sup> Usually these are on both sides of the ring clasp, occasionally only on one of the two sides. Occasionally, other fittings can also be seen on the belt.<sup>659</sup>

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	both	only right
130	fan. Florentine	Velika Nedelya at Ptuj / SRB	1st half of the 3rd century AD		X
97	M aura Lucianus Horiundus	Rome	3rd century AD	X	
103	stranger	Rome	3rd century AD		X
194	stranger	Pecs	3rd century AD.		X
184	stranger	Dunaújváros	-		X
		<i>all in all</i>	5	1	4

*Table VII.44: Belt shape G: Belt ends returned in an arc.*

In five cases the ends of the belt are decoratively tucked under the belt in a bow on the side of the middle of the body (see Table VII.44). In only one case does this happen on both sides, in the remaining four only on the right side.

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	right strap end	With fan
133	aura mucianus	Qa'alat al Madik / SYR	215 - 218 AD	X	
71	stranger	Carrawburgh	3rd century AD.	X	
128	restitutus sylvanus	Sremska Mitrovica /SRB	3rd century AD	X	
171	aura Salvianus	sevastopol Khersones / UKR	3rd century AD	X	X
178	aura Bito and SON	Budapest	3rd century AD	X	X
194	stranger	Pecs	3rd century AD	X	
		<i>all in all</i>	7	7	2

*Table VII.45: Belt shape H: Belt end hangs down long.*

<sup>658</sup>Dcat. Nos. 18, 81, 91, 96-97, 99, 122, 187-191, 194-196.

<sup>659</sup>Dcat. No. 104.



The right end of the belt can also hang down decoratively, sometimes down to the knee, sometimes down to the hem of the tunic (see Table VII.45). In two of the six cases it is also decorated with a leaf-shaped or oval strap end.

cat	Surname/ designation	locality	dating	right	left
20	stranger	augzburg	late Severan (c. 145 – 211 AD)	x	
139	Verinius Marius	Qa'alat al Madik /SYR	215 – 218 AD	x	
129	aura victor	Sv. Miklavž at Dobrna / SRB	238-269		x
168	stranger	Marmara Ereglisi	2nd quarter <sup>3rd century</sup> (230-250)	x	
169	stranger	Marmara Ereglisi	2nd quarter <sup>3rd century</sup> (230-250)	x	
39	stranger	Langenau	-	x	
161	stranger	Karadeniz Eregli	-	x	
162	Apirilius Spicatus	? Mus Istanbul	-	x	
		<i>all in all</i>	7	6	1

*Table VII.46: Belt shape H: Soldier holds belt end in hand.*

In seven depictions, the soldier holds one end of the belt with one hand in a pointing gesture (see Table VII.46). With one exception, this is always the right side.

In 21 cases, the tunic has an accentuated central fold below the ring clasp (see Table VII.47).

Statements can also be made about the appearance of the sword. Despite the inclusion of the often exaggeratedly large depiction of this symbolically important weapon, it can be stated that the swords depicted from the 3rd century AD must be the spatha, a longsword. This is provided in some representations with an eagle's head, in others a can chape is shown, in one case also a pelta-shaped chape.<sup>660</sup>

<sup>660</sup> Eagle head pommel: DKat. No. 97, 99, 101, 103, 104, 185. – Can holder: DKat. Nos. 4, 8, 65, 70, 73, 87, 97, 104, 116, 120, 123, 130, 134, 145, 151, 164. – Pelta-shaped chape: DKat. No. 139.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
158	Aurelius. Surus	Beyazit/Istanbul	1st quarter of the 3rd century AD
129	aura victor	Sv. Miklavž at Dobrna/SRB	238-269
122	aura Victor Ailius Getulius	probably Egypt	2nd quarter of the 3rd century AD
130	fan. Florentine	Velika Nedelya at Ptuj/SRB	1st half of the 3rd century AD
178	stranger	Budapest	200-260 AD
97	M.Aur. Lucianus Horiundus	Rome	3rd century AD.
99	stranger	Rome	3rd century AD.
103	stranger	Rome	3rd century AD.
177	C. Iulius Sabinus	Budapest	3rd century AD
39	stranger	Langenau	-
53	stranger	regensburg	-
89	aura graduation	probably Naples	-
98	stranger	Rome	-
100	M.Aur. Vitalinus	Rome	-
101	stranger	Rome	-
116	stranger	Danielsberg / AU	-
118	stranger	? now Mus. Graz	-
119	Julius Aufidius	? now Mus. Graz	-
131	stranger	? probably Serbia	-
149	Felsonius Verus	Qa'alat al Madik /SYR	-
162	Apirilius Spicatus	? Mus Istanbul	-
		<i>all in all</i>	19

Table VII.47: Belt Form H: Center pleat tunic.

### VII.4.3.1. summary

The belt shape of the 3rd century AD is determined by the belt with ring clasp, which is always worn and also readily identifies the wearer as a soldier. If a sword is carried, it is always on the left side and on the shoulder strap. I am assuming here that even in cases in which an exact fastening cannot be determined, a shoulder strap covered by the coat or the shield is to be assumed. Occasionally, a frame clasp is worn instead of a ring clasp. The belt ends are fixed with rivets on the side of the buckle and other fittings can also be on the belt. The right strap tongue is very long, it can hang down from the right rivet on the right side or be tucked back under the belt in a curve at the side of the middle of the body or held in the hand.

The frequent emphasis on the tunic fold below the buckle makes it stand out even more. The sword, a spathe, has in some cases an eagle's head, and often a

Can lanyard, the sword belt can be adorned with round or diamond-shaped fittings and finished with a leaf-shaped end.<sup>661</sup>

#### VII.4.4. Other monuments of the 3rd century AD

Of the stones not erected by soldiers or their families, three may represent military personnel in a broader sense (see Table VII.48). Although their interpretation is disputed, the girdle shape depicted is similar to the previous groups.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
230	pillar monument	Modling	170 – 230 AD
204	consecration altar	Mainz	Severan / around 200 AD
232	sucks. grave relief	Kaiseraugst	late Severan
214	triumphal relief Sharpur	Naqsh-i-Rustam VI	241-272 AD
212	triumphal relief Sharpur	Bishapur I	244-272 AD
213	triumphal relief Sharpur	Bishapur II	260-272 AD
229	boar hunting sarcophagus	Rome	260-270. A.D.
233	College Juventutis	haidin	2nd half of the 3rd century AD.
228	boar hunting sarcophagus	Rome	4th quarter of the 3rd century AD
203	stele Mercury & goddess	Freckenfeld	-
206	stele Mercury & goddess	Chatenois	-
207	Stele God & Goddess	Herange	-
209	Stele God & Goddess	seebach Oberseebach	-
211	Altar Jupiter OM	Wallsend	-
		<i>all in all</i>	13

*Table VII.48: Depictions of belt form H on other monuments*

This includes a relief from Kaiseraugst, the use of which (gravestone or dedication?) is controversial. A couple is shown, the man wears a "camp dress" and a belt with a ring clasp.<sup>662</sup>

The attribution of a relief of a pillar from Austria is equally uncertain.<sup>663</sup> Depicted is a man with a short tunic and a belt with a ring clasp. He wears a torc around his neck and underneath a chain of square links. On his right side he carries a long sword in a scabbard with a can lanyard, in his hands a helmet with neck protection and cheek pads. The relatives of a *College Juventutis*, a kind of paramilitary youth group, are depicted on a stone from Slovenia.<sup>664</sup> They all wear "camp dress" with a belt

<sup>661</sup>Dcat. No. 185.

<sup>662</sup>Dcat. No. 227.

<sup>663</sup>Dcat. No. 225.

<sup>664</sup>Dcat. No. 228.

Ring clasp, from the buckle of which a strap tongue leads to the right hip. It is fixed there with a large rivet button and then slits in two tongues and falls down to the right calf.

The comparatively numerous monuments with representations of belts with ring clasps, which were not tombstones of simple soldiers and non-commissioned officers, show the widespread use of this form of belt. Presumably some of these representations are of civilian officials who are *militia* performed and therefore also wore a military belt.<sup>665</sup>

The so-called hunting sarcophagi, on which the deceased is depicted hunting lions or boars, are another example. Here the deceased are always shown on horseback, wearing camp dress and a belt with a ring clasp, as is, in some cases, the huntsman standing behind them. According to B. Andrae, the sarcophagi can be divided into sarcophagi with one or two hunting scenes (departure and meeting the lion/boar). The deceased is depicted twice on the two-scene sarcophagi, once in a tank (at the point of departure) and once - mostly on horseback - on the hunt.<sup>666</sup> The horse drivers on the sarcophagi hold in their hands a helmet intended for the lord of the hunt, which according to Andrae is a realistically depicted facial helmet of the time. Such parade helmets were worn not only at the equestrian games described by Arrian, but also at funeral ceremonies for deceased senior officers. Andrae therefore suspects the deceased to be among the higher officer ranks.<sup>667</sup>

Since, according to him, the single-scene sarcophagi were only found in Rome and the lack of armor meant that the military component was less emphasized, he assumes that the deceased depicted on them were high-ranking civilian officials.<sup>668</sup>

According to Andrae, social developments are also reflected in the differentiation between one- and two-stage sarcophagi. It took place at a time (238/240-253/60 AD) when the upper class of the empire had also differentiated into a military and a civilian upper class.<sup>669</sup> If this classification is correct, then the question would remain why the belt with ring clasp is only worn by the high officers depicted on two of the two-scene hunting sarcophagi, since this is one of the most obvious examples of the other monuments from the 3rd century AD stereotypical military belt shape. Without being able to go into more detail about the problem, it can at least be said that the sarcophagi represent evidence that the belt form of the belt with ring clasp - certainly with differences in quality - was widespread up to the highest civil and military ranks of the Roman Empire .

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<sup>665</sup> The civil administrative service was already established in the 1st century AD. *militia* called. The designation of the ranks of the administrative hierarchy with the names of military ranks has already been proven for the 2nd century AD. Evidence that the administrative officials also *cingulum militare* Although it is only recorded from the 4th century AD (Speidel 2006, 264, 266-267), in my opinion it is very likely that this happened from the beginning, since soldiers probably did so from the beginning worked in provincial government.

<sup>666</sup> Dcat. Nos. 274, 277.

<sup>667</sup> Andrae 1980, 31-32.

<sup>668</sup> Andrae 1980, 136. - DKat. Nos. 222-223, 272-273, 278-279.

<sup>669</sup> Andrae 1980, 136-140.

This is confirmed by depictions of emperors wearing belts with ring clasps. These are found on four Persian triumphal reliefs carved into the rock of the Sassanid king Shapur I (reign 240/2 – 270/2 AD).<sup>670</sup> Three of the reliefs are located near the city of Bishapur (west of Shiraz in modern-day Iran) and another at Nashq-e-Rustam, about 12 km northwest of Persepolis. According to Herrmann, the dating and therefore the internal order of the reliefs is still unclear.<sup>671</sup> The identification of the emperors follows McDermott, who was able to identify the figures using the roughly contemporary Ka' ba-i Zardusht inscription.<sup>672</sup> The correlation between the position of the emperors (kneeling or standing) and their girdle shape between the Nashq-e-Rustam and Bishapur reliefs confirms, I think, that the same person was meant.

All four reliefs have one scene in common, showing King Shapur I on horseback while the Roman emperors are standing, kneeling or lying around him.

In Nashq-e-Rustam the king is depicted coming from the right.<sup>673</sup> In his right hand he holds the right wrist of Valerian, whom he captured in AD 260.<sup>674</sup>

As a sign of respect for the king, the emperor's hand is tucked into his sleeve. Emperor Philippus Arabs is shown kneeling from the left in front of the king's horse. In 244 AD, after the death of Gordian, Philippus Arabs asked for peace and, after paying a large ransom, was able to bring back the remains of the Roman army. He clearly wears a shoulder strap and a belt with a ring clasp over his "camp dress". The standing Valerian is dressed in the same way, but his probably existing shoulder strap can no longer be distinguished from the many cracks in the stone. At least it is clear that his belt is fastened with a frame clasp. The belt ends are looped back to the belt on both sides and pinned underneath so that the ends hang down freely.

On the relief of Bishapur I, two riders standing opposite each other are depicted in the center.<sup>675</sup> The god Ahuramazda, coming from the left, hands Shapur, coming from the right, the symbol of power, the Cydaris ring. While Ahuramazda's horse is above the devil Ahriman, King Shapur's horse is the body of the dead emperor Gordian, who died during his campaign against Shapur in 244. The central, kneeling figure can be identified with Philippus Arabs. The Roman emperor wears "camp dress" with a shoulder strap ending in a large round plate. An eagle head sword hangs from it. The belt is closed with a frame clasp, which is only partially visible. The identification is not entirely certain (it could also be Valerian), but the similarity of costume and posture to the other reliefs makes it probable, in my opinion,

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<sup>670</sup>Dcat. Nos. 207-209.

<sup>671</sup>Herrmann 1998, 41.

<sup>672</sup>McDermott 1954, 76-80.

<sup>673</sup>Dcat. No. 213.

<sup>674</sup>Herrman 1989.

<sup>675</sup>Dcat. No. 211.

The reliefs Bishapur II and III have a similar structure. The central scenes are flanked on either side by several registers showing subordinate figures. In both cases the men coming from the right are on horseback and those coming from the left are on foot. The central scene of the Bishapur III relief is badly damaged, but still reveals a similar arrangement of figures to that of the Bishapur II relief.

The central scene of the Bishapur II relief depicts all three Roman emperors defeated by Shapur.<sup>676</sup> King Shapur is seen on horseback coming from the left. With his right hand he holds the right hand of the standing Valerian hidden in the sleeve. He wears the "camp dress" with a belt with a frame clasp and a large, round decorative rivet to fasten the belt end, which is looped back. The sword hangs invisibly from the shoulder strap, which is adorned with a round stud and a heart-shaped pendant. Opposite Shapur's horse, Philip Arabs kneels, hands clasped and outstretched raised. He too wears "camp dress" with a belt with a ring buckle and a shoulder strap with a round buckle and a heart-shaped charm. From this hangs a sword with a hilt that could be a roughly executed version of an eagle's head.<sup>677</sup>

Another group of depictions consists of five consecration reliefs from Eastern Gaul (Germany and France) with depictions of gods. A pair of gods is always depicted, the male part of which is identified with Mercury, Sucellus and Smertius. All male figures wear a tunic, coat and long trousers as well as a belt with a ring clasp.

In his analysis of these depictions, Sigmar von Schnurbein came to the conclusion that these were not depictions of a god as a soldier.<sup>678</sup> In contrast to the classic depiction of Mercury with a cloak, winged shoes and hat, Mercury is depicted here in Gallic costume. This "*interpretation gallica*" of the Roman god probably has to do with the classification of the depictions as part of the folk art of the time. In any case, it shows the widespread use of belts with ring clasps. It cannot be ruled out that the god is depicted here as a high official of the empire, who – as already mentioned – also wore ring clasp belts.

In summary, it can be stated that the belt with ring clasp was also used on other monuments as a clear identification of the soldier.

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<sup>676</sup>Dcat. No. 212.

<sup>677</sup>Göbl 1974 – Meyer 1990, 237-302.

<sup>678</sup>In the following after: von Schnurbein 1995, 147.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	with sword
230	pillar monument	Modling	170 – 230 AD	x
214	Triumphal relief Sharpur	Naqsh-i-Rustam VI	241-272 AD	x
212	Triumphal relief Sharpur	Bishapur I	244-272 AD	x
213	Triumphal relief Sharpur	Bishapur II	260-272 AD	x
233	College Juventutis	haidin	2nd half of the 3rd century AD.	x
		<i>all in all</i>		5

*Table VII.49: Belt form H on other monuments: Sword.*

Of the 13 monuments depicting ring clasps, five include a sword, always worn on the left and on the shoulder strap (see Table VII.49).

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	strap end returned	strap end hangs long down
214	triumphal relief Sharpur	Naqsh-i-Rustam VI	241-272 n. Chr.	x	
213	triumphal relief Sharpur	Bishapur II	260-272 n. Chr.	x	
233	College juventus	haidin	2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.	x	x
		<i>all in all</i>	13		

*Table VII.50: Belt form H on other monuments: strap ends.*

In three cases the reliefs indicate that the right strap ends of the belt are brought back to the belt, but only two depictions show the belt rivets that fastened them to the belt (see Table VII.50).<sup>679</sup>In the case of the figure on the left of the relief from Kaiseraugst, this falls from there, slit in two tongues, down to the right calf.<sup>680</sup>

Another group of monuments that can provide important information about the Belts are the murals and mosaics. In the 3rd century AD, these also deal with contemporary soldiers for the first time and - in contrast to the mostly colorless reliefs today - can provide information on possible colors of the belts. A wall painting from the Temple of Bel in Dura Europos is of particular importance. The painting depicts soldiers of the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum with their tribune Terentius at a sacrifice and is dated around 230 AD.<sup>681</sup>

Terentius, who is named with an inscription, stands next to a small sacrificial altar on which he libates with his right hand. His men stand beside and behind him in two

<sup>679</sup>Dcat. Nos. 212, 232.

<sup>680</sup>Dcat. No. 231.

<sup>681</sup>In the following after: James 2006, 39, fig. 18

Lined up in ranks while the standard bearer stands on the other side of the altar. All soldiers wear white tunics over dark, tight-fitting trousers; the tunics of the tribune and standard-bearer are striped with purple. The enlisted men wear medium brown coats, the tribune's coat is white. All men wear a belt with a buckle in the middle of the abdomen. While most belts are shown in brown, some are shown in red and thus apparently colored. It also appears that these are colored on one side only, as the folded parts of the belt are shown colorless.

<sup>682</sup>

The depiction of a Roman soldier on a shroud from Luxor from the first half of the 3rd century also shows the belt, but it is only just visible at the edge of the picture.<sup>683</sup> He is shown very narrow, colored red and edged with gold.<sup>684</sup> The gold-colored ring clasp sits in the middle of the stomach and is flanked by two silver-colored mushroom head rivets, of which the left one is only vaguely recognizable. The silver-colored rivet on the right side of the soldier and the end of the strap, which is looped under the belt on the right side, are more clearly recognizable.<sup>685</sup>

Interestingly, similar colors were found in a sarcophagus from Budaörs near Budapest (*Aquincum*).<sup>686</sup> The sarcophagus was discovered during an emergency excavation in a Roman cemetery and still showed traces of the original painting.<sup>687</sup> Based on these traces, the painting was reconstructed, according to which the two soldiers depicted (an aquilifer and a signifer) wore white tunics over red trousers and ocher-colored coats over them. The Signifer's belt is colored red.

Soldiers and officers are also depicted on some mosaics from the first quarter of the 4th century AD in the Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Amerina (Sicily). Wide, red belts are worn by various men, described by the editors as various dignitaries or officers: In one scene, three men are standing in a group, who are described by the editors as Dux with his bodyguards in Egypt.<sup>688</sup>

Two of them wear wide red belts with narrow belt ends forming a loop tucked under the belt on the right side. The belts have square fittings and a pouch or pilgrim's bottle hangs from them on the right hip. Two men designated by the editors as "inspectors" (of the ports of Rome and the post office) also wear red belts.<sup>689</sup>

But less prominent personalities also wear wide red belts, some with shiny gold fittings, such as the soldiers hunting gryphons in India and rhinoceros in Africa and loading the animals, as well as in a scene in which, according to the editor, a soldier hits a slave.<sup>690</sup> A number of them also contribute to

<sup>682</sup>However, this may also be related to the preservation of the painting. James 2006, 61.

<sup>683</sup>Paez gen. Schieck 2011, Fig. 1.

<sup>684</sup>Paetz gen. Schieck 2011, 315.

<sup>685</sup>Paetz gen. Schieck 2011, 315.

<sup>686</sup>Dcat. No. 172.

<sup>687</sup>Mrav / Ottományi 2005, 182-186, fig. 5.

<sup>688</sup>Carandini et al. 1982, Fig. 17.

<sup>689</sup>Carandini et al. 1982, Figs. 16 and 18.

<sup>690</sup>Carandini et al. 1982, figs. 12, 130. – Gentili 1959, fig. 32.



Belt matching, red shoulder straps with shiny gold fittings.<sup>691</sup> A number of other soldiers have brown belts.<sup>692</sup>

A scene in which a tiger is unloaded in the harbor is particularly telling.<sup>693</sup>

The two soldiers wear red belts, which are alternately decorated with propeller-shaped and round fittings, which corresponds very closely to the belt fittings that were common at the time. Although the belt fittings date the representations significantly later than our belts, it can be assumed that both the red coloring of leather belts and the optical red-gold contrast of belt leather and fittings were already appreciated and used in earlier periods.

Since in the 4th century AD the written sources clearly state that the *cingulum militare* could only be worn by those who were in the Emperor's service *militia* rendered (see Chapter IV.1, 59), it is clear that those portrayed here must be soldiers. In addition to the "usual" duties, these were apparently also used to procure the wild animals for the circus in Rome.<sup>694</sup>

## VII. 5. Summary

The earliest belt form used by infantrymen (belt form A) dates from the 1940s. to Tiberian times and consisted of a belt with a D-shaped buckle that was unshod at the beginning of the period. At the end of the period in Tiberian times the belt was then adorned with undecorated and probably silver- or tin-plated belt fittings. The strap of the belt protruding beyond the belt buckle was cut lengthwise into several straps, decorated with pendants towards the end of the period.

From the Tiberian period, a wide sash or belly band made of fabric was worn over the tunic *ventral fascia* carried. Since the cavalry warrior of Vachères also wears a cloth bandage under his belt, it can be cautiously assumed that this tradition may go back to Gallic models.<sup>695</sup> Such a bandage could protect the soldier's abdomen and hips from the pressure of the heavy belt and prevent chafing. It is also assumed that the bandage allowed the belt to be fastened around the stomach so that sword and dagger were always within reach and the hanging apron remained in place. The bandage was probably also used as a bag for storing smaller items.<sup>696</sup> However, the depictions show that writing tablets were placed in the bandage behind the belt.

A belt form consisting of two rather narrow belts crossed over the body was worn over the cloth bandage (belt form B). This belt shape is still depicted on tombstones from the Flavian period. With the exception of centurions and

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<sup>691</sup> Gentili 1959, fig. 32.

<sup>692</sup> Carandini et al. 1982, figs. 119, 121, 122, 125, 126.

<sup>693</sup> Carandini et al. 1982, Fig. 118.

<sup>694</sup> MacKinnon 2006, 7.

<sup>695</sup> Pernet 2010, 220-221, Pl. 82.

<sup>696</sup> Writing tablets, purses, etc. See Ubl 1989, 67.

The soldiers carried their swords and daggers on their own belts: the *dengladius* on the right and the *pugio* on the left hip.<sup>697</sup> It was observed in most representations that the sword hung on the outer or upper of these two belts and the dagger on the inner or lower belt.

belt shape	50-25 BC Chr.	25-1 BC Chr.	1-15 AD	15-50 AD	50-70 AD	70-96 AD	96-117 AD	117-125 AD	125-150 AD	150-175 AD	175-200 AD	200-225 AD	225-250 AD	250-275 AD	275-300 AD	300-325 AD
A	■	■	■													
B				■	■	■										
C					■	■	■	■	■	■						
slopes apron a				■	■	■	■	■	■	■						
slopes apron b					■	■	■	■	■	■						
D							■	■	■	■						
E			■	■	■	■										
H											■	■	■	■	■	■

Table VII.51 Dating of infantryman's belt shapes.

Assuming that the depictions give a correct picture of how the two weapon belts were worn, one can assume that the way the heavier and longer weapon was worn on the outer belt might have something to do with the fact that people wanted to be able to take it off more quickly.

The fact that a belt was provided for each weapon is also demonstrated by the representations of belts as "still lifes": In the representations on which both the sword and the wick are shown, both weapons are attached to their own belts.<sup>698</sup> The other tombstones support this assumption inasmuch as they only show sword belts, to which no daggers are attached.

Also from the Tiberian period, a hanging apron was worn simply hanging down (a). This probably consisted of a long rectangular piece of leather that was firmly attached (probably by sewing) to the inside of a belt and the lower two-thirds of which were cut into straps. These were decorated with rivets, rectangular fittings and pendants. This attachment is also to be assumed for folded aprons where it is concealed by the apron. The hanging aprons were usually attached to the dagger belt.

The number of apron straps decreases over time: in the Tiberian period there were still up to eight apron straps, from the late Claudian period there were a maximum of six

<sup>697</sup>Centurions and standard-bearers carried their swords on the left.

<sup>698</sup>Dcat. No. 78, 80.

Apron straps before and after the Flavian period there seems to be a tendency towards four apron straps. The apron straps are studded with round, slightly curved rivets and have leaf-shaped or lunula pendants at the end.

From the Flavian period at the latest, only a simple belt decorated with ornate fittings was worn, from which both the sword and (if present) the dagger hung. This probably means that during the years of the Civil Wars and the Jewish War, the two-belt style became uncommon and was increasingly replaced by the single-belt style. The belt shape with a belt seems to have been fashionable in the Mediterranean region since the Flavian period, as the tombstones of various marines from Athens, Piraeus and Ravenna show.

From the middle of the 1st century AD, the hanging apron is then also shown folded over. The different lengths of the hanging apron (middle of the thigh) and the folded apron (beginning of the thigh) indicate the presumable purpose behind this method of wearing, namely a shortening of the hanging apron, which was supposed to make walking and running easier. According to the tombstones, both ways of carrying existed side by side. The most recent representations of hanging aprons on tombstones date to the middle of the 2nd century AD.

The most recent tombstones, which show a belt from which hanging apron straps are hanging, date to the late Hadrianic-Antonine period, or the second third of the 2nd century AD. However, in many depictions either the *paenula* or the tunic puff, the view of the belt. It is also often not possible to determine whether the sword is worn on the belt or on the shoulder strap. On many tombstones only a few apron straps are between or under the corners of the *paenula* recognizable.

The three earliest representations of shoulder straps (from the left shoulder to the right hip) - on tombstones, which otherwise show the typical early Flavian belt shape with a loincloth - are dated to the Late Flavian period.<sup>699</sup> Either the shoulder strap was already fashionable at this time or the dates of the three tombstones have to be revised.

The reliefs of the more recognizable tombstones, the mummy portraits and some representations on state monuments make it probable that belt form D has been worn since at least the Traianic-Hadrian period; a combination of the simple belt, decorated with ornate belt fittings, and a narrow sword belt, which may have been attached to the belt and served as an auxiliary belt.

In contrast, a tombstone from Budapest can be taken as evidence of a direct attachment of the sword to the shoulder strap. The tombstone dates to the Antonine period (130-160 AD).<sup>700</sup> On the presentation though covered the *paenula* the belt is extensive (only two hanging belts are visible), but the sword is clearly visible on the right side. Bishop recognized a sword sling swivel on the scabbard, with a strap leading to it.<sup>701</sup> On the in the Internet database

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<sup>699</sup>Dcat. Nos. 57, 92, 173.

<sup>700</sup>Dcat. No. 175.

<sup>701</sup>Bishop/Coulston 2006, fig. 79

In the photos of the tombstone published by Ubi-erat-Lupa, the sword sling swivel is not visible and the sling is very weak.<sup>702</sup> However, photos that focus on the scabbard clearly show the sling swivel.<sup>703</sup> It is therefore probably the first depiction of a sword sling swivel on a tombstone. Further depictions of this type of fortification from the 2nd century AD can be found on the Marcus Column.<sup>704</sup> Since the form of the sword scabbard attachment very probably also determines whether the sword was worn on the belt or on the shoulder strap, this could be a first indication that the sword was probably carried more and more on the sword belt on the right after the Dacian wars.

The depictions of the 3rd century AD are characterized by belt form H, the belt with a ring clasp, which is always worn and immediately identifies the wearer as a soldier. If a sword is carried, it is always on the left side and on the shoulder strap. Occasionally, a frame clasp is worn instead of a ring clasp. The belt ends are fixed with rivets on the side of the buckle and other fittings can also be on the belt. The right strap tongue is very long, it can hang down from the right rivet on the right side or be tucked back under the belt in a curve at the side of the middle of the body or held in the hand.

The frequent emphasis on the tunic fold below the buckle makes it stand out even more. The sword belt can be adorned with round or diamond-shaped fittings and finished with a leaf-shaped finish.<sup>705</sup>

## VII.6. Evaluation: Rider<sup>706</sup>

The military equestrian tombstones show, if they do not depict the riders dressed in completely civilian clothes, as for example at the funeral meal or the family tombstone with busts, or show him as a soldier but not as a rider - like some tombstones of the 3rd century AD - two basic forms: The first depicts an armed rider on horseback, usually coming from the left.<sup>707</sup> He plunges his lance into a barbarian lying under the horse. The rider is often followed by a groom (*ca/o*) with lances. The clothing is usually only roughly indicated and therefore none of the men can be identified as a soldier based on their costume alone. The status of the deceased as a soldier only emerges from the combination of the depiction of action (riding down the enemy) and armament with the inscription.<sup>708</sup>

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<sup>702</sup>Lupa #2840.

<sup>703</sup>This was kindly provided by Dr. O. Lang, BHM Aquincum Museum and sent with it.

<sup>704</sup>Dcat. Nos. 224, 288.

<sup>705</sup>Dcat. No. 185.

<sup>706</sup>Part of this section has already been published, see Hoss 2010a.

<sup>707</sup>The rider is usually armed with a combination of sword, spear, bow and arrow. Some also hold items in one hand that signify their rank and precise function within the army, such as: *B.cornu*, *tuba*, *signum*, *vitis*.

<sup>708</sup>Cornely 2003, 57.

According to Coulston, this motif of the triumphant horseman does not derive from cultic representations in which a male equestrian god rides people down, but was influenced by Eastern Hellenistic models of funerary art.<sup>709</sup> The motif is first used on the tombstones of horsemen from the Rhenish Alen in the Tiberian period. It is widespread in the two Germanic provinces throughout the 1st century, but falls out of use in the 2nd century and only reappears in isolated cases in the 3rd century AD, albeit without the element of the fallen barbarian.<sup>710</sup> With the troop transfers of the Rhenish troops, the motif reached the Danube region at the end of the 1st century AD. A reduced variant is preferred here, in which the rider and horse can be seen alone in the picture field. This is apparently felt to be sufficient to convey the deceased's status as a horseman.<sup>711</sup> In contrast, the motif is not widespread in the eastern provinces of the empire. According to Schleiermacher, the representations here are in the tradition of Hellenistic equestrian reliefs, and they also create a sacred or heroicizing aura through certain pictorial elements.<sup>712</sup>

The second main form, the so-called horse show scene, is known in two different forms. One shows a man dressed in a tunic leading the horse, which is walking to the right in front of him, by the long reins. The sitters are usually portrayed as grooms (*calones*) interpreted.<sup>713</sup> This interpretation is disputed, M. Mattern argued that this type of "demonstration" cannot simply be about leading the horse by a horse's ketch because the horse is controlled from behind with the help of the long leash. In her opinion, the presentation should be understood as a special form of horse training, which she would like to equate with working on a long leash or longe line in analogy to modern equestrian sport.<sup>714</sup> Since this type of dressage requires excellent knowledge and skills from the trainer of the horse, and the person depicted is often wearing a helmet, she assumes that it must be the rider himself who is showing his skills and those of his horse in the Dressage demonstrated.<sup>715</sup> Although Busch also assumes that these depictions are dressage scenes, she believes that the sitters are *calones* acts.<sup>716</sup> She interprets the possession of a well-trained horse and an equally well-trained groom as status symbols.

This statement of the representations, which show the ability of horse and man (be it rider or *calo*) as a status symbol seems to me to be decisive here, since it was obviously important to the client to also make the status of the deceased as a rider clear in pictures. Horse demonstration scenes are mostly secondary scenes of a tombstone, on which other forms of representation were chosen in the main image, those of the deceased

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<sup>709</sup>Coulston 2007, 540 (note 53 – versus Schleiermacher 1984).

<sup>710</sup>Schleiermacher 1984, 57. - Bauchhenß 1978, 9. - Boppert 1998, 27-34. - Boppert 1992, 57, 61. - Faust 1998, 84f.

<sup>711</sup>Hofmann 1905, 49. - Schober 1923, 169. - Faust 1998, 85.

<sup>712</sup>Schleiermacher 1984, 57ff.

<sup>713</sup>Mattern 2003, 294

<sup>714</sup>Mattern 2003, 298.

<sup>715</sup>Mattern 2003, 298, 301-302.

<sup>716</sup>Bush 2003, 689.

portrayed (busts, funeral feast). They could not identify him as a rider and a depiction of the profession was obviously felt to be necessary. Tombstones with horse shows with a horse being led by a person behind the horse on a long rein were common in the Rhineland in the 1st century AD. They are also known from Noric-Pannonian funerary monuments from the 2nd century AD. In the 2nd and especially the 3rd century AD they appear in the necropolis of the mounted imperial bodyguard of the *Equites Singulares*, who probably brought this sepulchral form with them from their homeland.<sup>717</sup>

The second form of horse performance shows a man standing between two (rarely three) horses facing each other and grasping the animals by their bridles. The man is always unarmed and wears a belted, long-sleeved tunic. He often wears another piece of clothing over this, which is passed from the right shoulder diagonally in front of the upper body under the left arm; presumably a rolled-up cloak wrapped around the body. He is also usually referred to as *calo* interpreted. However, the tombstone inscriptions accompanying these depictions indicate that the deceased were Alen officers (*sesquiplicariior duplicarii*) were and - as their name indicates - received a higher salary. As a further privilege, they apparently had several (two to three) horses, and the depiction of this fact on the tombstone was intended to clarify this rank.<sup>718</sup> It is therefore not crucial for understanding the scene whether the sitter is a *caloor* should be the rider himself.<sup>719</sup> Iconographically, this cannot be clarified unequivocally either. Dressing with a belted tunic is common for both grooms and riders, and the act of keeping horses cannot be clearly classified as a serving activity. There are some depictions on soldiers' tombstones in which the horse show is clearly performed by soldiers.<sup>720</sup> The statement intended by the depiction that the deceased was superior to the usual horsemen in wealth and rank remains in any case.

Horse shows of this kind are also known from the Rhineland in the second half of the 1st century AD. From the 2nd and especially the 3rd century AD, they are represented at the bases and locations of almost all cavalry units.<sup>721</sup>

Both in the depictions of the triumphant rider and in the so-called horse demonstration scenes, the depiction of the rider in more or less complete equipment is one which, through the inclusion of the horse, implies a necessarily smaller scale of the human being. As a result, the rider's belt is shown very small. In addition, the figures of the triumphant horsemen are shown in side view. Then the belt can usually only be removed from the sword attached to it

<sup>717</sup>Mattern 2003, 306. - Busch 2003, 690-91.

<sup>718</sup>The reliefs of other higher army ranks (*duplicarius, decurio*). See: Ubl 2013, Cat. 66. 68. 140. 141 Plates 25,95. 25.96. 25. 98. 48,184. 49.185. - Speidel 1994, 7. 9 Cat. No. 524. 570. - Speidel 2000b, 481; Busch 2003. Owning two horses for *sesquiplicarii* and *duplicarii* as well as three horses for *decurions* also Hyginus Mun. Castr. 16

<sup>719</sup>Cornely 2003, 61-62.

<sup>720</sup>Busch 2003, 689, Fig. 4.

<sup>721</sup>Boppert 1992, cat. no. 52. - Busch 2003, 689, note 75. - Mosser 2003a, No. 85. - Lupa No. 23, 73, 80, 88, 584, 627, 694, 2709, 2743, 2792, 2838, 2849, 2937, 2939, 2978, 3554, 3569, 3581, 3595, 6347, 6816, 7164.

be tapped. Statements about the belt fastener or the buckle or any decoration on the front cannot be derived from these depictions, apart from the statement of the obvious, namely that the belts were apparently not girded on the right side.

#### VII.6.1. Tombstones from the 1st century AD

As far as can be seen, all equestrian tombstones from this period show a girdle (4-6 cm) that roughly corresponds to today's girdle widths. It is always shown unshod and undecorated, although such decorations may have been painted on.

The tombstones can be classified into six main groups based on the depictions of the belt, which roughly correspond to the dating of the stones.

The first group consists of ten tombstones from the late Tiberian to Flavian periods and is geographically restricted to the Germanic provinces (see Table VII.52). What is striking here is that the riders on the right have a particularly long sword, presumably the slashing sword typical of riders, carry.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
252	Linicius	Worms	late Tiberian-early Claudian
254	Leubius	Worms	Claudian-Neronic
238	Vonatorix	Bonn	Claudian-Neronic
237	Vellaunus	Bonn	between 40 and 69 AD
240	reburrus	Bonn	neronic
236	Niger	Bonn	1st half of the 1st century AD
253	Carminius Ingenuus	Worms	Mid 1st century AD.
251	Dolanus	Wiesbaden	Flavian
255	stranger	Worms	Flavian
250	T. Flavius Bassus	Cologne	shortly before 96 AD
		<i>all in all</i>	

Table VII.52: Rider with visible belt form E ("Gallic" sword suspension).

Long cutting swords were used by the cavalry because of the greater distance between the rider and the enemy. They are particularly effective against infantrymen. However, since it is not improbable that the sword, as a symbolically important weapon, was depicted in exaggerated size, it cannot be assumed with absolute certainty that a cutting sword is depicted here.<sup>722</sup> The scabbard is attached to a special attachment (belt shape E): Narrow straps leading from the belt to the sword are shown. These seem to be straps that lead from the belt to the scabbard and with which the sword hung freely swinging and slanting backwards on the belt.<sup>723</sup> Lead to the tombstone of Carminius Ingenuus

<sup>722</sup>See also Miks 2007, 19-23.

<sup>723</sup>This could be achieved by having the two straps of different lengths, with the rear one being shorter.

these straps to eyelets attached to the scabbard, which were used for attachment.<sup>724</sup> Another representation of this variant that is particularly easy to recognize is the tombstone of Vonatorix from Bonn.<sup>725</sup>

Bishop calls this type of belt the "Celtic belt" because a similar belt can also be seen on the statue of the "Gallic warrior" from Vachères.<sup>726</sup> The statue is dated 50-30 BC. is dated and is dressed in a tunic and over it a mail shirt reaching to the middle of the thigh.<sup>727</sup> The warrior wears a torc around his neck, and over his mail shirt *sagum*, with an Alesia-type fibula and a belt.<sup>728</sup> This appears to be made of leather studded with round rivets. The belt buckle is semicircular and has a strong crossbar. The protruding strap falls down wavy and pointed. The warrior's sword is attached to the belt on the right side. Under the riveted leather belt, the warrior wears a cloth belt, which is perhaps intended to distribute the weight of the chain mail over the hips and also to prevent the sword belt from chafing.

The same type of sword attachment can also be seen on a relief block from Arlon, which probably belonged to a pillar tomb.<sup>729</sup> The tomb is dated Neronian to early Flavian.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
242	C. Tutius	Mainz	tiberian
243	cantaber	Mainz	pre-Claudian
245	Petronius Disacetus	Mainz	late claudian
244	Togito	Mainz-Gustavsburg	Claudian-Neronic
240	reburrus	Bonn	neronic.
256	Albanos	Chalon-sur-Saone	around the middle of the 1st century AD
246	C. Romanus Capito	Mainz-zahlbach	late Neronic
247	Annauso	Mainz	Flavian
248	Abaius	Mainz	Flavian
258	S. Valerius Genialis	Cirencester	2nd half of the 1st century AD.
249	stranger	Cologne	Flavian-Late Flavian
273	T. Flavius Mikkalus	perinthos	late Flavian
		<i>all in all</i>	11

*Table VII.53: Riders with possible belt form E.*

A battle scene shows three horsemen in chain mail and with a spear in their raised right hand. The sword suspension can still be seen on the rider on the left: the long sword carried on the right hangs on two narrow straps that lead through eyelets on the side of the scabbard.

<sup>724</sup> Dcat. No. 253.

<sup>725</sup> Dcat. No. 238.

<sup>726</sup> Bishop/Coulston 2006, 107,109.

<sup>727</sup> In the following according to Pernet 2010, 220-221, Pl. 82.

<sup>728</sup> According to Pernet, this fibula is the main reason for placing the figure in the period 50-30 BC. to date.

<sup>729</sup> D. Cat. No. 280.



The second group comprises eight tombstones from the Tiberian to late Flavian periods and, in addition to tombstones from Germania, one each from Cirencester, Chalon-sur-Saône and Perinthos (see Table VII.53). Here, too, a long sword is carried on the right, but the scabbard is apparently attached directly to the belt without the straps, although the exact method of attachment cannot be identified.

These two modes of representation can either refer to different suspensions of the scabbard, or they correspond to different care in the execution of the reliefs. Depictions in which the sword hangs too low to be attached to the actual belt, but do not show the sword attached to the belt itself, indicate that it is probably a more or less careful sculptural execution of the same method of attachment.

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cat	name/designation	locality	dating
259	Dannicus	Cirencester	Flavian
234	Licaus	Cherchel	Late 1st century AD
235	Liccaius	Cherchel	Late 1st century AD
		<i>all in all</i>	3

*Table VII.54: Short sword.*

The third group dates Flavian or to the end of the 1st century AD (see Table VII.53). The three tombstones are from Algeria and Great Britain. The swords shown here are significantly shorter. They are also worn on the right hand side and are attached to the belt in a way that cannot be determined in more detail. Another relief from Naoussa (Greece) belongs to this group.<sup>731</sup>

The tombstone of C. Marius from Bonn is unique because it is the only tombstone from the 1st century AD that does not show a sword.<sup>732</sup> Whether this is intended to be hanging on the left side, which is not visible, is not certain. It may also be that the depiction here was felt to be unnecessary or was forgotten by the sculptor.

#### **VII.6.2. Tombstones from the 2nd century AD**

The depictions of the 2nd century AD can be divided into two groups, which differ in the direction of the shoulder straps and the way the sword is carried. In the first group, the shoulder strap runs from the left shoulder to the right hip and the sword hanging from it is therefore carried on the right (belt shape F). In the second group, the belt runs from the right shoulder to the left hip and the sword is therefore carried on the left (belt shape G).

<sup>730</sup>Dcat. Nos. 241, 254.

<sup>731</sup>Dcat. No. 285.

<sup>732</sup>Dcat. No. 239.

Only two tombstones show the belt form F. The first is the Cenotaph of Insus, only discovered in Lancaster in 2005.<sup>733</sup> The rider is shown in a niche on horseback coming from the left. In his right hand he holds an unusually short sword and the head of a decapitated barbarian by the long hair. He wears chain mail over long trousers and a cloak with a brooch on the center of the chest. A narrow shoulder strap runs from the right shoulder to the left side. The second is that of the Respectus from Heidelberg, which is dated to the 3rd century AD.<sup>734</sup> In view of the depiction, however, this dating is extremely doubtful, since the scheme corresponds entirely to the depictions of the 1st century and the belt shape is most likely dated to the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Respectus carries a sword, shown very small, on the right, on a narrow shoulder strap running from the left shoulder to the right.

A number of state monuments from the Traian period show the same way of being carried: on the large Traian battle frieze, the two riders, whose swords are recognizable, carry the sword on the right. The narrow shoulder strap running from the left shoulder to the right side is visible on one of them, but not on the other.<sup>735</sup> The riders on Traian's Column also carry the sword.<sup>736</sup> On the Marcus Column, too, all riders except one carry the sword on the right shoulder strap.<sup>737</sup>

A relief from Antonine times reveals the same way of carrying it: on the relief of a stone with distance information ("Bridgness Distance Slab") from the end point of the Antonine Wall, which accompanies the inscription, a horseman can be seen wearing a narrow shoulder strap that goes from the left shoulder to the right side runs.<sup>738</sup> In the representations of this scheme, the sword is often relatively long and sits very high, so that the hilt appears to be in front of the rider's chest. In both cases, it is probably a matter of conventions of representation, so that the sword could be easily recognized. As with the depictions of the 1st century AD, it is not certain to what extent the length of the sword was exaggerated.

So far, only one tombstone can be counted among the representations of the belt form G. It is the tombstone of Lucius Pompeius Marcellinus from Ephesus from the first half of the 2nd century AD.<sup>739</sup> The way the sword is carried on the left side can only be inferred from the guidance of the shoulder strap from the right shoulder to the left hip. The same way of carrying the sword can be seen on the four metopes of the Victory Monument of Adamclisi with representations of horsemen.<sup>740</sup> All riders wear a shoulder strap that runs from the right shoulder to the left hip. The sword can therefore be assumed to be invisible on the left hip. Also the riders on the Decursion scenes of the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius (AD 161-169) wear a narrow shoulder strap from the right shoulder to the left side, from which the sword hangs.<sup>741</sup>

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<sup>733</sup>Dcat. No. 261.

<sup>734</sup>Dcat. Nos. 241, 259.

<sup>735</sup>Dcat. No. 286.

<sup>736</sup>Dcat. No. 287.

<sup>737</sup>Dcat. No. 289.

<sup>738</sup>Dcat. No. 285. The locality is now called Bridgeness-Bo'ness.

<sup>739</sup>Dcat. No. 260. The site of discovery is either Ephesos or Smyrna.

<sup>740</sup>D.Cat. No. 294.

<sup>741</sup>Dcat. No. 288.

It seems that the two different types of belts, F and G, were worn side by side for a long time during the 2nd century AD. Carrying style G is similar to belt style H of the 3rd century AD, in which the shoulder strap also runs from the right shoulder to the left hip. Therefore, it is likely that this is the later mode of carrying.

On the other hand, when dating the forms of the belt, the assessment of the representational accuracy of the monuments plays a major role. The Roman city monuments, based on the infantrymen, show that the representations became schematic in the post-Traian period at the latest. This means that the two provincial monuments - the Victory Monument in Adamclisi and the Bridgeness Distance Slab - are of particular importance. However, the Traian Monument shows Carrying G, while the Antonine Bridgeness Distance Slab shows Carrying F. Therefore, the exact dating of the two ways of wearing and a possible transition can not be determined.

### VII.6.3. Tombstones from the 3rd century AD

The last two groups are made up of equestrian tombstones from the 3rd century AD. What they have in common is that they are no longer depictions of triumphant riders, but that the tombstones either show a horse demonstration scene or can only be identified as equestrian tombstones by their inscription. The latter group of representations no longer differs from the contemporaneous tombstones of legionnaires, naval or auxiliary soldiers. Another similarity with the contemporaneous tombstones of the infantrymen is the fact that all depicted wear a belt with a ring clasp. The belts of the riders have no longer differed from the belts of the infantrymen, at least since the introduction of the belt with ring clasp.

The first of the two groups consists of tombstones from the necropolis of the Equites Singulares on the Via Labicana in Rome and a series of tombstones from the Danube army from Hungary and Romania (see Table VII.55). The sword of the soldier is depicted on these tombstones. This is definitely one *spatha*, mostly with a can chape (in one case a pelta-shaped chape<sup>742</sup>) is reproduced. The sword is carried on the left shoulder strap, but nine times out of ten it is hidden by the cloak.

The tombstone of Aurelius Fronto clearly shows the sword hanging from the shoulder strap.<sup>743</sup> It is certain that the same way of carrying is meant on the other tombstones.

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<sup>742</sup>Dcat. No. 269.

<sup>743</sup>Dcat. No. 264.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	visible	concealed
276	Barsemis Abbeius	Dunaújváros	210-220 AD		X
279	aura Januarius	Császár	222-235 AD		X
262	Flavius Mocianus	Rome	Early 3rd century AD		X
263	stranger	Rome	Early 3rd century AD		X
264	stranger	Rome	3rd century AD		X
265	Ulpius Valens	Rome	3rd century AD		X
267	Ulpius Victorinus	Rome	3rd century AD		X
277	M. Aurelius Valens	Dunaújváros	2nd half of the 3rd century AD		X
268	Aurelius (?) Fronto	Rome	Late 3rd century AD	X	
269	decurion	Rome	Late 3rd century AD		X
		<i>all in all</i>	10	1	9

Table VII.55: Belt form H: Representations with sword on sword belt.

The second group consists of other tombstones from the necropolis of the Equites Singulares and tombstones of the Danube army from Hungary and Romania (see Table VII.56). The sword is not depicted on these tombstones, here the clothing and the belt with ring clasp are sufficient to identify the soldier as such.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
274	stranger	Budapest	at 200
257	aura glycone	? puree Thessaloniki	after 212/13 AD
266	Aurelius Martinus	Rome	3rd century AD
270	M.Aur. Bithus	Rome	3rd century AD
271	stranger	? puree Salo	3rd century AD
275	stranger	Budapest	3rd century AD
278	stranger	Dunaújváros	3rd century AD
272	aura Maximos	Gorna Bešovica	Late 3rd century AD
		<i>all in all</i>	8th

Table VII.56: Belt Form H: Representations without a sword.

All tombstones make it clear through the scenes depicted on them that the deceased were horsemen. Of the three tombstones with preserved inscriptions, two are *equites singulares Augusti* and thus belong to the mounted guard of the emperor. Since it is unlikely that soldiers of this elite unit had purely administrative tasks, the thesis can be considered refuted. Therefore, the visual statement made by the ring clasp belt and the rest of the costume must have been sufficient for identification as a soldier.

Further characteristics of the belt shape with ring clasp can also be found on the tombstones of the riders. So are on the tombstone of Aurelius Ianuarius from Cszászár

Fastening rivet next to the ring clasp on the belt clearly visible.<sup>744</sup> On the tombstone of an unknown person from Rome, the belt is shown with clearly thickened long sides.<sup>745</sup>

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	both in the arc returned	only led back to the right in an arc	Strap end falls up to the knee
264	stranger	Rome	3rd century AD		X	X
275	stranger	Budapest	3rd century AD			X
269	decurion	Rome	Late 3rd century AD		X	
268	Aurelius (?) Fronto	Rome	Late 3rd century AD	X		
		<i>all in all</i>	4	1	2	2

*Table VII.57: Belt shape H: belt ends.*

The strap ends are clearly visible on a number of equestrian tombstones (see Table VII.57). In four cases at least one end of the strap is very long, but different variations are shown: in one case both ends of the strap are looped back to the belt and tucked under, in three cases only the right one. In two cases, the strap end falls to the knee. The last third of the strap tongue is split into two parts, each with an oval pendant.<sup>746</sup>

The centerfold of the tunic can be seen in four cases (see Table VII.58).

cat	name/designation	locality	dating
262	Flavius Mocianus	Rome	Early 3rd century AD
265	Ulpus Valens	Rome	3rd century AD
267	Ulpus Victorinus	Rome	3rd century AD
269	decurion	Rome	Late 3rd century AD
		<i>all in all</i>	4

*Table VII.58: Belt Form H: Center pleat tunic.*

#### VII.6.4. Other Monuments

The reliefs, which were not donated by soldiers or their relatives and show riders in ring clasp costumes, are hunting or battle sarcophagus intended for members of the civil and/or military upper class (see Table VII.59). As already described, the sarcophagi show the deceased on horseback hunting lions or boars. They wear the "camp dress" and a belt

<sup>744</sup> Dcat. No. 279.

<sup>745</sup> Dcat. No. 264.

<sup>746</sup> Dcat. No. 264.

Ring clasp, as in some cases the hunter's assistant standing behind them. A sword cannot be seen in any of the depictions. In one case, however, it can be clearly seen that the belt strap has reinforced longitudinal sides.<sup>747</sup> On three sarcophagi, the belt end of the belt on the right side curves back to the belt and is fastened in an unrecognizable way.

cat	name/designation	locality	dating	Strap end on the right arc returned
280	Lion hunt sarcophagus	? puree Dresden	mid 3rd century AD	
285	Lion hunt sarcophagus	Rome	mid 3rd century AD	X
287	battle sacophagi	Rome	mid 3rd century AD	
286	Lion hunt sarcophagus	Rome	early Gaul	x
288	Lion hunt sarcophagus	Rome	260-280 AD	
281	Lion hunt sarcophagus	? Mus Munich	270-280 AD	
282	Lion hunt sarcophagus	? Mus Paris	270-280 AD	x
		<i>all in all</i>	7	5

*Table VII.59: Belt form H on sarcophagi.*

### VII.6.5. summary

From the tombstones and the other monuments with equestrian representations, three different belt costumes can be reconstructed, which also follow each other chronologically (see Table VII.60):

In the first century, a belt was worn by the riders, of which only the suspension of the sword is relatively secure due to the way it is shown in profile (belt shape E); This consisted of straps that led from the belt to the scabbard and with which the sword was attached to the belt swinging freely and diagonally backwards. The belts are always shown unshod. This can be explained by the fact that the monuments are not painted today; perhaps the metal fittings on the belts were painted on. It may also be that this depiction is related to the fact that many belts of the 1st century AD were perhaps only decorated with fittings on the front. Another - and in my opinion the most likely - possibility is that reality was depicted here and the belts of the horsemen were worn in the 1st century AD.

This is also supported by the practical requirements of a belt, which had to remain comfortable even when sitting for a long time and moving vigorously, which is extremely questionable for a belt with stiff metal fittings and a hanging apron.

<sup>747</sup> Dcat. No. 291.

belt shape	50-25 BC Chr.	25-1 BC Chr.	1-15 AD	15-50 AD	50-70 AD	70-96 AD	96-117 AD	117-125 AD	125-150 AD	150-175 AD	175-200 AD	200-225 AD	225-250 AD	250-275 AD	275-300 AD	300-325 AD
E																
f																
G																
H																

*Table VII.60 Dating of the belt shapes of the riders.*

The costume seems to have changed in the post-Flavian period, although this is difficult to grasp due to the lack of illustrations. According to the representations on the state monuments, the riders no longer wear belts, only shoulder straps. At first the sword appears to be worn on a narrow shoulder strap that runs from the left shoulder to the right hip (belt shape E). In the course of the 2nd century AD, the way of carrying changed and the sword was carried on a shoulder strap that leads from the right shoulder to the left hip (belt shape F). The sword can therefore be assumed to be invisible on the left hip.

The depictions of the 3rd century AD finally show the same belt shape that the infantrymen also wear, the belt with a ring clasp (belt shape G). The consecration stone of Barsemis Abbeius shows that the sword was now basically a spatha with a can holder, and the tombstone of Aurelius Fronto shows that the sword is now worn on the shoulder strap. The belt with ring clasp apparently served exclusively as a mark of the military (that is, those *whomilitia* rendered), which is also supported by the second group of tombstones from the 3rd century. In these depictions, the belt with ring clasp is worn without a sword; this was therefore felt to be sufficient to identify the soldier.